Empowering girls to claim rights? Non-formal education and the 'Stop the Violence' campaign in Kenya

Mary Christina Cobbett Ondiek

Department of Geography
Royal Holloway, University of London

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2015

Declaration of Authorship

I Mary Christina Cobbett Ondiek hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signature: Date: 01/12/2015

Printed name: Mary Christina Cobbett Ondiek

Abstract

Empowering girls to claim rights? Non-formal education and the 'Stop the Violence' campaign in Kenya

The thesis explores the impact of the 'Voices Against Violence' curriculum, a non-formal education programme in Kenya, aiming to enable girls to claim rights to be free from violence. Impact is explored at two levels: girls' internal worlds (sense of self, identity, beliefs about gender and rights) and girls' external worlds (ability to claim rights and exercise empowerment). The research was funded by an ESRC collaborative award in partnership with the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), who developed the Voices Against Violence curriculum.

The research was carried out in two locations in Kenya. In Kisumu, the curriculum was implemented in a government primary school and 28 girls participated. In Kibera, one of Nairobi's large informal settlements, the curriculum was implemented in a vocational training centre with 15 adolescent girls and young women. A range of qualitative methods including participatory activities, interviewing and ethnographic observations were used to understand the girls' changing constructions of gender and violence, their performances of gender and their abilities to claim rights. While many similar projects have focused on pre and post project data, this study is original in its capturing of rich ethnographic observations of the curriculum sessions, generating deeper insight into processes of change and contestation.

At the level of girls' internal worlds, the data shows changes, continuities and contradictions in the way girls spoke about gender and violence before and after the curriculum. Whether internal change led to the ability to claim rights, depended less on the quality of what was taught, than on the wider spaces they found themselves in and the differing institutional environments the micro-projects were embedded in. Resultingly, the thesis speaks to debates about the institutional structures of NGOs alongside those on transformative education and violence prevention.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms used in the text

CEO	Chief Executive Officer
DFID	Department for International Development
GBV	Gender-based violence
FGM	Female genital mutilation
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
KGGA	Kenya Girl Guides Association
KGC	Kibera Girls Centre
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
MoE	Ministry of Education
MO	Member Organisation
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
SEO	Senior Education Officer
VAWG	Violence Against women and girls
WAGGGS	World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts

Glossary of vernacular terms

Kiswahili	English translation
Chai	Tea
Kijana/Vijana	Youth (sg/pl)
Kufanya ngono	To have sex
Kufanya mapenzi	To make love
Mboga	Vegetables
Mzungu/Wazungu	White person/people
Ugali	Maize meal
Tabia mbaya	Bad manners (literal translation),usually a euphemism for teenage sex
Mzee/Wazee	Old man/men (term of respect)

Luo	English translation
Jaboya	To trade fish for sex

List of tables and figures

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis explores the impact of a non-formal education programme, 'Voices Against Violence'. Developed by the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGGS), the programme aims to empower girls to claim rights to be free from violence. The Voices Against Violence curriculum has been piloted in twenty countries around the world. Providing in-depth insights into one such pilot country, this thesis is based on research from Kenya. Implicit in this research focus are two propositions: firstly, that girls need empowering to claim rights to be free from violence and secondly, that education might be an effective means to accomplish this. Therefore, the first part of this introduction will elucidate these propositions whilst also starting to consider the way in which institutional dynamics and structures of NGOs may work to enable or disable effective work to prevent violence.

The second section of the introduction outlines my research aims and objectives, followed by a section introducing the aims of the Stop the Violence campaign more broadly. The next section provides an overview of the legal and policy context regarding gender-based violence in Kenya, which leads on to a discussion of the terminology around violence used in this thesis. The final section of the chapter provides a summary of the proceeding chapters.

Empowering girls to claim rights? Violence and transformative education

Discrimination and disadvantage affecting girls, as distinct from women or youth, have received increasing attention since the 1990s and violence against girls has been a key concern within this (Croll, 2006). In Africa, rising HIV prevalence among adolescents and particularly high rates among females have drawn attention to violence in adolescent sexual relationships (Dunne and Reddy, 2007). There is now a growing body of literature highlighting girls' experiences of violence and sexual coercion in Africa (for example, Jewkes et al, 2001: Erulkar, 2004: Dunne and Reddy, 2007: Swart, 2008, 2009). This has included a number of studies focusing on Kenya specifically. For example, a population survey by Erulkar (2004) in Central Province found that 21% of girls and young

women aged 10-24 had experienced sex under coercive circumstances and research by Swartz (2008, 2009) revealed high levels of intimate partner violence amongst young women in Nairobi's informal settlements. Qualitative research by Maticka-Tyndale et al (2006) explored the sexual scripts of adolescents, highlighting that force was part of the 'normal' script amongst adolescents. Other studies from Kenya highlight the problem of child sexual abuse within homes (Lalor, 2004) and violence against girls in schools (Parkes and Heslop, 2013).

Within academia there is a growing body of nuanced, agency-orientated research describing girls' lives including experiences of violence. Within international development practice, however, much of the attention has been framed discursively within the rubric of 'the girl-child' in which girls are depicted in essentialised and passive terms (Fennell and Arnot, 2009). Croll (2006: 1285) argues that 'the girl-child platform' has not translated into local programmes enabling girls to claim their rights and she advocates for a move from the needs of 'the girl-child' to a more agency-orientated concept of 'girls' rights'. While rights can be a powerful framework, the gaps between the formal establishment of rights and the lived realities of women and girls are often stark. As Cornwall and Molyneux (2007: 1182 italics in original) aptly state: 'rights are not in themselves transformative (…) it is *how* rights come to be framed and claimed that defines their potential'. Therefore, girls do not simply need to have formal legal rights; they need spaces to understand and discuss them and feel empowered to claim them.

Violence against girls and young women is not, however, a 'developing world' problem, instead it is a global problem (albeit one that manifests in locally specific ways), inextricably bound up in gender norms and ideas about what it means to be a girl, a boy a woman or a man. Indeed, during the time of writing this thesis, violence against girls and young women in the UK was a growing issue of concern and frequently discussed within the media and political and policy debates. For example, research by Barter and McCarry (2009) found that one third of girls aged 13-17 had experienced sexual violence from a partner whilst a study by the National Union of Students (NUS) (2013) found high rates of sexual harassment on university campuses across the UK. At the

parliamentary level, the Joint Committee on Human Rights (2015) recommended that the government urgently prioritise investing in programmes to prevent gendered violence and stressed the importance of schools as sites to teach about gender and violence.

Similarly, a small number of recent academic studies have examined middle and upper class adolescent girls' experiences of violence and coercion in the UK (Maxwell and Aggleton, 2010: Holford, 2012), highlighting that privilege does not translate into the ability to claim rights to be free from violence in any straightforward way. Research on sexual harassment on British university campuses shows that women are often not taken seriously if they report harassment, creating a culture in which harassment is trivialised and normalised and speaking out becomes difficult (NUS, 2013: Bates, 2014). Contemporary academic research in British schools highlights the prime importance girls place on being considered romantically desirable 'to validate themselves as normal, regular girls' (Renold, 2005:94) and the subsequent difficulties faced in speaking out against harassment. For example, Youdell (2005) describes an incident in a south London secondary school between Lucy and Stuart. When Stuart restrains Lucy from behind in an aggressive, but sexually charged manner, Lucy does not consent making the incident a type of assault, nor does she call the teacher or make any serious attempt to extricate herself. Youdell argues that Lucy has found herself in a double bind in which:

> her encounter with Stuart underscores and is a further moment in the
> constitution of her heterosexual femininity (. . .) Lucy provisionally
> 'gains' desirable heterosexual femininity through this bodily encounter (.
> . .) to   attempt to interrupt Stuart might be to risk this femininity and the
> subjecthood it confers. (2570)

In this way, ideas about what it means to be a girl can make it difficult to challenge violence. As a young, British female these facts, figures and narratives ring true and indeed it was reflecting on the experiences of myself and my peers growing up in London that first led me to take an interest in the topic of girls and violence. I find it appropriate to introduce this context at the beginning of the thesis, not only to introduce my own positionality as a researcher, but also to avoid 'Othering' the problem of violence. This thesis will be concerned with the experiences and narratives of girls living in contexts of, often quite extreme,

urban poverty. In these places violence takes on a range of locally specific cultural forms, which are exacerbated by the context of poverty and insecurity. Yet violence against girls and young women is not a problem of poverty nor is it a problem of specific places or cultures and this is important to bear in mind at the start of the thesis.

Additionally, beginning with these narratives provides an illuminating starting point for thinking about the purpose of an education programme working with girls (rather than boys) to prevent violence. Projects concerned with teaching girls in African contexts about their rights have sometimes interpreted the problem as primarily a knowledge gap (for example, Banks, 2001: Halsall, 2010). In this view, vulnerable groups have their rights abused because they do not know what they are or have the language to effectively advocate for them. While this is undoubtedly part of the problem, it is not the entirety of it. In contrast, a conceptual starting point for this thesis is that girls have complex social and emotional agendas, which may make it difficult for them to challenge violence, even where awareness of their rights is present (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). These agendas include psychological needs for affirmation, respect, recognition and acceptance within the local cultural context. In the narrative above, the need to be seen as romantically desirable made it difficult for Lucy to challenge Stuart's behaviour towards her. Judith Butler's (1997) work on the performative nature of gender and the concept of 'passionate attachments' are insightful in understanding such dynamics. In this view, it is the performance that creates gender. The performative nature of gender allows space for new ways of doing, although gender is performed within the heavily regulated 'heterosexual matrix' of cultural intelligibility. 'Passionate attachments' are formed to normalised ways of doing gender because of the social recognition that these performances of gender provide. Girls also have physical needs for survival, sustenance and security, and equally, it is difficult for girls to challenge violence where doing so compromises these needs. A wealth of research across Africa highlights the way in which economic dependence can make girls and young women vulnerable to violence (Luke and Kurz, 2002: Pronyk et al, 2006: Swart, 2008). Therefore, I started the research with an awareness that both structural and psychological reasons may make it difficult for girls to claim

rights to be free from violence, as well as a lack of knowledge about rights.

Consequently, being able to 'speak out' against violence involves far more than having formal rights and being informed of these rights. Education is seen as an important arena where rights can be 'framed and claimed' and new ways of doing gender can be formed, 'tried on and rehearsed' (Manicom and Walters, 2012: 15). Yet there is a paucity of research on what actually happens inside educational spaces and *how* education leads to change. This is partly because most related projects (on gender-based violence or HIV/AIDS prevention) have been conducted within the field of public health, and as such, have treated educational interventions as unexamined, technical 'inputs' (for example, Jaffe, 1992: Pronyk et al, 2006, 2008: Jewkes et al, 2007). Therefore, one of the original aims of this research is the provision of detailed ethnographic data on what actually happens inside educational spaces with transformative aims and precisely how education does (or does not) lead to change.

At the same time, research from the field of gender and education casts doubt on the extent to which formal schools are likely to be institutional spaces in which transformative education can occur. African schools are typically characterised by didactic pedagogies which do not encourage the development of critical thinking skills (Dembole and Lefoka, 2007). Furthermore, research has demonstrated highly gender inequitable institutional cultures including high levels of violence against girls occurring *within* schools (Mirembe and Davies, 2001: Leach et al, 2000: Dunne et al 2006). In this way, the hidden curriculum (Giroux and Purpel, 1983) in schools works to reproduce gender inequalities. This study is concerned with the impact of a non-formal education programme, and as such, I started with an interest in the potential of non-formal education as an alternative space for transformative education to occur. The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (1997: 2) defines non-formal education as follows:

> Any organised and sustained educational activities that do not correspond exactly to the definition of formal education. Non-formal education may take place within and outside educational institutions and cater to persons of all ages. Depending on country contexts, it may cover educational programmes to impart adult literacy, basic education for out-of-school children, life-skills, work-skills and general culture. Non-formal education programmes do not necessarily follow the 'ladder'

system and may have differing durations and may or may not confer certification of the learning achieved.

What emerges from this definition is that non-formal education is not necessarily a different type of education in terms of pedagogy or power relations, it is simply education which is not part of the formal system of learning in a particular place. I had originally assumed the Voices Against Violence curriculum in Kenya would be implemented entirely outside of the formal school system; however, this did not turn out to be the case. Consequently, my research sites included one formal school and one non-formal educational centre. As my research progressed, the distinction between 'formal' and 'non-formal' education and educational institutions proved not be a meaningful way of thinking about the difference between educational spaces. As such, 'non-formal education' will not be a core concept discussed in this thesis.

Instead, what emerged as a far more useful conceptual construct is a focus on the social norms or 'hidden curriculum' holding sway within a particular educational space. It is these specific, local norms that determine the empowering potential (Kesby, 2005, 2007: Cameron and Gibson, 2005: Cobbett et al, 2013). Many research projects interested in the transformative potential of education have employed Paulo Freire's conceptualisation of *conscientização* or critical consciousness to understand processes of change. However, I found critical consciousness as developed by Friere wanting due to the overly linear model of change envisaged and its rationalist and masculinist underpinnings (Weiler, 1995: Moreley, 1997: Manicom and Walters, 2012). Consequently, his conceptulaisation was unable to take account of the complexity of girls' social and emotional agendas.

Instead, this study draws on Kesby's conceptualisation of empowerment through education as a 'repetitive performance in space' (Kesby, 2005, 2007). Here, dialogue and participatory education as advocated for by Friere, can lead to empowerment, but this is through the partial and continuous facilitation of reflexive agency, rather than through a rational process of shedding faulty ideas and becoming enlightened. For Kesby, agency, like power, is not a fixed property of individuals, but is constituted and exercised through available

discursive and practical resources. The participatory activities of education programmes are seen as expanding the repertoire of discursive resources through which agency can be exercised. Secondly, Kesby's *spatialised* view of empowerment points to the need to examine the extent to which empowered performances facilitated within an educational space can be re-performed in everyday spaces. Using this framework, the research explored impact at two distinct levels: girls' internal worlds (sense of self, identity, beliefs about gender and violence) and girls' external worlds (ability to claim rights). The internal dimension relates to the nature of change generated by the Voices Against Violence curriculum, whereas the external dimension focuses on the extent to which empowerment can be re-performed outside of the educational space, enabling the girls to claim rights to be free from violence. In literature on women's empowerment much attention has been paid to whether empowerment is a *process* or an *achieved state* (see Kabeer, 1999 for a review). In this view, it is neither entirely one nor the other. It can develop in time (a process) but also needs to be performed in space (an achieved state at a particular point in time/space). However, performing empowerment in one space, does not mean that it is an achieved state in all points in time/space.

NGOs, institutional dynamics and gender-based violence programming

So far I have described my interests and aims revolving around the micro-scale of the specific space of the curriculum and the extent to which empowered performances generated in that space could be sustained outside of it. These are the interests and aims with which I begun and which I planned my research around. However, in the course of my fieldwork it became necessary to expand the scope of the research to include a concern with the broader institutional dynamics of WAGGGS and the Kenya Association of Girl Guides (KGGA) and a conceptual interest in the way in which the dynamics, structures and values of NGOs enable or constrain effective programming to prevent gendered violence. This change arose largely in response to the manner in which the two organisations responded to reports of sexual harassment and suspected sexual abuse occurring at one of the research sites. Their response (or lack of) revealed that the quality and impact of a specific project at the micro-scale can exist in a vacuum, far removed from broader institutional dynamics, yet it is inevitably

17

entangled in such dynamics and likely to be effected by them. Therefore, my initial concern with space and empowerment expanded to include a concern with institutional scale and effectiveness. While I had not closely considered this dimension prior to starting fieldwork, it became clear that the success (or otherwise) of a specific project cannot be analysed outside of the wider structures in which the project is enmeshed. These broader institutional structures can (and did) have an enormous bearing on whether empowerment generated in the micro-space of the curriculum can be sustained outside of it. In this way, incorporating analysis of the wider institutional environment was found to be essential to answering the questions regarding empowerment and the ability to claim rights with which I began the research.

Figure one: Space and empowerment

The wider community (Kisumu and Kibera)

The educational institution

The specific space of the curriculum
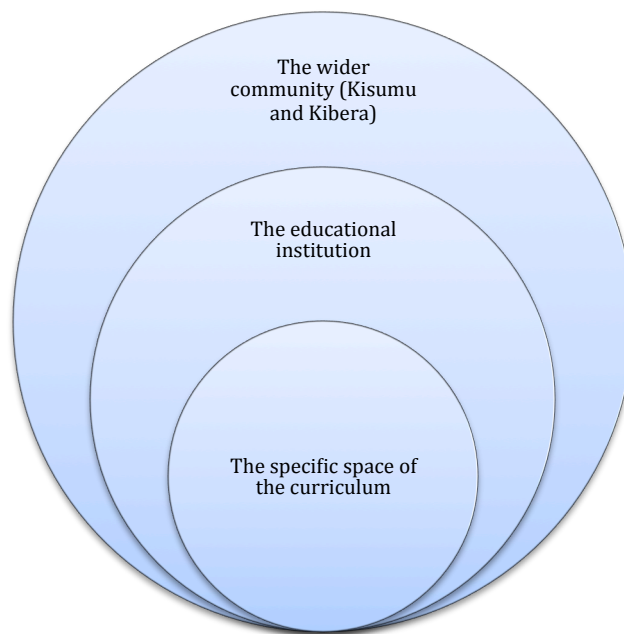
Figure two: institutions and scale

International NGO
(WAGGGS)

National NGO (KGGA)

Individual project or
school
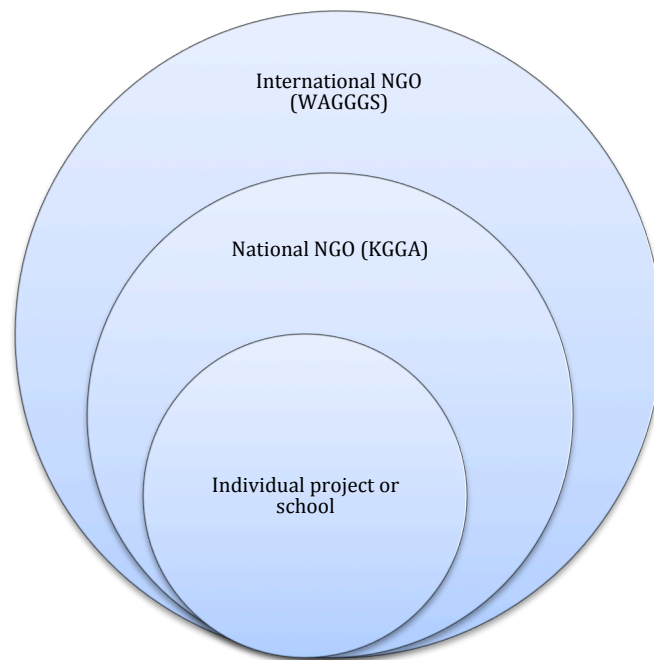
Figure one shows three spaces in which the performance and re-performance of empowerment can occur. Empowerment may be generated within the specific space of the educational intervention, but for the project to actually enable girls to claim rights to be free from violence, it needs to be possible to re-perform empowerment in the immediate context of the educational institution and in the wider community. The extent to which the educational institution provides a context in which the hegemonic norms support empowered performance of gender generated during the Voices Against Violence curriculum proved to be a key dimension. However, the specific project of the Voices Against Violence curriculum is not only influenced by the geographical spaces surrounding it, but by the wider institutions of which it is part.

Bringing together the theoretical frame

So far, a number of different concepts have been introduced. I have described how I started the research with an awareness that both psychological and structural reasons may make it difficult for girls to claim rights to be free from violence, and that this initial focus was expanded to include a concern with the institutional dynamics of the KGGA and WAGGGS. To engage with these multiple elements, I drew on a range of different theoretical perspectives, some

of which I had engaged with prior to the fieldwork, and some which emerged as useful during the course of the research.

In order to examine how girls' identities and emotional agendas affected their abilities to claim rights, I have drawn on feminist, post-structural theory. As already described, Butler's (1990) conceptualisation of gender as performative, and her theorisation of 'passionate attachments' to normalised ways of doing gender in order to gain social recognition was an important starting point. As the research progressed, other post-structural theory and insights were drawn on. In particular, the importance of discourse and the way in which girls sought to position themselves within particular discourses of femininity through their talk on violence, and the centrality of these processes for the formation of social identities, emerged as integral to understanding the data. In thinking about these processes, I drew on work that highlights the need to understand girls' interview narratives as attempts to produce acceptable gendered selves (Currie et al, 2007). Additionally, in order to make sense of dissonance in the girls' narratives, Ricoeur's (1983) concept of 'emplotment' in which individuals attempt to turn disparate events into a coherent narrative, and in doing so sideline aspects of their experience, was drawn on. Gender was shown to remain central to this process, as it was the need to construct narratives that were congruent with normative beliefs about gender which determined which aspects of experience were sidelined.

Yet, while the research was concerned with post-structuralist conceptions of subjectivity, material factors and inequality were equally important. My starting assumption that structural factors would make it difficult for girls to claim rights was shown to be true. Moreover, it was not only localised conditions of economic inequality that affected the girls, but also the institutional dynamics of WAGGGS and the KGGA. In turn, my reflections on these institutional dynamics showed that the structural arrangements of the two institutions influenced (and were influenced by) the discourses about gender which proliferated within the institutions leading to particular organisational 'gender regimes' (Connell, 1987). In this way, the interplay of focus on both the discursive and the material remains a constant feature of the thesis. My decision

to use Kesby's (2005, 2007) theorisation of empowerment to understand change was driven by this need to understand gendered subjectivities, discourses and material constraints. In this theory, as described above, agency is generated through education projects by increasing the range of discourses with which girls have to draw on and providing space in which the norms of governance allow gender to be performed in different ways. However, this theory also recognises that for new ways of doing gender to be normalised, it needs to be possible to perform them in everyday spaces, thus keeping focus on the interplay of the discursive and the material. These theoretical ideas are described in more detail in Chapter Three.

Research aims and objectives

The overall aim of the research is to provide an exploration of the impact of the Voices Against Violence curriculum on the girls' internal worlds (sense of self, identity, beliefs about gender and rights) and external worlds (ability to claim rights and exercise empowerment). I have broken this down into six research questions, the first five of which were established prior to the commencement of the research and the sixth, which developed during the research.

1. To understand how girls perceive violence in their communities before and after completing the curriculum.
2. To understand the messages about gender, rights and violence that are delivered to groups of girl guides in Kenya and how these are received and interpreted.
3. To explore the impact the curriculum has on girls' gendered identities and beliefs about their rights.
4. To explore the impact the curriculum has at the wider community level on girls' abilities to claim rights to be free from violence.
5. To gain insight into what works in education programmes to empower girls, paying attention to content, pedagogy and the spaces in which education occurs.
6. To understand the impact of institutional structures and dynamics on gender programming.

These research questions will be discussed throughout the thesis and will be brought together explicitly in the concluding chapter.

The 'Stop the Violence' campaign and 'Voices Against Violence' curriculum

In July 2011 WAGGGS launched the Stop the Violence campaign with the tagline 'Stop the Violence – Speak out for girls' rights'.

Reasons for the campaign

Because we can – We are the largest voluntary organisation for girls and young women in the world, with ten million Girl Guides and Girl Scouts in 145 countries many of them already working to stop violence.

Because girls are key – Girls are one of the world's greatest untapped resources. They are not just victims of violence; they are the instigators of their own futures and the leaders of change within their communities and globally.

Because girls and young women told us this is important – The campaign was chosen based on a consultation with girls and women about what most concerns them and what they most want to take action on.

Because education is key – Education, including non-formal education, is critical for ending violence. Non-formal education can create a powerful force for change by empowering girls and young women to understand and assert their rights, and by challenging root causes of violence, such as gender stereotypes and inequality; and reaching out to boys and young men.

Because no one else is – You might think there are a lot of campaigns out there to end violence against girls and young women. There are not. There are some that focus on ending violence against women. There are some that focus on ending violence against children. There are some that focus on ending a specific form of violence in a specific place. But there are no global campaigns dedicated to ending violence in all its forms against girls and young women. UN Women tells us that this is a space where there is no data, no voice, no programmes and no investment, and our research shows this to be true on the ground. If we don't take a stand, who will?

The five pillars of the campaign:

Awareness raising campaign: A call to action that drives awareness of the issues and engagement in the campaign.

Education programme: Along with UN Women, the World Association has developed a non-formal education curriculum, *Voices against Violence* to support girls, young women, boys and young men to identify violence, to understand their rights and to gain the skills in advocacy and leadership to claim these rights.

Research and policy: Conducting ground-breaking, global research to fill the gaps in knowledge and understanding about the issue and to find effective solutions.

Lobbying programme: Influencing decision-makers at all levels to ensure appropriate legal frameworks, services and investments are made to stop violence against girls.

Campaign action plans: Supporting Member Organisations and groups to customise the broader global advocacy campaign to their local context to make a real difference to girls on the ground. (WAGGGS, 2014)

The information in Box One shows that WAGGGS are aiming to position

themselves as key leaders globally in stopping violence against girls. They see

their legitimacy as based on their large membership of girls from around the world, the consultative processes they have undertaken with girls and their expertise in non-formal education. The Campaign has five pillars, but this research is focused on researching the implementation and impact of Pillar Two, the education programme, Voices Against Violence in Kenya.

Violence against women and the law in Kenya

Information on the prevalence and nature of violence in my specific research contexts will be provided in Chapter Five. This introductory section will provide a brief overview of the legal framework for addressing gendered violence in Kenya. From independence in 1963 up until the 9th parliament in 2003 the Kenyan state had a dismal record in terms of legal provisions for women. At the beginning of the twenty-first century women activists and women's advocacy organisations introduced a number of Bills into parliament that failed to be passed. This included the Domestic Violence Family Protection Bill, which was introduced into parliament in 2000. The Bill was ridiculed in parliamentary debates and described by male MPs as a threat to the family unit (Ndungu, 2006: FIDA-K, 2008). The Bill was tabled 'for future consideration' in 2007, which was considered likely to be the end of its life. It was then redrafted in 2013 (known as The Protection Against Domestic Violence Bill 2013) and re-entered parliamentary debates in June 2014. Again, the Bill has sparked controversy and been ferociously condemned by male MPs. A group of male MPs have collectively termed the Bill 'a waste of parliamentary time' and again declared it 'a threat to the family unit'. Jimmy Angwenwi, MP for Kitutu Chache North said he 'wondered why those supporting the Bill were keen to bring policemen into people's bedrooms' whilst Aden Duke, MP for Garissa said 'some of these things you want to create through legislation can be solved through our holy scriptures, and after that, through our cultural traditions' (Shiundu, 2014). These comments highlight the way in which action on domestic violence is considered difficult because of the construction of the family as a private sphere.

However, whilst the Domestic Violence Bill remains controversial, some victories for women have been won. During the 9th parliament, sitting from 2003-2007, a National Gender Policy was agreed and a Women's Development

Fund established. Probably the most significant victory, however, was the passing of the Sexual Offences Act in 2006. This Bill was the first act to be passed in the history of Kenya explicitly affording women legal protection from violence. Prior to this, sexual offences were dealt with under a chapter of the Penal Code called 'offences against morality' which had been introduced in the colonial era. The Act was tabled at a time when sexual offences had become the second most frequently reported crime to the police, demonstrating the urgency of the need for an effective legal framework (Ndungu, 2011). The architect of the Act, Hon. Justice Njoki Ndungu describes her key aims in drafting the Act as to define sexual offences, provide protection from them, provide guidance on the sentencing of offenders, ensure support for women and to define and determine in detail what constitutes consent in different contexts. In terms of defining consent, this involved recognising when, due to unequal power relations, consent could be considered impossible and sexual relations should be considered abusive even without evidence of physical force or coercion. This led to the creation of a specific offence 'sexual offences related to position of authority and persons in position of trust' (Laws of Kenya, 2006). This is a particularly progressive clause, which takes account of a local manifestation of a global problem and it showed itself to be pertinent in the course of my research.

Ndungu (2011) provides some insightful reflections on the reasons why she believes the Sexual Offences Act was successfully passed in 2006, when women's groups had previously been unable to make any headway in getting the issue on the parliamentary agenda. She argues that at that time, they had learned that conventional campaigning (such as protests and placards) served only to make men feel threatened and consequently more likely to resist whatever was being fought for. In theoretical terms, this approach is akin to conceptualising power as a zero sum game, where women's gain will be men's loss. Instead, male MPs were targeted individually for in-depth discussion on an interpersonal level in order to gain the support of key male MPs in parliament. The slight increase of women in parliament was also seen as a factor, however, the numbers were still too low to be sufficient. Additionally, a number of strategic alliances proved to be significant. Firstly, seminars were held for journalists on the topic of sexual violence against women which resulted in support from prominent

journalists and violence against women frequently featuring on the front page of newspapers during the time in which the Act was being debated. This was seen as important in positively influencing public opinion. Secondly, an alliance was formed with Nairobi Women's Hospital whose chief administrator Dr Sam Thenya came to be dubbed as the 'male face of the campaign' and provided the weight of medical expertise. Thirdly, the Attorney General and the Commisioner of the Police were brought on board to provide evidence of the difficulties the police and courts had dealing with sexual crimes within the current legal framework (Ndungu, 2011).

Whilst the passing of the Act is undoubtedly a significant achievement, it was not passed in its original form: two clauses were removed. These were clauses that criminalised marital rape and Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). The failure of these two aspects to remain in the Act provides insight into attitudes towards violence against women and girls and what is considered to constitute 'violence'. As with the difficulty in passing a law on domestic violence, the failure to include marital rape in the Sexual Offences Act highlights the way in which violence occurring in the private sphere in the context of marriage is constructed differently to violence occurring in the public sphere. Indeed, Ndungu (2011) admits that one factor that made the Sexual Offences Act more palpable than legislation on domestic violence was that older, traditionally minded male MPs were able to interpret it within a paternalistic framework of protecting innocent young girls, rather than seeing it as something that interfered with the marital relations of men such as themselves. In this way, a brief analysis of the existence (and absence) of legal rights to be free from violence provides telling insight into attitudes towards gendered violence in Kenya.

Terminology and definitions: GBV, gendered violence, VAWG and violence against women and girls.

The terms gender-based violence, gendered violence and violence against women and girls are sometimes used interchangeably in the literature, whilst other authors have a distinct preference for one or the other term. Although similar, the different terms have slightly different connotations. This section will

briefly define these terms and justify my own choices of terminology for this thesis.

The term gender-based violence refers to acts of violence that occur because of his or her gender or the cultural expectations that are made of someone because of his or her gender in a particular context (UNWOMEN, 2012). In contrast, violence against women and girls refers to violence against the female gender. Some authors prefer using the term violence against women due to a view that 'gender-based violence' obscures the reality that most gendered violence is directed at women and girls (UNWOMEN, 2012: Michau, 2014). Additionally, Michau (2014) argues that the term 'gender-based violence' is problematic because it is difficult to understand at the grass roots level and cannot easily be translated into local languages. These are important points, however, concepts used in research should also carry explanatory value. In line with Dunne et al (2006), I argue that the use of the term 'gender' is important, because it highlights that violence is connected to the socially constructed 'gender regime' of a specific context, and is not an inevitable outcome of female biology. Thus, I find it helpful to talk about gendered violence experienced by girls (in order to also highlight who is effected by the violence in question), rather than to drop the use of the term 'gender' altogether. Additionally, Dunne et al (2006) critique the use of the word 'based' in gender-based violence, arguing that this gives the faulty impression that gender can somehow be extrapolated from violence. Thus, the core term used in this will be 'gendered violence', however, 'violence against girls' may be used in reference to specific acts of violence against girls, or where this in the term used by the author or research participant being discussed.

Both 'gender-based violence' and 'violence against women and girls' are commonly written and discussed using acronyms: 'GBV' and 'VAWG'. The use of acronyms when talking about violence is, I believe, deeply problematic, especially in practitioner contexts, because it makes it easier for the issue to be trivialised by avoiding the weightiness and power of the word 'violence'. I have witnessed NGO staff in the era of 'mainstreaming' laugh casually during their weekly meetings that again, teams have forgotten to add how they will 'mainstream GBV' into their planned programme activities. Whilst it would be

naïve to believe that language alone would transform this nonchalance, it is somewhat harder to be casual when actually faced with a word such as 'violence'. Therefore, acronyms for violence will not be used in this thesis and an additional pragmatic reason for preferring 'gendered violence' to 'violence against women and girls' is that it is somewhat less clumsy to write and say in full.

So what actually is gendered violence? Bloom (2008: 14) provides a good overall definition of gendered violence stating that it is:

> Violence that occurs as a result of the normative role expectations associated with each gender, along with the unequal power relationships between the two genders, within the context of a specific society.

This definition is useful because it highlights that it the relationship to gendered role expectations and to gender equality that make a type of violence 'gendered' rather than the nature of the act committed. Gendered violence affects men, women, girls and boys, however, globally women and girls are disproportionately affected. The focus of this thesis will be gendered violence against girls, but this is not to suggest that other groups are not affected by gendered violence in the communities in which I was working. Relatedly, violence against women, as defined by the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) states that violence against women is:

> Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life.

This definition shows that to talk about violence against women or girls, we first need to have an understanding of violence as a gendered phenomenon. This definition also highlights that the causing of 'harm' in some form is the core of understanding what constitutes violence or gendered violence. It has become common to categorise gendered violence as economic, physical, sexual and emotional/psychological (for example, UNHCR, 2003: Amnesty International, 2004). These categories are useful for highlighting that gendered violence encompasses a broad array of behaviours. However, trying to categorise all acts of violence as belonging to one or other category is not necessarily a useful

endeavour since many acts can belong to more than one category (e.g. sexual name calling is both sexual and psychological).

Summary of thesis

The final section of Chapter One will provide a synopsis of the chapters that follow.

Chapter Two: Beyond victims and heroines: constructing 'girlhood' in international development

Recognising that girls (as a category distinct from children or youth) are receiving increasing attention from international development actors, but that this attention has been insufficiently analyzed within development studies, this chapter reflects on the emergence of girls as a focus of concern. It is argued that the instrumentalist benefits of girls' schooling and awareness of the disproportionally high rates of HIV infection amongst adolescent girls stand out as two major reasons why development actors have focused on girls. Whilst these constitute worthy issues, analysis of the construction of girlhood suggests that problematic depictions of girls as either 'victims' or 'heroines' are pervasive and prevent understanding of the complexities of girls' lives. The simplistic understandings prevalent within international development discourse and practice are contrasted with the emerging academic discipline of 'girlhood studies' which has been characterised by holistic focus on girls lives', focus on girls as their own demographic group rather than their future adult selves and an ability to draw attention to inequalities girls face without portraying them as especially 'good' or 'innocent'. My research aims to position itself within this new 'girlhood studies'. However, awareness that very different agendas have led development actors to focus on girls and the emerging fashion for doing so provides an early indicator of the need to look at the Stop the Violence programme with a critical gaze.

Chapter Three: Education, violence and social change
This chapter provides a review of literature on violence prevention through education. It also draws on literature about related education programmes (such as HIV prevention, gender equality etc.) to explore what factors seem to enable

(or constrain) such education programmes from facilitating transformation. After reviewing the literature on violence prevention efforts, the second part of the chapter will discuss the relevance of working with girls (or women) as opposed to boys or men to prevent violence. This section will theorise the kind of change that should be aimed for and what girls might need from a programme aiming to empower them to be free from violence. It is argued that successful interventions tend to include four aspects: knowledge, skills, engagement with beliefs and consciousness and the facilitation of structural change. The first two are the easiest and most common elements of education programmes, but alone they are severely limited. Engagement with beliefs and norms is the most complex and conceptually contested aspect. The third part of the chapter will examine educational theory specifically, exploring what this research adds to our understanding of change. It will be argued that Kesby's (2005, 2007) conceptualisation of empowerment as a 'repetitive performance in space' provides an insightful framework for thinking about the impact of the Voices Against Violence curriculum on girls' internal and external worlds.

Chapter Four: Methods for researching gendered violence with children

This chapter starts by providing a conceptual review of methodologies for conducting research with children and young people and for researching violence. Much of this focuses on the potential of participatory methods and engages with recent post-structural critiques of these. I argue that participatory methods provide an ethical approach to the research topic, as well as one that can gather rich data. Rather than being incompatible with a post-structuralist approach, participatory methods can show complex and shifting subjectivities and are, therefore, well suited to the research objectives which focus on perceptions of violence and constructions of gender identity. However, taking on board points raised by Leach (2006) and Ansell et al (2012) on the limitations of participatory methods for collecting data on young people's actual experiences, qualitative semi-structured interviews are seen as a vital source of data to complement that gained through participatory methods. Additionally, taking into account the need to understand whether empowered performances of gender can be sustained outside the participatory space and the need to understand complex youth cultures, ethnographic methods are also seen as an important way to gain a

fuller understanding of processes of change. Thus, the justification for combining qualitative interviewing, ethnography and participatory methods is shown.

Chapter Five: The research in action

After describing the plans for the research and conceptual justifications in Chapter Four, Chapter Five describes the research in action, discussing what actually happened in the field and providing 'thick description' of the research contexts, a school in Kisumu and a non-formal education centre in Kibera. The chapter goes on to describe and analyze my actions and the subsequent results when sexual abuse was suspected to be happening at the second research site. This 'ethically important moment' (Guillemen and Gilam, 2004) changed the nature of my research in two ways. Firstly, it led me to reconsider my own positionality and purpose, moving from the role of researcher to that of activist. Secondly, contemplating the lack of appropriate response to the situation from either the KGGA or WAGGGS led me to expand the scope of my research to include an additional concern with the way in which institutional structures and dynamics enable (or constrain) safe and effective programming work on violence.

Chapter Six: Violence, the 'Mythical Mini-skirted Girl' and the 'Real Drunk Man': Exploring dissonance in girls' perceptions of violence and its causes

Chapter Six, which is the first empirical chapter, explores initial base-line data on girls' perceptions of violence in their communities and constructions of feminine identity. Understanding these initial perceptions of violence is crucial to being able to pinpoint ways in which the girls' internal worlds have changed (or not) as a result of the Voices Against Violence Curriculum. Two contrasting narratives used to explain violence by the girls in Kisumu and Kibera are described. In Kisumu, the narrative of violence revolved around female transgression and a figure I have called 'the mythical mini-skirted girl', who walked the streets after dark, loomed large in their stories. There existed a strong disconnect between this girl and their real stories of violence happening indiscriminately in homes, schools and churches. In contrast, in Kibera, violence was understood in relation to drunkenness, drugs, poverty and unemployment. The violent 'drunk man' was not mythical but a common reality in Kibera,

however, the hegemony of the narrative of the 'real drunk man' led to silences and dissonance in a similar way. It led other experiences of violence to be sidelined and it prevented connections between gender inequality and violence from being made, with violence being constructed as an inevitable feature of poverty.

Chapter Seven: Peering into spaces for change: voices, dynamics and positionality

This chapter examines what actually happened during the delivery of the curriculum in the two contexts, an aspect of the research which is novel since detailed ethnographic observations are generally absent from other research on the impact of education programmes. It explores the messages that were delivered by the facilitators and how these were received and negotiated by the girls. It also shines a light on the positionality of the facilitators, showing how the same resource can be used very differently depending on who is teaching. The data discussed in this chapter shows that curriculum content can be subverted or enhanced depending on the facilitators' beliefs and the social norms holding sway. However, the data also shows girls' agency in negotiating and responding to messages delivered and that high quality, progressive messages may be resisted where 'passionate attachments' (Butler, 1997) to normative ways of doing gender are deeply embedded.

Chapter Eight: Understanding impact, the individual and beyond

This chapter explores impact and social change on a number of levels. Firstly, the impact of the Voices Against Violence curriculum on the girls' internal worlds (sense of self, beliefs about gender, violence and rights) are explored using the theoretical framework, outlined in Chapter Three, which sees empowerment through education as a partial, continuous process of increasing reflexive agency which must be continually re-performed (Kesby, 2005, 2007). The data showed that girls in Kisumu were likely to focus on 'gender equality' at a broader level, such as new-found beliefs in their ability 'to do anything that boys can', but that many of them remained deeply uncertain about how to connect the concept of gender inequality to the existence of violence. In contrast, girls in Kibera focused on becoming activists in response to violence and how

the concept of 'free consent' could impact on their own relationships and lives. Secondly, the chapter explores whether internal changes within the girls can translate to external changes to their worlds. Here I argue that, in Kisumu, the immediate institutional environment of the school provided a supportive context for ideas of 'gender equality' and confident, assertive femininities to be re-performed and consolidated. In contrast, in Kibera, the empowerment generated within the space of the curriculum was severely undermined by a context at the KGC characterised by sexual harassment and the valuing of girls based on 'beauty' and sexual desirability as well as a broader socio-economic context in which believing in one's right to consent freely was unlikely to translate into the ability to do this in practice. Lastly, the chapter explores the role of institutional dynamics and accountability structures on shaping the nature of gender-based violence programmes.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Chapter Nine brings together the research findings by research question in order to make conclusions about what the research shows in relation to each question.The first four research questions focus on the data directly from the study, whereas, the final two questions are concerned with the broader learnings in relation to education, violence prevention and institutions. Chapter Nine deepens and expands earlier analysis of these broader learnings and finishes by summarising the key findings from both conceptual and practical standpoints.

Chapter Two: Beyond 'victims' and 'heroines': constructing 'girlhood' in international development[1]

Introduction

October 11th 2012 saw the first ever International Day of the Girl Child, mandated by the United Nations and advocated for by a range of international NGOs. The introduction of this day is a symbolic marker of the extent to which 'girls', as distinct from the adult category 'woman' or the purportedly gender-neutral categories 'child' or 'youth', have become a target for international action. Indeed, the establishment of a day for girls follows on from a growing wave of attention to girls within international development including the UN Decade of the Girl Child 1991-2001. The official theme for 2012 was 'ending child marriage'. Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General, said in his official statement of the day that 'Child marriage divorces girls from opportunity. It jeopardises health, increases exposure to violence and abuse, and results in early and unwanted pregnancies' and that 'education for girls is one of the best strategies for protecting girls' (Ban, 2012). In this way, the theme was able to bring together a number of issues relating to education, health and violence. The day was well promoted by a range of organisations, yet the official theme was not taken up by all of them. For example, Plan International, one of the prime instigators, promoted it with the tagline 'take action to help millions of girls complete their education and fulfill their potential'. Similarly, DFID (2012), focused on schooling for girls, stating:

> We know that getting girls into school begins a chain reaction of further benefits. Educated girls and women have better maternal health, fewer and healthier children and increased economic opportunities.

This movement from a focus on girls, to a focus on girls' schooling to a focus on the instrumentalist benefits of this and a depiction of girls as future mothers is not new (Burman, 2005: Croll, 2007: Fennell and Arnot, 2009). Similarly, the language of 'the girl-child', which is present in the official title of the day, has been criticised by these authors for the passive, essentialist and homogenising picture it paints. Thus, whilst the increased attention girls are receiving is

---

[1] A version of this chapter has been published and can be cited as Cobbett, M (2014) 'Beyond 'victims' and 'heroines': constructing 'girlhood' in international development' *Progress in Development Studies* 14(4) p1-12

[2] Other issues that have received some attention include child marriage (Quattara, Sen and

welcome, the messages about girls that are being conveyed suggests a need to consider the way 'girlhood' is being constructed within international development.

Indeed, whilst receiving increasing attention from international organisations, unlike 'gender and development', which now has a relatively lengthy history and a body of theory behind it, the attention girls have received has not been well theorised within development studies. Whilst girls do appear in academic literature in relation to specific issues, the category 'girl' has been taken for granted rather than conceptualised or deconstructed. Therefore, this chapter aims to reflect on the emergence of girls as a focus of concern, analysing the reasons why girls have received attention at different times and by different actors. Starting with a broad analysis of the new attention girls are receiving will provide a useful backdrop for understanding the context in which WAGGGS emerged as a girls' empowerment NGO. Following Cornwall and Brock's (2005: 1056) assertion that 'words build worlds' and therefore 'struggles over meaning are not just about semantics', particular attention will be paid to the way girls have been constructed by different actors and the consequences of this for girls. Within the field of gender and development, there has been substantial attention to the, often instrumentalist, reasons why gender issues have been taken up by development actors and the way women have been constructed by them (Jackson, 1996: Molyneux, 2006: Cornwall, et al 2007). Additionally, research on girls in academia outside of development studies has grown phenomenally in recent years (Kearney, 2008) in what is becoming known as 'girlhood studies'. Insights from these two bodies of literature provide a useful starting point for analysing attention to girls within the international development arena.

Following this, the main part of this chapter will be divided into two sections: the first looking at girls' education and the second on girls, HIV and violence within intimate relationships. These issues have been chosen as literature searches and policy analysis suggests these are the prime areas on which international development actors have been focusing when they talk about girls. Whilst these

are not the *only* areas[2] in which girls have received attention, the extent of international attention to them suggests that understanding why these issues have received widespread support and how girls have been constructed in relation to them has particular salience. Alongside analysis of literature, the chapter will reflect on my own experiences of working with girls in Kenya and Sierra Leone. It will be argued that these two areas of focus reveal some very different, but also overlapping, depictions of girls. Chronologically first, the concern, driven by UN bodies and international aid agencies since the 1990s, to educate 'the girl-child' has been largely for instrumental reasons, with a focus on how girls can aid development rather than visa versa. The disproportionately high rates of HIV infection amongst adolescent girls in sub-Saharan Africa, has been a second reason for the focus on girls, leading to a wealth of research on adolescent girls' sexual relationships which has drawn particular attention to experiences of violence and coercion. This focus has far less instrumentalist roots, however, both areas of focus are infused with problematic constructions of girls as 'victims' and 'heroines'. Whilst drawing attention to the inequities girls experience (the victim depiction) and the potential of girls to contribute to society (the heroine depiction) are strategically useful and contain truth, these constructions also prevent more nuanced understanding of the complexity and diversity of girls lives and perceptions. This, I argue, has negative implications for development practice.

Intellectual legacies: 'gender and development' and 'girlhood studies'

Gender, within international development, has had remarkable success in moving from a marginal concern to an institutionalised part of the development apparatus, however, gender issues are often taken up by international organisations as far as they constitute a means to other ends (Jackson, 1996). Thus women are granted attention by being constructed as the bulk of the world's poor (Jackson, 1996), bringing women into positions of political power is based on constructions of women as inherently peaceful and less corrupt than men (Goetz, 2007) and constructions of women as altruistic have been

---

[2] Other issues that have received some attention include child marriage (Quattara, Sen and Thomson, 1998: Singh and Samara, 1996) female-genital mutilation (Toubia and Sharief, 2003) and health inequalities relating to nutritional intake and immunisations (Borooah, 2004).

capitalised on to make use of women's labour in a diverse range of projects (Brickell and Chant, 2010). These constructions matter at different levels; discursively they encode essentialisms, but they also have real material impact by leading to interventions that are irrelevant or detrimental to women. Molyneux (2006), referring to the instrumentalist attention women receive, describes women as 'conduits of policy' because resources given to them are expected to translate into benefits for their families, rather than primarily for themselves.

Using the concept of 'myth' Cornwall et al (2007) explore the potency of these constructions of women. Myth is understood, not merely as falsehood, but as ideas 'which nourish and sustain conviction' and 'lend political convictions the sense of direction that is needed to inspire action' (ibid, p5). Thus stylised facts about women's peacefulness, poverty or endless altruism are held dear for their capacity to move, inspire and galvanise support. They argue that feminists are also in the business of myth making, both for pragmatic reasons of seeking to influence, but also due to personal emotional attachment that makes these myths difficult to confront. Yet such myths are a far cry from the reality of women's lives. Whilst the mismatch between these myths and women's lives has now been well acknowledged, constructions of girls seem yet to have been subject to this scrutiny.

Whilst girls have received limited attention within development studies, recent years have seen an explosion of academic research on girls' lives in what is becoming known as 'girlhood studies' with academic material being published on girls doubling in the period 2000-2005 (Kearney, 2008). The field has its roots in several disciplines and seminal works include Walkerdine (1991) and Hey (1997) from the field of education, McRobbie (1990, 2009), Driscoll (2002) and Walkerdine et al (2002) from the field of cultural studies and Lees (1993) and Tolman (2005) writing on girls' sexuality. This new body of research includes studies conducted in both the Global North and South and by researchers from diverse geographical locations. It is not the intension to provide a review of all this literature here, and neither am I claiming that it comprises a coherent unitary body of literature. However, there are some general

characteristics of this body of work which are useful to draw attention to. Kearney (2008) in her review of the field, highlights several important factors, namely the holistic focus on girls' lives, the interdisciplinary nature of the field and the view of girls that does not focus on them as future adult women but as their own demographic group. A fourth aspect which I argue is distinctive of the field, and which is particularly salient to the themes of this chapter, is an avoidance of portraying girls either as passive victims or as especially 'good' or 'innocent'. Thus whilst inequalities girls experience are highlighted, researchers have simultaneously brought to light diverse issues such as girls' use of violence in South Africa (Bhana, 2008), girls' peer group conflicts in the UK (Ringrose, 2008) and girls' struggles for popularity in the UK (Read et al, 2011) and Antigua (Cobbett, 2012). Writing about instrumentalism and myth making in development studies, Cornwall et al (2007:14) comment on the lack of studies which show that 'women may not be as nice, peaceful, harmonious and caring as gender myths and feminist fables would have us believe'. This new wave of academic interest in girls is, therefore, novel in that it is challenging such essentialisms, without compromising on an explicit political commitment to unmasking inequality and promoting equality. How such framings of girlhood compare to the depictions of girls by development actors will be explored.

Schooling the girl-child heroine: girls working for development

An explosion of interest in girls started in the 1990's, spearheaded in particular by UNICEF, and almost exclusively centered around promoting schooling for girls (Croll, 2007). Thus in thinking about why development actors are interested in girls, a focus on girls' schooling is the appropriate starting point. Charting this emerging interest, Croll (2007: 1288) states:

> 'it is my own experience that any reference to the girl child almost invariably slips into a discussion of girls' education, so that the cause of girls is almost invariably defined in these narrow terms'

This conflation of issues is apparent today. Indeed within UNICEF's thematic categorisation of issues 'gender equality', rather than constituting a cross-cutting issue, falls under the category of 'basic education and gender equality' as if these form an obvious pairing in a way gender and other issues do not. Whilst schooling for girls may be a worthy goal, the slippage between 'education' and

'formal schooling' and between 'formal schooling' and 'girls' empowerment' requires attention, as do the reasons why girls' education has been so popular within international policy arenas.

In 1992, Lawrence Summers, Vice-president of the World Bank, stated that 'investment in the education of girls may well be the highest return investment available in the developing world today' (UNICEF, 1999). This statement provides an apt demonstration of the thinking that characterised interest in girls' schooling at this time. Organisations such as the World Bank, UNICEF and UNFPA, working within a human capital perspective, became interested in girls as an untapped resource and came to see girls' schooling as a key to reducing fertility, improving child health and reducing child mortality. For example, UNICEF stated that 'a 10 percentage point increase in girls' primary enrolment can be expected to decrease infant mortality by 4.1 deaths per 1,000' (UNICEF, 1999: 7) whilst UNFPA stated that seven years of schooling leads to girls having 2.2 fewer children (UNFPA, 1990). Thus as Burman (1995: 29) states in relation to girls' schooling ''the girl child' is regarded as an incipient woman, and thus a future mother'.

These instrumentalist arguments for focusing on girls' schooling have been well critiqued (Longwe, 1998: Heward, 1999: Jeffrey and Jeffrey, 1999: Fennell and Arnot, 2009). Jeffrey and Jeffrey (1999) problematise the way girls' schooling came to be seen as a 'silver bullet' for population control, showing instead that the relationship between fertility and schooling is more complex and contextually specific than such agendas suggest. They also, along with others, critique the assumption that schooling is unequivocally 'a good thing' for girls or somehow automatically empowering. Pertinent questions are raised about girls' experiences of school and the impact of gendered curricula and pedagogy on girls. Writing now a decade later, a growing body of literature does exist documenting girls' qualitative experiences of schooling, which has highlighted how gender inequalities may be perpetuated rather than eliminated by schools (Mirembe and Davies, 2001: Pattman and Chege, 2003: Dunne et al, 2006). Some of this work falls within a girlhood studies framework with its emphasis on listening to girls, identity construction and agency in the midst of inequality.

Indeed, this work does seem to have impacted at the policy level with recent UN initiatives such as the United Nations Girls Education Initiative (UNGEI), which was launched in 2000 and is ongoing, citing improving educational quality and combating violence in schools as core aims alongside improving access and retention for girls.

Given that the agenda around gender, education and development is already expanding, one may ask why it is necessary to turn a critical eye to the construction of girls within international attention to girls schooling? I argue that this is necessary for three reasons. Firstly, as literature promoting the Day of the Girl Child indicated, instrumentalist arguments for supporting girls schooling are still common currency (see also, Plan, 2007: Tembon and Fort, 2008: Chaaban and Cunningham, 2011) and thus require further attention. Secondly, whilst specific aspects of instrumentalism have been critiqued and the need for attention to girls' experiences of school accepted, the broader 'myths' used to promote girls schooling, the constructions of girls they are based on and the impact of these constructions have not received sufficient attention. Croll (2007) and Fennell and Arnot (2009) have problematised the language of 'the girl-child' that pervades discourse on girls schooling, highlighting the way it infantilises and homogenises girls, constructing them as without agency and requiring rescue. This critique of the 'victim' image of girls is important, but a critique of the 'heroine' image of girls is equally so.

Girls schooling is often promoted by reference to the now popular adage 'to educate a boy is to educate an individual but to educate a girl is to educate a nation'. There is strong resonance between the construction of girls here and constructions of women as altruistic, uncorrupt and peace loving described earlier. Girls are constructed as especially worthy targets for schooling because of their 'goodness' and 'selflessness' in contrast to boys. Whilst conducting research in Sierra Leone[3] in 2007-2008, such messages about girls were aired on the radio almost daily in an effort to mobilise support for girls' education. However, the way in which these messages impacted upon young people was

---

[3] The research was commissioned by Concern Worldwide and was an investigation of gender-based violence in schools in the Tonkolili District of Sierra Leone.

concerning. Conducting focus-groups in primary and secondary schools, I was struck by the frequency and certainty with which both girls and boys told me that it is more important to educate girls because girls will help their families, whereas boys are naturally selfish and irresponsible and will therefore only spend increased earnings resulting from schooling on themselves. It seems here that the messages aimed at promoting schooling for girls inadvertently embedded these perceptions in young people. Whilst it would be simplistic to assume that responses given in focus-groups constituted the whole 'truth' about students' views and behavior, the legitimisation of irresponsibility amongst boys and the encouragment of increased burdens amongst girls clearly has an unhealthy impact on gender relations. The lack of attention to this impact is perhaps a broader feature of approaches to working with girls that take the individual girl as a unit of analysis, failing to see that individual well-being is relationally constituted.

Thirdly, I argue that the continuing hegemony in which schooling for girls is considered 'a good thing' disrupts our ability to 'hear' girls and blurs understandings of empowerment. To illustrate, the website The Girl Effect[4] features a diagram outlining two choices for girls' lives. In the first scenario the girl 'gets a chance' meaning 'she gets educated, stays HIV negative, marries when she chooses [and] raises a healthy family'. In contrast, in the second scenario in which she does not go to school 'she is illiterate, married off, is isolated, is pregnant [and] vulnerable to HIV'. The factual inaccuracy of these scenarios does not need stating and other organisations may take a more subtle line, however, this depiction of 'two scenarios' in which schooling girls is equal to empowering them seems to be almost common place. The 'victim' and 'heroine' images of girls are very apparent in these depictions, with formal schooling, made possible by international aid, constructed as the way in which the 'girl-child' can be turned from one to the other. A small body of research troubles this notion of schooling at a more general level. Fennel and Arnot (2009) critique the hegemony of formal schooling in contrast to other types of

---

[4] The Girl Effect was started by a coalition of organisations including the Nike Foundation, the NoVa Foundation, the United Nations Foundation and the Centre for Adolescent Girls. It describes itself as a 'movement' aiming to raise awareness of the 'potential of adolescent girls to end poverty for themselves and the world'.

education, whilst Thin (2009) points out that 'universal *compulsory* basic schooling involves mass-scale restrictions on the choices that might otherwise be available' (p3). The conflation of schooling with empowerment has prevented awareness that some girls (or boys) might not choose school, which is ironic given that empowerment, a fuzzy concept though it is, is at its core about the ability make choices (Kabeer, 1999).

My own experiences working in rural Kenya[5] led me to reflect on these relationships. For example, the family I lived with were committed to the education of girls, yet two of the family's daughters had dropped out of school during the primary years after becoming pregnant. When I enquired about the circumstances surrounding this I was told by their brother that he strongly urged them to return to school and had been prepared to financially support their education but they chose not to. When I spent time with the two women I witnessed how content they were with their decisions as a life of farming, marriage and motherhood was exactly what they aspired to and what brought them happiness. In another instance, I asked a girl why she was not attending school to be given the reply that she did not have money for school shoes. After offering to give her shoes I discovered that she did not really wish to go to school, but felt she must indicate such a desire to me since 'good girls' wished to go to school[6]. My point here is not to assess whether these girls should or should not have been at school, rather it is to illustrate how the stories that are told about girls in order to promote the agenda of girls' schooling serve to silence the voices of girls who have different ambitions, and these voices need to be listened to. By repeating stories of girl-child-heroines who long to go to school in order to help their families we essentialise a particular construction of girlhood which narrows the kind of attention which girls receive. We saw earlier that the 2012 Day of the Girl Child is being promoted with taglines about girls schooling despite the official theme of ending child marriage, this is perhaps indicative of the way in

---

[5] I worked in a project management role on a girls' education project for NGO Teach a Man to Fish in Nyanza Province, Kenya in 2008-2009.

[6] Many girls in this context demonstrated a striking awareness of what they 'ought' to say about their feelings about school. It is for this reason that it seems appropriate to share these informal (arguably anecdotal) conversations, since, I argue, these ambiguous feelings would be unlikely to be voiced in a formal research setting, but were accessible by building informal relationships over time.

which agendas for girls have been reduced to ensuring access to basic schooling, due to the conflation of this with empowerment.

