

**Doing and undoing gender violence in schools:
An examination of gender violence in two primary schools in Uganda and
approaches for sustainable prevention**

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A thesis submitted to the UCL Institute of Education for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2020

Author's declaration

I, Ellen Turner, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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The PhD was funded by a Bloomsbury studentship.

Word count: 99, 534

Signed:

Date: 31st August 2020

Abstract

Recent decades have seen huge expansion of research and policy frameworks into preventing violence against children, yet have also shown the persistence and intractability of this violence. While offering potential to challenge violence and inequality, schools are also spaces in which children experience significant acts of physical, emotional and sexual violence, wherein structural inequalities are learned and reinforced, and in which children construct and negotiate their gendered identities in relation to violence. School-based interventions have sought to prevent violence, however little is known about their long-term influence and sustainability.

This thesis examines gender violence in two primary schools in Luwero District, Uganda, and the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit intervention to prevent violence. It offers these findings to the broader field of sustainable approaches to violence prevention in schools. It draws on a qualitative study using ethnographic methods conducted in 2017, involving participant observation, individual interviews with pupils and teachers, participatory group discussions and a writing club with pupils.

Underpinned by the view that a meaningful understanding of a school intervention to prevent violence against children is one rooted in a deep analysis of this violence, this study examines peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence in two schools. It argues that these forms of violence are gendered, closely embedded within schools' institutional structures, and highly interrelated. Drawing on the theoretical lenses of Michel Foucault, Judith Butler, Deborah Youdell and Raewyn Connell, this thesis offers a framework for understanding both how gender violence in schools is 'done', what it means for school femininities and masculinities, and how it may also be 'undone'. This framework posits that there are multiple bodily-institutional regimes within schools and within which gender violence is deeply embedded. Interventions may have a sustainable influence on preventing violence by addressing these multiple regimes.

Impact statement

At an immediate level, the impact of this thesis begins with the findings leading to the Ugandan NGOs Raising Voices and Child Health International designing and taking child protection action in the two schools of this research, immediately following the end of fieldwork in 2017. During data collection February–August 2017, emergent findings were shared in-person with Raising Voices staff on a monthly basis, to seek their input for interpretation and to share findings for immediate impact on the functioning of the Good School Toolkit intervention. While undertaking data analysis in 2018, I participated in a workshop held in Addis Ababa entitled ‘Children and youth facing violence in Africa’, and shared early research findings with an international audience of practitioners, policy makers and academics in the field of violence prevention. Towards the end of data analysis in 2019 and to feed into a refinement of the Good School Toolkit intervention, I shared the key insights of this study into the long-term influence of this intervention with Raising Voices staff in a virtual presentation. Making the findings of this research available, accessible and useful to both Raising Voices in their refinement and implementation of the Good School Toolkit, and for broader colleagues in the field of violence prevention interventions in schools, is a priority and guiding focus for this study. I therefore aim to also share research findings in person with the two schools of the research and with Raising Voices through a further dissemination visit to Uganda.

For an academic audience, this research has potential for impact within the areas of understanding gender and gender violence against children in schools, and school interventions to prevent violence, in both public health and sociological fields and the ways in which these fields overlap and speak to each other. This thesis has been enriched by complementary insights and linkages across these fields, and I aim to draw on these linkages in the impact sought through sharing the findings. This will involve contributions to the Good Schools Study academic literature, and the broader field of violence prevention interventions research, in generating knowledge into the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit intervention, and an article for a public health journal on child protection and research ethics. It will also involve seeking to publish empirical insights gained through the study into gender violence and its prevention in schools, researcher positionality and ethics, and theorisations of gender violence in schools, for journals in the field of educational sociology.

Acknowledgements

My huge and heartfelt thanks go firstly to my supervisors Jenny Parkes and Karen Devries. Thank you for initiating this important study, for supporting me throughout working on it and encouraging me to take it in new directions. I am deeply grateful to you for your guidance and challenge throughout. Your insights have made this thesis richer at every stage. Thank you also for your encouragement beyond the PhD and for being a source of inspiration and role models to me in this field.

Thank you to the staff at Raising Voices, in particular to Dipak Naker, Sophie Namy, Janet Nakuti, Angel Faridah, Clinton Okecha, and the Good School team. My thanks go to you for welcoming me so wholeheartedly at Raising Voices, for your dedication and passion to work in this field, and for your openness and commitment to taking on board the findings of the study. Last but certainly not least, thank you for your support in every aspect of fieldwork. Thank you to Shakira Nagasha for your partnership and insights. My gratitude also goes to Louise Knight at LSHTM, to Sophie and Dipak, and to Francis at CAI for your guidance, support and efforts in the challenging child protection aspects of the work. Thank you to Charley Nussey for your friendship and endless encouragement during the thesis, to the fellow students at EIDDN for sharing some of the way together, and to Katy, Alice and Lizzie for your friendship during fieldwork.

A huge and special thanks is reserved for the pupils and staff at the schools I call Kiragala and Myufu Schools. Thank you for sharing your schools and worlds with me.

Finally, thank you to Michèle Spencer, Mark Turner, Daniel Turner, Jessica Turner, Mary Spencer, Sue Dipple and Deborah Chamberlain for supporting me in so many different ways throughout the PhD. Thank you to Jessica for sharing it with me. Thank you to Camilla Stack, to Frances Edwards, Jude Finney, Milly Pease-Watkin, Rachel Stokes, Rosie Fox, Zoe Winterbotham and to Robyn. Thank you to Cranbrook for putting up with me at the end. This thesis would not have been finished without you all.

For S.R. and N.E.

who did not have the chance to participate in this research,
but whose stories are at the heart of it.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Schools are places of safety, friendship and care; opportunity, encouragement and challenge. They are also places of violence, inequality and fear. As anyone who has been through formal schooling understands, they may also be all of these things at once, and to varying degrees. This thesis examines gender violence in two primary schools in Uganda, and its prevention, with an attentiveness to this complexity. In this introductory chapter I first situate the focus of this study within the field of understanding and preventing gender violence in schools. Secondly I reflect on the motivation for and approach to this research, then introduce the context of Luwero District, Uganda, the geographical location of the study. I then outline the focus of this thesis on acts of violence within a multi-dimensional framing, and finally, the research aims and overview to the thesis.

Situating the study

Violence against children, in its multiple forms, is a concern around the world, with an estimated one billion children experiencing physical, emotional or physical violence each year (Hillis *et al.*, 2016), also widespread in Uganda (Ugandan Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development, 2018). Much of this violence takes place in schools, with student peers being among the most significant perpetrators of violence, and evidence, though lacking globally, suggesting widespread violence from schoolteachers too (Devries *et al.*, 2018). The last two decades have seen great gains in developing policy frameworks for violence prevention, however enactment of these policies has been patchy and largely ineffective in preventing violence against children in schools (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes, 2016; Parkes, Ross and Heslop, 2020).

Responding to the limitations of these policy approaches, and to address forms of violence not easily captured in policy, such as peer and sexual violence, recent years have seen the emergence of school interventions to prevent violence. Reviews into such interventions highlight how corporal punishment and non-sexualised peer violence have tended to be viewed, and addressed, as non-gendered forms of violence, while sexual violence against girls is viewed in gendered terms (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b). These reviews also draw attention to a gap in research that explores the long-term influence and sustainability of such interventions. Further, Parkes *et al.* also highlight the lack of insights into interventions gained through qualitative approaches, underpinned by sociological theory to capture the multi-dimensional nature of violence and the complexity of social change. Sociological literature reveals schools to be spaces in which gender and violence intersect and reinforce, contributing to forms of constraint, exclusion and inequality, and also in which these

underpinning forms of inequality further shape experiences of gender violence. This has significance for the ways in which learners construct gendered identities and ways of being in schools. Studies have explored these themes in sub-Saharan African (Bhana, 2005; Bhana, 2018; Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008b; Leach, 2003; Parkes and Heslop, 2011) and Ugandan school settings (Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Muhanguzi, 2011). This thesis speaks to both these bodies of literature, focussing on both the prevention of violence in schools, and contributing insights into the different forms this gender violence takes, and how they relate to one another.

Corporal punishment in schools has been a particular focus of policy attempts to prevent violence, with widespread abolition that has, however, in many settings been largely ineffective to prevent it (Gershoff, 2017). In Uganda where corporal punishment in schools has been banned since 1998 and illegal since 2016, its use was found to be almost universal in Luwero District, the setting for this study (Devries *et al.*, 2014a; Merrill *et al.*, 2017). Long-held beliefs and norms support corporal punishment among both teachers and pupils in settings where it is widespread (Hendriks *et al.*, 2020; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013), suggesting the need for more research into how prevention approaches can address these underpinning beliefs and norms. Physical punishment is a key way in which age and institutional hierarchies are enforced in schools, with learners constituted as subordinate to teachers (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016; Morrow and Singh, 2015; Vanner, 2018), and while not traditionally viewed as gender violence, corporal punishment has been found to be gendered in the way it is used and what it means for pupils' and teachers' identities in schools (Humphreys, 2008a; Morrell, 2001a). More now needs to be known about what shapes children's experiences of this violence, its gendered and institutional significance and what its use may also mean for other forms of violence in schools.

Evidence from across disciplinary and methodological approaches also suggests that sexual violence by teachers may be widespread in schools in sub-Saharan Africa (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006; Jewkes *et al.*, 2002; Leach and Machakanja, 2000). However attempts to capture and understand this form of violence face challenges of definition, taboos and silences (Leach, 2015), and multiple forms of constraint that also underpin and thwart its disclosure, prevention and response (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Bhana, 2015b; de Lange, Mitchell and Bhana, 2012; Mirembe and Davies, 2001). Sexual violence against girls has, however, loomed large in international development discourse and practice, and led to critiques of how 'gender violence' has been largely understood to mean sexual violence against girls, and of the overemphasis on girls' vulnerability and victimhood (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Leach and Humphreys, 2007). There is, therefore, a need to contribute to the growing evidence base on the complexities of girls' experiences of and positionings around sexual violence (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012; Parkes *et al.*, 2016a; Reddy and Dunne, 2007), particularly among younger girls and in schools, examining the institutional significance of the

teacher as perpetrator of sexual violence (Dunne, 2007; Heslop *et al.*, 2015; Leach, 2003); to understandings of boys' experiences of, and around sexual violence (Sumner *et al.*, 2016); and to the task of seeking out methodological approaches that meaningfully capture this form of violence (Barr *et al.*, 2017; Leach, 2015).

Evidence suggests peer violence is also experienced widely by children in schools globally (Devries *et al.*, 2018) and in Uganda (Wandera *et al.*, 2017), however little is known about this form of violence in sub-Saharan African settings (Menesini and Salmivalli, 2017). Studies have found peer violence in its physical, emotional and sexual forms to be shaped by structural inequalities of poverty and gender inequality (Pells *et al.*, 2018; Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016), and that it may be a key way in which children formulate and negotiate their gendered identities in schools (Bhana, 2005; Mayeza and Bhana, 2020). However less attention has been paid to girls' than boys' identities around peer violence in relation to these forms of constraint (Bhana, 2008; Dunne and Leach, 2005), and to the ways in which meaning made around peer violence may play a role in schools' institutional gender regimes (Dunne, 2007; Mirembe and Davies, 2001).

This thesis explores these areas. Firstly it examines gender violence in two schools in the forms of peer violence, corporal punishment and other violence used as discipline, and teacher sexual violence, to unpack each form of violence, how they may be gendered and function within schools, and their implications for each other within the institutional setting of the school. The thesis then employs these insights as the foundation for an assessment of the long-term influence of a school-based intervention to prevention violence in Uganda, arguing that a meaningful understanding of its long-term influence is one rooted in this close analysis of violence in these two schools. So doing, it aims to contribute to both literature into violence prevention intervention approaches, and to sociological literature critically exploring gender violence in schools, arguing that the most meaningful examination may be one that explores both these areas and that the insights gained into one may serve to strengthen the other.

The research presented here builds on the Good Schools Study [GSS], conducted at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine [LSHTM], which rigorously evaluated the Good School Toolkit [GST] intervention in Uganda. It employs a semi-ethnographic methodological approach using a range of methods, and a reflexive approach (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Pillow, 2003; Powell, 2016), to examine the influence of this intervention on gender violence in two primary schools in Luwero District, Uganda, two and a half years after the end of its implementation. I refer to these schools as Myufu and Kiragala Schools.

Towards a study into gender violence and its prevention in Ugandan schools

As with any sociological research into schooling, this study begins, for me personally, with my own experiences of education: as school pupil, university student, volunteer teacher in settings of international development, and secondary school teacher in the UK. The complex, embodied memories of witnessing social exclusion based on class, race and poverty, and both witnessing or experiencing sexualised and gendered bullying and exclusion before I knew how to make sense of these experiences, at both school and undergraduate level formed the basis of my reflections on education, and reverberate through the research presented here. Through experiences of volunteer teaching in a girls' orphanage in India and in Palestinian refugee camps in the West Bank, I found myself located in uncomfortable and contradictory positionings that I continue to reflect on and contribute much to the 'uncomfortable' reflexive methodological approach (Pillow, 2003). The personal, professional and political challenges I experienced through teaching in a large comprehensive secondary school in Liverpool lie at the heart of many of the questions I ask here, and formed the eventual catalyst for studying education, violence and social and gendered inequalities at Masters' level. This study in turn gave me space to reflect on, name, re-examine, and relearn lessons I had learned throughout my experiences in education.

Our educational experiences are powerful ones: experiences in primary and secondary school coincide with, and in part constitute, our childhoods and adolescence, our growing understanding of ourselves as individuals, of the broader social and institutional networks of which we are a part, and of our positioning within them. In a nebulous way, therefore, the motivation for this research came from a frustration that schools appeared to be sites of so much potential for social and political change and mobilisation, and for personal support for vulnerable young people, and yet achieve this only in sporadic, erratic ways, interspersed with exclusions, reentrenchments of inequalities and failures to effectively support, or at worst, enact violence on learners and teachers. The tension between challenging this through pedagogic action, engaging in a politicisation of the 'everyday' as a teacher that Deborah Youdell describes (2011), or seeking ways of researching and conceptualising meaningful action through research is still one I continue to reflect on. Finding ways of making theory and research relevant, and accessible, for educational practice therefore runs as a key priority through this study.

At a more immediate level, the motivation for the study was shaped by a studentship, formulated by Jenny Parkes and Karen Devries entitled 'Sustainable Approaches to Violence Prevention in Schools: An analysis of the long-term influence of a programme in Uganda', through which this thesis has been made possible. This studentship was designed to examine the sustainability of the GST intervention, entailing a focus on classroom processes, school cultures and structures, girls' and boys'

participation in school life, relationships in families and communities, and policy enactment around gender violence. This began as my initial focus in this thesis and has continued to shape it throughout. Through the course of academic reading, in which arguments for the gendered nature of all forms of violence in schools are persuasive, and identifying the gaps pertaining to gender in school-based intervention approaches (also highlighted in Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b), and emergent findings as fieldwork began and progressed, my focus shifted towards an in-depth examination of the different forms of gender violence in schools and rooting my assessment of the GST intervention in these findings.

During the course of fieldwork, violence emerged in unexpected and striking ways, and these ways frequently spoke across forms to such an extent that necessitated an analysis of their interrelationships. This has shaped the organisation of the analysis into peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence, with conclusions that are drawn across these forms into gender violence as a whole. The surfacing of teacher sexual violence in both schools of the research, almost at the very point of finalisation of fieldwork, necessitated an urgent consideration and reshaping, or further development, of my analysis until that point, both in relation to other forms of violence and to the GST intervention. In its emergence it functioned as simultaneously a rupture to, and yet emerged as the analytic heart of, the findings. It is with analytical retrospect that I position teacher sexual violence as a central ‘underpinning’ to all other forms of gender violence in schools. This has, to some extent, diverted the focus from the initial aims of the studentship, yet I argue in this thesis for this focus on violence being the essential starting point for a long-term analysis of the GST intervention to prevent violence in schools.

The context of Luwero District, Uganda

Uganda is a country that has made huge strides in improving its economy and reducing poverty, and in health and education over the last three decades. Since emerging from civil war in 1986, it has seen considerable gains in reducing poverty (World Bank, 2016) and the population living below the national poverty line decreased from 56% to 21% between 1992 and 2017 (UNICEF, 2019). Further, it has been widely heralded for significant gains in reducing HIV due to an uncommonly successful national public health campaign (Green *et al.*, 2006; Slutkin *et al.*, 2006), and saw vast increases in educational enrolment and access following the implementation of Universal Primary Education [UPE] in 1997.

Yet this is not the whole picture, and these figures fail to capture the reality of life for many Ugandans. The number of Ugandans living below the national poverty line rose from 6.6 million in

2012/13 to 10 million in 2016/17, constituting 27% of the population (UBOS, 2018b). Furthermore, using the Human Development approach which takes into account life expectancy and years of schooling alongside gross national income, Uganda emerges as among the lowest scoring countries globally, ranked 159 out of 189 countries in the world in 2017 (Conceição, 2019). Uganda has one of the youngest and fastest growing populations in the world, with 46% of its population under the age of 13 (UBOS, 2018b), and a 2016/17 national survey found that 56% of all children were living in multi-dimensional poverty (Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2019). This picture is also further complicated by significant and multifarious inequalities, regional and rural/urban disparities. Ugandans living in rural areas are twice as likely to be in poverty than those in urban areas, and the Northern regions are dramatically less well-resourced than other parts of the country and affected by the ongoing legacy of protracted conflict (UBOS, 2018b).

Luwero District, the setting for this research, is an area that has found stability after being particularly affected by the civil war of the 1980s (Crisp, 1983; Katumba-Wamala, 2000; Schubert, 2006). Today it is among the more well-resourced of Ugandan districts, located 1-2 hours by road from Kampala in the Central 2 region wherein just under 22% of the population were found to be living in poverty in 2014 (UBOS, 2018b).¹ In 2014 in Luwero District, 41% of children were classed as ‘vulnerable’ according to a range of indicators relating to poverty, child marriage, child labour, compared to a national average of 54% (UBOS, 2014). Luwero also has an overall literacy rate of just under 83%, compared to the highest of 94% in Kampala and lowest of 18% in parts of Northern Uganda (national average of 72.2%) (UBOS, 2018a). While slightly ahead of national averages in these indicators, therefore, multi-dimensional poverty, resource-paucity and vulnerability is a challenge for many children in Luwero District, as in the rest of Uganda.

Luwero District is a predominantly rural and peri-urban area, with subsistence farming as the main form of labour and income. A national survey found that 32% of children aged 10-15 years in Luwero District were engaged in labour of some kind (UBOS, 2017), in line with indications that child labour is high for both boys and girls in Uganda (Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2019). Luwero District is mostly populated by the Baganda people. During the colonial era, Uganda was a protectorate of the British government and the Baganda were afforded a privileged position within the colonial administration (Kodesh, 2001), and today they are the most predominant tribe in Uganda that also makes up 17% of the national population (UBOS, 2014). The Baganda tribe is traditionally patriarchal, hierarchical and polygynous, with women being traditionally subordinate to men and their sexuality shaped by the roles of wife and motherhood (Tamale, 2005). Transactional sexual practices

¹ This figure represents the number living below the national poverty line, not measurements of multi-dimensional poverty which are likely to be higher.

are common in Luwero District, as elsewhere in Uganda, as traditional practices of bridewealth, wherein a groom offers gifts to the wife's family on marriage, continue to this day (Hague, Thiara and Turner, 2011; Tamale, 1993), and also reverberate through transactional sexual relationships for young people (Choudhry *et al.*, 2014; Nyanzi, Pool and Kinsman, 2001; Rassjo and Kiwanuka, 2010).

Uganda is ranked 127 out of 189 countries in the world in the gender inequality index, which is low globally and comparative with other countries in the region.² While Yoweri Museveni's government following the civil war saw early affirmative action for women in politics, this has been constrained by traditional patriarchal structures and has not largely translated into meaningful gains for women (Kafumbe, 2010; Tamale, 1999; Tripp, 2000). In Luwero District, the legacy of women's extensive experiences of gender violence during the civil war has largely been sidelined and left unacknowledged (Liebling and Kiziri-Mayengo, 2002; Liebling-Kalifani *et al.*, 2007). Adult literacy is higher for men than women (UBOS, 2018b), also borne out in Luwero District where 22% of adult women cannot read or write compared to 15% of men (UBOS, 2017).

Homosexuality is illegal in Uganda, and has been widely mobilised in nationalist discourse and narratives around the conservation of Ugandan social and familial structures and morality (Nyanzi and Karamagi, 2015; Sadgrove *et al.*, 2012). In 2014 the Anti-Homosexuality Bill increased the maximum sentence to life imprisonment, and the possibility of homosexuality is commonly silenced within Baganda heteronormative discourses (Rao, 2015). Others have argued that such denial and relegation of homosexuality has its roots in the colonial era, during which colonial perspectives on gender and sexuality were enforced on a range of cultural perspectives in existence in Uganda (Kizito, 2017; wa Tushabe, 2017). This constriction of sexuality and legal and discursive impossibility of homosexuality has also served to uphold masculine and patriarchal power (Nyanzi and Karamagi, 2015; Tamale, 2007), and through the discursive association of sexuality with masculinity, has relegated female homosexuality to further levels of impossibility (wa Tushabe, 2017).

In Uganda (Muwagga, Itaaga and Wafula, 2013), as in other post-colonial settings in sub-Saharan Africa (Banya, 1993; Davis and Kalu-Nwivu, 2001), the first structures of formal schooling emerged during the colonial era, where education functioned to serve the interests of colonial powers. The legacy of these colonial histories still resonates through schools today, which is seen in curricula that still orient towards Western agendas, are not relevant for African settings and that devalue indigenous knowledge (Adjei, 2007; Adzahlie-Mensah and Dunne, 2019; Dei, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2012); in institutionalised practices of corporal punishment that have their roots in colonial forms of discipline

² The gender inequality index uses data on maternal mortality rate, adolescent birth rate, share of seats in parliament, population with some secondary education, and labour force participation. Kenya was ranked 134, Tanzania at 130 and Rwanda 95 out of 189.

and control (Morrell, 1993; Morrell, 2001a; Tafa, 2002); and in continued English language-in-education policies that perpetuate Western hegemonies and social inequalities (Bunyi, 1999; Coyne, 2015; Gandolfo, 2009; Ssentanda, 2013). These legacies intertwine with other challenges that undermine the capacity of schools across sub-Saharan African settings to empower and cater for children attending schooling today (Dei, 2004).

Educational access has been greatly expanded in recent years in Uganda. As part of the international momentum to achieve UPE led by the UN's Millennium Development Goals [MDGs], Uganda abolished school fees and established UPE in 1997, and Universal Secondary Education [USE] in 2007. Its huge expansion in primary school enrolment has led it to be widely lauded as a success story for UPE (Oketch and Rolleston, 2007). Uganda's 'get girls in' (Unterhalter, 2007) approach to gender parity in education, with huge investment in education and expansion of access focussing on girls, saw huge successes, with girls' and boys' national enrolment rates increasing from 48% and 58%, respectively in 1990, to almost universal for both sexes in 2003 (Uganda Ministry of Education and Sport, 2003, cited in Unterhalter, 2007, p. 176).

Yet expansion of educational access has not led to the hoped-for gains of poverty reduction (Datzberger, 2018). Further, Uganda has among the highest rates of primary school drop-out globally, with an estimated 64.5% of pupils dropping out of primary school, compared to 45% across sub-Saharan Africa (UIS, 2016). The huge expansion in primary school access also saw a significant reduction in educational quality (Datzberger, 2018; Deininger, 2003), and schooling is still not entirely free as families widely contribute to the costs of supplies, uniforms and building fees, factors that disproportionately affect the poor (Lincove, 2012; Zuze and Leibbrandt, 2011). Furthermore, despite almost gender parity in primary education and extensive frameworks to promote girls' access, girls' education is largely seen in terms of economic growth and does not engage with structural barriers and social norms underpinning gender inequality (Datzberger and Le Mat, 2018; Jones, 2011). Orphaned or otherwise vulnerable children are also less likely to attend school than their non-orphaned peers, and this has been found to be significantly higher for boys than girls (Olanrewaju *et al.*, 2015). In Luwero District the 2014 census found that 5.6% of children aged 6-15 years, corresponding to 7,598 children, were not in school, slightly higher for boys than girls (UBOS, 2017).

Government expenditure on education was 2.6% of GDP in 2019, lower than other countries in the region (Kenya 5.2% and Tanzania 3.5%) (UNDP, 2019) and lagging far behind the EFA [Educational For All] target of 7% (Datzberger, 2018; UNESCO, 2000). Educational attainment is also low, and a 2016 report found that 7% of all pupils in primary school had no reading ability in English, and 28% in the local language (Uwezo, 2016). It also highlighted significant challenges of delayed school entry and progression within school, despite automatic progression, with 12%-14% of pupils in P3-P6

repeating years. A study also found that schooling in Uganda fails to make a meaningful contribution to young people's political knowledge, interest and agency, with the Central Region having the lowest levels of political engagement among young people than the other three regions studied, and lower again for girls than boys (Datzberger and Le Mat, 2019).

Currently, national policy states that pupils should be taught in the local language for the first three to four years of primary education in rural schools, and English should be the language of teaching for the last three years in rural schools, at all levels in urban schools, and is the language of all examinations. In Luwero District this means Primary 1 - Primary 3 [P1-P3] classes are taught in Luganda, while P4 - P7 are taught in English. English is associated with higher status in Uganda and is a requirement for any employment in the public sector (Nankindu, Kirunda and Ogavu, 2015; Ssentanda, 2013), and these mother tongue language-in-education policies, intended to improve education quality, have instead been found to contribute to social stratification and reduction in education quality, particularly for children in government and rural schools (Altinyelken, Moorcroft and van der Draai, 2014; Mulumba and Masaazi, 2012; Ssentanda, 2014).

Uganda has extensive legal and policy frameworks for protecting children's rights, although evidence reveals significant shortcomings in their effectiveness in practice. Uganda has ratified both the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child [UNCRC] which both condemn corporal punishment, and its 1995 Constitution enshrines the protection of the rights of children in law. Corporal punishment is illegal, and children's rights are protected across legal frameworks, such as in the Employment Act 2006 which bans employment of children under the age of 12; the Female Genital Mutilation Act 2009 which prohibits female genital mutilation; the Domestic Violence Act 2010 which protects children from abuse and exploitation; and the 2016 Children Act Amendment Bill which sought to enhance children's rights beyond basic needs to full rights for children. However these elaborate policy frameworks have largely been ineffective in preventing violence against children (Awich Ochen, Ssengendo and Wanyama Chemonges, 2017), which remains high in Uganda (Ugandan Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development, 2018).

Local governments are required by law to safeguard children's rights in their area (Yiga, 2010, in Awich Ochen, Ssengendo and Wanyama Chemonges, 2017), yet an analysis of child protection in Luwero District found that while child protection mechanisms were in place, they were used poorly, infrequently and ineffectually, leading to an inadequate child protection response (Child *et al.*, 2014). Evidence suggests these shortcomings are due to weak enforcement of child protection laws and limited awareness by caregivers and law enforcement (Awich Ochen, Ssengendo and Wanyama Chemonges, 2017; Government of Uganda and UNICEF, 2013). Furthermore, a study in two sub-regions in Uganda (Walakira, Ismail and Byamugisha, 2013) found that family and community-based

child protection mechanisms and support were overburdened and mapped poorly onto formal systems, leaving many vulnerable children unsupported.

Uganda thus emerges as a country which has extensive legal and policy frameworks to encourage widespread access to education, to prevent violence and for child protection, and to promote gender equality of participation in schooling and government, yet has largely failed to transform these impressive frameworks into meaningful practice. More insights are thus needed in this context into the violence and constraint that girls and boys face in and around schools, and for how intervention approaches may be effective in meaningfully and sustainably addressing these in ways that policy has not been able.

Forefronting acts of gender violence in research

As this research began with an analysis of an intervention to prevent primarily corporal punishment in primary schools, my focus has, from the outset been steered towards acts of violence. During fieldwork I witnessed corporal punishment in schools and also had my attention drawn to further acts of gender violence, notably teacher sexual and peer violence. I also observed, however, that these acts were deeply embedded within the institutional structure of the school and the communities and broader social contexts of which they were a part. Here I speak to some of the pitfalls of focusing on acts of violence and reflect on their positioning within broader notions of violence and inequality. So doing, I seek to contribute to conceptualisations of the multi-dimensionality of gender violence and to the task of finding approaches to challenging violence that work across these multiple dimensions (Parkes, 2015b), at the same time as rooting my analysis in the embodied experience of acts of violence.

The question of whether, and how, to forefront and frame acts of violence is the centre of much critical interrogation and debate in violence research. International (Covell and Becker, 2011; Hillis *et al.*, 2016; UNICEF, 2014) and national (Ugandan Ministry of Gender, 2018) approaches to documenting violence have typically drawn on large-scale quantitative data to uncover the prevalence of acts of violence against children and sought to categorise these acts. These studies often draw on internationally recognised definitions of violence that forefront acts, such as that of the World Health Organisation (2002, p. 4) which defines violence as:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation.

This research has tended to differentiate between sexual, physical, emotional and mental/psychological forms of ‘force or power’, and treated these forms as both distinct, yet also drawn out how they are associated and may co-occur (Leoschut and Kafaar, 2017; Ward *et al.*, 2018), as well as associating different kinds of acts with different perpetrators (Devries *et al.*, 2018; Gershoff, 2017; Menesini and Salmivalli, 2017). These efforts have been central to raising awareness of the scale and intractability of violence against children and to setting global and national agendas to prevent it, and have also been key in signalling the success or potential of different approaches to challenge or respond to violence (Devries *et al.*, 2015b; Meinck *et al.*, 2017; Ttofi and Farrington, 2011; Walsh *et al.*, 2015).

Yet forefronting acts of violence in research has conceptual, methodological, practical and ethical pitfalls. Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004, p. 1) warn that an exclusive focus on the physicality of violence not only fails to lead to a full account, but also that it can lead to a voyeuristic ‘pornography’ of violence that actually diverts attention away from its social and cultural meanings, and therefore the underpinning, and potentially more destructive, forces of violence. Violence may also be physical or structural, thus physically enacted on individuals by actors, or invisible and enacted through systems and structures (Galtung, 1969). Further, as violence is shaped by individuals’ beliefs and emotions, it can be seen as inherently complex, contradictory and characterised by moments of resistance as well as collusion (Parkes *et al.*, 2013). Violence in schools may be explicitly or implicitly gendered, and have significance for girls’ and boys’ identities in ways that may be contradictory or unclear (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006). Violence therefore not only holds different meanings in different contexts, but can in fact hold contradictory meanings within individuals.

Categorising and differentiating between forms of violence can also fortify counterproductive conceptual separations, where other analyses may shed light on how different forms of violence interrelate. In particular, as has been identified by reviews highlighting the tendency to differentiate between forms of violence that are ‘gendered’ (ie. sexual violence against girls) or ‘non-gendered’ (ie. corporal punishment and not overtly sexualised peer violence) (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b), these distinctions may lead to approaches to both understanding and challenging violence that miss the gendered dimensions of all violence. Furthermore, acts of gender violence cannot be extricated from their contexts of broader structural violence of poverty, disenfranchisement and oppression, and some theorists have drawn on multi-dimensional framings that account for these interconnections (Bourgois, 2004a; Parkes and Unterhalter, 2015). Attending to the interconnected and multi-dimensional nature of marginalisation, economic insecurity and violence, also sheds further light on its significance for gender inequality (Walby, 2012).

An exclusive focus on acts also faces methodological challenges, as pitfalls abound with definitions of violence (Leach, 2015). As Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004, p. 2) argue, ‘violence is in the eye of the beholder’, and this has particular significance for examining what constitutes both ‘gender’ and ‘violence’ across settings (Merry, 2009) and post-colonial contexts with legacies of misrepresentation and imbalances of power (Mohanty, 1988; Oyěwùmí, 2002). As is central to a social constructionist approach, researchers seeking to make sense of violence are also positioned at the heart of meaning-making around it (Burr, 2003). As researchers interpret the violence they encounter, they are actively engaged in categorising, and deciphering acts of violence, and thus draw on their own cognitive, emotional and cultural resources. This act of interpretation becomes even more significant when working in cross- or transnational contexts, particularly when these transnational relations were founded in colonial imbalances of power.

There are also challenges in collecting data on violent acts, as acts of gender violence may be under-reported out of fear and stigmatisation (Heslop *et al.*, 2018b; Ward *et al.*, 2018), where different methodological approaches afford participants different levels of comfort (Barr *et al.*, 2017; Devries and Meinck, 2018; Ward *et al.*, 2018), or in contexts where certain forms of violence may be normalised or viewed as necessary (Payet and Franchi, 2008; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). Research into interventions may even see an increase in reported acts of violence as children’s confidence and trust in reporting grows, posing further challenges to the task of interpretation (Parkes and Heslop, 2013). On a practical level, intervening to prevent violent acts without taking account of their multi-dimensional positioning in particular contexts may be counterproductive. In Uganda, an attempt to strengthen legal frameworks to prevent sexual violence instead led to increased experiences of violence or reinforced girls’ subordination (Parikh, 2012).

These challenges highlight the pitfalls of researching acts of gender violence when they are extricated from broader or multi-dimensional notions of violence in their contexts, when they are not underpinned by analyses that take account of their interconnectedness, and the need to approach the positioning acts of violence with a high degree of nuance and care. Notwithstanding these challenges, my research began with, and kept returning to acts of violence. I asked myself uncomfortable questions about the draw of the ‘theatre’ of violence that Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois raise (2004), and whether I was drawn back to framing my research around acts because researching them and the people involved had profoundly affected me, and therefore whether I was seeking through my analysis to find meaning or provide some coherence to this violence. Reflecting in this way, however, I saw as well how this research functions as part of broader approaches to tackling violence: the intervention itself, evaluation into the research, national and international policy pushes to prevent violence, and global research and advocacy, that all forefront acts of violence. There is therefore

significant power in the draw towards acts of violence, and I queried whether this power can in fact be utilised in our efforts to understand the multi-dimensionality of violence.

Forefronting acts, therefore, has great potential to attract political will and efforts at prevention in ways that addressing symbolic and structural violence in their less visible forms may not, and, additionally, has significant analytic potential to reveal these more invisible forms and layers of violence. As the visible manifestations of violence, acts may thus be seen as the *way in* to analysing gender violence more broadly in these schools. I suggest that it is precisely the visibility of acts of violence that offers conceptual and practical openings for understanding and prevention, as behind every act of violence that takes place in schools, layers of meaning can be seen.

In this thesis I follow others in employing the term ‘gender violence’ to view all forms of violence as gendered (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006; Leach and Mitchell, 2006; Parkes, 2015b), and root the focus on acts of violence within a multi-dimensional understanding of gender violence that attends to how its meanings may be found at multiple layers of, and surrounding, school life (Parkes, 2015b). To do so, the analysis is underpinned by a theoretical lens employing poststructural theorisations of Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and Deborah Youdell to unpack how gender violence is ‘done’ in schools and thus uses these insights as tools to also examine how it also may be ‘undone’. It weaves the conceptual approaches of feminist theorist Raewyn Connell into this lens, to further unpack how femininities and masculinities are formulated and negotiated in schools as institutional settings with their own ‘gender regimes’ (1987), and what this means for both violence, for hierarchies, constraint and power imbalances in schools, and for the structural inequalities that underpin them. Taking inspiration from Judith Butler’s ‘Undoing Gender’ (2004), the thesis speaks back to this theoretical literature with a framework for both ‘doing’ and ‘undoing’ gender violence in schools.

Methodological approach

The methodological approach is socially constructionist in nature, and I draw on a semi-ethnographic study in Kiragala and Myufu Schools in Luwero District conducted over four months in 2017. This research entailed participant observation, interviews with teachers, and participatory group discussions, individual interviews and writing methods with pupils. Social research, or the task of revealing, collaborating with, (co)constructing meaning with/about, another, is a highly sensitive one, and is laden with ethical pitfalls at all stages of the study design, the practical fieldwork and the sharing of findings with others. Never is this challenge more apparent than with cross-cultural research as it is located in transnational spaces shaped by historical relationships of power.

Colonising, extractive, or unequal relationships between writers or researchers, and subjects, can, in part, be constructed through the rewriting of human experience through the conceptual framings of the researcher, and situating their experience as the bar by which to judge the experience of another (Mohanty, 1988; Oyěwùmí, 2002; Smith, 1999).

I thus navigate a tension between believing strongly in the task of contributing knowledge to making schools safer places for children, yet also being wary of contributing to discursive portrayals about ‘violent lives’ in Africa (Wells, 2015), and the pitfalls of understanding gender violence in a particular way *a priori* to the contextual setting (Mohanty, 1988, pp. 64-68). I am also aware of the ‘theoretical paralysis’ that these quandaries can lead to (Jakobsen, 2014, p. 542). I do not attempt to provide answers to these questions here, nor do I argue that this thesis satisfies all my concerns relating to this tension. Yet I know that it can, and perhaps should, not. As I also ask myself, how comfortable should we ever feel working in these cross-cultural settings and with violence? What would we be missing, as researchers, if we did not feel uncomfortable (Pillow, 2003)? My hope is that an attendance to these complexities and tensions will enrich the arguments this thesis is in a position to make. Further, I aim to reflect critically and offer detail into my methodological approach and process, to show actions taken and how meaning was made.

This reflexive approach may go some way to addressing the challenge that Said presents to researchers working in post-colonial settings:

[O]ne way of opening oneself to what one studies in or about the Orient is reflexively to submit one’s method to critical scrutiny. [...] [This requires] a direct sensitivity to the material before them, and then a continual self-examination of their methodology and practice, [it is] a constant attempt to keep their work responsive to the material and not to a doctrinal preconception (1979, p.327).

‘Submitting one’s method to scrutiny’ is not a shortcut to meaningful or ethical research, however, and I invite, with a reading of this thesis, the criticality and challenge that is required for a research study into violence against children in Uganda.

Research aims and overview to thesis

Seeking to understand both gender violence in schools and the long-term influence of the GST intervention, and to apply these findings to the broader field of sustainable violence prevention in schools, the study is shaped by the following research questions:

1. How does peer violence function in schools and what is its relation to gender, structural inequalities and the school's institutional setting?
2. How does teacher discipline violence function in schools and what is its relation to gender, structural inequalities and the school's institutional setting?
3. How does teacher sexual violence function in schools and what is its relation to gender, structural inequalities and the school's institutional setting?
4. How do these forms of violence relate to each other, to femininities and masculinities in schools, and how can schools' institutional gender regimes be understood in relation to violence?
5. What is the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit on destabilising and preventing these forms of violence and on violence in schools' gender regimes? How did it achieve this influence?
6. What implications do these findings pose for sustainable approaches to preventing gender violence in schools?

Moving forward with these questions in mind, the following two chapters will critically review existing literature that examines gender violence and its prevention in schools. Chapter 2 considers the field of violence prevention approaches, beginning with critiques that have been put to the limitations of uniquely policy approaches to preventing violence, and turning to consider gendered and not overtly gendered school interventions. It then considers the implications of working in postcolonial spaces, and finally introduces the GST intervention and the GSS into its prevention. This chapter argues for the need for theorised, qualitative research into the long-term influence of interventions through a gender lens.

Chapter 3 critically reviews the literature examining peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence, employing a multi-dimensional framing that draws on Parkes' two framings (2015b; 2013) to unpack these insights through different theoretical lenses. It concludes with a multi-dimensional framework for conceptualising the levels at which gender violence takes place in schools. Chapter 4 then examines the theoretical perspectives of Foucault, Butler, Youdell and Connell, and details the theoretical lens for analysis. Building on, and theorising further, the multi-dimensional framework of Chapter 3, Chapter 4 concludes with the theoretical framework for the study, constructing a notion of schools' 'bodily-institutional' regimes.

Chapters 5 and 6 detail the methodological approach to the research. In Chapter 5 I reflect on my positioning as researcher, the research processes and methods undertaken, and conclude with an introduction to the two schools of the research. In Chapter 6 I consider the ethical challenges of working with children and teachers to conduct research into violence in schools, detail the child protection referral procedures and partners with which I worked during fieldwork, and reflect on a number of particularly salient ethical challenges. I conclude the chapter speaking back to the questions of positionality with which I opened Chapter 5.

Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10 explore the findings of the thesis. Chapter 7 examines peer violence, the role it played in these two schools for pupils' masculinities and femininities and within teachers' constructions of gender; Chapter 8 considers teacher discipline violence, how children experienced and made meaning around it and the significance of this for gender in schools; and Chapter 9 turns to teacher sexual violence, examining how it was both shrouded in layers of taboo and silences, and yet functioned at the heart of schools' gendered and institutional structures. These chapters all find that meaning was made both through the practice of these forms of violence and through their discursive mobilisations in teachers' and pupils' discussions, and that all forms of violence were gendered and institutional in their significance and had implications for shaping each other.

Chapter 10 unpacks the long-term influence of the GST intervention, finding that it had a meaningful long-term influence on teacher discipline violence through two key mechanisms: addressing both the meanings, beliefs and norms (destabilising knowledge) and institutional practices around gender violence. This chapter also details the influence of the GST on peer violence which, being addressed through one of these two mechanisms (institutional practices), showed some signs of having reduced although arguing for the potential for greater influence through adding the second mechanism (destabilising knowledge). On teacher sexual violence, the analysis finds that the GST had little influence. The potential for the GST to address structural gender inequality is also found to be shaped by schools' existing regimes.

Chapter 11 concludes the thesis, employing the theoretical framework of Chapter 4 in examining the contributions the thesis makes to its different levels. This chapter argues that peer violence, teacher discipline and teacher sexual violence were fundamentally interconnected in the two schools of the research and situated at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes. It makes the case for viewing schools' bodily-institutional regimes as being multiple, and examines the range of different regimes that emerged in the schools, entailing both those of dominance and of resistance to this dominance. This chapter also offers a conceptualisation of femininities and masculinities in the schools and, finally, it employs these findings to contribute insights into how the sustainability of

violence prevention interventions may be understood, and into the method of how this may be achieved.

Chapter 2. Interventions to prevent gender violence in schools: Mapping the field

This chapter will critically introduce the field of research into gender violence prevention in schools. Here I outline literature into the policy approaches to preventing violence and then turn to examining intervention approaches carried out in schools that work alongside, and in addition to, these policy frameworks. Employing a lens that forefronts gender, I will examine the ways in which these interventions, and the studies conducted into them, view and engage with gender in their approaches to preventing violence, drawing distinctions between interventions that are and are not explicitly gendered in their approach and how these relate to the prevention of the different forms of violence I explore in this thesis. Finally, I will situate the Good School Toolkit intervention in relation to the field of these intervention approaches, and I will argue that a meaningful assessment of its long-term influence is one that take place within a close examination of gender violence in schools.

Violence prevention through policy approaches

The past three decades have seen significant development of global and national policy frameworks to prevent violence against children. The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) seeks to protect children from ‘all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse’, and in 2006 this was updated to include corporal punishment (United Nations, 2006). This has now been ratified by almost all countries in the world. Increasing large-scale quantitative research carried out at global (Covell and Becker, 2011; Pinheiro, 2006; UNICEF, 2014) and national (e.g. Ugandan Ministry of Gender, 2018; UNICEF Kenya, 2012; UNICEF Tanzania, 2011) levels has been both a response to, and a driver of international focus on monitoring and preventing violence against children, and they have revealed the persistence of violence despite these policy efforts. As discussed in Chapter 1, Uganda has impressive frameworks for preventing and taking action on violence against children, yet there are huge gaps in their effectiveness.

This has led to critiques of the shortcomings of uniquely policy approaches to violence prevention, and attention paid to the complexities of transforming policy into practice. Jenny Parkes’ (2016) analysis of policy enactment on gender violence in schools in three countries found that despite remarkable progress in policy development, a gap emerged between policy and practice. She notes a need for increased dialogue between actors and institutions at different levels, and for more work to reflect on and destabilise the norms and inequalities that underpin violence. Parkes et al. (2020) found

in four countries that efforts to implement policy on gender violence in schools were shaped by norms and beliefs of the contexts of implementation, leading to the need to examine policy enactment through a multi-dimensional lens. In Ethiopia and Zambia, the concept of ‘school related gender-based violence’ itself was found to be open to many interpretations, posing further challenges to the task of implementing policies (Johnson Ross and Parkes, 2020).

In Uganda, Shelley Jones (2011) examined the inefficacy of the National Strategy for Girls’ Education to meaningfully reduce barriers to girls’ education, noting, like Parkes, a lack of co-ordination between levels and parties along with other shortcomings such as poor monitoring, inconsistent coverage across locations and poor sustainability. Despite women’s rights activists successfully lobbying to raise the age of consent in Uganda, Parikh (2012) shows how this amendment has further contributed to the constriction and regulation of girls’ sexuality along with class, gender and age hierarchies, in the context of existing inequalities that were insufficiently accounted and planned for in the process of policy implementation. The Uganda Domestic Violence Act of 2010 has been found to be a ‘tokenistic’ and diluted law, and widely ineffective and poorly implemented due to structural gender inequalities and poor government investment in its meaningful implementation (Ahikire and Mwiine, 2015). Similar inefficacies are also found in child protection policy frameworks to respond to violence in and around schools. In their experiences with child protection services in Luwero District, Uganda, Child et al. (2014) found that 62% of cases referred through formal district-level channels had no action taken or planned, revealing woefully inadequate mechanisms and practice. These examples suggest the need to accompany policy efforts to preventing violence with alternative approaches that tackle its underpinning and gendered causes, and that thwart the act of implementing these policies themselves.

Violence prevention through in-school interventions: A focus on gender

Borne out of increased recognition of these policy shortcomings, interventions carried out in schools have sought to address the social and institutional aspects of violence. A small number of key studies, funded by government aid bodies or iNGOs and with conceptual frameworks that take account of underpinning gender inequalities, have examined the effectiveness and influence of such interventions. One such review for UNESCO (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014) critiqued the absence of a gender lens in research and intervention approaches, finding that much research into gender violence in schools is conducted in sub-Saharan Africa into the sexual abuse of girls, while other forms of violence are considered largely in non-gendered terms. They argue for the need to embed gender-sensitivity into all work conducted into school violence.