Young women negotiating sexual relationships: girls, HIV prevalence and violence

Globally young women aged 15-24 are the most vulnerable to HIV infection with prevalence rates twice that of men in the same age group (UNAIDS, 2011). This trend has now been recognised for more than a decade and has forced the international community to focus on girls, particularly within the countries of sub-Saharan Africa which are most affected by HIV and AIDS. Indeed it has often been said that HIV/AIDS is a 'feminised epidemic' (Unterhalter, Boler and Aikman, 2008).This trend has led to a wealth of research on adolescent girls' sexual relationships (for example, Machel, 2001: Reddy and Dunne, 2007: Jewkes and Morrell, 2012) as well as a smaller body of research on the sexual knowledge and experiences of primary school age children (Pattman and Chege, 2003: McLaughlin et al, 2012).

This section will explore constructions of girls and their needs within the growing attention to girls' sexual relationships. Firstly, one key outcome of this research is a growing awareness of violence against girls as a key area of concern. A range of research, concentrated particularly in Africa, has highlighted that girls are subject to physical violence, sexual coercion and rape within their intimate relationships (Wood and Jewkes, 1997: Erulkar, 2004: Wood et al, 2007) as well being vulnerable to violence from boys and men in their schools and communities more generally (George and Finburg, 2001: Dunne et al, 2006). In South Africa, rates of violence have been found to be alarmingly high with a study by Jewkes (2001) finding that 72% of pregnant teenagers and 60% of non-pregnant teenagers reporting having been forced to have sex against their wishes. Prior to this recent wave of research, violence in intimate relationships was largely seen as a problem affecting adult women rather than girls. Slowly, however, this research seems to be leading to shifts with talk of 'violence against women and girls' becoming more common and this shift is indeed welcome. Attention to girls' sexual relationships and to violence has far less instrumentalist roots than attention to girls' schooling, since it was awareness of girls' high rates

of HIV infection, an issue directly about girls that led to this concern. However, thinking in this area is also beset with myth making and assumptions which limit the effectiveness of approaches to tackling violence and HIV risk.

On the one hand, a range of nuanced, qualitative academic research, aligned with the 'girlhood studies' literature, has drawn attention to the complexity of power dynamics in girls' relationships and to the agency that girls are able to exercise within conditions of inequality (Reddy and Dunne, 2007: Wood et al, 2007: Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). Reddy and Dunne (2007), focusing on young women's constructions of their sexual identities in South Africa, argue that the importance young women placed on being loved meant that it was requesting to use a condom that was constructed as 'risky behaviour', rather than practising unprotected sex, since condom use was seen as jeopardising love from a partner. Jewkes and Morrell (2012), also researching in South Africa, highlight the areas in which young women were able to exercise agency in their relationships, such as choosing and attracting partners. However, they also show that whilst the women believed violence to be wrong and desired non-violent relationships, agency was often severely compromised within relationships and the need to be heterosexually desired within conceptions of successful femininity was one factor preventing the women from avoiding violence. They conclude that efforts to empower young women through education have:

> 'failed to acknowledge the sexual and emotional agendas of
> women, particularly the extent to which women accept a surrender
> of power in order to meet cultural expectations of 'good' women'
> (p1736).

Thus this research highlights that it is not only that young women lack knowledge or lack agency, but also that normative constructions of femininity, to which women may actively aspire, lead risky or coercive practices to be tolerated. Reddy and Dunne (2007) make the important point that while girls are a dominant focus of intervention, young femininities, unlike masculinities, have received very little research attention. Yet, as their research clearly demonstrates, interventions designed to empower girls to be free from violence need to engage with girls' constructions of femininity.

In the research described above, young women and girls are seen as sexual beings who experience pleasure from their relationships and have hopes and desires for them, alongside and intertwined with experiences of violence and coercion. As Jewkes and Morrell (2012) argue, recognising these aspects is necessary to building relevant violence prevention and sexual health programmes. The extent to which these insights have impacted upon thinking about girls by international development actors is uncertain. Instead, attention to girls in these areas remains pervaded by constructions of girls as non-sexual, as passive victims of male advances and as responsible for ensuring safe sexual behaviour.

Unterhalter et al (2008) analyse documents from the UNAIDS led Inter-Agency Task Team (IATT) on Aids and Education and critique the essentialism that is apparent in simplistic generalisations of girls and women as *only* vulnerable and subordinate and boys and men as *only* violent and dominant. Furthemore, looking at the UNICEF reports on girls and violence (UNICEF 2008, UNICEF, 2009) it is striking that neither report makes any mention of violence occurring within adolescent girls' sexual relationships. Forced marriage is discussed, alongside many other types of violence, but a construction of girls as sexual agents who may experience violence within the context of relationships they have chosen to enter into is absent. Whilst officially the reports define 'girls' as those under the age of 18, it is the childlike that is emphasised, and as children girls are seen only as victims. The 2008 report takes a clear structuralist approach to violence:

> 'violence is used in cultures around the world as a way to both preserve and maintain women's subordinate status *vis à vis* men. In other words, acts of violence against women are both an expression of and a way to reinforce male domination – not just over individual women, but women as a whole class of people' (UNICEF, 2008: 18).

Whilst gendered violence clearly does need to be seen as reinforcing structural inequality, this monolithic depiction of gendered power relations leaves little space for understanding the diverse experiences and motivations of individuals.

Within sexual health interventions girls are often constructed as having particular responsibility for ensuring safe behavior based on constructions that they are more responsible and less interested in sex (Njue and Kiragu, 2006). Within

public HIV/AIDS awareness raising materials across Africa this targeting of girls and young women has been particularly prevalent. For example, a USAID poster used in Zambia reads 'A real woman puts her future ahead of sexual relationships: a real woman waits' whilst a poster in Uganda states 'She's keeping herself for marriage. What about you?' (AVERT, 2012). Commenting on the conception of HIV/AIDS as a 'feminised epidemic', Unterhalter et al (2008: 11) argue that it is 'immensely problematic, in that it associates the actions of women rather than men with the epidemic'. This critique seems pertinent in relation to such messages targeted at girls and women. As with the messages used to promote girls' schooling based on girls' selflessness, these messages aimed at HIV prevention seem likely to perpetuate and legitimise male irresponsibility. The way girls are targeted within HIV prevention programmes has been well critiqued, often in relation to the lack of choices girls may actually have about when they have sex. Taking a different tact, Ansell (2009) troubles the conflation of encouraging girls to abstain with empowering them to make choices and develop assertiveness, she states that 'it is, of course, ironic that girls who are assertive and know what they want, might actually want sex' (p30). Thus, as we saw in the previous section on girls schooling, talk of 'empowering girls' here too has been used to mean getting girls to make particular choices desired by other actors.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored some of the reasons why international development actors have been paying increasing attention to girls in recent years. To do this, a detailed analysis of the two areas about which most of the attention girls have received has been related to was undertaken. Both areas, related to education and to HIV risk and violence, are important areas of concern and international attention to them is therefore welcomed. However, analysis of the reasons for this attention and the way girls have been depicted within it suggest that, as with the initial incorporation of gender issues into mainstream development, attention to girls has also been riddled with instrumentalism, myths and essentialism.

Schooling for girls has perhaps been *the* key issue that has led to international attention to girls in the Global South. Yet, as others had previously argued, the reason for this attention has had instrumentalist roots, with schooling for girls

being seen as a ticket to smaller families, improved child health and economic growth. Despite earlier criticism, such arguments are still common currency. Additionally, some other, neglected, concerns have been highlighted about the ways in which girls and their needs have been constructed within efforts to promote schooling. Firstly, by relying on myths of girls' selflessness, rather than framing equal access as an issue of social justice, ideas of irresponsible boys and over burdened girls are perpetuated and legitimised. This matters, not just at the level of discourse, but because it has real impact on girls' lives. When schooling is promoted in reference to girls' selflessness it is the 'heroine' depiction of girlhood that is mobilised. In contrast, when girls outside of formal schooling are depicted as automatically disempowered it is the 'victim' image of girlhood that is depicted. This critique is perhaps the hardest to make, since it could easily be interpreted as providing an excuse to neglect the moral imperative to ensure equal access to school for both girls and boys. Yet I believe it must be made. Whilst 'education' is unequivocally a good thing, the slippage between 'education, and 'formal schooling' is a significant one. My point here, however, has not been to debate the relevance of formal schooling to girls in different parts of the world. Instead, it has been to demonstrate that the hegemony with which unschooled girls have been depicted as disempowered and empowerment conflated with schooling has essentialised a narrow construction of girls' needs and disrupted our ability to hear girls' voices.

Chronologically, the second major reason for attention to girls by international development actors has been a realisation of the disproportionally high rates of HIV infection amongst adolescent girls. This trend led to a wide range of research on adolescent sexual relationships, particularly within sub-Saharan Africa. One important outcome of this is a growing recognition of violence against girls as a key area of concern. Attention to violence is urgently needed, however, there are some clear discrepancies between detailed qualitative research on girls and young women's experiences of violence and the way in which the issue has been taken up by UN agencies. Here, depictions of girls as passive victims remain all too common. Whilst within HIV prevention efforts, the 'heroine girl' re-emerges, taking responsibility for ensuring safe and moral behavior. As within the field of girls' education, empowerment here too has been constructed as getting girls to make particular kinds of choices, which if they do

not make, they will be rendered victims in the international imagination.

It is not hard to see the strategic value that some of these myths about girls may hold. Telling stories about girls who will use their schooling to help their families clearly have more use value in mobilising much need resources for under funded education sectors than stories of girls who have ambivalent feelings about school. Both kinds of stories are clearly true for some girls, and my argument is not that one kind of story should be replaced with another. Instead, it is that development studies, as it has done with women, needs to pay greater attention to the myths and assumptions that pervade attention to girls and the impacts these might have on development practice. Girls have already been the subjects of much illuminating academic research both in the Global North and South, and greater engagement between 'girlhood studies' and 'development studies' would be advantageous. In particular, the themes explored in this paper highlight a need for approaches which do not turn girls into either 'victims' or 'heroines' to justify attention to their rights and needs, for approaches which take a gender relational approach, recognising that perpetuating norms of male irresponsibility will not help girls and for approaches which take a holistic focus on girls' lives.

Understanding the context in which attention to girls has emerged and the divergence between detailed qualitative research on girls' experiences of violence and the way in which UN agencies and NGOs have addressed violence against girls provides an indication of the need to critically examine the way the Stop the Violence project is constructed and then implemented by WAGGGS and KGGA at different levels. This question will be returned to in Chapter Five, which provides a description of the research process and my interactions with the two organisations.

Chapter Three: Education, violence and social change

Introduction

This chapter will review literature on, and conceptualise, the relationships between education, gender transformative change and violence prevention. The first part of the chapter will examine different approaches to violence prevention, focusing in more detail on efforts to prevent violence through community interventions to alter gendered norms, attitudes and behaviours. While much of this work could be classed as 'education', it has mostly been addressed within public health or community development literature and does not necessarily make explicit reference to theory and methods from education. After reviewing the literature on violence prevention efforts, the second part of the chapter will discuss the relevance of working with girls (or women) as opposed to boys or men to prevent violence. This section will theorise the kind of change that should be aimed for and what girls might need from a programme aiming to empower them to be free from violence. The third part of the chapter will examine educational theory specifically, exploring what this research adds to our understanding of change. Looking back at the research objectives, it is important to remember that two distinct types of change are being examined: 1) changes to girls' internal worlds (sense of self, identity, beliefs about gender and violence) and 2) changes to girls' external worlds (ability to claim rights and exercise empowerment). Therefore, the potential for interventions to lead to both internal and external change will be examined.

Violence prevention

Efforts to prevent gendered violence could be broadly classified into those that involve some form of change to legislation or policy, those that involve structural changes to women's economic circumstances and those that attempt to change culture and attitudes. There is not space to review literature on these first two strategies comprehensively, however, some key debates will be introduced here in order to situate the study within broader work on preventing gendered violence.

Legislative change and rights

Legislative change has been shown to be a necessary, but not sufficient means to prevent violence. In the case of India, Rajan (2003:23) argues that 'it is ironically the conspicuous success of the women's movement in the field of legal reform that led to the doubts about its efficacy as a strategy'. Similar disappointment with the lack of change brought about by progressive legislation has been recorded in other contexts including South Africa (Usdin et al, 2000: Meintjes, 2003), El Salvador (Hume, 2009) and Cambodia (Brickell, 2015). Many writers have showed that legislative change will not be effective without cultural change because legislation has to be translated locally and implemented by state agents who are themselves bearers of gendered cultural attitudes (Agnes, 1992: Calman, 1992). Conceptualising these processes, legal anthropologist Moore (1978) argues that while law is often seen as controlling society, the reverse argument that society controls law can also be convincingly made. Laws aim to affect social arrangements which already have their own rules and norms and the law is not necessarily stronger than the social arrangement. To explore these processes Moore (1978:56) uses the concept of 'semi-autonomous social fields' which are arenas which have 'rule making capacities and the means to induce or coerce compliance: but..(are) simultaneously set in a larger social matrix which can, and does, affect and invade it'. However, she argues that the relationship is not one way, with law also having the discursive power to affect social norms. In this way, law can be seen as creating an enabling institutional environment for preventing gendered violence, but cannot accomplish the task alone. Cornwall and Molyneux (2007: 1182 italics in original) state that: 'rights are not in themselves transformative (…) it is *how* rights come to be framed and claimed that defines their potential'. This highlights the connection between law and rights with local level education projects that (potentially) allow rights to be 'framed and claimed' in transformative ways.

Economic Empowerment

In the long term, economic empowerment of women and girls is an important aspect of reducing vulnerability to violence since women with independent assets

are more likely to be able to leave a violent relationship (Heise, 2011). In many African contexts transactional sexual relationships are a common way for girls and young women to acquire resources and negotiating power can be severely diminished in these relationships (see Luke and Kurz, 2002 for a review). In these contexts, economic empowerment may also enable the avoidance of relationships characterised by economic dependence, thus helping to reduce violence in these relationships (Machel, 2001). However, theory and empirical research suggests that the short-term impact of girl's and women's economic empowerment on the likelihood of violence may be more complex. On the one hand, increases to girls' and women's income could have the potential to increase their status and value within households and relationships, thus reducing the likelihood of violence (Yilo and Biograd, 1998). On the other hand, increases in status can be perceived as threatening to male partners and result in increased risk of violence (MacMillan and Gartner, 1999). A review of literature on the impact of women's economic empowerment projects in low and middle income countries (Vyas and Watts, 2008) suggests that both of these theories apply in different contexts since some programmes decreased women's risk of violence and others increased it. The risk of conflict and violence stemming from advancement does not necessarily only apply to married or co-habiting adult women. In relation to girls, a government policy in Sierra Leone to assist girls by providing free secondary education for girls (but not for boys) demonstrated similar effects. In some areas, the policy appeared to lead to increased incidence of sexual violence against girls perpetrated by out-of-school boys who were anxious, threatened and angry at girls' advancement and preferential treatment (UNICEF, 2008). Again, this demonstrates the need for such interventions to be accompanied by cultural change if they are to reduce women and girls' vulnerability to violence.

Changing attitudes and norms

This section will look at previous interventions aiming to prevent violence through instigating some kind of attitudinal change or transformation of gendered norms. Broadly, there are three types of interventions that fall into this category. Firstly, there are awareness raising communications and advocacy campaigns. These are often large scale such as the UN's 'UNITE to end violence

against women' platform or Amnesty International's 'Say NO to violence against women'. Such campaigns are generally seen as too general and lacking in intensity to bring about individual behaviour change, but are useful in providing a framework in which to mobilise local level efforts (Heise, 2011). Secondly, there are 'edutainment' interventions, which aim to educate through entertainment. These include radio and TV shows which educate about gendered violence by incorporating it into the story lines of dramas and soap operas. The most well know example of this is Soul City in South Africa with other well regarded initiatives including Breakthrough in India and Puntos de Encventro in Nicaragua. This approach has also been used in Kenya through the TV series Shugar. Drama has been seen as effective for its ability generate emotional engagement with characters and to portray complex scenarios and interventions which are a stark contrast to the largely didactic 'just say no' messages of international campaigns (WHO, 2010: Heise, 2011). Researching the actual impact of edutainment interventions on the prevention of violence is difficult. However, a large scale survey combined with qualitative focus-groups conducted to evaluate Soul City in South Africa did demonstrate a range of positive changes in viewers' attitudes towards domestic violence as well as knowledge about how to access support services (Usdin et al, 2005). Thirdly, there are community level interventions that aim to engender change through small group activities or workshops that provide opportunity for learning and reflection on issues of gender and violence. This kind of intervention will be discussed and reviewed in greater deal since this is the theme which the Voices Against Violence curriculum fits into.

Changing norms through community educational interventions

This kind of intervention is sometimes known as 'gender transformative programming'. I would class all of this type of intervention as 'non-formal education'; however, much of this work is conducted outside of the discipline of education and does not make reference to educational theory or methods, which as will be shown, has important implications for the kind of knowledge that we have about the effectiveness of these interventions. In contrast, interventions that have targeted young people have been conducted almost exclusively within

formal schools. However, research on these interventions has still largely been conducted within the field of health.

Heise (2011), in her comprehensive review of literature on preventing intimate partner violence, states that sophisticated work to challenge gender norms is surprisingly rare and interventions that have been rigorously evaluated are even more so. In the Global South, three programmes that have generally been considered to have received the most sophisticated research attention (Heise, 2011: Abramsky et al, 2012) and have also demonstrated positive impact, are the IMAGE project working with women in South Africa (Pronyk et al, 2006: Kim et al, 2007: Pronyk et al, 2008), the Stepping Stones project working with women and men in multiple countries (Jewkes et al, 2007: Jewkes et al, 2008: Kesby et al, 2002) and Project H and M working with young men and women respectively in Latin America (Barker, 2003: Ricardo et al, 2010). The first two examples are seen as meeting the scientific 'gold standard' since the research involves Cluster Randomised Trials (CRT's).

The IMAGE project in South Africa aimed to reduce women's HIV risk behaviour, empower women and promote gender equality. To do this it combined a series of participatory NFE sessions exploring topics of gender norms, sexuality and violence with a micro-finance intervention to facilitate economic empowerment. Quantitative data from surveys indicated that women who participated in the intervention were more likely to access VCT services, less likely to have had unprotected sex with their last non-spousal partner and reported a 55% reduction in intimate partner violence in the last year (Pronyk et al, 2008). Data indicated that reductions in violence were because women were able to challenge the acceptability of violence, they expected and demanded better treatment and they left abusive relationships if they did not receive it (Kim et al, 2007). These reasons indicate the importance of combining an educational intervention which promotes subjective changes to beliefs, confidence and self-worth with a structural intervention which puts women in an economic position to leave a relationship if violence cannot be challenged within it.

The Stepping Stones curriculum was developed by ActionAid (Welborn, 1995), originally for use in Uganda, but it has since been adapted and used in multiple countries. The project aims to improve sexual health by using participatory learning approaches to build knowledge, risk awareness and communication skills and to stimulate critical reflection (Jewkes et al, 2008). The curriculum incorporates gender issues throughout including sessions explicitly on gendered violence. The curriculum is designed to be used with groups of men and women separately but concurrently. In South Africa it has been subject to CRT (Jewkes, 2007: 2008) and it has been qualitatively researched in Zimbabwe (Kesby et al, 2002) and the Gambia (Paine et al, 2002). The data from South Africa show that the programme did lead to a reduction in new HIV reductions, although this was not statistically significant (Jewkes, 2007: 2008). Quantitative data showed that according to men's self-reports, a significant reduction in the perpetration of domestic violence had occurred. However, there are clear problems in relying on men's self-reported behaviour and interventions are very likely to change what is thought acceptable to report even if they do not change behaviour. This said, qualitative data from South Africa (Jewkes, 2007) the Gambia (Pain et al, 2002) and Zimbabwe (Kesby, 2002) all indicate that the intervention led to a reduction in domestic violence by facilitating improved communication and dialogue within relationships. The sessions on communication skills and the emphasis on discussing conflicting viewpoints were seen as particularly valuable by participants. Women in Zimbabwe grew in confidence from the opportunity to 'rehearse' empowered performances of gender (Kesby, 2005), whilst men in South Africa benefited from the opportunity to deconstruct gendered norms, learning that 'when a women says no, she means no' (Jewkes, 2007). These evaluations suggest that the approach of Stepping Stones, which included small group, single sex participatory learning and an emphasis on deconstruction and critical reflection as well as knowledge and skills has the potential to lead to change.

Brazilian NGO, Promundo, first started Project H working with young men in Brazil in 1999. Since then the programme has been used across Latin America and the Caribbean as well as in India and an equivalent programme for young women called Project M has also been developed. Project H and M are rare

examples of programmes working with youth *not* in the formal school context that have been researched and evaluated. Both projects include a series of participatory NFE activities including role-play, brainstorming and a video that is used to instigate discussion. The aim is to get young people to think critically about gender socialisation and norms. Project H was evaluated using a survey known as the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale. The data suggests that the project did lead to significant changes to attitude and behavior amongst the male participants. Data from India also showed a statistically significant reduction in men reporting using violence against a partner pre and post intervention. Barker (2003) reflects on the problem of how to know when change has occurred, and argues that their survey is a good measure of change since the surveys can be analyzed for consistency. Indeed, they found that men who demonstrated attitudes that supported gender equality also reported consistent behaviour. However, I would argue that internal consistency in itself does not sufficiently reduce the extent to which participants may be seeking to give desirable answers. The women's programme, Project M was evaluated using a survey designed to measure women's self-efficacy and showed rises in high self-efficacy from 17% and 25% pre-intervention to 45% and 36% post-intervention in Santa Mara and Mare respectively. Women with low self-efficacy before the intervention, however, did not seem to undergo change as a result of the project with rates of low self-efficacy changing only from 26% to 22% in Santa Marta and 25% to 21% in Mare (Ricardo et al, 2010).

Other educational interventions specifically on violence prevention targeted at young people for which there is data about come from school-based interventions largely from the United States (for example, Jaffe, 1992: Suderman and Jaffe, 1993: Krajewski et al, 1996: Hitchin et al, 1998). All these programmes have been evaluated using pre and post intervention questionnaires measuring knowledge and attitudes towards gendered violence. All of them show mixed results or limited positive impacts on attitudes towards gendered violence. Some changes were in the wrong direction, for example Jaffe (1992) found an increase in male attitudes supporting rape after a short term intervention which involved watching a video about the impact of sexual assault on women. Hitchin et al (1998) commenting on this negative change argue that it is not surprising since

attitude backlash can be a common response to interventions which aim to challenge and transform attitudes. Mills (2000) has conducted qualitative research on anti-violence interventions working only with boys in Australian secondary schools. His research demonstrates that some positive change is possible for some boys in some contexts. However, reflecting on his data, he problematises the appropriateness of short-term interventions in Human Relationships Education (HRE) classes. He argues that such time slots in the curriculum are often treated as a joke and that the all male environment could provide an opportunity for the reinforcement of hegemonic masculinity, rather than its demise, depending on the positioning of the male teacher charged with programme delivery.

The IMAGE project, Stepping Stones and Project H and M are all promising in that their evaluations demonstrate impact on attitudes and behaviour. This suggests that the framework of small group, single-sex, participatory workshops aiming to instigate reflection, critical thinking and (in the case of women) empowerment are an effective approach to violence prevention. The extent to which the effectiveness of different interventions can be compared is limited due to the different kinds of data collected, however, there is some indication that non-formal education provides a better arena for violence prevention interventions. The involvement of young children in a NFE programme is a unique and important feature of WAGGGS Voices Against Violence curriculum.

 However, despite positive results and the fact that these are considered the most rigorously researched interventions, I would argue that these research studies are still lacking in what they tell us about processes of change. All of these studies, written largely from a health perspective, have been concerned only with measuring outputs (improved attitudes and behaviours) rather than processes. This tells us little about what actually happened in the educational space and which aspects of the content and pedagogy best facilitated which kinds of change. The 'before and after' data used in these studies does not allow insight into the timeframe or trajectory in which new ideas, skills or discourses were introduced and appropriated by project participants. Indeed, education sometimes appeared as a technical input, and none of these studies included observational

data from the interventions. The data on outputs, while impressive, fails to inform about the experiences of those who did not demonstrate the desired change and the kinds of resistances and contestations that occurred within group discussions. Thus, the research designs prohibit detailed and textured understandings of impact and precise understandings of what a successful intervention entails. Therefore, a significant contribution that my own research makes is to provision rich ethnographic data on how educational messages are received and negotiated and *how* education leads to change. Furthermore, using survey data to measure attitudinal change assumes a somewhat problematic positivist framework in which individuals hold fixed and coherent attitudes. Additionally, as Parkes and Chege (2010) argue, based on their research on gendered violence in African schools, studies which examine acts of violence, without also interrogating the subjective meanings given to those acts generate limited understandings.

Whilst detailed qualitative and ethnographic research on educational projects aiming to prevent violence are not available in the literature, there are a range of studies within the field of gender and education that demonstrate the 'messiness' of attempts to change norms on gender or sexuality (Davies, 1989, 2003: Nayak and Kehily, 2003: Jackson and Weatherall, 2010). For example, Nayak and Kehily's (2002) research highlighted how students subverted the progressive and inclusive ideas presented to them in a 'best practice' HIV/AIDS education video. Similarly, Jackson and Weatherall (2010) use the concepts of 'doing' and 'undoing' gender to explore how students in New Zealand high schools respond to liberal ideas presented by sexuality educators. They show that students drew on multiple of discourses to accept, reject and transform the messages presented. For example, many of the girls took hold of the discourses of rights and ownership of their bodies presented to them by Rape Crisis Educators but the discourses of sexual rights and pleasure were interpreted within the framework of female respectability and thus remained an impossibility. Research by Sundaram (2013) also provides insightful contribution, but takes a slightly different approach and starts with the premise that (some) young people hold views that support violence and that education programmes are not always able to challenge these views. Her research therefore sought to examine in more detail what

behaviours young people consider to constitute 'violence' and which are considered 'deserved', 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable'. The research showed that young women were more likely to blame female victims for the violence they experienced if they perceived the female to have contravened gendered norms. Davies (1989) analyzed discussions with primary school children on their responses to 'feminist fairy tales' she read to them. The girls in her study largely rejected non-traditional images of femininity such as a 'tough' princess, seeing her as 'dirty', 'mean' and 'yucky'. This study was significant in highlighting the ineffectiveness of simply presenting young people with alternative constructs of gender. These studies all provide detailed and nuanced accounts of the way new ideas about gender presented by educators are received and negotiated by young people. Such data on the impact of programmes about violence prevention would greatly add to our understanding of the effectiveness of education in this area.

Another interesting study is Murphy-Graham's (2010) research on women's empowerment in intimate relationships as a result of the non-formal SAT programme in Honduras. Her research does not describe processes within the educational project itself but it provides a detailed analysis of processes of change within women's intimate relationships that occurred at least partly as a result of SAT participation. The SAT project is a non-formal alternative to secondary school education for young women who did not complete secondary education. Women meet in groups of fifteen several times a week for a five year period and are awarded a secondary school diploma at the end of this. The programme takes a critical pedagogy approach encouraging dialogue and problem solving and gender equality issues are mainstreamed throughout the curriculum. Qualitative interviews and ethnographic observations were conducted over the five-year period to explore changes in women's lives. Whilst the project was not about empowerment in women's intimate relationships specifically, impact was explored in relation to this in recognition of the fact that little is known about the impact of women's education on their empowerment in the private sphere. Murphy-Graham describes how many of the women were gradually able to negotiate changes in their intimate relationships such as getting their partners to take responsibility for domestic work. The women attributed

these changes to the skills in communicating and negotiating they gained from SAT as well as their growing levels of confidence and self-belief.

Working with girls to prevent violence

The need for education projects to work with boys and men to challenge and change norms of masculinity that enable or condone violence is fairly self-evident. What an education programme working with girls on the issue of gendered violence actually needs to do is, however, rather more complex. Indeed, suggesting that girls need to change in some way could be interpreted as implying that girls are in part to blame for violence perpetrated against them. This section will explore this question under the headings of knowledge, skills and abilities, beliefs and consciousness and structural change.

Knowledge

One fairly uncontentious aspect of what an education programme would need to do is to provide knowledge about girls' rights to be from violence and recourse to claiming them. As has already been argued, rights need to be translated within local contexts (Cornwall and Molyneux, 2007) and the lack of knowledge girls may have about their legal rights has been observed in many contexts (Merry, 2005). However, as literature from the field of HIV/AIDS education has clearly demonstrated (Coombe and Kelly, 2002: Campbell, 2003) knowledge alone is wildly insufficient to effect change. This said, providing knowledge is not simply a process of transmiting facts, but can be a negotiated process that facilitates critical consciousness (Macaulay, 2002).

Beliefs and consciousness

This is perhaps the area where the most contention occurs. On the one hand, many programmes have had the, sometimes vaguely defined, development of 'critical conciousness' as their aim, while on the other; the assertion that women somehow have beliefs or attitudes that condone violence and that *women's* attitudes need to change is deeply contested. A number of studies such as Uthman et al (2009) and Rani et al (2004), both covering multiple countries in sub-Saharan Africa, suggest that many women believe that male violence against their partners is justified in some circumstances. Schuler and Islam (2008) critique this view based on their research on the topic in Bangladesh. They

conducted a large scale survey, similar to that which had been used in other studies, which did indeed indicate that a high proportion of women believe that it is acceptable for husbands to use violence against their wives. However, when they supplemented the survey with 110 in-depth qualitative interviews a more complex picture emerged. It appeared that women had answered the survey in relation to what they considered as acceptable within their communities, and what they were therefore resigned to accepting, but most women did not themselves personally believe that violence is permissible or justified. This finding fits in with a general critique of 'false consciousness' arguments about women's beliefs that have occurred within the field of gender and development. This said, looking beyond 'wife beating' the subject of these studies, the subtleties of what constitutes violence in intimate relationships is likely to be complex and contested in most contexts. Furthermore, there are many other types of violence affecting girls such as corporal punishment and Female Gential Mutilation (FGM) about which there may be even less consensus as to whether or not they constitute violence (Bodunrin, 1999: Ako and Akweongo, 2009).

Additionally, I would argue, that the question 'do women believe violence is justified' is a severely limited question to be asking in order to understand how sense of self and beliefs may relate to vulnerability to violence. This point is well illustrated by contemporary ethnographic work, some of which was introduced in Chapter Two, exploring coercion in young women's intimate relationships in African contexts (Reddy and Dunne, 2007: Wood et al, 2007: Wood et al, 2008: Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). We saw that Jewkes and Morrell's (2012) research showed that while young women believed violence to be wrong and desired non-violent relationships, the priority given to maintaining the subject position of 'desired female' was one factor making it difficult to end violent relationships. They contended that education programmes rarely take account of young women's social and emotional agendas or provide opportunity for the deconstruction of these. It is this broader issue of how girls' constructions of normative and desirable femininity, rather than their 'faulty beliefs' that I argue education programmes need to engage with in order to promote the kind of subjective change that could reduce vulnerability to violence. The need to make girls' social and emotional agendas the starting point is a important point which

is often neglected. Similarly, research by Wood (et al, 2007, 2008) highlights the complex meanings young South African women and men ascribe to different types of violence and its role in the production of identities. They show again that while young women did not see violence as acceptable as such, a certain degree of 'scripted coercion' in the initiation of sexual relationships was seen as enabling young women to maintain their positionings as 'respectable'. Again, it is these broader gendered norms that require deconstruction.

From outside Africa, research by Sundaram (2013) conducted in UK secondary schools showed that whether young people saw girls as to blame for the violence they experienced depended in part on whether the girl in question was considered to have transgressed gendered norms. This again shows that articulated views about violence are intricately related to girls' constructions of their own feminine identities. My own previous work in Antigua (Cobbett, 2012) which explored the possibilities and costs of subject positions available to girls in Antiguan secondary schools also addressed some of these issues. The research found that girls who had attained the high status subject position of 'beauty' were particularly affected by sexual harassment. These girls complained bitterly about boys' behaviour, yet at the same, within the local gender regime, even unwanted attention from boys was as affirmation of their desirability and integral to their constitution as feminine subjects. This was aptly demonstrated by one girl who said: 'all the boys trouble me but it doesn't bother me because I'm beautiful that is why they trouble me so I don't say anything'. Thus the development of 'critical consciousness' in relation to working with girls on violence prevention needs to have a much broader aim than that of developing awareness of the right to be free from violence; it needs to provide opportunity to deconstruct gendered norms and engage with the desires girls have for their lives and relationships. As Parkes and Chege (2010) state, engaging with these factors also allows for a more agentic understanding of girls' behavior in which girls play a role in producing normative gender regimes.

A second aspect of change to belief relates to beliefs about one's own worth and the quality of life one deserves as well as the sense of efficacy one has to bring about change. This relates to the kind of changes referred to as 'power within' and 'power to' in the women's empowerment literature and was well

demonstrated in the outcomes of some of the interventions discussed earlier. For example, we saw that the women who participated in the IMAGE project had changed in terms of their expectations of good treatment and sense of entitlement to it. This change to beliefs about their worth led the women to negotiate and demand better treatment and to leave relationships if they did not receive it.

Skills and Abilities

Negotiating better treatment of course relates not only to beliefs about one's worth, but also the skill or ability of negotiation and communication. We saw from the qualitative data from the Stepping Stones and SAT projects that women saw the opportunity to improve their communication skills by practicing engaging in dialogue and debate as a key aspect of the programmes that facilitated the reduction of conflict in their relationships. In their theory of change in marital relationships Benjamin and Sullivan (1999) refer to these kind of skills as 'relational resources' and see them as needing to accompany 'gender consciousness' to bring about change. Education curriculums dealing with issues such as violence or sexuality have tended to have a 'skill' focus; within formal schooling they are often part of 'Life Skills' education. However, in many African contexts, as research on HIV/AIDS education has shown (Boler and Aggleton, 2005) actually implementing this 'skill' focus is difficult in classes characterised by large class sizes, few resources and in school contexts where didactic pedagogies are the norm. In such contexts it is likely that knowledge transmission models will prevail. Non-formal contexts, where these are characterised by smaller groups and more opportunity for participation are potentially more likely to provide opportunity for the development of relevant skills.

In relation to the idea of Life Skills education in general, Boler and Aggleton (2005) problematise the rationalist and individualistic underpinnings of skill-based education, assuming as it does that skills such as assertiveness or communication can be taught and straightforwardly be applied to real life situations. Such an approach is seen as simplistic, both because it underplays the structural inequalities that may prohibit the performance of such 'skills' in real life, and because it fails to take account of the meanings that young people attach

to gender and sexuality and the role of these in maintaining inequitable dynamics and risky behaviour. Both of these points are important, and highlight potential pitfalls of an over-emphasis on skills at the expense of other aspects. Nevertheless, I argue that the development of skills constitutes an important component of educating to prevent violence, as long as it remains accompanied by attention to structural change (addressing their first point) and gendered subjectivities and critical consciousness (addressing their second).

Structural Change

For an education programme working with girls or women on gendered violence it is important that attention is also paid to instigating broader political or structural change. In fact, to promote greater gender consciousness if there is no possibility of material change to the participants' situations could even be considered unethical. As the discussion on skills showed, girls and women may be able to affect some changes themselves as a result of the skills developed during an education intervention. However, it is also important not to overstate this ability as this puts unfair responsibility on the victims of violence and ignores the structural inequalities that inhibit individuals' capacities to initiate change. In some cases this can be done in very direct ways, such as the IMAGE project in which a micro-finance initiative accompanied the education component. However, even where this is not possible, education programmes can still move from a focus on the individual to the facilitation of collective action.

This issue is discussed in detail by Monkman et al (2007) in their reflections on the impact of the Tostan Village Empowerment NFE programme in six Malian villages. The Tostan project involves a series of participatory sessions for both men and women on a range of topics from hygiene to women's rights and reproductive health. As a result of the participation a range of grass-root initiatives were started which included action to end FGM in the villages and intervention in cases of domestic violence. The project explicitly included emphasis on moving from knowledge and consciousness raising to planning and organising collective action, thus enabling the project to achieve both subjective and material change in the lives of participants. Monkman et al draw on Rocha's (1997) 'ladder of empowerment' to conceptualise community change. This

model moves from the 'lowest' level of empowerment in which the focus is on the 'atomistic individual' up to the highest two levels in which the focus is socio-political and political change. Facilitating socio-political change involves grassroots mobilisation whereas political change involves taking action to change legislation and policy. Monkman et al argue that NFE projects need to move to work at these levels to bring about transformation. I find the hierarchical nature of Rocha's ladder problematic due to the lack of significance accorded to change at the individual level. Nevertheless, I think attention to the whole spectrum of 'levels' is important and the model could provide a useful framework if conceptualised in a less hierarchical manner.

Educational theory and transformation

Having now discussed the different components of what an education programme working with girls needs to entail, this section will relate these ideas to educational theories of change explicitly. The need to focus on gendered norms and consciousness alongside facilitating the development of skills and structural change has been established. The most widely used educational theorist who has focused on this interplay of 'reflection' and 'action is Paulo Freire. Indeed, most of the projects discussed so far (Stepping Stones, SAT and the IMAGE project) have made reference to Freire in justifying the relationship between education and change, although none of these studies have discussed his ideas in any detail. Meanwhile, Freirian ideas have come under critical scrutiny for the overly linear model of change they envisage and their rationalist and masculinist underpinnings. This section will discuss Freirian ideas and the criticisms of them and will posit that Mike Kesby's (2005, 2007) conceptualisation of empowerment as a 'repetitive performance in space' provides an alternative to Freire's model of transformation as a linear process of enlightenment for understanding change through education. Kesby's theoretical work enables the pitfalls of Freirian understandings of change to avoided while maintaining faith in a Frierian conception of participation and critical pedagogy.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) Freire critiques what he terms the 'banking' model of education in which the learner is constructed as an empty vessel to be deposited with knowledge from the teacher. Instead, he outlines a

'problem posing' model of education designed to facilitate transformation. Freire sees the oppressed as 'dehumanised' and 'objectified' but as able to become subjects though the transformatory process of education; that is, they have the chance to be transformed from being 'beings for others' to 'beings for themselves' (p47). In his model, a pedagogy of problem-posing and dialogue is used to enable participants to 'read the world' thus bringing about critical consciousness (or *conscientização)*. In this process of *conscientização* the oppressed become aware of their oppression and of its roots. Dialogue is used to deliberate over the best solutions to the problems that are being faced. This in turn leads to groups taking action to transform their situations. Core concepts and ideas of great value here are that of 'problem posing' and dialogue as tools for change and his emphasis on the interplay between 'reflection' and 'action', thus taking account of the importance of both internal and external change.

Whilst there are many useful concepts and ideas in Freirean thought that are important to hold on to, there are also some deeply problematic aspects. Freirian ideas have been critiqued from both normative and pragmatic standpoints, from feminist, post-structralist and post-colonial perspectives (Weiler, 1995: Moreley, 1997: Bowers and Apfel –Marglin, 2005, Cho and Lewis, 2006: Manicom and Walters, 2012). Writing on the basis of their work with indigenous communities, Bowers and Apfel-Marglin (2005) problematise the evolutionary underpinnings of Freire's worldview which sees societies as transitioning from the 'pre-rational' and non-literate to the 'higher state of complexity marked by literacy, critical reflection and individualism'. Here, these ideas are seen as ethically problematic for constructing critical reflection as the only valid approach to knowledge and the individual as the basic unit of society. For them, such ideas are a disguised form of colonisation. In a similar vein, feminist writers (Welier, 1995: Manicom and Walters, 2012) have problematised the masculinist bias inherent in the high status given to critical and rational thinking to the exclusion of other ways of knowing such as those stemming from emotion or personal experience. Weiler (1995) argues persuasively in favour of maintaining the concept of 'critical consciousness' but retheorising it from a feminist perspective in which women's (or girls') experiences are the starting point. Similarly, writing from an African feminist perspective Chilisa and Nsteane (2010) describe their own Bantu world view in which 'being' is bound in human relations. They cite

Goduka (2000: 29) who states 'I am we; I am because we are; we are because I am'. They contrast this to a Eurocentric worldview characterised by 'I think, therefore I am'. They argue that African feminists should resist methods based on individuality and rationality. Deconstruction and reflection are encouraged, but like Weiler (1995), they do not see rational thought as the only path to knowledge. Instead they recommend drawing on multiple knowledges and experiences including exploring what opportunities local proverbs and stories may hold to counter oppression. This is very different from a Freirian view in which culture is seen as essentially problematic and a barrier to enlightenment and progress (Archer and Cottingham, 1996).

A related, but separate, critique of Freire's linear process of enlightenment has been made by feminists for pragmatic, ontological, reasons. Here, the point is not that his theory is normatively unacceptable, but that it is based on a faculty conception of personhood in which individuals are conceived of as wholly rational and unitary beings (Weiler, 1995: Cho and Lewis, 2006). Writing from a post-structuralist perspective, these writers show that instead, people take up multiple and conflicting subject positions in different moments. As the ethnographic research explored earlier indicated (Davies, 1989: Wood et al, 2007: Jewkes and Morrell, 2012), girls may invest heavily in traditional constructs of femininity and change is therefore not simply a rational process of 'becoming conscious' of gendered oppression, but a messier process which, as Jewkes and Morrell (2012) asserted, must make girls' social and emotional agendas the starting point.

In understanding why resistance to change might occur, Judith Butler's (1997) work on subjectivity, identity and desire provides a useful conceptual framework. She brings together Foucaultian conceptions of power with psychoanalytic work on the unconscious to describe the processes of subjectification by which individuals come to be recognised as 'intelligible' subjects. Because social recognition is granted through these processes, individuals form passionate attachments to normalised and disciplined identities. Importantly, though, this does not mean change is impossible. Butler (1990) also points to the 'performative' and antifoundational nature of gender, and while it is

this that leads the compulsion to 'do gender' normatively to be so strong, the need for constant reperformance also creates space for rupture and change. Cho and Lewis (2010), writing about emancipation and education, use these ideas to explain why participants in transformatory education programmes may retain passionate attachment to didactic pedagogies and hierarchical teacher/student relationships. These ideas are equally useful for understanding women and girls' attachments to normative gendered positions, and indeed, this was Butler's original aim.

A second aspect of the ontological critique is the absolute dichotomy between the 'powerful oppressors' and the 'powerless oppressed' depicted in Freire's writing. Such a framework is deeply unsatisfactory for thinking about gendered oppression, both because of the complexity of gendered power relations (Weiler, 1995) and because 'the oppressors' are not simply enemies to be struggled against but also friends, partners and family members. Relatedly, the conception of power as a property possessed by some individuals and not by others is a problematic framework. Instead, power is best seen as relational and existing in action (Foucault, 1988). In this way, women may be simultaneously able to exercise power effectively in some contexts while not in others.

While Freirian conceptions of the process of change lack validity, the concepts of dialogue and problem-posing and tools such as drama and mapping associated with Freirian pedagogy are equally considered useful within more contingent, post-structuralist theories of change since it in these micro-spaces of interaction in which the space for change is possible (Epstein and Morrell, 2012). Furthermore, as Manicom and Walters (2012) posit, the current interest in experiential, participatory pedagogies within non-formal education has in part been driven by dissatisfaction with the mind/body separation of enlightenment thought. While educational theorists have provided thorough analysis of the pitfalls of a Frierian conception of transformation, they have been slower in providing alternative ways of thinking about change. Particularly helpful in this regard is Mike Kesby's (2005, 2007) work. His theoretical work is developed from his research involvement with the Stepping Stones project in Zimbabwe, and therefore whilst couched in the language of participatory development rather

than educational theory, it is deeply rooted in the experience of non-formal education. Rather than dialogue and participatory NFE activities leading to the shedding of false consciousness and the discovery of truth, these processes are seen as facilitating empowerment through increasing reflexive agency. For Kesby, agency, like power, is not a fixed property of individuals, but is constituted and exercised through available discursive and practical resources. The participatory activities of NFE programmes such as Stepping Stones are seen as expanding the repertoire of discursive resources through which agency can be exercised. This is similar to Chilisa and Nsteane (2010) argument in favour of drawing on multiple knowledges and experiences.

Secondly, drawing on notions of gender as 'performative', the 'doing' and 'performance' associated with activities such as role-plays facilitates change by providing opportunity to rehearse and experiment with alternative performances of gender. This concept of 'rehearsal' has also recently been used by a number of feminists writing about the potential of NFE. For example, Manicom and Walters (2012:15) describe change through feminist popular education by saying 'new gender norms are being formed, identities are being refashioned and alternative ways of relating to others and to self are being *tried on and rehearsed'*. In providing opportunity for this rehearsal to take place Kesby and Manicom and Walters both place great emphasis on the space in which education occurs. Manicom and Walters discuss the importance of creating safe and secure places whilst Kesby focused on understanding the regimes of governance operating in different spaces. Gender inequitable institutional regimes, including the presence of gendered violence in schools, have been noted as a reason why the delivery of transformatory curricula in schools is difficult (Mirembe, 2001: Akiman et al, 2008: Leach et al, 2006). However, this has not yet led to a consideration of the potential for NFE as an alternative space in which to carry out education with children and young people. Geographers of education in the Global North such as Collins and Coleman (2008) have called for greater attention to the socio-spatial dimensions of education. However, this has been interpreted to mean the socio-spatial dimensions *within* schools and how schools engage with surrounding communities, but not a consideration of educational spaces outside of schools altogether.

Kesby's analysis of the spatiality of transformation also has a second dimension; he argues for the need to look not only at empowered performances within educational spaces, but also at the extent to which the intervention enables these empowered performances to be sustained outside of it. In this way, the conceptual tools are provided for analysing the relationship between subjective change to beliefs and consciousness and material change, in this case, the ability to claim rights. While other authors have critiqued the unsustainability of short-term projects in leading to lasting change, the problem is usually defined solely in temporal terms. In contrast, Kesby sees empowerment, not as an achieved state, but as a 'repetitive performance in space'. Empowered performances in one space may aid their performance in another, but this transfer is not automatic. He states that the key question for the future is to identify the factors that enable the sustained reperformance of empowerment. By describing empowered performances in spatial, rather than purely temporal terms, his work enables a bringing together of the individual/internal and structural/external dimensions of change, but in a less hierarchical or linear fashion than Rocha's (1997) 'ladder of participation' or Freire's (1970) path from critical consciousness to action.

In literature on women's empowerment much attention has been paid to whether empowerment is a *process* or an *achieved state*. For the development industry to be able to use the term attempts have been made to develop measureable indicators such as the UNDP's Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) (UNDP, 1995). However, others have argued that empowerment is a process rater than an achieved state (McWhirter, 1994: Rowlands, 1994) and consequently cannot easily be measured as an outcome. Additionally, Kabeer (1999) argues that because empowerment is inherently about the ability make choices particular outcomes cannot be used as proxy indicators of empowerment in any straightforward way. In the view used in this thesis, drawing on Kesby's (2005, 2007) work, empowerment is neither entirely a process nor an achieved state. Instead, it can develop in time (a process) but also needs to be performed in space (an achieved state at a particular point in time/space). However, performing empowerment in one space does not mean that it is an achieved state

in all points in time/space. Thus it is a partial, continuous process as well as being a state at particular points in time/space.

Whilst providing important conceptual groundwork, Kesby's work does not develop what the factors that lead to the sustained reperformance of empowerment might be. Developing this will be a key question for my own research. One of the weaknesses of current research in enabling this question to be explored is a tendency to flatten out contextual differences between different groups and communities in order to show overall impact across project sites. In contrast, I hope to focus on the differences between project sites in order to better understand the contextual factors that encourage and prohibit change.

A final important concept for the research is a focus on the social norms or 'hidden curriculum' governing the rules of engagement in each educational space. At core the 'hidden curriculum' refers to the 'unwritten, unofficial, and often unintended lessons, values, and perspectives that students learn in school' (Abbott, 2014). This concept has a long history in educational research and was initially developed in the work of Dewey (1916) and Jackson (1968). Messages from the hidden curriculum can be imparted through many aspects of school life such as pedagogical styles, school rules and teachers' use of language. The hidden curriculum can contradict the formal curriculum, and in this way, the concept is useful in thinking about the different messages that may be imparted by the same non-formal education curriculum implemented by different facilitators in different institutional environments. Using this concept in conjunction with Kesby's (2005, 2007) spatiliased view of empowerment enables analysis of whether a particular environment facilitates empowerment *and* whether this empowerment can be sustained or reperformed in everyday spaces. The concept of the hidden curriculum has, however, typically been used in a deterministic way whereby there is a kind of inevitability between messages imparted in the hidden curriculum and outcomes. In contrast, following Kehily (2002) I use the term within a post-structuralist vein. In addition to the formal and hidden curriculums Kehily (2002) pays attention to a third factor 'informal student cultures' in her analysis of sex education in British secondary schools. In this way, messages from both the formal and hidden curriculum need to be

negotiated and may be resisted and influenced by values emanating from students own informal cultures.

Chapter Four: Methods for researching gendered violence with children

Introduction

Conceptually, the study is situated within what has been termed the 'new social studies of childhood' (Prout and James, 1990; Holloway & Valentine, 2000) or relating to girls specifically 'girlhood studies'. Core to these approaches to studying young people are conceptions that 'childhood' and 'girlhood' are socially constructed and that young people are competent social actors who should not be viewed as future adults or 'human becomings'. Thus, studies within this framework aim to research *with* rather than simply *about* children. Within this paradigm participatory methods have been an important way of producing knowledge *with* children (Ansell et al, 2012). However, participatory methods have come under critical scrutiny for conceptual, ethical and epistemological reasons (Mosse, 1994: Cooke and Kothari, 2001:Leach, 2006: Ansell et al, 2012).

The first part of this chapter will review literature on participatory methods to discuss their conceptual underpinnings, potential and limitations. The second part of the chapter will discuss methodological issues relating to researching children and violence specifically and will review literature in this area. The third and final part of the chapter will review how specific research methods have been used by others working with children and reflect on the appropriateness of each method for the study.

Participatory research with children: conceptual underpinnings
The case for participatory research

Participatory research and methods have roots in a variety of disciplines but Freireian (1972) pedagogy and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) developed by Robert Chambers (1992) are two of the major influences (O'Kane, 2000). Participatory approaches are based on emancipatory ideas, with aims to challenge the distinction between the 'object' and 'subject' of research, to

redistribute or circumvent unequal power relations and to produce research with transformative potential.

Participatory methods in general, and with children specifically, have been used for both ethical and practical reasons. Ethically, they challenge the power imbalance between researcher and researched, allowing participants to have greater control over the process and a say in defining their problems and solutions to them (Boyden and Ennew, 1997). For example, O'Kane (2000) describes how using charts and ranking exercises in a research project about children's decision making allowed the children to set the agenda in a way that would have been difficult through other methods. Here, it is how methods are used that is as important as the choice of methods itself (Pretty et al, 1995). For example, visual methods, a key aspect of participatory research with children, are not really participatory or ethically laudable if children are not given opportunity to explain and interpret the images they produce.

Involvement in participatory research also has the potential to be empowering. In relation to researching violence with children Leach (2006) found that girls who were not used to having their opinions listened to grew in confidence, developing the ability to construct and articulate arguments, through taking part in drama, discussions and debates as part of a participatory research project on gendered violence in schools. Whereas Parkes (2008), researching community violence in South Africa and Anjwon et al (2001), researching sexual coercion in Nigeria found that through taking part in participatory research activities young people reflected on their experiences and changed their views in ways that reduced likelihood of violent behaviour. In South Africa this involved becoming more likely to come up with non-violent solutions to problems in their community whilst in Nigeria it involved no longer seeing young women as to blame for their experiences of sexual coercion.

Pragmatically, participatory methods have been preferred due to their greater ability to show how people construct their worlds. This argument for participatory methods grew out of debates within the sociology of knowledge about the need to understand the world from the perspectives of marginalised groups and the complexities of doing so (Tandon, 2011). This epistemological

argument has been powerful within childhood studies since conventional methods have been seen as limited in showing how children construct their worlds (O'Kane, 2000: Leach, 2006). Leach (2006) sees interviewing as an adult form of enquiry and describes how girls within her research were shy and uncomfortable and seemed to be affected by the desire to give 'correct' or 'appropriate' responses. Others have critiqued this view, arguing that research with children does not necessarily entail different methods (Christensen and James, 2000). Even so, participatory methods are seen as having the potential to generate richer data capturing complex non-linear relationships and nuanced views and understandings (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995: Cahill, 2004: Pain, 2004: Ansell et al, 2012). This reasoning applies to both adults and children, but children's different use of language makes participatory methods especially useful for working with children since it provides opportunity for children to give non-verbal representations of thoughts and feelings (Boyden and Ennew, 1997). Similarly, the ability to gather non-linear data has been attractive to social geographers who are interested in the spatial and temporal dimensions of problems and the connections between different issues at different scales (Pain, 2004).

Engaging with conceptual and epistemological criticisms of participatory research

Participatory methods have been criticised from a number of angles and these will be explored here. Early critiques focused on the shallow use of participatory techniques. For example, White (1996) describes how many projects pertaining to be 'participatory' have had instrumentalist agendas, aiming to use participatory techniques to increase the efficiency of projects or extract data from communities to meet their own goals, rather than truly giving voice to participants. Similarly, Chambers (1994) warned against shallow and formulaic use of participatory methods. In these examples, it is specific uses of participation that are under scrutiny, not the idea of participatory research itself. Indeed it is deeper forms of participation that these authors are calling for.

More recent challenges have been framed within a post-structuralist approach and draw on Foucaultian (1988) ideas to show that power is not a resource

possessed by specific individuals, but something that is everywhere, and exists in action. Therefore, participatory methods cannot be seen as circumventing or redistributing power as early proponents claimed. Instead, participation itself constitutes a form of power (Cleaver, 1999: Kohn, 2000: Cooke and Kothari, 2001). For these authors, participation, as a form of power, has dominating effects and should be resisted. This line of argument, therefore, casts a deeper challenge than concerns about the technique of participation, cutting right to the heart of participatory ideas.

One strand of the post-structuralist challenge centers on the focus on consensus within participatory methodologies. Several authors have shown how participatory projects have worked with simplistic ideas of 'the community' as a homogenous and discrete entity, attempting to tap into 'the community viewpoint' using participatory techniques. In the process, the views of dominant groups are legitimised and social norms reified rather than challenged (Mosse, 1994: Gujit and Shah, 1998: Mohan, 2001: Pain and Francis, 2003). From a gender perspective, as Mosse (1994) describes in his case study from India, the perspectives of elite males are particularly likely to be constructed as representative of the community through these processes. Mohan (2001) describes this as the 'tyranny of the group'. A second strand of the post-structuralist challenge focuses on participation, and participatory facilitators, as exercising power in which ways that lead to new regimes of governance and the creation of new subjectivities and knowledges (Kothari, 2001: Hailley, 2001: Cooke, 2001). Here, it is shown that participatory approaches do not capture 'true' and 'authentic' but previously subjugated knowledges, instead particular kinds of knowledges are produced and codified. Facilitators, rather than being benign, place limits on what can be said and known, forming new regimes of governance. Thirdly, participation has been seen as 'contrived performance' (Kothari, 2001) in which participants are asked to turn the complexities of their lives into simplified narratives to be performed within the space of the participatory project.

Many of the challenges raise important points, and the linear modernist narrative on which participatory research was originally based is certainly not an adequate

framework. However, as others have convincingly argued (Cameron and Gibson, 2005: Kesby, 2005, 2007: Gallagher, 2008) participation and post-structuralism need not be oppositional, and indeed, may be complementary. As Kesby (2005, 2007) argues, participation may be a form of power, but this does not mean it can only be resisted. He shows how many of the writers critiquing participation have worked with a view of power as only constituting domination. In contrast, a Foucaultian view shows that power is not inherently negative, in this way, the forms of power deployed by participation may be useful 'in order to outmaneuver more domineering forms of power' (ibid p2038).

Critiques of participatory methods see them as reifying particular kinds of knowledge and glossing over divergent viewpoints. In contrast, Cameron and Gibson (2005) show how in their research, using participatory techniques within a post-structuralist theoretical framework enabled analysis of the multiplicity of discourses in operation. Indeed, the diversity of forms of expression that can be accessed through participatory methods should be well suited to the post-structuralist concept of subjectivity in which individuals do not have a single core identity, but instead, occupy multiple and shifting subject positions. In this way, participatory methods are well suited to understanding constructions of gender identity. In fact, within both children's geographies and education, where participation does not share the embeddedness within a modernist project that characterises the trajectory of participation within development studies, participatory research has been used for exactly this purpose. For example, Pattman and Chege (2003) used participatory methods alongside qualitative interviews to research children's constructions of their gendered and sexual identities in Eastern and Southern Africa. Analysing the data within a post-structural framework, data from diverse methods were used to show the shifting, complex and contradictory nature of gendered subjectivities and the differences between private feelings and public performances. Similarly, McLaughlin (et al, 2012) used photovoice and drama to research children's sexual knowledges in Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa, working from a framework that knowledges are plural and that different bodies of knowledge will be accessed in different spaces. Parkes (2008, 2009) research with children on community violence in

South Africa also used participatory methods in order to understand how children make sense of, and give meaning, to violent events.

The second strand of critique focused on the forms of governance employed by participatory facilitators and the new subjectivities created. Neither of these are, however, necessarily negative. Gallagher (2008) describes how children in his participatory research took advantage of his non-directive approach to act in ways that dominated each other. Reflecting on this process and his feelings that he should not intervene in order to be 'participatory' he asserts that power is unavoidable, but neither is it necessarily 'an evil' with some exercises of power from facilitators being positive. Similarly, a participatory HIV/AIDS education project found that it was in the contexts where researchers *did* intervene to model norms of group interaction that regimes of governance that facilitated children's equal participation were established (Cobbett et al, 2013). Indeed, new regimes of governance may be essential if facilitators are to enable social unequals to participate with equivalence (Kesby, 2007). Similarly, rather than seeing the 'contrived performance' of participation as negative, Kesby (2005) argues that this can be positive since all social relations are actually performances shaped by scripts. Importantly, the transparency of the contrived nature of performance in participatory research may 'help expose the contrived and performative nature of all social relations, which in turn may enable actors to imagine acting differently'(p2049).

An alternative challenge has been made by Leach (2006) and Ansell et al (2012) who claim, based on their own experience, that while participatory methods are useful for stimulating general knowledge and beliefs about topics, they are much less effective in gathering data about specific examples and empirical realities. For example, in Leach's (2006) research on gender violence in schools, participatory exercises enabled understanding of typical scenarios of violence and how children viewed the consequences and causes of violence. However, they did not enable an understanding of individual views, specific incidents or the scale of the problem. In Ansell et al's (2012) research on the impact of AIDS on young people's livelihoods, data from group participatory exercises contradicted data from individual interviews as well more individually focused participatory methods. For example, within group exercises the children

portrayed dire depictions of the devastating impact of parental loss, yet, many of the orphan participants actually had very hopeful stories to tell about their lives. Ansell et al (2012) conclude that participatory researchers have paid insufficient attention to the relationship between epistemology and methodology and that closer examination of the kind of knowledge that is required to answer specific research questions would lead to more meaningful selection of methods. Relating to research within children's geographies, they argue that the thrust of most research has been to understand how children *make sense of* their experiences, but that there is also a need to understand children's *actual experiences*.

This warning is important to take heed of, however, it is not intended to reduce the usefulness of using participatory methods for research questions that do require an understanding of how meanings are constructed. Furthermore, as is hinted at in Ansell et al's statement about the contradictions between group participatory activities and individually focused ones, the divide is not only between participatory and conventional methods but also between individual and group methods. Focus groups are an example of a group-based conventional method which can also lead to an over-emphasis on typical or normative views (Smithson, 2000). In contrast, individually focused participatory methods such as private writing and journals (see Pattman and Chege, 2003: Cobbett and Warrington, 2013) can access private views that contradict public performances of gender. Therefore, when considering the kinds of knowledge needed to answer specific research questions it is necessary to consider the appropriateness of group versus individual methods as well as participatory versus conventional methods.

Researching gender and violence with children

Researching children's perspectives on violence involves particular methodological complexities. Researching violence has the potential to cause harm, by re-traumatising those who have experienced violence or by directly exposing participants to risk (Jewkes et al, 2000: Elsberg and Heise, 2002). Re-traumatisation occurs where the process of being asked to recount experiences of violence leads to further distress. In the case of the current research, the aim is not to collect data about individuals' personal experiences of violence, but to

understand the impact of the 'Stop the Violence' curriculum on beliefs about violence, gendered subjectivities and abilities to claim rights. Nevertheless, participants may have been personally affected by violence and the potential for research activities to be experienced as distressing remains. Therefore, guidelines that have been developed for researching the prevalence of violence are relevant here and will be discussed further in the section on ethics. Elsberg and Heise (2002) point out that a participant becoming upset during an interview does not necessarily mean the process is experienced negatively, reporting that many women will actively choose to continue with the process in these instances. Direct harm can occur if the research compromises a participants' safety, for example if interviewing a woman about domestic violence in her home leads to further violence from her partner. The potential for direct harm and how it can be minimised needs to be considered in any research on violence.

However, researching violence also has the potential to lead to positive change. We have already seen examples of how participation in research can be empowering, by developing skills and confidence, and by providing opportunity to reflect critically on views and attitudes (Anjuwon, et al 2001: Leach, 2006: Parkes, 2008). It is these processes of critical reflection and self-development as well as the greater control that children have that has led participatory methods to be seen as appropriate for researching violence with children (Leach, 2006: Save the Children, 2004). Save the Children (2004) see children's full participation in research as a right, as well as a process that can reduce children's vulnerability, since vulnerability is heightened when children have few opportunities to voice their views. Similarly, Waite and Conn (2011) writing from a feminist perspective, see participatory research as appropriate for exploring sensitive issues with young women because it is suited to their ways of knowing and expressing and allows participants the flexibility to shape the research in ways that are relevant for them.

Conversely, however Parkes (2009) shows that the greater voice given to children in participatory research can create space for emotional and symbolic violence to occur. Reflecting on troubling incidents that occurred during group activities in her research on children's understandings of community violence in South Africa, she argues that not enough attention has been paid to how children,

as active agents in the research process, might use their agency to harm each other. In her research several moments occurred in which group members mobilised gendered and racial hierarchies to tease and ridicule other members, thus perpetrating symbolic violence. These moments often occurred precisely when critical discussion had destabilised taken for granted assumptions and hierarchies. Whilst in another case the recipients of symbolic violence (two Muslim girls) were able to use the incident to challenge the prejudices of group members. She argues, therefore, that the most ethical position is not always to seek to protect participants from troubling incidents, but to:

> 'try and create a setting where conflict, argument and negotiation are encouraged, where critical self reflection is possible, where the symbolic violence of groups is acknowledged and challenged, and where it is safe enough to take risks to enter unrecognised spaces' (Parkes, 2009: 359).

This argument is not intended to suggest non-intervention in moments of symbolic or emotional harm within research spaces. Instead, it is intended to suggest that the desire to 'protect' participants and the fear of the potential for harm should not lead researchers to curtail the kinds of sensitive discussions that also open up the potential for the contestation of taken for granted norms and assumptions. Therefore, the potential for symbolic violence and the potential for empowerment though research may not be oppositional, but rather closely intertwined, since both involve messy processes of contestation and change.

In relation to researching violence and coercion in young people's intimate relationships Marston (2005) and Wood, Lambert and Jewkes (2007) highlight the highly subjective and complex nature of defining coercion. Marston (2005), working with young women in Mexico, describes how scenarios that may be interpreted as coercive by researchers when reported in interviews, are sometimes constructed as positive by respondents. For example, many women described situations in which they had been put under considerable pressure to engage in sexual activity, but whether this was seen as coercive depended on a number of factors including whether or not a committed relationship developed from the encounter. In the South African context, Wood et al (2007) show how the need to be seen as an 'innocent respectable female' makes it difficult for young women to quickly accept proposals from men, even when they are

wanted. Consequently, within South African youth sexual culture women resisted sexual proposals and men persuaded or 'forced' women to accept. Inevitably, this culture led to high rates of violence and coercion, since women's genuine refusal could not be 'heard' within normative gender scripts, or as the authors state, 'ambiguities in the expression of desire inherent in culturally sanctioned approaches to the opposite sex lay the grounds for sexual coercion' (2007: 285). This complexity is an important epistemological consideration for research on violence. In the case of my research, understanding changing perceptions of violence (as well as shifting views on normative gender scripts) is a core aim of the research. Wood et al (2007) point to the usefulness of long term ethnographic work in understanding perceptions and dynamics of violence since it allows meanings to be understood and interrogated within the context of local youth culture. Similarly, in relation to understanding the impact of educational interventions or participatory action research, Kesby (2005) points to the need to understand whether empowered performances within research spaces can be sustained outside of them. Again, ethnographic approaches have great value here since they enable an understanding of what is possible within different social spaces.

Methods and justifications

Based on the analysis from the preceding discussion, participatory methods are seen as an ethical approach to the research topic, as well as one that can gather rich data. Rather than being incompatible with a post-structuralist approach, participatory methods can show complex and shifting subjectivities and are, therefore, well suited to the research objectives which focus on perceptions of violence and constructions of gender identity. However, the research is also interested in understanding real material change in terms of whether girls are actually able to claim rights within their communities. Taking onboard the points raised by Ansell et al (2012) and Leach (2006) about the limited ability of participatory methods to capture details of specific events, qualitative interviews are seen as a useful addition. Additionally, taking into account the need to understand whether empowered performances of gender can be sustained outside the participatory space and the need to understand complex youth cultures,

ethnographic methods are also seen as an important way to gain a fuller understanding of processes of change.

The next part of this section will discuss the major kinds of participatory and qualitative research methods that have been used to research sensitive issues with children, showing how they have been used by others and their appropriateness for the current study.

Review of methods

Visual methods

Visual methods include drawing, mapping, photovoice and video (which will be discussed under the heading of drama here). Visual methods have been popular in research with children since they do not require highly developed verbal or literacy skills and they allow children to 'show' rather than 'tell' researchers about their lives. Photovoice, first developed by Wang and Burris (1994) involves participants photographing particular aspects of their lives and coming together to discuss and reflect on the photos they have taken. It has an explicit empowerment agenda, aiming to allow marginalised groups to think critically about their lives and communicate their ideas to others. As Oh (2012) states, photovoice goes beyond gathering visual representations, to enabling understandings of how people construct, interpret and engage with the places represented. It has been well used in research with children as a method that is fun, engaging and can develop rich data. For example, Oh (2012) used photovoice to understand refugee children's everyday lives whilst McLaughlin et al (2012) used it to explore what children learn about sex and AIDS in their everyday lives. Photovoice can be an ethical way to research sensitive issues, Oh (2012) felt that it enabled researchers to indirectly explore experiences of hardship, thus minimising the likelihood that the research would create further distress.

The research objective in this study which could potentially be explored using photovoice is objective one which seeks to 'understand how girls perceive the problem of violence in their communities before and after the curriculum'. However, taking photos of places where violence is perceived to happen has a

high potential for risk and harm. For this reason, photovoice was not used in this study. However, other visual methods involving drawing and mapping have been successfully and safely used to research violence with children. For example, in their research on gendered violence in schools Leach (et al 2000) got girls and boys to draw maps of their schools indicating where they felt safe and unsafe and why. This revealed that boys are more likely to be afraid in the classroom as they are more frequent recipients of corporal punishment, whereas for girls, the toilets are a particular place of danger since this is where sexual harassment from boys occurs. Adapting this method would, therefore, be a safe way to get a visual representation of girls' perceptions of violence in their communities.

Drama

Drama and theatre have been found to be useful tools to explore complex and sensitive issues such as violence (Stackpool-Moore and Boler, 2006: Aba et al, 2009: Brickell, forthcoming). Abah et al (2009), reflecting on their experience of using theatre to explore perceptions of violence in Nothern Nigeria, felt it provided 'thick description' whilst also allowing participants to express themselves behind the safety of fiction, thus making it possible to explore difficult topics. Drama is also insightful for allowing participants to show how they understand the interconnections between different issues in their lives. This was aptly demonstrated by the Ugandan girls in Waite and Conn's (2011) research who explained to the researchers that they could not make a drama about just one issue, since the different issues they had discussed in an earlier part of their research were interlinked. They then proceeded to create rich and multifaceted dramas depicting the issues girls like them faced in their daily lives.

Drama is also well suited to research aiming to encourage reflection and change, as through it, participants can explore alternative endings to stories and how they feel about them (Stackpool-Moore and Boler, 2006: Abah et al, 2009). Using drama in conjunction with participatory video increases its potential as a tool used to instigate reflection and change by enabling participants to engage in ongoing discussion about the narratives they have produced (Abah et al, 2009). Additionally, the retrospective deconstruction of video narratives by participants increases the analytic potential of drama as a research tool as the post-production

reflections of participants constitute a rich source of data (Brickell, 2015). This second point has particular relevance to this research, which aims to understand how perceptions of gender and violence change through participation in the non-formal curriculum. By videoing dramas made at the start of the process, it would be possible to watch them again at the end of the process, thus facilitating discussion on how the participants feel about their initial depictions having gone through the curriculum.

One specific method using drama is the 'narrative research method'. This approach was developed by the World Health Organisation (WHO, 1993) to research adolescent sexual behaviour in a way that deals with sequences of events rather than isolated incidents. Ajuwon et al (2001) then developed the method to research adolescents' perceptions of sexual coercion in Nigeria. This method has different stages, with participants starting by brainstorming the kinds of behaviours they define as coercion that happen in their communities, they then choose a behaviour and design a role play that depicts what they see as typically leading up to the coercive event. After participants have performed their role plays the researcher facilitates discussion about what they have shown. This method is insightful for understanding the dynamics of youth relationships as well as understanding and exploring participants' views about the causes of coercion. An adaption of this method would be very relevant for understanding how girls perceive the problem of violence in their communities. By videoing initial role plays, discussion of how perceptions have changed over time will be enabled.

Written methods

Written methods are not always appropriate for use with children and young people since they obviously require a reasonable level of literacy and could be experienced as alienating for children who anxious about their writing abilities. However, the private and anonymous nature of methods involving writing has led them to be of great value in research which is interested in gendered beliefs and subjectivities. Gender is 'performative' (Butler, 1990), and it is performed differently according to the discursive norms operating in different contexts. With this in mind, Pattman and Chege (2003) used multiple methods to explore children's gendered identities in Eastern and Southern Africa. Two of the

methods used were private journals and focus-group discussions. They found that in single sex focus-groups boys performed hegemonic masculinities by talking about girls in derogatory and sexualised ways. In contrast, in their diaries many of them wrote highly romanticised accounts of their relationships with girls. Within group discussions girls talked about the problems boys caused and their experiences of harassment, but in their diaries some wrote much more positive accounts of their relationships with particular boys. Girls' wariness to express these positive relationships may be due to social norms that do not permit the expression of sexual desire in young females (Tolman, 2002: Pattman and Chege, 2003: Wood et al, 2007). My own previous research on gendered experiences of schooling in Antigua (Cobbett and Warrington, 2013) showed similar differences between what pupils said in groups with what they wrote in anonymous responses to the question 'what is like as a girl/boy growing up here?' Whilst in focus-groups and in the classroom boys attempted to project themselves as powerful and tough and often talked about girls in derogatory ways, in their writing, boys described their feelings of vulnerability including anxieties about their relationships with girls and sadness at being rejected by girls they cared for. In this study, anonymous writing could, therefore, provide an insightful contribution to researching objective three, which seeks to 'explore the impact the curriculum has on girls' gendered identities and beliefs about their rights'. Whilst group activities are useful in analysing the extent to which normative beliefs have changed, private writing provides a useful supplement. As the research will involve girls aged ten and above who are attending school it can be assumed that participants will have sufficient literacy skills to take part in simple writing exercises.

Interviews

Interviews have sometimes been seen as a potentially intimidating and adult form of enquiry, and they certainly contain this risk. As well as being uncomfortable for the child, there is the danger that the uneven balance of power leads children to give answers that they think researchers want to hear, thus reducing the validity of data. However, some researchers have demonstrated that it is possible to create an environment in which children feel comfortable to engage in detailed discussion about sensitive issues. For example, Pattman and Chege (2003)

describe how in their research, children as young as six provided detailed accounts of their sexual experiences, taking great relish in having the opportunity to discuss these usually forbidden topics with adults. They argue that this sharing was made possible by the warm manner of the researchers and their ability to ask matter of fact questions in an encouraging way without demonstrating any shock or embarrassment about what the children said. Similarly, I found from my previous experience conducting research in Kenyan primary schools (Cobbett et al, 2013) that within focus-groups children shared stories about their first sexual experiences, reflecting as a group on their feelings about them and their confusions and uncertainties surrounding sexuality. These stories indicate that it may sometimes be the discomfort and embarrassment of adult researchers, rather than child participants, that create situations in which open sharing is restricted in interview contexts. Bearing in mind the epistemological issues raised by Ansell et al (2012) about the difficulties of collecting specific empirical understandings of material change without interviews, it seems appropriate to include them as one of a basket of methods used in this study. Interviews will provide individualised insights in relation to all the research objectives, but are particularly important for researching objective four, which aims to understand 'the impact of the curriculum on girls abilities to claim rights to be from violence'. This objective requires factual information about girls' lives, which may not easily be captured through participatory methods.

Ethnography

Within educational research, ethnographic methods have been a key method used by researchers wanting to understand how curricula are delivered, received and interpreted by students. For example, Mirembe and Davies (2001) and Kehily (2002) used ethnography alongside other qualitative methods to explore how sex and HIV/AIDS education was delivered and received in Uganda and the UK. Ethnography has been important in understanding the interactions that take place within educational spaces and how students engage with messages that are delivered, constructing their own meanings in the process. As Kehily (2002) argues, it is through this process of meaning making that individual and collective identities are produced. Ethnographic observations are therefore crucial for exploring research objective two which seeks to 'understand the

messages about gender, rights and violence that are delivered to groups of girl guides in Kenya and how these are received and interpreted'. Educational ethnographers interested in the impact of curricula on social identities have used the concepts of the 'formal curriculum' and the hidden curriculum'. The formal curriculum refers to the 'official' messages of the curriculum, whilst the 'hidden curriculum' refers to the additional, and potentially contradictory, messages that are portrayed through pedagogy and institutional cultures. Additionally, Kehily (2002) uses the concept of 'informal student cultures' to refer to alternative meanings produced by students, which may contradict the messages delivered through both the formal and hidden curricula. Whilst these concepts have been used to research formal schooling, they are equally applicable to researching the meanings produced in non-formal educational spaces.

Robinson-Pant (2000) used ethnography alongside participatory methods to research women's engagement with non-formal education programmes in Nepal. She saw participatory methods as important in giving space for participants to generate their own data and express themselves in different ways as well as ethically desirable due to the link between research and action. However, ethnography was seen as a useful addition due to its holistic focus on the complexities and daily practices of participants' lives. Furthermore, by viewing participatory research activities with an ethnographic gaze, these activities were recorded as social processes, thus avoiding the pitfall of turning the data generated into static and reified depictions. Ethnography is valuable, not only for understanding social relations within the non-formal educational space, but also for understanding whether performances of gender that are possible within that space can be sustained outside of it (Kesby, 2005). Additionally, as Wood et al (2007) argues, ethnography allows for a deeper understanding of youth culture than is possible through short-term qualitative methods alone.

Summary

This chapter has explored ethical and methodological issues relating to conducting research with children, and on the topic of violence in particular. The chapter has also engaged with debates regarding the effectiveness and potential

of participatory methods. I have argued that participatory methods need not be oppositional to a post-structural approach, but instead they can provide an insightful way of exploring perceptions and constructions of meaning. However, taking on board Ansell et al's (2012) epistemological critique, interviewing is seen as an important means of corroborating data and collecting detailed information about the girls' lives and experiences. As well as the distinction between conventional and participatory methods, the distinction between group and individual methods was explored. Both are important in the light of my research aims, as a way of distinguishing between privately held beliefs and publically articulated norms.

After reviewing each method, I decided that I would use a mixture of participatory methods, curriculum observations, pre and post project interviews and ethnographic observations. Detail on these methods, and how they worked out in practice will be described in the following chapter.

Chapter Five: Methodology, research contexts and the research in action

After describing the theoretical justifications for the choice of methods, this chapter will now describe the research contexts, planed methodology and what actually happened in the field. This will include practical information on how field sites were chosen and accessed and what they were like alongside reflections on the research process.

The Kenyan Association of Girl Guides

Before going on to discuss the fieldwork and fieldwork locations it is useful to understand something about the Kenyan Association of Girl Guides (KGGA) more broadly. The KGGA is one of many country associations of Girl Guides, which are supported, but not controlled, by WAGGGS. Therefore, the association has the autonomy to choose what programmes to run and how to run them.

Guiding began in Kenya in 1920 in the context of British colonialism and at that time was confined to European schools. The first Kenyan Girl Guide troops were then launched in 1943. Today the KGGA has a membership of approximately 100,000 girls organised in different groups according to age (KGGA, 2014). Their activities are coordinated by the KGGA headquarters in Nairobi which has a staff of around twenty-five alongside a board of governors. The work of the association is shaped around the 'Promise and the Law':

Promise

On my honour, I promise that I will do my best:

1. To do my duty to God and my country;
2. To help other people at all times;
3. To obey the Guide Law

Law

1. A Guide's honour is to be trusted.
2. A Guide is loyal.
3. A Guide's duty is to be useful and to help others.
4. A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide.
5. A Guide is courteous.
6. A Guide is a friend to animals.
7. A Guide obeys orders.
8. A Guide smiles and sings under all difficulties.
9. A Guide is thrifty.
10.   A Guide is pure in thought, in word and in deed

Some country associations of guides have modernised this original law and promise. For example, in the UK, the reference to God was removed in 2013 (Topping, 2013) and replaced with 'I promise to be true to myself and develop my beliefs'. However, the KGGA has retained the original promise and is an explicitly Christian faith-based organisation. Staff in the head-office take part in morning Bible studies and prayer sessions as part of their working day and all guiding events are started and ended with Christian prayers. The Christian faith is also used to shape and justify the nature of Girl Guiding programmes. The KGGA works largely through the formal school system, with most guiding troops being located within schools, and as such, the Association has a close relationship with the Kenyan Government. The kind of socialisation implied by the message 'the Law' has strong implications in terms of violence since Girl Guides are supposed 'to smile under all difficulties' and 'obey orders'. This is not a kind of socialisation which naturally sits well with the idea of 'speaking out against violence and inequality' inherent in the Stop the Violence project.

The Association currently runs a number of projects such as HIV/AIDS education, environmental awareness and peace education. Each country association of Girl Guides has the autonomy to run and adapt programmmes according to their cultural context as they see fit. Thus while WAGGGS has developed materials for delivering a comprehensive sexuality and HIV/AIDS prevention curriculum, KGGA chose not to use these materials for their HIV/AIDS education programme. Instead, in line with their purported faith-based values, they developed their own 'abstinence only' programme with the explicit aim of 'teaching girls to say no to sex' (Horizons, 2007). The Association is well known for their work on sexual abstinence. For example, in 2010 the Daily Nation, Kenya's most respected newspaper, ran an article titled

'Why Kenya Girl Guides are saying NO to sex' (Kweyu, 2010). The article discusses the abstinence teachings of the KGGA project, alongside research on the sexual behaviour of Kenyan youth, with the suggestion that 'abstinence only' may not be effective. The Stop the Violence project was the first time the Association had worked explicitly on the topic of gender-based violence prevention. It is important to note that one of the stated aims of the project 'to enable girls and young women to develop the skills to form healthy relationships' does not sit easily with the way encouraging abstinence is often interpreted in Kenya. Encouraging girls and boys to form healthy relationships by no means needs to involve sexual relationships nor does it necessarily sit in contradiction to beliefs in pre-marital abstinence. However, my previous experience in Kenya alongside my early observations of the Guides showed that abstinence tended to be promoted by instructing girls and boys to stay away from each other. This, instruction, rather than a belief in abstinence per se does, I argue, act to prohibit the aim of empowering girls and preventing violence. In the early days of my research, a young woman in Kisumu who had grown up in the Girl Guides told me her story. She explained how both the guide leaders and her parents had always warned her to keep away from boys. She obeyed this teaching until a gang of boys from her neighbourhood tried to rape her. After the incident she reflected on the way she heard boys talking about girls and felt that being kept apart made violence possible. When boys don't grow up with girls as their friends then they don't grow up seeing girls as human. She then stopped obeying and started making friends with boys, and saw the positive impact this had as boys who previously treated her rudely came to respect her as a person with a personality, intelligence and a sense of humour. The importance of mixed gender friendships in preventing violence has been reported by other studies with Kenyan children (Pattman and Chege, 2003: Cobbett et al, 2013). Therefore, I started my research with some reservations about how the approach of the KGGA would fit in with the aims of the Stop the Violence project.

The KGGA also relies heavily on volunteerism and does not generally employ experts to deliver programmes. Thus, the position of Stop the Violence focal-person, which was created at the start of the project, was a voluntary additional responsibility that was open to any staff member or volunteer within the

Association to take on. In this case the position was filled by a young woman named Yvonne[7] who held an administrative position within the KGGA head-office. She was knowledgeable and enthusiastic but not did not have prior experience of managing a gender-based violence programme and neither, as far as I know, did any other member of staff within KGGA. Officially, the Association is youth focused, and thus, taking on responsibility whilst young may be thought to be welcomed. In reality, it is a traditional organisation in which youth are not expected to seek authority. In East African culture, a youth is defined as anyone below thirty-five years of age[8], and being an *mtu mzima* (adult or literally 'complete person') rather than a *kijana* (youth) is important when vying for any position of responsibility. Therefore, authors have commented on the disadvantages young people face in attempting to lead (Mwangola, 2007: Owino, 2013). In Kenya many *vijana* have set up their own NGOs and companies which have different models of leadership than the traditional deference to age. The KGGA, however, is a traditional and socially conservative institution led by older Kenyans. When Yvonne took on the position of Stop the Violence focal point this did not ruffle too many feathers since, as a voluntary position, it was low status. However, Yvonne, keen to make the most of the opportunity, succeeded in winning a large UN Women grant to expand the Stop the Violence work, forcing the KGGA to give her paid work to manage the project. The fact of a *kijana* bringing in a large sum of money from a prestigious institution challenged the status quo and appeared to lead to some tensions. Consequently, the project more broadly was operating with a lack of institutional support. For example, Yvonne told me that when she started organising trainings for Guide Leaders who would be delivering the Stop the Violence project, she was accused by senior leadership of being 'uppity' and thinking her project was 'special' compared to other projects, because Guide Leaders running other projects (on tree planting, for example) did not receive special training. Thus, instead of getting support to ensure a highly sensitive

---

[7] All names are pseudonyms with the exception of Fridah (the facilitator in Kibera) and Yvonne (the Stop the Violence focal person in the KGGA office). As women deeply committed to the cause of girls' rights, these two women wished their contribution to the project to be acknowledged by the use of their real names in the thesis.

[8] This definition is enshrined in the Kenyan constitution which defines youth as those who have reached 18 but not yet 35 (CoK, 2010).

project was conducted ethically, she instead received obstructions from senior leadership. Thus the real organisational culture of the KGGA, as well as the ideal values it holds, did not provide a conducive context within which the project could begin.

Choosing locations within Kenya

The Stop the Violence project was planned to be piloted in four locations within Kenya: the Rift Valley, Nairobi, Mombassa and Kisumu, thus giving me a choice of four prospective research sites. When the research was initially being planned, I had decided to base myself in Kisumu for the duration of the research and work with four groups of Girl Guides within the city. Kisumu was chosen out of the four locations for two reasons. Firstly, I had previously lived in the Kisumu region for a year providing me with good cultural knowledge which I (correctly) hoped would be of use to me during my fieldwork. Secondly, research indicated that Kisumu had high rates of violence; for example, one study found that 60% of women in Nyanza Province[9] had experienced violence compared to 30% in Coast Province (Moser and Dani, 2008).

 On arrival in Kisumu, it became clear that this plan would not work. Firstly, as soon as I arrived I learnt that girl guides within Kisumu only existed within the formal school system, this was not ideal for the research aims since I wanted to gain an understanding of the difference delivering this kind of education within a truly non-formal setting would make (the lack of research on such non-formal education curricula has been described earlier in the thesis). Secondly, I was informed that there was only one school in which the curriculum could currently be delivered since in the other schools that were being considered no teacher had been trained on the facilitation of the curriculum. Other schools could be included at a later date, however it was unclear how long the delays this might cause to my research would be. Part of me did not want to conduct any of the research within formal schools, however, by this stage, it was necessary to balance my own agendas with the expectations and needs of my partner organisation who were now expecting me to work with them in Kisumu and had

---

[9] Nyanza Province being the province in which Kisumu is located.

gone to extensive effort to prepare for me for work in that location. I therefore made the decision to spend my first six months working with the one school that was ready to go in Kisumu, and my second six months working with the Kibera Girls Centre[10] (KGC) in Nairobi, to gain insight into how the curriculum worked in a truly non-formal setting. It was felt that comparing two very different research sites such as these, although not in the original plan, would be particularly insightful for feeding into emerging debates within the geography of education about the difference the social space in which education is delivered in makes (Collins and Coleman, 2008: Thiem, 2009: Holloway et al, 2010). Indeed, the opportunity to research the delivery of an identical curriculum within a formal school alongside a non-formal girls' centre appeared ideally suited to engaging with such questions. As Valentine (2001) argues, research designs need to be flexible enough to change according to new realities and knowledges encountered in the field, and this is a good example of a significant change made based on such new knowledge. As the research happened in 'two halves', in Kisumu and Nairobi, the fieldwork will be described separately for each location after the sections on ethics and methodological plans which apply to both contexts. The map in Figure Four shows the location of the two research sites, Kisumu and Nairobi in Kenya.

---

[10] The KGC has been named because it is the only project of its kind run by the KGGA. Therefore, it is not possible to disguise its identity by giving it a pseudonym.

Figure three: Map of locations in Kenya

Ethics

Ethical issues that need to be addressed in any research are that of consent,
confidentiality and doing no harm. Extra complexity is added to all these issues
when working with young people and on a sensitive topic such as violence.
Additionally, this research, in line with the ethos of action research, aimed not
only to do no harm, but also to do good (Kemmis and Mctaggart, 1988: Boyden
and Ennew, 1997: Wheeler, 2009). It was hoped that the research would do good
in the immediate lives of the participants by providing opportunity for
'collective, self-reflective enquiry' (Kemmis and McTaggart, 1988:1) as well as
the broader good that the knowledge gained about effective programming would
hope to bring about.

There are particular issues around gaining informed consent when working with
young people. One is that the power relations between the child and adult
researcher may pressure the child to be involved in the research (Leach 2006).

This power relation can be compounded when working in a school context characterised by obedience and adult authority. Within schools, it can be difficult for individual children to decline participation once teachers and school administration have already approved the research (Morrow and Richards, 1996). Every effort was made to reduce this power relation, however, it is acknowledged that my attempts would not have been able to eliminate these power imbalances completely. To choose participants, in both contexts, I explained the nature of the research to all the girls (or all the Girl Guides in the case of Kisumu) and then asked the girls to write down their names if they would like to be involved. Since not all the girls wrote their names down I felt that those who did not want to participate had felt free to do so. Consent was treated as an ongoing process with continual reassurance that they could drop out of the research at any point or refuse to participate in any activity or answer any question. In Kisumu, some of the girls declined to be interviewed on particular days, asking me to return on a different day due to their schoolwork, whilst in Kibera, two girls asked to take part in the project but without being interviewed. These incidents gave me some confidence that the girls felt able to make their wishes known and to say 'no' to my requests. Another issue is that of obtaining written consent, while showing that consent is taken seriously, it may make the participant feel that they are obligated to complete the research (Save the Children 2004). For this reason verbal consent was used in the research.

Confidentiality was practised in line with WAGGG's child protection policy. That meant that confidentiality was ensured unless a participant disclosed something that showed them to be at risk, in which case there would be a duty to report. This was explained to each girl at the beginning of every interview so that they would be informed of the consequences if they did disclose abuse. None of the girls disclosed ongoing abuse in their interviews, however, some shared stories of 'friends' or 'cousins' who had, or were, affected by violence. I felt that it was possible the girls were sometimes actually sharing their own stories, but due to shame or fear did not want to claim the story as their own. It is possible too that the knowledge that their stories would be reported could have prevented them from sharing or admitting that they were the girl in their story. The ability to maintain confidentiality was also considered when choosing research

assistants, since they would also be privy to the information shared. Doing no harm, and attempting to do good, had to be considered in different ways throughout the research and these will be discussed in the descriptions of the fieldwork.

Methods

I turned my conceptual reflections on methodology described in Chapter Four into a concrete plan for my research, paying particular attention to the type of knowledge that would be gained from each method. How each method relates to the research objectives and epistemological considerations is summarised in Table One below. This table is intended to convey my plans for conducting fieldwork. In reality, not everything was achievable as planned, and the detailed account of my fieldwork that makes up the rest of this chapter will show exactly which data I was able to collect.

Table One: Planned methods by research question

Research objective	Type of knowledge sought	Methods	Time frame
1.To understand how girls perceive the problem of violence in their communities before and after completing the curriculum	Constructivist/interpretative knowledge of how girls perceive the nature and causes of violence as well as some factual insight into the empirical reality of violence.	**1. Group community mapping and problem tree exercise:** *Purpose:* to ascertain the nature of violence in the community, where it is perceived to happen and why it is perceived to happen. *Brief description:* Community mapping involves the girls drawing maps of their communities illustrating where they believe different kinds of violence take place. The problem tree exercise involves showing why different types of violence are believed to happen. **2. Narrative role play:** *Purpose:* to show perceptions of violence as sequences of events rather than static depictions. *Brief description:* In small groups the girls choose a type of violence from those they have depicted on their maps and they design a role play showing the sequence of events that are believed to lead up to that type of violence occurring. They can then discuss what they thought about the issues they have shown in their role plays. 3. **Semi-structured interviews:** Semi-structured interviews will gather data on individual views and experiences.	Before and after the curriculum

2. To understand the messages about gender, rights and violence that are delivered to groups of girl guides in Kenya and how these are received and interpreted.	Factual knowledge of what happens in the curriculum as well as knowledge about how the girls experience and interpret the curriculum.	**1.Ethnographic observations:** *Purpose:* to understand what actually happens during the curriculum sessions. *Brief description:* qualitative notes will be taken during the sessions detailing the content, responses to it and interactions between participants. **2. Semi-structured interviews:** Interviews conducted at the end of the project will provide additional insight into how the participants viewed the curriculum.	During and after the curriculum.
3. To explore the impact the curriculum has on girls' gendered identities, self-esteem and beliefs about their rights.	Knowledge of beliefs and attitudes and girls' identity constructions – focus here is entirely about meaning making.	**1.Drawing and group discussion:** *Purpose:* to gain insight into girls' normative views about what girls should be like. *Brief description:* in groups the participants draw two pictures of girls and annotate with their ideas about what they think girls should and shouldn't be like and do. **2. Anonymous writing activity:** *Purpose:* to tap into private (non-normative) views, feelings and experiences which may be different to those expressed in group activities. *Brief description:* the participants do a piece of private writing in response to two questions 'what is it like being a girl in this community' and 'what are my hopes for the future'. **3. Ethnographic observations:** *Purpose:* To capture how the girls perform gender in everyday life and how this compares with what they say during formal research activities. *Brief description:* Taking notes about informal conversations and behavior observed during activities. **4. Semi-structured interviews:** *Purpose:* The interviews before and after the curriculum will also gain insight into gendered beliefs.	Before and after the curriculum (during for observations)
4. To explore the impact the curriculum has at the wider community level on girls' abilities to claim rights to be free from violence.	Factual knowledge about the extent to which the project has led to any material change.	**1. Semi-structured interviews with girls:** Interviews conducted at the end of the curriculum will explore the practical impact of the curriculum on participants' lives.	Before and after the curriculum.

5. To gain insight into what works in NFE programmes to empower girls, paying attention to content, pedagogy and the spaces in which education occurs.		These insights will be gleaned by analysing all the other data, in particular: post curriculum interviews, anonymous feedback forms and observations.	During and after the curriculum

Part One: Kisumu

Kisumu Town

Kisumu is located alongside Lake Victoria on the Western edge of Kenya. It is Kenya's third largest city (after Nairobi and Mombassa) with an estimated population of 409,298 in 2009 (Census, 2009) and is the principal town in Western Kenya. However, although it is the third city in terms of population, it is commonly considered by Kenyans to be the 'fifth city', behind Eldoret and Nakuru, in terms of development, infrastructure and services. Indeed, according to the Kenyan government 49.6% of the population of Kisumu are classified as 'poor' as compared to 37.6% for Mombassa, 39.4% for Nakuru and 23.3% for Nairobi (Kenya Open Data, 2006). Kisumu is primary populated by the Luo people, a Nilotic ethnic group originally from Sudan who have lived in Kenya since pre-colonial days. Being an urban centre, there are also many inhabitants from other ethnic groups who have moved to the city for work or other reasons. The Luo are traditionally fisherfolk and live all along the Kenyan shores of Lake Victoria where finishing is practised as a primary economic activity.

Kisumu (and the region surrounding it) has the highest HIV prevalence rate within Kenya. This is thought to be for a variety of cultural reasons, both 'traditional' (Luginaah et al, 2004: Ayikukwei et al, 2008) and 'modern' (Alison and Seeley, 2004: Bene, 2008). In terms of traditional culture, the Luo people practise wife inheritance whereby when a man dies the widow is inherited as a

wife by the husband's brother. Meanwhile, ritual cleansing is the practise whereby when a man dies the wife is required to have sex with another man as soon as possible in order to cleanse the house. If she refuses, it is believed to bring a curse on the entire family. Research by Lugunaah et al (2004) shows how women are attempting to resist and challenge these practices in the era of HIV/AIDS; however, this resistance is not always successful[11]. The Luo are also one of the few major ethnic groups in Kenya not to practice male circumcision, therefore increasing the likelihood of HIV transmission during unprotected sex[12]. In terms of modern culture, the selling of sex for fish, known locally as *Jaboya*, started to receive media coverage (for example, The Citizen, 2013: BBC, 2014) during the time of the research, but has been recorded by academic researchers since 2004 (Allison and Seeley, 2004: Bene, 2008), a decade earlier. In Kenya, men catch fish, whilst women buy fish from them and sell them to consumers in the market. *Jaboya* has arisen in a situation in which the competition to buy fish from fishermen combined with gender relations and norms led fishermen to stop selling fish for money alone; and instead required sex to be part of the transaction. This practice has had a significant impact on HIV prevalence in Kisumu since fishing is a major player in the economy. The practice of *Jaboya* was referred to a number of times by the girls in Kisumu, some of whom have relatives working in the fishing industry.

Kisumu is a small, friendly and slow-paced town where people are rarely in a rush. As such there were plenty of opportunities to chat informally with a wide range of community members about gendered violence, thus enhancing my broader understanding of violence in the cultural context. These conversations happened in a variety of places (bars, restaurants, the street, my apartment compound) and with diverse people (wealthy, poor, young, old, men, women). However, by far the most frequent location in which conversations about violence took place was in the office of my apartment compound. In the office sat my landlord, Nyandara, a well known *mzee* in the community, and Opiyo, the compound care-taker. On the table were never-ending pots of *chai* and

---

[11] Data are not available on the exact prevalence of these practices amongst the Luo in present day Kenya. Anecdotally, however, it seems these practices are now very uncommon amongst well educated, urban Luos but continue to be practised in rural and poor urban communities.
[12] Medical male circumcision is estimated to reduce the risk of female-to-male HIV transmission by 60% (WHO, 2012).

throughout the day a constant stream of visitors appeared to do business, have *chai* and chat to *mzee*. These visitors included tenants and employees of the compound (maids, nannies etc), friends and customers buying shares in Kenyan companies (*mzee* also being an agent for the Kenyan Stock Exchange). It was my habit to have tea in the office in the morning and after coming back from school in the afternoon almost every day during the week, thus providing lots of opportunity to chat with the varied stream of visitors. The topic of violence emerged spontaneously on a number of occasions, challenging my perception of violence as an issue shrouded in silence. However, after learning about the nature of my research and my interest in gender relations more broadly, *mzee* almost always made a point of introducing the topic to provide me with the opportunity of hearing the views and experiences of ordinary Kenyans. *Mzee* and I had an ongoing, good-natured dispute about appropriate gendered divisions of labour within the home. When other *wazee* (old men) came to visit he was fond of introducing me by jokingly saying 'this young lady is in Kenya teaching our young ladies not to cook for their husbands when they grow up', which would be met with a mixture of shock, horror and laughter.

From these conversations I gained real insight into how 'normal' domestic violence had been in the local culture, but also some indicators of change. All the *wazee* I talked with openly admitted to having beat their wives, especially when they were younger. Many explained that beating one's wife was a necessary means of ensuring that she behaved well and fulfilled her wifely duties correctly. Nyandara's youngest daughter got married during the time of the research and he told me that if she came back to his home crying because of beatings his response would depend on the reason. If she was beaten due to her husband's drunkenness, this would be considered totally unacceptable, however, if it was 'because she had failed to wash his underpants or cook his dinner', she would receive no sympathy. Many of the older men explained how they wished their daughters educational and career success; however, they felt that this should not disrupt their participation in domestic work. This contrast is telling of the state of gender relations in Kenya. However, amongst young men, there were clear signs of change, with violence rarely being articulated as acceptable and male participation in domestic work being far more likely. I also learnt that the extent

of violence against girls in the community, and the places where it took place were well known. On hearing which school I was conducting my research in, the response of almost everyone was 'Oh, but that is one of the schools where girls are definitely *not* victims of violence within the school'. They would then proceed to tell me stories of other schools in the town where abuse was widely perceived to happen; yet still nothing was done about it.

First week in the field

On arrival in Kisumu, the KGGA Programme manager for the region, Pacifica, had organised a tight programme of events for my first week, involving a mixture of days spent attending 'programmes' at schools where large troupes of girl guides were located and going through the formalities of meeting Senior Education Official (SEOs) in order to get approval for my research. The KGG Programme Manager was also the Education Officer for Gender and HIV/AIDS in Kisumu County. Having this contact meant that the formalities of meeting SEOs and getting approval for my research could be completed quickly and easily. The programmes involved girl guides at the different schools performing songs, dances, poems and dramas they had learned on the themes of violence, sexual abstinence and environmental conservation (key themes within the work of the Kenya Girl Guides). Attending these events provided an initial introduction into the culture of the Kisumu Girl Guides, such as the prominence given to sexual abstinence in all their work. It also provided me with an opportunity to understand the extent to which the girl guides operated as part of the formal school system in Kisumu, which led me to rethink my research plans as described above.

The School

I was introduced to the school where I would be conducting my research within the first couple of weeks. The school was a town centre government school attended by children from a range of estates in Kisumu, but where approximately two-thirds of the children came from slum communities. On arrival in the school, the beautiful, clean and organised school compound was immediately noticeable. Whereas many government schools in Kenya, and especially those attended by poor children, are disorganised and ramshackled, the compound of this school

bloomed with flowers, tress and vegetables, maintained by the students for educational purposes, and was entirely free of litter. The second immediately noticeable feature was that if I arrived during class time I was met with the sound of silence and a total absence of students wandering the compound. This was because, unlike many government schools, where teacher shortages are compounded by absent teachers and pupils are therefore free to roam, in this school every class was always attended by a teacher. These were the first signs that this school had a strict and highly pro-active leadership team. Meeting the head teacher confirmed this initial impression. He was a highly articulate and committed man, and demonstrated a clear passion for making sure his school was organised, safe and nurturing. Gaining his support and consent for my research was not difficult, however, it came with a strict stipulation that the students must not miss class to participate in research activities and that their academic performance must not be affected.

Plate one: Girl Guides marching in their leafy school compound May 2013

Plate two: Girl Guides at a special school assembly to welcome me to the school May 2013

The school had been chosen as one of the 'Stop the Violence' pilot schools in Kenya, and the project had therefore already started in the school earlier that year. While in reality, as I later came to realise, very little had actually been done in relation to the project, they were keen to show their involvement and commitment. The school was covered in posters reading 'Stop the violence: speak out for girls rights', and on my first visit to the school they had a special assembly where Girl Guides performed poems, songs and dramas on the theme of violence that they had been taught by their teachers.

Plate Three: Example of a poster hanging in the school compound, May 2013
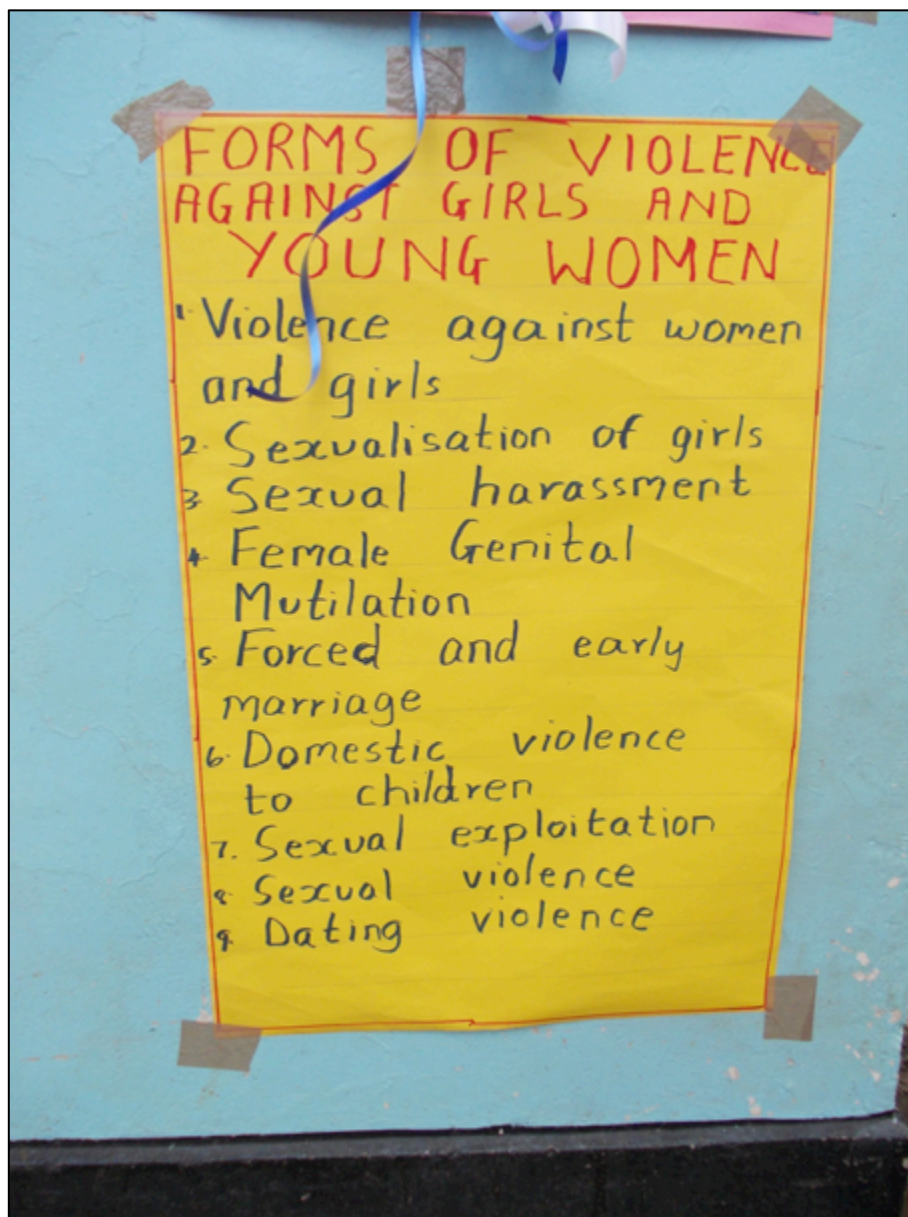
Research Assistant and language

Much has been written about the problems of working with translators in social research, who may not simply 'translate', but 'interpret' based on their own positionality, identity and beliefs (Smith, 1996: Veeck, 2001). Learning the local language is therefore seen as ideal for researchers. In my case, I had the opportunity to study Kiswahili for two and a half months before commencing my research giving me a reasonable understanding of the lingua franca of Kenya. However, it was still necessary to employ someone to assist with language during the research. This was partly because my study period was not long

enough to gain full fluency in Kiswahili. But it was also because of the complexity of language use in Kenya, and amongst urban youth from poor communities in particular. In Kenya, it has become normal to continually mix English and Kiswahili (the two main languages) with both languages being used within the same sentence in particular ways. Within the last decade a new language known as Sheng has become the main language of youth in Kenya. The language started within Nairobi's informal settlements and has now become a key language of urban youth (Halliday, 2014). The language is a 'slang' language, based on Swahili and English as well drawing on other ethnic languages such as Kikuyu and Luo. Sheng is constantly evolving and impossible to learn through formal means, yet it was likely to be the most comfortable language for my young, urban research participants (Halliday, 2014). Being able to use their informal, street language, was seen as likely to increase the richness of research data and for this reason employing a youth to make this possible was seen as prudent.

I did not simply want to employ a 'translator', however, but a research assistant. I define a translator as someone who simply has the language skills to translate what has been said, where as a research assisant is someone who is engaged with the research aims and able to assist by asking questions to probe participants' responses and helping to facilitate workshops. In practice, however, as Turner (2010) argues, those employed by foreign researchers as 'translators' are still usually required to fill a 'cultural consultant role', leading to little practical difference between the two roles. Employing a research assistant was seen as useful, firstly because I was an 'outsider' in the community and because of this, a local research assistant was seen as useful source of cultural knowledge and insight (Turner, 2010: Kiragu, 2013). Work on positionality has tended to focus on factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, nationality and socio-economic status. The research assistant I employed was a local seventeen year old female named Anita who lived in the economically-deprived estate of Nyandalla which many of the research participants also came from. She was therefore an 'insider' according to all these categories and did provide an important source of local knowledge. Kiragu (2013) challenges the over-emphasis in writing on positionality related to easily observable traits such as gender and age at the

expense of examining the influence of less tangible factors such as values, beliefs and life experience. In relation to this, what particularly pleased me about Anita as we got to know each other over my first weeks in Kisumu and shared our views, opinions and life experiences was that we were 'talking from the same page' when it came to our views on violence.

The Research Participants

Twenty-eight primary school girls took part in the research in Kisumu. The girls were selected as described in the ethics section above. However, since there were more volunteers than spaces for participants, I randomly selected a group of those who had volunteered from each year group to ensure a spread across ages. Kenya primary schools consist of nursery class followed by Standard One up until Standard Eight during which the Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) is sat which determines entry to secondary school. I decided to include girls from Standard Five, Six and Seven in the project. Standards One – Four pupils were not used as I felt the spread of ages would be too wide for the girls to attend curriculum sessions together given the very different stages of development that would then be included. Standard Eight pupils were excluded due to their busyness in preparing for the KCSE exams. The majority of the participants were Christian whilst a small number were Muslim. The majority lived in low-income settlements or slums, however, a minority lived in more upmarket neighborhoods. The majority were from the regionally dominant Luo tribe, however, some participants were from other tribes such as Kissi and Luhya who make up sizeable minorities in Kisumu. Although data was collected on all these aspects for each participant, I will not detail tribal affiliation, religion and home estate next to the pseudonym for each girl, as this detail would potentially enable any reader familiar with the participants to deduce with pseudonym is being used to describe which girl. The girls were aged between 9-14, with the highest concentration being 12 or 13. Their pseudonyms are: Faith, Laura, Sylvia, Lilian, Akinyi, Violet, Mercy, Sharon, Cynthia, Florence, Aziza, Hope, Achieng, Awur, Grace, Margaret, Vivian Atieno, Evelyn, Susan, Anita, Martha, Karen, Akoth, Dorothy, Charity, Maria and Elizabeth.

Table Two: Timeframe of research conducted in Kisumu 2013

Time	Activity
April, 2013	• Meeting Ministry of Education officials to get approval for the research at different levels. • Meeting and establishing relationships colleagues within the Kenya Girl Guides, Kisumu. • Hiring a Research Assistant • Choosing a school and establishing relationships with school leadership.
May	• Selection of research participants. • Pre-curriculum data collection Semi- structured interviews with 30 girl guides in groups of threes (10 interviews) • Participatory workshops on 'being a girl' and 'mapping community violence with groups of 15 girl guides (total of 4 workshops)
June – August	• Attempt to start the delivery of the curriculum – first interrupted by ethical concerns around the messages delivered in the curriculum, and then interrupted by national teachers strike followed by the August holiday (July-August).
September	• Completion of the curriculum
October	• Post-curriculum interviews • Control focus-group to examine whether base-line attitudes of pupils not part of the girl guides differ from those who were part of the girl guides

Collecting pre-curriculum data

My first month of fieldwork was spent collecting the pre-curriculum data (see Table Two). The major challenge during this time was the time constraints of working in a school with a strict regime in which no pupil was allowed to miss class under any circumstance. The head teacher allocated me a daily 70 minute slot in which I was allowed to conduct my activities with the girls. To conduct the research as I had planned it, I would need longer chunks of time. I deliberated over whether to push for more time, but after discussing the issue with colleagues it became clear that this would be considered disrespectful and that it would be more appropriate to adapt my plans to fit in with the slots that I had been allocated[13]. Therefore, I decided to stick to my plan of doing participatory sessions on 'being a girl' and 'understanding community violence' but to cut some of the activities that I had planned to do within these sessions to create a programme that would work within the time-slot. This meant that I did not use narrative role-play or the problem tree exercise (described in table one), but I did use community mapping (for the understanding community violence workshop) and drawing and discussion and anonymous writing (for the being a girl workshop). Data from these workshops are discussed in Chapter Six. The girls were shy at the beginning of the first workshop, saying little as we got started with the activities. However, as they proceeded with the first group activity (drawing and writing about 'an ideal girl') they gradually relaxed, their chatter growing louder and ripples of laughter emerging from the groups tightly huddled together over flipchart paper. Anita and I wandered round to check what they doing and chat to them. By the time we came back to the big group to share ideas the majority of participants were relaxed and chatty.

Similarly, while I had originally planned to interview each girl individually, I amended my plans to interview them in groups of threes meaning a total of ten pre-curriculum group interviews were conducted instead of thirty individual interviews. The choice of group instead of individual interviews had implications for the kind of data collected. Group interviews with children have been seen as advantageous in helping children to feel comfortable and confident and allowing

---

[13] Even the daily seventy-minute slot I had been allocated often did not come to fruition. Approximately a third of the time I would arrive at the school to be told the students had been set an impromptu exam/needed to clean the school compound etc. and could not be released to attend their session that day. In this way, access to my students remained a constant worry.

an understanding of how participants challenge and engage with each other's views, potentially yielding richer dater (Lewis, 1992; Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). However, they may have the disadvantage of leading 'consensus views' to be articulated and either discouraging the sharing of personal information or creating ethical complexities about how to handle such sharing in a group (Lewis, 1992; Burman et al, 2001). With regard to my research aims, sharing personal information was not necessary while understanding changes to the way the girls articulated and debated their viewpoints was highly useful. Therefore, this change, while decided for pragmatic reasons was seen as appropriate conceptually too. However, although personal stories of violence were not directly being sought, the possibility of them being shared was present. The group interviews went well and the girls were largely open and relaxed and my research assistant was as excellent as I had hoped her to be. She gently probed the girls as appropriate and encouraged them to switch from using English when she felt they had more to say which they were unable to articulate in English. She instinctively knew not to express judgement or her own opinions whatever the girls said and my own ability to understand Swahili and Sheng allowed me to be confident that she did not add her own slant when asked to translate my words. Although the girls were not overly shy, when asked 'why' questions or to explain the reason for an opinion they had expressed, they usually fell silent:

I: Do you think its good for girls to be friends with boys, just friends?
(all shake their heads to say no)
RA: Why do you think it's not good?
(silence)
RA: Do you have any friends who are boys?
(all shake their heads)
RA: So why don't you have friends who are boys?
Violet: They can get you pregnant when you are still young
I: Just by talking to them? Or is it difficult to just be friends with boys?
(silence)
I: So you've said girls should stay away from boys and dress well to prevent violence. Do you think there is anything boys can do to prevent violence?
(silence)
I: Is it inevitable that boys will be violent, or can they not be violent?
(long silence)
I: You are not sure if boys can do anything?
Violet: we are not sure

This seemed to be because they were so unused to being asked questions that involved explaining their opinions. In this way, both their silences and their

speech constituted useful data, which spoke in different ways about what could and couldn't be said.

Several writers have written about the complexities of handling and reflecting upon one's emotions when conducting research on sensitive topics such as violence (Burman et al, 2001: Blackman, 2007: Parkes, 2008). Burman et al (2001) discuss the difficulties in knowing the 'right' way to respond when a participant becomes upset during an interview:

> 'What do you do, for example, if a participant looks like she is about to cry? (…) Should you fill uncomfortable silences or should you sit back and let the participants speak?

They conclude that there is no simple solution to such questions or generalizable right answers, but stress the importance of reflexivity. Blackman (2007) argues for the need for researchers to come clean about the 'hidden emotional ethnographies' of their research. In my case, the dominant emotions I felt when conducting the initial interviews were anger and sadness at the opinions they expressed and the blame they accorded to girls for violence. Although I think these emotions were kept well hidden there was one instance when I could not hide my emotions. Whilst most of the girls refrained from sharing personal experiences of violence, in my final group interview, one of the girls shared about the domestic violence in her home when she was a small child, almost resulting in the death of her mother. As she talked, she broke down and cried and all of us shed tears listening to her story. While part of me wished to be more in control, the shared reaction also constituted something of a bonding experience. Thankfully, the girl's mother had left the abusive husband and her and her mother were now building a simple but secure life together. I tried to end the interview on a positive note, focusing on the good things in her life now so that the girls didn't leave the interview in a distressed state.

A final piece of piece of data that fits in with the pre-curriculum phase of the project was a control focus-group with girls who were not part of the Girl Guides (and who were not participating in the Voices Against Violence programme), covering the same themes as the other pre-curriculum interviews. As shown in Table Two, this was conducted in October 2013, at the same as the post-curriculum interviews with the Girl Guides. This had not been part of the original

plan, but was decided upon after initial data analysis was shared with WAGGGS. Staff at WAGGGS had expressed some concern that aspects of the girls' cultural beliefs may be portrayed as stemming from their socialisation within the Girl Guides, when these beliefs may actually come from the wider culture and be no different to those articulated by other girls in the school. In order to enable insight into whether Girl Guides performed femininity and expressed viewpoints that were distinct from their peers, a focus-group with nine other girls was conducted. This did indeed show that girls who were not part of the Girl Guides articulated similar beliefs about gender and violence. Nevertheless, many of the Girl Guides had referred to the teaching they received within the Girl Guides when discussing their viewpoints. Overall, what this showed is that the Girl Guides in Kisumu were socialising girls in a way that was congruent, rather than critical, of dominant cultural norms. In this way, the participants were likely to have been influenced by their membership of the Girl Guides, but this influence was generally not divergent from wider cultural norms.

The curriculum

The greatest dilemma I faced was after observing the first curriculum session. The facilitator was a middle aged teacher called Rose, who had been chosen due to her being active in leading the Girl Guides within the school. She did not have previous experience working on gendered violence, but had attended a training run by the KGGA on the Stop the Violence project. In that session the teacher lectured the girls telling them that:

 'girls are also responsible for violence, they go out wearing clothes deliberately designed to attract men, girls, you must take care'

Female responsibility for violence remained a major theme of the lesson, and as she discussed this theme, her tone was harsh and stressed, the girls listened in silence, gloomy expressions on their faces. After this session I was left with a dilemma about how to proceed and a need to think carefully about my role. When planning the research I had seen myself as a 'passive observer', interested in documenting the delivery of the curriculum and its effectiveness. I was keen not to influence the delivery, since surely this would reduce the validity of my data? Yet at the same time, I recognised the messages that were being delivered

as a form of violence in themselves, and asked myself, am I complicit in causing violence if I remain a passive observer? Many researchers have discussed the tensions between being a researcher and activist (see Kitchin and Hubbard, 1999 for a review). Participatory Action Research by its nature aims to 'act', and to bring about benefits to participants (Pain, 2004) however although I had conceived of my research as an Action Research project, conversely, I had felt that the actual curriculum should not be interfered in if I wanted to ascertain the potential of such a project to work in a 'normal' (i.e without outside intervention) context.

Other research that has discussed related dilemmas includes Leach (2006) and Morrell et al (2012). Both of these papers discuss research on gender-based violence in schools in which researchers had to make difficult decisions about how to respond when evidence suggested that teachers they were working with were having sexual relationships with pupils. In both cases, the researchers wanted to tread a line between the need to take action, the need to take account of cultural issues and the need to protect the confidentiality of research participants. Both of these authors (and others discussing ethics when conducting research in the Global South e.g Reissman, 2005; Kiragu and Warrington, 2012) stress the limitations of universal codes of ethics for addressing ethical dilemmas and the need for situated approaches that allow researchers to think through ethical issues contextually. Kiragu and Warrington (2012) use the concept of 'moral imagination' to describe this process.