A rigorous review for UNICEF (Parkes *et al.*, 2016b) reiterated these findings, also highlighting a discrepancy between bullying and corporal punishment prevention interventions which usually took place within the school site and tended to be gender-blind, and, conversely, sexual violence interventions which entailed gendered approaches yet took place largely out of the school. The authors, like Leach *et al.*, highlight a gap in research and interventions that address the gendered nature of all forms of violence, and within the institutional structure of the school. Parkes *et al.* also found a significant gap regarding long-term follow-up work or studies into intervention sustainability, and moreover a lack of qualitative studies, particularly those that were underpinned by a comprehensive conceptual framing. These gaps raise questions about how far the complexity and social meanings of gender violence and its prevention are being understood, highlighting the need for more in-depth qualitative research into long-term prevention approaches.

With regard to the institutional context, global reviews suggest that interventions embedded in everyday school life may be more meaningful than those functioning as freestanding interventions (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b). Research in the UK (Mitchell *et al.*, 2014) and South Africa (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001) have found promising insights into the potential for whole school approaches, that intervene at multiple levels in the school, to prevent violence. Further reviews find inconclusive evidence of their effectiveness (Bonell *et al.*, 2013), however, and others highlight the lack of evidence into their influence on gender (Ellsberg *et al.*, 2015; Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang, 2014). One review found promising evidence of whole school approaches on peer violence, but highlighted gaps in understanding of such approaches to prevent teacher violence and particularly in the Global South (Lester, Lawrence and Ward, 2017). These findings suggest intervening at the whole school level has much potential to prevent violence, however more analyses are needed to unpick these findings in more depth, with an attention to gender and in the Global South.

Approaches not explicitly gendered: A tendency towards peer violence and corporal punishment

Working with pupils to prevent peer violence

In the Global North, a large body of literature examines interventions to prevent bullying and peer sexual violence in schools, largely conducted within the quantitative paradigm. Systematic reviews of school-based bullying programmes have found mixed success (Ferguson *et al.*, 2007; Merrell *et al.*, 2008), with longer-term interventions found to be more successful (Ttofi and Farrington, 2010). Reviews find whole school approaches to bullying prevention to be promising, however evaluation approaches have struggled to disentangle the effectiveness of their different components (Menesini and Salmivalli, 2017).

One whole school intervention receiving much research focus is the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, developed in Norway and in use in other high-income countries. The approach includes individual, classroom, school and community-level components and attempts to change schools' social environments at multiple levels (Olweus and Limber, 2010b), and has been found through evaluations to be highly successful in Norway, but has had mixed success in US settings (Limber, 2011; Olweus and Limber, 2010a). Interestingly, resonating with arguments that the term 'bullying' fails to attend to structural inequalities (Ringrose and Renold, 2013), one controlled trial found that this programme was less successful amidst racial and class differences and inequalities, suggesting the importance of links between peer violence and interpersonal and institutionally sanctioned racism (Bauer, Lozano and Rivara, 2007). One systematic review found that interconnections between race and peer violence depended on the context, however (Vitoroulis and Vaillancourt, 2015), highlighting the need to examine these tendencies in close attention to the social context of violence.

There is a paucity of studies that examine bullying or other peer violence prevention interventions in sub-Saharan Africa, with a number of psychological studies in Nigeria being key exceptions (Abdulmalik *et al.*, 2016; Alabi and Lami, 2015). More needs to be known about the complexity of gender in these studies, however, and insights into the long-term influence are limited due to the short intervention period and lack of follow-up research.

A meta-synthesis and systematic review into the prevention of peer sexual and dating violence (De La Rue *et al.*, 2014; De La Rue *et al.*, 2016) found that prevention programmes were influential in changing attitudes, but did not affect behaviour or rates of perpetration. A systematic review into child sexual abuse (Walsh *et al.*, 2015), that found school-based education programmes influenced children's skills and knowledge on sexual violence, but was unable to determine if this affected their experience of it. There is therefore the need to examine further how attitudes and knowledge alongside actual behaviour and levels of violence experience might both be achieved.

The fact that this body of work into preventing peer violence has tended to overlook gender and other inequalities, and the lack of qualitative studies underpinned by a clear theoretical framework in this field, raises queries about how far underpinning gendered, sexual, racial, class and age inequalities and hierarchies are addressed in violence prevention efforts in schools, and captured in research into their effectiveness. The mixed success of both anti-bullying programmes and peer dating and child sexual violence interventions as found in these reviews in the Global North, suggests that further sociological analyses into what limits their success are needed, and much more evidence is needed of such interventions in the Global South.

While there is a widespread lacuna in studies examining the prevention of corporal punishment in schools in low or middle-income contexts, the last six years has seen the emergence of a small number of key studies. One such body of work examines the Incredible Years intervention in Jamaica which addresses strengthening teachers' skills and competencies in developing positive relationships, reducing poor behaviour and challenging violence (Baker-Henningham *et al.*, 2012; Baker-Henningham and Walker, 2009; Baker-Henningham *et al.*, 2009). In a rare example of long-term follow-up with teachers, Baker-Henningham (2018) found that five years post-implementation teachers continued to use new alternative discipline strategies. The intervention does not employ a gender-sensitive analysis, however leaving gendered aspects of the intervention unexplored.

Conversely, a teacher training intervention in Tanzania to prevent corporal punishment (Kaltenbach *et al.*, 2018), which is also shortly to be implemented in Uganda (Ssenyonga *et al.*, 2018), found promising results on teacher attitudes regarding violence, which the authors suggest was related to a supportive, respectful atmosphere during the trainings and reflections on their own experiences of violence. The study did not find changes to teachers' actual uses of violent discipline, however. These findings point to the importance of non-judgmental and reflective spaces for teachers to question forms of discipline, but also suggest that approaches that embed these reflections in training on the prevention of corporal punishment in schools' institutional disciplinary practices may be more effective on achieving reductions in violence.

One study that examines a whole school approach and incorporates these elements, in a low-income setting, is the Good Schools Study (GSS) which rigorously evaluated the Good School Toolkit (GST) in Uganda (Devries *et al.*, 2013; Devries *et al.*, 2015b). This study frames the backdrop to this thesis that also examines the GST. The intervention designed and implemented by Ugandan NGO Raising Voices, employed a six-step process of change over two years, involving pupils, teachers, school administration and the school community. It involved reflection on meanings and beliefs around violence, training on alternative discipline approaches, strengthening school structures and processes and improving pupils' participation and positive relationships with teachers. While not overtly promoting gender equality, the programme did encourage equal participation of girls and boys.

Through a randomised-controlled trial, the GSS found that the intervention resulted in a 42% reduction in risk of past week violence from school staff (Devries *et al.*, 2015b), which qualitative research suggested was related to improved staff-student relationships, alternative discipline approaches and addressing views around corporal punishment (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017). The intervention was also found to be cost-effective and therefore suitable for low-income settings (Greco

et al., 2018). This suggests this whole school approach was effective to prevent teacher violence, however more needs to be known about its effect on peer violence, other teacher violence and its long-term influence (Pickett and Elgar, 2015). Further, the effectiveness despite a lack of explicit gender focus in the intervention suggests there may be an opportunity to prevent further forms of gender violence, however more evidence is needed on its influence on gendered aspects of violence.

These interventions and studies have thus not tended to forefront gender in their approach or analysis. However the fact that evidence suggests corporal punishment has gendered significance in schools, and that teacher sexual violence may also occur in some settings alongside corporal punishment (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006), suggests the need for examinations of the long-term influence of corporal punishment interventions that also take account of gender. This thesis aims to contribute knowledge to these areas.

Approaches explicitly gendered: A tendency towards sexual violence against women and girls

Working with pupils to prevent peer sexual violence

A significant body of work engages a gender lens to gender violence prevention, and this has tended to focus on the prevention of sexual violence or violence against women and girls [VAWG], with a wealth of studies in sub-Saharan Africa. While this work conducted within the field of public health has largely taken place out of the school site, and with much research with adults in South Africa (e.g. Gibbs *et al.*, 2015a; Gibbs *et al.*, 2015b; Jewkes *et al.*, 2007; Jewkes, Wood and Duvvury, 2010; Sathiparsad, 2008), and in Uganda (Abramsky *et al.*, 2014; Ghanotakis *et al.*, 2017; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2015; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2014), there are a handful of studies in this area examining gender violence in the school site.

One evaluation examines the PREPARE school-based programme for the prevention of IPV and HIV in South Africa, which involves group reflection and discussion of sexual scenarios in an after-school setting (Mathews *et al.*, 2016). Promising results were found for preventing violence in peer intimate relationships but not for risky sexual behaviour, and the authors conclude this could be furthered by embedding the programme more into school life. This reiterates Leach *et al.*'s (2014) findings that stand-alone gender violence prevention programmes may not be as effective as whole school approaches. The Let Us Protect Our Future programme in schools in South Africa (Jemmott *et al.*, 2013), developed and implemented by the authors, consisted of twelve one-hour sessions in school and involved discussions and interactive activities with the primary aim of reducing risky sexual behaviours, but also sought to address underpinning gender issues. Evidence suggested this might

have a long-term influence on peer sexual violence, however qualitative insights would be needed to unpack this further (Jemmott *et al.*, 2018; Jemmott *et al.*, 2015; Jemmott *et al.*, 2010).

A study into an intervention to prevent violence against girls through sports in Uganda, found that while girls' confidence increased, without involving boys in discussions on gender norms, the underpinning causes of girls' subordination went unaddressed or could even intensify (Hayhurst *et al.*, 2014). This suggests that work with girls and boys into gender violence needs to be accompanied by sensitive and culturally appropriate discussions around gender norms.

The insights gathered from these interventions with school pupils suggest that interactive approaches to tackling underpinning gender norms and beliefs that support violence, along with skills and strategies for preventing it, may be effective. These contrast with interventions that take a knowledge-transmission approach to educating adolescents, which may be less effective (Ogunfowokan and Fajemilehin, 2012). More insights are needed into how both changes to underpinning norms and beliefs, alongside changes in actual behaviour and uses of violence can be meaningfully achieved together, and to how these can be sustained and reinforced through the school itself.

Working with teachers to address gender inequality and prevent gender violence

Interventions with teachers targeting gender violence prevention have taken a range of approaches, with several encouraging teachers to reflect on their understandings and experiences of gender violence. A study in Nigeria (Wood, Rogow and Stines, 2015) suggests that teachers can challenge their own beliefs about gender and become equipped to teach sex education through effective training. Encouraging teachers to reflect on personal experiences of violence can be effective, as has been found in violence prevention work in South Africa (Dreyer, Kim and Schaay, 2001) and Kenya (Chege, 2006). Reviewing two NGO interventions seeking to transform gender norms with school teachers across sub-Saharan African contexts, Spear and da Costa (2018) found that these interventions were limited by their lack of emphasis on and inclusion of teachers' voices. Long-lasting and meaningful change to gender in schools, they argue, requires bottom-up approaches that locates teachers' voices and experiences at their heart. Further, as Vanwesenbeeck *et al.* (2016), argued in relation to sex education implementation in Uganda, approaches with teachers may be most effective when embedded at the whole school level.

Working with teachers also has the capacity to improve relations and power imbalances between teachers and pupils. A qualitative action research project carried out in six sub-Saharan African countries (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2015) found that a dialogic approach between teachers and pupils, that

recognised the key role of teachers and pupils' need for support, trust and confidence, could bring about meaningful change to children's agency in sex education. This central role of teachers was also found in Heslop et al's (2018b) study into a UNICEF and Government of Ethiopia code of conduct to prevent gender violence in schools, as they found that teachers were at the heart of violence prevention efforts and needed more support and training to fulfil this role effectively. The authors also drew attention to the importance of comprehensive school structures, with clear roles and responsibilities for key actors to address violence, as well as institutional follow-up on sanctioning particularly teacher perpetrators of violence.

Research also shows that working with a range of actors is important to challenging violence. A study into the ActionAid Stop Violence Against Girls [SVAGS] project in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique (Parkes and Heslop, 2011; Parkes and Heslop, 2013; Parkes *et al.*, 2013), found that a multi-dimensional approach working at multiple levels in schools and communities led to improvements to girls', teachers' and community members' knowledge about and confidence to report violence, along with school and community infrastructures for child protection. These findings point to the importance of engaging actors at several levels, however more dialogic and reflective work was also found to be needed to challenge deep-seated beliefs about gender. Furthermore, Parkes and Heslop (2013) note the importance of embedding successful approaches into institutional school life and also the need for further research into the sustainability of such approaches.

Whole school approaches are rare in violence prevention work that encompasses a gender lens, yet several studies conclude that prevention approaches may be most effective if built into the institutional level of the school. One study in Zambia (Bajaj, 2009) explored a school-wide approach to 'undoing gender' in a non-governmental private school, and found that gender inequality could be challenged through building gender awareness into school policies and practices. More research is needed into how relating this directly to violence and into how the findings from this unique approach could be implemented in other school settings.

Furthermore, whole school approaches may provide ways of addressing the concealments and taboo surrounding more sensitive forms of violence, as teachers in one study in Ethiopia called for a whole school approach to tackling teacher sexual violence (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018). Teachers elsewhere have also discussed their fears and vulnerability in taking action on sexual violence conducted by school staff or community members (Bhana, 2015b; Heslop *et al.*, 2018b), and thus the development of structures and work on norms at a whole school level may provide them with support and security to challenge violence. Evidence is lacking here, however, and particularly into how approaches to preventing teacher sexual violence may work alongside other forms of teacher violence

unaddressed, as highlighted in Ethiopia (Heslop *et al.*, 2018b). In this study, a focus on girls' experiences of sexual violence led to a disassociation from corporal punishment as a form of violence.

Implications for this study

Together these studies suggest that there is much potential for the role of schools in destabilising and preventing gender violence. Research is lacking into how the benefits of different approaches can be combined, however, and insights are needed into how whole school approaches to violence prevention can incorporate a gender lens. While interventions with peers and teachers that challenge gender norms have focused on sexual violence of girls, these have largely been conducted separately from non-gendered approaches that focus on corporal punishment and peer violence and aggression. As Heslop *et al.* (2018b) found in Ethiopia, siloed approaches that seek to address one particular form of violence may overlook or miss opportunities to prevent gender violence in other forms, however more research is needed in this area.

Through all intervention approaches the need to examine both beliefs and actual practice around violence emerges, as some interventions have been more effective in addressing beliefs and norms but not actual use and experiences of violence, while others have offered skills and strategies to prevent violence, but have not addressed underpinning norms thus calling into question the sustainability of its influence. Across the literature examining these interventions there is consensus that more insights are needed into the long-term influence and sustainability of in-school interventions to prevent violence, and particularly how this relates to approaches that are embedded at a whole school, institutional level.

The lack of qualitative studies with robust theoretical frameworks into interventions highlights a significant need for in-depth assessments of interventions to prevent violence, and those that are rooted in theoretical analyses of the interrelationship between gender and at both a social and institutional level. I thus argue that a meaningful analysis of the Good School Toolkit intervention to prevent violence, is one that is closely rooted in the meanings and functioning of gender violence in schools and that queries the efficacy of addressing violence through siloed approaches that differentiate between gendered and non-gendered forms of violence.

Assessing long-term influence of interventions: A post-colonial imperative

The need for research into the long-term influence and sustainability of NGO interventions holds further significance in post-colonial settings in the Global South. Interventions led by NGOs, particularly large iNGOs, have at times been critiqued for failure to be rooted in local contexts and for discursive portrayals of child recipients of interventions that do not represent the complexity of their lives. The failure to investigate intervention sustainability, and therefore to prioritise a meaningful understanding of the long-term influence of such interventions on children's lives and on schools, may be seen as an extension of these critiques, as I will argue here.

The transnational spaces in which iNGOs work, coupled with their predominantly western donor funding and agendas, has led studies within the field of postcolonialism to consider their positioning in relation to Foucault's concept of 'governmentality' (Chakravartty, 2007; Ferguson, 2006; Ferguson and Gupta, 2002; Wells, 2015), or what Ferguson and Gupta term 'transnational governmentality' (2006; 2002). In these spaces, this concept argues that governance shifts from a top-down authority of the state, to governance that exercises power over the population itself through the 'giving of life' (2006; Wells, 2015, p.169). Under the current global dominance of the neoliberal agenda, Kamat (2004) argues that NGOs have shifted from structural analyses of inequality, towards the neoliberal view of the atomized individual as both 'the problem and the solution' (pp.168-169). In this way, NGOs have functioned to divert attention and analysis from social and political drivers of poverty, and reinforced notions of individualism. In Kenya, Unterhalter et al., (2012) found that under the expansion of Free Primary Education [FPE] government officials and even teachers, engaged in a discourse of 'blaming the poor'. They draw attention to a lack of critical reflection on concepts such as marginalisation and inequality in organisations and government, which contributes to stereotypical notions of the poor.

In her analysis of iNGO literature, Wells highlights how depictions of schools (2015) and children (2008) portrayed schools as peaceful, a-political spaces, and children as blank slates, within, and upon which, a neoliberal agenda was discursively inscribed. The school was presented as a globalised space, whose values of peace, freedom and equality were posited in opposition to the violent, disease-ridden contexts of the schools (2015). These representations were also highly gendered, with a focus on girls' education and a lack of engagement with the complex educational development of boys and men, and their experiences in schools. Wells (2015) found in the iNGO literature that mentions of boys and men mostly related to their disaffection or to their detrimental influence on girls' education. In her analysis of three iNGO websites, she identifies an 'almost total absence' of pictures of African men (Wells, 2008, p.247).

Some reviews have highlighted how NGO approaches to preventing gender violence in schools have also largely focused on sexual violence against girls (Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Leach and Humphreys, 2007), with boys' experiences of sexual violence being typically overlooked and under-researched, in spite of recent increasing quantitative (Sumner *et al.*, 2016; Ward *et al.*, 2018) and qualitative (Lees and Devries, 2018) evidence suggesting that they are significant. This dearth of research into understanding and preventing violence against boys, particularly sexual, relates to a tendency towards a male/perpetrator, female/victim binary that Leach and Humphreys (2007) identify in this field. Following Petras (1999), there is a case to be made that an emphasis on male acts of violence in Africa in iNGO ideologies and practice leave male dominated, global elites unchallenged, and instead focus patriarchy and male violence in the Global South. Such an ideology, he argues, can be seen to '[fight] for gender equality within the micro-world of exploited peoples in which the exploited and impoverished male worker/peasant emerges as the main villain' (p. 436).

Some postcolonial writers have emphasised the fundamentality of gender to the colonial project, with unequal gender relations embedded and reinforced through it (Adzahlie-Mensah and Dunne, 2019; Lugones, 2007; Oyěwùmí, 1997), and where colonial legacies continue to thread through gender scholarship in post-colonial spaces (Mohanty, 1988; Oyěwùmí, 2002). Drawing on Spivak's (1988) reference to the colonial preoccupation with 'white men saving brown women from brown men' (p.93), such discursive portrayals by iNGOs working in postcolonial spaces thus emphasise girls' innocence and experiences of violence from African male perpetrators, in ways that dislodges these forms of violence from the broader structural contexts that give them meaning. Schools are central to this, as Wells argues that girls have become 'the ideal subject of development' (2015, p. 168), with schools discursively portrayed as a space in which to protect girls from male violence.

The paucity of studies examining the long-term influence and sustainability of NGO interventions into gender violence, and particularly those in the qualitative vein and underpinned by strong theoretical frameworks (Parkes *et al.*, 2016b) that work alongside quantitative research capturing extent and forms of violence, can be viewed through these postcolonial critiques. This gap may be seen as a lack of meaningful attention paid to what takes place within schools; to how children of both sexes as complex, gendered individuals experience and negotiate violence in their surroundings, and to the responsibility that NGOs have for understanding the influence they have on the school communities with which they work. More research is therefore needed into school interventions that are designed in close relation to their contexts, and that forefronts the importance of understanding their long-term influence. Further, I argue that this research is needed with a lens that seeks to draw out the nuance of their long-term influence in schools, rooted in a close analysis of pupils' and teachers' gendered uses and experiences of violence.

The concerns raised by this postcolonial literature have several implications for this study. Firstly, the arguments made here of the post-colonial necessity of seeking to meaningfully understand the influence of NGO interventions on schools, and on learners' and teachers' lives, underpins the focus on examining the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit. Secondly, the centrality of gender to the colonial project and its legacies in intervention and research, underpin the approach to theorising gender that examines both girls' and boys' experiences of, and engagements with, gender violence to resist reinforcing a female/victim and male/perpetrator binary. The theoretical framework employed in this thesis is not postcolonial in nature, however the selection of a framework was informed by these concerns. Seeking to resist homogenous and decontextualised representations of girls, boys, men and women in sub-Saharan African settings (Mohanty, 1988), I employ a theoretical framework that seeks meaning in how gender, and gendered subjects, are constructed in a particular setting and at a particular moment in time, and how this process is laden with complexity and contradictions.

I note a similar relationship with postcolonial scholarship in relation to the methodological approach of this study. My approach is not postcolonial in nature, in that it does not overtly seek to disrupt colonial legacies through the method of the research itself. However, the methodological approach is designed with a keen attentiveness to the role that scholarship and research may play in perpetuating stereotypes and entrenched inequalities in representation (Mohanty, 1988), and the importance of taking seriously the task of constructing meaning with, or about, another, and of exposing one's method to scrutiny (Said, 1979). These concerns underpin the reflexive approach I employ, my attempts at transparency of decisions made and actions taken, as explored further in Chapters 5 and 6, and the choice to use of a range of methods in order to seek layers of meaning.

The Good School Toolkit intervention

This research study examines the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit (Naker, 2019; Raising Voices), an intervention designed by Ugandan NGO Raising Voices to prevent violence against children in schools. Building on a mixed methods study into violence against children conducted across five districts in Uganda (Naker, 2005), and developed with the support of Ugandan primary schools, the Good School Toolkit (GST) was designed in relation to, and for use in, Ugandan contexts. It adopts a whole school approach to preventing violence and improving the school environment, through a six-step process of change over 18 months that includes supporting teachers for more effective teaching strategies, using alternatives to corporal punishment, improving the learning environment and strengthening the function of the school administration. Change is led in-

school by two teacher protagonists and at least two pupil protagonists that are trained and supported by Raising Voices staff.

The GST intervention was rigorously evaluated by the Good Schools Study (GSS), a large-scale mixed-methods study in Luwero district. The GSS employed a cluster-randomised controlled trial including 42 primary schools between September 2012 and April 2014, surveying 3820 pupils, and a qualitative study. The GSS found that the intervention was highly effective in reducing violence, with a 42% reduction in past-week physical violence from school staff to pupils, and also a reduction in peer violence (Devries *et al.*, 2013; Devries *et al.*, 2015b). Greater exposure to the intervention was associated with higher number of intervention activities and larger decreases in teachers' use of violence, however there were also wide-ranging variations in effectiveness of the GST to prevent violence across the different schools (Knight *et al.*, 2018). There was evidence that the intervention had a positive effect on school culture more broadly and suggestions that it might influence beliefs about violence in the community (Merrill *et al.*, 2018). Qualitative findings highlighted several pathways for change, such as improved student-teacher relationships, use of rewards, praise and alternative discipline approaches that all contributed to reduction in use of, and changes in beliefs about beating (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017). Little is yet known about how these have been sustained or effective over time, however.