As it happened, I had plenty of time to think through these issues, as immediately after the first, disastrous, session, Kenyan teachers went on a national strike, and the school, along with all other public schools in Kenya were shut. It was not until after the August holidays that I was able to continue. I decided during this time that to do nothing, and research a process that was so clearly likely to cause harm, would make myself complicit in causing harm to my research participants, and was therefore not an appropriate way to proceed. Instead, my position needed to change from being purely a researcher, to also an activist and a facilitator, helping the teacher, and the Kenya Girl Guides Association (KGGA) more broadly, to deliver the project safely and ethically. Much writing on activist

identities discusses the way in which individuals 'doing activism' resist the identity label 'activist', as it is seen as connoting something, special, super-human and beyond their own capabilities (Thompson, 1997: Blackstone, 2004: Bobel, 2007). In contrast, in keeping with the core concept of Action Research (Pain, 2004), I define being an activist in this context as simply being someone who 'acts' at all appropriate opportunities in relation to the issue in question, rather than merely observing and researching. This meant, instead of watching the project play out naturally, I needed to 'act' to enhance the impact and quality of the project, where it was possible for me to do so. Before commencing the curriculum again in September, I met with the teacher responsible for facilitating and went through the curriculum with her, guiding her and discussing some of the myths and issues around violence. Additionally, at this time, the KGGA was awarded a large grant to roll out the expansion of the Stop the Violence curriculum in 50 schools in Kisumu county. I was therefore also able to take the opportunity to involve myself in the management of the project more broadly by helping to select and train teachers. Thus, whilst initially envisaging myself as a researcher researching the activities of the KGGA, my role continually expanded and deepened.

When we finally re-started the curriculum in September, the process was completed without major hitch. However, it was clear that the political context of the strike continued to affect the process. A sizeable chunk of the school year had been missed due to the strike, and this needed to be caught up before the end of year exams in November. Consequently, every member of the school, both pupils and teachers, showed significant signs of stress. The teacher responsible for facilitating the curriculum clearly saw the project as an additional burden on top of an already heavy workload. She constantly told me, 'I just can't wait to clear this, I just can't wait to get it over'. It was apparent that she was seeing it as something that needed to be 'ticked off her list', rather than something she was engaging with and taking time to prepare for. How this impacted on delivery will be discussed further in the data analysis part of the thesis. Another way in which the political context of the strike impacted on the research was that some teachers now wanted to use the free slot with which I had been allocated for my activities to do catch-up classes. When only nine out of thirty girls reported for my first

meeting of the term I initially thought it was due to a lack of interest, especially after the difficult first session the previous term.-However, I eventually came to learn that some of their teachers had threatened to beat the girls if they came to my sessions instead of attending their extra classes. This presented another ethical dilemma, since I clearly did not want my participants to suffer violence in order to attend a violence prevention programme. Thankfully, after intervention from the head teacher the students were released without punishment.

Post-curriculum

Post-curriculum data collection was completed smoothly. This left the issues of how to compensate the school and my research participants and how to raise awareness of the project within the school more broadly. Boyden and Ennew (1997) and Save the Children (2004) discuss the pros and cons of compensating participants with regards to working with children. The pros are that compensation is considered a fair and ethical return for the time given to a research project and that it may enable and encourage participation. Whereas the cons are that it can create a situation where participants feel obligated to continue the research and that it can create conflicts and disputes between participants and non-participants. Taking account of these factors, it was decided not to offer compensation on an ongoing basis, but to give the girls a final surprise gift at the end of the project. Since participants did not know they were to receive a gift, there was no danger of participation due to the need or desire for a gift. Additionally, local culture dictates that giving a certificate to mark successful completion of a project is required. Therefore, at the end of the project each girl was given a gift pack including a certificate, chocolate, school supplies and a bracelet. It was decided to combine the giving out of these packs with a special assembly about the Stop the Violence project where the girls would share what they had learnt and perform some poems and songs they had written. This was a resounding success and their teachers, invited guests and myself were amazed at the articulate and confident way the girls shared their learning with the school.

Deciding what would be a fair compensation to the school more broadly was a bit trickier. I was initially urged to buy a present for the head teacher, to thank him for allowing me to conduct research in his school and providing support

throughout. However, I felt that this could cause the kinds of conflict suggested by Boyden and Ennew (1997 and Save the Children (2004) since other members of staff had also helped and supported me in different ways. Therefore, it would be difficult to know where to stop if personal gifts were bought for members of staff. Eventually, after discovering that the school's water tank had recently been destroyed, I came up with the idea to purchase a new water tank for the school and this was presented at our special assembly. Since all pupils and teachers would use and appreciate the water, it was hoped that this reduced the likelihood of conflict about who did and did not receive compensation.

Part two: Kibera, Nairobi

Kibera

Kibera is often described as the biggest slum in Africa, although there is no consensus over how large the population actually is. For a long time, it was generally considered that it is somewhere between 700,000 and 1 million (Davis, 2006: Sartori, Nembrini and Stauffer, 2002). However, in 2009 the Kenya Population and Housing Census reported the population as being only 170,000, shattering the image of Kibera as the world's biggest slum (Karanja, 2009). The population is also fairly transient. For example, around 50% of the girls at KGC did not grow up in Kibera but came there from their rural homes after finishing (or dropping out from) school in search of urban employment opportunities. Thus the continued expansion of urban slums relates to rural people's imagination of urban life. Most of the population live on less than US$1 a day and basic services and infrastructure are lacking. Large families live in one crowded room and many families share one toilet with only 600 toilets being available for the entire population. However, despite widespread poverty, walking down the main shopping street of Kibera gives the impression of a vibrant economy rather than hopelessness. Anything and everything is sold and made here for cheap prices and with great enthusiasm. It is presumably this part of life in Kibera that led an *Economist* writer to describe it as 'the most entrepreneurial place on the planet' (Economist, 2012).

Life for women and girls is especially hard in Kibera with extremely high levels of gender-based violence being reported (Erulkar and Matheka, 2007: Dodoo et

al, 2007: Swart, 2009). For example, Erulkar and Matheka (2007) found that 45% of girls in their study described their first sexual experience as forced. What has become known as 'survival sex', which is the practice of exchanging food, water and other basic items for sex, is widespread (Dodoo et al, 2007). I was told that it was common for mothers to tell their daughters *nimepata ugali, utafuate mboga*. This literally translates as 'I have got the *ugali* (staple food), you search for vegetables'. What this actually means is that the mother has had sex to put food on the table, but needs the daughter to contribute through the same means occasionally (the vegetables being the smallest, cheapest part of the meal). Due to these practices women in Nairobi's slums are three times more likely than other Kenyan women to have multiple sexual relationships (Dodoo et al, 2007). The girls at KGC often said that their peers in Kibera feel that sex work and domestic work are the only income-generating options open to Kibera women.

Kibera is only one of a number of slums in Nairobi, however, the 'biggest slum in the world image' led it to become 'the most studied and visited slum in the world'. Indeed, Nairobians often joke that Kibera now has more NGOs and research projects than it has toilets, which is probably accurate. Although there is a lot of scepticism regarding many of the NGOs operating in Kibera, perceptions of slum dwellers do indicate that Kibera has improved and now has a better quality of life compared to other slums in Nairobi. For example, it was common for residents to tell me that 'although life is hard, at least it's better than those other slums like Mathare[14]'.

Kibera Girls Centre

The Kibera Girls Centre (KGC) has been running as a project of the KGGA since 1992. Its stated aim is to 'give access to informal education and provide a secure ground for character development focusing on vocational and leadership training as well as, economic empowerment for vulnerable girls in Kibera Slum' (KGGA, 2014). At the time of my research the centre had just over one hundred girls in attendance. The students choose between vocational courses in tailoring, hairdressing or catering which last for one year. They also have lessons in life

---

[14] Mathare is a slum on the North East side of Nairobi, which while not known internationally like Kibera, is notorious within Nairobi. Unlike Kibera, the Kenyan Police will not set foot in Mathare because it is considered so dangerous.

skills and business management. The centre is located in the Kibera area but not actually inside the slum. Being slightly outside the slum, the compound was spacious and green in comparison to the residential areas of Kibera. As a space, it therefore provided a welcome respite to the girls who enjoyed any opportunity to rest on the green lawn of the centre. KGC is named in this thesis, whilst the school is anonymous. This is because KGC is the only Centre of its kind run by the KGGA, therefore, by describing the nature of the project it would be possible for anyone to deduce where the work took place.

Plate four: external view of Kibera Girls Centre, April 2014

Plate five: internal view of Kibera Girls Centre, April 2014

First weeks in the field

Table Three: Timeframe of the research in Kibera

Time	Activity
December 2013 – January 2014	• Building relationships with staff and girls at Kibera Girls Centre. • Selecting a Research Assistant and facilitator for the curriculum and providing training relevant to their roles.
February	• Selection of girls to be part of the project. • Conducting pre-curriculum interviews (15 individual semi-structured interviews)
March – April	• Observing the curriculum being facilitated with 17 girls at Kibera Girls Centre.
May	• Conducting post-curriculum

	interviews.
	• Organising an awareness raising and thank you event with the girls in Kibera.

When I arrived in Nairobi at the beginning of December 2013 there were few girls at KGC since most of the courses start in January and finish in November. However, the quieter environment at the Centre provided a good opportunity to build relationships with the staff and small number of girls who were present (see Table Three for time-frame). In contrast to my expectations before arriving, the Stop the Violence project was not an already existing project at the Centre that I could turn up and observe. Instead, the staff had no knowledge of the project or plans to introduce it before my arrival. Thus, it was again necessary for me to change how I conceived of my role, this time adding 'project manager' to my list of roles. One of the older and longer-standing members of staff at KGC suggested that three of the young female staff members could share the job of research assistant, taking it in turns to act as translator according to their schedules, whilst the fourth young woman at the Centre, who was already teaching Life Skills to the girls could be the curriculum facilitator. As had also happened in Kisumu, I felt that this changed the nature of my research in that now I had a role in determining some of the factors that would influence the success of the project. However, after the difficulties the project experienced in Kisumu, the situation in Kibera provided an interesting opportunity to see how the curriculum would work when well facilitated and organised. Thus, my task became to build good relationships with the four young women suggested to me and assess their appropriateness for involvement in the project.

As I got to know Fridah, the young life-skills teacher, I felt that I had struck gold. Fridah was a young woman in her twenties, born, raised and still resident in Kibera. Being a young woman from Kibera herself, she had an insider understanding of the local culture and the problems young women in Kibera faced. Yet, despite not having lived outside of Kibera herself, she could be described as set apart from local cultural norms. She described herself as a 'Woman's rights activist' and quickly revealed herself to be both passionate and highly knowledgeable about gender issues in Kenya. Whilst not formally educated beyond secondary level, she had made use of all the resources available

to her (newspapers, internet accessed through her mobile) to keep herself informed about issues facing women in her country. Thus, she had an ideal combination of traits for the role and could be described as occupying what Dwyer and Buckle (2009) term 'the space between' in their discussion of being an insider versus an outsider in community projects. Moreover, she had been a volunteer at KGC for several years, putting great effort into her work but receiving no training, opportunities for skill development or financial compensation for her efforts. By training and paying her for her work with me, I felt I was able to provide some form of social and economic empowerment.

As I got to know the other three young women I felt that they were not a suitable team to work as research assistants. It was important that whomever I worked with not only had the required language skills, but also had the required sensitivity, people skills and ability to maintain confidentiality. As I spent my days at KGC I witnessed how the other staff routinely gossiped about the girls and sometimes exercised authority in ways I was uncomfortable with in their interactions with the girls. Therefore, using them as RAs had the potential to compromise my ethical obligation to maintain confidentiality. I also predicted that given the other teachers were authority figures in the girls' lives, they may be less likely to open up in the interviews in their presence. By January, then, my main tasks were providing training to Fridah whilst also seeking out an alternative, more suitable RA. The challenge of finding someone suitable was compounded by KGGA's refusal to allow me to use someone who was not already associated with the organisation. I was therefore unable to draw on my wider networks in Nairobi to find an appropriate candidate. Eventually, a suitable young woman was located. She was a recent graduate of a vocational training programme at a KGGA project of a similar nature to KGC but in another slum.

During those first weeks of interaction at KGC, I also learned much about the cultural dynamic of the Centre. I learnt that while I had been conceiving of KGC as a *non-formal* education centre with a different ethos to that of a formal school, the Centre staff were very keen to construct the Centre as 'just like any other school'. This was a phrase I heard repeated to every girl who came to enrol in the Centre. The staff explained that 'just like any other school, rules must be obeyed,

lateness is not tolerated and disobedience will be punished'. I realised that it was important to the staff to maintain the same relations of authority that existed in formal schools since for them, this lent prestige to their roles and the Centre more broadly. It was also the model of education they were familiar with.

I also learned that KGC was somewhat removed from the culture of the Kenyan Girl Guides more broadly. Most of the staff and all of the girls did not come from a girl guiding background and were only at the Centre due to their interest in the educational programmes on offer. Employees at KGC also had a fairly troubled relationship with each other and with the KGGA head office. In the week I joined the Centre a new manager named Bryan commenced work and quickly clashed with other members of staff. Bryan was the first male manager at the KGC, a decision that had been controversial within the KGGA. The KGC did have other male members of staff who were well integrated into the Centre and had good working relationships with their colleagues. However, Bryan quickly made the other staff as well as myself uneasy because of his unprofessional and sexually inappropriate behaviour and language. In my first meeting with Bryan he said to me 'I am so happy to have a *mzungu* girl here to play with, I so much want to impregnate you and get a *mzungu* baby'. This sexualised language became a frequent feature of his communication with me. It was also suggested he had got the job due to being a relative of someone senior at KGGA, rather than due to appropriate work experience[15]. Thus the months I spent at KGC were a somewhat troubled time for the project and the seeds of this were noticeable in my first weeks at the KGC.

Choosing participants and collecting pre-curriculum data

The new intake of students at KGC arrived at the beginning of February. I presented to them the nature of the Stop the Violence project and asked them to put their names down if they would like to be involved. From this list, which included about 40 girls, 15 were randomly selected to take part. Of these, two of them subsequently declared that they wanted to take part in the project, but not in

---

[15] Nepotism is a fairly common practice in Kenya, particularly within politics and government departments (Kuada, 1994: Kragh, 2012). However, it is frowned upon and many, especially young professional Kenyans, are active in speaking out against it. Critiques of nepotism are frequent in Kenyan newspapers (for example, Kimutai, 2013: Musanga, 2014) as well as on blogs and social media.

the accompanying research. Both of the girls were Nubian Muslims[16], a community with strong norms of privacy. It was also clear from my observations that the Muslim girls at KGC were very shy in comparison to their Christian counterparts. I felt that the two girls could particularly stand to benefit from the project and I did not want to deny them that opportunity due to their fear of being interviewed. I therefore decided to select two extra girls so that I had a group of 17 for the curriculum sessions and still 15 research participants.

The pseudonyms of the fifteen girls are as follows: Wambui, Zana, Lucy, Winnie, Tabitha, Evelyn, Quinter, Njeri, Loisa, Aysa, Barika, Wariumu, Janet, Halima and Emma. As this group is smaller, and some of them were the only participant of their age, I have decided not to list the age of each participant individually to protect their anonymity. However, the ages ranged between 17 and 23. The participants included a mixture of tribal backgrounds, which was to be expected since Kenyans of all tribes live in Kibera. A key difference amongst the girls was that some had grown up in Kibera whilst others had moved from their rural homes recently. This usually occurred after completing (or dropping out from) secondary school as they wished to find economic or employment opportunities in the city.

Once I had selected my participants and my research assistant, the pre-curriculum interviews proceeded smoothly. I decided to conduct individual semi-structured interviews, which had been the original plan in Kisumu, but were impossible due to the time constraints of working in a school where the students were not permitted to miss class. In Kibera, where I had greater access to the girls, individual interviews were possible. On reflection, I also felt that the group interviews were more appropriate with the younger girls in Kisumu, who would have likely become shy in a one-to-one interview. In contrast, I judged from my initial interactions with the older girls in Kibera that they would be comfortable to talk alone, and may actually be more comfortable, given that unlike the girls in Kisumu, they did not have pre-existing relationships with each other.

---

[16] The Nubians are a Sudanese community who were brought to Kenya by Imperial Britain in the early 1990s to be part of the British Army. They were then given land in an area called Kibra outside Nairobi. As Nairobi expanded, the Nubian village 'Kibra', became 'Kibera' one of the largest slums in Africa www.nubiansinkenya.com

Instead, where I met challenge in Kibera was conducting the planned group participatory activities. In Kibera, unlike the school, there was no particular time of day which was off limits, however, as the group of girls were all in different classes, it was difficult to access all of them at the same time. All the girls were taking practical courses in hairdressing, beauty, tailoring or catering. I could only remove girls from their classes during theory lessons, since they could catch up on these, but not their practical lessons. This did not pose a problem for individual interviews, but it meant there was never a time of day where all the girls were free at the same time. Additionally, meeting as a group during the normal working day would have been almost impossible due to the space constraints of working in a small compound populated by more than one hundred people in the midst of a crowded slum. This logistical challenge was obviously going to affect the actual delivery of the curriculum, which necessitated us to meet as a group without disturbance. We therefore decided to run the curriculum and the participatory research activities on Saturdays since the rest of the girls would not be there meaning there would be plenty of space and quiet. The earliest we could meet was 2pm since some of the girls were Seventh Day Adventists and had to go to church on Saturday mornings. The latest we could be at the Centre was 5pm as some of the girls walked for more than an hour to reach their houses and we could not put their security at risk by having them walk after dark. Thus, there was a possible three-hour time slot each week where we could meet as a group.

The first time we arranged to meet, with the hope of completing the research activities, the girls did not turn up. The second week, Bryan decided on the Friday that he wanted to take a group of girls from the Centre on an outing and that he wanted to include girls from my group, forcing me to cancel my session. The third week I decided that we would need to do the research activities and the first curriculum session since the weeks remaining until the Centre would break for Easter holidays did not give us much time to spare. On the third week the girls did turn up, however, not until 3.30pm, thus only giving us time to conduct the first curriculum session, and not the planned participatory research activities. In this way, the curriculum started without the participatory research workshops.

However, the in-depth interviews combined with informal conversations provided a good set of data.

Again, on our fourth attempt to meet on a Saturday, Bryan insisted that he was taking some of the girls from my group to an event forcing me to cancel my activities once again. By this time I was anxious and agitated about Bryan's interference with my activities. I usually visited the KGC twice during the week to spend time with the staff and girls outside of my formal research engagement. During these visits I would encounter Bryan (as opposed to on Saturdays when he would be absent) and on occasion he would make explicit sexual propositions, which I would reject. Both occasions where seemingly sudden plans to take the girls on outings were announced came immediately after my rejection of his sexual propositions, causing me to wonder whether he was obstructing my research deliberately as a form of revenge. I initially handled this by spending less time at the KGC, going only on Saturdays for the project and on Mondays when I knew Bryan would be at the KGGA head quarters.

In terms of the actual sessions, unlike in Kisumu, all the messages delivered by Fridah were appropriate and empowering and I did not have any ethical concerns about the project. Also, in contrast to Kisumu, where the project was clearly an additional (and perhaps unwanted) burden for an already overworked teacher, here, the opportunity to facilitate the project was seen as an opportunity for development and growth by Fridah. She was clearly keen to do the best possible job, seeing it as perhaps a stepping stone to bigger and better opportunities for herself. Likewise, all the girls turned up for their post-curriculum interviews and these also proceeded smoothly. The two Muslim girls who had refused an interview at the start of the project also agreed to be interviewed at the end. Both girls had become significantly less shy during the course of the project as well as more familiar with me, both of these factors are likely to have led to this change.

During the last weeks of the curriculum I started to visit the KGC more regularly again, aware that I would soon be leaving and wanting an opportunity to observe as much as possible. After the delivery I was then present everyday for a week to

conduct the post-curriculum interviews. During this time I noticed that Bryan had started to behave inappropriately with some of the girls. Jane[17], one of the girls in my research group, was now spending much of her time in his office where Bryan gave her money to cook special food for herself and would then pull her into his lap to cuddle her. The first time I observed this behaviour I discussed it with Fridah. She explained that his over-use of physical contact as well as sexualised language towards the girls had become a frequent occurrence and had been directed at a number of girls. She told me that her and the other staff were concerned about it and had asked him to stop and that one of the teachers had already reported it to the Treffoil Guild[18] that week who were passing the report to the KGGA. I was relieved that his behaviour had been noted as inappropriate and that they had already taken the step of reporting it. Unsurprisingly, however, the reporting of Bryan's behaviour led to tensions and arguments between Bryan and the other staff. The following week Violet from the KGGA visited the Centre to hold an emergency meeting about the breakdown in relations between staff[19]. During this meeting she mentioned that she had received the report about Bryan's behaviour towards the girls and warned the staff that future concerns should be reported to her, as the representative of the KGGA responsible for the Centre, and not to other branches of guiding such as the Treffoil Guild.

Compensating the participants and saying goodbye

The next challenge came as I prepared to put on an event which would function as a graduation party for the girls, an awareness-raising event and my own leaving party. As the assembly the girls in Kisumu had prepared had worked so well as a chance for the girls to share what they had learnt, thus raising awareness of the issue, I decided to organise a similar event in Kibera. Fridah and I planned that we would get all the girls together, have the participants share what they had learnt and receive certificates in front of their colleagues and then

---

[17] A different pseudonym is being used here to protect the anonymity of her interview data since she may be identifiable to others in Kenya based on this incident.

[18] The Treffoil Guild is a group of adult women who were formally girl guides.

[19] I was present at this meeting which was conducted in a mixture of Kiswahili, English and Sheng. I understood most of what was said but missed out on some aspects. For example, at the time I did not understand that Violet had referred to the complaints about Bryan's behaviour towards the girls as 'nonsense', but this was later explained to me by Fridah.

we would have a special lunch for everyone. We had planned a budget that would provide meat for everyone (a rare treat for the girls), but was still not too extravagant, given that I would be personally paying for the event. However, plans quickly got out of hand as 'special guests' were invited and the event became increasingly high profile. The week before the scheduled day, Bryan took the budget Fridah and I had prepared and made a new budget five times as high. He told me that now that 'important people' were coming I would be bringing shame on him and the Centre unless I followed his large budget. By this point tensions between staff at the Centre were already extremely high and the way he spoke to me that day served to exacerbate these. Eventually, after much negotiation, a more modest budget agreed and we prepared for the event. On the actual day, the event went smoothly, and the girls again impressed by their speeches on the topic of violence.

Post-project: reporting suspected sexual abuse

Approximately two months after having left the KGC I received a distressed phone call from Fridah asking me to meet her. She told me that she was now very concerned about Bryan's behaviour as it had not stopped but had actually become far worse and she had strong reason to believe he was now having sexual relations with a number of girls. She explained that Bryan had become very close to a group of girls and would stay at KGC after hours with these girls and allow these girls to spend the day in his office and cook special food for themselves[20] at lunch time and in the evenings after the other staff and students had left. One girl had also reported to Fridah that Bryan had asked her to be his girlfriend. The close relationships that Bryan had with this group of girls had led chaos to breakout at KGC with girls having physical fights over their relationships with Bryan and rumours flying that several girls had become pregnant by him and aborted. At first, Fridah had not known whether the abortions were simply hearsay. However, her belief that the rumours were true increased after one of the girls involved came to Fridah asking for help since she

---

[20] The provision of special food is important because of the girls were from very impoverished backgrounds, and many came to the Centre with empty stomachs each morning. The basic food provided by the Centre to all the students involved a lunch of *ugali* and *skuma wiki* (three times a week) or rice and beans (twice a week). These meals did not enable good nutritional requirements to be met, thus the ability to gain extra or different food was likely to be important. As I have described earlier in the chapter, trading food for sex was a common occurrence in Kibera.

was worried that she was pregnant. Fridah bought her a pregnancy test which they took together and it tested positive. Fridah assured her that they would support her through the pregnancy. A couple of days later, Fridah arrived at the KGC to find that the pregnancy test had disappeared from her office. Fridah, explained to me that that same day Violet approached the staff member who had originally reported Bryan's behaviour to the Treffoil Guild and warned her that her and Fridah must stay away from the girl who had tested positive. That girl then became very close to Violet and started to make verbal threats to Fridah. Although we cannot know for sure, the need to destroy evidence that one of the girls had been pregnant and to keep the girl away from Fridah (who had known she was pregnant) made us feel that there was likelihood of there being substance to the rumours. This increased our concern about the extent of risk involved.

I told Fridah that it was important that this was reported formally to KGGA and she agreed. I immediately reported the matter to Yvonne, KGGA's Stop the Violence Focal Person, who then wrote an official email to the KGGA leadership. At that time, we [realised that Violet had not taken the previous report seriously and] assumed that Violet had not passed the previous report on to the KGGA leadership and that they would act on receiving the official report.

It quickly became clear that this was not going to be the case. Immediately on receiving the email Yvonne was told off by the leadership for having put the issue in writing and copying in myself (an outsider). KGGA then demanded that Yvonne write another email retracting what she had said. Meanwhile, Bryan was allowed to remain at the Centre for a full eight days. This goes against international child protection standards[21] as well as against the protocols developed by WAGGGS to accompany the Stop the Violence project which

---

[21] International standards for child protection in development work have been developed through a coalition of international NGOs known as 'Keeping Children Safe' and are outlined in the document Keeping Children Safe (2014). Likewise, standards for child protection in humanitarian contexts have been developed as part of the Sphere project and are outlined in the document Child Protection Working Group (2012). Both documents outline common aspects such as the importance of all staff signing a code of conduct before commencing employment, procedures for reporting suspected abuse involving immediate action to protect children and measures to ensure the safety and support of those who make reports. Most major international NGOs (for example, the IRC, ActionAid, Oxfam, Concern Worldwide, Plan etc. have 'beneficiary protection' policies alongside child protection policies in recognition of the fact that any project beneficiaries, because of their status as beneficiaries, are potentially vulnerable to coercion from staff, regardless of age, and require protection.

clearly state that if any suspected abuse is reported that person must be suspended immediately (WAGGGS, 2013). In those eight days, Fridah reported to me that Bryan had the girls in question in his office frequently and I suspect that he was coaching them on what to say when questioned. Eventually, after it becoming known that I had reported the issue to WAGGGS, Bryan was temporarily suspended. He was replaced by Violet, Violet continued to invite the same group of girls to spend long periods of time in the office with her as Bryan had done – I suspect continuing to coach them on what they should say or influence them in other ways. Around this time Yvonne was informed that her employment was being terminated with immediate effect and Fridah was given a letter asking her to stop reporting for work at the KGC until further notice. It was made verbally explicit to Yvonne that the termination of her employment was a result of her reporting of suspected sexual misconduct at the KGC, despite the fact that she held the role of 'Stop the Violence Focal Person'.

KGGA then hired a private investigator to interview all involved and compile a report on the issue. . Hiring a private investigator is again in conflict with protocol outlined in the Voices Against Violence handbook, which requires the appropriate authorities to be informed, and all other investigations suspended until the authorities have concluded their own investigations. In this case, the relevant authorities include the police as well as the Ministry of Education (MoE) since the KGC falls under the MoE's jurisdiction. In Kenya there are also a number of specialist organisations who have staff trained in interviewing victims of gender-based violence who also constitute legitimate authorities and work in partnership with the police, social services etc. It is important to note that all these legitimate, independent authorities are publically funded and no fee is charged to engage their services, whereas the private investigator was paid by the KGGA.

By this point I was extremely worried about the behaviour of the KGGA leadership in response to the suspected abuse and reported my concerns to WAGGGS. I assumed that some form of intervention would now take place, but this did not happen. It appeared that the KGGA were determined to cover up any misconduct and would succeed in doing so without further outside intervention.

Eventually it was agreed that the best course of action would be to write a letter providing a detailed account of events to the CEO of WAGGGS in London[22].

I assumed that appropriate action would then follow. Instead, I eventually received a response stating that following the investigation that had been carried out, the view taken was there was no substance to the allegations of sexual abuse. No comment was made on the descriptions of sexual harassment that I had personally experienced and witnessed.

.

Two aspects are particularly worrying about this response. Firstly, it provides evidence of someone at the highest level of an international organisation (the CEO), failing to comply with her own organisation's protocol, which clearly states that an internal investigation of the nature described above should not be allowed (WAGGGS, 2013). Secondly, the implied belief that the interviewing of the young women by a non-expert male would have been a credible way to determine the existence of abuse suggests a concerning lack of capacity when it comes to understanding gendered violence. A substantial body of literature detailing research into gendered violence within African educational institutions now exists (examples include: Leach et al, 2000: Dunne et al, 2006: Leach, 2006: Cobbett, 2008: Morrell et al, 2012). All this research has shown that girls and young women directly involved in sexual relationships with teachers will rarely (if ever) admit to this within interviews, even with highly-skilled researchers, adept at employing sensitive and non-judgmental approaches. This is thought to be for a variety of reasons such as fear, shame and, in some cases, a desire to protect the special privileges or financial rewards being received. Yet, these studies have been able to confirm a high prevalence of such abusive relationships through corroborating interviews from a number of other sources (such as other staff and students not directly involved) with their own observational data. The response of both KGGA and WAGGGS alerted me to the need to pay more careful attention to institutional dynamics and structures and the relationship of these to programming to prevent gendered violence, these aspects will be discussed in Chapter Eight of the thesis. Thus, at this point, my research changed

---

[22] This decision was made in collaboration with my academic supervisors at Royal Holloway, University of London.

in scope from a concern with the micro-scale of the specific space of the curriculum to a broader concern with how NGOs can work effectively to prevent gendered violence.

Reflections on events: positionality, actions and emotions

Many researchers have pointed to the need for 'situated', rather than merely 'procedural' ethics when conducting qualitative research (Guillemen and Gilam, 2004: Morrell et al, 2012: Kiragu and Warrington, 2013). Guillemen and Gilam (2004) discuss how 'ethically important moments' will arise during research in which 'procedural ethics cannot provide all that is needed' whilst Kiragu and Warrington (2012) use the term 'moral imagination' to describe decision making during such 'moments'. I had started the research with awareness of these aspects in mind and, in response to the earlier ethical dilemmas I had faced in Kisumu, I had already moved to a position of seeing myself as an activist rather than purely a researcher. In this way, the question was not so much 'should I act?' but '*how* should I act?' This section will describe and reflect on my decision-making processes in response to the events in Kibera and consider the reasons for the nature of my action (and non-action) at different moments. In recognition of the emotional impact of researching on violence (Barter and Renold, 2003) and the ways in which emotions shape research and activism (Widdowfield, 2000: Blackman, 2007: Pain, 2014), this section will also write emotions into the account.

When Fridah reported the severity of her concerns to me, I quickly felt that action was necessary and that formal reporting was the appropriate course of action. I will first detail the decision-making processes described by Morrell et al (2012) regarding a related ethical dilemma, in which they decided against formal reporting, and then explain why the circumstances of the situation I faced led me to decide on a different course of action. Morrell et al (2012) conducted research on the gender regimes of South African secondary schools. In the course of their research in one particular school, a number of female students indicated during their interviews that a male teacher who had been the gatekeeper to the school and was acting as a co-researcher might be having sexual relationships with school pupils. They describe their doubts in deciding whether or not to report the

teacher to the principal. It was considered a dilemma for a number of reasons. Firstly, the information had been presented as rumour and they had not received any complaints or noticed any suspicious behaviour. They were aware that the particular teacher was an object of fantasy amongst the pupils, and that unsubstantiated rumours about such objects were likely to form part of the sexual economy of the school. They were also aware that reporting the matter to the principal would likely lead to the teacher losing his job, even if the rumours were untrue, and that he had a large extended family to support and few alternative jobs were likely to arise in that particular community. Secondly, they had promised confidentiality to their research participants, and therefore, 'anonymity was potentially at loggerheads with the ethos and aims of the research process'. Lastly, they were aware that whilst illegal, relationships between (older) pupils and teachers were implicitly accepted within local cultural norms and they wanted to recognise the potential agency of the girls in forming relationships with older, wealthier men for their own gain (Hunter, 2002). Because of these factors, they chose not to report to the principal immediately, but to change the next stage of their research to focus on consciousness raising and discussion on the topic of pupil-teacher relationships. From these discussions, it emerged that students and teachers alike felt that formal reporting in such circumstances could exacerbate problems, but that instead, using the concept of *Ubuntu* or the collective good, anyone noticed to be behaving wrongly should be encouraged by their colleagues to desist from their behaviour.

I believed the situation I faced necessitated a different course of action for a number of reasons. Firstly, unlike in the South African case, direct harm was already being observed and was likely to continue without rapid intervention. Bryan's behaviour had already caused tensions and a breakdown of order at the Centre to the extent that certain girls were physically and verbally attacking each other. As described earlier, there seemed to be a likelihood that girls becoming pregnant through their relations with Bryan were aborting, and that these abortions may have been coerced. Abortion in Kenya is illegal (except where the mother's life or health is deemed to be at serious risk) and consequently highly risky: therefore, there was a very real possibility that death could be the result of

non-action[23]. More broadly, the resulting chaos at the Centre was disrupting the opportunity for all of the girls to receive an education. Secondly, in this case, reporting the matter officially was not breaking my promise of confidentiality offered during the research since the reports had not arisen in my interviews. Instead, the matter had been reported to me precisely because I was believed to have the ability to act, thus giving me some responsibility to do so. Thirdly, unlike in the case described by Morrell et al, alternative means of action such as talking informally to Bryan had already been tried (by the staff of KGC) and failed. Additionally, instead of there being a principal who had authority and, from the description provided, was likely to limit opportunity for misconduct and maintain the school as a learning environment, in this case, Bryan had complete impunity to do as he wished.

However, like Morrell at al (2012) (and other researchers, for example Hunter, 2002: Sikes, 2006) I was mindful of the need to consider the agency of the girls. I was aware that some sexual relationships between Bryan and students at the Centre may not have been entirely coerced, and that Bryan, with his regular salary, might have been considered a desirable partner by some of them. However, having already conducted in-depth research in the specific context I felt that a number of factors were important. A number of the girls had articulated during their interviews that they felt they *did not* have the ability to reject unwanted sexual advances from men who were able to offer them material goods. They had also expressed that many girls and young women in their context feel that they have little hope of earning an income other than through sex. This was combined with an awareness that one of the purposes of the Centre was to provide girls with the opportunity to develop skills to earn a living through alternative means and become independent. Therefore, I was aware that many of the girls may have been unlikely to reject Bryan's advances and that the very purpose of the Centre and the 'different life' it aimed to provide were being completely undermined. For all these reasons, in this 'ethically important moment', making an official report and advocating for a thorough investigation to be conducted and proper protocol to be followed was, I believe, the best

---

[23] In Kenya it is estimated that between 35-50% of maternal deaths are as a result of unsafe abortions, this is in contrast to a global average of 13%. (KNCHR, 2013).

course of action, not simply from a procedural perspective, but also from a standpoint of situated ethics.

So far I have shown why I believe that formal and urgent action was required at that time. Earlier on, however, when Bryan behaved inappropriately towards me, I did not 'speak out' but tried to manage the situation with assertive refusals and avoidance. Here my actions were not driven so much by ethics as by emotions. I was embarrassed about what was happening, ashamed at my inability to prevent Bryan from obstructing my research and frustrated by my failure to portray myself along serious, academic or professional lines and annoyed that I had been constructed by Bryan as a 'girl to be played with'. When Bryan's behaviour towards the girls later escalated I wondered if I should have acted earlier, and felt some level of guilt that I had not. However, these feelings of guilt were combined with an awareness that if I had complained about Bryan's behaviour towards myself earlier, they would have done exactly what they did do later on which was to laugh and to tell me 'but sexual harassment is a normal part of life'. Reflecting on my own feelings of powerlessness in the light of the conceptualisation of 'empowerment' employed in this thesis proved insightful. Following Kesby (2005, 2007), I am conceptualising empowerment, not as a state or process, but as a relation, which, like power, needs to be exercised (or performed). The extent to which empowered performance is enabled or constrained depends on the social norms holding sway in a particular place. I may have normally liked to think of myself as 'empowered' based on factors such as my educational achievements, social class and geographical mobility. However, the norms operating within the KGC and the KGGA more broadly worked to limit, though not wholly prohibit, my ability to exercise empowerment.

Data analysis

Data analysis started in the field as I noted down my observations about the contexts and the research process at the end of my days in Kisumu and Kibera. However, after completing each set of data collection (e.g. pre-curriculum Kisumu, post-curriculum Kibera) a more detailed and intensive process of analysis began. All interviews were transcribed by myself with the exception of a

handful in which the heavy use of Sheng meant that it was preferential to pay a Kenyan friend to transcribe them for me in order to ensure accuracy in the English transcription. Transcribing the interviews myself gave me in-depth knowledge of the context and an opportunity to revisit and hear the emotional landscape of the girls' voices, something that can be missed out when starting directly from transcripts. I then coded the interviews, employing both deductive and inductive approaches. I started with some broad themes stemming from my research questions such as 'beliefs about the causes of violence' and 'beliefs about girlhood' and then carefully read through a selection of the interviews to develop a list of codes that were grounded in the data. After developing a list of codes, I coded the data set using HyperResearch data analysis software. The validity of using computer software to analyze qualitative data has been debated (for example, John and Johnson, 2000: Spencer et al, 2003). Cameron (2001) argues that for researchers interested in how discourses and meanings are produced within the research, it is important to look at the data within its original context. Bearing this in mind, HyperResearch was seen as a useful tool because it allows data to be coded, and then all data coded with a particular code to be drawn up, without removing the coded pieces from their interview context (see Figure Four).

Figure four: Screenshot of 'Speaking out' in HyperResearch
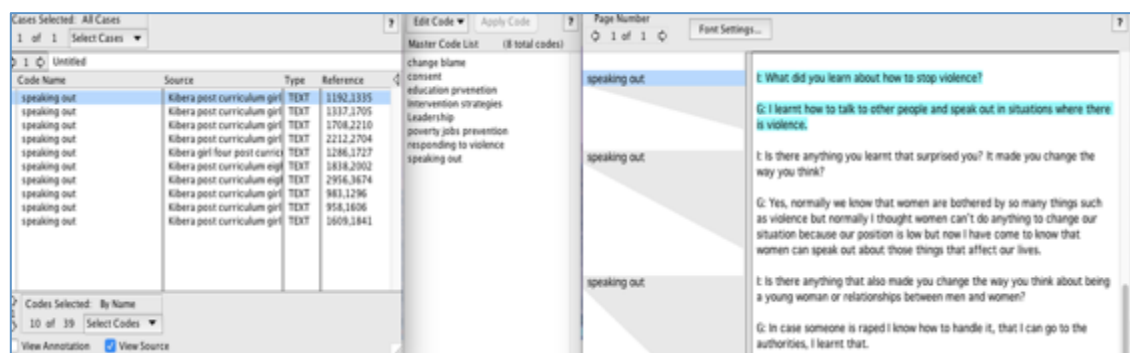
I was then able to read through all data coded within a particular theme, without losing awareness of the interview context. I then spent time reading through the data within each code, comparing the data to my fieldnotes regarding the participants in order to triangulate the data and explore contradictions. In Kisumu, where participatory workshops were also held, data from the interviews

was also triangulated with the views expressed in the workshops. This led to a particularly salient array of contradictions, which are discussed in Chapter Six.

Looking at the coded data within each theme was, however, only the start of analysis. This was followed by a more intuitive process of grappling with the different possible meanings and different functions of talk in the girls' narratives. I had started with a somewhat simplistic epistemological assumption that interviews would yield more factual data than the participatory methods. Whilst it was true that the interviews provided opportunity to share specific detail about violence in their communities, this was not the only type of talk or way of analysing the interviews. I also came to see the interviews as showing girls' attempts to perform gender in specific ways and position themselves within particular discourses of femininity (Davies, 1989b: Currie et al, 2007), as showing their attempts to build concordant narratives around confusing and disparate events (Ricoeur, 1983) and as evidence of their active and continuing struggles to form opinions. There are many occasions when the interview data could be read in different ways, and I have attempted to draw attention to these within the analysis chapters, rather than assuming that there is only one 'correct' interpretation. In Kisumu, where the interviews were conducted in groups, attention was also paid to the changing dynamics of interaction between the girls. In both locations, attention was paid to the way in which silences and 'forgetting' may have functioned as a way for the girls to exercise agency and resist my perceived attempts to collect positive feedback.

After each curriculum session, I typed up my observation notes that detailed the content of the session, the discussions that took place and my perceptions of the girls' responses and attitudes towards what was being taught. The curriculum sessions were not recorded, therefore, it was important to capture the dynamics and emotions within the sessions as fully as possible within my notes. The observational data was then analyzed by reading through my notes with a critical gaze and annotating the data in relation to the lesson plans detailed in the Voices Against Violence curriculum and in relation to educational theory and previous research.

Summary

This chapter has provided a description of my two research contexts and 'the research in action' within both contexts. The chapter has shown how my understanding of my own role in the research developed and changed during the course of my fieldwork, as I took on the roles of 'activist' and 'project manager' at different moments in time. The chapter has also described and reflected upon my actions in relation to two 'ethically important moments' in the research. Lastly, the chapter has shown the reason why my original research questions needed to be amended to include an additional question concerned with 'understanding the impact of institutional structures and dynamics on gender programming'.

Chapter Six: Violence, the 'Mythical Mini-skirted Girl' and the 'Real Drunk Man': Exploring dissonance in girls' perceptions of violence and its causes

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with analysing initial baseline data on girls' perceptions of gendered violence in their communities, both in terms of the 'what' and the 'why' of violence and how these relate to constructions of feminine identity and appropriate gendered behaviour. Understanding these initial perceptions of violence is crucial to being able to pinpoint ways in which the girls' internal worlds have changed (or not) as a result of the Voices Against Violence Curriculum. Unsurprisingly, the data showed that in neither field site were the girls able to relate violence to gender inequality or power imbalances between men and women. In each research site a particular story had hegemony as being the way girls in that place understood and articulated the reality of violence in their communities. However, these stories were very different between the two research contexts.

In Kisumu, since data was collected using a wider variety of methods, it was expected that, as other research has found (for example, Pattman and Chege, 2003: Cobbett and Warrington, 2013) contradictions and contrasts would exist between the data generated by different methods. In this case, however, the most striking contrasts were those *within* each set of data, while a high level of consistency existed *between* sets of data generated by each method. It became clear that these contradictions existed because the girls were, unsuccessfully, trying to marry the reality of violence, something that happened indiscriminately, and in all spheres of life, with a moral narrative of violence as happening to girls who transgressed norms by dressing immodestly, running after boys and going out after dark. The Mythical Mini-Skirted Girl loomed large in all their accounts of why violence happened and how it could be prevented, but was conspicuously absent in real stories of girls who had been affected by violence. For these girls, their moral beliefs and conceptions of normative femininity took precedence over lived experience in shaping how they articulated violence. While other research has shown how constructions of gender influence the social

acceptability of violence (Rani et al, 2004: Uthman et al, 2009), these data show that such constructions also influence descriptions of the reality of violence itself. In this case, the hegemonic story about violence prevented the girls from being able to discuss or explain violence that happened in any other situation aside from to short-skirted girls in public places.

In Kibera, two girls mentioned female dress and behaviour as a cause of violence, however, this was not a hegemonic or common story. Instead, in Kibera, when asked about the causes of gendered violence, all the girls told similar narratives of young men, unemployed and intoxicated (through alcohol and drugs) who hung about on the streets attacking girls who dared to walk the streets and alleyways of Kibera after dark. This narrative is not mythical in the same way that the story of the mini-skirted girl; girls being harassed by drunk men on the streets clearly *was* a common occurrence in Kibera. However, the hegemony of this narrative led to silences and dissonance in a similar way. It was clear from the girls' stories about the reality of violence in Kibera that violence happened in many spaces and places including homes and schools as well as streets, and by sober, known men as well as drunk strangers. Yet when it came to the causes of violence, the 'drunk-unemployed-man' narrative prevailed and other experiences were sidelined. This meant, that whilst poverty remained a reality, violence was treated as inevitable since they had no other explanation of violence and the question 'do women in neighbourhoods with low unemployment also experience violence?' could only be met with silence.
To understand this dissonance, the chapter will draw on Ricoeur's (1983) work on narrative and identity and Foucault's (1980) work on the relationships between power, discourse and truth. Ricoeur's writing highlights the way in which individuals use discourse to build concordant narratives in order to make sense of their experiences, whilst Foucault's work adds to this by foregrounding the role of power in shaping which discourses come to be seen as 'true', and therefore privileged in the building of narratives.

The first part of the chapter will review previous work on perceptions of gendered violence. The empirical data will then be presented in the three sections: the first exploring girls' views on appropriate feminine behaviour, the

second exploring contradictions that emerged in a participatory mapping exercise in Kisumu and the final, most substantive, section drawing on interview data to understand and explore dissonance between how girls in both locations articulated the reality of violence in their communities and how they expressed their views about the causes of violence. This chapter is based on the pre-curriculum data collection, which for Kisumu included ten group interviews with groups of two or three girls at a time (giving a total of twenty-eight girls) and four participatory workshops involving the same twenty-eight girls. Whereas in Kibera, this was based on fifteen individual semi-structured interviews. The reasons for these differences in data collection have been explained in the methodology chapter.

Girls' perceptions of the reality, causes and acceptability of violence

Girls' perceptions and understandings of violence and how gendered constructions influence these have not been well researched. A range of research, however, has explored the disjuncture between women's perceptions of violence, which include high levels of fear of assault from a stranger, and the reality of violence in which women are most likely to suffer violence at the hands of someone known to them (Gordon and Riger, 1989: Madiz, 1997). Authors have explained this contradiction in a number of ways including, media coverage of assault (Althaee, 1997: Heath and Gilbert, 1996) and the unique nature of sexual assault (Ferraro, 1996). Feminist geographers (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1997) have also examined this fear of violence in public spaces, describing how it leads to 'geographies of fear' in which certain places are imagined as unsafe and women consequently restrict their own mobility based on these beliefs.

Other research has explored the extent to which women accept gendered violence and how this relates to normative views on gender. For example, studies such as Uthman et al (2009) and Rani et al (2004), both covering multiple countries in sub-Saharan Africa, suggest that many women believe that male violence against their partners is justified in some circumstances. Schuler and Islam (2008) critique this view based on their research on the topic in Bangladesh. They conducted a large scale survey, similar to that which had been used in other

studies, which did indeed indicate that a high proportion of women believe that it is acceptable for husbands to use violence against their wives. However, when they supplemented the survey with 110 in-depth qualitative interviews a more complex picture emerged. It appeared that women had answered the survey in relation to what they considered as acceptable within their communities, and what they were therefore resigned to accepting, but most women did not themselves personally believe that violence is permissible or justified. This finding fits in with a general critique of 'false consciousness' arguments about women's beliefs that have occurred within the field of gender and development.

A small number of studies have explored questions of violence and gendered attitudes with girls. For example, McCarry's (2010) research with Scottish secondary school students found that while most girls and boys did not explicitly condone gendered violence, their conceptions of normative and natural masculinity as tough, angry and dominant meant that in reality violence was accepted and normalised. Similarly, Jewkes and Morrell's (2012) research in South Africa showed that while young women believed violence to be wrong and desired non-violent relationships, the priority given to maintaining the subject position of 'desired female' was one factor making it difficult to end violent relationships. They contended that education programmes rarely take account of young women's social and emotional agendas or provide opportunity for the deconstruction of these. Thus, it is not enough simply to ask 'do girls believe violence is justified', one must go further and explore how conceptions of self impact upon real responses and vulnerability to violence.

Some studies have also explored specifically the way in which alcohol comes to be seen as a cause of violence. An empirical relationship between alcohol and violence does exist; Kishor and Johnson's (2004) research in seven countries found that women whose partners got drunk regularly were 4-7 times as likely to experience violence. This relationship does not make alcohol a root cause of violence. Like women's clothing, however, drunkenness has been a common myth for explaining the causes of violence in many places (Busby, 1999: Brickell, 2008). For example, Brickell (2008) explores the empirical specificity of men's drinking and violence during the post-conflict period in Cambodia. Yet she points out, that while an empirical relationship exists, alcohol consumption is

neither a necessary or sufficient cause of violence. Similarly, Busby (1999) describes how in Kerala, India women's groups had constructed violence as something that was part of men's natures, but drawn out by the external agent, alcohol. Thus, for them it was men's access to alcohol that needed to change, rather than men themselves. Busby astutely points out that 'by blaming alcohol, people remove the blame for violence from men themselves' (Busby, 1999: 244). This is significant because understanding the root causes of a problem are a necessary first step to bringing about change. Thus, when alcohol is blamed for violence it blurs the nature of the problem, glossing over a need for the deconstruction of gendered roles and identities. In Kenya, during the time of the research, it was clear that many NGOs related alcohol consumption and violence. The KGGA were running a 'Say NO to alcohol' campaign, and on seeing the Voices Against Violence curriculum for the first time the first comment in the office was 'I am surprised there isn't a week focusing on alcohol'. Another local NGO in Kibera had made T-shirts with the slogan 'End Drunkenness, End Violence'.

As described above, previous research has explored how constructions of gender and gendered norms impact upon beliefs about the acceptability of violence and what behaviours are considered violent. What has been less well explored is how these normative frameworks and identity constructions influence narratives about the reality of violence itself. Recent work on girls' identity constructions which has accompanied the 'post-structural turn' in educational research, suggest that all data need to be read as a product of this attempt to construct an acceptable gendered self, and not simply as a reflection of reality (Curry, Kelly and Pomerantz, 2007). Not relating to gender and violence specifically, theoretical work by Ricoeur (1983) and Foucault (1980) can also be drawn on to understand the relationship between normative beliefs and constructions of social reality. Ricoeur (1983) describes the process by which people draw on discourse to construct narratives about their experiences. He calls this process 'emplotment' and sees this construction of narrative as necessary for individuals to be able to turn disparate events into something coherent from which they can make sense of their experiences. As the individual creates a narrative, they form their identity based on the construction of themselves within the narrative. Ricoeur's work

helps to explain how some aspects of experience may be sidelined in the effort to produce a concordant narrative. Foucault's work on the relationships between knowledge, truth and power add to this by helping to explain why certain discourses are able to take precedence over others. For Foucault, power produces 'truth':

> 'There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association. we are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth' (Foucault, 1980:93).

Discourse here does not simply refer to language or text but 'practises that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972:49). Discourses can also be seen as bodies of knowledge that come to be regarded as 'true' as a result of the power they are imbued with. This power can relate to moral, religious or scientific authority, amongst other factors. Because of the power that discourses are imbued with they are able to delineate what is, and isn't said (and thought) and therefore, how social reality is constructed. As Fraser (1989) argues, discourses also operate as resources and how girls and women are able to articulate their problems and stake political claims depends on the discursive resources available to them to articulate their experiences. This fits in with Kesby's (2005) view of education as facilitating empowerment by expanding the discursive repertoire of resources participants have to draw on.

Being a 'good girl': constructing normative femininity

Since their inception, the Scouting and Guiding movements have had the aim of moulding a particular kind of citizen, with hard-work, duty to others, obedience and a Christian ethos being key factors within both institutions (Mills, 2012). Whilst for the (boy) scouts, a construction of masculinity involving bravery and adventure was celebrated; the Guiding movement was set up for girls, partly in order to socialise girls into maternal roles (Mills, 2011). The kind of femininity being celebrated in some contemporary guiding movements is now shifting, for example, Anderson and Behringer's (2010) research in the United States suggests a more androgynous and less maternal femininity has become normative there. However, the Kenyan Girl Guides ideas of a 'good girl' (see

Table Five) suggest a remarkable continuity with the original conception of a 'good girl citizen' propagated by the Girl Guides since the beginning of the movement, with obedience, modesty and duty to others being core valued traits. In Kisumu, that these ideas were, partly influenced by their involvement in the Girl Guides was indicated by the references to the 'Guides Law and 'Guides Promise' during the workshop discussions. However, since girls who were not part of the Girl Guides gave similar answers in focus-group discussions, it can be assumed that the views of the Kenya Girl Guides were typical of the cultural context more broadly and the views of the participants were formed by a myriad of influences and not their involvement in the Girl Guides alone. In Kibera, girls had only joined the Kibera Girls Centre (KGC) the week the research started and none of them had previously been Girl Guides. KGC had been chosen by the girls because of the free vocational training courses it offered, and not because the girls had an interest in, or knowledge about, Girl Guiding. Thus we can conclude that in the case of Kibera, the Girl Guide setting had no influence on their responses.

Table four: Data from group activity on 'what a girl should be like and do' in Kisumu

What a girl should be like and do	What a girl should not be like and do
A girl should be kind and polite. A girl should be humble. A girl should be honest and respectful. A girl should have self control. A girl is careful. A girl is cheerful. A girl does not hate others A girl is responsible A girl avoid wastefulness. A girl is wonderful. A girl works hard in school. A girl is good at any time. A girl should have self control A girl should respect her elders. A girl should be careful with her surrounding. A girl should be a friend to all. A girl should help any other girl who has gone on monthly period on the school. A girl is allowed to have sex after marriage.	A girl should not engage in sex before marriage. A girl should not expose off her body. A girl should not allow anyone to harass her. A girl should not practice truancy. A girl should not go to places which are bad. A girl should not use her body to get money. A girl should not use her body carelessly. A girl should not be disobedient. They should not be tough headed. They should not be involved in negative things and avoid bad company. They should not be involved in early relationships. They should not carry themselves in a bad way.

A girl should do her duties well. A girl should report any other case like raping to the police at any other person. A girl should abstain from sex	

As other researchers have noted (Cooke and Kothari, 2001: Pattman and Chege, 2003: Ansell et al, 2012: Cobbett and Warrington, 2013), group participatory research methods have the tendency to capture views and ideas which are normatively and publicly held, but not necessarily privately believed. For this reason, the methodological choice to combine the group-work activity with a piece of anonymous writing on 'being a girl' was made. Indeed, previous research combining these two methods has shown interesting contradictions between what girls and boys say in groups and what they say privately (Pattman and Chege, 2003: Cobbett and Warrington, 2013), allowing for analysis of the complexities and contradictions inherent in young people's gendered identity constructions and public performances of gender.

In contrast, in this research, the girls in Kisumu's responses in an anonymous writing activity to the question 'what do I like about being a girl' suggest that this helpful, obedient, maternal femininity is also privately believed, typical responses from the girls included:

> Being a girl you might face many challenges in life but in the end you will be nice. You will help all those who need your help at home.

> I like being a girl because a girl is like a mother and mothers are very considerate about their children. I like being a girl because there are very many things that boys can't do like for example doing home chores and other stuff like cooking, mopping.

> When I become a lady and have a house of my own I would be a good mother and be a role model to my children.

It is striking that even though this activity was anonymous, only one girl out of the thirty wrote anything that suggested her personal beliefs about girlhood were not entirely congruent with the normative discourse of 'good-girl' femininity. This one dissident comment said 'I like being a girl because I am beautiful' thus standing somewhat in contradiction to the ideal of modesty. It is possible that

even despite the anonymous nature of the activity that some girls may have felt under pressure to give 'the right answer' and present themselves in a good and desirable light. It does seem more likely though, that the consistency within the data suggests that the participants did strongly believe in, and invest heavily in, the strength of this 'good-girl' ideal of femininity.

As the quotes above suggest, references to their roles as future mothers were common within the data. How such maternal discourses should be interpreted has been a subject of much debate with African gender studies (Nnaemeka, 1997: Fennel and Arnot, 2008: Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010). With many authors cautioning against overly negative interpretations of these discourses and reminding us that the 'African mama' is a much more public, community role than the conception of the private, domestic mother as conceived within the Western nuclear family. The way the girls drew on traditional discourses of domesticity, but subverted them into discourses of power was also notable throughout the data. Above we saw that one girl wrote 'I like being a girl because there are very many things that boys can't do like for example doing home chores and other stuff like cooking'. Similar comments were made on a variety of occasions throughout the interviews, for example:

I: Ok, and what do you think is the best thing about being a girl?
(....)
Maria[24]: For me it's the way girls are taught to be responsible more than boys because you find they know how to do much work, they are used in doing work and boys are not used to doing much work, like the house work
I: Oh so for you it's a good thing that girls do more domestic work?
Maria: yes because we're being taught to be more responsible
I: So for you the best thing is that girls are more responsible. Would you like boys to be more responsible too?
Charity: Yes! My brother is so lazy! (laughter from all)

I: OK. Ok, so what do you like best about being a girl?
Florence: The thing I like best is that girls do more work in the house?
I: Ok, so for you that's a good thing. Why is that a good thing?
Florence: because I like working and sometimes I work very well and in class

In these examples, the girls take something which is typically seen as a source of disadvantage (girls' burden of domestic work) and turn it into a source of strength and advantage (girls' greater knowledge and capacity). This suggests

---

[24] All names used are pseudonyms

that interpreting the relationship between constructions of femininity and girls' locations with discourses of power is a complex task. Nevertheless, it is important to note the potency of girls' beliefs in their need to be good, obedient and modest which pervade the data, as these conceptions of appropriate femininity have important bearings on the discourses available to them to articulate the reality of violence in their lives as the rest of the paper will explore.

Girls in Kibera did not talk so explicitly about motherhood or domestic work in their narratives of girlhood, however, like the girls in Kisumu, they focused on girls' niceness in comparison to boys:

I: So what do you think is the best thing about being a girl?
Njeri: The best thing about being a girl. The best thing of being a girl and not being a boy?
I: yes.
Njeri: A girl has feelings at least when something happens to someone you can feel it and you can act fast. Men don't have that heart of helping.
I : Ok. Girls are more helpful. Why do you think girls are like that?
Njeri: I think that is how they were created from the beginning

I: What's the best thing about being a girl?
Wambui: The best thing about being a girl… (after long silence) … girls have more opportunities than boys
I: What kind of opportunities do girls have that boys don't have?
Wambui: Like when it comes to encouraging, supporting and empowering, women are the best
I: Oh like, you get more encouragement from women than boys get from men?
Wambui: Yes, we do

Here we see that girlhood is associated with 'goodness', 'helping' and 'encouraging'. Almost all the girls described the 'best thing about being a girl' along these lines and, like Njeri, saw this as a natural difference between girls and boys. The girls' self constructs relate closely to the 'heroine' depiction of girlhood, which was explored at the beginning of the thesis. As we saw earlier, these constructs of good-girls and bad-bays become problematic when they lead girls to expect and accept bad behaviour from boys, and indeed for boys to expect bad behaviour from themselves.

Likewise, the girls demonstrated socially conservative attitudes towards gendered roles with all of them claiming to like all the expectations that their communities had on them as girls:

I: So you have mentioned a whole lot of expectations, being respectful and obedient, and not to mingle with boys and helping in the home. Which of these expectations do you like and which do you not like and why?
Lucy: Me I like all
I: Why do you like them?
Lucy: They are just good and even according to the Bible the Bible advises us to behave this way, like having respect

As we see above, for Lucy the expectations involving obedience, respectfulness and helpfulness are seen as biblical and right. Only one girl out of the fifteen answered that there was anything she would like to be able to do as girl but her community disapproved and this was a girl training as a hairdresser who wanted to be able to cut boys' hair too but this was disapproved of in her community (due to the close contact it would involve). However, as we have seen throughout, the desire to present themselves as 'good girls' is strongly apparent throughout the data, it is therefore unclear the extent to which the girls wholeheartedly subscribed to these cultural expectations of girlhood. In Kisumu, that the interview data was corroborated by the anonymous writing activity suggests that the girls deeply believed in the normative views about girlhood, which they articulated during the interviews. In contrast, when the girls in Kibera met as a group for the first time to discuss their expectations for the curriculum, a rather less conservative set of beliefs were articulated, as will be described in the following chapter. Thus, it may be that being alone for their interviews increased the pressure to portray themselves as 'good', which may have been reduced when they met as a group.

Mapping violence or mapping moraility?

The starkest contradiction in the data occurred between the maps the girls in Kisumu drew of unsafe and safe places in their communities and their verbal explanations of what these places were like when asked to explain their maps to the wider group. This section will focus on these contradictions. Authors have stressed the importance of providing opportunity for children to interpret their drawings if visual methods are to be truly participatory (Boyden and Ennew, 1997). In this case, the discussion after the mapping activity involved not so much explanations of what they had drawn, but instead, explanations of why what they had drawn was not actually what they believed to be true.

Figure five: Map of unsafe/safe places in the community
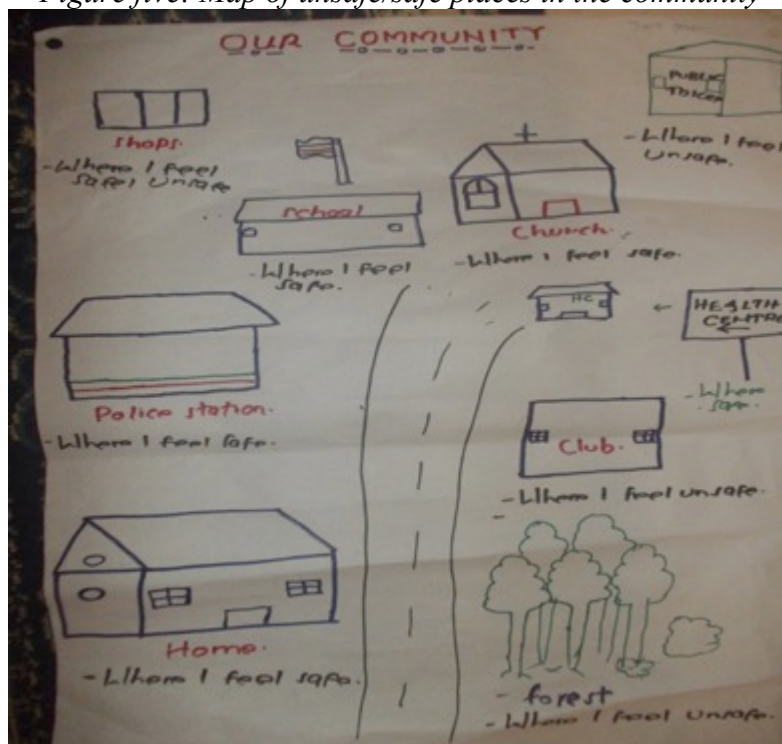
All the groups in Kisumu drew similar maps (see Figure Five as an example). In all their maps the home, school and church were depicted as places where they feel safe. A range of other places were depicted as unsafe across the different groups such as night clubs, bars, the forest, the street and shops. The health centre and police station varied across the groups in terms of whether they were depicted as safe or unsafe.

When they were asked to explain their maps, their explanations bore little relation to what they had said on their maps, with most of the violence they went on to describe during the group sessions taking place in the three places they depicted as 'safe': the home, school and the church. For example, during the sessions they said:

The home
Faith: Our homes are not safe, brothers and sisters have to share rooms and they (the brothers) can get sexual urges in the night and harass you.
Lilian: They can have friends and they go to a bar and get drunk and then come back to your house and the friends harass and rape you.

The church
Mercy: Even church is not safe, the pastor and church leaders can tell you you have to come to their house to pray, and then they rape you.
The School
Faith: School is not safe all the time because boys are there and they harass you and in some schools teachers like to touch your bottom when they beat you.

148

Akinyi: but we would like to go to a girls' school because that would be safe.
Violet: But I think even a girls school wouldn't be completely safe because the watch man can still harass you.

In contrast, they had very little to say about violence occurring in bars and nightclubs, the places they had been quickest, and most comfortable to label as 'unsafe' during the exercise. Of course, it is not surprising that they had most to say about the kinds of violence that occur in the geographical spaces in which they spend most of their time and little to say about places which they are not allowed to enter and therefore know little about. Valentine (1989) describes how women imagine certain places as unsafe and avoid these places in response to this geography of fear. This imagined fear could go some way in explaining the focus on places which they had never been as unsafe on their maps. Overall, though, what became clear is that they had not 'mapped safety' (places they felt safe and unsafe) but that they had instead 'mapped morality' (places where they were allowed and not allowed to go) with the 'allowed' places being labeled as 'safe' and the 'forbidden' places being labeled as 'unsafe'. Using Ricoeur's (1983) ideas, it can be argued that when making the maps the girls have attempted to create a coherent narrative about violence, but in doing so, they have sidelined important parts of their own experience. What Ricoeur's work cannot do, is explain the processes that lead certain aspects of experience to be sidelined over others in the production of a narrative. Here, drawing on Foucault's (1980) nexus of power/knowledge we can deduce that the narrative of allowed/forbidden places which is articulated is imbued with discursive power that allows it to be seen as 'truthful'.

Ansell et al (2012) and Leach (2006) have argued that participatory methods are useful for understanding how children make sense of their worlds but less useful for understanding detailed, empirical realities. The girls' maps in this study provide quite an extreme example in support of this claim. The maps *are* useful in understanding how the girls see their communities in terms of where they are allowed and forbidden to go, and in bringing to light how they have tried to interpret violence within this moral map of allowed/forbidden places. What the maps alone do not do is fulfill their aim of showing where the girls feel safe and unsafe and providing insights into the reality of violence in their communities. Although the participatory mapping workshop revealed a disjuncture between

what they had drawn and the realities of violence, what it did not do, is enable a thorough understanding of *why* such a disjuncture existed, why they needed to interpret violence within such a moral framework and what exactly that moral framework consisted of. It is through analysing the group-interview data that these questions can be explored.

Girls' views on the reality, causes and acceptability of violence

In the interviews, when asked about the reality of violence in their communities, the Kisumu girls' responses were congruent with the discussion part of the mapping exercise but in contrast to the ideas of safety/unsafety portrayed on their maps, for example:

> I have a friend, she lived with her aunt and a man came to stay at their house and she's not sure if he was a relative or not, but he slept in the same room as her and for three days he made her have sex with him and then she was not comfortable so she told the aunt but that aunt did not react so eventually another aunt came to know of the report and she reported to the police and both the Aunt and that man were arrested (Lillian, Kisumu, group one).

> I had an uncle, just a family friend, when my sister, now she is in form two, when she was in class six/seven that family friend tried to rape her when my mum and dad went to work and the others of us we went to school, now she was sick she came back to the house because she was sick and that man tried to rape but couldn't, my father found out, now that family friend whenever he comes to the house, my sister hides, because she doesn't love seeing him (Elizabeth, Kisumu, group eight).

These examples are typical of the stories that were told about girls they knew who had been personally affected by violence. What is common between these two stories (and the others that exist in the data) is that the violence occurred in the home, the perpetrator was an adult man known to the family and the girl had little choice but to interact with the man in question. Additionally, there is no sign of the girl having behaved in a way that transgressed norms of appropriate behaviour before the violence occurred. This narrative of family violence can therefore be seen as a common and typical form of violence that occurred in the girls' communities.

In contrast, in Kibera, the realities of violence described were more diverse with three common narratives of violence being described by the girls: 1) family violence of a similar nature to that described in Kisumu 2) dating violence and 3) rape and harassment from unruly male youths on the streets and in public places.

Zana: Between girlfriends and boyfriends..
I: You think most of it happens between boyfriends and girlfriends
Zana: Yes
I: What kind of violence do you think happens between girlfriends and boyfriends?
Zana: The boys are giving the girls pregnancies and they just destroy them
I: What do you mean by destroy them?
Zana: By sexual behaviour or rape
Zana: So girls can be vulnerable in their relationships

I: Do you think girls experience problems related to violence in your community?
Tabitha: Yes, you cannot trust anybody even at home because you can be raped by father, your brother or step brother or whoever you are staying with in the house

Wambui: In Kibera its not safe for a girl walking at night, and nowadays boys have been so harassing, and even girls fear walking
I: After dark or even during the day
Wambui: During the day, during the day I always walk with someone, I never walk alone

This differed from the almost singular focus on stories of older male relatives in the home from the girls in Kisumu. This difference is, however, unsurprising given the age differences between the two groups of girls. For the primary school aged girls in Kisumu, their worlds revolved around home, school and church and they had little experience beyond these realms. For the teenage girls in Kibera, socialising away from their parents with friends or boyfriends was a significant part of their lives, thus it is to be expected their stories focused on a broader range of experience. For the girls in Kisumu, the streets were imagined as unsafe, but restrictions on their mobility meant this was largely an informed fear. In contrast, for the girls in Kibera, the reality of the danger of being out at night was clear. That Kibera is crime ridden after dark has been shown by numerous writers (for example, Swart, 2011, 2012: Omenya and Lubaale, 2012). What emerged from the interviews was that how unsafe the girls perceived the streets to be depended not on gendered beliefs on whether girls should/n't be out at night but on how long they had resided in Kibera, and consequently, how 'known' they were in the community. For example, one girl said:

> At night they are just ok, because for me am just ok because where
> we live because I have been there for thirteen years …Fourteen years
> in Kibera so I know most of the people (Njeri)

For Njeri, knowing most of the people in her community made her feel safe to be out, even after dark. In contrast, for Wambui, who had only arrived in Kibera two months previously, we saw that she did not even feel safe to walk the streets alone during the day.

What is similar, however, about the narratives across the two places, is that neither group of girls explained their perceptions of the causes of violence with reference to the empirical realities they had described earlier in the interviews. When asked about their understandings of the causes of violence and what could be done to prevent it, it is not with this narrative of family violence or boyfriend/girlfriend violence in mind that the girls in both places responded:

I: What do you think causes violence to happen?
Mercy: Girls walk after dark sometimes.
I: So whose fault is it if the girl is walking after dark and she gets raped?
Mercy: The girl.
I: Why?
Mercy: Because the girl is not supposed to walk at night but she's walking. It can also be the mother's fault because she's sent the girl at night knowing that it's not safe.
I: What about the man, is it also his fault?
Mercy: It's not the fault of the man.
I: Why is not the fault of the man, because he is the one who did that?
Mercy: It's not the fault of the man because the girl exposed herself to that by walking at night so its up to her.
I: Ok. Do you two agree with that?
Violet: I agree. (Kisumu)

I: So this thing of dressing and wearing short skirts that you mentioned, so If a girl walks down the street in a short skirt and she gets raped, whose fault do you think it is, the girl's or the man's or both?
Florence: The girl's fault.
RA: The girl's fault. Why?
Florence: Men get attracted to their dressing..
I: But you don't think the man can have self-control or it is just the girl's fault? (silence)
RA: Just speak.
Achieng: The girls should take care of themselves.
Awur: The mistake is for the male.
I: Can you say why?
(…)

152

I: Do you think that girls that get raped are always wearing small clothes, or just any girls get raped?

Florence: anyone…

RA: So why do you think rape can happen to anyone even if they are not just dressed badly?

(silence)

I: You are not sure.

I: Do you think there is anything that can be done to prevent violence?

(silence)

Achieng: They can protect themselves. (Kisumu)

I: We have talked about certain types of violence, on the streets and in the home. Why do you those types of violence happen? What is the cause?

Wambui: Maybe for girls it is because they are wearing indecent clothes, and for boys it is because they always use drugs and those drugs make them to…

I: If a girl is wearing a short skirt and she goes out and something happens to her..

Wambui: You know some boys, they don't like see girls wearing clothes that show their body because… It causes them to feel excited

I: So if something like that happens, whose fault do you think it is?

Wambui: As for me, maybe I can put the blame on the girl because she has worn an indecent clothes (Kibera)

In these scenarios, when asked about the causes of violence, the girls move away from thinking about the narratives of violence in the home described earlier and imagine a somewhat mythical situation in which a girl who has transgressed norms of modesty and obedience by going out after dark and wearing a short skirt is raped by a stranger. Wearing revealing clothing was the dominant explanation for violence from all the girls in Kisumu and was also articulated by a minority of the girls in Kibera. I describe this scenario as mythical, not because it cannot or does not ever occur, but because of its potency as an image of gendered violence despite the ways in which it contradicts with the very realities of violence that the girls who draw on it have themselves described. In Kisumu, violence occurring on the streets was almost absent from the girls' narratives about the reality of violence in their communities. In Kibera, violence on the streets was one of three common types of violence described; yet even here, it was clear from their narratives that girls who found themselves in the wrong place at the wrong time were targeted, regardless of dress. Drawing on Foucaultian (1980) ideas, we can see that the narrative of the mythical-mini-skirted girl has been imbued with the discursive power of truth. This is likely to be because of the moral weight the girls accorded to modest behaviour and

sexual abstinence, as the data on 'being a girl' demonstrated. If violence is then connected to transgressive, mini-skirted girls, it consequently becomes very difficult to articulate other experiences of violene due to the need to distance themselves from the mini-skirted girl. Because the girl in this mythical scenario has transgressed the norms of acceptable feminine behavior which these girls hold dear, most of the girls (with the exception of Awur) blame the mythical-girl for the violence she is a victim of. Other research has also demonstrated this tendency for some girls, desiring to position themselves as 'good' and 'respectable', to blame other girls for the harassment they receive from boys in order to affirm their own positioning as 'good girls' and distance themselves from 'bad' behaviour (Renold, 2005: Cobbett, 2012). In this case, we have seen the strength of the girls' desires to position themselves as 'good girls' and it is likely that this desire influenced their claims.

In the second extract, the dissonance between the girls' articulations of the causes of violence and the reality they are aware of are clearly shown. When they are asked 'do you think that girls that get raped are always wearing small clothes, or just any girls get raped?' Florence responds with the truth that is in reality 'anyone'. Yet when they are asked 'why' rape might still happen to girls who are not wearing mini-skirts they become stuck and unable to answer. This alerts us to a key reason for the contradictions that exist in the data: that when asked about the causes of violence they draw on the discourses and information that is available to them, and this information relates only to the 'Mythical Mini-Skirted Girl' raped by a stranger on the street, and not to the, perhaps more common, occurrence of violence in the home. Fraser (1989) describes how women need to draw on discursive resources to articulate their needs, and the kinds of discursive resources available to describe a problem in turn shape how that problem will be interpreted as it enters policy arenas. It became clear during the course of the interviews that the girls had already received messages about violence from their Guide Leader and that these messages focus on urging the girls to dress modestly, stay indoors after dark and stay away from boys in order to protect themselves from violence. For example:

I: And how have you found being in the Girl Guides?
Faith: Fun
I: What do you like about it?

Akinyi: We are taught how to take care of ourselves, like how to dress ourselves properly, there is one thing, there is a reason why we are taught how to dress ourselves properly, because if you wear those mini-skirts you will attract boys and they might ask you to be their friend and when you refuse they might plan to do something bad to you, they might wait until you've been sent outside and then they rape you.

However, data from the control focus-group of girls not part of the Girl Guides suggest that these messages are coming from multiple sources and not the Girl Guides alone.

I: and what do you think are the causes of this violence?
(..)
Lara: And there is also this bad dressing, girls moving about in those small skirts, it attracts men

Since the messages they have received about protecting themselves from violence relate to these factors of dress and behaviour, it is a logical step to explain the causes of violence as relating to girls who transgress these norms. While aware that much of the violence that occurs in their communities *does not* involve mini-skirted girls who walk around late at night, it is only this mythical scenario which they are able to explain. In contrast, they have no discursive resources to draw on to explain the violence perpetrated against girls who have not transgressed gendered norms since violence has never been explained to them in relation to factors such as gender inequality or constructions of masculinity. In addition to being unable to explain other kinds of violence, because the teaching they have received links violence to mini-skirted girls who transgress gendered norms a need is created to distance themselves from violence in their production of acceptable gendered selves. This is likely to make it harder for them to voice their problems if they are themselves experiencing violence.

In Kibera, as we have seen, some girls also described the causes of violence in relation to the 'mythical mini-skirted girl'. However, I argue that this was not the hegemonic story about violence in Kibera. Instead the most common explanations for violence relation to unemployment, poverty and alcohol and drug abuse:

I: These kinds of violence that we are talking about like rape from the parent or different kinds of things why do you think those problem exist in your community. Like what causes them?

Njeri: Unemployment. Most of the boys in Kibera are jobless. You know idle mind just think of doing different things. Even education.

I: So is like the boys don't have anything better to do?

Njeri: There are just there just think of stealing, raping.

I: Is like frustration or like..?

Njeri: Yes

I: Any other think you think causes violence?

Njeri: That is the main reason.

I: And these kinds of violence why do you think they happen? What is the cause of violence against girls?

Barika: Alcohol and drugs.

I: How do drugs and alcohol cause violence?

Barika: There are many pubs around and there is also cheap alcohol. Even underage children can access alcohol because the sellers want to make money.

I: So if we got rid of drugs and alcohol would violence also stop?

Barika: Yes

I: It will stop. There is no other cause of violence?

Barika: There is also idleness because of unemployment which leads them to alcohol and drugs after which they rob people and gang rape women.

I: So what else do you think can be done to prevent this violence?

Barika: Instead of being idle, they can go back to school or get some manual work to do.

I: So like if you can solve the problem of joblessness and poverty you solve the violence.

Barika: Yes.

I: These kind of issues you are saying are in your community like domestic abuse in the home or these problems of violence on the streets at night. Why do you think they happen? What is the cause of violence?

Loisa: Most of the young boys are jobless and they start doing bad things like stealing to get money.

(…)

I: What do you think can be done to prevent violence? Like is there anything we can do to stop that violence from happening in our community? What could happen?

Loisa: What I think is if the jobless youth can be given something to do, they can stop it.

I: In other communities like wealthy communities where people are having a job, do you think there is no violence there?

Loisa: *silence*

In all these extracts violence is seen as caused by alcohol drugs and joblessness. In many ways it unsurprising that the girls feel this way. In Kibera it is clear that unemployed, intoxicated young men *do* commit many acts of violence against women and girls. However, what is interesting here is the way the alcohol/joblessness/violence nexus serves to obscure their ability to explain violence and think about its root causes. Both Barika and Loisa are asked

156

whether they think violence happens in other communities were employment rates are higher. Barika meets this question with a confident assertion that violence would *not* happen in such communities. This is despite the fact that she herself has described violence as happening in a range of circumstances in Kibera. Drawing on Ricoeur's (1983) ideas, this is another example of someone sidelining part of their experience in order to build a coherent narrative. Loisa, on the other hand, is silent and unable to respond when asked whether violence would happen in communities with high employment. For both the girls (and many of the others), what is clear is that they have no discursive resources (Fraser, 1989) with which to make sense of the prevalence of violence other than the alcohol/joblessness/violence nexus. I have called this discourse 'the real drunk man' in the chapter title, because unlike the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' the drunk, violent man is very much a reality in Kibera. Given that the 'drunk man' is not entirely mythical, and that this perception does not blame girls for violence in the way the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' does, one may ask why this perception is considered so problematic? One reason, as we have already seen, is that it necessitates the girls to sideline aspects of their experience in order to build narratives. But more importantly, it is problematic because it prevents the girls from making connections between gender inequality, power relations and violence. Being able to make these connections and reflect on their relevance is necessary for the girls to be able to make choices to have healthy, balanced relationships. In contrast, when violence is seen as an inevitable outcome of the socio-economic situation of their community it becomes something that one may have no choice but to accept. Indeed, as the earlier literature review showed, violence prevention interventions that have been shown to be successful such as SASA! (Abramsky et al, 2011), IMAGE (Kim et al, 2007: Pronyk et al, 2008) and Stepping Stones (Kesby et al, 2002: Jewkes at al, 2008) have had a strong focus on reflecting on power relations and thinking about how we use power in our everyday lives.

Conclusion

Firstly, we can see from the pre-curriculum data that different kinds of violence are perceived as problems in the two communities. For the girls in Kisumu, when talking about real examples of violence that had happened to them or those

known to them, most of the stories related to violence occurring in the home, with a few examples relating to churches and schools. In contrast, in Kibera, three dominant narratives of violence were described: violence in the home, violence occurring between boyfriends and girlfriends and violence occurring on the streets. These difference were partly a result of place (with Kibera having more dangerous streets than Kisumu), but were also partly a result of age. The girls in Kisumu were aged between nine and thirteen and, consequently did not discuss dating violence. Similarly, as young girls, their mobility was restricted in comparison to the older girls in Kibera and so accurate knowledge of a wide range of places was lacking.

When asked straightforward questions about the types of violence that occurred in their communities the girls in both sites answered in ways that seemed to relate to their personal experiences and resonated with other research on the types and prevalence of violence in those communities. However, when asked about the causes of violence, a different story emerged, since it was not with these narratives of prevalent violence in mind that the girls responded. Instead, it was with the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' (for Kisumu) or the 'real drunk man' (for Kibera) in mind that the girls articulated their beliefs about the causes of violence and solutions for preventing it.

Conceptually, the data shows the strength of beliefs about gender and appropriate moral and gendered behaviour in shaping how violence is articulated, both in terms of the 'what' and the 'why' of violence. That such beliefs would shape how girls articulate the causes and acceptability of violence is not surprising, and indeed other research has explored how gendered beliefs affect the acceptability and justifications for gendered violence (Uthman et al, 2009: McCarry, 2010: Sundaram, 2013). What is newer, and more striking, about this data (especially from Kisumu) is the finding that such gendered beliefs can lead to such striking disjunctures and contradictions in the ways in which the very reality of violence is articulated. During both the participatory mapping workshop and the interview discussions in Kisumu I have argued that a 'mythical mini-skirted girl' who transgressed norms of moral female behaviour loomed large in their narratives of where violence took place and why it happened. As the reality of violence (on

the community maps) and the causes of violence (in the interviews) were described with this mythical girl in mind, an overemphasis was placed on violence occurring in public spaces (on their maps) and violence that occurred to 'badly behaving' girls (in the interviews). Yet whenever they switched from thinking about violence hypothetically, to narrating true stories of people they knew who had been affected by violence, it became clear that violence in their communities did not simply happen to mini-skirted girls in public places. Likewise, in Kibera, when discussing the causes of violence an over-emphasis was also placed on violence occurring in public places, this time, not because of the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' but because the 'real drunk man' was the only discourse available to them to understand and explain violence.

That the girls in Kisumu articulated violence with this mythical girl in mind was no accident, but related to the teaching they received from Girl Guide leaders alongside other sources. As Ricoeur (1983) argues, where dissonance exists between two factors, in this case, the moral narrative of violence presented to them by their guide leaders and the reality of violence they were aware of, it is normal to change how one of the factors is viewed in order to reduce dissonance. In this case, instead of rejecting the teaching presented to them by the Girl Guides, they changed the way they described the occurrence of violence to over-emphasise that which occurred in public places and to particular kinds of girls. This happened because of the moral power that discourses surrounding the mini-skirted girl were imbued with, alongside the lack of discursive resources that the girls had to explain violence which did not relate to girls who had transgressed norms of appropriate female behaviour. This shows the far reaching impacts that faulty messages about violence can have.

In the case of Kibera, it was not so much that the girls had explicitly been taught that alcohol, drugs and poverty caused violence. Instead, their views were shaped by their experiences. In this way, their narratives do show an awareness of social structures and the role of these in perpetuating inequalities. However, the discourses they drew on to explain violence only related to part of their experience. The existence of other types of violence were necessarily sidelined when the discussion turned to the causes of violence and violence prevention.

This was because they lacked alternative discursive resources (Fraser, 1989) with which to understand violence. As Fraser (1989) argues, discursive resources are important because they shape how women are able to articulate and stake their political claims, and what kind of interventions are shaped to address a problem. In the pre-curriculum interviews the girls in Kibera showed strong awareness of the impact of structural inequalities on their lives. However, they believed the only way to stop violence is to solve poverty and unemployment and stop alcohol and drug abuse. Similarly, in Kisumu the girls believed girls dressing modestly, avoiding male company and placing restrictions on their mobility could stop the violence. None of these things could actually stop violence, and while they are believed to be causes of violence it is likely that violence will be viewed as inevitable. We can see from the baseline data that the girls initial ways of understanding gendered violence do not lead them to think about how they can have healthy, power balanced relationships and communities. Thus the relevance of generating critical awareness about violence as an issue of gender inequality, as the Voices Against Violence Curriculum aims to do.

Chapter Seven: Peering into spaces for change: voices, dynamics and positionality

Introduction

This chapter will examine what actually happened during the delivery of the curriculum in the two contexts. It will explore the messages that were delivered by the facilitators and how these were received and negotiated by the girls. In Chapter Three I argued that one of the weaknesses of most research examining the impact of related projects is that it has been conducted in the field of public health, and as such, the educational interventions are treated as unexamined, technical 'inputs' (for example, Jaffe, 1992: Pronyk et al, 2006, 2008: Jewkes et al 2007). In these papers survey data describes changes in participants' views before and after the project, but we do not know what was said, felt, experienced and discussed during the interventions. Indeed, we do not know precisely *how* changes in participants' beliefs relate to discussions and teachings in the intervention or how what facilitators actually taught relates to planned curriculum content. Recording and examining what actually happened in the 'space for change', as I have termed it, is therefore an important distinguishing feature of this research.

Additionally, most other related research has not examined *who* facilitated projects and how their unique personalities, positionalities and life situations affected what was taught and how projects actually worked in practice. What educational researchers have long noted, however, is that designing a perfect curriculum is only the first step in setting up a successful project: teachers and facilitators will not teach what they do not believe in or understand (Boler, 2003: McLauglin et al, 2012). Therefore, in this chapter, we will start by getting to know our two facilitators, Rose and Fridah, a little better and we will walk the journey through the curriculum with them. In this way, we will gain insight into how the interaction of each individual with the curriculum content and materials produced a specific and unique intervention, both very different to the other.

The facilitators

As I have stated, most other research detailing related educational interventions does not discuss who facilitators were and how their positionality may have influenced the process. Reflections on the impact of positionality have been far more common in relation to researchers themselves considering their own and other researchers' effects on research processes (for example, England, 1994: Kiragu, forthcoming: Turner, 2010). Kiragu (forthcoming), reflects on her experience working on one research project with five different researchers. She shows how the same interview guide turned into very different interviews in the hands of the different researchers and explores how these different positionalities lead to these differences. In a similar way, the different positionalities of the two facilitators led to the same curriculum being implemented in two very different ways. Turner (2010) discusses the influence of the people she terms 'the silenced assistants' who are part of research projects, but insufficiently acknowledged. I argue that facilitators have been similarly silenced and need to be included in research stories.

Rose (in Kisumu) and Fridah (in Kibera) were already briefly introduced in chapter five. However, it is important to understand their beliefs and attitudes in more detail. As a reminder, Rose is a middle-aged teacher and Girl Guide leader at a town centre primary school. She is married with three children and she is a devout Catholic. Fridah is a young, single woman in her mid-twenties who has lived all her life in Kibera. She is a volunteer at KGC and lives with her family close to the Centre; her father is a pastor in the African Inland Church (AIC) of which she is also a member. However, as Kiragu, (forthcoming) reminds us, it is not simply fixed characteristics such as age and gender that define our positionality, but it is also our unique (and fluctuating) beliefs and perspectives.

What both women had in common was a firm belief in the importance and relevance of talking to girls about violence:

> This thing, it is very important for us, because most of the girls, they are affected by violence at some time or another. We have had many situations over the years of girls coming to us and saying they have been touched or harassed. (Rose)

> Talking about violence is very necessary here in Kibera. So many
> girls and women are affected by violence. But what makes me
> really sad is that so many of them have low expectations for their
> relationships, they think violence is okay and they don't
> expect anything different. That's why it's so important to
> talk about it. (Fridah)

We see here that both our two facilitators believe that violence against girls is a problem in their communities, and that educating girls about it is of value. However, the quotes also already start to indicate that how the two women understand the nature of the problem may be quite different. For Rose, the problem is one of strangers and men in the community harassing girls and it is an issue of how to keep girls safe. For Fridah, on the other hand, the issue is about relationships, how they can be (un)healthy and how women's expectations feed into this. As Fraser (1989) argues, the discursive power to define the nature of a problem is highly significant in determining how a problem is addressed. Thus, these two different interpretations of the problem of violence will lead to different types of action.

As Rose and Fridah move on to discuss the kind of impact they hope the project will have on the girls, their difference in perspective becomes even more apparent:

> What I hope is that the girls will learn how to keep themselves
> safe, the importance of staying away from boys and certain places,
> you know, those bashes, and not walking after dark. I think when
> we taught last year we did make an impact because some of them
> came to me telling me how their parents had asked them to go to the
> shop after dark but they refused because now they know it's not
> safe. (Rose)

> What I want to see for the girls is for them to expect and demand
> better. I think I am different to other girls in Kibera because of
> my parents. Even now that they are old, they are still like young
> lovebirds, I come home and find them giggling and having pillow
> fights. My whole life they have made decisions together as a family
> and they respect each other and share everything. But I see
> that most couples in Kibera are not like that. I mean, look at Jacinta,
> her husband comes to Nairobi, gets her pregnant and disappears
> again, he doesn't even come when she gives birth, and for her its
> just normal, I want the girls to know that's not right. (Fridah)

The two women have very different hopes for the project. For Rose, the desired outcome is for the girls to keep themselves safe by placing restrictions on themselves. The aim here is to reduce the likelihood of specific acts of violence by removing oneself from the geographical spaces where such acts are presumed to occur. In contrast, for Fridah, the focus is broader than the avoidance of specific acts of violence, it is about fostering the 'power within' (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002) to instigate and demand healthy, respectful relationships as they grow and mature. These two different perspectives relate to what researchers writing about young people's sexual health have termed 'protective versus pleasure-based' discourses (Ingham, 2005: Allen, 2007). Protective discourses focus on keeping young people away from harm and often view young people as 'innocent' and lacking in competence to make good decisions (Faulkner, 2011). In contrast, pleasure-based approaches aim to *enable* young people to form positive relationships, rather than simply keep them safe from HIV and violence. Ingham (2005) argues that teaching from a pleasure perspective is important, not only for sexual health outcomes, but also to prevent violence, since comfort with one's body and confidence to communicate one's wishes, are important attributes enabling young people to say no to violence. Similarly, in relation to domestic violence prevention work, Michau (2005) uses the term 'benefits based programming' to describe an approach in which community members are helped to think through the benefits of peaceful, equitable relationships, instead of merely taught about the negative impact of violence. Fridah and Rose have not been taught about any of these approaches, and would be unfamiliar with such technical language; however, their views implicitly fall within these contrasting paradigms of thought. Understanding and acknowledging this reality helps to illuminate how the same curriculum will be implemented with a different slant, depending on the beliefs of the facilitator.

The curriculum

Before moving on to explore what happened inside the 'space for change', it is necessary to understand a bit more about how the 'Voices Against Violence' curriculum is constructed, and what its aims are. In the introduction booklet the curriculum is described as follows:

> The curriculum uses non-formal education as a tool to help end

violence against girls and women. The curriculum supports children
and young people to learn about violence; to understand their rights;
and to develop the skills and confidence to speak out and take action
against violence in their own lives and in their communities (Stop the
Violence, 2013).

Therefore, relating to the different aspects of what education programmes
working with girls and women to prevent violence might need to do described in
Chapter Three, this curriculum includes all the different dimensions (attitudes,
knowledge, skills). The curriculum is then divided into six different weeks with
six different aims:

1) **START:** to develop a safe and supportive space for children and young
   people to talk about gender inequality and violence against girls and
   young women.

2) **THINK:** about gender equality and what it means to be 'me'. To
   understand gender roles, norms and expectations and start to promote
   equality.

3) **IDENTIFY:** and understand different forms of violence against girls and
   recognise the warning signs of violence.

4) **SUPPORT:** respectful relationships. To develop skills to form their own
   relationships and support their friends.

5) **SPEAK OUT:** on girls' rights and raise awareness of women and girls'
   human rights.

6) **TAKE ACTION: t**o stop the violence. To develop and run a campaign
   event or activity within the local community to raise awareness about
   stopping violence against girls and young women.

There are four different versions of the curriculum catered to different ages
(early, younger, middle and older years). Facilitators need to choose which
version is most appropriate for their group and it is intended that facilitators will
use their judgment to decide this, rather than having strict age categories, so that
cultural and contextual factors can be taken account of. Within the four main
weeks (apart from the Start and Take Action weeks) there is a choice of around
4-5 sessions that cover slightly different topics and include different activities but
all fit under the broad theme of the week (Think, Identify etc.). The idea of this is
to enable the curriculum to be adapted for use in different cultural contexts. For

example, the different options under the 'Identify' theme cover a range of types of violence from forced marriage to dating violence. Facilitators therefore need to choose a session that will be meaningful within the cultural context they are working in. While this ability to adapt the curriculum is highly useful from a contextual and cultural point of view, it also makes the choice of facilitator particularly important since they also have the power to choose sessions based on their own preconceptions and moral views, thus (potentially) removing some of the roundedness of the curriculum. For example, after reading through the curriculum for the first time, Rose said:

> Well for us, in terms of the choosing, we can straight away eliminate all the options to do with healthy relationships, because our girls should not be having relationships until they are married.

In this way, one of the aims of the curriculum 'to support healthy relationships' was immediately removed, narrowing the focus of the project.

The rest of the chapter will now peer inside each of the five sessions from the two contexts. I will not describe the entire content of every session, but a flavour of every session will be provided, giving an understanding of the nature of what was discussed.

Start: setting the discursive boundaries

The first meeting between the two groups has particular significance. As many authors have argued, participatory spaces are characterised by particular regimes of governance, which determine the possibilities of behaviour, reflection and speech within that particular space (Kothari, 2001: Cooke, 2001: Kesby, 2005: Gallagher, 2008). While this has been seen by some as wholly negative, Kesby (2005) and Gallagher (2008) persuasively argue that regimes of governance are not necessarily negative, a more pertinent question then is *what kind of regime of governance is shaped in the particular space, and with what consequence?* What is said by the facilitators in these first meetings is of vital importance in determining what *can* be said by the participants later.

Kisumu had two attempts at the START session. The first time we met to do the start session, it transpired that Rose, supposedly trained and experienced in delivering the curriculum, had never actually been given a copy of the curriculum but only the 'Leader's Handbook'. The Leader's Handbook contained much information on the topic of violence; Rose had assumed that it was her job to create sessions based on this information. Since she was not following a detailed session plan, the space for her own views and agendas to surface was even greater.

Rose decides to start the session by introducing the concept of 'gender', according to her own understanding. She asks the girls to put their hands up and describe a difference between girls and boys:

Akinyi: girls have breasts
Mercy: girls have hips
Rose: Look at me, am I a man or a woman? See, we know men and women are different!

Thus, the session starts by affirming the importance of biological sex differences as determining gendered categories.

The topic of violence is then introduced:

Rose: 'What is violence?'
Laura: 'Something bad happening in the community'
Rose: Explains that there are different types of violence, sexual harassment etc and gets the girls to repeat the words.

The teacher then asks them 'what is sexual harassment?' which is then met with a long silence….she then asks 'so what is sex?' 'to talk about violence we need to know what sex is' this is again met with a long silence until eventually she asks 'what is sex in Kiswahili?' and after sometime, instead of saying any of the words that mean sex (*kufanya ngono/ kufanya mapenzi/ kujamiliana*) one of the girls says '*tabia mbaya*[25]' (meaning bad behaviour). Eventually the teacher says 'sexual intercourse' since none of the girls will offer this explanation. It is clear that even though the discursive permission to mention sex is being offered by the

---

[25] '*Tabia mbaya*' is a common euphemism for sex in Swahili.

teacher, the girls are not yet comfortable to take up this offer, demonstrating the way power works by inducing self-regulation (Foucalult, 1988: Kesby, 2005).

She moves on to talk about violence and asks 'give us an example of how boys harass girls', one girl says 'boys touch the private parts' she then asks 'have you seen this in school' some say no but one or two say 'yes'. She then asks, 'what will you do if a boy touches you, will you stay quiet?' One girl responds 'I'd tell the teacher' then another says 'I'd scream'. Rose continues to ask the girls for examples of when they have seen violence, or if they know people who have been affected. The girls become increasingly uncomfortable and silent, clearly unwilling to share personal stories. Rose becomes visibly stressed as she tries to urge them to talk. She attempts to give them examples, saying in a cross voice:

> Surely some of you have seen sexual harassment on the *matatus*.
> You must have seen the way those men harass girls. Come on, Talk!

When she is again met with silence, she turns to me and says 'Pah, these small, girls, they won't talk'. It becomes clear that her idea of 'success', is getting the girls to divulge personal stories, thus proving their openness and comfort with the sessions. It becomes apparent, that the aim of the first session 'to create a safe and supportive space' is not going to be met here.

Next, the discussion turned to the causes of violence, and a strong 'girl blaming' discourse was introduced. She asks them 'do you go to the shops at night?' Some put their hands up to say that they do. She tells them off explaining that they shouldn't and saying 'do you trust everyone in your neighbourhood?'. She then starts talking about why violence happens saying 'some girls walk around at night, and they walk around at night in tiny clothes' 'so girls also contribute to violence, what do girls do?' 'they contribute to violence'.

Blaming girls for violence in this way is in itself a form of harm (Berns, 2001). My ethical concerns after this session and struggles to decide how best to act have already been described in chapter five. After, realising that Rose was lacking the proper materials I made sure she received them and spent considerable time with her going through these and discussing the ethical issues

surrounding the delivery of the curriculum and the messages imparted. As has already been described, a several month strike followed by the school holidays then took place. It was, therefore, four months after this troubled first attempt that the second attempt to start the curriculum took place in Kisumu. The second attempt, as will be shown, was very different to the first. However, the impact of that first meeting cannot be forgotten.

START: Take Two

As the girls come in with their chairs and sit down Rose tells them to 'sit up properly' 'move the chairs that way'. She seems stressed and the vibe is authoritarian. As we wait to start Rose tells me that she has not planned ahead to think about the other weeks because she is extremely busy and overworked. She says 'I am glad this thing is only six weeks, I can't wait to be done with it'. It is clear that the long teachers' strike is having an impact on the general atmosphere amongst teachers who are feeling the pressure of trying to make up for the time lost due to the strike and ensuring that pupil's performance is not negatively affected.

She tells them today we are starting the 'Stop the Violence badge curriculum', repeat 'Stop the Violence badge curriculum', she gets them to repeat this several times. She tells them to get into small groups and she gives them papers with the different headings 'Think', 'Support' etc on them, she reads out the introductions to these themes and then tells them in their groups to write what they would like to learn under each heading on the piece of paper and then pass it on the next group. The girls work in their small groups very quietly, not much discussion going on. The teacher starts to become anxious about how long they are taking to write (one of the problems of doing this in a school is extreme time pressure) 'You need to write faster' 'just write something small so you can move on the next one' 'we don't have enough time for you to go at this speed' She then collects in their papers and reads the points and says 'these are very good, well done'. No further discussion takes place. The difficulty of implementing the curriculum within the formal school context where time is severely limited is apparent.

She then says 'now we are going to look at ground rules' 'what do you think the ground rules should be when we meet together'

Mercy: time keeping
Rose: Any other ground rules? Things you would like to happen or not happen when we meet together?
Laura: we should concentrate
Rose: don't lean on the table, sit up right!
Mercy: no noise making
Laura: no laughing at others' ideas
Awur : don't miss any session
Rose: 'let me ask you some of these questions' she then reads from the curriculum the bit about using the ground rules to make sure everyone feels safe and doesn't experience violence during the sessions. She then says, how do you think we can do that?
Mercy: by respecting each other
(it is mostly the two oldest girls who are doing all the talking, the other girls are quiet)
Laura: having good moral behaviour while we are here
Mercy: not referring to other people as examples

The teacher then reads out all the ground rules they have collected. She tells them they have now finished the day and are to return at the same time next week.

START: Kibera

Fridah starts by explaining that since we are all fairly new at KGC and it is important to be comfortable with each other, we will start by playing some 'get to know each other games'. We introduce ourselves using a couple of clapping games and then going round saying our name, favourite food, relationship status and something else we like. The atmosphere was very light and fun – the girls laughed a lot and when someone missed giving an answer to one of the questions they all shouted out 'but where do you live' your status'! Sharing the relationship status made everyone laugh hysterically– even though they all described themselves as single. The games were conducted in a participatory manner, with the girls choosing what things they wanted to know about everyone else.

Then Fridah asked them 'do you remember what this project is called and what it is about? 'They shouted out various responses like 'gender violence' and 'we

will learn about how to prevent violence'. Fridah explained we are doing the project so that we can learn more about violence and how to stop it. She said:

> There are some women who never experience violence in their lives, we want to know what are the characteristics of those woman, are there things we can do so we don't experience violence too. We also want to know what are the protocols in terms of the law – some times reporting is difficult because our chiefs are all men – so we need to think about what we can do.

The pedagogical approach here, is from the start, different to that used by Rose in Kisumu. Whist Rose used choral responses and cued elicitation to incite particular responses, Fridah is asking questions and responding to their answers.

Fridah then said 'now we are going to think about group norms – what norms for our group do you want? Various answers were shouted out such as 'we should respect each other's opinions' and 'we should keep are phones on silent'. One suggestion led to a lively debate:

Wariumu: No laughing when someone else is talking
Wambui: I disagree, what if something is funny?
Loisa: yeah, I agree, we like to laugh!
Quinter: but it's not good to laugh AT people…

Eventually they agreed that the rule they wanted was 'don't mock people'. The level of engagement here was high, with the girls taking ownership over deciding the terms of their engagement and sharing ideas enthusiastically. This could be partly attributed to the older age of the girls. But the context, and the rules of governance being implicitly laid out by Fridah also seem important.

Like, in Kisumu, the main activity for the rest of the session was for the girls to write what they wanted to learn about the five headings (Think, Identify etc) that were hung up on the walls around the room. Unlike in Kisumu, however, here there was then a discussion about what they had written and Fridah asked the girls who made unusual or less obvious requests to explain their idea. On seeing that most of the example situations described by the girls were about married couples, Fridah said to the girls:

> 'Why are we talking about wives husbands when no one here is married? Why don't we talk about girlfriends and boyfriends?'

In terms of shaping the discursive norms in the space, this is a highly important statement, which explicitly grants permission for the girls to acknowledge and talk about their own relationships.

Interestingly, some of the girls used the space to write about the kind of societal change they would like to see in relation to that theme, rather than merely what they wanted to learn, for example, on the `support respectful relationships' paper one girl had written:

> If the husband gets angry because the wife has gone to sit with other women at the market this is not healthy. The husband has to learn that his wife should have friends and groups of women together does not always mean gossip'

Rather, than something she wants to learn, this is clearly a change she wants to see to make relationships in her society healthier. Similarly, another girl had written 'the right to rule' under the 'Speak Out' heading, and when asked to explain her comment she said 'in Kenya we have never seen a women president and women are seen as nothing when it comes to leadership – I want to see women in power!' The ensuing conversation on the topic of 'ruling and power' led another girl to say 'I don't know why they always say a man is the head of the household. If he works and I also work, why is he the head?' Thus, it appears that here, coming together as a group and simply discussing what they wanted to learn in a carefully facilitated environment led to change. In their individual pre-curriculum interviews, the girls had largely performed conservative ideals of femininity, presenting themselves as 'good girls', unquestioning of gendered norms. In contrast, here, brought together as a group and given implicit encouragement to 'say anything', they already start to question and critique gendered norms and perform empowered, assertive femininities. The speed of this change is a reminder of Kesby's (2005, 2007) reminder to 'spatialise' the concept of empowerment; that empowered performances of gender may be more easily achievable in certain spaces (such as participatory projects), but that the challenge is to be able to sustain these performances in everyday spaces.

Think: challenging and reproducing gendered norms

For the Think session in Kisumu, Rose chose the option called 'Life in a Box'.

The stated aims of this session are:

- To identify gender stereotypes and expectations.
- To learn how gender roles, norms and expectations can impact on the lives of girls and boys.
- To recognise gender as a sliding scale and not a rigid box.
- To reflect on who they are and the person that they want to be (Voices against Violence, 2013)

As we can see from the aims, this session is concerned with encouraging critical thinking about gendered norms and expectations. After reflecting on previous research (such as Reddy and Dunne, 2007: Jewkes and Morrell, 2012), I argued in Chapter Three that providing girls with an opportunity to reflect on constructions of femininity was likely to be an essential component of a successful intervention. I also argued that content which sought to expand discursive possibilities was necessary to increase reflexive agency (Kesby, 2005: 2007). The planned aims and content for this session therefore seem ideally suited to the task at hand. In contrast, what actually happened during the session provides a revealing example of the result when a session aimed at encouraging critical thinking about gender is put in the hands of someone who, herself, does not think critically about gender.

The session started with a warm up activity based on musical chairs but with boxes drawn on the ground. When the music stopped the girls had to get in a box and each time a box was taken away they had to squeeze more of them into one box. The aim was to think about how 'gender is a box that constrains us, but that we can break out of'. Instead, at the end of the activity, the following dialogue occurs:

Rose: I wanted you to get into one box because you are all girls, that means you all have the same characteristics, we are different, we are not like boys. So who can tell me what it is about you that makes you different to boys?
Cynthia: We can make people come into the world!
Rose: Yes, that is called reproduction

In this way, the activity was used to *affirm* rather than to *challenge* the rigidity of gender differences resulting from biological sex. This theme continued throughout the session. One of the main activities was for the girls to work in three small groups to draw pictures of 'a real boy' and 'a real girl' and to write

around their pictures the characteristics of 'real' boys and girls (see Table Six). The activity was clearly enjoyable and invoked a lot of laughter and giggling as they drew. Rose encouraged them, giving them prompts as they went:

Rose: are girls and boys the same, no! you are different! So show those characteristics
Rose: Maybe the girl is very beautiful, she has long hair…
Rose: Who is stronger? Who is prettier?

Table five: the characteristics attributed to a 'real girl' and a 'real boy'

Group one		Group two		Group three	
A 'real' girl	A 'real' boy	A 'real' girl	A 'real' boy	A 'real' girl	A 'real' boy
A girl goes through menstruation A girl is responsible. A girl should conceive. A girl should be clean.	Careless Shaggy hair Mature late Highly attracted to girls Rude Sees girls as low Expected to protect their families	A girl has breasts and hips and beautiful eyes and lips. She is always clean. A real girl starts maturing at age 9. Menstruation A real girl should not behave like a tomboy	Muscular Has wet dreams Is stronger than girls Is rude and harsh Highly attracted to girls Is careless and lazy	She is beautiful She has a pretty smile She has nice hair She is clean	Has shaggy hair Is fierce Has a broken voice Has sperm and wet dreams. Is strong and muscular Is highly attracted to girls. Is rude and harsh

The characteristics the girls came up with provide an interesting picture of how they think about gender. For example, we see that boys are constructed negatively, but also as the active gender, who are attracted to girls rather than the other way round. We also see that whilst behaviours are described for boys, 'real girls' are entirely depicted in relation to their physical characteristics. Of course, the idea of such an activity is to articulate traditional beliefs and then challenge

them, to show that whilst we have different expectations for girls and boys, these are often unhelpful and limit are freedom to be the person we want to be. In this case, however, the activity was again used to affirm gender differences. As the girls presented their work, Rose prompted choral responses from the girls, for example:

Rose: Can boys have pretty smiles too?
Girls: No!
Rose: That's right, only girls can have pretty smiles

This method was used to reinforce that their depictions of 'real' girls and boys were in fact accurate descriptions of how girls and boys are. In this way, the aim of the activity was subverted. After several more activities, Rose ended the session by asking two girls to share what they had learnt. The first said 'I learnt that women are weak and that's why they are violated', whilst the second said 'It is right to be confident in yourself and you should fight for your rights'. These two opposing statements provide a stark example of the way in which messages delivered in education programmes need to be received and negotiated by participants (Nayak and Kehily, 2002: Jackson and Weatherall, 2010) and that we cannot assume an obvious correlation between messages delivered and messages received.

Kibera

For this week Fridah chose the session called 'inspiring women leaders'. This session has three aims: 1) to identify inspiring female role models 2) to recognise gender inequality 3) to build their leadership skills. This session was chosen since so many of the girls had written that 'women and leadership' was a topic they were interested in during the Start session. Fridah starts with a fun warm up. Then she says 'what day is it today' and someone shouts 'mother's day' and Fridah says 'no, it's women's day, there is a difference between mothers and women, so happy women's day to you all'.

She then tells them we'll be looking at women and leadership and asks, 'do you know any women leaders?' Several girls call out names 'Rachel Shebesh[26]'

---

[26] Rachel Shebesh, Joyce Banda and Martha Karua are contemporary Kenyan politicians. Wangari Maathai was a prominent academic and social and environment activist who died in

'Joyce Banda' 'Wangari Maathai' 'Martha Karua'. Then Fridah asked 'what about social or economic leaders?' This was harder for them than thinking of political leaders; they all just shouted 'Lupita N'gongo'. Fridah then starts a conversation about what challenges they think women might face in relationship to leadership:

Fridah: What challenges do you think women face in becoming leaders?
Janet: Discrimination
Wambui: People think less of us because we are women
Njeri: People think women are low
Fridah: What about if you were married, would that lead to extra challenges?
(silence from the girls)

This exchange shows that the girls have a general sense of women being disadvantaged, but are not able to connect issues such as how women's burden of domestic work may relate to women's careers. Fridah goes on to explain about this as well as introducing the concept of the glass ceiling more broadly. They are then divided into three groups to further brainstorm what they see as the barriers to women's success in leadership.

After this, for the main activity, I played the role of Martha Karua, a well-known and highly-respected female politician and lawyer who is commended for taking a strong stand against corruption in government. I shared Martha's (somewhat fabricated) life-story with the group and then the girls asked questions to learn from Martha's experience. They participated actively and asked questions including 'what was the biggest challenge you faced as a woman', 'how did you overcome these challenges', 'who inspired you', 'did your family support you', 'how do you juggle being a mother and in politics' and 'what advice do you have for girls like us who want to be successful?'

Identify: what is violence?

Kisumu

2011. Lupita N'gongo is a Kenyan actress who won an Oscar for her role in film '12 years a slave' in 2014.

For week three, Rose chose a session called 'sexual harassment'. The session had two learning aims: 1) to define sexual harassment and make recommendations to stop it and 2) to think about how to deal with sexual harassment. As the girls arrive Rose explains that it is necessary to move through the session 'very, very fast' today because she wants to finish early so that they can revise for their exams. Here, the discursive norms of engagement are shaped around the need to 'get on with it' and give the required answers rather than norms that allow space for reflection, thinking and questioning.

First the girls are asked to work in small groups to define the behaviours that they think constitute sexual harassment. They work, chatting quietly and looking serious as they come up with their lists which include 'touching private parts, saying bad words, rape, touching the breasts and buttocks and winking'. Again, there is no discussion about what they have written as Rose is keen to move as quickly as possible.

The main activity of the session is then introduced. Rose asks the girls to write 'always', 'sometimes' and 'never' on the three bits of paper. The aim of the activity is for the girls to respond to different types of behaviour and move to one of the bits of paper to show whether they think that particular action is 'always, sometimes or never' a form of sexual harassment. The purpose of the activity is to stimulate discussion about consent and to help participants understand that all the behaviours can constitute harassment if they are unwanted. However, Rose misunderstands the activity and explains it as being about saying whether the behaviours 'sometimes, always or never' happen in the community. I wonder if this (mis)understanding is somewhat deliberate as I know Rose is uncomfortable discussing consent and the possibility of consensual sexual activity that goes with it. However, I feel that doing the activity as it was designed is important and decide to interrupt and pull Rose aside to explain the activity to her. She then re-explains it to the girls.

Rose reads the first statement which is 'gossiping about someone's sex life', they all go to 'sometimes' except three who go to 'never' – I ask someone from each group to explain why they went there – from the 'never' group one of the girls

says 'it's just talking'. The next one is 'calling someone sexual names', and this time they all think it is 'always' sexual harassment. The teacher asks them to name what they think are sexual names in both Kiswahili and English – the English names range from 'beautiful' to 'mother fucker'. One of the girls then asks 'If your father calls you beautiful is it sexual harassment?' Rose looks blank when this question is asked so I jump in and explain about it being context dependent and that it varies according to how the comment was intended and whether it is wanted/unwanted but that it is very possible to call someone beautiful in a complimentary non-harassing way. The importance of facilitator preparedness is very apparent in this activity, both in order to understand the activities, but also to be able to respond to the questions generated.

We continued with the activity and at the statement 'touching someone's buttock' they again all went to 'always'. I decide to interrupt and probe them on their choices, as I am interested to see if any of them can make a distinction between consensual/unconsensual sexual touching:

Mary: Is it always sexual harassment or is it sometimes sexual harassment, are there times when in it is not sexual harassment to touch someone's buttocks? (half the girls move over to the 'sometimes paper')
Mary: Why have you moved over there?
Mercy: Because it can happen by accident..
Akinyi: I agree..

We see here that verbalising the difference between consensual and unconsensual sexual touching is very difficult for the girls. It is not clear whether this is because they do not themselves understand the difference, or whether they have taken their discursive cues from the teacher and know that this is not a topic which is encouraged.

At the end of the activity Rose tells them to go back into their groups and write their thoughts on 'how do we stop sexual harassment' and 'who can you report to'. She does not facilitate any discussion on the previous activity and what they were supposed to learn from it. In this session, that the project is something to be 'ticked off a list' and not really engaged with is particularly apparent.

Kibera

For this week, Fridah chose a session called 'where is your line?' which had the aim of teaching about 'free and informed consent'. We start the session with some fun warm up games led by the girls. After which Fridah says 'today we are going to look at consent, when I say 'consent' does anyone have an idea what I mean?' All the girls look blank and are completely silent so Fridah picks two and asks them to attempt to answer, they both reply 'sijui' (I don't know). She then asks a third who says 'something about power' and a fourth who tentatively says 'is it to do with authority?' It is clear from this that the concept of consent is fairly new for them.

They start by doing a practical activity to demonstrate the individual nature of personal boundaries. The girls have to stand in two lines and one side walks towards the other, when the girls who are standing still feel that the other person has come too close they shout 'Stop'. Some girls are comfortable with someone coming very close to them and others are not, so they end up in a wavy line. Fridah explains the point of the activity:

> This activity shows us that consent is something individual, you all have different boundaries, your are comfortable with different levels of closeness. It is important to remember that there is no wrong or right here, it is about you as individuals deciding what you are and aren't comfortable with.

In this way, the concept of 'consent' starts to become clear to the participants. They are then asked to write individually two things that they feel someone needs their consent before they can do. After discussing their points, Fridah reads some general info about 'what consent is' from the curriculum, she particularly emphasises two points:

> Knowing the culture that we have here, I want to make sure you understand two points. The first is about marriage. Being married to someone does not take away the need for consent for sex. You still have the right to say no. People here don't always understand this, because of dowry, they think like the wife belongs to the husband, but it is not the case. The second is about clothing, let me say very clearly, a sexy dress or a short skirt does not equal consent. We live in a big city where we all come from different cultures and we have different ideas about what is acceptable to wear, but be clear, that the clothing a woman wears never gives a man the right to do anything to her'.

The emphasis on these two points is a good example of Fridah's insider/outsider status (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009). As an 'insider' in the community, she knows what particular issues there will be around consent in the context and is able to emphasise those issues to contextualise the curriculum. But as an 'outsider' she is able to look at those issues analytically and critique local assumptions. This is in contrast to Rose who is wholly an 'insider' in relation to such cultural norms.

The next part of the session was spent discussing whether they think consent can be 'free and informed' in relation to different scenarios. One in particular provoked different opinions and uncertainty. The scenario was as following:

Scenario E from Voices Against Violence Curriculum for Older years

Eve is 14 and in secondary school. Edo is 18 and works with Eve's father. Edo came to know Eve when he visited her house. Edo and Eve have started meeting away from her house as well. Sometimes Edo gives Eve presents and money, if she needs it. Recently he has started telling her how much he loves her and saying that he really wants to have sex with her. Can Eve give free and informed consent?

The girls had different opinions on whether the giving of gifts and money affected Eve's ability to give 'free consent'.

Tabitha: I think she can give free consent, no one is forcing her
Wambui: I disagree, because the presents may make her feel pressured
Evelyn: Yeah, it is like she needs him for money, I have friends with boyfriends like   that
Tabitha: I don't agree, what kind of boyfriend wouldn't give you money?

Luke and Kurz (2002: 21), in their literature review on transactional sexual relationships amongst Africa youth conclude that 'gifts have become a symbol of the girl's worth and a man's interest, and girls feel offended if they do not receive something'. This statement resonates with Tabitha's comment 'what kind of boyfriend wouldn't give you money?', thus making it hard to see the power effects of such a relationship. In this case, interestingly, Wambui and Evelyn *do* see the power effects of such a relationship and this topical issue is met with critical discussion. Fridah finishes the discussion by emphasising the role of economic imbalance on the power dynamics of relationships as well as the minor age of the girl in the scenario and how this removes the possibility of 'free and

informed consent'.