There was some evidence that the intervention was more successful with boys than girls, as boys experienced a greater reduction in violence from school staff than girls (Devries *et al.*, 2017). This needs further exploration as to whether this relates to gendered dimensions of violence, for example if the GST influenced particular forms of violence that affected boys more than girls. Or, as girls also reported lower levels of exposure to the GST, it could also suggest participation in intervention activities was gendered (Knight *et al.*, 2018). Knight *et al.* also report tentative findings that girls may be reporting more peer sexual violence due to a more supportive and conducive environment for reporting. As this study also found significant variety in programme implementation across different schools (Knight *et al.*, 2018), and that students with a high-level of school-connectedness experienced greater reductions in violence (Knight *et al.*, 2016), the school environment itself emerges as important in the prevention of violence. There is therefore a need for more qualitative research that examines the complexities of schools' implementations of the intervention, and over time.

These findings suggest that the Good School Toolkit had a meaningful influence on preventing teacher discipline violence in schools, however there are gaps in knowledge that require further enquiry. Questions remain about pupils' gendered experiences of involvement in the intervention and the gendered aspects of the reduction in violence in schools; its potential to address the underlying causes of violence; the nuances of change at a whole school level, and the influence or sustainability

of the intervention over time. This study seeks to generate insight into these areas and roots this analysis within a close assessment of gender violence in two schools of its implementation.

Chapter 3. Acts/individuals, structural inequalities, and interactions and identities: Approaches to understanding gender violence in schools

In the previous chapter I examined a range of intervention approaches into preventing violence against children in schools and argued for the need to understand the long-term influence of these interventions. I also highlighted a tendency for intervention approaches to work in siloes, with some addressing forms of peer violence and corporal punishment through gender-neutral approaches and forms of sexual violence through explicitly gendered approaches. There is a need therefore to understand how appropriate this siloed approach is into understanding and preventing gender violence in schools. The lack of qualitative, in-depth analyses of gender violence prevention approaches also points to a gap in this field, where meaningful understandings of how interventions prevent gender violence function may be those that draw out the complexity and nuance of gender violence in schools.

In this chapter I examine literature on different forms of gender violence in schools to identify how and in what forms they take place, how they may be gendered and function within broader contexts of poverty and structural inequalities, and how they may play a role in individuals' identity constructions. I seek to identify to what extent it is helpful to view forms of gender violence as distinct, what the insights, strengths and limitations are of the bodies of work into different forms of violence, and what these different approaches may offer each other and an overall conceptualisation of gender violence in schools. I thus examine the literature into peer violence, teacher discipline violence, and teacher sexual violence, and interrogate the usefulness of categorising the bodies of work in this way.

Secondly, with this chapter I also examine the theoretical approaches that underpin these interrogations and what this offers the theoretical lens of this thesis. In seeking the multi-dimensionality of violence, I draw on two particular framings developed by Parkes (2015a; Parkes *et al.*, 2013) that depict how gender violence in schools has been conceptualised in research. These framings posit that, while frequently overlapping, different bodies of work into violence in schools may be broadly characterised according to theoretical lenses that view violence, and its prevention, in different ways.

Here I find that a synthesis of Parkes' two framings is helpful in conceptually shaping this review. Parkes *et al.*'s (2013) *acts/individuals* lens, which refers to studies that have tended to focus on acts of violence and individual perpetrators and victims, is useful in identifying those bodies of work that

show the extent of gender violence and point to areas of inequality or vulnerability. Secondly, guided by what Parkes terms as broader ‘inequalities’ (e.g. gender, economic, social and generational) and ‘norms and institutions’ (2015a, p. 198) approaches, the second lens I bring to bear on this literature identifies studies forefronting the *structural inequalities* within which gender violence is embedded, and the institutional setting of the school. A third group of studies draws on poststructural ideas in a lens that Parkes refers to as ‘interactional’, and shows how violence is relational, examining the ‘emotions, beliefs and practices of individuals, and with moments of resistance’ (Parkes *et al.*, 2013, p. 548), around these broader structural inequalities. I employ this lens and add a further focus on gender identities, to consider studies that examine masculinities and femininities around violence. At this third level I thus examine work that forefronts *interactions and identities* around violence. I revisit these framings at the end of the chapter to move forward with a framework for multi-dimensionality of gender violence in schools, and to form the basis of the theoretical lens guiding the thesis.

Literature examining forms of gender violence in schools

Peer violence

Forefronting acts/individuals

Studies exploring the acts and individuals of peer violence suggest it is experienced widely by children and is a part of everyday school life. Large-scale quantitative studies reveal the extent of peer violence, with a global systematic review finding that student peers were the second most significant perpetrators of violence against children (Devries *et al.*, 2018). Reviews also identify, however, a lack of studies examining peer violence in low-income contexts (Menesini and Salmivalli, 2017; Zych, Ortega-Ruiz and Del Rey, 2015).

A number of exceptions exist, such as a body of work exploring violence in primary schools in Uganda. Representative of primary school children in Luwero District, these studies found that roughly a third of students had ever experienced physical or emotional violence from peers (Clarke *et al.*, 2016; Wandera *et al.*, 2017), and that this had serious consequences for children’s mental health (Thumann *et al.*, 2016). A study in Ghana (Dunne *et al.*, 2013), using the national Student Health Survey data among students aged 13-15 years, found that roughly two fifths of children had experienced peer violence in the past month. The findings showed that children of both sexes experienced more psychological violence than any other type of peer violence, and psychological violence also had a greater effect on school absenteeism than physical violence. This suggests the

significance of psychological or emotional abuse, both in terms of its widespread nature and its effect on students.

Peer violence does not affect all children equally, however, and these studies have also exposed trends in how gender, poverty, disability and experience of other violence, shape forms and extent of peer violence. Wandera et al. (2017) found in Uganda that physical violence was similar for boys and girls, but emotional violence was particularly experienced by girls. Also in Luwero District, disabled children reported more than four times (for boys), or more than twice as much (for girls), sexual violence from male peers as their non-disabled peers, and disabled girls experienced more emotional violence from female peers than non-disabled girls (Devries *et al.*, 2014b). These findings suggest that both gender and disability shape peer violence, and that these intersect. Children working outside of school also experienced more peer violence in Uganda (Clarke *et al.*, 2016; Thumann *et al.*, 2016), suggesting that poverty relates to peer violence in this setting. Children experiencing peer violence had higher experiences of, and had attitudes that supported, teacher violence (Clarke *et al.*, 2016; Wandera *et al.*, 2017), suggesting the need to examine how social norms may underpin both teacher discipline and peer violence.

This body of work thus points to the widespread nature of violence by peers, as well as highlighting patterns in how some children experience it differently to others. Gender, poverty, disability and experience of other violence, such as teacher violence, are shown in these studies to be related to peer violence, which suggests the presence of underpinning inequalities. Work forefronting structural inequalities surrounding peer violence explores this further, and these studies span a broader range of sub-Saharan African settings.

Forefronting structural inequalities

Evidence shows how structural inequalities of poverty shape children's experiences of peer violence. The longitudinal mixed-methods Young Lives study in Ethiopia, India, Peru and Vietnam, exposes children's experiences of peer violence over time and situates this violence in relation to structural inequalities in their contexts (Pells *et al.*, 2018; Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016). Using a socioecological approach, Pells et al. (2018) highlight how the structural violence of poverty and gender inequality shape peer violence: for example showing how children could be bullied for lacking resources or other displays of poverty (Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016). The Young Lives study also examined how girls experienced sexual harassment from peers shaped by structural gender inequality (Morrow and Singh, 2016; Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016). Through these forms of violence, the authors argue that children learn norms of gendered

behaviour in their social contexts, and that peer violence can simultaneously reinforce these gender norms that also underpin community violence (Pells *et al.*, 2018).

Qualitative research conducted in Mirembe and Davies (2001) study in secondary schools in Uganda, and Leach's (2003) study in junior secondary schools in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi, found that girls experienced peer sexual harassment by male peers, and this served to reinforce sexual inequality and girls' subordination. Among secondary school pupils in Uganda, Muhanguzi (2011) girls faced both sexual harassment and further violence from male peers for rejecting sexual advances, and emotional violence and judgment for transgressing feminine norms through acquiescing too quickly. A double standard of sexuality was thus constructed here, also found elsewhere (Parkes and Heslop, 2013), as boys were situated in positions of impunity with their sexuality portrayed as dominant and uncontrollable, while girls held the responsibility to resist and reject it. These positionings of constraint for girls emerge as particularly significant at the intersect of gender and poverty, as qualitative studies with young people across sub-Saharan Africa (Bhana and Pattman, 2011; Krugu *et al.*, 2018) and Uganda (Ninsiima *et al.*, 2018; Nyanzi, Pool and Kinsman, 2001; Rassjo and Kiwanuka, 2010), found that when men and boys were seen as active and responsible for securing resources, and girls seen as reliant on them and passive, forms of transactional sex emerged that left girls particularly vulnerable to sexual violence from male peers and community members, and all vulnerable to the risk of HIV.

Literature forefronting structural inequalities also emphasises how schools' institutional practices, processes and hierarchies may all be implicated in reinforcing inequalities. Máiréad Dunne's analysis of gender in junior secondary schools in Ghana and Botswana (2007; see also Dunne and Leach, 2005) found that gender inequality pervaded, and was reinforced by, schools' institutional practices and yet was dismissed through a narrative of schools as gender-neutral spaces. Institutional roles and division of labour were highly gendered, and boys dominated school space and reinforced their positions of superiority through classroom interactions and violence against girls that was left unaddressed. Mayeza and Bhana (2017) also found in primary schools in South Africa that teachers dismissed violence, and downplayed the significance of gender, through a narrative of children's innocence and the 'normality' of children's play. Schools' failure to take action on boys' violence against girls, and instead trivialise it through naturalised gender discourses, was also found in Uganda (Mirembe and Davies, 2001). Further, poor supervision of school spaces means that schools can provide settings for violence to occur, such as how in Zimbabwe, bullying and stealing was found to take place in playground spaces, and sexual harassment around toilet areas (Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014).

Identifying structural inequalities offers important insights into how girls experience sexual violence from peers and community members in resource-poor settings, and how school practices may be underpinned by, and further reinforce, structural gender inequality. There is, however, also the risk of portraying girls primarily as victims and of negating the complexities of girls' experiences, as some identify in international development discourses (Cobbett, 2014; Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Leach and Humphreys, 2007). Strands in this literature that examine inequalities in relation to interactions and identities, offer insights into the nuances of girls' agency and experiences of violence in and around schools.

Forefronting interactions and identities

Examining children's interactions with and responses to peer violence, some studies have drawn on poststructural lenses to see peer violence as a way in which gendered, institutional identities are constructed and performed. Those emphasising identities have turned their attention to inequalities and hierarchies within, as well as between, gender categories, and thus given rise to an analysis of the contradictions and complexity of boys' and girls' experiences of peer violence.

Drawing on Judith Butler's (2007) concepts of gender as a performance, some studies position violence between peers as a performative act through which gender itself is constructed. Emma Renold's work in primary schools in England examines how gender and sexual identities are constructed through even young children's engagements with violence (2002; 2005). Emphasising the socially constructed nature of these identities does not render structural inequalities less powerful, however, and Ringrose and Renold (2013) argue that discourses of 'bullying' downplay the powerful forms of exclusion based on gender, sexuality, class and race that underpin peer violence.

A rich literature draws on Raewyn Connell's (1987; 1995) conceptualisations of gender identities to examine peer violence in sub-Saharan African settings, with a particular emphasis on masculinities. These studies examine how peers construct dynamic and hierarchical masculinities in relation to each other, to resources and to school space, attending to the centrality of violence for masculinities (Connell, 1995). Deevia Bhana's work in South Africa (2005; 2012; Bhana and Mayeza, 2016; 2011) explores violence in school pupils' gendered interactions and their construction of gendered identities within discourses of heterosexuality. In a Durban primary school (2005), she highlights two salient masculinities that boys performed: *tsotsi* masculinities based in expressions of aggression, subversion of authority and misogyny, and *yimvu* masculinities that embodied peacefulness and passivity. *Tsotsi* boys reinforced their masculinity through taunting *yimvu* boys, who sought to distance themselves,

thus reinforcing their passivity. Negotiating school space was key, as while some boys held positions of masculine dominance in the classroom, they could not on the playground amidst older boys. Ethnographic observations at different time periods in the school day and in different school spaces, showed how these identities were not fixed, but overlapping and changeable, and constructed relationally with the ongoing negotiation of hierarchies.

These studies found that age and size converged to produce dominant masculinities among boys who were older, larger and able to secure their own, and take others', resources, while smaller, younger boys were subordinated in relation (Mayeza and Bhana, 2020), also showing the significance of resources for masculinities in contexts of resource-paucity. Sara Humphreys (2008b) similarly observed in classrooms in Botswana how boys who embodied alternative masculinities were positioned as feminised, and were excluded from the verbal and physical classroom space. The public denigration of subordinate masculinities, while a process of hegemonic masculinity construction, can also be read as a sign of its fragility, as alternative forms '[gnaw] at the hegemonic status of violent masculinity' (Bhana, 2005). In Botswana boys embodying hegemonic masculine identities also encountered pressures and difficulties, as they felt the need to misbehave and avoid studying to gain respect from peers, even when they expressed the desire to learn (Humphreys, 2008b). The struggle to maintain hegemonic masculinities can therefore be ongoing, as resources and hierarchical positions are fought over, and an interactional lens fronting identities shows boys' negotiations of masculinities to be complex and precarious.

While Connell's theorisations of masculinities have underpinned a rich scholarship on boys' engagements with peer violence, fewer studies examine girls' identities around violence in schools. Work examining girls' experiences of violence has more often foregrounded girls' subjugation within structural inequalities, yet a small but growing body of literature has unpacked a 'girls-as-victims' discourse (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006; Leach and Humphreys, 2007; Parkes, Ross and Heslop, 2020) to examine the nuances of how girls employ their agency to construct gender identities. Some have revealed how girls are active in the construction of hierarchies within and across sex boundaries, with girls seeking power within hegemonic masculinity discourses through excluding alternative masculinities, such as girls in primary schools in South Africa and England who bullied younger boys, or those seen as 'effeminate' (Bhana, 2005; Renold, 2002). Dunne in Botswana (2007) found that all pupils were actively involved in negotiating and affirming gender identities, and Muhanguzi (2011) showed in Uganda how girls in secondary schools asserted themselves through rejecting boys' sexual advances, yet at the same time this also contributed to expectations of girls' sexual restraint. Thus, through taking agentic positions in refusing boys, girls could also contribute to conditions that constrained their sexual agency in broader terms.

Drawing on Butler, Reddy and Dunne (2007) found with South African adolescents how operating in preferred feminine positions of compliance and innocence, underpinned by norms and practices that relegated girls' sexual desires, led to girls being active in constraining their own sexualities and to risky sexual practices that left them vulnerable to violence. Such positionings are particularly complex around transactional sex. Highlighting a discursive trend towards a tradition/modernity dichotomy that positions traditional sexual practices, such as early marriage and female genital mutilation, in opposition to girls' increased agency to negotiate sexual relationships on their terms, Parkes et al.'s findings with girls in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique troubled this distinction (2016a). They found that girls were often located between modern and traditional positions, both seeking to resist traditional gender norms and constraints, yet knowing the challenges and risks of doing so. Jewkes and Morrell (2012) in South Africa emphasise how young women seeking to engage in sexual practices associated with modernity, such as viewing sexual relationships with agency, desire and for some, for material gain, found their efforts to do so could be constrained by deep-rooted unequal gender norms.

Girls' engagements in transactional sex may also lead to emotional peer violence, as studies across sub-Saharan African settings have found girls to construct binaries around those that 'accept' or 'resist' sexuality, with moral judgment attached to those who accept (Bhana, 2018; Kinsman, Nyanzi and Pool, 2000b; Vanner, 2017). Yet such discursive regulation of this boundary may also hide the complexity of girls' sexual practices, particularly in resource-poor settings. These insights suggest more is needed to be known about the complexities with which girls construct their identities amidst structural inequalities, and what contradictions these constructions may conceal. Further, existing examinations of girls' femininities in sub-Saharan Africa have largely taken place outside the school, leaving girls' constructions of femininities in schools less well-explored.

Studies that investigate peer violence in schools through a lens that forefronts interactions and identities, therefore, show how children may construct gender identities in schools through violence, as 'bodily enactments are used to establish an identity' (Bhana, 2005, p.211). The rich analyses explored here draw attention to the complexity of children's experiences around violence and reveal that sexual, emotional and physical violence between peers are all significant in the construction of their identities. Studies that examine peer violence in relation to the schools' institutional setting are few, however those that do situate its embeddedness within school structures and processes (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006). Peer violence in schools is also often analysed in isolation from the role teachers may play in supervising, responding to, or making meaning around these forms of violence and the discursive space within which it operates in the school, yet teachers may be a key site of meaning-making around gender, sexual norms and violence at the school level (Iyer and

Aggleton, 2013) and in overlooking or dismissing violence (Dunne, 2007; Mayeza and Bhana, 2017; Mirembe and Davies, 2001).

Teacher discipline violence

Forefronting acts/individuals

In spite of global policy pushes to promote children's rights and prevent corporal punishment, and research suggesting it persists despite these efforts (Covell and Becker, 2011; Hillis *et al.*, 2016; SRSG, 2012), very little remains known about violence from school staff. An increase in national violence against children surveys of recent years has produced a wealth of population-based data, however they often do not differentiate between teachers and other perpetrators of violence and instead subsume teachers under the broader 'authority figures' category (e.g. in East Africa: Ugandan Ministry of Gender, 2018; UNICEF Kenya, 2012; UNICEF Tanzania, 2011), making it difficult to ascertain extent of schoolteachers' perpetration of physical violence.

A number of smaller-scale quantitative studies have revealed the extent of teacher physical punishment in more localised settings. The most extensive research has taken place in Uganda, with a body of work representative of primary school children in Luwero District. The GSS data found that 52% of children had experienced physical violence from school staff in the past week, and 93% and 94% of boys and girls had ever experienced it, while a third of pupils reported ever having experienced the emotional violence of being humiliated, insulted or shouted at. This violence was associated with children's educational outcomes and mental health (Devries *et al.*, 2014a; Thumann *et al.*, 2016). Teachers were more likely to use physical violence if they used violence elsewhere or had experienced violence themselves (Merrill *et al.*, 2017); children experiencing violence from teachers were more likely to experience other forms of violence (Clarke *et al.*, 2016); and evidence suggests that children experiencing violence from teachers may have lower resilience to deal with violence in other areas of their lives (Namy *et al.*, 2017). These findings thus suggest that violence from school staff to pupils may be closely related to other forms of violence. A global study of school-based health surveys found that national corporal punishment bans were associated with lower peer physical violence, further suggesting links across these forms of school violence (Elgar *et al.*, 2018), however more research is needed in localised settings to explore this implication further.

As with peer violence, work forefronting acts and individuals also highlights vulnerability to teacher discipline violence in relation to age, gender, disability and poverty. An analysis of national survey data in five countries, and a global systematic analysis found that physical violence from adult

caregivers decreased with pupil age, for both sexes (Devries *et al.*, 2018; Stark *et al.*, 2019). Quantitative analyses of corporal punishment have often found that boys experience higher levels, such as in Pakistan where boys aged 11-14 years were significantly more likely than girls to experience school staff violence (Khuwaja *et al.*, 2018), and a longitudinal study in South Africa and Malawi finding that boys experienced considerably more community and school discipline violence than girls (Hensels *et al.*, 2016). The representative study in Luwero District found that boys and girls experienced similar levels of physical and emotional violence from teachers (Devries *et al.*, 2014a), however, pointing to the need to unpack its gendered significance in particular settings. A study in Luwero also points to associations between violent school discipline and poverty, as pupils who worked outside of school and ate less than three meals a day experienced more school staff physical violence (Knight *et al.*, 2016). Further, teachers teaching in overcrowded conditions and those with lower socio-economic status reported higher levels of stress in Hecker *et al.*'s (2018) study in Tanzania, and stress was found to be related to their use of violent discipline here and in Uganda (Ssenyonga *et al.*, 2019).

Through studies that forefront the acts and individuals of teacher physical and emotional violence, therefore, evidence suggests that teacher violence to pupils in schools is high and widespread in sub-Saharan African settings and in Uganda in particular. Links also emerge between teacher violence and other forms of violence, as well as suggestions that inequalities of gender and poverty influence its use. Furthermore, the persistence and pervasiveness of corporal punishment despite prohibition in many sub-Saharan African settings, as highlighted by this body of work, points to the need to unpack the social norms, attitudes and beliefs that also underpin teacher violence.

Forefronting structural inequalities

Building on these findings, a significant body of work examines physical and emotional violence against children through a lens that forefronts structural inequalities. Much of this work has examined physical punishment in homes and communities, and through a child's rights framework that emphasises it as a form of abuse or maltreatment of children by adults, underpinned by generational inequality. While some studies frame corporal punishment as a clear and reprehensible violation of children's rights (Renzaho *et al.*, 2018; Richter and Dawes, 2008; Tadesse, 2019), some nuance this by coupling a focus on children's rights with an attention to the socially embedded nature of beliefs supporting the use of corporal punishment, and the challenges of preventing it where its use is ubiquitous and supported by traditional child-rearing norms (Breen, Daniels and Tomlinson, 2015; Morrell, 2001b; Morrow and Singh, 2014; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). Indeed, a narrow focus on

child's rights has been critiqued for failing to engage with the complexities of children's lives, particularly in contexts of poverty (Morrow and Pells, 2012; Nolan and Pells, 2020).

Qualitative research with caregivers in Tanzania (Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010) identified strong community norms that denoted levels of corporal punishment that were deemed acceptable, insufficient or excessive within a discourse of parental care. Similar findings of child-rearing norms supporting corporal punishment are found in Uganda (Boydell *et al.*, 2017). Some studies in this lens also examine children's views, such as a mixed-methods study conducted in Ghana, Twum-Danso (2013) that found while children experienced negative emotions around corporal punishment, the majority perceived it as a necessary form of child-rearing. Across all these studies, a discursive line emerged between acceptable, and unacceptable use of physical punishment, showing that norms underpinning corporal punishment do not widely support its unregulated use, and that the concept of maltreatment holds currency with caregivers and children across contexts. The line denoting 'acceptable' use was not uniformly perceived between, or even within settings, however, and both caregivers and children could have mixed feelings about it. Through highlighting the presence of norms that support corporal punishment use (to varying degrees), therefore, this body of work employs these findings to the task of better understanding, and ultimately preventing, corporal punishment as a form of violence against children, and underpinned by notions of generational inequality that permit abuse of children by adults.

Work examining teachers' use of violence has built on notions of adults' authority over children, to examine how schools' institutional hierarchies, structures and practices can all add institutional significance to norms of physical discipline. Several studies examine this in aspects of school life, such as how physical discipline relates to everyday institutional norms and practices in reinforcing timings, academic performance and required materials as examined in Zimbabwe (Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014). Focus groups with South African public school teachers (Segalo and Rambuda, 2018) showed the difficulties teachers may face in upholding institutional expectations and norms without corporal punishment. Sharon Tao's (2015) observations and interviews with teachers in Tanzania found that corporal punishment use emerged out of layers of constraint, where teachers struggled to maintain classroom discipline without it and feared others' judgment within the institutional setting.