The last part of the session involves a whole group discussion in relation to questions that Fridah asks on the topic of sexual decision making. Towards the end of the discussion Fridah asks the question 'why is it important to think about pleasure in relation to sex?' This leads to a complete cessation of conversation amongst the girls who are unable to respond to this question. Kesby (2005) states:

> Power is most effective and most insidious where it is normalised, where self expectation, self-regulation, and self-discipline generate compliant subjects who actively reproduce hegemonic assemblage of power without being 'forced' to do so'.

In this case, although Fridah is explicitly granting permission to talk about the taboo topic of sexual pleasure, their own awareness of norms around respectable femininity (Tolman, 2002: Pattman and Chege, 2003b: Wright et al, 2006) make it impossible for them to take up this invitation. Instead, power works in the form of self-regulation and self-discipline to prevent speech on this topic. This finding is similar to Jackson and Weatherall's (2010) research in New Zealand secondary schools in which girls in their study school were able to take hold of the 'rights discourses' offered to them by Rape Crisis Sexuality Educators, but resisted ideas around female sexual pleasure. The difficulty for young women to talk about desire has been long noted by researchers in different parts of the globe (Tolman, 2002: Allen, 2007: Pattman and Chege, 2003b). Jackson and Weatherall (2010) conclude that in their context it remained impossible for girls to be desiring in a way which is simultaneously respectable, thus as girls struggled to position themselves as 'respectable', desire was reinforced as an 'absent discourse'. In this context, we have seen in the previous chapter that being 'good' was a highly important characteristic of appropriate femininity. In relation to the East African context, Wright et al (2006) discuss the contradictory discourses surrounding sexuality for youth in Northern Tanzania in which young female sexuality is seen as a resource to be exploited, but cultural norms simultaneously place strong demands around the need to be 'respectable' for young women. This leads sex to be something that can be engaged in, but should not be talked about.

Support: helping or judging our friends?

Kisumu

Rose chose a session called 'Agony Aunt' which had the following learning aims:

1) To think through different scenarios of violence against girls and young women and how to support people experiencing them.
2) To learn how to help a friend.
3) To create a leaflet to help a friend.

Rose arrives and starts with a warm up activity to introduce the topic. She asks the girls to stand against the wall and start saying 'help', first really quietly, and then getting louder and louder until they are yelling. The girls clearly relish the opportunity to make noise and Rose encourages them telling them to add acting into it and use their bodies and faces to show that they need help. Rose seems much more relaxed today than she has the other weeks. At the end the teacher asks them 'is it easy to ask for help when you need it' they all shout 'yes', then she asks who can ask for help more easily girls or boys and they all shout 'girls'. The teacher asks 'what about in relation to violence, is it easy to ask for help?' They all say 'no'.

They are asked to get into two groups and write a problem as if they are writing to a magazine with a problem page, the problem should be about a friend who is experiencing violence and they are to provide advice on how to help. The two groups settle down to work, chatting quietly. One group writes a problem about a girl who lives with an aunt who sells illegal brew and leaves her alone with a man who is raping her but when she told the aunt the aunt ignores her. The other group wrote a story about a girl who is 13 and already married with two children and the husband is mistreating her. They are then asked to swap stories and individually write a response to the other group's story. Getting them to write individually on the paper at the same time takes several minutes of explanation/coaxing from the teacher but eventually they sit down to do this. They read out their bits of advice such as 'encourage her to go to the police' 'tell a trusted adult' 'go to the hospital to check if pregnant then report to the police'. As has become the pattern in Kisumu, Rose is keen to move on in order to keep

to time and so does not comment on what they have written except to say 'well done'.

Rose continues with the next activity, she says:

> 'now, say a girl in your class is being abused. How do you think she feels? Do you think there are warning signs? Have you seen those situations of a withdrawn girl in class? So tell me some warning signs you can look for in classmates'

The girls engage and all raise their hands to give their points, which include: sad and stressed, unable to concentrate, confused, pregnant, lack of confidence, moody and loss of appetite. Rose then leads them through a discussion on how they could help their friend, an extract of which is below:

Rose: so now that your friend has become free and started talking to you – how will you behave at that moment where she shares what is happening to her?
Laura: I will look for a solution
Rose: but think before, that how will you behave in the moment?
Aziza: I will listen to her and make sure not to say anything that will hurt her
Rose: yes exactly, listen to her, don't laugh, show you believe her and show that you don't blame her – don't say 'well of course this happened to you, look at the way you were dressing'

This discussion shows a significant change in approach from Rose. While at the beginning of the curriculum she was explicitly teaching that girls are responsible for violence due to their way of dressing, she is now directly challenging such a view. It is unclear whether this relates to a real change of opinion, or an awareness of what she is 'supposed' to say after her discussions with me. Nevertheless, in contrast to the beginning of the project, the girls are now receiving an explicit message that girls are *not* responsible for the violence they experience.

Kibera

For this week, Fridah chose the session entitled 'Intervene' which had the learning aim 'to practice safe intervention methods for incidents of violence against girls and young women'. Fridah introduced the session by saying 'today we are going to look at what is our responsibility about violence, what do we do when we see someone being affected by violence'. They then play a warm up

game where half of the girls have to stare at the others, then refuse to greet them etc – Fridah explains that being ignored like that is how people experiencing violence feel when they no one around them tries to help. After a discussion on why the topic is important, Fridah explains that:

> 'When we have this discussion in class it will seem simple, but it is just complicated in reality. We also have to remember that violence is not just physical when we are looking out for who around us is experiencing violence. Instead, intervening to stop violence is about risk taking, you have to go the extra mile, it is not simple, however, we don't want you to compromise your own safety in your interventions you have to be careful'

The mood is thoughtful as she is talking, it is clear from previous discussions all the girls know of friends experiencing violence, so this session could have very 'hands on' implications.

The girls are then split into three groups and each group is given a paper, the papers say 'safe' unsafe' or 'unsure'. They have to decide whether the scenarios that are read out by Fridah are safe, unsafe or unsure for the woman involved and think about whether they would intervene and how. The first scenario says: 'A young man is shouting at a young woman on the street. She is crying'. Half of the girls go to 'unsafe' and half go to 'unsure'. Fridah asks them to explain their choices. From the unsafe group Halima says 'because I don't know what he will do to her next'. Whereas, from the 'unsure' group Tabitha said 'it is their business so I would not intervene'. Fridah explains that the point that 'you do not know what will happen next' is important because violence can escalate and it is better to intervene before the problem escalates. Another of the statements that led to some discussion and disagreement was: 'A girl is at a party being led upstairs by a man, you don't know if she wants to go with him or if she is in the mental state to decide'. This time half the girls went to 'unsafe' and half went to 'safe' with no one choosing 'unsure', they had the following discussion:

Evelyn: I think unsafe because it sounds like the girl is young and might not know what she is doing.
Tabitha: I think it is safe, she is going with him, she is not forced, and she knows what will happen if she goes
Barika: Maybe the girl is getting money for going with him
Fridah: What do you think about Tabitha's point?
Quinter: I agree with her, the girl is not being forced

Fridah: I want to insist on something about consent for minors, say she is form two and this man, say he is a CEO who is 35, she can't say no even he is not forcing her, so you need to intervene, we have to understand that choosing freely isn't just about the presence or absence of physical force, there are many factors that can put pressure on girls.

Tabitha and Quinter's comments in this discussion imply that for them, if physical force is absent, the girl in question is seen as 'choosing freely' and responsible for their own actions. It seems hard for them to think about the web of pressures and inequalities facing girls and young women that may influence or restrict choices, even though they themselves are entangled in these webs. Yet, some of the other girls think differently, commenting on the young age or financial pressures the girl may be facing. Tabitha and Quinter's comments are explicitly challenged by Fridah, who explains in more detail how inequality narrows choices. It is unclear from the girls' reactions if anyone is swayed to change their views.

Next Fridah gives out the 'support' handouts and then tells them they are to make small role plays in two groups about an incidence of violence. The 'support handouts' give an explanation of different tactics that can be used to intervene in cases of violence. Then, two of the girls, Halima and Janet have to decide how to intervene when they perform the plays using the guidance on intervention tactics from the handout.

The first group eventually get going after some initial hesitation. Barika is shouting at Quinter playing the 'baba'. Halima intervenes by holding Barika. When asked what technique she used she says 'delegation'. Fridah explains that she didn't use delegation in this case, but that it is a good tactic – that taking action doesn't have to mean they intervene directly, it can be about reporting to someone, they should consider their safety. In the next role play the hotelier gives the keys to allow an old man to take a young girl to his room. After the role play they discuss appropriate tactics – delay/delegate. Fridah says you could delay by telling the man his wife is around.

Fridah then asks them for their own experiences about violence they have witnessed and what they did. She starts by telling a story of a family she knew

where the man was beating his wife very badly and how she went round with the chief to force him into stopping his behaviour.

Wambui tells a story about a couple living near her where the boyfriend beats the girlfriend but if you say anything to the woman encouraging her to leave, when she makes up with the man she will tell him what you said and then he will be mad at you so she feels you can't say anything to her. Janet then tells a story about her friend who is being beaten by her boyfriend, she explains that she stays with him because he gives her money, all the girls find the story very funny and I am not sure why it is considered so funny. At the end Janet says 'some girls should just be left to be beaten because they just stay when they are beaten'. The other girls chip in agreeing with this idea and making comments such as 'some women ugghh' and 'I hate this kind of weakness'. Fridah and I finish by explaining some of the reasons why girls stay in violent relationships and that that we should not blame them – but the girls look unconvinced.

In this session we see some fairly tough, women-blaming attitudes, this time not from the facilitator, but from the girls, who are clearly resisting the messages that Fridah is trying to impart about how gendered inequalities can pressure women and girls to accept violence. Other research such as Renold (2005) and Cobbett (2012, 2013) also shows girls blaming other girls for the violence they experience. For example, my own previous research in Antigua (Cobbett, 2012, 2013) found that girls who were attempting to occupy the subject position of 'good girl' and be seen as 'clever' rather than 'pretty' made highly judgmental comments about their female classmates who were preoccupied with being considered heterosexually desirable, but were unable to control the kind of attention they received from boys. This blaming attitude was a means of dissociation, of showing that they are not like the 'shallow' 'silly' girls who experience violence. Similarly, here, the girls in Kibera seem to be keen to dissociate themselves from the girls they know who are experiencing violence by articulating that they are not 'weak' like 'those girls'. It is possible that this works as a kind of coping mechanism; since violence is so prevalent in Kibera, and can in reality happen to anyone, to increase subjective feelings of safety the girls find it helpful to create a narrative in which girls who experience violence

are 'not like them'. In the process, they claim that girls, unless physically forced, have the agency to resist violence, and in so doing, deny structural inequalities and blame their friends for staying in violent relationships.

Speak out

Kisumu

For the last structured curriculum week, Rose chooses the session 'Women's Rights are Human Rights' which has two learning aims 1) to learn about the UN Declaration of Human Rights and 2) To understand that violence against girls and young women is an abuse of human rights. Rose arrives when the girls are all there and asks them to stick the nine bits of paper with the nine rights written on them on chairs. The sticking etc takes time and she becomes stressed 'why are you taking so long' 'we don't have time' 'we need to beat time' 'quickly' 'why are there only 6 there not 9'

Then the teacher tells them to stand to one side. Nine girls are asked to come out and read the rights. The first is 'people you love' the teacher asks if anyone can explain it and a girl responds 'people you value so much'. The next is Freedom of Religion and Sarah says 'the ability to be a Christian, Muslim or a Hindu'. The next one says 'Saying what you think' and Cynthia explains it as 'being able to say your opinion'. They continue like this until all nine rights have been explained. They then play 'musical chairs' with the rights and enjoy it a lot, the atmosphere is very playful and there is lots of dancing. Rose then introduces the concept of 'human rights' more broadly:

Rose: So what do you understand by the word rights?
Mercy: things that are right that you are expected to do
Akinyi: things that are right and moral
Rose: and human rights?
G:things that people are allowed to do and need to live
Rose: Are they all important?
All: Yes!

Rose: Do you also have children's rights?
All: yes
Rose: what are they
Faith: right to protection
Anyango: right to shelter
Rose: so they are the same as the rights for adults…

187

She puts them into groups to discuss three rights they think are most important and explain them. After the feedback, which rights they find most important Rose says 'okay, thank you, girls, now we stop early today so we'll leave it there'. The session therefore ends without linking the topic of human rights with violence against women and girls.

Kibera

For this week Fridah chooses the session 'Speak out: CEDAW'. This session has two learning aims: 1) To learn about the UN Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and 2) To identify what actions the national government can take to protect women's rights and stop violence against women and girls.

After a warm up game, Fridah starts with a summary of what they have learnt in the previous weeks and tries to get the girls to contribute. The girls are quiet this morning and struggle to remember the detail of what they have done in the previous sessions. Then Fridah proceeds to introduce today's session saying that:

> 'Today we are going to be looking at speaking out about violence, but at the global level, we are going to be looking at something called CEDAW, The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women'.

She then checks their understanding of the big words in CEDAW 'convention', 'elimination' and 'discrimination' since these are not words they would use in their day-to-day life. She then starts the following introductory conversation about 'women's rights and 'human rights'.

Fridah: Do you think women's rights are human rights?
Wambui: No, women's rights are more special, they are considered more.
(silence from other girls who look confused)
Fridah: Let's start here, what are human rights, give an example?
Evelyn: The right to life
Fridah: Do women have the right to life?
All: yes
Fridah: Wambui, what do you think?
Wambui: Women's rights are human rights because women have the right to life.

It seems that this discussion is getting a bit too technical and removed from everyday life for some of the girls, who seem disengaged. Fridah then gives out the CEDAW handouts for the girls to read together in small groups. After going

through the convention the girls are asked to come up with two recommendations of what they would like the Kenyan Government to do to implement CEDAW in Kenya. They come up with a range of locally relevant suggestions of what they would like to see in Kenya such as 'ban polygamy', 'ensure women's right to land and property', 'ensure equal access to education for girls and boys' and 'prosecute rapists'.

Although the girls do participate in the activities, they are slower and more hesitant than usual and the session lacks the lively discussions of previous weeks. The preceding week had involved a lot of discussion about whether girls are responsible for violence when they stay in violent relationships. From that discussion it was evident that the girls are still grappling with, and working through, their own understandings of gender and violence. Moving on to 'speak out' about violence seems premature in this context. This highlights a major weakness in the curriculum in that it lacks the flexibility to give participants time to process the themes at the stages of the curriculum.

Take action

The final week of the curriculum 'Take Action' is different to the preceding weeks; instead of there being different sessions to choose from and work through, the impetus is now with the group to decide how to 'take action'. However, a list of learning aims is given and some resources for ideas are also included in the pack. Interestingly, neither group referred to these resources or ideas, however, the Take Action week played out very differently in both contexts. The stated learning aims were:

1. To plan a local campaign to stop the violence.
2. To identify the audience for your campaign.
3. To decide the campaign aim.
4. To consider some campaign activities- for more information read the WAGGGS' Stop the Violence National Action Plan toolkit www.stoptheviolencecampaign.com.

Kisumu

In Kisumu, the 'Take Action' session took place as a stand-alone sixth session of the curriculum. In the session they did not plan a campaign and decide on aims, instead, they took part in a small-scale campaign which had been decided by Rose prior to the session. The campaign involved designing posters with messages about 'Stop the Violence' and then marching around the school compound chanting 'stop the violence, speak out for girls rights'. The KGGA Programme Manager for Nyanza Province also attended and brought along a photographer to take pictures of the girls marching with their posters. The girls enjoyed making their poster and demonstrated some creativity and personal input in choosing the messages they wanted to display on their posters. Likewise, they enjoyed the opportunity to march around and chant. However, in terms of providing an opportunity to develop a meaningful campaign and take forward action to stop violence, the Take Action week felt rather contrived and disappointing. It was clearly designed as a standalone activity, which would provide a final 'tick' to show completion of the project. Impact seemed to be understood in terms of taking nice pictures to demonstrate their involvement in the project, rather than meaningful engagement with violence and how to prevent it. The activity had no particular audience or purpose; indeed the march happened while all other students were in class and therefore no one was reached by their messages. It seemed that Rose had interpreted the week in terms of the image that may typically come to mind when confronted with the word 'campaign': placard waving and chanting. However, in relation to preventing gendered violence, it is not clear whether the most effective activism would fit in with this stereotype of 'campaigning' given that much violence takes place in the sphere of interpersonal relationships and there is no clear enemy that is being targeted.

Kibera

In Kibera, due to the delays in conducting the other weeks (as described in Chapter Five), there was not time for the Take Action session to take place as a separate week. Therefore, in Kibera, the Take Action activity was tacked on the end of session five, and took the form of a reflective discussion regarding the kind of action they'd like to take to prevent violence in their communities in the future. In this way, rather than constituting a tangible 'action' the discussion was

geared towards addressing the kinds of activities and approaches they felt could be effective in their context.

However, unlike the preceding activities in which the girls had generally participated enthusiastically, here, the discussion soon trailed off and few tangible ideas were voiced. The mood did not seem to be one of boredom or disinterest but of thoughtful reflectiveness. The way in which the 'Take Action' week tailed off, after the other successful weeks, is insightful for thinking about the effectiveness of the way in which the curriculum is structured and how participants are positioned within it. Chapter Two explored the way in which girls have often been viewed either as 'victims' or 'heroines' in development interventions. Arguably in the Stop the Violence curriculum girls are viewed as both as victims *and* heroines. In weeks 1-5 they are (potential) victims in need of empowering, but in week six they are to have transformed into heroines who can empower others. One may argue that this is not problematic, or indeed that this is the whole point: that participants become empowered through taking part in the programme and are then able to empower others, becoming catalysts for change. The problem is, however, that this is based on wildly optimistic ideas about the speed with which change can happen and a lack of understanding of the way in which gendered disadvantage impacts upon subjectivities. In Kibera, it seemed that the girls were only just starting to grapple with content from the earlier weeks about 'what it means to be a girl or a boy' and were not yet ready to engage in explicit 'action' such as running a campaign.

Reflections

Subverting and enhancing curriculum content

Throughout the sessions it was clear that the intended activities could either be subverted in ethos and aim, or enhanced, depending on who was facilitating and how the facilitator's beliefs and understandings correlated with the aim of the session. In Rose's case, we saw activities that were intended to be used to 'undo gender' (Butler, 1990: Jackson and Weatherall, 2010), instead being used to reify gender along hegemonic lines. This was particularly apparent in the Think session, which was intended to provide an opportunity to *deconstruct* gender, but

was instead used as an opportunity to affirm the naturalness of gendered norms. Although the Think curriculum session was intended to encompass all the information required for any facilitator to pick it up and use it, this was clearly not the case in reality. If, as was the case with Rose, the facilitator does not themselves understand gender as a social construct, teaching the Think sessions, which intend to deconstruct gender, will be impossible. In this case, it seemed not so much to be a case of deliberate subversion of the intended content stemming from a clash of values, but rather a total incomprehension of the concepts the materials were based on. In this way, the hidden curriculum in Kisumu contradicted the formal curriculum in terms of the messages about gender that were imparted.

Conversely, however, when a facilitator has a deep understanding of how the issue of violence plays out in the very specific, local context, the content can be enhanced beyond what could ever be included in a curriculum designed for global use. In the case of Fridah, who occupied an insider/outsider positioning in relation to violence in Kibera, she was able to pepper the sessions with examples and stories from local life in a way which made the topics real and emphasised issues which she knew would be significant for the participants. The use of story-telling, often employed by Fridah, is an example of an indigenous East African way of learning and knowing (Barrett, 2007). Instead of saying directly what is right and wrong, stories are used to illustrate. Additionally, the curriculum style is intended to generate questions and discussions, therefore an ill-prepared facilitator cannot get by using the materials given; this was apparent in the 'blank moments' observed in Rose when the girls attempted to follow up activities with questions. Thus we can see, that however well thought through curriculum content might be, in practice, it will be as strong or as weak as the person who is facilitating it. This issue has particular pertinence for the Girl Guides; the Girl Guides have the strength of having an existing network of volunteer teachers, however, using this network instead of hand-picking facilitators specifically for the violence project has clear limitations.

Pedagogy and rules of engagement: examining the 'hidden curriculum'

Although both facilitators were using activities drawn from the curriculum, there still existed space for them to use different pedagogical approaches to facilitating discussions as well the freedom to add their own slants and opinions through the language they used and the comments they made leading to vastly different hidden curriculums in the two contexts. As outlined in the earlier chapters of the thesis, the view is taken that participatory interventions are neither inherently empowering nor inevitably doomed to failure because of the effects of power. Instead, following Cameron and Gibson (2005), Kesby (2005, 2007) and Galagher (2008) it is argued that power is everywhere, but it does not necessarily equal domination. The task of such projects then, is not to remove power, but to facilitate its use positively. As Kesby (2007) argues, we need to analyze the norms of governance that are put in place by facilitators. Cahill (2007) demonstrates, from a post-structuralist perspective, that participatory projects can be instrumental in fashioning new gendered subjectivities, therefore understanding how these spaces are governed to allow (or forbid) different ways of being is crucial.

In terms of pedagogy, Rose often relied on what has been termed cued elicitation or the 'recitation script' (Hardman and Abd-Kadir, 2010). This kind of talk has been shown to be the most common form of classroom talk in formal schools across the world. In this mode of interaction, although pupils' voices feature, they feature in a ritualised way in which specific 'correct' answers are explicitly sought by the teacher (ibid). Too much of this mode of interaction is seen by educationalists as stifling deep learning and critical thinking (Hardman and Abd-Kabir, 2010: Alexander, 2006). Cued elicitation is appropriate in certain situations, however, it gives the message that there is only one right answer, so for a project aiming to stimulate discussion, it is not an appropriate choice of pedagogical tool. In contrast, Fridah relied less on the recitation script, preferring to ask open-ended questions which sought the participants' knowledge and opinions. This creates discursive permission for questions to be voiced and opinions expressed. Consequently, we saw more discussion and debate happening during the Kibera sessions.

Futhermore, other kinds of speech and behaviour from the facilitators also served to construct norms of interaction that governed the educational space. Rose, working in the tightly controlled formal school context, worried frequently about time, and expressed this to the girls by giving commands such as 'hurry up', 'we don't have time for you to spend so long on this', 'just write something small'. These commands gave the message that this was *not* a space in which questions were welcome; instead the norm governing the space was one of 'get on with it and give the 'right' answer as quickly as possible'. There were moments that did not fit in with this norm in which Rose was more relaxed and open, however they were not frequent enough to challenge the overall rules of governance. Fridah, on the other hand, made frequent use of games and ice-breakers to create a relaxed environment. In the Kibera Start session, we saw the girls taking hold of the informality and lack of hierarchy in the space they created to ask questions and express opinions. In that session, the girls seemed to visibly gain strength from each other and from the norms governing the educational space.

Thirdly, norms were created by the values and opinions expressed by the facilitators. These shape what was possible and allowable to say within the space. Fridah, for example, made a strong intervention in the Start session when she said 'why are you talking about wives and husbands when none of you are married, let's talk about girlfriends and boyfriends'. By saying this, she is explicitly creating a norm in which talking about intimate relationships is allowed in the space. Whereas when Rose told the girls in their first meeting 'girls are responsible for violence', she created an environment in which presenting oneself as a 'good girl' was necessary. Having to prevent oneself in this way, inevitably closed the door to certain forms of questions and discussions taking place.

Resistance: 'doing and undoing' gender

Although facilitators use their power to create norms and rules of engagement, these are not necessarily taken up and followed all the time by participants. As educational researchers have shown, students also have the capacity to resist and reject messages delivered and norms created (Nayak and Kehily, 2002: Jackson

and Weatherall, 2010). In the case of Kisumu, where the norm of 'giving the right answer' was strong, and the environment somewhat authoritarian, we saw little overt resistance to anything that was taught in the sessions. However, in the case of Kibera, where a free environment for sharing was being set up, but where a particular feminist discourse on gender and violence was being imparted, we do see resistance to this discourse. This was particularly apparent in relation to two issues 1) responsibility for violence and 2) female sexual pleasure. While Fridah taught that girls and women are never responsible for the violence they experience, aiming to show how structures of gender inequality lead to violence, this discourse was resisted. In the Support session, many of the girls expressed that they did blame 'weak' girls for the violence they experienced. This appeared to be a strategy employed by the girls to distance themselves from violence and cope with life in a challenging context characterised by high levels of violence. Secondly, when Fridah took the step of introducing the often-taboo topic of female sexual pleasure, the girls went silent, resisting the invitation to talk about this topic. Here, it seemed the demands of respectable femininity made it impossible to respond to this invitation. What we see from both these examples is that new social norms established *inside* the educational space are not necessarily able to override the hegemonic norms operating *outside* the space. This is another reason why understanding what actually happened inside the space and how observed changes relate to this is so important.

Short time-frame: What about Stages of Change?

From the previous point we see that change does not necessarily happen as hoped; sometimes progressive ideas delivered are resisted by participants. Fridah's teaching suggests that this resistance does not necessarily have anything to do with a lack of quality in the teaching delivered. Instead, I argue that the limitations to the extent to which new ideas were taken on by participants relates also to the short time-frame of the project. A similar, but much longer-term project is the SASA project in Uganda. SASA is a community based domestic violence prevention programme in Uganda which has been shown through randomised controlled trials to be highly effective in reducing the prevalence of domestic violence (Watts et al, forthcoming). Like the Stop the Violence project, SASA has different phases, which are Start, Awareness, Support and Action.

However, the SASA team have found that for each phase to be effective it needs to be continued for a period of at least six months (personal communication Michau, 2014). The awareness phase of SASA broadly correlates to the Think session of the Stop the Violence project as this is the time in which connections between gender inequality and violence are made and the concept of gender deconstructed. However, SASA facilitators find that the first time hegemonic ideas about gender roles and relations are challenged, participants inevitably resist the new ideas, but when ongoing discussions are held over a long period of time it becomes possible to start to change social norms. It is clear that having only one session in which to 'Think' about gender inequality is wildly insufficient to change deeply embedded gendered norms. The project in Kibera, which started off so successfully, seemed to tail off when it came to 'speaking out' about violence. I argue that this was because the girls remained at the 'thinking' stage where they needed more time, and further discussion, to process new ideas about gender and violence before they were ready to 'speak out' and 'take action' as the curriculum required them to do.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided detailed description and analysis of what happened inside the 'spaces for change'. Exploring these aspects has illuminated several important factors regarding the impact of the Stop the Violence programme which would not have been easy to understand based on 'before and after' data alone. The data shows that however well thought through a curriculum may be, it will only be as strong or weak in practice as the person facilitating it. The complexity of teaching about gender and the importance of well-trained facilitators have been well demonstrated by Rose's struggles to teach the 'Think' week in the curriculum. Where as a highly skilled facilitator, such as existed in Kibera, can add local nuance and flavor to a mass produced curriculum. For those interested in instigating change, this suggests that more resources need to be put into hand-picking and training facilitators.

Equally though, a good facilitator did not necessarily guarantee the occurrence of the desired kind of change. Instead, the data shows that participants are active agents who may respond to and resist messages delivered in a variety of ways.

Overall, watching and analysing these contestations indicated that the timeframe for the curriculum was simply too short in relation to deeply embedded beliefs about gender, personhood and society.

Chapter Eight*:* Understanding impact: the individual and beyond

Introduction

This chapter explores impact and social change on a number of levels. Firstly, the impact of the Voices Against Violence curriculum on the girls' internal worlds (sense of self, beliefs about gender, violence and rights) will be explored. Changes to beliefs and consciousness will be examined using the theoretical framework, outlined in Chapter Three, which sees empowerment through education, not as a linear, rational process which is reached (as argued by Friere) but as a partial, continuous process of increasing reflexive agency which must be continually re-performed (Kesby, 2005, 2007). It is a process that may be contested because girls are likely to have 'passionate attachments' to traditional ideas about gender (Butler, 1997) and complex social and emotional agendas (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). Analysing these changes involves looking at differences *within* the two groups as well as *between* them and relies heavily on post-curriculum, qualitative interviews.

Somewhat surprisingly, looking within the two groups shows that, in both contexts, a number of girls appeared to have been impacted profoundly by what they had learnt, others demonstrated no discernible change and struggled to remember basic details about what had been covered and some fell in between those two extremes. This highlights that the quality of teaching is not the only factor influencing the likelihood of change; factors relating to the individual girls, their life situations, positionalities and subjectivities also affect the extent to which issues discussed were engaged with. Less surprisingly, given the different messages delivered in the two contexts, examining differences between the two groups showed clear differences in the nature of change that occurred. Girls in Kisumu were likely to focus on 'gender equality' at a broader level, such as new-found beliefs in their ability 'to do anything that boys can' within education and their future careers. When it came to violence, however, whilst all demonstrated increased practical knowledge about how to respond to violence, there remained an inevitability about the existence of violence and, for many, a deep sense of confusion about the extent to which violence may be caused by female transgression. Meanwhile, for girls in Kibera, the focus was on becoming

an activist in response to violence and on the role of concepts such as free and informed consent in enabling them to negotiate their own intimate relationships. These differences in many ways reflect the difference in beliefs and positionality between our two facilitators, thus highlighting that who teaches may sometimes take precedence over the materials that are used in determining the nature of project impact. More unexpectedly, data (particularly from Kisumu) showed that a minority of girls experienced change to their beliefs that went above and beyond what was taught during the curriculum. This brings to light the role of participants' own reflexive agency in determining project outcomes and suggests that low quality teaching can sometimes have positive results.

Secondly, the research is interested in the extent to which internal changes within the girls can translate to external changes to their worlds. Or put another way, whether believing in one's rights translates to being able to claim one's rights and under what conditions. Previous research has stressed that teaching about rights can lead to psychological harm if it is not accompanied by an ability to do something to claim those rights (Parkes, 2008). Exploring this question involves further examination of empowerment as both a temporal and spatial concept (Kesby, 2005: 2007). That is, a condition which is not simply reached (in time) but is exercised (in space) and is differently exercised in different spaces depending on the social norms holding sway in the particular space. This question will be explored largely in relation to the girls' actions in response to alleged sexual misconduct at the KGC. It will be shown that even where empowerment was profoundly demonstrated and re-performed in a variety of spaces, clear spatial limitations remained, suggesting a need for multi-spatial interventions.

Thirdly, moving away from the specifics of the curriculum, the last section of the chapter will explore the broader lessons that can be gleaned about safe, ethical and effective work to prevent gender-based violence. These lessons relate to the institutional context for gender-based violence programming, NGO accountability and the dynamics of North-South cooperation. The broader NGO context was not closely considered prior to starting my fieldwork, however, it became clear through the course of the research that the success (or otherwise) of

a specific project cannot be analyzed outside of the wider structures in which the project is enmeshed. The research indicates that even a well-executed project at the micro-level is likely to run into trouble without a broader supportive institutional structure. Such structures cannot be assumed by the values and mission statements espoused by an NGO but need to be demonstrated by organisational practices and processes.

Within group differences: different teaching, different impact?

Data analyzed in the previous chapter from inside the curriculum sessions suggested an overall difference in quality between the teaching in Kisumu and Kibera as well as markedly different norms or 'hidden curriculums' operating in the two spaces. In Kisumu, the norms of the space were characterised by a tightly-controlled environment, pedagogical methods that often indicated clear right and wrong answers and, on occasion, the reification of traditional gender norms. In contrast, in Kibera norms centered on the deconstruction of gender norms and open-ended pedagogical methodologies. The rules of engagemenet operating in Kibera are much more closely aligned with approaches deemed likely to be successful in facilitating positive change (Kesby et al, 2002: Jewkes et al, 2008: Murphy-Graham, 2010). From this, it seemed likely that the overall level of change observed in the narratives of girls from Kibera would be greater than those from Kisumu. However, this prediction may be qualified by the observation that girls from Kibera were far more likely to demonstrate resistance to the messages delivered in the curriculum than those in Kisumu.

What the post-curriculum interviews actually showed is that just under a third of the girls in each context struggled to remember what had been taught in the curriculum and demonstrated little evidence of change. These girls were as physically present as their peers, but did not show a comparable level of engagement, for example:

I: can anyone else say anything that they liked?
 (long silence)
RA: Martha, what did you like?
Martha: Drawing too.

I: Is there any activity you didn't like?
(long silence)
RA: Don't be shy, just talk.
Elizabeth: Tomorrow we have exam and we are supposed to be in class studying…
I: Ok, well it's not compulsorily to stay here so if you need to go and study its ok, its your choice.
Caren: She is saying her teacher will tell her off for being here. (Kisumu)

I: Ok good. Was there any particular topic or activity that stood out for you as something you really liked or found useful?
Janet: I don't remember…
I: You've forgotten, after that long holiday. (Kibera)

In both the above snippets we see examples of girls being unable to express what they had learnt, liked or found useful. For these girls, we can likely conclude that participation in the project did not make a profound impact on their sense of self or their lives. As this was equally likely to be the case in both contexts, it seems sensible to infer that the issue at stake here does not relate so much to the quality of teaching but to the life situation of the particular girl(s). Educational research has long shown that students will engage differently with learning on offer (Fullarton, 2002) and that what is happening in other areas of students' lives will impact on their ability to engage inside learning spaces (Abraha et al, 1991: Alexander et al, 2001). In the first extract above, a clear sense is given that disengagement for one of the girls relates to the pressure she is under from her teacher to do well in her exams. Girls in these two contexts experienced a number of pressures in their lives relating to schoolwork, poverty, ill health and so on as well as violence. The extent to which the girls focused on what was being covered in the curriculum would be likely to depend on what was going in their lives at the time and the extent to which violence and gender were seen as prominent issues affecting their lives. Overall, it is likely that girls in Kibera had more chaotic lives, because of the environment they lived in, but also because they had dropped out of school whereas the girls in Kisumu were part of a highly organised school community. Thus, it can be argued that the girls in Kibera may be considered more likely to be difficult to engage.

An alternative reading, which seems particularly plausible in the case of Janet above, is that rather than necessarily having forgotten, their silences and 'forgetting' could in some cases be a way of enacting resistance to my perceived

attempt to collect positive feedback about the curriculum. This seems like a possible explanation in the case of Janet because, rather than being quiet and disengaged during the sessions, she was engaged and vocal, but sometimes in disagreement with the messages imparted (for example, blaming 'weak girls' for the violence they experience). As Parkes (2008) states it is not inevitable that providing space for participants to voice their perspectives will lead to reflexivity and change; in some cases, it is possible for discussion to increase commitment to troublesome or hegemonic views. Disrupting data collection in subtle ways is a potential way for research participants to exercise agency in a context of power differentials between researchers and the researched (McLeod, 2007: Allen, 2011).

However the data are read, that even high quality teaching may not make an impact if the participant is not interested or ready to engage is not particularly novel or unexpected. What is more unexpected is that the data suggests that the reverse is also true; that even where the quality of teaching could be considered generally low, this does not prevent some participants from being profoundly effected. The extent of change occurring in some girls in Kisumu despite concerns about the quality of teaching suggests that merely providing a space for silenced issues to be voiced can be empowering in some contexts. The detail of the girls' narratives will be explored in the next section, however, for now it is important to make two points. Firstly, the changes included a visible difference in confidence and self-belief and therefore, I believe, could not have been contrived for the purpose of pleasing me during the interviews. Secondly, the thought processes some girls articulated went above and beyond what was explicitly discussed during the curriculum sessions. These two points lend strong support to the idea of empowerment as a reflexive process which can be stimulated (but not engineered) by projects through their provision of new spaces to be in and new discursive repertoires to draw on.

Between group differences: Kisumu

Overall, in Kisumu, two aspects stood out as being frequently and consistently described by the girls as being core to what they had learnt or how they had

changed. The first of these is very practical; knowing how to respond and what to do if they experience violence. This knowledge is important, but alone is not fully empowering since it implies a somewhat fatalistic attitude to violence. The second aspect is somewhat broader and more conceptual; the idea of 'gender equality' and consequent changes to their own self-beliefs about their future lives and capacities. A third aspect, which was not so much expressed but observed, was changes to their abilities to assert viewpoints and engage in critical discussion. A fourth dimension, characterised by change, continuity and contestation was their understandings of the causes of violence and the thorny issue of female blame.

Responding to violence

When asked about what they had learned or gained from the project, one of the key factors the girls discussed was knowing what to do, and having the courage to do it, if they or someone they knew was being violated[27]:

> what's good for me is that now I know the steps we can take after
> being violated (Akinyi)

> I liked it because now I have information and now I also have courage
> so I could go and report the matter if someone is being violated (Sylvia)

> It was interesting because I learnt that if you are violated you
> should speak out for your rights (Cynthia)

On one level we can see that girls are empowered by this focus, they have gained information, courage and confidence. This is a change from the start of the project where there was wide spread feeling that going to the police would be difficult, scary and overwhelming. Knowing what to do if they or someone they know is affected by violence clearly *is* important. The worrying aspect of this focus is that since it was not accompanied by an emphasis on how to prevent violence, it suggests a kind of complacency about the inevitability of violence in the lives of girls. Violence here is constructed as something about which they can respond to, but not prevent. This complacency is most visible in the quote from Akinyi in which she describes knowing the steps she can take after being

---

[27] 'Violated' was used by the girls as a less direct way of saying 'rape'.

violated as 'good'. Commenting on focus by the US women's movement on legal issues surrounding rape, Marcus (2002: 169) posits that:

> This focus can produce a sense of futility: rape itself seems to be taken for granted as an occurrence and only post-rape events offer possible occasions for intervention.

Likewise, I argue that a focus on responding to violence, whilst in itself useful, becomes problematic if it is not accompanied by a clear focus on violence prevention and the possibility of violence free relationships and communities.

Being a girl: 'I learnt that girls can be leaders too'

The second aspect, which stood out was somewhat more conceptual; it was not about violence specifically but about 'gender equality' and how they saw themselves as girls:

I: Is there any activity or topic that you particularly liked during those six sessions, or that you thought was especially useful to you.
Hope: The most important thing I learnt was about gender equality, I learnt that boys and girls are equal to each other, it is not that boys are better than girls, because girls are also useful to the society.
(…)
Sarah: I learnt that it doesn't matter about the differences between girls and boys, whatever you are you are still equal.
Aziza: I learnt that boys and girls are equally important for the society and should be treated the same, many girls are treated as if they are less, the society needs to learn that both the boys and girls matter.

This discussion is typical across the groups. It shows how a concept like 'gender equality', about which they had heard before, but which seemed to have been fuzzy and perhaps incomprehensible, had now become a core aspect of their beliefs about themselves as girls. This remained a key theme throughout the interviews as I sought to explore how the project had impacted on their feminine identity constructions and sense of self. The pre-curriculum interviews had showed that at the start of the project the girls invested heavily in traditional ideas about gendered roles and responsibilities, thus this current narrative of 'gender equality' clearly constitutes change.

I: And how about being a girl, has it changed the way you think about being a girl in anyway?
Mercy: I used to think that in the society mostly girls and women are being hated because they are weak, but when you learn that men and women are equal I

realised that I should not hate being a girl but I should love it because girls are also great.

(…)

Awur: Sometimes you find in some places in society that girls are being overworked and boys are being underworked because girls are having more activities to do at home while boys are playing because they take the girls are less important. But they are equal and should be treated equally.

Here we see some concrete examples of what the concept of gender equality means to the girls. Firstly, it impacts on their own affective relationship with belonging to the category 'girl': this is no longer something which should be experienced negatively, but which can be 'loved'. Although it is notable that Mercy emphasises the normative 'should' in her narrative, and therefore possibly she *does not* love being a girl despite now feeling that she should. More practically, for Awur, this belief in gender equality means that she no longer accepts the domestic division of labour between men and women as natural or justified. This is a stark contrast to the views expressed on the domestic division of labour at the start of the project.

Another way in which their new understanding of gender equality affected them was by shifting their beliefs about what it is possible for them, and women more broadly, to do in their lives and careers:

I: So what about being a girl. So we talked about being a girl in the curriculum, is there anything that you learnt new or found surprising about being a girl.
Aziza: I learnt that girls can be leaders, it is not always boys who are the leaders
I: Is that a new idea for you or did you know it before?
Aziza: It is new.
Sarah: A girl can do anything that a boy can do, that was new for me.
Aziza: Not only a man can be president but also a woman can be president and turn out to be a leader above all the men.

In this extract the girls clearly express the 'newness' of these beliefs that girls can do anything. That this belief in gender equality and girls' capabilities in relation to work and education would have taken hold so strongly is in some ways unsurprising since these aspects were sincerely believed by Rose, the facilitator. In contrast, in relation to views on violence, Rose had rather more contradictory views. However, the girls in their narratives do point to the insignificance of differences between girls and boys (for example, I learnt that it doesn't matter about the differences between girls and boys…), which is

illuminating given that Rose emphasized the importance of such differences. This is a reminder of how meanings are negotiated and appropriated by participants. It is noteworthy that many of the aspects of gender equality mentioned by the girls (e.g. political leadership, the domestic division of labour) were not explicitly discussed during the curriculum sessions. Suggesting that it is the girls' own reflective processes which have significance here. Conceptually, this provides support for idea of empowerment as a reflexive process (Kesby, 2005, 2007) stimulated by project participation. In contrast, using a Frierian conceptualisation of the rational process of *conscientização* through education, it would be difficult to account for this kind of change.

'I disagree with her': changing dynamics

One of the most notable changes between the pre and post curriculum interviews was not about content but about the changing dynamics of relating to each other and expressing opinions. In the pre-curriculum interviews the girls struggled to answer questions that involved expressing a personal opinion and were often hesitant to engage with each other's opinions within the groups. In contrast, in the post-curriculum interviews, many of the girls relished engaging with each other's opinions, instigating debate and stating 'I agree' and 'I disagree' in response to each other:

Mercy: In some cases women are being discriminated against because they are being regarded as weak.
I: So that's something you don't like.
Laura: I don't like the way she has said women are regarded as weak, when a man gets a woman pregnant and then doesn't take care of her the woman will struggle to make sure the children get food.
I: Ok, so you think women are strong?
Laura: Yes!

The strength of Laura's refutation of Mercy's point with her statement 'I don't like the way she has said…' is something completely absent in the pre-curriculum interviews. To make statements in this strong way shows great strength of conviction as well as confidence and assertiveness. These are traits which some of the girls demonstrably developed during the course of the project. This change was most notable amongst the older class seven girls who visibly

grew in confidence and assertiveness. Informal observations from their teachers corroborated this change in the older girls. In contrast, the younger class five and six pupils remained shyer and still appeared to find it difficult to assert opinions in the post-curriculum interviews. It seemed that within the mixed age group, combined with tight time frame for curriculum sessions, the sessions ended up moving at the pace of the older students and being dominated by them, thus reducing the impact of the curriculum on younger students who may have sometimes felt lost. However, one younger student did claim to have grown in confidence:

Anyango: Ok, for me, before I started this programme I was always shy to express myself, I was too shy to talk to people about these issues, but now I can, I have courage.
I: Ok, that's great. So is there anyone you've spoken to in particular, friends, family?
Anyango: Friends.
I: OK, that's good. And how did your friends feel about that information?
Anyango: They found it useful.

According to Anyango's self-perception she had grown in confidence as a result of the project, although this was not visible in the way it was with the older girls.

Perceptions of the causes of violence: change and continuity

We saw in the pre-curriculum interviews that none of the girls made connections between violence and the position of girls and women in society more broadly. Instead, girls were often blamed for violence and the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' loomed large in their narratives. By the end of the project, for some of the girls, their newfound understandings of gender in/equality fed into their understandings of violence:

I: Anything else you learnt that made you change your opinion about anything?
Laura: I learnt that it is mostly men who are violating women, and that it is mostly men who are the cause of violence.
I: Ok, so before you did not think it was mostly men. So how would you have described it before?
Laura: Before, mostly when we talk of violence we are told that most cases happen when the girl is misbehaving, but when we were taught we also learnt something different.

Here Laura is able to clearly articulate how she had changed from seeing violence as caused by 'female misbehaviour' to something which men are responsible for perpetuating. However, unlike the concept of 'gender equality', which won unequivocal support amongst the participants, Laura's views here are contested and debated:

I: For anyone else did it change the way you think about violence? For example, Laura said she used to think that girls were more responsible but now she thinks that boys are more responsible.
Awur: Now I think the girl is also responsible because for violence to happen to a girl she must do something to provoke that person to be violent to her, so both are responsible.
I: Ok, so you think kind of the opposite, that now you think the girl is more responsible. What does everyone else think, do you agree or disagree?
Mercy: I disagree. I think that men are the ones who are more responsible than girls because no girl wants to be violated.
I: Yeah, that's a good point. And who do you agree with?
Akinyi: I agree with Awur.

Here, Laura's new beliefs are strongly contested by Awur who argues that violence cannot happen without female provocation. In the end the girls are evenly divided between those who agree with Laura and those who agree with Awur. This mixture of opinions was also characteristic of the discussions in other groups, for example:

I: And how would you describe the causes of violence now?
Sarah: Not dressing properly, for example the short clothes, the tight clothes.
Faith: Violence happens due to a lack of respect, boys not respecting girls.
Cynthia: It can be caused by bad behaviour, the girls doing something to attract the boys, like their way of dressing.
I: OK, so you are saying similar to her. What do the rest of you think about this issue of dressing? Do you think it causes violence?
Faith: I agree. Also if the boy uses drugs maybe the drugs are affecting his mind even if the girl is dressed properly.
Aziza: It does not matter the way of dressing, the girl is not responsible for violence because of her dressing.

Again, we see a mixture of opinions expressed in the group, with some of the girls arguing that girls' way of dressing can make them responsible for violence and others challenging this opinion. While it is disappointing that many of the girls still hold beliefs that blame girls, the number of girls who now challenge these beliefs does constitute a change from the beginning of the project. What is particularly interesting about this change is that it does not relate specifically to teachings received during the curriculum. Indeed, on occasion, myths about

female responsibility and clothing were *reinforced* by the teacher during the project, and they were never explicitly challenged (although some vague comments about not blaming girls who are raped were made by the teacher towards the end of the project). What this suggests, is that the extent of change that can occur in such education projects can go beyond, and even contradict, what is taught within projects. This is not surprising given the pedagogical approach of instigating critical thinking, however, it has rarely been previously noted by other researchers. One of the novel findings here is an indication that change relates to the girls' own journeys of critical thinking instigated by the project as well as the specific messages taught. This finding fits in well with Kesby's (2005, 2007) theorisation of empowerment through educational projects as about the development of reflexive agency through increasing the range of discursive resources participants have to draw on. In this case, the girls who changed their opinions drew on the new discourse of 'gender in/equality' to make connections between male violence and gender inequality in a way that challenged the very teaching they were receiving about the causes of violence.

A good number of girls continued to articulate strong beliefs that girls can invite violence by wearing revealing clothing. Ethnographic observations indicate that it was very particular girls who voiced these beliefs. For example, Awur was perhaps the most adamant in arguing that that there is a relationship between female misbehaviour and violence and she was also the most pronounced embodiment of 'good girl' femininity (Renold, 2005: Cobbett, 2012) amongst the girls. She was top of her class academically, always well behaved, turned up early to every session in order to clean and prepare the room and greeted all elders with the utmost respect. Other research has shown how girls who wish to position themselves within local discourses of good, respectable femininity (Renold, 2005: Cobbett. 2012, 2013) may blame other girls for the violence they experience as a discursive means to distance themselves from anything 'disrespectful' and protect their positioning as 'good girls'. Conceptually, Butler (1997) argues that women form passionate attachments to normalised, disciplined identities because of the social recognition these performances of gender provide. This conceptualisation highlights that the extent to which the girls may resist change can depend on the degree of their passionate attachments

to normative gender constructs as well as the specifity of their social and emotional agendas (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). In this case, the irrationality of girls' articulated beliefs on the topic of female clothing were demonstrated by their narratives on the prevalence of violence which showed it to take place in locations such as homes, schools and churches. Yet for some girls, holding on to such beliefs seems to be important and could relate less to their actual beliefs about violence than about their constructions of acceptable femininity. As Currie et al (2007) remind us, girls' interview narratives are not simple statements of opinion or fact, but need to be read as attempts to perform particular identities. It is possible that girls such as Awur are using the discussion as a means to reiterate her own disapproval of behaviour such as the wearing of mini-skirts to position herself within discourses of 'good girl' femininity.

Between group differences: Kibera

The girls in Kibera focused on four issues as being the key aspects which have impacted on their lives and changed the way they think, these are: the potential for women to be leaders, the concept of consent and their rights to say both 'yes' and 'no', the broad idea of 'speaking out' when they see violence, and more specifically, the strategies they can use to intervene in violent situations. The narratives on consent were tempered with an awareness of the difficulty in saying 'no' and particularly the way in which poverty and economic inequality can work to take away their power to claim this right. In contrast, their narratives on the theme of intervening to stop violence were imbued with a fairy-tale like optimism about the ease of doing this in practice. As with the girls in Kisumu, articulating the causes of violence remained a difficult task riddled with confusion.

Women and leadership

The 'Think' session in Kibera had been on the topic of women and leadership, a topic which was chosen by Fridah because so many of the girls had mentioned it in our first meeting as something they hoped to cover during the programme. It

was also the first thing a number of the girls mentioned when they were asked what they had learned:

Loisa: Yes, I learned about how we women, we should have our rights, we should not just be outweighed by men but we can be leaders.
I: Was that something new for you or did you know it before?
Loisa: Eh, for me it was new! The way in our country women are so low, I did not know women have the right to lead.

Zana: Yes, I learnt that women can have responsibility and be leaders, they don't always have to be looked down upon and if they say things, they mean it, I thought that was good.
(…)
I: Great. Had somebody told you those kinds of things before or was it something new for you?
Zana: No I just heard from friends women cannot be in parliament, women are low.
(…)
I: So how did it make you feel hearing that women can do all these things.
Zana: It made me feel that women are also powerful, they also have a responsibility and they also have a say.

Both Loisa and Zana talk about how they usually see women as being 'low' and that this seems to relate to their status as women and perceptions about female competence. From the interview narratives (as well as their responses in the session) it seems that this topic was a source of great pleasure for the girls and was highly important to them. This importance was perhaps principally for psychological reasons; for the opportunity to affirm themselves as women and focus on the achievements of Kenyan women (albeit those who have had very different life opportunities to themselves). Similarly, Wambui said that hearing the stories of women politicians provided her with encouragement and led her to think that she 'would like to be the president of Kenya'. This session, it seems was not regarded as significant because of any practical knowledge or skills gleaned but because it generated what Appadurai (2004) terms 'the capacity to aspire'. Whilst many of the girls claimed they had not previously known that women had the right to lead, the ease with which they had reeled off the names of female politicians in the session suggests that it is not so much the knowledge of the right, but belief in its relevance to their lives which had changed. Appadurais' (2004) conceptualisation of aspiration, not as an individualised motivational trait, but as a question of the cultural capital to imagine the future differently, is highly relevant here.

Consent: 'now I know he needs to ask'

Another theme which many of the girls raised as having significance for them was the concept of 'free and informed consent'. Again, this related to a specific curriculum topic: in this case, the 'Identify' week had explored the idea of consent. In contrast to the topic of leadership which helped them to imagine the future, the topic of consent was seen as having immediate, practical relevance to their lives:

I: Was there any activity or topic which you particularly liked?
Wambui: Yes! Consent.
I: OK, why was that one good for you?
Wambui: Because it is about my life, and my relationship with people and also my boyfriend.

The idea that this is something relevant to her life is clearly articulated in Wambui's statement. She goes on to explain how the idea of consent has changed the way she thinks about her relationship with her boyfriend. In Wambui's case she seems to be enjoying a healthy relationship where it is possible to talk about her needs and wishes.

For other girls, however, the concept of consent was equally appealing, but this was combined with awareness that 'free and informed consent' may not be so easy in reality:

I: Is there anything that made you change the way you think about being a girl or a young woman or relationships between men and women?
Warimu: I learnt about how to say what I want and don't want to a man.
I: OK, how to communicate your wishes to a man?
Wariumu: Yes.
I: Is that hard for girls to do, do you think?
Warimu: Yes, it's very hard!
I: Why do you think it's so hard?
Warimu: Because you can feel that if you say no you can lack some other things that you can see that man can give you.
I: So you feel that man can help you with some things.
Warimu: Yes, so you say yes because you want those things.

In this narrative Warimu problematises the notion of 'free' consent in a context of extreme poverty and inequality. She shows that whilst she may want to reject the sexual proposition of a particular man, and believes in her right to do so, when she sees what he can provide in the context of her own need, 'saying no'

becomes difficult. Such transactional dynamics have been shown to be widespread in the relationships of young women across sub-Saharan Africa (Machel, 2001: Luke and Kurz, 2002: Moore et al, 2007) and in Kibera specifically (Dodoo et al, 2007: Swart, 2008, 2009). Indeed, Warimu goes on to explain how this is an issue which is also affecting the lives of her friends:

I: OK, do you think what you have learnt will help you in your life?
Warimu: Yes! I can be able to help some people, to educate some people.
I: Have you already talked to some people?
Warimu: yes, my friend.
I: what do you tell her?
Warimu: I talked to her about free consent and she told me that she usually fears to say no because she sees the man can then go away and she sees that man has everything so he can provide for her.
I: And how did she respond to hearing about free consent?
Warimu: She told me she can try.
I: So it's hard.
Warimu: Yes it's so hard.

Luke and Kurz (2002) show that two sets of images of adolescent girls appear in the literature on cross-generational and transactional sexual relationships. Firstly, and most commonly, girls are depicted as passive victims of structural and cultural forces that shape sexual behaviour 'girls are coerced into behaviours by outside influences, including economic constraints, peer and parental pressure and social norms of male dominance' (Luke and Kurz, 2006:6). Secondly, and less commonly, is the view of 'girls as active social agents who rationally choose their behaviours and negotiate their relationships' (ibid:6). According to this view girls exercise agency to extract money, weighing up the risks in favour of the rewards. They conclude from their research that neither view completely captures the reality of adolescent girls' lives. Similarly, the narratives of Warimu and her friend do show the ability to think rationally through the pros and cons of different courses of action. However, they also show their fear of the consequences of rejecting a man and the way in which poverty limits choices.

Related to Kibera specifically, research has highlighted the tiny amounts of money girls trade for sex out of desperation[28] (Swart, 2008: Mac Phail, 2011).

---

[28] Mac Phail (2011) states that girls in her research traded sex for between Ksh 30-50 (20-30pence), similarly during the course of my research I was told that between Ksh 20-50 was the

This is a strong reminder of Parkes' (2008) caution that projects aiming to teach about rights can have limited impact, and even do harm, if participants do not have the structural capacity to alter their situations and claim rights. Swart's (2008) research exploring young women in Kibera's responses to gender-based violence found that the most common strategy young women employed to deal with violence in intimate relationships was what she termed 'endurance and faith'. This was defined as 'pragmatic acceptance of violence, with recourse to religious faith as a palliative measure' (2008: 7). Swart argues that this strategy was not followed because of a lack of their belief in their rights to violence-free relationships, but largely due to a pragmatic feeling that enduring violence in order to maintain economic support from male partners was a worthwhile trade-off. Warimu's narrative on consent, suggests the likelihood that her and her friends may also consider such trade-offs. In Chapter Three the need for structural change to be a component of successful interventions (alongside knowledge, skills and engagement with beliefs and consciousness) was discussed (Pronyk et al, 2006: Kim et al, 2007: Monkman et al, 2009). The data on consent are an insightful example of how a project may be successful in bringing about change at the level of beliefs and consciousness, but ultimately fail to lead to lasting change because of structural inequalities, affirming the need for these four components to co-exist.

Becoming an activist, 'speaking out'

The need to 'speak out' when they see other women and girls affected by violence was another key theme during the interviews. They said that 'I am my sisters' keeper', 'now I know I can do something when I see violence' and that it is possible to intervene 'not be fighting but by mouth, by using words'. In this way, the girls have developed a sense of themselves as activists, as having a responsibility to share what they have learnt with others. Fridah, their facilitator, had a strong identity as an activist herself, and had frequently infused this dimension into the sessions by telling stories of how she had intervened in situations of domestic violence in her neighbourhood. Activism in Fridah's stories was not about grand political gesture requiring special skill or status, but

---

normal rate. To put this into context, a bus ride from Kibera to Nairobi city centre costs Ksh 50 whilst a meal in a Kibera restaurant costs between Ksh 100-300.

the everyday conversations they can have with those around them. This definition of activism is in line with recent feminist challenges to masculinist definitions of activism which have 're-framed small acts and quiet politics as significant' (Pain, 2014: 128). Indeed, Chapter Seven showed the contrived nature of the attempt to 'run a campaign' in Kisumu along traditional lines of how activism is understood. In contrast, Fridah's identity as an activist did not involve traditional politics, but the ability to speak out.

This understanding seemed to have filtered down to some of the girls:

I: Is there anything you learnt that surprised you? It made you change the way you think?
Winnie: Yes, normally we know that women are bothered by so many things such as violence but normally I thought women can't do anything to change our situation. because our position is low but now I have come to know that women can speak out about those things that affect our lives.
(…)
I: Do you think what you have learnt will help you in your life in any way?
Winnie: Yes, this whole idea of speaking out I think this will really help me because in our lives there are so many situations where we need to speak out.
I: Is there already a situation where you have needed to speak out or shared what you have learnt?
Winnie: Yes, I have been talking to my friends sharing what I have learnt.

Here, 'speaking out' is described as something 'necessary' but as something she previously felt she could not do because of the low position of women. Now, however, 'speaking out' can simply involve 'talking to friends, sharing what I have learnt'. The first time a detailed conversation was had on the topic of 'speaking out' to help friends during the curriculum, a number of the girls expressed the opinion that their friends who experienced violence deserve it because they are weak. None of the girls expressed such sentiments during the interviews; however, I had attempted to challenge those views during the session. It is possible, therefore, that some of the girls simply avoided re-expressing viewpoints of which they knew I disapproved. Equally, though, it is possible that the lengthy discussion we had with them about why women may not be able to leave violent relationships did lead to a change of viewpoint.

Intervening in violence

As well as the broad idea of 'speaking out' many of the girls specifically talked about the idea of using 'safe intervention strategies' when they were confronted with violence as being something significant they had learnt. Using 'safe intervention strategies' was the theme of the 'Support' week of the curriculum. These strategies were short-term strategies for stopping imminent incidences of physical or sexual violence (for example, delaying or distracting the perpetrator). During the session, the girls had performed role-plays to practise using the strategies. Although they had been instructed to always put their own safety first, I had had some qualms about the safety implications of encouraging such direct action.

The girls seemed to find knowledge of these strategies appealing and empowering as well as easy to do in real life:

Lucy: I can intervene and stop people fighting if I see violence.
I: So what would you now do?
Lucy: I would talk to them, tell them to live as friends.
I: Is it hard to do that?
Lucy: It's not hard.

I: And is there any action you would like to take yourself in your own community?
Zana: Yes, I would give a warning to someone if they are using violence and use those techniques of 'delay', 'distract.
I: OK, do you think those tactics are hard to use in practice?
Zana: No, it's not hard if you believe in yourself.

The focus on safe intervention strategies is an example of where the curriculum focused on skill development, rather than changes to beliefs and consciousness, to empower and enable the girls to act in the face of violence. Both Lucy and Zana assert that intervening in violent situations is not hard. For Zana believing in yourself makes such intervention possible. All the girls who discussed the use of intervention strategies agreed with this view that they would be easy to use in reality and there was a definite sense that having learnt the strategies was empowering and would enable them to intervene effectively. While these feelings are positive, it is unlikely that intervening in violent situations would be so easy in reality. When I asked Barika if she had any experience of such intervention strategies she replied that she had not, but believed it to be easy because she had 'seen it in the movies'. This somewhat fantasy like response raises questions about the extent to which subjective feelings of empowerment

generated through participatory projects constitute meaningful change (Kothari, 2001) and whether such change can be sustained in more challenging spaces (Kesby, 2005).

Views about the causes of violence

Views about the causes of violence and how violence can be prevented was an area characterised by fragments of change, alongside continuities and uncertainties. In the pre-curriculum interviews, the dominant narrative for understanding violence in Kibera related to poverty, unemployment and intoxication. Two girls now drew on a discourse of 'gender inequality' in their talk about violence, something which was absent in the pre-curriculum interviews.

I: And how would you describe the causes of violence now?
Tabitha: Gender inequality, lack of respect for women's rights, unemployment
I: Those are good answers, can you explain a bit more?
Tabitha: yes, like, gender inequality, they always say that there are jobs which women cannot do, so they ignore women for these jobs by saying they can't do it. And human rights, they say, as in, women the rights for women are not considered.
I: So you said like the women are discriminated against in jobs, how does that lead to violence?
Tabitha: Like if I apply for a job but I don't get because I'm a woman but my husband has a job then it is only him who has money and so I am dependent on him.

This extract indicates the development of critical thinking skills, whereby Tabitha is making connections between things, enabling her to link discrimination against women in the labour market with dependence in the home, which leads to a risk of violence. These issues were not explicitly talked about in the curriculum.

More commonly, in the post-curriculum interviews, the girls cited 'lack of education' as a key reason for violence, but often struggled to articulate the relationship between violence and education.

Evelyn: Because of lack of education, when people drop out during primary school it can lead to violence but when they study it can reduce violence.
I: OK, can you say a little more, how does this lack of education lead to violence?
Evelyn: Because those without education, when they go looking for work people will say 'we can't hire you, you haven't been to school' and then they will be angry because they have no job.

I: OK, so for it's the lack of jobs that then leads to violence
Evelyn: Yes
I: So how do you think violence can be prevented
Evelyn: People need to be educated about violence
I: Who needs to be educated?
Evelyn: All, both men and women
I: Why both men and women?
Evelyn: Because they both need to know what is right and what is wrong. And men need to know not to rape women.

The oscillating focus in this extract was typical across many of the interviews. In Evelyn's case, lack of education was first cited as a cause of violence, which turned into the more familiar 'unemployment' discourse as the conversation progressed. However, as she continued to talk she refocused on education, this time asserting the need to educate both men and women about gendered violence specifically. In this way, the interviews seemed to provide a snapshot of their active and continuing struggles to understand and make sense of gendered violence. It appeared that by talking and being asked questions they were actively developing and constructing narratives, rather than informing me of previously articulated beliefs.

Sustaining empowerment in space

The second aspect of impact that this project is interested in is the extent to which internal changes relating to beliefs and consciousness relate to an ability to claim rights. That is, whether empowered performances can be sustained in multiple spaces. It is clear that structural inequality constrains the ability to claim rights. That the girls actually had some awareness that inequalities would prevent rights from being claimed was most apparent in the discussions over 'free and informed consent' in Kibera. Here it was shown that in the context of extreme poverty and limited choices, a belief in 'free consent' was not necessarily going to translate into an ability to reject unwanted sexual advances. Of course, one way to increase the likelihood of girls being able to claim rights is to address issues of structural inequality in tandem with an educational intervention. This, as was detailed in Chapter Three, was done with highly successful results in the IMAGE project in South Africa which combined non-formal education about violence and HIV/AIDS with micro-loans to enable young female participants to start businesses. The relevance that this would have to the lives of girls in Kibera is apparent.

However, it is not necessarily the case that empowerment cannot be sustained in other spaces without the aid of a structural intervention. Kesby (2005: 2058) writes that:

> Whatever the approach, the discourses and practices that enable empowered   performances will need to become normalised if their effects are to be sustainable, and this will involve their becoming embedded in (and therefore transforming) everyday spaces (Kesby, 2005: 2058)

The connotation here being that, whatever the nature of the project, the crucial factor is whether or not new ways of being can be performed outside the participatory space. Performance in multiple spaces can lead to normalisation and a change to the hegemonic norms operating in a particular place with regards to a particular issue. This being the crux of sustainable social change. Such change could happen at different scales: for example a project within a school may impact upon the norms within the wider school community but fail to impact on the lives of participants beyond the school gates. It is acknowledged that data on this question is partial and incomplete; within the limits of doctoral fieldwork it was not possible to follow the girls for a long enough time period or observe their lives in a diverse range of spaces. Therefore, I cannot fully understand how their understandings of gender and violence will play out in their lives at different times and in different places. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some tentative points in relation to the data in hand.

Firstly, the need not to make assumptions about what spaces are safe is clear. In both cases the specific space of the curriculum operated within a bigger institutional space: the KGC and a government primary school. The specific space of the curriculum as well as the KGC may be presumed to be safe spaces since their raison d'être related to girls' empowerment. It was apparent, however, that in Kisumu the specific space of the curriculum was *not* always a safe space facilitating empowered performances of gender, challenging notions that women-only spaces are intrinsically empowering. Yet at times it was a space of pleasure, laughter and learning and there is some tentative evidence that the new discourses of gender equality and self-belief appropriated by some of the participants did enable empowered performances to be sustained in the broader school context. A number of the teachers commented on the increased

confidence and assertiveness exhibited by the girls who had taken part in the project. I myself was surprised by the growth in confidence and ability to articulate viewpoints that some of the girls visibly demonstrated in their post-curriculum interviews. Schools are generally not presumed to be safe spaces given that they have been shown to be sites of violence (George and Finburg, 2001: Dunne at al, 2006). This school, while not wholly a place of safety, did to some extent appear to have an institutional environment which encouraged and rewarded changes in the girls, thus encouraging sustained re-performance. For example, the head teacher made clear demonstration of his pleasure in relation to the growth in confidence the girls exhibited, arguably providing discursive legitimacy to more assertive expressions of femininity. He also provided physical space for re-performance by allowing the girls to lead an assembly in which they taught the wider student body what they had learnt. The head teacher had also long held a tough, zero tolerance policy towards any sexual misconduct on the part of teachers which reinforced ideas about their rights taught in the curriculum.

In contrast, in Kibera the specific space of the curriculum appeared to be characaterised by social norms which almost immediately facilitated empowered performance with the girls visibly drawing strength from each other to make statements and ask difficult questions in their first meeting together. Yet, as has been described in Chapter Five, the broader space of the KGC was not a safe space with sexual harassment being a frequent, normalised feature governing the norms of engagement existing in the space and more serious sexual abuse suspected to be taking place. The KGC is a large centre with approximately one hundred girls in attendance of which only seventeen took part in the Voices Against Violence curriculum, of these two were directly involved in the suspected sexual abuse in different ways. There is no clear causal link between the girls' reactions and their involvement in the project; nevertheless, some tentative reflections can be made.

Daniella[29] was one of the girls who participated most actively in the curriculum and demonstrated a high level of learning, enthusiasm and change. She

---

[29] Daniella is part of the research group, however, as with Jane she has been given a different pseudonym here to protect the anonymity of her data. Likewise, some details of both their circumstances have been deliberately omitted in order to protect their identities.

particularly talked about the concept of 'free consent', which she was putting into practice in her relationship with her boyfriend and the idea of 'speaking out' which she had acted upon by providing support to a woman in her neighbourhood whom she had heard being beaten by her husband. Thus, from these stories, it seems that Daniella was able to sustain her empowered performance in critical spaces within her life: her intimate relationship and her community, spaces which may be assumed likely to be governed by patriarchal and disempowering norms. Daniella was also the only girl, as far as I am aware, to have rejected sexual advances from Bryan, the centre manager. She reported his proposition to Fridah, with whom she had developed a close friendship, and explained that she felt she had the right to say 'both no or yes'. She wanted to find out more about him and asked to look at his private messages on his phone from which she saw quite how many of her peers were already 'girlfriends' to Bryan, and therefore decided she 'deserved better' and would 'say no'. Interestingly, she not only believed in her right to say no, but felt able to act on it, despite the power differentials between them. It is also noteworthy that she felt she 'deserved better' than to share a man with so many other girls and young women, suggesting a high level of self-esteem. The concept of consent and the growth to her confidence she claimed to have gained from project participation in her post-curriculum interview may have come into play here. It is likely that material factors were also relevant, she did not appear desperate for Bryan's money and indeed, she came from a slightly more well-off family than the other girls. Where her feelings were more uncertain was with regards to the (in)appropriateness of him, as a member of staff with power over her, asking her for sex. However, after discussing the issue with Fridah, she was initially happy to report Bryan's behaviour to the KGGA. Later on, however, after the suspected sexual mis-conduct had been reported to the KGGA and Bryan and Violet had responded by calling the girls involved (including Daniella) to their office every day, Daniella changed completely. We do not know what happened behind those closed doors, but it was clear that Daniella's capacity to 'speak out' of which she had been so proud, could not be exercised within the new norms of governance she now found herself under. This speaks of the spatial limits to empowerment, however profound the observed impact, as well as the constraining action of fear at that particular time. Pain (2014) describes the interplay of fear and activism in

the lives of British women living in violent relationships over the life course of their relationships. From this research she challenges the notion that fear is a monolithic constraining force at all times and places, showing instead how fear at times constrains and at other times motivates action. These data, along with a conception of empowerment as a non-linear process, provides some hope that Daniella, will, in the future regain the ability to 'speak out' even in the context of fear.

In contrast, Jane was shy and quiet throughout the curriculum, if anything becoming more withdrawn as the project progressed and gave brief answers during her post-curriculum interview. Bryan's behaviour towards Jane was the first thing that had been noticed as concerning by myself and the other staff at KGC and started some time before he developed close relationships with other girls. Bryan frequently took Jane into his office during the day and would be found with her on his lap or in his arms. From early on in the year, Jane did not eat with the other girls but cooked a special lunch for herself with food and money provided by Bryan. Jane was one of the younger girls in the research group and she was also in one of the most desperate economic situations with little family support. On a number of occasions Fridah asked Jane if she was comfortable with the way Bryan touched her, encouraging her that it was okay to speak out if she did. She did not verbally respond to this but looked sad and uncomfortable. Later on, however, after the issue of Bryan's behaviour had been reported she became aggressive, claiming that Fridah was jealous that 'he likes me more than you'. In Jane's case it seemed that the structural conditions of her life did not allow for empowerment to be generated within any of the spaces she found herself in and new discourses from the curriculum were not appropriated into her discursive repertoire. However, neither is her story completely without agency. It seems likely that, like the majority of young women in Swart's (2009) research, accepting a relationship that brought material gain was seen as strategically the best life strategy to follow. Worrying about the 'right to free consent' was simply not seen as relevant to her. Instead her behaviour suggests 'passionate attachment' (Butler, 1997) to ideas of female desirability (within a locally hegemonic, heterosexual framework) denoting female value since her own desirability was seen as her route to both survival and social recognition.

Wider learnings: institutional context, accountability and north-south cooperation

When I was forming my research questions and imagining the scope of my research, my interest was firmly located at the micro-scale of the specific space of the curriculum and the extent to which empowered performances generated in that space could be sustained outside of it. However, events that occurred in both contexts (for example the teaching of harmful messages in Kisumu and lack of response to reports of sexual abuse in Kibera) alerted me to the need to pay more careful attention to the dynamics operating at the different levels (from an international organisation head quartered in the UK to a country office in Nairobi to facilitators and local level projects). Therefore, this section will focus on these broader learnings about successful programming to prevent gender-based violence.

Values and institutional context for GBV programming

The importance of a supportive institutional environment for gender equality work in NGOs has long been acknowledged by feminist writers (Goetz, 1995, 1997: Longwe, 1997: Kardham, 1997). Much of this writing and analysis was a response to the failure of gender policies and gender mainstreaming within NGOs to make tangible difference to project implementation. For Longwe (1997), development institutions represent 'patriarchal cooking pots' in which policies evaporate gradually at different stages of the process between policy formation and project implementation. Kardham (1997) focuses on the importance of institutional goals and mandates. A comparative study was done of attempts to mainstream gender in the World Bank and the Ford Foundation. It was found that as the goals of the World Bank centred on economic growth and poverty reduction, gender mainstreaming efforts were hampered by the need for all projects to be couched in the language of achieving these goals. Whereas the Ford Foundation had a goal of 'finding innovative solutions to social problems' this created discursive room for mainstreaming gender in a transformatory way. In contrast to Longwe's argument, this view shows that institutions can act progressively for women in some circumstances. Similarly, Kilby (2009) looks at the *weltanschauung* or worldview values of NGOs and gives special importance

to these as determining the potential of an organisation to act progressively for women.

Based on Kardham's argument on the importance of organisatonal values and mission, it might be assumed that both WAGGGS and the KGGA would provide a supportive institutional environment. The mission of WAGGGS being 'to enable girls and young women to reach their fullest potential as responsible citizens of the world' and their vision is that 'all girls are valued and take action to change the world'. The WAGGGS website goes on to describe the process of consultation and strategic planning by which they arrived at their current vision and mission stating:

> Vision 2020 represents Girl Guiding and Girl Scouting's shift to be a Movement which will impact the lives of all girls and young women. It reflects member organisations' transformation into life-changing and community- shaping organisations. It captures girls' and young women's desires to develop themselves and contribute to improving the lives of others (…) such a vision ensures every decision we make and every action we take contributes towards building a better future for girls and young women all over the world. (..)Working through our Vision and Mission, we will continue to support girls and young women, increase their opportunities for self-development, enable them to take an active role in their community and empower them to speak out and take action against injustice and inequality (WAGGGS, 2014).

The new vision and mission, adopted in 2009, represents a move from a primary focus on the rituals and practices of guiding, to a rebranding of themselves as a 'girls' empowerment' organisation. However, it is clear from events that followed the reporting of suspected sexual abuse at the KGGA that their claim that every action they take will contribute towards building a better future for girls was not something that was fulfilled in practice. Instead, other agendas such as fear and the desire to protect their image seemed to take precedence. This raises questions about the extent to which publically pronounced organisational values really do shape how organisations work.

Additionally, there is some degree of conflict between the discourse articulated around the new Vision and Mission and the Constitution of WAGGGS. Whilst their public statements about their Vision and Mission are couched in the values of justice, empowerment and rights, such language is not present in the Constitution. Instead, according to the Constitution, Member Organisations

(MOs) only need to demonstrate commitment to the 'Law and the Promise' but *not* the new Vision and Mission (WAGGGS, 2008). As I described in Chapter Five, the Law and the Promise contain elements which are in conflict with an empowerment agenda or encouraging girls to speak out against violence since, instead, they are asked to 'obey orders' and 'sing under difficulty'. In this way the publicly espoused values are somewhat divergent to the actual rules governing the institution.

McDonald et al (1999) distinguish between 'aspired-to' and 'integrated' values. Aspired-to values are the ones people say are important to the organisation, but are not borne out in practice. Where as integrated values are the heart of the culture. They argue that there can be a big gap between the two types of values which can be problematic for gender equality. Michau (2014), talking specifically about working on gendered violence, critiques the idea that we can separate our programming work (or worldview values) from the way we work as an organisation. She argues that since violence against women and girls stems from power inequalities, we cannot work on violence prevention in our programmes if injustices relating to power exist *within* our organisations. Her argument is both ethical and practical: that it would be wrong to do so, but also that it would be ineffective to do so. For Michau, violence prevention involves changing the way people relate to each other, and that is something that an organisation cannot spread to a community if they have not achieved internally. From this point of view, organisational practices may be more telling about the extent to which a supportive institutional environment exists than public statements of values. Connell's (1987) concept of 'gender regimes' referring to the overall gendered norms and rules of institutions, is particularly useful in highlighting the discrepancy between stated values and behaviour. In this case, as was shown in Chapter Five, the power dynamics operating in the KGGA were unlikely to provide an environment in which young women would be empowered to speak out against injustice. Additionally, as has been particularly shown in relation to environmental issues, impressive policies and statements are often used as marketing or public relations exercises but can be meaningless in practice (Frankental, 2001: Koehler, 2007). Similarly, NGOs have been found to change their stated values and aims inline with new streams of funding available (Najam, 1996: Kilby, 2006).

One indication of the likelihood that espoused values and aims are being integrated into the organisational practices of an institution is the way in which resources are allocated, both financial and human. As was described in Chapter Five, the position of 'Stop the Violence Focal Person' within MOs was to be a voluntary additional responsibility held by any member of staff. In the case of Kenya, it was held by a young member of staff, without a proper contract of employment, providing little institutional power to ensure safe and ethical procedures were followed. Similarly, within WAGGGS the Stop the Violence work is handled by the advocacy team, but there does not appear to be any paid member of staff within the organisation internationally who is specifically responsible for providing technical guidance and leadership on violence or child and beneficiary protection. This lack of expertise on gendered violence was starkly shown in the view of WAGGGS, detailed in Chapter Five, that if the girls did not describe abuse when interviewed by a private investigator then it must not be happening. In contrast, great effort has been made to give a high public profile to their work on violence through, for example, a dedicated website for the Stop the Violence campaign and an active presence on social media. The campaign has five pillars (of which the curriculum is one), another is 'awareness raising'. It is possible, therefore, that giving public profile to their work on violence is seen as in itself a form of action under the banner of 'awareness raising'. Awareness raising is generally considered to be ineffective in leading to behaviour change, although useful as part of broader efforts or as a tool for mobilisation (Heise, 2011). In this case, however, there does seem to be a mismatch between the carefully managed web presence and the actual delivery of projects on the ground.

Accountability and institutional context

Concerns regarding NGO accountability have grown over the last few decades, which Ebrahim (2003) argues have stemmed from publicised scandals relating to NGO misconduct. These scandals have eroded the rosy view that NGOs are somehow inherently good and legitimate based on their espoused values. Instead, NGOs are required to demonstrate their legitimacy through a range of

accountability mechanisms. NGOs are essentially self-governing institutions and therefore accountability primarily refers to procedures an NGO may put in place to hold itself to account. Accountability also exists upward to donors, and downward to beneficiaries. Downward accountability is described as uncommon, but ethically desirable (Kilby, 2006: Townsend and Townsend, 2006). Najam (1996) distinguishes between 'functional accountability' which is accounting for immediate resource use and impact and 'strategic accountability' which involves a rather more broad-based and long term concern with impact.

As an outsider, it has not always been easy to know exactly what mechanisms for accountability exist within the KGGA or WAGGGS. Accountability for behaviour and performance seemed to lie with the existence of various committees such as Boards of Trustees, the Africa Regional Committee etc. that answer to each other. The problem shown with this approach is that if a 'hidden' organisational culture exists which is in stark contrast to the 'official' culture, but tacitly followed by all arms of an organisation, it becomes difficult for one arm of the organisation to challenge the other(s). In relation to the Stop the Violence project, it was explained to me at the start of my research that MOs needed to fulfill a range of requirements to demonstrate their capacity to roll out the project safely and ethically before they could be given permission to start. It was not clear what this actually involved in reality, since although WAGGGS developed a Child Protection Policy prior to launching the project; and information on WAGGGS website indicates that MOs must develop a policy before starting, this did not seem to be a requirement in reality[30]. When sexual harassment and suspected sexual abuse were reported it seemed that not only did both organisations not wish to act on these claims, but no conflict was seen between this stance and the KGGA continuing to accept funds to roll out the Stop the Violence project. As has been described, the Voices Against Violence handbook does contain procedures specifically outlining what should be done in the case that someone involved in the project is suspected of abusing either a child or an adult. In both cases, it is required that the suspect is suspended immediately, that

---

[30] A document titled 'pathways to delivery' details steps that an MO 'must' go through before being given the go ahead to start the curriculum, Step Three involves developing a Child Protection Policy and having this reviewed by WAGGGS. However, this did not happen in Kenya.

the police are informed and that any internal investigations must be suspended until the police have completed their inquiries (WAGGGS, 2013). However, there was no indication that anyone inside either WAGGGS or the KGGA was aware that this was their own organisational procedure. Indeed, I was told on a number of occasions by employees of WAGGGS that the organisations policy was to investigate internally and that they do not have a child protection policy. Furthermore, as detailed in Chapter Five, the fact that the CEO of WAGGGS detailed in a formal letter that she was handling the suspected sexual abuse through an internal investigation suggests that she was actually unaware of her own organisations policy.

 The internal dimensions of accountability are essentially voluntary, and this case study highlights that if there is no political will at the highest levels of an organisation to ensure that tools such as codes of conduct and reporting mechanisms are in place and enforced, then there is unlikely to be a penalty for misconduct. In this case, the Voices Against Violence handbook had been created by a team of external consultants and the 'official' statements of orgnaisational protocol contained within it seem to exist in a vacuum, far removed from the beliefs and practices (and possible knowledge) of WAGGGS staff. The upward accountability requirements of reporting to donors also pose a tricky picture when it comes to the ethical implementation of gender-based violence programmes. Donors can track how money is spent but they cannot easily know what is done and said within project spaces. Thus, holding an organisation to account for their delivery of a curriculum clearly presents a conundrum. Writing about accountability and gendered violence specifically, Ho and Pavlish (2011) argue for a dual and conditional relationship between accountability and empowerment:

> On the one hand, accountability cannot be ensured when people lack the power to make their own choices and demand their rights; on the other hand, assurance of accountability and good governance is essential in empowering people and promoting their capabilities. (p89)

This argument has validity, but in a sense also highlights the dilemma of accountability in relation to a situation such as with WAGGGS and KGGA: if an organisation aiming to empower girls to understand their rights fails to do so and

then impinges on their rights, then ironically, the supposed beneficiaries may be lacking in the capabilities to assert their rights.

North-South cooperation and cultural relativism

International NGOs, head-quartered by a single country in the Global North, have been criticised for the unequal power relationships they have with implementing partners in the Global South (Edwards, 1999: Lindenberg and Dobel, 1999). Questions have been asked about the value added by Northern NGOs and their legitimacy in shaping policy and programmes in an era chacacterised by the growth of Southern NGOs (Edwards, 1999). Lindenberg and Dobel (1999) analyze discussions from a conference held on the topic of globalisation and NGOs (now fifteen years ago), organised and attended by ten major international NGOs. They describe how NGOs such as Save the Children and Care were aware of their need to move away from unitary structures (a Northern decision making headquarter) but simultaneously felt that their experience suggested that completely decentralised structures (where country associations have autonomy) were not viable or effective. Both unitary and decentralised structures were seen as having serious ethical shortcomings: the first with unequal power and the second in terms of a lack of accountability or common standards. Talk on this issue revolved around the need to create truly global structures with multi-national boards and power structures but common standards and ethics. Since that time there has been a number of efforts to create common, international standards for aid and development work such as the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and the Sphere Standards for Humanitarian Response (2011), demonstrating a growing commitment to the need for accountability structures within the sector.

Some international NGOs have now implemented global structures of the nature described above. For example, in 2003 Action Aid International moved from having a UK headquarters to adopting a federal structure of country affiliates coordinated by an International Secretariat, headquartered in Johannesburg and with offices in Delhi, London and Rio. Country affiliates have some autonomy, but are also accountable to the International Secretariat in terms of their use of money and commitment to the values, ethos and integrity of the organisation.

Accountability structures and procedures are clearly laid out in a document *Good Practices for ActionAid Governance,* which is publically available on their website, suggesting a high degree of transparency. By moving the International Secretariat away from the Global North, they have ensured that values and ideas are shaped by diverse voices, whilst still maintaining strong accountability and shared values across the whole organisation.

Different approaches to international structures are likely to represent different standpoints in relation to cultural relativism versus universalism. A completely decentralised structure which gives complete autonomy to country associations, at least implicitly, denotes a commitment to cultural relativism: that is, the idea that people in one place cannot be held accountable to standards stemming from outside that place. WAGGGS is organised in such a way, with country associations largely autonomous. A third way, stemming from postcolonial feminist theory, stresses the importance of striving for gender justice, but rejects a simple transfer of ideas and frameworks stemming from the Global North to the Global South (Mohanty, 1988, 2002: Resty and Schmidt, 2012). This theoretical framework could be seen as compatible with the kind of structures implemented by ActionAid described above[31]. This section will not explore the full complexity of debates on the merits of cultural relativism versus universalism or postcolonialism, however it will pose the question of whether a structural arrangement that implicitly takes a relativist stance can be compatible with an attempt to run a *global* campaign to end violence against girls and how such tensions played out in practice during the course of my involvement with WAGGGS and the KGGA.

When the suspected abuse was initially reported to the KGGA, various members of their leadership responded to my questions about what action would be taken by asserting their cultural difference and structural autonomy as an organisation. I was told 'we do not need to follow any international standards, we are

---

[31] Postcolonial feminism is most closely associated with Chanda Talpade Mohanty, whose seminal work 'under western eyes' (1988) has sometimes been read as an argument against global solidarity and movements. However, in 'under western eyes revisited' (2002) she makes explicit her commitment to global movements for justice, so long as these are not shaped by Western perspectives assumed to be globally valid. Therefore, I argue that the kind of global structures (shaped by diverse voices and dialogue) implemented by ActionAid are compatible with a postcolonial feminist framework.

Kenyan!' and 'you are not in Europe now, we do things our way here'. Subsequently, when the issue had been reported to WAGGGS, similar arguments were made; that the KGGA is an autonomous organisation and are free to handle the situation as they feel is culturally appropriate[32]. Viewpoints were asserted, explicitly by the KGGA (whose leadership laughed when I described the sexual harassment I had personally experienced) and implicitly by WAGGGS (who declined to comment on the sexual harassment I described in their response to my letter), that sexual harassment is 'normal' and 'trivial'. Implicit too, was the view that a manager seeking sexual favours from students is not unambiguously wrong, but must be considered within the cultural framework. Similarly, issues such as nepotism were considered by WAGGGS to be 'normal' in Africa and, consequently, not their business.

Clear discrepancies existed between the actions and views expressed at this time, and the views on violence expressed in the Voices Against Violence curriculum. For example, in the curriculum sexual exploitation is defined as:

> any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power or trust, for sexual purposes, including, but not limited to, profiting monetarily, socially or politically from the sexual exploitation of another. Sometimes sexual exploitation is accompanied by the promise of rewards for complying with a sexually-oriented request or the threat of reprisal for refusing such a request – including in exchange for good grades, school fees, or supplies (WAGGGS, 2013).

In this definition it seems clear that the use of a position of power to gain sexual favour, does, according their official standpoint constitute violence. This idea that power makes consent difficult or impossible was a strong theme running through the curriculum materials. Yet, the official response from WAGGGS in response to allegations of sexual misconduct was completely absent of any awareness of the difficulties of 'speaking out' or the complexities of consent. The discrepancy between their 'official' views and their actions is indicative that new found public commitment to girls' rights was yet to permeate organisational structures and practices. Again, Michau's (2014) argument that working on gendered violence requires a complete reshaping of organisational practices, values and procedures if it is to be effective strikes a cord here.

---

[32] This view was asserted in telephone conversations to discuss my concerns with WAGGGS staff.

Many feminist writers have argued that cultural relativist arguments portray cultural groups as homogenous and end up giving legitimacy and power to elite groups by their actions, denying the cause of those within a culture who may be fighting to have more universal rights recognised for their own protection (Zechenter, 1997: Narayan, 1998). The twist in the assertion of cultural relativism in this case is that the arguments being put forth by the KGGA and WAGGGS were in unambiguous conflict with the law of Kenya. The Sexual Offences Act, adopted in 2006 and revised in 2009, has a specific offence 'sexual offences relating to positions of authority and persons in positions of trust'. The law states:

(4) Any person who being the head-teacher, teacher or employee in a primary or secondary school or special institution of learning whether formal or informal, takes advantage of his or her official position and induces or seduces a pupil or student to have sexual intercourse with him or her or commits any other offence under this Act, such sexual intercourse not amounting to the offence of rape or defilement, shall be guilty of an offence of abuse of position of authority and shall be liable upon conviction to imprisonment for a term of not less than ten years.

(5) Any person who being in a position of trust takes advantage of his or her position and induces or seduces a person in their care to have sexual intercourse with him or her or commits any other offence under this Act, such sexual intercourse not amounting to the offence of rape or defilement, shall be guilty of an offence of abuse of position of trust and shall be liable upon conviction to imprisonment for a term of not less than ten years (Laws of Kenya, 2009: 16).

In Kenyan law 'defilement' refers to forced sexual intercourse with a person under the age of 18 and rape refers to cases where the person is aged 18 or over. This shows that within Kenyan law, even where sex has not been physically forced, free consent is implicitly deemed impossible in situations involving institutional power relationships. For this reason, having sexual relations with someone entrusted to your care or under your authority is a criminal offence regardless of age or the presence of physical force. This understanding of violence is compatible with the understanding of violence developed in the curriculum, which explores issues of power and consent in detail.

The Sexual Offences Act is the outcome of lobbying and advocacy by Kenyan women's groups over a period of years (Maingi, 2011). Clearly Kenyan society is diverse and not all citizens would share a common understanding of violence. However, the new Sexual Offences Act, along with all the other changes to

women's rights and status that have accompanied the new constitution, grant cultural legitimacy to feminist understandings of gendered violence. It seems puzzling to understand why an international organisation which, on the basis of their organisational vision and mission, could be assumed to subscribe to universal conceptions of rights and justice, would assert such a strong relativist stance, and even more so in a country where the organisation's official stance is supported by the law of the country in question. If the organisation officially took such a strong relativist stance it would appear to be deeply in conflict with the desire to run a global campaign to end violence. It would also be extremely ethically dubious to be teaching materials to girls in diverse global locations which impart information about universal human rights and then refute belief in those very rights when the participants 'speak out' as the project encourages them to do. However, given that WAGGGS clearly *does not* officially take such a stance, it does appear that a more complex dynamic is at play. It is possible that the reaction of WAGGGS simply related not to any value based or cultural considerations but merely concern to protect their own image and deny any wrong doing, a mindset that has arguably been exacerbated by upward accountability mechanisms and the consequent fear of losing funding if mistakes are admitted (Townsend and Townsend, 2006). Alternatively, they may have been affected by fear of critiquing the 'Other'. Writing about the hesitance of the political left in the UK to name perpetrators of violence in the Rotherham child sex abuse scandal as 'Pakistani' and discuss issues of culture surrounding the case Zizek (2014) stated:

> Such anti-racism is effectively a barely covert racism, condescendingly treating Pakistanis as morally inferior beings who should not be held to our standards.

Similarly, the response of WAGGGS denoted a sense in which despite Kenyan law supporting an alternative course of action, such behaviour was actually inevitable because they are Kenyan. As with Zizek's analysis of the political left, the views were couched in the language of cultural respect and tolerance, but actually denoted a deep sense of cultural superiority. In this way, the assertions of a small number of individuals within the KGGA, who were attempting to gain WAGGGS support for their attempts to break the laws of Kenya, succeeded in being granted cultural legitimacy, rendering those who resisted them as 'un-

Kenyan'.

Postcolonial feminists may, like cultural relativists, critique Zizek's use of the term 'our standards', and problematise the idea that standards emanating from the Global North can be applied to other geographical locations in any straightforward way (see Spivak, 2000: Anderson, 2002: Mohanty, 2002: Mestry and Schmidt, 2012). Yet, as Mestry and Schmidt (2012) argue, social justice is at the heart of postcolonial feminism and advocates are mindful of the need to avoid reifying 'tradition' or 'culture' in a way that marginalises women. Equally, however, is a belief in the need to pay attention to differences *between* women, and a desire to challenge gender oppression by starting with the perspective of women's own experiences of marginalisation (Anderson, 2002). This perspective brings to light the way in which a group of highly powerful women (the KGGA leadership) were allowed to represent, not only their culture, but the category 'woman' in a way which silenced the voices of other women advocating for gender justice within their own framework. A postcolonial perspective would not take an action as wrong purely on the basis of its illegality, however, in this case, as has been shown, the Sexual Offences Act in Kenya is a prime example of the way in which Kenyan women have sought gender justice within their own context and framework.

Structural issues also seemed to play into the dynamic surrounding the response of WAGGGS: if country associations were less autonomous and had formal accountability to a set of standards which were widely understood and known about it seems less likely that there would have been the same extent of fear to intervene. Indeed, I would argue that the structural arrangement of largely autonomous country associations devoid of formal, transparent commitment to shared standards is incompatible with the aims of the Stop the Violence project. Furthermore, if such standards were developed through truly global processes and structures, such as has been the case with Action Aid, there would not be either the discursive or structural room for non-action based on faulty ideas of cultural tolerance.

Conclusions

Comparing data across the two contexts highlights that education projects will affect individuals within them differently. Overall, a similar proportion of girls within both groups demonstrated that the project had led to changes in the way they thought about gender and violence. It was notable that for the girls in Kibera, the lessons they had learnt related to very specific and tangible aspects of the sessions, with our interview conversations often closely resembling discussions that were held during the curriculum. In contrast, in Kisumu, where the delivery of the curriculum was characterised by somewhat mixed and confusing messages, the girls rarely referred to anything very specific from the curriculum in their interviews. Nevertheless, it was evident that for a number of girls, the thinking expressed at the end of the project was starkly different to that expressed in the pre-curriculum interviews and demonstrated real, tangible change. These narratives suggest that simply having the opportunity and space to think about a usually silenced issue such as violence can, in some cases, be empowering.

The nature of change was also different across the two contexts. In Kibera, girls focused on 'speaking out' and becoming activists and the way in which new ideas about self-worth, rights and concepts such as consent could impact upon their own relationships (with boyfriends, friends and the wider community). Girls in Kisumu shared new beliefs in their own rights and capacities, and for some, they were able to make connections between gender inequality and violence and shake off assumptions about female blame for violence. However, overall, when it came to violence, there remained a much greater sense of inevitability about the existence of violence in their lives and much less reflection on being able to change their own relationships and 'speak out'. In part, this may reflect the younger age of the students in Kisumu, but to a large extent, it also reflected the different positionalities of the facilitators. Rose in Kisumu interpreted her own belief in the importance of pre-marital sexual abstinence to mean 'encouraging girls and boys to stay away from each other'. This seemed to prevent the aim of 'developing healthy relationships' from being fulfilled; leaving the girls instead with feelings that violence is inevitable male behaviour. Due to their younger age, they would not be expected to have intimate relationships such as some of the older girls in Kibera did. However,

other related action research on sexuality and violence with Kenyan primary school children found changes such as decreased sexual harassment and greater understanding and friendship between girls and boys (Cobbett et al, 2013) and enhanced bodily comfort and ability to voice pleasures and wishes amongst girls (Pattman and Chege, 2003). I argue, therefore, that the curriculum could have had a greater impact on the everyday lives of the girls in Kisumu if it had provided space to talk about relationships.

In Kisumu, however, the immediate institutional environment of the school provided a supportive environment in which to re-perform assertive and confident femininities and an environment in which the right to be free from violence was reiterated by the organisational practices of the school. Traits developed during the project such as the ability to assert viewpoints and speak confidently were rewarded by the head teacher due to their perceived role in enabling the girls to achieve academic excellence, a core aim of the school. In this way, at least within the immediate context of the school, there seemed to be a strong likelihood of re-performance, and potentially normalisation, of some aspects of what was learnt. In contrast, in Kibera, the immediate context of the KGC was shaped by hegemonic norms in total contradiction to the values and messages they had learnt in the curriculum. The girls had particularly taken pleasure in learning about their right to consent freely and their capacity to speak out against violence. Yet the centre appeared to be a place where these very rights and capacities were being curtailed by the power dynamics in operation. The story of Daniella shows that however profound the perceived impact, spatial limitations to sustained re-performance of new ways of being exist. The data suggests a need for 'multi-spatial' projects in which the aim is to impact upon norms in a multiplicity of everyday spaces, thus making re-performance more possible.

The last part of the chapter reflected on broader learnings regarding the importance of a supportive institutional culture for safe and ethical programming on gender-based violence. Organisational values are important, however there was an evident need to distinguish between 'official values' espoused in documents and on websites and the values that actually shape the day to practices

of an organisation. In reality there can be a large gulf between these two dimensions, however, effective work on gender-based violence prevention requires strong congruence between programme aims and the daily practices of an organisation (Michau, 2014). Analysing divergence between public statements and the actual rules governing an institution and the way resources are allocated within it provide insightful means for assessing the extent to which publically articulated values are a genuine reflection of the institution. In Chapter Two I explored the growing attention paid to 'girls' as a distinct category within the development arena and how this might not necessarily correspond to deep understandings of the realities of girls' lives. The case study here suggests that the fashion for focusing on girls may have led organisations such as WAGGGS to re-brand themselves as movements for girls' empowerment without an accompanying level of deep organisational change to support this purported aim. Tensions between running a *global* campaign to end violence, having some organisational policies to support this but a structure that implicitly supports cultural relativism have been demonstrated. Strong and transparent accountability mechanisms which apply equally and consistently to all arms of an international organisation have been shown to be important. Conversely, however, since accountability in the NGO sector is largely internal, there needs to be strong political will at the top of an organisation for structures and policies to be meaningfully applied and enforced. Nevertheless, structural arrangements between Northern and Southern partners are of great importance. In the case of WAGGGS there is a contradictory situation in which, on the one hand, the seat of power is firmly located within one city in the Global North (the WAGGGS office in London), whilst on the other, the Constitution provides no obligation for MOs to commit to shared values and a great deal of structural autonomy. Such a structural arrangement create conditions in which fear of critiquing another culture or accusations of cultural imperialism are likely to arise. However, if the seat of power is globally dispersed and strong formal accountability structures exist between all country associations the structural conditions for *global* work on gender-based violence prevention are far more likely to be met.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions: findings, implications and ways forward

This final chapter will bring together the findings from the research whilst also seeking to push them further and discuss the bigger implications for transformative education and for gender programming in NGOs. This chapter will be organised according to the six research objectives detailed in Chapter One, the first four of which, focus directly on the data from this study, where as the final two explore the wider implications.

1) To understand how girls perceive violence in their communities before and after completing the curriculum.

The first objective is concerned with girls' changing perceptions of violence and gender and was discussed in Chapter's Six and Eight of the thesis. This objective feeds into the overarching aim of understanding the impact of the curriculum on girls' internal worlds.

Before the curriculum, in each context there existed a dominant narrative for understanding violence. In Kisumu, the narrative focused on girls who misbehaved according to local ideas of appropriate feminine behaviour. The image of the 'mythical mini-skirted girl' who walked the streets after dark was often invoked. This mythical girl transgressed gendered norms of modesty with her dress, and of mobility, by walking the streets alone. The girls' pre-curriculum views on why violence happened centered on this transgressive girl, yet she was conspicuously absent from their real stories of girls they knew that had experienced gendered violence. Instead, real stories of violence centered on the supposedly safe spaces of the home, school and church and usually involved known perpetrators. In this way, their moral beliefs and conceptions of normative femininity took precedence over lived experience in shaping how they articulated violence. In order to build a coherent narrative (Ricoeur 1983,) they sidelined their own lived experiences. This seemed likely to happen because of a lack of discourses with which to explain the more common occurrences of violence

happening in homes, schools or churches. These data highlight the power of discourses about violence in shaping what can be said and expressed.

In Kibera, the common narrative for explaining violence centred on the nexus of unemployment, poverty, alcohol and drugs. In contrast to the narrative of the 'mythical mini-skirted girl', violence by intoxicated, unemployed men in public spaces was a common occurrence. However, it was only one of three common kinds of violence described by the girls (the others being dating violence and family violence). Therefore, I referred to this narrative as the 'real drunk man' since this man is not mythical, but neither does he constitute the whole story of gendered violence in Kibera. Again, here, the hegemonic narrative for understanding violence prevented linkages between gender equality and violence being made. For the girls in Kisumu, the hegemonic narrative was likely to make it difficult to speak out about violence due to the importance of constructing one's self as 'good' and the association of violence with being 'bad'. In Kibera, the dominant narrative of violence made it difficult to imagine the possibility of non-violence since violence was constructed as an inevitable outcome of poverty.

Post-curriculum data showed both continuities and change in the ways in which the girls articulated violence. A number of girls in both contexts made links between gendered inequality and violence in their post-curriculum interviews. In Kisumu, this involved a few of the girls explicitly describing how they had come to realise that girls are not responsible for the violence they experience. This is a deeply positive change. However, it was by no means universal. Other girls in Kisumu felt even more strongly that girls *were* responsible for violence if they wore revealing clothing. That such harmful beliefs may have been reinforced rather than challenged during the project is not overly surprising since, on occasion, these beliefs were explictly asserted by Rose, the facilitator. Indeed, it is more surprising that some of the girls in Kisumu *had* made connections between gender inequality and violence and refuted ideas of female responsibility, since these beliefs were never explicitly taught in the curriculum. That this happened highlights the way in which increasing reflexive agency (Kesby, 2005) leads to change. In this case, some of the girls drew on new discourses of 'gender equality' to make connections with violence and this led to

change in beliefs that went above and beyond what was actually taught. For other girls, this did not happen, and this seemed to relate to the need to continue to construct themselves as 'good girls' and distance themselves from violence and associations with 'bad girls'. In Kibera, many of the girls made tentative suggestions regarding the importance of education in leading to change in their post-curriculum interviews, yet they were unable to articulate the actual relationship between violence prevention and education. Others resorted to the more familiar narrative of poverty and drugs. The data show (as other research has done) that short-term programmes are not sufficient to challenge and change long-held narratives. More positively, however, the glimpses of change that were apparent (and the profound change exhibited by some individuals) does affirm the relevancy of small scale education programmes in violence prevention.

2) To understand the messages about gender, rights and violence that are delivered to groups of girl guides in Kenya and how these are received and interpreted.

The second objective is concerned with understanding what was actually taught inside the 'spaces for change' and how these messages were received. The objective was based on the proposition that there is a need to better understand what actually happens inside educational spaces in order to think more deeply about why change does (or doesn't) happen. This is because the positionality of the facilitator will influence what is taught and the positionalities of the participants will influence how this is received. This objective was primarily explored in Chapter Seven.

Here, the data showed that who facilitated could be as important as the teaching resource used in determining the messages delivered and the quality of teaching. If, as was the case in Kisumu, a facilitator does not herself have a critical understanding of gender and violence, confusing and contradictory messages will be taught and key aims will be unintentionally subverted. In Kisumu, the girls were taught that that they are equal to boys and that they have rights to be free from violence as well as rights to education, shelter etc. However, they were also taught that gender differences are natural and maintaining them is morally

desirable. Girls were taught about the importance of getting help and support if they experience violence and the importance of supporting their friends. Yet, they were also taught to associate violence with transgressive female behaviour. Conversely, however, if the facilitator has good understanding of the issues and occupies an insider/outsider status in the community, as was the case in Kibera, curriculum content can be greatly enhanced during teaching. In Kibera girls were taught about their rights to lead and to consent freely and they were taught practical strategies for helping and supporting their friends and speaking out against violence. The complexities of consent and violence prevention were given cultural nuance by being put in the context of local gender norms and the reality of economic inequality.

Looking at how the messages were received and negotiated provides a different picture from looking at what was taught. In Kisumu, there were no signs of overt resistance inside the educational space. In contrast, in Kibera, some key messages were clearly resisted. In particular, notions of female sexual pleasure and the idea that girls and women who stay in violent relationships should be not be blamed. This difference is likely to relate to the different regimes of governance holding sway in the two spaces. In Kisumu, pedagogy centred on 'cued elicitation', making the existence of 'right' and 'wrong' answers clear. Whereas in Kibera, the use of open-ended questions and an informal style created the discursive permission to say anything. Importantly then, the lack of overt resistance in Kisumu does not necessarily imply that there was more agreement with the messages imparted; it is more likely that open disagreement was not considered an option. In Kibera, where resistances were made explicit, analysing these is insightful for understanding gender norms and girls social and emotional agendas.

3) To explore the impact the curriculum has on girls' gendered identities, self-esteem and beliefs about their rights.

This objective relates to the broad aim of understanding how the curriculum impacted upon the girls' internal worlds. Data on this were discussed in Chapter

Seven and Eight, where as Chapter Six provided the baseline, which enabled the extent of change to be understood.

Data on girls' gendered identities and beliefs about their rights showed a complex array of continuities and changes in both contexts. For almost all the girls, a broad change in their asserted beliefs about their capacities and rights as girls and young women was evident. In Kisumu, this manifested itself by taking hold of the discourse of 'gender equality' and applying it to beliefs about their education and future careers, asserting that they can do anything that boys can. In Kibera, where one of the sessions had focused on women and leadership, this appeared to have been a source of inspiration for the girls and many of them talked about how they now believed women could do anything, including taking up leadership positions, which previously they had not.

Affirming gender equality in relation to education, careers and leadership was fairly uncontroversial. More complex, however, were beliefs on femininity, sexual morality and intimate relationships. As described above, in Kisumu, the girls were evenly split between those who continued to believe girls were responsible for violence if they wore revealing clothing and those that had changed their views and now thought that girls are not responsible. The discussions on this issue are a revealing indicator of change, and barriers to change, in terms of constructions of feminine identity. For girls such as Aziza, Faith and Laura, violence is caused by a lack of male respect and has nothing to do with what girls do or don't wear or how they behave. This is likely to denote shifts in their sense of identity towards a construction of girlhood shaped by the freedom to be the girl they would like to be, without fear of the consequences of transgressing gendered norms. In contrast, for girls such as Awur and Cynthia, the continued assertion that girls are responsible for violence if they wear revealing clothing seems likely to relate to a need to dissociate themselves from 'bad girls' who wear mini-skirts in order to protect their own positioning as 'good'. Ethnographic observations provided support for this interpretation. In terms of gender and identity, this suggests that, for these girls, their need to gain recognition (Butler, 1990) through the performance of culturally sanctioned and dominant ideals of femininity prohibited critical engagement with the

relationships between gender norms and violence. This is not just a conceptual concern, but also something that is likely to limit freedom and make it difficult for them to 'speak out' in the face of violence. Similarly, a desire to perform acceptable femininity prohibited the girls in Kibera from taking up the invitation to talk about sexual pleasure. The need to distance themselves from violence also led many of them to blame other women and girls for the violence they experienced. These aspects of their feminine identity constructions and performance of gender seem likely to prohibit some of the girls from being able to claim rights to be free from violence.

For girls in Kibera a key right which they encountered through the project was the right to consent freely. This right was expressed as exciting and important by the girls, yet this was tempered with an awareness that it was a right which would be difficult to claim in reality. For the girls in Kisumu, the actual right to be free from violence did not feature in their post-curriculum narratives and violence was constructed as an inevitability; something they could respond to, but not prevent. I believe that this is an outcome of the conservative framework with which the curriculum was implemented in which there was a strong fear of discussing healthy relationships (including friendships) between girls and boys.

4) To explore the impact the curriculum has at the wider community level on girls' abilities to claim rights to be free from violence.

This objective is concerned with the extent to which the internal changes discussed above actually impacted upon the girls' abilities to change their external worlds and claim rights to be free from violence. Data on this question are limited by the time and logistical constraints of doctoral research, and therefore my analysis will be partial, but meaningful nevertheless. Data on this objective was discussed in Chapter Eight.

In Kibera, where the actual implementation of the curriculum was of high quality, the messages taught within the curriculum were severely undermined by the immediate external space of the KGC, as well as the broader space of Kibera. The story of Jane demonstrated how, in some instances, the norms operating outside of a 'space for change' are so strong that the alternative norms operating

inside the 'space for change' do not make an impact. Whereas Daniella's story shows that even where a high level of change is demonstrated in terms of identity and beliefs, empowered performances of gender outside the 'space for change' can still be prohibited. The ability to claim rights here was prohibited not only by the spaces outside the curriculum, but the institutional influences at different scales. The KGC is part of the KGGA which is in turn part of WAGGGS. As these two institutions failed to respond appropriately to reports of violence, the institutional framework also worked to prevent girls from claiming their rights. This shows that for education programmes to bring about tangible change, they must target multiple spaces, but also exist within supportive institutional structures.

In contrast, in Kisumu, where there were clear issues surrounding the quality of teaching, the positive messages that were imparted around gender equality and female capacity were reinforced in the immediate surrounding space of the school. This supportive institutional environment meant that it was possible for girls to re-perform empowered performances of gender whilst at school. Whether this growth in confidence and self-esteem will actually enable the girls to claim rights to be free from violence is more complex to assess. What can be noted, however, is that one of the key enabling factors in Kisumu was the distance from the institutional environment of the KGGA, with power instead being held by a highly competent head teacher. Much attention has been paid to the prevalence of violence and gendered inequitable dynamics in African schools. In contrast, this research shows that where a committed leadership team is in place, formal schools can be empowering places for girls. The comparative data from Kisumu and Kibera shows that the extent to which an education project such as this actually leads to tangible material change is not only related to the quality of the educational curriculum or its delivery, but to broader factors of space and scale. Thus, whilst education has not been a common topic of focus amongst geographers, the need to examine programmes with a spatial lens suggests the value of greater involvement in education programmes from geographers.

5) To gain insight into what works in education programmes to empower girls, paying attention to content, pedagogy and the spaces in which education occurs.

This objective is concerned with the key lessons that can be learnt from the research as a whole regarding 'what works' in education programmes aiming to instigate change.

Firstly, it is clear that who facilitates is as important as the curriculum used in determining what will actually be taught. Previous research on HIV/AIDS education had demonstrated that teachers will leave out aspects of a curriculum which they are not comfortable with (Boler, 2003: McLaughlin, 2012). What this comparative case study shows is that content can be enhanced, as well as subverted, depending on who teaches. Finding facilitators who occupy 'insider/outsider' status, could be of great importance in this regard. Such facilitators are able to translate curriculums for wider use (whether at national or international levels), drawing out the issues of particular relevance to the local community, whilst also being able to look critically at local norms. In practical terms, for NGO's and education providers, this suggests that there is a need to put time and energy into procedures for choosing and training facilitators, and that getting this right may be more important than designing new materials.

Secondly, geographers of education have raised questions about the need to pay attention to the spaces in which education occurs (Collins and Coleman, 2008: Cook and Hemming, 2011). This research provides a powerful demonstration of the way in which space matters. However, it does not support any simplistic separation between 'formal' and 'non-formal' educational spaces in terms of the potential for empowerment. Instead, the research shows that it is the specific regimes of governance operating within educational spaces which determine their potential.

Thirdly, it is important to consider both 'time' and 'space'. In terms of time, it was clear that a six week programme was wildly insufficient. This was particularly significant in relation to the Think week, which had the aim of providing space to think critically about gender equality and what it means to be

a girl or a boy. If, as was the case in this study, traditional ideas about gender identity and roles which may lead to vulnerability to violence are held and deeply believed, these are not going to be sufficiently engaged with in the space of one session. Indeed, the very idea of having a set time frame for each phase of the curriculum does not make conceptual sense given the complex and unpredictable nature of change. A related project, which has paid meaningful attention to time/space dynamics is the SASA project in Uganda[33]. The SASA project is a community mobilisation based approach to domestic violence prevention, which originated in Uganda. It has four phases 'start, awareness, support and action', which are comparable to the phases of the Voices Against Violence curriculum. However, rather than each phase consisting of one session, each phase consists of a plethora of activities which may be carried out for between six and eighteen months. Rather than having a set time to move to the next phase, the facilitator is tasked with the responsibility of determining when the community is ready to move to the next phase. Whilst people are still grappling with ideas about gender, there is no point in pushing them towards taking action. This was aptly shown in Kibera where the high quality delivery of the curriculum fell flat when the girls were asked to start thinking about 'taking action' (week six of the curriculum). It was clear that they were not ready for this as they were still at the Think stage of grappling with what it means to be young women. In Kisumu, where the 'take action' week did happen, it happened along contrived lines where the girls followed Rose's orders to design posters and march around the school compound.

Indeed, I often felt that the two people who were most deeply effected by the project in Kenya were not from the forty five participants, but the two young women I worked closely with, day in and day out: Anita in Kisumu and Fridah in Kibera. During my time working with each woman we talked frequently and in great depth about violence, gender and our hopes, dreams and loves. Unlike the participants, they engaged with the curriculum materials in great depth and over a longer period of time. I watched them grow in confidence and make significant decisions about their own relationships, behaviour and futures. Like the SASA

---

[33] The SASA project has been subject to a cluster randomised control trial which has shown that the project led to a significant reduction in the prevalence of domestic violence (Abramsky et al, 2014). Due to these results, it is appropriate to consider SASA as a model of good practice.

project, these changes were born out of open-ended conversations over a length of time rather than by the step-by-step, rapid approach laid out in the Voices Against Violence curriculum and many other development projects. The other projects reviewed in Chapter Three that demonstrated high impact also involved longer-term interventions. The IMAGE project involved working with groups for between 12-18th months (Pronyk et al, 2006) and Stepping Stones involves an initial involvement of around four months which is intended to provide an enabling environment for locally initiated activities to continue. I argue that a clear best practice principle, which emerges from my own data as well as other studies, is the need for interventions to be longer term in duration.

Equally, training of facilitators needs to be in-depth and long-term. In the case of this project, Rose was trained at a one off training event in Nairobi and Fridah was trained somewhat more informally by a series of ongoing discussions between the two of us. The approach WAGGGS is using as they roll out the curriculum is the 'cascade model' (see Figure Six) which involves national partners attending a one-off five day training event and then going back and training facilitators in their own country.

Figure Six: Infographic of the cascade approach
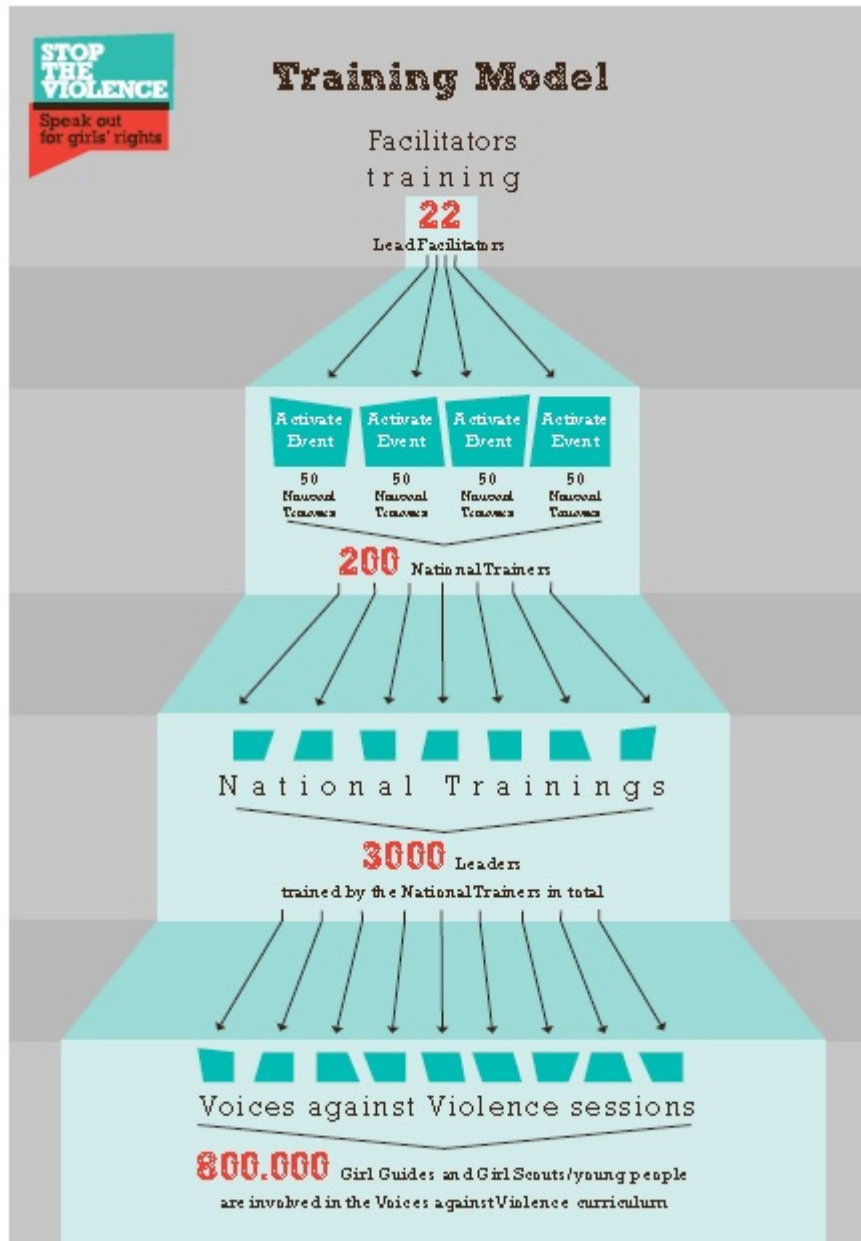
The training of facilitators for gender-based violence programmes is an under-researched topic. However, available evidence indicates that this is likely to be a highly risky and inappropriate approach. Cascade models for training have received much criticism (McBride, 1989: Fiske and Ladde, 2004: Morrell et al, 2011). For example, since the end of apartheid, South Africa has attempted to implement major educational reforms including the introduction of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) and a new national curriculum. The cascade model of teacher training was used to train teachers on the new curriculum as a method that is fast and cheap. Extensive research has shown the failure of this model to

enable teachers to understand the aims of the purpose of the new curriculum that they were tasked with teaching (Jansen and Christie, 1999: Fiske and Ladde, 2004: Ono and Ferreira, 2010). Ono and Ferreira (2010) describe the cascade model as 'the watering down model' due to the way in which important concepts were lost at each level so that by the end little of what was intended was left. Morrell et al (2011) argue from their experience with the cascade model in relation to HIV/AIDS education that this model is particularly ineffective for sensitive or difficult areas (of which violence is clearly one). Similarly, another study that measured change in nurses' attitudes after an intensive four-day training on gender-based violence also found mixed results. For example, some nurses had changed their views on the acceptability of wife-beating, but 100% of them still believed that marital rape was justified (Kim and Motsei, 2002).