Eliciting children's views, some studies have also emphasised pupils' perspectives on social and institutional discipline norms. While some pupils are found to experience corporal punishment negatively as a form of violence (Morrow and Singh, 2015; Ngubane, Mkhize and Balgobind Singh, 2019) or that encourages them to feel angry (Moyo, Khewu and Bayaga, 2014), some pupils also support its use to maintain discipline and encourage academic success (Hendriks *et al.*, 2020; Payet

and Franchi, 2008; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011). A study in Ghana found that children could express experiencing painful emotions during corporal punishment, yet simultaneously support its use (Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). Across settings, including Uganda, children frequently differentiate between perceived fair and unfair use of corporal punishment, and condemn the latter while implicitly condoning the former (Dunne, 2007; Hendriks *et al.*, 2020; Humphreys, 2008a; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011). These findings suggest the need to understand the complexity of children's perspectives around physical punishment, as these wide-ranging feelings and perspectives may be contradictory within settings, or even within individuals. Further, although receiving less attention in the literature, children in some settings described finding emotional abuse from teachers more upsetting than physical punishment (Dunne, 2007; Dunne and Leach, 2005), although this requires further exploration. Greater understanding is thus needed into what shapes children's experiences and feelings around discipline.

This literature also shows how structural inequalities of poverty influence violent discipline, with poorer pupils being more likely to experience corporal punishment (Morrow and Singh, 2015; Oganda Portela and Pells, 2015), and teachers' use being shaped by the challenges of resource-poor classrooms (Tao, 2015). Violent discipline from teachers may also be implicated in other forms of violence, as qualitative findings across sub-Saharan African settings suggest that children may have more antagonistic, violent interactions and relations with their peers around adult discipline violence (Breen, Daniels and Tomlinson, 2015; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011; Vanner, 2018). A focus on both of these forms of violence simultaneously, however, would be needed to unpack these findings in more detail.

While corporal punishment has not traditionally been viewed as a form of gender violence, and prevention approaches tend to be siloed from other, more explicitly gendered forms of violence (Parkes *et al.*, 2016b), a small but significant body of work has also begun to examine its gendered significance. Studies in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique (Parkes and Heslop, 2011), and in Ghana and Botswana (Dunne, 2007), found that male teachers were consistently more likely to administer corporal punishment. In Uganda (Mirembe and Davies, 2001), male teachers were identified as commanding greater authority from students with physical punishment holding a symbolic presence, as an association of men with corporal punishment underpinned their authority, and female teachers viewed as more 'soft' in comparison and less able to administer corporal punishment. Sara Humphreys (2008a) makes a particular case for viewing corporal punishment as gender violence, and found in Botswana that teachers used more extreme forms of physical punishment with boys. This related to naturalised differences between girls and boys that positioned girls as shyer and more fearful, and boys as more badly behaved. The use of corporal punishment in the institutional setting of

the school, Humphreys argues, upholds a ‘masculine authoritarian disciplinary system’ (2008a, p.537).

Employing a lens that forefronts structural inequalities, therefore, these studies show how corporal punishment may be seen as both a form of adult violence underpinned by adult-child imbalances of power, supported by contextual norms of child-rearing and discipline, and, further, a form of teacher violence supported by institutional hierarchies, practices and structures. The complexity and contradictions of children’s perceptions and emotions around corporal punishment points to the need to examine children’s experiences in more depth. Further, an attendance to structural inequalities also shows how it is shaped by contexts of poverty and its role in reinforcing gender norms and gender inequality. This has given rise to a small strand in the literature examining how teacher corporal punishment and emotional violence is implicated in individuals’ struggles to construct their gendered and institutional identities.

Forefronting interactions and identities

Studies taking an interactional approach to understanding corporal punishment and other teacher discipline violence may be seen in two strands. Firstly, one strand draws on poststructural analyses of institutions to examine power and authority, with teacher violence being analysed for its disciplinary role in enforcing institutional control and of constituting particular kinds of school subjects. A second strand can be viewed in similar terms as the work forefronting identities in peer violence, and takes critical account of teachers’ gendered engagements in corporal punishment and other forms of discipline, and its significance for their institutional identities.

Drawing on Foucault’s conceptualisations of power in institutions and colonial legacies in education, a body of work in sub-Saharan Africa has examined the ways in which schools regulate and discipline all school actors, according to particular matrices of domination and subordination. The work of Máiréad Dunne and others in Botswana and Ghana unpacks the different aspects of schooling that regulate institutional hierarchies, and simultaneously construct the identities on which these hierarchies are based. These have particular significance in post-colonial settings where both the task and method of teaching subordination to learners have their roots in colonial legacies (Adzahlie-Mensah and Dunne, 2019). In a basic school in Ghana, Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah (2016) identify a strict hierarchy of authority, headed by the headteacher, followed by teachers, prefects then pupils. Learners saw themselves as subjugated and described feeling like ‘nobodies’, with no voice or agency within the school. Teacher discipline practices, including physical violence, was a central means of enforcing this hierarchy. Exploring young people’s attempts to negotiate school attendance and

participation alongside domestic and labour responsibilities, Dunne and Ananga (2013) found in Ghana that physical discipline was a way in which teachers excluded those learners viewed as ‘drop-outs’ and restricted their access to the school. In this analysis, both within the school itself, and around its boundaries, therefore, learners became ‘docile bodies’ (Foucault, 1977a, p. 136), constituted as subjects within schools’ hierarchical structures, and teachers’ use of discipline was a means of constituting these subjects and their regulation and subordination.

These studies also show how learners’ identities and authority are differentially constituted. In Ghana age was found to be a key marker of status, as older pupils were treated differently by some teachers and experienced less physical discipline (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016). However this marginalised both older and younger pupils, as while older pupils were excluded from active participation in the classroom, younger pupils were positioned as lower status and therefore subject to violent abuse by teachers. At the same time, infantilising older pupils could also be a way in which teachers’ reinforced their institutional status over learners (Dunne and Ananga, 2013). Findings from across Botswana and Ghana show that institutional gender identities may also be constructed and reinforced by the organisation and regulation of school space, the assignment of school tasks, and different expectations of behaviour. Teachers’ use of discipline was found to reinforce both these gender identities and, simultaneously, the teachers’ authority (Dunne, 2007; Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016; Dunne and Leach, 2005). In one instance a teacher used his disciplinary status to exclude an older female pupil in retaliation for refusing his sexual advances, showing how age, gender, learner status and positioning as ‘drop-out’ all underpinned the teacher’s wielding of authority over this learner (Dunne and Ananga, 2013). Further explorations are therefore needed into the linkages between teachers’ sexual and institutional authority, underpinned by violent discipline, to enact sexual violence on learners, as I return to below.

Some studies have drawn on Foucault’s (1977a) conceptualisation of disciplinary power to examine how specific hierarchical techniques work in practice. A study with teachers in South Africa (Govender and Sookrajh, 2014) viewed teachers’ use of corporal punishment in line with their personal experiences of it as children, in relation to the internalisation of a ‘normalising judgment’ (Foucault, 1977a, p. 177) that dictated pupils’ behaviour and reinforced the authority of the teacher. Catherine Vanner’s study in primary schools in Kenya (2018) also found that violence and institutional structures could mutually reinforce. Drawing on Foucault to forefront how schools shape desired outcomes and behaviours by ranking learners against each other, Vanner found that corporal punishment, verbal abuse and public humiliation were used as means to promote academic success.

In the second strand in this literature, a small number of studies have explored individuals’ gender identities in relation to teacher discipline. In particular this work highlights the interconnectivity of

violent, hegemonic masculinities with corporal punishment. Robert Morrell's examination of corporal punishment and masculinity in schools in South Africa (2001a) found that while boys were taught 'tough' masculinities that could withstand physical pain through physical punishment, girls were taught to be 'submissive and unquestioning' (p.142). Gender expectations extended to pupils' perceptions of teachers too, as male teachers were seen as harsher and authoritarian, while female teachers were perceived to be more reasonable and understanding.

Drawing on Butler's theorisation of how gender is discursively constructed through performances, and Connell's conceptualisation of masculinities and femininities and the importance of the physical body, Humphreys (2008a; 2008b) examines gender and corporal punishment in schools through a lens that draws out both its 'discursivity and materiality' (p. 529). In junior secondary schools in Botswana, Humphreys observed how gendered identities were constructed through corporal punishment, as it served the construction of 'aggressive masculinities, submissive femininities and antagonistic gender and institutional relations' (2008b, p. 779). Moreover, corporal punishment may also be a site of identity conflict and contestation. Some male pupils in Humphreys' study (2008a) refused female teachers' corporal punishment to enhance their masculinity, and in one instance, Humphreys observed the offhand way in which female teachers punished boys, through which they protected both their femininity and their institutional identities from perceptions that the punishment had been unsuccessful. Dunne (2007) also found in Botswana and Ghana that female teachers could ask male teachers to beat students on their behalf as physical discipline transgressed norms of femininity. Where teachers' gender identities could be in conflict with institutional identities, corporal punishment thus emerged as a site of the negotiation of this conflict.

Corporal punishment, and to a certain extent the emotional violence of verbal abuse or humiliation, thus emerges in this literature as being a key aspect to schools' institutional hierarchies and power structures. Teachers' use of violence may function as an expression of domination over learners, and a means through which this domination is achieved. Moreover, corporal punishment also emerges as a way in which teachers' and learners' institutional gender identities are constructed and contested. More insights are needed to expand this body of work, however, particularly in relation to emotionally violent discipline. As verbal abuse and humiliation by teachers emerges as significant across all three of these bodies of work into teacher violence, yet has not received the same level of critical attention, I employ the term 'teacher discipline violence' to refer to both physical and emotional violence used as discipline. While some indications point to sexual implications of corporal punishment, these are also largely underexplored. Some findings suggest that teachers may use their institutional status to engage in sexual violence against learners, however more research is needed to examine the sexual implications of teachers' authority over learners' bodies. I return to this consideration in the following section.

Teacher sexual violence

Literature that considers teacher sexual violence is shaped somewhat differently to the other two bodies of work examined here. Sexual violence against children is particularly sensitive in nature, often situated within layers of taboo, laden with challenges around definition and terminology, and methodological attempts to capture it are not straightforward (Leach, 2015; Spowart, 2020). While the three lenses of acts/individuals, structural inequalities, and interactions and identities, are useful in examining the different levels at which teacher sexual violence takes place in schools, the literature attempting to capture this particularly nebulous form of violence does not sit easily within these framings, and, further, is a small body of work. Here I bring these lenses to bear on this literature to draw out the key learnings for how teacher sexual violence operates at these different levels in schools, but find that these findings come from largely overlapping studies.

Challenges in capturing teacher sexual violence in research begin with the task of definition. The World Health Organization defines sexual abuse in childhood as:

[T]he involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared, or else that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Children can be sexually abused by both adults and other children who are – by virtue of their age or stage of development – in a position of responsibility, trust or power over the victim (2006, p. 10).

However global definitions such as this do not necessarily hold relevance across settings. In their global meta-analysis, Stoltenborgh et al. (2011) estimated that global prevalence of childhood sexual abuse was 11.8%, although they highlight choices to be made about using global or local definitions. Actual numbers may also be considerably higher, as methodological constraints pose challenges to data collection and different methodologies reveal different findings (Barr *et al.*, 2017; Stoltenborgh *et al.*, 2011). Conducting surveys at home or at school, the nature of active or passive parental consent and interviewer-administered or self-report questionnaire approach are all important and may lead children to feel more or less comfortable to report (Devries and Meinck, 2018; Ward *et al.*, 2018).

In light of these methodological challenges, quantitative approaches have revealed trends for girls and boys in experiencing sexual violence, yet these are not straightforward. Girls have frequently been found to experience significantly more sexual violence than boys (Finkelhor, 1994; Ohene *et al.*, 2015; Stark *et al.*, 2019; Stoltenborgh *et al.*, 2011), yet some studies have uncovered high levels of sexual violence against boys too (Sumner *et al.*, 2016; Ward *et al.*, 2018). This further highlights the

importance of methods in uncovering sexual violence against boys which may be even more taboo and complex (Devries and Meinck, 2018).

Sexual violence carried out by teachers in schools is located beneath additional layers of taboo and power dynamics that may further hinder efforts to capture prevalence. In line with how little is known about teacher violence generally (Devries *et al.*, 2018), a particular gap exists in quantitative data on teacher sexual violence. The evidence there is suggests that teacher sexual violence is widespread, with a nationally representative survey in South Africa finding that schoolteachers were the most significant perpetrators of rape against girls under 15 years, accounting for 33% of rapes (Jewkes *et al.*, 2002). Differences in methodology and terminology complicate the task of collecting prevalence data for teacher sexual violence too, however. Leach found that two studies in similar areas in Botswana conducted a year apart, reported widely varying findings on teacher sexual violence (Rivers, 2000; Rossetti, 2001, cited in Leach, 2015, p.33).

Considering these challenges, much of the work revealing the acts and individuals of teacher sexual violence has been conducted through qualitative approaches in more localised settings. Although these cannot estimate prevalence, they offer indications into its widespread nature. Studies conducted with teachers and pupils in Zimbabwe, Ghana and Malawi found that while it was unclear how many teachers were engaged in sexual relationships, reports of its occurrence were frequent, came from different sources and could be downplayed by participants (Leach *et al.*, 2003; Leach and Machakanja, 2000). These studies found that one-to-one interviews did not predominantly lead to personal disclosures of abuse, and that girls were more likely to discuss others' experiences than their own, also found elsewhere (Parkes and Heslop, 2011). While difficult to ascertain extent, therefore, these findings suggest that sexual violence from teachers is common in schools and may not be perceived as such by school and community members. This leads to the need to examine social and institutional norms that may underpin this form of violence

Attending to the structural constraints of both gender inequality and poverty, some studies in sub-Saharan Africa examine girls' vulnerability to transactional sex and sexual abuse, including teachers as perpetrators. Deevia Bhana's (2012) study in and around a South African high school examined girls' experiences of sexual violence from teachers alongside sexual violence from boyfriends, and in their neighbourhoods and homes. Bhana found that resource-paucity and gender norms both worked to reduce girls' agency in avoiding teachers' sexual advances. These findings are reiterated in strikingly similar patterns found in studies across sub-Saharan Africa (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014; Reilly, 2014) and in Uganda (Jones, 2011; Muhanguzi, 2011), as these studies similarly found that sexual violence by teachers mirrored practices of transactional sex, or sexual harassment underpinned by gender sexual norms in the community.

Focusing on community norms and practices in this way, however, has meant that sexual violence by teachers has largely not been examined primarily in terms of its institutional relevance in schools. Findings from across sub-Saharan African settings do point to key institutional aspects of teacher sexual violence, however, suggesting that questions of power and coercion are particularly salient. Studies expose teachers exchanging sex for grades (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Leach, 2003; Reilly, 2014), and girls engaging in sexual relationships with teachers out of fear, due to the power and authority teachers had over them (Jones, 2011; Reilly, 2014). Heslop et al.'s (2015) study into sexuality and coercion in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique found that while some girls entered into sexual relationships with teachers as a form of transactional sex, often they feared the repercussions of refusal in an institutional setting. The authors draw out how coercion functions within particular institutional contexts, such as the school, and note that teacher sexual violence embodied a convergence of several layers of inequality, based on 'age, authority, status and economic resources' (p. 144). Highlighting similar tensions, Leach et al.'s (2003) study in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana found that girls' responses to teachers' sexual advances could be contradictory, as while girls could reject unwanted sexual attention from teachers, some also recognised the material benefits of transactional sex with teachers. Pupils in Hendriks' et al.'s (2020) study in Burundi, however, all viewed transactional sex with teachers as a form of violence and saw themselves in positions of vulnerability.

The silence and taboos surrounding sexual violence may also take on particular significance within the institutional setting of the school (Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, 2006; Leach, 2015). A number of studies found the most significant perpetrators of sexual violence appeared to be male teachers (Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014; Reilly, 2014; Shumba, 2001; Shumba *et al.*, 2008), yet all authors highlight the silence and taboo around this form of violence: the failure to monitor it, the lack of action taken, and the reluctance of girls to report it. As Leach (2003) found in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana, girls may be expected not to report teacher sexual violence due to constraints of gender inequality alongside institutional norms of teacher authority. Findings from Mirembe and Davies' (2001) study in Uganda that female teachers were also reluctant to report sexual harassment from male pupils and colleagues, suggest the predominance of gender hierarchies. Female teachers may also find it difficult to challenge male colleagues' violence in a context of expected female deference to men (de Lange, Mitchell and Bhana, 2012; Leach, 2015). A study in South Africa found that although teachers saw their role as caring for girls experiencing sexual violence, social and material limitations constrained their capacity to take action (Bhana, 2015b).

In addition, while some studies consider sexual violence experienced by boys (Mirembe and Davies, 2001), or highlight the lack of acknowledgement of this (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018), many studies do not take account of this form of violence in spite of how survey findings suggest it is

widespread (Sumner et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2018). This points both to a tendency to associate sexual violence with girls, as well as highlighting extra layers of taboo, with some studies emphasising the need to examine sexual violence against boys through understandings of masculinity and heteronormativity in particular contexts (Fontes and Plummer, 2010; Heslop *et al.*, 2019). Further, sexual violence against girls in schools may also have adverse experiences for boys in contexts where girls are favoured in the classroom (Dunne, 2007), yet this is similarly underexplored in the literature.

Studies that examine gendered interactions and identities through and around teacher sexual violence are few, however, those studies that do reveal their complex nature. Around teacher sexual harassment in the classroom, in Botswana and Ghana, Dunne (2007, p. 508) found that while some girls ‘visibly shrunk’ and shied away from the attention, others ‘glowed’ and could boast to their friends, performing a sexualised, powerful femininity. Transactional sexual relationships with teachers also poses challenges and complexities for girls’ sexual identities. Heslop *et al.* (2015) found in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique, that strict gender norms led to girls largely constructing and adhering to ‘ideal’ schoolgirl identities that eschewed sexual activity with peers or teachers, in favour of being chaste and studious, and these norms made it largely impossible for girls to construct sexual identities around their own sexual desires. This was further complicated by the demands of poverty, which led to a murkiness around the forced or consensual nature of transactional sex and therefore girls’ agency in their sexual identities.

Some studies have theorised femininities around transactional sex with older men, largely in out-of-school spaces. Drawing on Connell (2005), Jewkes and Morrell find in their qualitative study with young women in South Africa, that they generally sought older boyfriends for reasons that linked material gain with concepts of desire, power and romance. One girl reflected on the attractiveness of a teacher at her school that was linked to both his physical appeal and wealth. The young women found, however, that under structural gender inequality their agency in relationships was often severely constrained, and there were a range of ways in which young women could respond this constraint, with some girls challenging it more than others. As with Connell’s conceptualisation of masculinities, the authors identified a range of femininities that young women could embody that were relational and dynamic. In contrast to Connell’s masculinities, however, they found that there was no clear hierarchy among these femininities and that all were subordinate to men under the constraints of gender inequality. This offers interesting insight into the possibilities for girls’ and women’s identities around transactional sex with older men, however teachers are not explored in depth in this study.

Returning to the definition of sexual violence in childhood with which this section opened, this literature thus further expounds the challenging nature of definition. The studies explored here show how the concepts of: ‘does not fully comprehend’, ‘is unable to give consent to’ and ‘violates the laws

or social taboos of society’, may be impossible to determine in contexts where children may rely on transactional sex for essential or desired resources; where social norms or ‘social taboos’ around these practices are complex and contradictory; and where gender and sexual identities may also be conflicting. The concept of ‘in a position of responsibility, trust or power over the victim’, emerges as more straightforward, however, as findings across studies show how teachers operate in positions of power over pupils in schools, and the potential for sexual coercion in this dynamic is thus significant.

I thus employ the term ‘teacher sexual violence’ to refer to all sexual interactions between teachers and pupils due to this institutional power dynamic, however acknowledge that this may be understood in a wide range of ways, and seek to also draw out this complexity through the analysis employed here. As examinations of teacher sexual violence that forefront this institutional aspect are currently lacking, this is a key area for research. Further, due to the challenges in capturing this form of violence, and the fact that research into teacher sexual violence does not sit easily within the different levels of acts/individuals, structural inequalities and interactions and identities, and that there are gaps in all areas of the knowledge base, further insights are needed at all levels and into how it may be best captured and understood in research.

Implications for this study: Towards an examination of gender violence in schools

With this chapter I firstly aimed to critically review the bodies of work into peer violence, teacher discipline violence, and teacher sexual violence, and to consider the insights offered by each, their significance for each other, and the gaps that remain for research. Secondly, I examined these bodies of work at three analytical levels and sought the implications of this framing for how the multi-dimensionality of gender violence in schools could best be captured, and for the theoretical lens for this study. Through my reading of these bodies of work at all levels ran a preoccupation with the school as an institutional setting, as it is to the functioning of gender violence within schools that the attention of this thesis is directed. Here I reflect on the findings of this critical review and the ways they underpin the theoretical lens employed in this study.

Insights from the literature into peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence

The literature considering peer violence reveals how violence between peers in schools is widespread and shaped by structural inequalities of its context, such as the struggle for resources in resource-poor settings and gender inequality. Engagements in peer violence are shown to be a way in which

contextual gender norms are constructed and reinforced, and work foregrounding interactions and identities points to the ways in which boys and girls construct gendered identities in relation to this violence. While a rich body of work explores girls' experiences of sexual violence from male peers and community members in relation to structural gender inequality, with several studies conducted in Ugandan settings, studies exploring the nuance and complexity of their femininities in schools in relation to this violence are fewer. Further, much of the work conducted into children's identity constructions around violence in schools has been in South Africa, Botswana and Ghana, with a paucity of recent studies in Uganda.

In addition, while some analyses of peer violence have highlighted the institutional significance of its taking place within the school site, studies that examine its situation with discursive framings of gender at the whole school level, the role of teachers in making meaning around peer violence and how it relates to other forms of institutional violence, are few. There is, therefore, a need for research into peer violence that examines both boys' and girls' experiences of peer violence in relation to structural inequalities of their contexts, the ways in which they construct masculinities and femininities around it, and that which examines its positioning within schools' institutional gender regimes. Further, while a recent body of work examines the acts/individuals of peer violence in Luwero District, Uganda, there is a need to build on these findings to explore these areas with qualitative, sociological insights.

Studies conducted into the acts and individuals of corporal punishment have also revealed how its use is frequent and widespread in Luwero District, Uganda. As with peer violence, there is now a need to explore these findings further and examine teacher discipline violence in this setting through a lens that forefronts both structural inequalities and interactions and identities. The complexity of children's feelings and experiences around corporal punishment is well documented, as across a range of contexts children may either reject it entirely, support it as part of teaching or, as most commonly found in this literature, accept physical punishment perceived to be fair, but reject what is perceived to be unfair or excessive. These insights suggest the need to further explore children's experiences of corporal punishment, in particular to theorise what shapes the range of feelings, perceptions and responses they have. Research into teacher discipline violence has also unpacked its institutional nature, with a rich body of work examining how contextual norms of child-rearing and generational inequality underpin corporal punishment use, and how schools' structures and hierarchies add a further institutional element to this form of discipline. A small group of studies foregrounding interactions have drawn on poststructural theory to examine how teachers' use of discipline, including in particular corporal punishment, constructs and reinforces layers of subjugation and institutional hierarchies, and brings particular learner subjectivities into being. This lens may have much to offer such a theorised account of children's experiences of corporal punishment in schools.

Further, as significantly more attention has been placed on corporal punishment than emotional violence, yet some studies suggest it is significant for children, more insights are needed into this form of violence. This study thus employs the term ‘teacher discipline violence’ to encompass both forms. There are also indications that teacher discipline violence has implications for other forms of violence in schools too, such as peer violence and sexual violence, however these interrogations are limited in the literature and require more explicit attention. Studies forefronting structural inequalities across sub-Saharan African settings show how discipline violence has significance for gender inequality, yet the gendered aspects are only beginning to be explored. Studies examining identities have also shown the role of discipline violence for teachers’ and learners’ gender identities in a small, but key body of work, and more research is needed to contribute to knowledge on how teacher discipline violence functions as a form of gender violence, and its significance for institutional gender regimes and pupils’ and teachers’ gendered identities.

Teacher sexual violence has been explored somewhat differently in the literature and the challenges that face data collection and interpretation at all levels are well recognised. Qualitative and anecdotal insights suggest it may be much more widespread than has been found in quantitative methodologies, and studies emphasising structural inequalities, and interactions and identities have highlighted the sensitivities and taboos in which it is shrouded and the murkiness around consent and coercion that cloud understandings of sexual violence, particularly in contexts of poverty. The implications for imbalances of power of sexual violence in institutional settings, and by adults in positions of power over children, are clearer to conceptualise, and some studies point to teachers’ abusing power within schools. Few studies have fronted this aspect however, and accounts of the institutional nature of sexual violence within schools and its implications for other forms of violence and schools’ gender regimes are lacking. There is, therefore, a need for further research into all levels of acts/individuals, structural inequalities and interactions and identities around teacher sexual violence, and particularly those that forefront its institutional significance.

Further, as explored in Chapter 2, sexual violence has long been viewed as the most overtly gendered form of violence, and thus it has traditionally been framed in terms of girls’ vulnerability to sexual violence from male peers and adults. While this has rightly merited attention to how girls may engage in transactional sex with older men; may experience unequal power balances and a lack of sexual agency in relationships, and sexual violence where girls’ bodies are seen as sexually accessible to boys and men, particularly in contexts of both structural gender inequality and resource-paucity, this has also led to concerns of over-emphasising girls’ vulnerability and of contributing to a ‘girls-as-victims’ discourse (Leach and Humphreys, 2007). In such a discourse the range of girls’ possible femininities and their active engagements in the construction of gender identities are under-examined, as are boys’ experiences of sexual violence. There is thus a need for theorised examinations that draw

out the nuances of both boys' and girls' experiences of, and around, teacher sexual violence in schools.

A multi-dimensional framework for gender violence in schools

In this chapter I aimed to identify the usefulness of examining these three forms of violence as distinct and what this means for intervention approaches seeking to prevent them. I find through this critical review that there is considerable conceptual value in considering peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence as distinct forms of violence and this thesis will build on the rich existing bodies of work explored here to examine each form of violence within schools. At the same time, however, I also find that this is only part of the picture, and that a comprehensive analysis of gender violence in schools is also one that considers these forms as part of a school's institutional whole. Further, there are indications that these forms of violence may have implications for each other in practice, and this will similarly be explored in this thesis.

Returning to the question of multi-dimensional framings with which I opened this chapter, I have found that a framing of *acts/individuals*, *structural inequalities*, and *interactions and identities* has offered useful ways of conceptualising different lenses with which to examine gender violence in schools, and understandings of the different levels at which it operates. I now draw these together into a framework, as shown in Figure 1 below.



Figure 1

This framework builds on Parkes' two framings (2015a; 2013), but due to the focus of this thesis on gender violence in schools' institutional structures, I add and forefront an attention to structures, spaces and activities *within* and *of* schools themselves. The first layer of *acts of violence* emphasises the 'bodily acts' (Butler, 2007, p. xv) of peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence, and throughout the thesis I root the examination of gender violence in an attendance to these acts, as explained in Chapter 1. The positioning of these three forms of violence in the framework shows how I investigate them both as distinct forms of violence, and as gender violence as a whole in the school. At the layer of the *schools' gender regimes*, I examine the school in three salient roles which literature shows it may perform to construct and uphold gender violence: firstly as a social setting to construct and reinforce norms and meanings of gender violence of its community and

broader social context; secondly as an institutional structure that formalises, institutionalises and legitimises these norms and meanings of gender violence; and thirdly as a site where gendered identities are negotiated in relation to these two former levels. Here I bring together these different roles to examine how schools' gender regimes can be understood in relation to violence. The layer described here as *structural inequalities*, refers to how the analysis is framed in relation to the structural inequalities relating to poverty, gender and age, and the policy contexts relating to gender, child protection and education that uphold these inequalities, of the broader context of the schools. This layer is shown in orange as it is external to the school, and thus functions as a framing, rather than a direct focus, of this study.

While structural theorisations that forefront structural inequalities, and poststructural theorisations that have tended to forefront interactions and identities may be seen in tension, in this thesis I examine possibilities for these bodies of theoretical work to complement one another in order to construct a multi-dimensional framework for understanding, and preventing, gender violence. The framework presented here synthesises the findings of this critical review, and I now turn in the following chapter to interrogating, and building on, this framework through the theoretical lens guiding the study.

Chapter 4. Gender violence in schools' bodily-institutional regimes: A theoretical framework

Building on the multi-dimensional framework outlined in Chapter 3, I now draw together theoretical perspectives that offer a method of critical interrogation for the layers of this multi-dimensional framework. I examine the poststructural theorisations of Michel Foucault and how his conceptualisation of power offers a way of understanding how violence in schools' gender regimes functions, and draw also on Judith Butler and Deborah Youdell for the ways in which they take up Foucault's ideas particularly in relation to gender and education, respectively. In these distillations, gender violence may be seen as an act, or practice, through which knowledge is constructed and reinforced. I then turn to examine the theorisations of gender and violence in institutions and in identities of feminist theorist Raewyn Connell, to explore how the configurations of masculinities and femininities within institutional settings has further considerable conceptual value for an understanding of violence in schools' gender regimes. Here, violence is seen as a means by which masculine hierarchies are negotiated and fought over.

While, in contrast to structural analyses, poststructural theorisations have been critiqued for lacking politicisation and for failing to contribute to collective action against structural constraints (Connell, 1987; McNay, 2010), this chapter examines the potential for poststructural theorisations to offer insights into collective action to prevent violence. So doing, I seek to contribute to framings for how poststructural insights may serve meaningful and sustained processes of change (DeJaeghere, Parkes and Unterhalter, 2013b; Sullivan, 2004). This chapter thus offers a framework for how poststructural conceptualisations offer insights into structural inequalities, and gender violence operating within these inequalities, are constructed: how they are 'done', and how they may be 'undone'. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of theoretical perspectives explored, and draws on both these perspectives and the empirical findings of Chapter 3 to detail the theoretical framework I employ in this thesis.

Post-structural theorisations: Foucault and the 'regime of truth'

Power, knowledge and (institutional) practices

A Foucauldian approach to understanding power, knowledge and practice offers insight into how acts of violence may be a means by which knowledge is constructed and power both performed and upheld in schools. Moving away from an understanding of power as top-down, or 'sovereign power',

Foucault (1978) offers a conceptualisation of power ‘from below’, where relationships of force and exertion are present at all levels in the spheres within which they operate, strategically organise the social world, and serve to strengthen this organisation. Force relations, in this view, are many and multiple, may act in overlapping and contradictory ways, and are not intended, designed and enacted by ‘the dominant’ in relations of binary opposition between the dominant and the subjugated, but nonetheless all contribute to serving an overall strategy of fundamentally nonegalitarian relations. Understanding power in this way offers insight into the method of these force relations: into how dominations in schools come into being and are sustained, the role of violence in upholding these dominations, and what they mean for all those acting within them.

Power, in this conceptualisation, is inseparable from knowledge. Bodies of knowledge may be mobilised to support power relations that function in this way but, further, are themselves constituted through these very power relations. This is to say that knowledge, or truth, is never external to, nor can it exist, outside of the power relations which produce it:

Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse it harbours and causes to function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true from false statements, the way in which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures which are valorised for obtaining truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. [...] ‘Truth’ is linked by a circular relation to systems of power which produce it and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which redirect it. A ‘regime’ of truth. (Foucault, 1977b, pp. 13-14)

What a society considers to be ‘true’, therefore, is inextricable from the techniques, mechanisms and types of discourse that produce it, make meaning around it and mobilise it. This ‘circular relation’ where truth is both constituted through, and mobilised to uphold, systems of power, offers a lens for conceptualising the ways in which institutional practices function in schools, as well as how the forms of knowledge that serve to uphold these practices are constituted. This ‘will to truth [...] rests on an institutional support: it is both reinforced and renewed by a whole strata of practices’ and ‘by the way knowledge is put to work, valorised, distributed, and in a sense attributed, in a society’ (Foucault, 1981, p. 54). Truth is thus constituted through institutional practice and by the way knowledge is operationalised through practice, and this practice further reinforces truth.

Acts of physical violence in this conceptualisation may therefore be a practice through which knowledge is reinforced within a regime of truth, and bodies of knowledge may be identified that underpin the practice of violence. Discourses, as ‘words and things’ (Foucault, 1972, p. 49) that function as signs or signifiers of meaning, as well as the very act of constructing this meaning, emerge

as central here. The discursive practices of speech and action in schools, therefore, are not only inextricable from the understandings, beliefs, meanings, forms of truth and knowledge that underpin them, but also formulate them, and this underpins relations of power. Indeed, Foucault posits that ‘it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together’ (1978, p. 100). As emerged in various ways across studies in Chapter 3, acts of physical violence may also be a way in which the boundaries of bodies of knowledge are reinforced, for example girls experiencing violence for transgressing feminine norms of chastity or of sexual subordination (Muhanguzi, 2011).

Foucault’s conceptualisation of the role of institutions takes this point further, as a particular formulation and functioning of discursive practices in schools serves to construct hierarchical structures that shape and regulate school spaces and the subjects that move within them. These techniques, which Foucault calls the ‘disciplines’, entail coercion on all forms of action; categorise, rank and supervise all actors within school spaces; and, so doing, produce particular kinds of subjects (Foucault, 1977a). Schools do so in the kinds of categorisation that take place throughout school structures and are imbued with hierarchies, for example, the physical distribution of learners and the teacher in the classroom; ranks afforded to learners in examinations; categorisation of age groups; strategies for disciplining or rewarding behaviour; and the organisation of time which both organises and regulates these practices, and enshrines their systemic repetition (p.146-147). Where acts of violence in schools function as a means of disciplinary control, such as through teacher physical and emotional violence as punishment, its function may be seen to both reinforce knowledge, and categorise and rank school subjects based on this knowledge. Further, it serves to constitute school subjects themselves, as I return to below.

Revisiting the multi-dimensional framework at the end of Chapter 3, where I identified that *norms and meanings of gender violence in the community*, and *schools’ institutional structures and practices*, were two important levels at which the literature suggests gender violence operates in schools, this Foucauldian lens offers a lens for how these levels may be reconceptualised for analytical use. For the former of these levels (norms and meanings), I move forward employing the term *knowledge* to refer to the bodies of knowledge, or all that which is considered to be ‘true’, constructed and mobilised as such in schools’ power relations in schools. For the latter, I employ the term *(institutional) practices* to refer to all discursive and disciplinary practices of speech and action in schools, including, and particularly, acts of gender violence. These are ‘(institutional)’ in the sense that they take place within the institutional setting of the school, but may, or may not be fundamentally institutional practices that directly uphold the structure and function of the institution itself. Viewed in this way, both knowledge and (institutional) practices may be seen to mutually produce and strengthen in a ‘circular relation’.

Constituting subjects

Within these conceptualisations, individuals are not merely engaged in, or forced to respond to these forms of knowledge and practices, but rather the kinds of individuals they are allowed to be is made possible through them. Inasmuch as knowledge does not exist outside of power, practices do not exist outside of knowledge and vice versa, the knowledge that exists around the body that an individual inhabits, and the kinds of practices that this body should engage in, already exist discursively and thus make the subject intelligible, or bring the subject into being, in a particular way. Foucault calls this process one of 'subjection' (1982). Judith Butler takes this up and emphasises the performative nature of the process of subjection, and thus how the subject is performatively constituted through discourse. The subject may thus be seen as:

[A] linguistic category, a placeholder, a structure in formation. Individuals come to occupy the site of the subject, and they enjoy intelligibility only to the extent that they are, as it were, first established in language (1997b, pp. 10-11).

The process of constituting this individual as a subject through discursive practices in this way is, further, not a neutral process, as it requires their subordination to the power of these knowledge and practices. The process of subjection is thus simultaneously one of forming the subject and of their subordination (Butler, 1997b, p. 7; Foucault, 1982, p. 781).

Drawing on these concepts in relation to gender, through a feminist poststructural lens, Butler (1990) positions gender as a performance, socially constituted through acts. In this framing, gender is 'always a doing' (p. 33), where 'doing' gender in a certain way constructs knowledge about what gender is, and this knowledge that already exists shapes how gender may be 'done', and this in turn constitutes the gendered subject. While poststructural theorisations have faced critiques for downplaying the deeply entrenched nature of these forms of 'doing' (as I pick up below), Butler posits that the ways in which some forms of knowledge, and ways of 'doing', come to hold significance is through their repetition over time:

Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being (1990, pp. 43-44).

Thus knowledge about gender is constructed through acts, and the repetition of these acts of time functions to shore up this knowledge. In relation to language (1997a), Butler explores how, with the concept of 'historicity,' a name or form of language is imbued with history that gives it meaning. This

may be seen as, over time, ‘the sedimentation of its usages as they have become part of the very name, a sedimentation, a repetition that congeals, that vies the name its force’ (p. 36). Knowledge, practices and the subjects that are constituted through them do not hold significance nor are they imbued with power immediately or easily, therefore, but rather gather this significance over time. This is useful in examining how some forms of knowledge, practices and subjects come to hold particular contextual significance, may be deeply ‘sedimented’ and intractable, while others may be more fragile. This does not mean that knowledge is ever fixed and unmovable, however, as I return to below.

Deborah Youdell explores these concepts in relation to educational spaces, and employs them to analyse the ways in which inequalities and exclusions emerge through schooling. As discourses about what education is, and who ‘good’ educational subjects are, are constructed in schools, Youdell (2006a; 2006b) argues that learners are constituted in particular ways that are bound to their subjection both in schools, and in relation to prevailing discourses around the body of their contextual settings. In this way:

‘Who’ a student is – in terms of gender, sexuality, social class, ability, disability, race, ethnicity and religion as well as popular and sub cultural belongings – is inextricably linked with the ‘sort’ of student and learner that s/he gets to be, and the educational inclusions s/he enjoys and/or the exclusions s/he faces (2006a, p. 2).

Thus knowledge constructed around gender and the body’s other visible aspects, such as age, race and (dis)ability, constitutes learners in a certain way in relation to the school setting. Youdell extends this to theorise how while some subjectivities are commensurate with schooling, and may be constituted as ‘ideal learner’ subjects, some subjectivities are incommensurate, and are thus constituted ‘impossible learner’ subjects. These subject positions rely on this binary opposition for their existence, as the ‘ideal’ learner is inseparable from, and makes no sense, without the ‘impossible learner’ and vice versa (p.137).

This lens thus offers insight into the exclusions and inequalities that take place in schools, as inclusions or exclusions occur throughout the (institutional) practices in schools, the knowledge to which they are inextricably linked, and the gendered, raced and classed (among others) subjects they constitute. Drawing on Foucault’s notion of disciplinary power within schools, all school subjects may be seen as subjected to the subordination and regulation of schools’ hierarchical structures, in which we see:

[...] the student acting the ‘good’ student, the teacher acting the ‘good’ teacher and the school acting the ‘good’ school as accountability mechanisms open each up to assessment, correction and expulsion (Youdell, 2011, p. 37).

Employing these poststructural concepts to examine inequalities within educational spaces, therefore, reveals both the processes by which individuals not only *face* exclusion or inequality in schools, but are inherently constituted *as* excluded, unequal and even ‘impossible’ subjects. Ensuring the subordination of school subjects, therefore, means introducing them into subject positions founded in structural inequalities. The significance of these conceptualisations for violence in this study is twofold: Firstly this posits acts of violence in schools as both the result, or *visible aspects*, of subordination and its significance for structural inequalities, within particular regimes of truth, as well as the *means* by which this subordination is achieved. Schools’ disciplinary power reinforces, ranks and categorises subjects according to these layers of subordination.

Resistance and disruption

While domination can be seen to function in the ways described here, and these forms of knowledge, practices and subjects may have the ‘appearance of substance’ (Butler, 1990, p. 44), the effects are never total or fixed. Indeed, resistances to power occur continually, and are an intrinsic aspect of Foucault’s conceptualisation of power. Foucault (1978, p. 95) describes the:

[...] strictly relational character of power relationships. Their existence depends on a multiplicity of points of resistance: these play the role of adversary, target, support, or handle in power relations. These points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network.

Two significant points emerge here. If power and resistance are inherently interrelated and cannot exist without the other, then there is not a form of power that does not meet its counterpoint in resistance. Somewhat conversely, the presence of resistance does not then necessarily threaten power, and may even serve to uphold it, as the very existence of power also depends on these ‘points of resistance’. Further, discourse, in the form of both knowledge and practices, can serve to uphold power and resistance in multiple, contradictory ways; discursive practices may serve to strengthen or destabilise power, or they may strengthen forms of resistance, and they may do so simultaneously (1978, pp. 101-102). There is, therefore, no discourse of power or discourse of resistance that function in opposing ways, but rather discursive practices that serve a multiplicity of power relations and resistances.

This has implications for interventions seeking to destabilise and disrupt relations of power, and violence as both the result and the means of this power. The fact that knowledge, although it may be sedimented, continues to rely on practice and repetition for its construction means that there is the endless potential to be constructed differently. The fact that that this process faces multiple and ongoing forms of resistance, and that discourses may serve resistance, as well as power, means that there is endless potential for discursive practices to strengthen resistances to power. In relation to gender, Butler explains:

As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification. Even when gender seems to congeal into the most reified forms, the “congealing” is itself an insistent and insidious practice, sustained and regulated by various social means (1990, p. 43).

Thus if gender is ‘always a doing’, then there is always the possibility of ‘doing differently’, and the ‘various social means’ that sustain it, may also sustain this ‘doing differently’. The task for intervening to challenge sedimented gender, according to Butler, is to find strategies for ‘subversive repetition’ (p.188) that intervene into the repeated practices through which knowledge is constructed, and to repeat them in different ways. These are particularly salient concerns for this study seeking to understand how an intervention in schools may dislodge and disrupt the practices of violence and gender, and to how an intervention may seek to challenge knowledge and/or ‘repeat’ practices differently.

In school spaces, Youdell argues that poststructural concepts offer insights into transformative practices for destabilising inequalities and exclusions in education. By employing a poststructural lens to uncover how some school subjects are constituted as ‘impossible’ through knowledge and practices that function in a particular way, there is the ‘constant potential for subjects who appear fixed to be otherwise: the student taken to be ‘badly behaved’, ‘less able, or ‘disabled’ need not be any of these’ (2006a, p. 34). Attending to how schools ‘arrange the meeting’ (Butler, 1990, p. 186) between meaning and the body, therefore, and to how interventions into this meeting may lead it to do so differently, directs attention to how knowledge and practices may be done differently, without violence, and also to how a reduction in violence may lead to subjects being constituted differently and thus in more egalitarian ways: Offering insights for both a reduction in the practice of violence and for seeking more egalitarian possibilities for subjects and relations in schools, therefore.

A central fissure emerges in these poststructural framings, however. While an emphasis on the socially constructed nature of knowledge, practices and subjects through repetition does indeed suggest endless possibilities for deconstruction and ways of ‘doing differently’ without violence, the empirical literature as reviewed in Chapter 3 shows that this is not easily done, and often emphasises

the intractability of relations of domination and subordination, and of violence with them. An attention to the significance of the body and to the deeply rooted nature of institutional constraints, as outlined by Connell, expands on these areas. Further, weaving Connell's conceptualisations of masculinities and femininities into poststructural notions of subjectivities sheds further light on the possibilities for the range of action and identity for male and female subjects and how these relationally reinforce, and where the potential may be for collective change.

The body, identities and institutions: Connell and the institutional 'gender regime'

The body and gendered institutions

While poststructural theorists have thus emphasised the socially constructed nature of knowledge and practices around gender, and thus the continual possibility for renewal or subversion, some have critiqued these positionings for an over-emphasis on the momentary and the individual nature of these engagements. Feminist theorist Raewyn Connell (1987; 1995; 2009) has highlighted these limitations, and developed theorisations that forefront the material significance of the body, the deeply rooted and systemic nature of gender in institutions and in the forms of collective, rather than merely individually subversive, action that may be taken to mobilise against them.

While also finding meaning in the socially constructed nature of gender, Connell argues for the need to capture the deeply embodied significance of gender and thus locates the body at the heart of her analysis. In poststructural theory, she argues, with 'so much emphasis on the signifier, the signified tends to vanish [...] The surface on which cultural meanings are inscribed is not featureless, and it does not stay still' (1995, pp. 50-51). This has significance for the kinds of collective action that may be mobilised for resistance to power. While poststructural theorisations emphasise how subjects become subordinated in the moment of their subjection, Connell argues that there may be value found in the embodied experience of subjection. In one example, she emphasises meaning and pleasure found in the bodily expression of a gay male subjectivity (1995, p. 153). Further, the poststructural emphasis on deconstruction detracts from the resistance and political power subjects may gain through their collective mobilisation (1987, pp. 48-49). The body; what it wants and how it feels; how it may share these feelings with others with similar bodily experiences; and the claims to resistance found in collectivising this experience, thus cannot be ignored. This is significant for this study seeking to understand both the embodied experience of violence, how subjects are constituted in particular ways around this experience, as well as for how alternatives may be sought at an individual and collective level in schools.

Connell also forefronts the importance of institutions in their material regulation and structuring of the body, and the deeply rooted and systemic constraint this poses. For Connell, all institutions have a 'gender regime' as, 'the state of play in gender relations in a given institution', and schools with their compact, formally bounded institutional structure entail a gender regime that is particularly salient (1987, p. 120). In Kessler et al.'s study in secondary schools, Connell, along with others, defines a school's gender regime as:

[T]he pattern of practices that constructs various kinds of masculinity and femininity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labour within the institution. The gender regime is a state of play rather than a permanent condition. It can be changed, deliberately or otherwise, but it is no less powerful in its effects on the pupils for that. It confronts them as a social fact, which they have to come to terms with somehow (1985, p. 42).

While not functioning in one clear, linear pattern, a school's gender regime is nevertheless powerful in its institutional structuring and its significance both for individuals, and for staff and students collectively. In this conceptualisation, the impermanence and socially constituted nature of the gender regime does not detract from how it presents as a 'social fact'. Adding an attention to the command and dominance of schools' gender regimes, therefore, to the poststructural insights of how regimes of truth are constituted and deployed in schools, sheds further insight into the institutional constraint they pose and their intractability.