Avoiding the riskiness of such 'one off' approaches to training, in SASA facilitators are trained over a period of between six months and one year. They meet regularly during this period and practice delivering SASA activities whilst also continuing to learn and reflect on issues of gender and violence. Only when the trainer is confident that they can deliver sessions ethically and safely do they move out to start working with the community. This is a responsible and effective approach to training which minimises the likelihood of harm. It also involves a major rethink of how development projects are structured, and points to the need to avoid conflating 'reach' and 'impact'. By scaling up, in a way that makes high quality almost impossible, WAGGGS would be able to *reach* 800,000 girls (see Figure Six). In contrast, by 'scaling down' and ensuring quality, SASA is able to *impact* a small number of communities leading to 52% reduction in the prevalence of domestic violence in those communities (see Abramsky et al, 2014).

Creating 'safe spaces' for adolescent girls has become a popular feature of girl-centred programming with a number of NGOs currently running such projects. For example, the YWCA has a 'safe spaces for girls and women model' (YWCA, 2014), the International Rescue Committee is running a project entitled 'creating safe spaces for adolescent girls' and in 2008 a new girls empowerment NGO was set up in Nairobi actually called 'Safe Spaces'. Within such

programmes, the focus is usually on creating a specific safe space where girls and young women will be able to come together and discuss difficult or taboo issues such as violence, HIV/AIDS and sexuality. Creating such 'safe spaces' was one of the aims of the Voices Against Violence curriculum. The importance and potential of safe spaces was demonstrated through the research. For example, the Start session in Kibera provided a powerful demonstration of how rapidly bringing young women together in a safe, carefully facilitated space could lead to empowered performances of gender and the ability to voice difficult questions.

However, the research also showed that too much focus on one specific 'safe space' without attention to how empowerment generated in that space may be undermined by the spaces outside of it was shown to be deeply problematic. Throughout the thesis, Kesby's conceptualisation of empowerment as a 'spatial' concept has been employed. According to this idea, empowerment is not a state that is simply reached (in time) but something that is exercised (in space) and the ability to exercise it (or not) depends on the discursive norms operating in a particular space. This conceptualisation was shown to have great validity throughout the research, as the girls were enabled and disabled from re-performing empowerment depending on the wider spaces they found themselves in. This has important implications for thinking about how to run effective education programmes to prevent violence and empower girls. What it suggests is that for a programme to have significant and long-lasting impact, it actually needs to target multiple spaces and involve diverse groups of people. Indeed, Heise (2011) states in her review of violence prevention work that an emerging 'best practice' principle is that programmes should work with both male and female participants concurrently, rather than target only one or the other.

Again, the SASA project has taken an interesting approach to making the programme 'multi-spatial'. The programme employs a conceptual framework called 'circles of influence', which shows how any individual is embedded in a series of relationships at different levels of their community, and that these relationships influence how the individual thinks and acts. Taking this into account, sessions about violence prevention and gender are run at multiple spaces within a community, to target these multiple relationships. So, for

example, a SASA facilitator may set up groups in the market, amongst motorbike drivers, in the Church or Mosque and at the health centre in order to target multiple spaces. In this way, empowerment generated by one individual woman in one 'safe space' is far less likely to be undermined when she leaves that space.

Lastly, in terms of content, programmes aiming to prevent violence should be delivered within a framework of talking about healthy relationships and communities. It has been widely documented and stated that around the world, violence against women and girls largely happens at the hands of known perpetrators (Heise et al, 2002: Moreno et al, 2006). Yet, as was shown in Kisumu, it is all too easy for violence prevention education programmes to slip into working within a framework where violence is constructed as being perpetrated by strangers in dark alleys. When this happens whilst working with girls an empowerment agenda is prohibited and replaced with a 'safety' agenda. Where as in work with boys, such a discourse of violence prohibits using education to guide boys through a process of reflecting on how they use power in their own lives and relationships.

6) To understand the impact of institutional structures and dynamics on gender programming.

This objective was added to the research midway and was discussed in detail in Chapter Eight with regards to the lack of appropriate response from the KGGA and WAGGGS to reports of sexual harassment and suspected sexual abuse. The difference between stated and lived values, the need for strong accountability structures and some dilemmas of North/South cooperation and universalism/cultural relativism were discussed. Here I will explore these themes further and make some tentative suggesting about what an organisation able to do safe, ethical and effective work to prevent gender-based violence might need to look like.

In Chapter Two I charted the emergence of the focus on girls within development discourse and practice, showing how girls have been granted visibility as both 'heroines' and 'victims' for very specific, instrumentalist reasons. The chapter showed that, sadly, the attention given to girls has largely not been concerned

with efforts to understand the complexity of girls' lives. The way in which WAGGGS came to brand itself as a 'girls' empowerment' NGO, but without the capacity or the structures in place do to safe, ethical work on issues such as gendered violence prevention is an example of what happens when an issue becomes popular and an ensuing scramble to get projects 'out there' as soon as possible occurs. Based in the UK, there are two NGOs working internationally whose sole target group is girls: WAGGGS and Girl Hub. In Chapter Two, I critiqued Girl Hub for their instrumentalist and highly simplistic portrayals of girls in the Global South. Since then, Girl Hub has come under critical scrutiny for its lack of accountability structures and lack of clear or strategic programme and policy plans to accompany its slick marketing campaign. The Girl Hub programme was reviewed by the Independent Commision on Aid Impact (ICAI) and given an 'amber/red light' meaning that it needs to make significant improvements. Particularly worrying were the lack of child protection, anti-corruption and anti-bribery policies and a lack of a clear strategic vision (ICAI, 2012).

Provust (2014), writing about the ICAI report in a *Guardian* articles asks how it could have happened in the first place that a major DFID-funded programme working directly with adolescent girls was allowed to proceed without a child protection policy? She does not directly answer this question but does point out that such occurrences highlight the importance of having an independent commission to review the impact of UK aid. I agree, that the existence of independent watchdogs is a crucial step towards making the development sector more accountable, which will also benefit gender work. However, I believe there are some additional lessons that can be learnt from the examples of the Girl Hub and WAGGGS regarding how development work is done and how it might need to be done when working with girls.

Three aspects of how development work happens are likely to be particularly problematic when it comes to the ability of NGOs to do safe, ethical work with girls. Firstly, as I have already described, is the way in which issues become 'fashionable' and popular leading to new funding steams and a consequent scramble by organisations to ready themselves for it. Conversely, because

gender is primarily about power and how we use it, for NGOs to really do meaningful work on gender requires a radical transformation of internal structures and ways of relating between staff and between staff and beneficiaries. Taking the SASA project as an example again, the 'Start' phase of the project requires staff of an NGO wanting to roll out SASA to spend between six months and a year working internally to understand issues of gender, power and domestic violence and how these insights need to shape their ways of working as they develop plans and structures together, before they are ready to start working with beneficiaries. This is countercultural in a development landscape of quick fixes and fast results. In contrast, when there is a desire to get a programme off the ground quickly, programmes are launched without the necessary internal structures or cultural transformation.

Secondly, and relatedly is a need to deliver results quickly and in ways that can be scaled up in order to deliver 'value for money' (DFID, 2011:Vardakoulias, 2013) Provust (2014) argues that the Girl Hub has been popular and received wide-spread attention because of the simplicity of its messages which purport that girls' empowerment can be achieved globally and rapidly by following the same simple steps all over the world. She contrasts this with the 'Pathways to Empowerment' programme at the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) which is the other major gender programme funded by DFID. The Pathways to Empowerment programme, running between 2006-2011, sought to critically examine 'what works' for women's empowerment. The programme involved in-depth and context specific work which avoided quick fixes or blueprints. However, Provust (2014) argues that the downside of this is complexity is that DFID seem unlikely to actually use the findings from the programme. Pain et al (2011) describe similar problems with the 'impact agenda' in academia. They argue that the equation of 'high impact' with 'large scale' may discourage in-depth, participatory and collaborative work that has great impact on a smaller group of people rather than 'reaching' large numbers. When it comes to girls' empowerment and gender-based violence prevention these conceptions of impact are particularly worrying, since, as has been discussed, good quality work requires long term engagement with small groups of people to bring about substantive change. Thus the broader pressures of the development sector, as

well as specific institutional structures of particular NGOs may serve to work against the likelihood of high quality work to prevent violence against girls.

Thirdly, another dimension of the impact agenda, which can become problematic, is the focus on a developing a public profile for work through social media and other forums. This is not inherently problematic, and social media can be a wonderful forum to exchange ideas, however, their appears to be a tendency for some NGOs to put more effort into the public profiles they give the work than the quality of the work they actually do. I think this comes about both because of the 'faddish' nature of development work and because of the focus on 'scale' and 'numbers reached' within the impact agenda. It is notable that when it comes to 'girls and development' poor quality work is often accompanied by huge investments in campaign materials and a strong social media presence.

Final words

To summarise, this thesis has sought to qualitatively explore the impact of the Stop the Violence project in Kisumu and Kibera, Kenya whilst also learning from the case study whether and how education can be effectively harnessed to empower girls and prevent gendered violence. As has been shown above, the impact in both communities was mixed with both locations being characterised by a mixture of enabling and disabling factors. Having two such different case-studies to compare has, however, been insightful for understanding the range of factors that impinge upon effectiveness. The project has shown a need to pay equal attention to five broad factors: firstly, who facilitates education programmes is of upmost importance and insufficient attention has generally been paid to this factor. Secondly, for projects to facilitate empowerment which can be sustained in multiple spaces, projects too must target multiple spaces. Thirdly, a flexible approach to time that takes account of the unpredictable nature of change is necessary. Fourthly, content which addresses gendered identities and the benefits of healthy relationships and communities is vital. Lastly, supportive institutional structures are necessary to ensure that projects are conducted in a safe, ethical and high quality manner.

Conducting this research involved witnessing a number of deeply disturbing incidents and it is evident that various forms of harm took place. From my own perspective, I experienced sadness (at being unable to prevent girls from hearing harmful messages), anger and fear (at being subject to sexual harassment and witnessing others be so) and a mixture of shock and overwhelming powerlessness (at the response to this and related issues by the two institutions). It is temping then, to end on a gloomy note: such is the depth of reform that would be needed for the 'Stop the Violence' project to be safe, ethical and empowering. Nevertheless, in spite of this a hopeful message pervades. The glimpses of transformation that were visible in many of the girls do show that education can and does work to bring about positive change. To truly harness this potential in the future will require many NGOs and implementers of education projects to radically change the way they operate and the terms on which 'impact' is assessed. Rather than the large-scale, rapid-results and reach the masses aims and approaches that are prevalent today, projects of the future should be slow to start, long-term, small-scale and human resource-intensive. This is deeply counter-cultural in today's development landscape, but it is possible and it can lead to deep-seated change.

References

Abraha, S, Beyene, A, Dubale, T, Fuller, B, Holloway, S, King, E (2002) 'What factors shape girls' school performance? Evidence from Ethiopia' *International Journal of Educational Development* 11-2 p107-118

Abramsky, T; Devries, K; Kiss, L; Francisco, L; Nakuti, J; Musuya, T; Kyegombe, N; Starmann; Kaye, D; Michau, L and Watts, C (2012) 'A community mobilisation intervention to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV/AIDS risk in Kampala, Uganda (the SASA! Study): study protocol for a cluster randomised controlled trial' *Trials* 13(96)

Abramsky, T; Devries, K; Kiss, L; Nakuti, J; Kyegombe, N; Starmann, E; Cundill, B; Fransico, L; Kaye, D; Musuya, T; Michau, L and Watts, C (2014) 'Findings from the SASA! Study: a cluster randomised control trial to assess the impact of a community mobilisation intervention to prevent violence against women and reduce HIV risk in Kampala, Uganda' *BMC Medicine* 12(122)

ActionAid (2010) *Good Practices for Action Aid Governance* (ActionAid)

Agnes, F (1992) 'Protecting Woman Against Violence? Review of a Decade of Legislation, 1980-89' *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol p WS 19-33

Ako, M.A and Akweongo, P (2009) 'The limited effectiveness of legislation against female genital mutilation and the role of community beliefs in upper east region, Ghana' *Reproductive Health Matters* 17(34) p47-54

Alexander, K.L, Entwisle, D.R and Kabbani, N (2001) 'The dropout process in life-course perspective: early risk factors at home and school' *The Teachers College Record* 103(5) p760-822

Alexander, R. (2006). *Towards Dialogic Teaching: Rethinking classroom talk* (3rd edn). Cambridge (MA: Dialogos)

Allen, L (2007) *Sexual Subjects: Young People, Sexuality and Education* (Basingstoke: Palgrave)

Allen, L (2011) 'Young people's 'agency' in sexuality research using visual methods' *Journal of Youth Studies* 11(6) p565-577

Allison, E and Seeley, J (2004) 'HIV and AIDS among fisherfolk: a threat to 'responsible fisheries'?' *Fish and Fisheries* 5(3) p215-234

Amnesty International (2004) *Its in Our Hands to Stop Violence Against Women* (Amnesty International)

Anderson, J (2002) 'Towards a post-colonial feminist methodology for nursing research: exploring the convergance of post-colonial and black feminist scholarship' *Nurse Researcher* 9(3) p7-27

Anderson, E and Behringer, A (2010) 'Girlhood in the girl scouts' *Journal of Girlhood Studies* 3(2) p89-108

Anjuwon, A; Akin-Jimoh, I; Olley, B.O: Akintola, O (2001) 'Perceptions of sexual coercion: learning from young people in Ibadon, Nigeria' *Reproductive Health Matters* 9(17) p129-136

Ansell, N (2009) 'Embodied learning: responding to AIDS in Lesotho's education sector' *Children's Geographies* 7(1) p21-36

Ansell, N; Robson, E; Hajdu, F; van Blerk, L (2012) 'Learning from young people about their lives: using participatory methods to research the impacts of AIDS in southern Africa' *Children's Geographies* 10(2) p169-186

Appadurai, A (2004) 'The capacity to aspire: culture and the terms of recognition' In V. Rao & M. Walton (Eds.), Culture and public action (p59–84) (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press)

Archer, D., & Cottingham, S. (1996). *Action research report on Reflect – The experience of three Reflect pilot projects in Uganda, Bangladesh, El Salvador*. London: Overseas Development Administration.

AVERT (2012) *The ABC of HIV prevention* http://www.avert.org/abc-hiv.htm Accessed on 23rd October, 2012

Ayikukwei, R, Ngare, D, Sidle, J, Baliddawa, J and Greene, J (2008) 'HIV/AIDS and cultural practices in Western Kenya: the impact of sexual cleaning rituals on sexual behaviour' *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 10(6) p587-589

Ban, K (2012) *Secretary General's Message for 2012* http://www.un.org/en/events/girlchild/2012/sgmessage.shtml Accessed on 23rd October, 2012

Banks, D. (2001) *Promises to keep: Results of the national survey of human rights education* Available from http://www.hrusa.org/education/PromisestoKeep.htm. Accessed 15th October, 2014

Barker, G (2003) *How do we know if men have changed? Promoting and measuring attitude change with young men: Lessons from Programme H in Latin America* From the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Expert group meeting on 'the role of men and boys in promoting gender equality' 21-24th October, 2003, Brazil

Barbour, R and Kitzinger, J (eds) (1999) *Developing Focus-Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice* (London: Sage)

Barrett, A (2007) 'Beyond the polarisation of pedagogy: models of classroom practice in Tanzanian primary schools' *Comparative Education* 43(2) p273-294

Barter, C and Renold, E 'Dilemmas of control: methodological implications and reflections of foregrounding children's perspectives of violence' in Lee, R.M and Sanko, E .A (2003) *Researching Violence: Essays on Methodology and Measurement* (London: Routledge)

Barter, C and McCarry, M (2009) *Partner exploitation and violence in teenage intimate relationships* (NSPCC)

Bene, C (2008) 'Women and fish-for-sex: HIV/AIDS, transactional sex and gender in African fisheries' *World Decelopment* 36(5) p875-899

Berns, N (2001) 'Degendering the problem and gendering the blame: Political discourses on woman and violence' *Gender and Society* 15(2) p262-281

Benjamin, O and Sullivan, O (1999) 'Relational resources, gender consciousness and possibilities of change in marital relationships' *The Sociological Review* 47(4) p794-820

Bhana, D (2008) ''Girls hit!' Constructing and negotiating violent African femininities in a working-class primary school' *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 29(3) p401-415

Blackman, S (2007) ''Hidden ethnography': crossing emotional borders in qualitative accounts of young people's lives' *Sociology* 41(699)

Blackstone, A (2004) 'It's just about being fair': activism and the politics of volunteering in the breast cancer movement' *Gender and Society* 18(3) p350-368

Bobel, C (2007) ''I'm not an activist. Although I've done a lot of it': Doing Activism, Being Activist and the 'Perfect Standard' in a contemporary movement' *Social Movement Studies* 6(2) p147-159

Bodunrin, O (1999) 'Female genital mutilation: perceptions and beliefs in a rural Nigerian community' *African Anthropology* VI(1) p72-81

Boler, T and Aggleton, P (2005) 'Life Skill based education for HIV prevention: A critical analysis' UK working group on HIV/AIDS and education (London: Action Aid and Save the Children)

Boler, T (2003) *'The Sound of Silence': Difficulties in communicating about HIV/AIDS in schools* (London: Action Aid)

Borooah, V.K (2004) 'Gender bias among children in India in their diet and immunisation against disease' *Social Science and Medicine* 58(9) p1719-1731

Bowers, C. A and Apffel-Marglin, F (2005) *Rethinking Freire: Globalisation and the Environmental Crisis* (New Jersey: LEA Publishers)

Boyden, J and Ennew, J (1997) *Children in Focus: A Manual for Participatory Research with Children* (Sweden: Save the Children)

Burman, E (1995) 'The abnormal distribution of development: policies for Southern women and children' *Gender, Place and Culture* 2(1) p21-36

Busby, C (1999) 'Agency, power and personhood: discourses of gender and violence in a fishing community in South India' *Critique of Anthropology* 19(227)

Brickell, K (2008) ''Fire in the house' gendered experiences of drunkenness and violence in Siem Reap, Cambodia' *Geoforum* 39(5) p1667-1675

Brickell, K and Chant, S (2010) ''The unbearable heaviness of being': reflections on female altruism in Cambodia, Philippines, the Gambia and Costa Rica' *Progress in Development Studies* 10(2) p145-59

Brickell, K (2015) 'Participatory Video Drama Research in Transitional Vietnam: Post-Production Narratives on Marriage, Parenting and Domestic Evils' *Gender, Place and Culture* 22(4) p510-525

Brickell, K (2015) 'Clouding the judgement of domestic violence law: victim blaming by institutional stakeholders in Cambodia' *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* p1-21

Burman, M; Batchelor, S and Brown, A (2001) 'Researching girls and violence: facing the dilemmas of fieldwork' *British Journal of Criminology* 41 p443-459

Butler, J (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge: New York)

Butler, J (1997) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford: Stanford University Press)

Cahill, C (2004) Defying gravity? Raising consciousness through collective research. *Children's Geographies* 2 (2) 273 – 286.

Cahill, C (2007) The personal is political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research. *Gender, Place & Culture,* 14 (3) p267-292

Calman, L (1992) *Toward Empowerment: Woman and Movement Politics in India* (San Francisco: Westview Press)

Cameron, D (2001) *Working with Spoken Discourse* (London: Sage Publications)

Cameron, J and Gibson, K (2005) 'Participatory action research in a post-structuralist vein' *Geoforum* 36 p315-331

Campbell, C (2003) *Letting Them Die: Why HIV/AIDS Prevention Programmes Fail* (Indiana University Press)

Chaaban, J and Cunnigham, W (2011) 'Measuring the economic gain of investing in girls: the girl effect dividend' *World Bank Policy Research Paper*

Chambers, R (1997) *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last* (London: Intermediate Technologies Publication)

Chambers, R (1994) 'Participatory rural appraisal (PRA): potential, challenges and paradigm' *World Development* 22(10) p1437-1454

Chilisa, B and Ntseane, G (2010) 'Resisting dominant discourses: implications of indigenous, African feminist theory and methods for gender and education research' *Gender and Education* 22(6) p617-632

Cho, D and Lewis, T (2005) 'The persistent life of oppression: the unconscious, power and subjectivity' *Interchange* 36(3) p313-329

Cleaver, F (1999) 'Paradoxes of participation: questioning participatory approaches to development' *Journal of International Development* 11(4) p597-612

Cobbett, M (2008) *An Investigation into School Related Gender-based Violence in Tonkolili District, Sierra Leone* (Dublin: Concern Worldwide)

Cobbett, M (2012) ''Beauties', 'geeks' and 'men-john': the possibilities and costs of girls' performances of gender in Antiguan schools' *Gender and Education* 25(3) p255-266

Cobbett, M and Warrington, M (2013) 'Sometimes it's fun to play with them first' girls and boys talking about sexual harassment in Caribbean schools' *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 15(9) p1026-1039

Cobbett, M, McLaughlin, C and Kiragu, S (2013) 'Shifting discourses on sexuality through creating 'participatory spaces': reflections on involving children in planning sex education lessons in Kenya, Ghana and Swaziland' *Sex Education* 13(1) p70-83

Collins, D and Coleman, T (2008) 'Social geographies of education: looking within, and beyond, school boundaries' *Geography Compass* 2(1) p281-299

Connell, R (1987) *Gender and Power: Society, the Person, Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity)

Cooke, B and Kothari, U (eds) (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* (London: Zed Books)

Cooke, B 'The social psychological limits of participation' in Cooke, B and Kothari, U (eds) (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* (London: Zed Books)

Coombe, C and Kelly, M.J (2002) *Education as a Vehicle for Combating HIV/AIDS* (Paris: UNESCO)

Cornwall, A and Jewkes, R (1995) 'What is participatory research' *Social Science and Medicine'* 41(12) p1667-1676

Cornwall, A and Brock, K (2005) 'What do fuzzwords do for development policy? A critical look at 'empowerment', 'participation' and 'poverty reduction' 26(7) p1043-1060

Cornwall, A; Harrison, E and Whitehead, A (2007) 'Gender myths and feminist fables: the struggle for interpretive power in gender and development' *Development and Change* 38(1) p1-19

CPWG (2012) *Minimum Standards for Child Protection in Humanitarian Action* (Child Protection Cluster)

Currie, D; Kelly, D and Pomerantz, S (2007) 'Listening to girls: discursive positioning and the construction of self' *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 20(4) p377-400

Croll, E (2007) 'From the girl child to girls' rights' *Third World Quarterly* 27(7) p1285-1297

Davies, B (1989a) *Shards of Glass: Children, Reading and Writing Beyond Gender Identities* (New Jersey: Hampton Press)

Davies, B (1989b) 'The discursive production of the male/female dualism in school settings' *Oxford Review of Education* 15(3) 229–41.

Davies, B (2003) *Frogs, Snails and Feminist Tales. Preschool Children and Gender* (Allen and Unwin)

Davis, M (2006) *Planet of Slums* (New York: Verso)

Dembélé, M and Lefoka, P (2007). "Pedagogical Renewal for Quality Universal Primary Education: Overview of Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa." *International Review of Education.* 53 531-553.

Dewey, J (1916) *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan Press)

DFID (2011) *DFID's Approach to Value for Money* (VfM) (DFID: London)

DFID (2012) 'Girls and Women: International Day of the Girl' DFID, 4th October, 2012 http://www.dfid.gov.uk/News/Latest-news/2012/International-Day-of-the-Girl/ Accessed on 23rd October, 2012

Dodoo, F.N, Zulu, E.N and Ezeh, A.C (2007) 'urban-rural differences in the socio-economic deprivation – sexual behaviour link in Kenya' *Social Science and Medicine* 64 p1019-1031

Dunne, M Humphreys, S and leach, F (2006) 'Gender violence in schools in the developing world' *Gender and Education* 18(1) 75-98

Driscoll, C (2002) Girls: *Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press)

Dwyer, S and Buckle, J (2009) 'The 'space between': on being an insider-outsider in qualitative research' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8(1) p84-63

Ebrahim, A (2003) 'Accountability in practice: mechanisms for NGOs' *World Development* 31(5) p813-829

Economist (2012) 'Boomtown slum: a day in the life of Africa's biggest shanty-town' *The Economist* December, 2012 http://www.economist.com/news/christmas/21568592-day-economic-life-africas-biggest-shanty-town-boomtown-slum accessed 5th October, 2014

Edwards, M (1999) 'International development NGOs: agents of foreign aid or vehicles of international cooperation? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28(1) p25-37

Ellsberg, M and Heisse, L (2002) 'Bearing witness: ethics in domestic violence research' *The Lancet* 359(9317) p1599-1604

England, K (1994) 'Getting personal: reflexivity and positionality in feminist research' *The Professional Geographer* 46(1) p80-89

Epstein, D and Morrell, R (2012) 'Approaching Southern theory: explorations of gender in South African education' *Gender and Education* 24(5) p469-482

Erulkar, A (2004) 'The experience of sexual coercion among young people in Kenya' *International Family Planning Perspectives* 30(4) p182-189

Faulkner J (2011) *The importance of being innocent: Why we worry about children*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)

Fennel, S and Arnot, M (2008) 'Decentering hegemonic gender theory: the implications for educational research' *Compare* 38(5) 525-538

Ferraro, K (1996) 'Women's fear of victimisation: shadow of sexual assault? *Social Forces* 96 667-90

Fiske, E.B and Ladd, H.F (2004*) Elusive equity: education reform in post-apartheid South Africa*. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institute)

Foucault, M (1972) *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge)

Foucault, M (1988) *Power/Knowledge, selected interviews and other writing 1972-1977* (Random House Publishing)

Fullarton, S (2002) 'Student engagement with school: individual and school level differences' *LSAY Research reports: longitudinal surveys of Australian Youth* no 27

Frankental, P (2001) "Corporate social responsibility – a PR invention?", *Corporate Communications: An International Journal* 6(1) p18-23

Fraser, N (1989) *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press)

Freire, P (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum)

Gallagher, M (2008) ''Power is not an evil': rethinking power in participatory methods' *Children's Geographies* 6(2) p137-150

George and Finburg (2001) Scared at School: Sexual Violence Against Girls in South African Schools (Human Rights Watch: New York)

Girl Effect (2012) *Girls are at a Crossroads* http://www.girleffect.org/learn/the-big-picture Accessed on 23rd October, 2012

Giroux, H and Purpel, D *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education? Deception or Discovery?* (Berkeley)

Goetz, AM (1995) 'Institutionalising Women's Interests and Gender-Sensitive Accountability in Development' *IDS Bulletin* 26(3) p1-10

Goetz, AM (1997) *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development* (London: Zed Books)

Goetz, A.M (2007) 'Political cleaners: Women as the new anti-corruption force?' 38(1) p87-105

Gordon, M and Riger, S (1989) *The Female Fear: The Social Cost of Rape* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press)

Guillemin, M and Gillam, L (2004) 'Ethics, reflexivity and 'ethically important moments' in research' *Qualitative Inquiry* 10(2) p261-280

Gujit, I and Shah, M (1998) *The Myth of Community: Gender Issues in Participatory Development* (Intermediate Technology Publications)

Hailley (2001) 'Beyond the formulaic: process and practice in South Asian NGO's' in in Cooke, B and Kothari, U (eds) (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* (London: Zed Books)

Halsall, E.C (2010) *Girls at the Front: An Exploration of the Relationship between Human Rights Education Policy and the Experiences of Girls Taken by the Militia in Northern Uganda's Civil War* PhD thesis, University of Roehampton

Hardman, F and Abd-Kadir, J 'classroom discourse: towards a dialogic pedagogy' in Wyse, D, Andrews, R and Hoffman, J (2010) *The Routledge International Handbook of English, Language and Literacy Teaching* (London: Routledge)

Health, L and Gordon, K (1996) 'Mass media and fear of crime' *American Behavioral Scientist* 39 379-86

Heise, L; Ellsberg, M and Gottmoeller, M (2002) 'A global overview of gender-based violence' *International Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics* 78(1) pSS-S14

Heise, L (2011) *What works to prevent partner violence? An evidence overview* (London: Strive, LSHTM)

Heward, C (1999) 'Introduction: the new discourses of gender, education and development' in Heward, C and Sheila, B *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment* (London: Zed Books)

Hey, V (1997) *The Company She Keeps: An Ethnography of Girls Friendships* (Buckingham: Open University Press)

Hilton, N.Z; Harris, G.T; Rice, M.E; Krans, T.S and Lavigne, S (1998) 'Anti-violence education in high schools: implementation and evaluation' *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 13 p726-72

Ho, A and Pavlish, C (2011) 'Indivisibility of empowerment and accountability in tackling gender-based violence: lessons from a refugee camp in Rwanda' *Journal of Refugee Studies* p88-109

Holford, N (2012) *Making classed sexualities: investigating gender, power and violence in middle-class teenagers' relationship cultures*, PhD thesis, University of Cardiff

Holloway, S and Valentine, G (2000) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning* (London: Routledge)

House of Lords, House of Commons Joint Committee on Human Rights (2015) *Violence Against Women and Girls* Sixth Report of Session 2014-15

Horizons (2007) *Beacon of Hope: Evaluation of the Kenya Girl Guides Associations HIV/AIDS Programme for School Children* (Washington: USAID)

Hume, M (2009) 'Researching the gendered silence of violence in El Salvador' *IDS Bulletin* 40(3) p78-85

Hunter, M (2002) 'The materiality of everyday sex: thinking beyond 'prostitution' *African Studies* 61(1) p99-120

ICAI (2012) *Girl Hub: A DFIF and Nike Foundation Initiative* (ICAI)

Ingham, R (2005) ''We didn't cover that at school': education *against* pleasure or education *for* pleasure' *Sex Education* 5(4) p375-388

Jackson, P.W (1968) *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press)

Jackson, C (1996) 'Rescuing gender from the poverty trap' *World Development* 24(3) p489-504

Jackson, S and Weatherall, A (2010) 'The (im)possibilities of feminist school based sexuality education' *Feminism and Psychology* 20(2) p166-185

Jafe, P.G; Sudermann, M; Rietzal, D and Killip, S.M (1992) 'An evaluation of a secondary school primary prevention programme on violence in intimate relationships' *Violence and Victims* p129-146

James, A and Prout, A (1990) *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (London: Routledge)

Jansen J & Christie P (eds) (1999) *Changing curriculum: studies on outcomes-based education in South Africa* (Cape Town: Juta)

Jefferey, P and Jefferey, R (1999) 'Silver bullet or passing fancy? Girls schooling and population policy' in Jackson, C and Pearson, R (Eds) *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy* (Abingdon: Psychology Routledge)

Jewkes, R; Watts, C; Abrahams, N; Penn-Kekana, L; Garcia-Moreno, C (2000) 'Ethical and methodological issues in conducting research on gender-based violence in Southern Africa' *Reproductive Health Matters* 8(15) p93-103

Jewkes, R; Vundule, C; Maforah, F and Jordaan, E (2001) 'Relationship dynamics and adolescent pregnancy in South Africa' *Social Science and Medicine* 52(5) p733-744

Jewkes, R; Nduna, M; Levin, J; Jama, N; Dunkle, K; Wood, K; Koss, M; Puren, A; Duvury, N (2007) *Evaluation of Stepping Stones: A Gender Transformative HIV prevention Intervention* (Pretoria: MRC)

Jewkes, R; Nduna, N; Levin, J; Njama, N; Dunkle, K; Puren, A; Duvvury, N (2008) *British Medical Journal* 337(506)

Jewkes, R and Morrell, R (2012) 'Sexuality and the limits to agency among South African teenage women: theorising femininities and their connection to HIV risk practices' 74(11) p1729-1737

John, W. S. and Johnson, P. (2000), The Pros and Cons of Data Analysis Software for Qualitative Research. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 32: 393–397

Kabeer, N (1999) *The Conditions and the Consequences of Choice: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment* UNRISD Discussion Paper No 108

Kearney, M (2008) 'Coalescing: the development of girls' studies' *NWSA Journal* 21(1) p1-28

Kehily, M.J (2002) *Sexuality, Gender and Schooling: Shifting Agendas in Social Learning* (London: RoutledgeFalmer)

Kenya Open Data https://opendata.go.ke/Poverty/Poverty-Rate-by-District/i5bp-z9aq

Kenyway, J; Willis, S; Blakmore, J and Rennie, L (1998) *Answering Back: Girls, Boys and Feminism in Schools* (London: Routledge)

Kesby, M; Maposhere, C; Moyo, I; Tavengwa, I; Mhlanga, T (2002) *A review and evaluation of the stepping stones participatory HIV education project run by local NGO Tsungirirai in Mhondoro North, Zimbabwe March-July 2000* Unpublished Research Report, University of St Andrews

Kesby, M (2005) 'Retheorising empowerment through participation as a performance in space: beyond tyranny to transformation' *Signs* 30(4) p2037-2065

Kesby, M (2007) 'Spatialising participatory approaches: the contribution of geography to a mature debate' *Environment and Planning* 39 p2813-2831

KGGA (2014) 'Our Projects' http://www.kgga.co.ke/ourprojects.php accessed on 6th October, 2014

Kim, J and Motsei, M (2002) ''Women enjoy punishment': attitudes and experiences of gender-based violence among PHC nurses in rural South Africa' *Social Science and Medicine* 54 p1234-1254

Kim, J; Watts, C; Hargreaves, J; Ndhlovu, L; Phetla, G; Morrison, L; Busza, J; Porter, J and Pronyk, P (2007) 'Understanding the impact of a micro-finance based intervention on women's empowerment and the reduction of intimate partner violence in South Africa' *American Journal of Public Health* 97(10) p1794-1802

Kimutai, V (2013) 'Nepotism 'flowing freely' at Kenya pipeline company' *Standard Digital* July 26th, 2013 http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000089311 accessed 6th October, 2014

Kishor, S and Johnson, K (2004) *Profiling Domestic Violence: A Multi-Country Study* (ORC Macro Calverton: Maryland)

Kiragu S. and McLaughlin C. (2011). Unveiling their worlds: The use of dialogue as a health promotion tool for HIV/AIDS education in a poor community in Kenya. *Sex Education* 11(4). pp 419-430.

Kiragu, S (forthcoming) Inter-positionality. Reflections of working with five multi-national female researchers in a qualitative research in Kenya *Qualitative Inquiry*

Kitchin, R and Hubbard, P (1999) 'Research, action and critical geographies' *Area* 31(3) p195-198

KNCHR (2012) *Realising Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights in Kenya: A Myth or Reality?* (Nairobi: NHHCR)

Koeler, D (2007) 'The effectiveness of voluntary environmental programmes: a policy at a crossroads' *Policy Studies Journal* 35(4) p689-722

Kohn, M (2000) 'Language, power and persuasion: towards a critique of deliberative democracy' *Constellations* 7(3) p408-429

Kothari, U (2001) 'Power, knowledge and social control in participatory development' in Cooke, B and Kothari, U (eds) (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* (London: Zed Books)

Krajewski, S; Rybarik, M; Dosch, M and Gilmore, G (1996) 'Results of a curriculum intervention with seventh graders regarding violence in relationships' *Journal of Family Violence* 11(2) p93-112

Kweyu, D (2010) 'Why Kenyan Girl Guides are saying 'NO' to sex' *Daily Nation* Tuesday 8th June 2010

Lalor, K (2004) 'Child sexual abuse in Kenya and Tanzania' *Child Abuse and Neglect* 28(8) p833-844

Laws of Kenya (2009) *The Sexual Offences Act* Revised edition 2009 (National Council for Law Reporting)

Leach, F (2006) 'Researching gender violence in schools: ethical and methodological considerations' *World Development* 34(6) p 1129-1147

Leach, F; Makhakanja, P and Mandoga, J (2000) *Preliminary Investigation of the Abuse of Girls in Zimbabwean Secondary Schools* DFID Research Paper No 39

Lees, S (1993) *Sugar and Spice: Sexuality and Adolescent Girls* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books)

Lindenberg, M and Dobel, P (1999) 'The challenges of globalisation for northern international relief and development NGOs' *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28(4) p4-24

Longwe, S (1997) 'The evaporation of gender policies in the patriarchal cooking pot' *Development in Practice* 7(2) p148-156

Longwe, S (1999) 'Education for women's empowerment or schooling for women's subordination' Gender, Education and Training (Oxfam: Oxford)

Luke, N and Kurz, K (2002) *Cross-generational and Transactional Sexual Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa: Prevalence of Behaviour and Implications for*

Negotiating Safer Sexual Practices (International Centre for Research on Women: Washington)

Mac Phail, A (2011) *Trading sugar: teenage girls, older men, sexual choice and gender inequality in the slums of Kibera, Kenya* Masters Thesis, University of Cape Town

Macdonald, M, Sprenger, E and Dubel, I (1997) *Gender and Organisational Change: Bridging the Gap between Policy and Practice*

Machel, J.Z (2001) 'Unsafe sexual behaviour among schoolgirls in Mozambique: a matter of gender and class' *Reproductive Health Matters* 9(17) p82-90

Manicom, L and Walters, S (2012) 'Introduction: feminist popular education: pedagogies, possibilities and ploitics' in Manicom, L and Walters, S (Eds) *Feminist Popular Education in Transnational Debates* (New York: Palgrave MacMillian)

Maticka-Tyndale, E; Gallant, M; Brouillard-Coyle, C; Holland, D; Metcalfe, K; Wildish, J and Gichuru, M (2006) 'The sexual scripts of Kenyan young people and HIV prevention' *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 7(1) p27-41

Macaulay, F 'Taking the Law into their own Hands: Women, Legal Reform and Legal Literacy in Brazil' p79-101 in Crase, C and Molyneux, M (Eds) (2002) Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America (Palgrave) Madriz, E (1997) *Nothing Bad Happens to Good Girls: Fear of Crime in Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press)

Marcus, S 'fighting bodies, flighting words: theory and politics of rape prevention' in Mui, C and Murphy, J (Eds) (2002) *Gender Struggles: Practical Approaches to Contemporary Feminism* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc)

Marston, C (2005) 'What is heterosexual coercion? Interpreting narratives from young people in Mexico City' *Sociology of Health and Illness* 27(1) p68-91

Maxwell, C and Aggleton, P (2010) 'Agency in action – young women and their sexual relationships in a private school' *Gender and Education* 22 p327-343

McBride, R (1989) The Inservice Training of Teachers (Lewes: Falmer Press)

McCarry, M (2010) 'Becoming a 'proper man': young peoples' attitudes about interpersonal violence and perceptions of gender' *Gender and Education* 2291) 17-30

McLaughlin, C Swartz, S Kiragu, S Walli, S and Mohamed, M (2012) *Old Enough to Know: Consulting Children about Sex and AIDS Education in Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press)

McLeod, A (2007) 'Whose agenda? Issues of power and relationship when listening to looked-after young people. *Child and family social work*, 12, p278-286.

McRobbie, A (1990) *Feminism and Youth Culture* (New York: Routledge)

McRobbie, A (2009) *The Aftermath of Feminism: Gender, Culture and Social Change* (London: Sage Publications)

McWhirter, E.H (1994) *Counseling for Empowerment* (Alexandria, V.A: American Counseling Association Press)

Meintjes, S 'The politics of engagement: women transforming the policy process – the case of domestic violence legislation in South Africa' in Goetz, A.M and Hassim, S (2003) *No Shortcuts to Power: African Women in Politics and Policy Making* (London: Zed Books)

Merry, S (2005) *Human Rights and Gender Violence: Translating International Law into Local Justice*

Mills, M (2000) 'Issues in implementing boys' programme in schools: male teachers and empowerment' *Gender and Education* 12(2) p221-238

Mestry, R and Schmidt, M (2012) 'A feminist postcolonial examination of female principals' in South African secondary school' *Gender and Education* 24(5) p535-551

Michau, L (2005) 'Good practice in designing a community-based intervention to prevent domestic violence' from UN Division for the Advancement of Women Expert Group Meeting *Violence Against Women: Good practices in Combating and Eliminating Violence Against Women* Vienna, 17th-20th May, 2005

Michau, L (2014) 'The SASA Approach: Introductory Training' workshop held in Kampala, April 2014

Mills, S (2013) ''An instruction in good citizenship:' scouting and the historical geographies of citizenship education' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38(1) p120-134

Mills, S (2011) 'Scouting for girls? Gender and the scout movement in Britain' *Gender, Place and Culture* 18(4) p537-556

Mirembe, R and Davies, L (2001) 'Is schooling a risk? Gender, power relations and school culture in Uganda' *Gender and Education* 13(4) p401-416

Monkham, K; Miles, R and Easton, P (2009) 'The transformatory potential of a village empowerment program: the Tostan replication in Mali' *Women's Studies International Forum* 30 p451-464

Mohan (2001) 'Beyond participation: strategies for deeper empowerment' in Cooke, B and Kothari, U (eds) (2001) *Participation: The new tyranny?* (London: Zed Books)

Mohanty, C.T (1986) 'Under western eyes: feminist scholarship and colonial discourse' *Feminist Review* 30(1) p61-88

Mohanty, C.T (2002) ''Under western eyes' revisited: feminist solidarity through anticapitalist struggles' *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 28(2) p499-535

Molyneux, M (2006) 'Mothers at the service of the new poverty agenda: Progresa/Oportunidades, Mexico's conditional case transfer programme' *Social Policy and Administration* 40(4) p225-449

Moore, A Biddlecom, A and Zulu, E (2007) 'Prevalence and meanings of exchange of money or gifts for sex in unmarried adolescent sexual relationships in sub-Saharan Africa' *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 11(3) p44-61

Moreno, C.G; Jansen, H; Ellsberg, M; Heise, L and Watts, C (2006) 'Prevalence of intimate partner violence: findings from the WHO multi-country study on women's health and domestic violence' *The Lancet* 368(9547) p1260-1269

Morley, L (1998) 'All you need is love: feminist pedagogy for empowerment and emotional labour in the academy' *International Journal for Inclusive Education* 2(1)
p15-27

Morrell, R; Molestane, R; Karim, Q.A; Epstein, D and Unterhalter, E (2011) 'The school setting: opportunities for implementing gender equality risk reduction interventions' *Agenda* 17(53) p11-21

Morrell, R; Epstein, D and Moletsane, R (2012) 'Doubts, dilemmas and decisions: towards ethical research on gender and schooling in South Africa' *Qualitative Research* 16(6) p613-629

Morrow, V and Richards, M (1996) 'The ethics of social research with children: an overview' *Children and Society* Vol 10 p90-105

Mosse, D (1994) Authority, gender and knowledge: theoretical reflections on the practice of participatory rural appraisal' *Development and Change* 25(3) p497-526

Murphy-Graham, E (2010) 'And when she comes home? Education and women's empowerment in intimate relationships' *International Journal of Educational Development* 30 320-331

Musanga, C (2014) 'Forget tribalism: clanism and nepotism are Kenya's new cancer' *The Daily Nation* Friday October 3rd, 2014
http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Letters/Forget-tribalism/-/440806/2474716/-/y5hnra/-/index.html accessed on October 6, 2014

Mwangola, M 'leaders of tomorrow? The youth and democratisation in Kenya' in Muranga, G and V.S Nasong'o (eds) (2007) *Kenya the Struggle for Democracy* (zed Books)

Najam, A (1996) 'NGO accountability: a conceptual framework' *Development Policy Review* 14(4) p339-354

Narayan, U (1998) 'Essence of culture and a sense of history: a feminist critique of cultural essentialism' *Hypatia* 13(2) p86-106

Ndungu, N.S (2011) 'The Kenyan experience' paper presented at *Preventing and responding to violence against women and girls: from legislation to effective law enforcement* New Dehli, 15-17th September, 2011

Nnaemeka, O (1997) 'Imag(in)ing, knowledge, power and subversion in the margins' in *The Politics of (M)othering: Women, identity and resistance in African Literature* Ed Nnaemeka, O New York: Routledge

Nayak, A and Kehily, M.J (2006) 'Subversion, regulation and embodiment in the work of Judith Butler

Njue C. and Kiragu S.W. (2006) 'Gender differences in communication regarding sexual matters: burdened girls and neglected boys' In A. Pertet (Ed), *Re-thinking research and intervention approaches that aim at preventing Kenya infection among the youth.* Nairobi, The Regal Press Kenya Ltd, pp 33-42.

NUS (2013) *That's what she said: women students experiences of lad culture in higher education* (NUS)

Oh, S (2012) 'Photofriend: creating visual ethnography with refugee children' *Area* 44(3) p282-288

O'Kane, C (2000) 'The development of participatory techniques: facilitating children's views about decisions which affect them' Christensen, P and James, A (Eds) *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices* (London: Falmer Press)

Omenya, A and Laballe, G (2012) 'Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: the case of Nairobi, Kenya' *Working Paper 6, The Urban Tipping Point Project*

Ono, Y and Ferreira, J (2010) 'A case study of continuing teacher professional development through lesson study in South Africa' *South African Journal of Education* 30(1) p59-74

Owino, C (2013) 'Socio-economic status of youth in Kenya: implications for peaceful elections' p55-68 in Njogu, K (Ed) (2013) *Youth and Peaceful Elections in Kenya* (Limuru: Franciscan Kolbe Press)

Paine, K; Hart, G; Jawo, M; Ceesay, S; Jallow, M; Morison, L; Walraven, G; McAdam, K & Shaw, M (2002): 'Before we were sleeping, now we are awake': Preliminary evaluation of the Stepping Stones sexual health programme in The Gambia, *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 1:1, 39-50

Pain, R (2014) 'Seismologies of emotion: fear and activism during domestic violence' *Social and Cultural Geography* 15(2) p127-150

Pain, R (2011) 'Geographies of impact: power, participation and potential' *Area* 43(2) p183-188

Pain, R (2004) 'Social geography: participatory research' *Progress in Human Geography* 28(5) p652-663

Pain, R and Francis, P (2001) 'Reflections on participatory research' *Area* 35(1) p46-54

Parkes, J (2008) 'The power of talk: the transformative possibilities of researching violence with children in South Africa' 11(4) p293-306

Parkes, J (2009) 'Research on/as violence: reflections on injurious moments in research with friendship groups' *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 23(3) p347-361

Parkes, J and Heslop, J (2013) *Stop Violence Against Girls in School: A Cross Country Analysis of Change in Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique* (ActionAid)

Parkes, J and Chege, F (2010) 'Girls' education and violence: Reflections on the first decade of the twenty-first century' Paper presented at UNGEI E4 Conference, Dakar (Senegal) , May

Pattman, R and Chege, F (2003a) *Finding Our Voices: Gendered and Sexual Identities and HIV/AIDS Education* (New York: UNICEF)

Pattman, R and Chege, F (2003b) ''Dear diary I saw an angel, she looked like heaven on earth': Sex talk and sex education' *African Journal of AIDS Research* 2(2) p103-112

Pattman, R (2006) 'Making pupils the resources and promoting gender equality in HIV/AIDS education' *Journal of Education* 38 p89-114

Plan (2007) *Because I am a Girl: The State of the Worlds Girls 2007* (London: Plan)

Pronyk, P; Hargreaves, J; Kim, J; Morison, L; Phetla, G; Watts, C; Busza, J; Porter, J (2006) 'Effects of a structural intervention for the prevention of intimate partner violence and HIV in South Africa' *The Lancet* 368 p1973-83

Pronyk, P; Kim, J; Abramsky, T; Phetla, G; Hargreaves, J; Morison, L; Watts, C; Busza, J and Porter, J (2008) 'A combined micro-finance and training intervention can reduce HIV risk behavior in young female participants' *AIDS* 22(13) p1659-1665

Provust, C (2014) 'Watchdog raises questions over impact of Nike's Girl Hub' *The Guardian* http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2012/mar/23/girl-hub-strength-weaknesses accessed on 3rd December 3, 2014

Quattara, M and Sen, P and Thomson, M (1998) 'Forced marriage, forced sex: the perils of childhood for girls' *Gender and Education* 6(3) p27-33

Rani, M; Bnu, S and Diop-Sidibe, N (2004) 'An empirical investigation of attitudes towards wife-beating amongst men and women in seven sub-Saharan African countries' *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 8(3) p116-136

Rajan, S (2003) *The Scandal of the State: Women, Law and Citizenship in Postcolonial India* (Durham and London: Duke University press)

Read, B (2011) 'Britney, Beyonce and me – primary school girls' role models and constructions of the 'popular' girl' *Gender and Education* 23(1) p1-13

Reddy, S and Dunne, M (2007) 'Risking it: young heterosexual femininities in South African context of HIV/AIDS' *Sexualities* 10(2) p159-170

Renold, E (2005) *Girls, Boys and Junior Sexualities* (London: Routledge: Falmer)

Ricardo, C., Nascimento, M., Fonseca, V., & Segundo, M. (2010). Program H and Program M: Engaging young men and empowering young women to promote gender equality and health. *PAHO/Best Practices in Gender and Health*.

Ricoeur, P (1983) *Time and Narrative* (Vol.1) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Ringrose, J. (2008) ''Just be friends': Exposing the limits of educational bully discourses for understanding teen girls' heterosexualised friendships and conflicts' *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 29(5): 509-52

Robinson-Pant, A (2000) *Why Eat Green Cucumbers at the Time of Dying? Women's Literacy and Development in Nepal* (Hamberg: UNESCO)

Rowlands, J (1994) *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras* (Oxford: Oxfam)

Save the Children (2004) *So you want to involve children in research? A toolkit supporting children's meaningful and ethical participation in research relating to violence against children?* (Stockholm: Save the Children)

Schuler, S.R and Islam, F (2008) 'Women's acceptance of intimate partner violence in marriage in rural Bangladesh' *Studies in Family Planning* 39(1) p49-58

Shiundu, A (2014) 'Domestic violence Bill ignites battle of the sexes in House' *Standard Digital* http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000132100/domestic-violence-bill-ignites-battle-of-the-sexes-in-house Accessed on 20th October, 2014

Singh, S and Samara, R (1996) 'Early marriage among women in developing countries' *International Family Planning Perspectives* 22(4) p148-157

Spencer, L; Ritchie, J and O'Connor, W 'Analysis: practices, principles and processes' Chapter Eight, p199-218 in Ritchie, J and Lewis, J (2003) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (London: Sage)

Spivak, G (2000) 'Can the Subaltern speak? In Brydon, D (Ed) *Postcolonialism: Critical Concepts* p1427-1477 (London: Routledge)

Smithson, J (2000) 'Using and analysing focus groups: limitations and possibilities' *Social Research Methodology* 3(2) p103-119

Sundaram, V (2013) 'Violence as understandable, deserved or unacceptable? Listening for gender in teenagers' talk about violence' *Gender and Education* (25(7) p889-906

Stackpool-Moore, L and Boler, T ''Let's be loud! Let's hear your voice!' Exploring trainee teachers' use of theatre to challenge power relations' in Leach, F and Mitchell, C (2006) *Combating Gender Violence in and Around Schools* (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books)

Swart, E (2008) *Strategies for coping with gender-based violence: A study of young women in Kibera, Kenya* PhD thesis, University of Central Florida

Swart, E (2009) 'Words are a place to stand: journals by young women in Kibera, Kenya' *Women's Studies* 24(1) p19-30

Swart, E (2012) 'Gender based violence in a Kenyan slum: creating local, women centred interventions' *Journal of Social Service Research* 38(4) p427-438

Tandon, R (2011) 'The historical roots and contemporary urges in participatory research' in Cornwall, A (Ed) (2000) *The Participation Reader* (London: Zed Books)

Tembon, M and Fort, L (2008) *Girls' Education in the Twenty-first Century: Gender-equality, empowerment and economic growth* (Washington: World Bank)

Thiem, C (2009) 'Thinking through education: the geographies of contemporary educational restructuring' *Progress in Human Geography* 33(2) 154-173

Thin, N (2009) *School children's well-being and life prospects: justifying the universal tax on childhood* WeD Working Paper 09/46

Tolman, D (2002) *Dilemmas of Desire: Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)

Tolman, D (2005) *Dilemmas of Desire: Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press)

Topping, A (2013) 'Girl Guides promise to serve Queen, but no longer God and country' *The Guardian* 8th June, 2013 http://www.theguardian.com/society/2013/jun/18/girl-guides-queen-god-country-promise accessed 12th January 2014

Townsend, J.G and Townsend, A.R (2006) 'Accountability, motivation and practice: NGOs, north and south' *Social and Cultural Geography* 5(2) p271-284

Turner, S (2010) 'Research note: the silenced assistant. Reflections of invisible interpreters and research assistants' *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 51(2) p206-219

The Citizen (2013) 'It's a tricky affair doing business on Lake Victoria' http://www.thecitizen.co.tz/News/It-s-a-tricky-affair-doing-business-on-Lake-Victoria/-/1840392/1982114/-/1ofp2v/-/index.html accessed 29/05/2014

UNAIDS (2011) *World AIDS Day Report* (UNAIDS)

UNDP (1995) *Human Development Report* (UNDP)

UNESCO (1997) *International Standard Classification of Education* (Paris: UNESCO)

UNFPA (1990) *State of the World Population* (UNFPA)

UNHCR (2003) *Sexual and Gender-based Violence against Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons* (UNHCR)

UNICEF (2009) *A Study on Violence Against Girls: Report on the International Girl Child Conference 9-10 March 2009 The Hague, the Netherlands* (The Hague: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre and the Government of the Netherlands)

UNICEF (2008) *From Invisible to Indivisible: Promoting and Protecting the Right of the Girl Child to be Free from Violence* (UNICEF)

UNICEF (1999) *The State of the World's Children* (UNICEF)

UNWOMEN (2012) *Ending Violence Against Women and Girls: Programming Essentials* (2012)

Usdin, S; Sheepers, E; Goldstein, S and Japhet, G (2005) 'Achieving social change on gender-based violence: a report on the impact evaluation of Soul Cities forth series' *Social Science and Medicine* 61(11) p2435-2445

Uthman, O.A, Lawoko, S and Moradi, T (2009) 'Factors associated with attitudes towards intimate partner violence against women: a comparative analysis of 17 sub-Saharan African countries' *International Health and Human Rights*

Valentine, G (1989) 'The geography of women's fear' *Area* 21(4) p385-390

Valentine, G. (2001) At the drawing board: developing a research design. In M. Limb and C. Dwyer (Eds.), *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*. London: Arnold, 41-54.

Vardakoulias, O (2013) *New Economics For: Value for Money in International Development* (Nef Consulting: London)

Veeck, G. (2001) Talk is cheap: cultural and linguistic fluency during field research. *Geographical Review,* 91(1/2), 34-40

Vyas, S and Watts, C (2008) 'How does economic empowerment effect women's risk of intimate partner violence in low and middle income settings? A Systematic review of published evidence' *Journal of International Development*

VeneKlasen, L and Miller, V (2002) *A New Weave of Power, people and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation* (Oklahoma City: World Neighbours)

WAGGGS (2008) *The Constitution: 12th Edition* (WAGGGS)

WAGGGS (2012) *Voices Against Violence: Handbook for Group Leaders* (WAGGGS)

WAGGGS (2014) *Mission and Vision*
http://www.wagggs.org/en/about/About/mission accessed on 18/09/2014

Waite, L and Conn, C (2011) 'Creating a space for young women's voices: using 'participatory video drama' in Uganda' *Gender, Place and Culture* 18(1) p115-135

Walkerdine, V (1991) *Schoolgirl Fictions* (London: Verso)

Walkerdine, V; Lucey, H and Melody, J (2002) *Growing up Girl: Psychosocial Explorations of Gender and Class* (London: Palgrave)

Watts, C, Devries, K, Kiss, L Abramsky, T, Kyegombe, Nand Michau, L, 2014. *The SASA! Study: a cluster randomised trial to assess the impact of a violence and HIV prevention program in Kampala, 3ie Grantee Final Report.* New Delhi: International Initiative for Impact Evaluation (3ie)

Welbourn A (1995) Stepping Stones: A training package in HIV/AIDS, communication and relationship skills. London. Strategies for Hope

Weiler, K (1995) 'Freire and a feminist pedagogy of difference' in Holland, J; Blair, M and Sheldon, S (Eds) *Debates and Issues in Feminist Research and Pedagogy* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd)

Wheeler (2009) ''The life that we don't want': using participatory video in researching violence' *IDS Bulletin* 40(3) p10-18

White, S (1996) 'Depoliticising development: the uses and abuses of participation' *Development in Practice* 6(1) p6-15

WHO (1993) *Adolescent Sexual Behaviour and Reproductive Health: From Research to Action. The Narrative Research Method* (Dakar: WHO)

WHO (2010) *Addressing violence against women and HIV/AIDS: What works?* (Geneva: WHO)

WHO (2012) *Voluntary Male Medical Circumcision: Fact Sheet* http://www.who.int/hiv/topics/malecircumcision/fact_sheet/en/ accessed 6th October, 2014

Widdowfield, R (2000) 'The place of emotions in academic research' *Area* 32(2) p199-208

Wood, K and Jewkes, R (1997) 'Violence, rape and sexual coercion: everyday love in a South African township' *Gender are Development* 5(2) p41-46

Wood, K; Lambert, H and Jewkes, R (2007) ''Showing roughness in a beautiful way': talk about love, coercion, and rape in South African youth sexual culture' *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 21(3) p277-300

Wright, D, Plummer, M, Mshana, G,, Wamoyi, J Shigongo, Z and Ross, D (2006) 'contradictory sexual norms and expectations for young people in Northern Tanzania' *Social Science and Medicine* 62(4) p987-999

Yilo, K and Biograd, M (1988) *Feminist Perspectives on Wife Abuse* (Newbury Park: Sage)

YWCA (2014) *YWCA Safe Spaces for Girls and Women: A Global Model for Change* (YWCA)

Zechenter, E.M (1997) 'In the name of culture: cultural relativism and the abuse of the individual' *Journal of Anthropological Research* 53(3) p319-347

Zizek, S (2014) 'Rotherham child sex abuse: it is our duty to ask difficult questions' *the Guardian* http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/01/rotherham-child-sex-abuse-difficult-questions accessed 18th September, 2014