With some similarities to poststructural understandings of resistance, Connell too emphasises how the method of institutional constraint is laden with conflict, yet how this conflict does not always undermine the dominance of the gender regime. The presence of alternative possibilities for action, and gender regimes that exist elsewhere, does not necessarily detract from the force of institutional regimes and the significance this entails for individuals:

The school is not necessarily in harmony with other major 'agencies' – the family, the workplace – and it is not necessarily in harmony with itself. Some masculinities are formed by battering against the school's authority structure, others by smooth insertion into its academic pathways, others again by a tortuous negotiation of possibilities (1989, p. 300).

The conflicts that occur through and around schools' gender regimes, have significance for the kinds of masculinities and femininities that emerge in relation to them and thus the way gendered bodies are experienced and enacted. Connell's conceptualisation of gender regimes as 'patterns of practice' that construct particular masculinities and femininities, therefore, offers perspectives into how male and

female learners and teachers in schools construct identities in relation to their subjection as gendered, institutional subjects, and to each other.

Masculinities and femininities

In Connell's conceptualisation, gender is a social practice. For her, this means emphasising not the individual level and momentary significance, but rather the collective and relational level that is deeply rooted in historical practice. This practice denotes different possibilities for masculinity and femininity:

Practice that relates to this structure generated as people and groups grapple with their historical situations, does not consist of isolated acts. Actions are configured in larger units, and when we speak of masculinity and femininity we are naming configurations of gender practice (1995, p. 72).

These 'configurations' point to the range of ways that one may 'do' one's male or female subject position. Further, it also points to the constraint placed around these different configurations; while they are multiple and are not fixed, they nevertheless pertain to positionings that are constructed relationally, at a collective level and are reinforced through institutions. Underlying Connell's conceptualisation of the overall 'axis of power' in relation to gender, runs a preoccupation with structural gender inequality and the 'overall subordination of women and dominance of men' (1995, p. 74).

Among masculinities, Connell (1995, pp. 77-81) identifies four salient configurations that are constructed relationally: *Hegemonic*, which entails the domination of men over women and whose authority over women and other masculinities is supported by violence; *subordinate*, which describes masculinities that are oppressed by hegemonic masculinities and who operate outside heteronormative discourses either through homosexuality or gender performances perceived to be feminised; *complicit*, referring to those masculinities who may not meet the normative standards of hegemony, nor engage in openly violent practices to ensure their hegemonic positionings, but who benefit from the 'patriarchal dividend' (p.79) of hegemony; and masculinities that are *marginalised*, where racialised and classed positionings of marginalisation are located in relation to, and may interweave with, other masculine positionings. Acts of violence, and the threat of violence, are significant at all levels between and within these identity configurations. Violence is central to upholding positions of dominance both in relation to other men and to ensure domination over women. At the same time, however, violence may be seen as a sign of the fragility of dominant positionings. Connell explains

that,' violence is part of a system of domination, but is at the same time a measure of its imperfection (p.84).'

Connell thus forefronts how masculinities are inherently hierarchical, operating in hierarchies between themselves and in relation to women. These masculinities are not fixed but are configured in relation to each other, to the space and setting and therefore hierarchies are continually negotiated. Further, as these configurations of practice refer to positionings, not to characteristics or personality types, they may, indeed necessarily will, emerge differently in different settings. Hegemonic masculinity, for example:

[...] is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable (1995, p. 76).

Attending to the role violence plays in the contestation of masculine hierarchies, and the nature and character of these masculinities in particular settings, may thus shed light on what gives violence meaning and how it emerges in schools' gender regimes.

Connell's conceptualisation of femininities is formulated somewhat differently to that of masculinities. In line with how masculinities and femininities are relational and all underpinned by the overall dominance of men over women, Connell locates femininities in orbit around hegemonic masculinity as a starting point (1987). Operating from subordinated positionings, Connell views the feminine counterpart of hegemonic masculinity as 'emphasised femininity', which is, 'defined around compliance with this subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men' (1987, p. 183). Emphasised femininity, in this view, firstly being already subordinated to hegemonic masculinity, and secondly being one that emphasises 'compliance, nurturance and empathy as womanly virtues' (p.188), does not inherently encompass neither the obligation, nor the tools by which, to assert dominance nor engage in acts of violence over others. Hierarchies and violence between femininities are thus not seen to function in the same way as between masculinities, although Connell does note that emphasised femininity entails the marginalisation, if not dominance, of other femininities.

For Connell, other feminine possibilities are:

[...] defined centrally by strategies of resistance or forms of non-compliance. Others again are defined by complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation (Connell, 1987, p. 183).

However, as the traits valued in femininities, as described above, do not entail domination over other femininities, and are not enforced as visibly or forcibly through violence and other means, Connell asserts that the potential for a range of femininities is perhaps much greater (p.187). This range of femininities is not explored in this framing, however, and while Connell has gone on to explore masculinities in depth elsewhere (1995; 2009; 1989; 1993) femininities have received less critical attention. A somewhat paradoxical element can be noted in this line of theorisation. If femininities are constructed in relation to masculinities, and are thus subordinated, but are also potentially more diverse, then leaving them underexplored extends the hegemony of, and the pull towards, hegemonic masculinity to the theoretical realm. Further, the potential diversity of feminine positionings suggests a rich area for empirical and theoretical scholarship. Connell herself, elsewhere, has highlighted the under-examination of femininities in her own work and in those who have taken up her ideas (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

Others have drawn attention to this gap and offered their own theorisations of femininities, underpinned by the challenge of how to examine women's subordination to men, and yet that do not place men, and hegemonic masculinity, as the central reference point (Paechter, 2012). By starting from a gender neutral point (Paechter, 2018), or by situating both masculinity and femininity in relation to each other, and not only the latter to the former (Schippers, 2007), some have theorised this and examined further possibilities for femininities. This study seeks to offer more theoretical conceptualisations of femininities, and more empirical insights into girls' femininities around violence in schools that I identified as currently lacking in Chapter 3.

A theoretical framework: Schools' 'bodily-institutional regimes'

Drawing on the theoretical perspectives examined here and relating these to the framework emerging from the critical literature review in Chapter 3, I now turn to outlining the theoretical framework for this study. Here I draw together the insights offered in the poststructural theorisations explored above, and apply them to an examination of the structures in schools within which gender violence is embedded, thus building a multi-dimensional framework. So doing, I posit that the *insights* gained through poststructural theorisations may contribute to the *aims* of seeking to challenge and dismantle structural inequalities within which violence is embedded.

Firstly, I see great conceptual use in Foucault's concept of a regime of truth, wherein knowledge is inseparable from the power that formulates and deploys it, and practices and knowledge are fundamentally intertwined within this regime. Connell's framing of a gender regime bears some

similarity to these concepts, however focuses more on the institutional and systemic nature of how gender functions in institutions, focussing here particularly on the school. I synthesise these conceptualisations to frame an attention to schools' 'bodily-institutional regimes', referring to how gender and other significant bodily aspects are afforded meaning and regulated in schools. This is shown in Figure 2 below.

My preference for the term 'bodily-institutional' rather than 'gender' emerges from my reading of the literature wherein gender emerged as related to other aspects of great significance to the body, and from the theorisations explored here that emphasise how the subject is constituted in relation to different forms of knowledge, and how identities are negotiated based on multiple planes of bodily relevance. These include age and generational affiliation; class or visible markers of poverty; (dis)ability; race, skin colour or tribal affiliation; and sexuality. With '-institutional' I link this inextricably to the institution, in order to identify the range of ways in which these bodily aspects are imbued with knowledge within the institutional setting and in relation to (institutional) practices. Connell (1995, p. 76) herself states,

To understand gender then, we must constantly go beyond gender. The same applies in reverse. We cannot understand class, race, or global inequality without constantly moving towards gender.

While employing a conceptual lens that positions the significance of gender at its heart, therefore, I also consider its fundamental inextricability from other bodily aspects, and their significance within institutional settings, employing the term 'bodily-institutional regime' to do so.



Figure 2

The framework depicts how schools' bodily-institutional regimes are made up of several interrelated sub-layers. These levels correspond to those identified in the framework in the previous chapter, and are reconfigured through these poststructural theorisations. As explored above, I have reconceptualised *construction and reinforcement of norms and meanings of gender violence of the community*, using the term *knowledge*, which reflects Foucault's concepts of knowledge and truth, wherein meaning is constructed, and held up as true, within a particular regime of truth. Secondly, I term *gender violence in schools' institutional structures and practices* as *(institutional) practices*, wherein the emphasis on practices themselves encompasses both Foucault's conceptualisation of disciplinary practices that constitute subjects and categorise, rank and discipline them, and Butler's notion of the performative aspects of gender. The concept of *subjects* is added here as a fundamental aspect to both how Foucault and Butler conceptualise knowledge and practices, and also as a crucial theoretical step towards *identities*, to which I return below.

While the three layers of knowledge, practices and subjects, emerge as mutually constitutive – both shaping, and shaped by, the regimes of which they are a part, and each other – the interrelationships between each layer are not of the same nature. The theoretical perspectives explored here position knowledge and (institutional) practices as intertwined and mutually constitutive, while subjects are constituted through these knowledge and practices, and simultaneously subordinated. The central arrows and positioning of *subjects* in the framework above depict this relationship. The constitution of subjects in this way further shapes the formulations of knowledge and practices, however, as it is through these subjects that they take place. Foucault writes:

It is certain that the mechanisms of subjection cannot be studied outside their relation to the mechanisms of exploitation and domination. But they do not merely constitute the “terminal” of more fundamental mechanisms. They entertain complex and circular relations with other forms (1982, p. 782).

While I position subjects as constituted through knowledge and (institutional) practices, and these latter two as mutually formulating, subjects are not positioned externally to suggest a ‘terminal’ positioning. Rather they also mutually shape knowledge and (institutional) practices. Further, weaving in Connell’s theorisations, they may also be seen to function as a step towards *identities*.

This framework thus synthesises these poststructural theorisations with Connell’s conceptualisations of masculinities and femininities, terming the *construction and negotiation of gendered institutional identities in relation to violence* as simply *identities*. Here, the perspectives of Youdell are useful, as she explains how there need be no discordance, or interruption between the notions of subjects and identities:

The sorts of categories that identity and identity politics rest on are constantly either explicitly or implicitly deployed in [the process of subjection]. This means that a call to an identity or take up of identity politics is already situated in processes of subjectivation and relations of productive power (2011, p. 27).

We may then see the identities that Connell describes, as ways in which individuals enact and engage with the subject positions they take up, and the range of masculinities and femininities that emerge are those which are possible around particular kinds of subjects within particular regimes of truth.

Identities are positioned outside *subjects* in the diagram, to show that identities may be seen as more dynamic, relational and fluid, responding to the regimes of which they emerged around, to each other, and contributing to their shaping. I also follow Youdell (2006a, p. 48) in finding some discomfort in the nebulosity of the term ‘identity’, yet find it is both useful in expressing the range of ways in

which individuals make sense of their subject positionings, and enact them, and are made sense of, and responded to by others, and find also that the ambiguities inherent to the term 'identity', and the range of uses to which it has been put, may in fact be suited the dynamism this necessarily entails.

With regards to conceptualisations of identity, I move forward employing the terminology offered by Connell for the study of masculinities and femininities around violence. With regards to masculinity, these are hegemonic, complicit, subordinated and marginalised masculinity. With regards to femininity, this refers to emphasised femininity and, further, this study will seek out those femininities Connell describes as 'defined by strategies of resistance or forms of non-compliance' as well as 'complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation'. This study will also seek out other possibilities for masculinities and femininities that may also emerge.

These layers thus make up schools' bodily-institutional regimes, and it is at this intersection that the framework seeks to reconcile conceptual tensions between structural and poststructural theorisations. At the layer of schools' bodily institutional regimes, I reference the structural inequalities and bodily-institutional ordering of practices that 'confront' individuals within schools as a 'social fact'. Within this framing, the very real and multi-faceted constraints that these regimes impose are examined, and here terminology such as 'agency' is used throughout the thesis to examine how social actors respond to, and engage with, such constraints. The use of this language does not negate how these constraints themselves are also viewed as socially constructed, through a poststructural lens, however, but rather examines the 'social fact' that social actors must confront. The sub-layers in the framework then draw on the perspectives of Foucault, Butler, Youdell and Connell to theorise the building blocks of these structural regimes, and how while appearing, and being experienced as, a 'social fact', they may instead be seen as impermanent, mutable, and socially constructed through repetition. So doing, this framework applies poststructural theory to a structural analysis of schools' bodily-institutional regimes, and facilitates an examination of the range of ways an NGO intervention may intervene into the repetition that constitutes gender violence and structural inequalities, to seek to dismantle them (DeJaeghere, Parkes and Unterhalter, 2013a).

Chapter 5. Researching gender violence in two schools: A methodology with a focus on reflexivity, participation and ethics

As this study examines both knowledge in schools, and the practices through which this knowledge is constructed, it is underpinned by a social constructionist epistemology. Described by Crotty (1998, p. 42), social constructionism is:

[T]he view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

Such a view lends itself to exploring the ‘multiple social constructions of meaning’ (Robson, 2002) that I seek with the participants of this research. To this end, I employ ethnographic methods, which involve the researcher her/himself in the construction of meaning around violence (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 12). Taking such a view asks us to take a critical view towards ourselves (Burr, 2003), and further, opening up our method and personal perspectives to scrutiny may go some way to addressing the challenge of constructing meaningful knowledge with participants in post-colonial settings (Mohanty, 1988; Said, 1979). Meaningful reflexivity is particularly important too when working with vulnerable groups, and with children (Powell, 2016), which can render engaging in a reflective approach important not only for methodological rigour, but also for ethical practice (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Pillow, 2003). As Pillow describes, this process may, and perhaps should, be an uncomfortable one, and I intend here, and in the following chapter, to draw out the ‘confounding disruptions’ (2003, p. 192) that weave through this study.

This chapter thus engages in a reflexive approach to detailing research methods, which were themselves designed reflexively and iteratively, and were amended throughout the research. I outline the ethnographic methods I employed. This involved a four-month period of participant observation in two primary schools, wherein I engaged in a teaching role alongside research activities; individual interviews with teachers; participatory group discussions and follow-up individual interviews with pupils; and a writing club with pupils. In this chapter I first reflect on the task of ethnographic observation in schools and my positioning as researcher, then detail the process of data collection and methods used, and the approach to analysis. Finally, I introduce the setting and the two schools of the research. The following chapter will engage with the process through an ethical lens and detail the approach to child protection.

Reflections on a research positioning

Knowing, not knowing, (mis)recognising

Ethnographic observation can be compared to the experience of entering an unknown social situation in everyday life where your senses are on high alert (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002, p. 1). The boundaries between what you 'know' and 'don't know' about this situation, however, may also be unclear, particularly in schools. Gordon et al. (2001) note that while for most forms of ethnographic research the task is to make the 'strange familiar', the task of the school ethnographer is often to make the 'familiar strange'. I found the most interesting aspects here were often in the interplay between the two: That we simultaneously bridge, bring closer, seek to understand, trouble boundaries, and forge connections between us and the 'new', at the same time as being forced to rethink, to distance, to look with new eyes, at the 'familiar', that we think we understand through having also experienced schooling. Both have useful aspects and pitfalls. New and unknown situations can leap out to the ethnographer on account of their 'newness', or risk being overlooked because their relevance was not understood. Simultaneously, familiar situations can either be identified and recognised quickly, or misread because their meaning was assumed.

These moments of recognition are highly embodied (Coffey, 1999; Mason, 2002), and during observations I found myself remembering how, as a pupil, the final minutes of a lesson can feel interminable, the excitement of finally understanding a problem, the feelings of injustice at being unfairly disciplined, the moments of humour, friendship, boredom, frustration, transgression that take place while the teacher's back is turned. I remembered what it is like, as a teacher, to sense a class following or losing the thread of an explanation, to be observed by an outsider, the irritation of pupils whispering over you and the satisfaction at teaching something that has been understood. At the same time, I realised that I did not know what it was to fear physical violence from a teacher, or to discipline a class of fifty pupils without a robust code of conduct. I knew what it was to take child protection action within highly regulated UK mechanisms, yet did not know what it was to extend child protection to inviting a child to live in your home. I knew what it was to face sexual harassment, but I did not know what it was to fear harassment in a context where my actual safety may have been threatened by coming forward.

I thus realised that my embodied experiences of education had much, and little, in common with what I was observing, and found negotiating these moments of knowing, not knowing and (mis)recognising troubling, yet highly fruitful. The task of the school ethnographer is perhaps one of mediating between the strange and the familiar, of using embodied knowledge to bring closer those aspects of the educational experience that are not immediately understood. The reflexivity that is fundamental to

any ethnography is thus particularly important, in order shed light on the boundaries between the strange and the familiar, and the contextual and personal frames in relation to which these boundaries are shaped.

Being known, not known, (mis)recognised

In addition to shaping our own forms of knowing, the task of making oneself known to the people with which we research begins at the outset and continues throughout. There is a need to develop ‘a studied presentation of self (or selves)’, that is ‘constructed responsively and appropriately’ in relation to the setting and over time (Ball, 1990, p. 158). We may not always be in control of how this research self(/selves) is perceived by participants, however. From the start I knew I would be positioned with Raising Voices and that this was both essential to my legitimacy in the school, and a potential drawback. I held a meeting with staff to explain that I was a teacher in England, that I was working with Raising Voices to understand two things: The influence of the GST and their experiences of it, and to learn about education in Uganda. I explained that I was not there to cast judgement and that I would be grateful to join lessons and take part in everyday school life, but there was no obligation to do so. I reinforced this with a letter to each teacher.³

While I was received with positivity and politeness, trust and ease with my presence in school developed over time and in different ways with different teachers. Several factors helped build relationships of trust. As shown below, an interview with Mark, a male teacher, gives insight into my positioning as ‘known’ outsider. Here we were discussing the Strong Girls intervention by another Ugandan NGO:

Ellen: And what do Strong Girls do?

Mark: In fact, the problem, for me, I don’t show myself to those people. They all deal with Madam Esther

Ellen: Esther, ok

Mark: Because I don’t know where they come from, and for me any NGO, if I don’t know where they come from, and the purpose of their coming, I don’t greet them

Ellen: No? Why’s that?

Mark: Ah it is... I know, for me, my culture, that’s my culture, I don’t know, if I don’t know where someone is coming from, like now I know Madam Ellen is from England... Then I’m very free. But when you come and I don’t know where you are coming from, ah ah [no] I don’t associate with that person

³ Appendix 1.3

[...]

Mark: When someone comes... I ask, where do you come from? And they don't tell where they are coming from. [...] Now you come... This is a working place, and we know this is Madam Ellen, making a research, is at the university, is a teacher, is what... is many things! But those ones...

Ellen: ...you don't know enough about them

Mark: I don't know...

Mark, male teacher, Myufu School, 14th July

Mark's assertions that 'I don't show myself' / 'I don't greet them' / 'I don't associate,' reveal notions of self-concealment, distancing and disassociation that characterised how teachers could relate to outsiders, while simultaneously fulfilling professional duties by welcoming them. It troubled me to think back on early encounters with teachers following this discussion and made me question the consent and institutional power dynamics at play in teachers' engagements with me. I felt reassured, however, that as these statements of Mark showed, teachers found ways to disassociate themselves from me where they felt uncomfortable.

It also interested me that, for Mark, knowing I was from England, that I was 'making a research' / 'at the university', and 'a teacher', were all aspects that afforded me his trust. I therefore realised that talking openly about my experiences as a teacher, my university in London, and giving details about my life in England along with showing photos of food, countryside, my family, had all been important. A further aspect was shown in a senior teacher's speech when I finished fieldwork, where she remarked that I had become one of the teachers in the school as I did all the same things as them. The notion of 'doing' and taking part in teachers' everyday practices, such as eating together, marking books, wearing similar clothes, even using the school latrines, had been aspects that teachers had remarked on frequently. While I had made these efforts to 'fit in', and attempted not to draw attention to clear differences between myself and participants (Kiragu and Warrington, 2012), I realised that doing the same actions as teachers was important to a greater extent than I had initially understood. Forms of both *knowing* and *doing* were therefore essential to trust, access and acceptance in these schools.

Other troubling moments revealed that this was not the case for all teachers however. During one interview a teacher asked me not to start recording until I had answered some questions of his, saying that he still did not understand what I was doing there and asked if I was there to spy on them. I answered these questions as honestly and in as much detail as I felt able. The teacher described feeling that his 'heart was relieved' once I had answered, and the interview proceeded positively. This moment was uncomfortable, and reminded me that 'legitimacy frequently has to be won and renewed

repeatedly rather than simply being officially granted' (Ball, 1990, p. 159), and, further, that individual teachers may feel very differently to one another, thus acceptance takes place at an individual as well as a school-wide level.

With pupils I found that trust came more quickly and was more straightforward than with adults. I endeavoured to shape a role that was institutionally sanctioned but different to that of other teachers. In this I drew on a 'least-educator' positioning, where the researcher reflects on adult-child authority relations while attempting to be 'outside of the institutionalised responsibilities and authority' of an educator role (Albon and Rosen, 2013) to 'share authority' (Albon and Rosen, 2013; Edmiston, 2008) with children. I sensed it would be difficult to downplay or dismiss the institutional authority of my position, however. Further, as adults as well as teachers, we have to accept that, for children, 'a central characteristic of adults is that they have power over children' (Mayall, 2008, p. 110), and it may be misleading or insincere to suggest otherwise (Morrow and Richards, 1996).

I also sought to make use of my position as 'Other' that inherently created the space for a different teacher identity. This involved being white and clearly foreign, English, not a full-time member of the school and associated with Raising Voices. I thus perceived of my role as 'Other-teacher', where I engaged in some of the aspects of recognised teacher authority such as teaching lessons, marking and sitting with teachers during break times. At the same time, I drew on aspects of Christensen's 'unusual type of adult' role (2004, p. 174), to create an 'unusual type of teacher': purposefully adopting a different teacher manner, engaging in alternative pedagogical approaches and other non-customary behaviours such as joining their Luganda classes to improve my Luganda, and did not engage in discipline and resolving children's conflicts (Christensen, 2004).

Initiating research: Making introductions, developing knowledge and partnerships, selecting sites

Building a collaboration with Raising Voices

Fieldwork began with an introductory visit to Raising Voices and to some schools in Kampala in November 2015. This initiated the partnership and introduced me to the context. Collaborations between NGOs that design and implement programmes, and researchers that create and disseminate knowledge around these programmes, are invaluable yet can be challenging to negotiate (Aniekwe, Hayman and Mdee, 2012; Olivier, Hunt and Ridde, 2016). In seeking to develop a positive and mutually beneficial relationship between myself and Raising Voices, I was supported by the history of the positive and long-standing research partnership of the Good Schools Study team, as well as being

aware that conducting ethnographic research and being an individual, rather than a team, my own research relationship would look somewhat different.

Drawing on partnerships between LSHTM and Raising Voices [RV], Zimmerman et al. (2016) identify key moments of meaningful and respectful collaboration between researchers and NGOs, such as in developing research methods, tools and researcher training, ethics protocols, data analysis and interpretation, and the importance of sharing findings for meaningful research impact. I allocated one day per week at the RV office throughout fieldwork and held monthly feedback meetings to share emergent findings, and to seek RV staff feedback to support discussion and aid interpretation. In addition to advising on school selection, tools and findings, facilitating partnerships and navigating processes of conducting research, the input of Raising Voices' staff was invaluable to the development of the child protection protocol and management of child protection cases. Ultimately, I felt that in addition to their practical support, advice and input, and my feedback and dissemination, the positivity of the partnership built was also based on a shared passion for the topic and the research.

There are also tensions inherent to such collaborations. While the overall aims of my research and Raising Voices were the same, that of generating knowledge to support the prevention of violence against children, there were some more specific areas where my aims as researcher diverged from those of RV. One such moment was around challenging violence in schools. As an organisation with a stated aim of preventing violence against women and children, and engaged in activism efforts, RV's approach is to challenge violence in schools where they witness it. This was in conflict with my ethnographic aim of learning, and not overtly influencing the research site during fieldwork. After much discussion, RV staff, GSS staff at LSHTM and I co-designed a child protection protocol that satisfied our different concerns. In addition, we agreed that I, and RV staff who facilitated introductions with the schools, would make clear to participants that I was collaborating with, but was not part of, RV as an organisation. This approach was largely effective in emphasising my separateness from RV, however the process of negotiating my positionality in schools was not straightforward, but ongoing and varied among participants, as I explored on page 86 and revisit in the following chapter. I describe the protocol and how I responded to violence in Chapter 6, and return to concerns of positionality at the end of the chapter.

Tensions also emerged around conceptual approaches to making meaning around violence. During the monthly feedback sessions and other debriefing meetings with RV staff, differences in conceptualisations of gender, violence and poverty appeared to emerge. Where the attendance to structural violence in my analysis led to me sharing early analysis of interrelationships between poverty and violence, this led to concerns at RV of the stigmatisation of poverty and fears of

promoting an uncomplicated relationship between poverty and violence which, in their activism, they actively sought to challenge. Similar tensions existed between my overt and in-depth focus on gender, wherein the Good School Toolkit itself is not an overtly gendered intervention and indeed, RV itself makes a distinction its work between prevention of violence against women and violence against children. This led to interesting discussions about the relevance of gender to my analysis and how this related to the GST.

These conceptual tensions led to interesting discussions, and ultimately both myself and RV staff agreed that our approaches complemented each other, and the most important aspect was to explore the conceptual interconnections between gender, violence and poverty with sensitivity, and seeking complexity and nuance. These discussions showed that our aim of understanding and seeking to prevent gender violence with a high degree of nuance, in this particular setting, was ultimately the same. These discussions were invaluable for me in challenging me to further the nuance in my analysis, enriched by RV insights and knowledge of the setting. Raising Voices have also been interested and responsive to the findings of this research and adapted them into later iterations of the intervention.

Shaping a research focus and selecting school sites

The second aim of this initial visit was to develop my research focus and approach. From the outset the study focus was on the long-term sustainability of the GST intervention using a sociological lens. As explored in Chapter 2, a key gap existed here both in knowledge of the GST intervention specifically (Devries *et al.*, 2015b; Pickett and Elgar, 2015) and in the broader body of work into violence prevention (Parkes *et al.*, 2016b). During this initial visit I conducted a focus group discussion with teachers in GST-implementing schools and engaged in a Foucauldian theoretical analysis of this discussion. Drawing on this, and my academic reading into sociological understandings of violence in schools, I oriented towards rooting my assessment of sustainability in a close examination of gender violence in the schools. This shift in focus continued when I began fieldwork and in the process of data analysis, as I return to below.

My developing research focus on both gender violence and the GST intervention underpinned the selection of school sites, which I undertook at the start of fieldwork in February 2017. In educational ethnographic research the tasks of selecting school settings and narrowing the research focus are interrelated. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) highlight, sometimes the setting comes first, as the opportunity to research a situation in a particular setting emerges, while at other times the setting is chosen on the basis of ‘foreshadowed problems’ (p. 28). Underpinned by these problems, the research

focus may then shift in relation to the setting and early data collection, as in ethnography, ‘the development of research problems is rarely completed before fieldwork begins.’ While pragmatism and possibility of access also play a key role in choosing sites, when selecting the sites according to ‘foreshadowed problems’, appropriateness for the research focus is thus the priority (Walford, 2001).

My selection of the sites was underpinned by both appropriateness for the ‘foreshadowed problems’ of this developing research focus, and a certain degree of pragmatism. My aim of the long-term influence of the GST intervention meant that I selected among the 21 schools of the GSS that had received the intervention between 2012-2014. Choosing one of two towns on the main road in Luwero District, and identifying two schools that were within daily driving distance of the hotel in this town, narrowed the selection down to eight possible schools. A map of these eight schools is shown in Figure 3 below.

In order to choose schools that would serve as sites to examine in themselves, but through which I could generate findings for the broader field of knowledge in this area (Stake, 1995), I was looking for two schools that had some differing characteristics, while also not being outstanding or unusual in ways that would preclude generalising from my findings. The task of assessing site suitability, or ‘casing the joint’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 29) involved assessing 2012 baseline and 2014 endline GSS data on violence and GST activities in the schools, follow-up qualitative observational data on sustainability in five of these schools compiled by Raising Voices [RV] in 2016, and discussions with RV staff members on their personal reflections.

Using this approach, I discounted a school whose headteacher had recently changed, a headteacher who RV staff advised was particularly unsupportive, and an unusually linguistically and culturally diverse school that could pose practical challenges. As GSS data showed that physical violence from staff continued in all schools, I knew that all schools would give insights into corporal punishment. I therefore chose schools that also had mention of positive school environment in these data sets so as to avoid being skewed towards only levels of violence. Further, I chose one school with a female and one with a male headteacher, as I was interested in how the schools’ gender regimes might function differently. Using GSS data on the GST intervention, I selected two schools that had initial success in implementing the GST intervention, with one having higher, and one lower level of initial success. Discussions with RV staff were also essential here, and I chose schools they described having positive relationships with, and therefore might be both ‘officially and unofficially welcoming and cooperative’ (Ball, 1984, p. 76). I describe the two schools below, and my reading and use of GSS and RV data to select schools is shown in Appendix 4.

Navigating anonymity

Ensuring anonymity in research is challenging for ethnographers working with a small number of sites (Murphy and Dingwall, 2001; Walford, 2018), and this is particularly difficult in school settings as people in and around the school community know the researcher (Walford, 2005). Further, in this research, RV staff knew the schools with which I was researching. While it has not been possible to mask school identity among RV staff, therefore, I have used a number of deflecting strategies to make it harder for individual participants to be identified. All names are pseudonyms, I have not included the school pseudonym when presenting teacher data throughout and I have obscured specific teacher roles where possible. Further, as one headteacher was female and one was male, I have referred to all staff in positions of authority as ‘senior teachers’ so that the headteachers are not clearly identifiable. I feel assured that specific children are not identifiable and therefore have attached the pseudonyms of the schools when sharing data.

Throughout, I have sought to balance the need for rich insights into school life and not ‘drawing the dots’ between school structures, moments and actors where unnecessary for analysis and may have threatened anonymity. In this way I attempt to navigate the tension that exists between Geertz’s (1973) ‘thick description’ and anonymity in qualitative research (Drake, 2013, p. 316). To ensure school anonymity beyond RV, I have not given the name or any identifiable characteristics of the town close to the schools. While the schools were named after the villages they were close to, I have chosen to name them *Kiragala* and *Myufu* Schools, taking the Luganda for green and red respectively, as this corresponds to an aspect of school life that I personally associated with the schools.

Developing a research role

In ethnographic observation the researcher may participate in the research setting and this role can take multifarious forms. While the interplay between ‘participant’ and ‘researcher’ roles may be conceptualised in various ways (e.g. Gold, 1958; Rabinow, 1977), the most important aspects are to reflect on the participant-observer positioning and its suitability to research setting and aims, with the overall aim of high quality observations (Davies, 2008, p. 84). I therefore consulted RV staff and discussed with school management to design a participant role that would both be useful for the school, in the hope of offering something useful in return for their accommodating me, and to afford a range of different perspectives for meaningful observations. Following suggestions by school management, alongside conducting my own lesson observations I taught English phonics lessons to school staff and a creative writing class for P7 pupils. Over time I took on teaching other classes where teachers were absent and marked books during lessons, which involved exam papers as well as

one-to-one feedback with pupils' workbooks. My observations became richer as I supplemented insights from observations at the back of the classroom or at break times, with observations I made while teaching pupils or teachers, or interacting with pupils as I marked their books. At times, these roles offered me very different insights into classroom interactions.

I simultaneously employed a Luganda teacher outside of school and sought to speak in Luganda as often as possible. The difference in communication and the openness with teachers when speaking in Luganda showed me that my lack of fluent Luganda was a key limitation of my research. However I found the process of learning Luganda was also productive. As there were many moments where I had no clear role in school, which can be an embarrassing or awkward part of observational research (Mason, 2002, p. 80), this gave me a task. I carried a Luganda notebook and used moments of downtime to take language-learning notes and used this to start conversations. Teachers commented often on the notebook and found it amusing to observe the phrases that I had noted, my phonetic spelling and beginner pronunciation. I found that the power dynamics of me being white, foreign, and associated with a high-status NGO from Kampala, were destabilised slightly in moments of my using beginner Luganda. Further, as I had decided not to take observational notes during school time, the Luganda notebook also served as a place to note brief 'jottings' in a quiet moment (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011) of details I feared forgetting.

Conducting research: Research methods with schools, teachers and pupils

Fieldwork was undertaken between March – August 2017 over two school terms, with a month either side in the Raising Voices office in Kampala. The research was approved by the ethics committee at UCL Institute of Education, by Mildmay Uganda Research and Ethics Committee [MUREC] and secondly by Uganda National Council for Science and Technology [UNCST]. After Raising Voices had sought school approval for a meeting, I went with a member of RV staff known to the schools to meet with the Headteacher and sought their consent for the school's participation, followed up with a letter to school management.

Using ethnographic methods for 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973), I sought to balance the 'exploratory' orientation of ethnography with a specific focus on meanings around gender violence and the GST intervention, thus directing the research towards my aims but also open to evolving and emergent insights (Agee, 2009; Flick, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Short-term ethnographic methods such as these, that engage in a range of entry points may offer a shorter-term approach that is more closely tied to specific research interests, and uses a range of methods to develop insights across different aspects of school life (Pink and Morgan, 2013). As Pink and Morgan

argue, the nature of engaging at this range of methodological and analytical ‘entry points’, may be too intrusive, or intensive to conduct over long periods of time. This is particularly key in research into violence. I thus designed a study of four months duration, with participant observation conducted across both school terms and the active data collection of interviews, group discussions and writing methods only in the second school term. The overall methods conducted are shown in Table 1 below.

DATA COLLECTION					
Participant observations					
<i>Total</i>	<i>16 weeks fieldnotes</i>				
	Pupils		Teachers		
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	
Group sessions					
No. groups	4	4			
Sessions per group	2	2			
<i>Total</i>	<i>16 group sessions</i>				
Individual interviews					
No. participants	9	8	8	8	
No. interviewed twice			2	3	
No. interviews	17		21		
<i>Total</i>	<i>38 individual interviews</i>				
Writing club					
Written pieces	28	19			
Follow-up explanations	8	3			
<i>Total</i>	<i>58 pieces mixed media writing club data</i>				

Table 1

March and April: Participant observation

During the first eight-week period in the schools I took on the aforementioned roles, conducted participant observations and wrote ethnographic fieldnotes in the evenings. Participant observation involves learning through exposure and participation in the day-to-day activities of a community (Robson, 2002; Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999), through attending to interpersonal interaction and nonverbal communication (Angrosino, 2005; Kawulich, 2005). Above other forms of research, participant observation allows researchers to study these interactions in everyday contexts rather than in a setting constructed for the purposes of the research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I thus sought insights into gendered interactions, violence and institutional practices through these observations. Observations served as data collection as well as underpinning other forms of data collection both practically and as a tool for analysis (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002), allowing me to interpret situations described in other research methods in relation to observations of everyday school life.

I wrote ethnographic fieldnotes every day and as soon as possible on leaving the school. I rarely took notes in the school itself and never in front of participants, as I sought to reduce ‘proclaiming strong outside commitments’ by turning interactions into forms of scientific enquiry (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2001, p. 8). I further found generating knowledge through fieldnotes to be a layered process as I returned, sometimes several times, to write reflections on prior events in light of new emergent knowledge. Gradually this process blended into data analysis, as well as the fieldnotes serving as data in their own right.

Managing issues of informed consent and teacher agency in observations was a nuanced process. While I had explained that my class observations were not formal or judgmental, I also understood from having been a teacher that classroom observations rarely feel non-judgmental, and that my partnership with RV led to a perceived focus on corporal punishment. While I sought teachers’ consent to observe their lessons, I also could not be certain of institutional power dynamics that may have pressured teachers to agree (Malone, 2003). As ethnography involves observing naturally occurring situations, it is also unrealistic to continually ask for consent (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). As Guillemin and Gillam (2004, p. 275) highlight, informed consent took place more in interpersonal interactions between myself and teachers. I therefore saw obtaining informed consent as an iterative and ongoing process (Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway, 2007; Plankey-Videla, 2012) and sought to be attentive to subtle cues, trying to only join those teachers’ lessons who were particularly forthcoming. Over time I managed to observe most teachers, although a small number declined, either directly or indirectly.

Teachers also asserted agency and negotiated consent during classroom observations themselves, reminding of the need to be alert to moments of researcher exclusion (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte, 1999). While lessons were mostly conducted in English, teachers could shift to speaking in Luganda as a way of refusing observation. Further, teachers began to use my presence in lessons to support their teaching, such as asking me to mark exam papers or books, or to clarify a point in English. In these ways, agency and consent could thus ebb and flow, and be a reciprocal process between myself and staff. In the following chapter I pick up ethical concerns of this in more detail.

June, July and August: Interviews, participatory group discussions and writing club

In the second school term I continued participant observation and also engaged in active data collection with teachers and pupils. Methods and participants are shown in Table 2 below.

PARTICIPANTS AND SCHOOLS

		Pupils				Teachers				
		Kiragala School		Myufu School		Kiragala School		Myufu School		
Overall school numbers		-156		-360		10		11		
Group sessions										
<i>Female</i>										
Younger group	Age	9-12		8-11						
	Class	P3/4		P3/4						
Older group	No. pupils	7		7						
		12-16		12-16						
		P5/6		P5/6						
		6-7		6-7						
<i>Male</i>										
Younger group		9-11		8-11						
		P3/4		P3/4						
Older group		6		6						
		11-14		12-15						
		P4/5/6		P5/6						
		6		6						
Individual interviews										
<i>Female</i>										
Name, class, (age)	Jawaria	P3	9	Priscilla	P3	9	Elizabeth	P1/B	Lila	P7/ST
	Patience	P4	12	Harriet	P4	11	Jamila	P4/5	Esther	P3/ST
	Rose	P6	13	Prossy	P5	13	Ruth*	P4	Rose	P1/B
	Stella	P6	16	Hope	P5	13	Susan	P3	Mary*	P3/P6
				Brenda	HG/P6	13	*interviewed twice			
				HG – head girl			ST – senior teacher		B – baby class	
<i>Male</i>										
	Hassan	P4	10	Allan	P3	8	Ishmael	P7/ST	Charles	P4/5
	Fahad	P4	10	Moses	P3	11	John	P5/6/7	Joseph	P6/7
	Ronald	P4	12	John	P6	13	Paul	P6/7/ST	Mark*	P6
	Faisal	P5	13	Isaac	P6	15	Victor*	P5/6/7	Matthias*	P5/6
Writing Club										
Written pieces										
	Age	13-15		13-16						
	Class	P7		P7						
	No. girls	10		6						
	No. boys	5		6						
	No. pupils	15		12						
	No. written pieces each	1-2		1-2						
Follow up interviews										
<i>Female</i>										
Name, age	Joy	13								
	Deborah	13								
	Khadijah	13								
	Angel	13								
	Asma	14								
	Milly	14								
	Jawaria	14								
	Victoria	14								
<i>Male</i>										
	Edward	14								
	Yusuf	14								
	James	15								

Table 2. Description of participants and schools

Interviews with teachers

I conducted 21 interviews with teachers [8f / 8m] across the two schools, seeking gender parity, and interviewing almost all the teachers in each school [8/10 Kiragala School / 8/11 Myufu School]. Some teachers were interviewed [n=5] twice, either because they were heavily involved in the GST intervention, because I felt that the discussion was key and unfinished, or because the teacher was particularly keen to speak again. Qualitative interviews, as Miller and Glassner (2016, p. 52) state,

[...] provide us access to social worlds, as evidence both of ‘what happens’ within them and of how individuals make sense of themselves, their experiences and their place within these social worlds.

Conducting interviews with teachers was thus to both understand what took place in schools around gender violence, as well as how participants made meaning in relation to it. In light of how interviews are ‘interactional accomplishments’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 2016, p. 68), with meaning co-constructed between the participant and researcher, I waited to conduct interviews in the second term. This was to first build relationships, shape the interview style to contextually familiar methods of communication, and to identify topics or moments in observation to refer to in interviews. So doing, I sought to make ‘situated judgment[s]’ about knowledge and techniques to use in interviews (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 89).

At the start of interviews I reminded teachers of the research aims and obtained their written consent.⁴ I conducted all interviews in English as teachers spoke English well. While I knew that my lack of fluent Luganda was a drawback, I balanced this with the pitfalls of having a translator present, feeling that it would reduce comfort and ease in the interview. I personally transcribed all interviews with teachers, and this supported an iterative approach to data analysis. Interviews were broadly semi-structured, allowing me to shape the interview towards the research focus, as well as allowing the participants to construct knowledge drawing on their individual experiences and communication styles (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000; Willis, 2006).⁵ As in interviews decisions made about approach may often be made on the spot with research aims in mind (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009), at times the interviews took a more informal and unstructured approach, as some teachers spoke freely and a more responsive, less directive, style of questioning worked better. At other times, teachers felt comfortable with a more directed approach, and I would draw more closely on the interview guide.

As well as putting participants at their ease, this adaptive style of interview also offered analytical insight. For example, the tendency of some male teachers to push for a less structured interview style, to use the encounter to reflect on, and even bemoan, changes to traditional gender norms, or sought to reinforce them through discussions, contributed to my interpretation of conflicts and contradictions in gender norms. The restraint showed by one female teacher and her preference for a formalised and structured interview style that contrasted with her loquaciousness elsewhere, contributed to my impression that female teachers were reluctant to be questioned on sexual violence. In these ways, meaning could be found in the ‘practical *hows*’ as well as the ‘substantive *whats*’ of interviewing (Holstein and Gubrium, 2016, p. 69).

⁴ Examples of consent forms are included in Appendix 1

⁵ An example of the teacher interview guide is included in Appendix 2.2 and a full transcript of an interview in Appendix 2.3

Interviews, participatory group discussions and writing clubs with children

My approach with children consisted of a range of methods in which I sought children's participation and to attend to the complexities of their meaning-making. I employed multiple methods as a way of reducing the over-emphasis of particular narratives, for a more democratic research process with children (Morrow and Richards, 1996) and in post-colonial spaces (Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010), and to contextualise and triangulate children's narratives (Darbyshire, MacDougall and Schiller, 2005; James, 2007). By incorporating observation with other methods I also attempted to listen for and use children's communication styles (Mayall, 1999), and hoped that by engaging in a mix of traditional research methods and more 'child-friendly' techniques, children could both display their competencies in being treated as adults, while also allowing creative ways to engage with them and put them at ease (Punch, 2002).

Group discussions and individual interviews were conducted in Luganda and I thus worked with a translator and research assistant to lead this. Researcher selection and training is particularly important when conducting violence research with children (Devries *et al.*, 2016), and it was essential to work with someone who could build rapport with children in a short space of time, also crucial aspects of group discussion facilitation (King and Horrocks, 2010, p. 71). I therefore identified my research partner, Shakira, through a range of ways. During my initial visit to Raising Voices in 2015, I observed Shakira conduct participatory methods with children and was impressed by her warm and lively manner and her ability to develop positive relationships quickly. I sought RV staff advice and reviewed some of Shakira's prior transcription work. Following two days training that I gave on the aims of the research, methods and child protection protocol, Shakira joined each school one day a week in the second term to conduct methods with children, and to engage in a debriefing and reflective discussion with me immediately after data collection. The other days of the week Shakira worked on transcription and translation of these methods. All interview and group discussion data with children was transcribed by Shakira into English.

Research with P3-6 pupils took the form of participatory group discussions and individual interviews with Shakira's support. As agreed with the senior teachers, research with P7 pupils was conducted in the form of writing clubs, so as not to detract from their learning in the final exam year and to incorporate research with English classes. I conducted writing clubs in English without the support of Shakira. Shakira and I conducted 16 participatory group discussions and 17 individual interviews with children in classes P3-6, and I worked with children to produce 47 writing club pieces and 11 follow-up explanations with children in P7.

Shakira and I explained the P3-6 research to children during lesson time and sent home introduction letters and consent forms written in Luganda to all parents and caregivers.⁶ Only those children who brought back signed parental consent forms were considered for the research.⁷ For P3-6 pupils, I selected children for participation by picking returned consent forms in front of the class, apparently at random. This was to prevent children from feeling excluded, and also, following the GSS approach, to reduce perceptions that children were chosen for experiences of violence (Devries *et al.*, 2015a). I had marked the forms of children I wished to take part, however, choosing children who matched the age criteria, who sat at the front, backs of the classroom, who interacted in the classroom in particularly contrasting ways, to include children who had learning difficulties or disabilities as well as those who were prefects or academically confident and successful, and those who I had observed experiencing violence, with the aim of incorporating a particular range of pupil experiences. For the writing clubs in P7, all who agreed to the research and returned parental consent forms were eligible to take part, which was most children in P7 in Kiragala School, and a third of children in P7 in Myufu School. Here pupils were chosen through the same selection process as with younger years. All children signed informed consent forms in English following my explanation and a short discussion of the research.

Participatory group discussions

The aim of the group discussions was to seek group constructions of meaning around gender violence and the GST intervention. As research across settings (Stark *et al.*, 2019) and in Uganda (Clarke *et al.*, 2016; Walakira, Ismail and Byamugisha, 2013; Wandera *et al.*, 2017) suggests that children's experiences of gender violence change as they reach adolescence, I worked with a younger and older group either side of the onset of puberty, and also to seek experiences across classes. Groups were separated by sex in order to observe girls' and boys' construction of meaning both within and across sex groups, as well being a well-suited approach to group discussions on sensitive issues (Hennessy and Heary, 2011), and has been used in other studies into gender and violence in sub-Saharan Africa (Bhana and Mayeza, 2016; Mitchell, 2011; Parkes and Heslop, 2011). We therefore sought research participants of each sex aged 8-11 (P3/P4) for the younger groups, and aged 12-16 (P5/P6) for the older groups, as shown in Table 2.⁸

Group discussions and interviews were held in spaces that could not be overheard: In Kiragala School in an empty classroom or under a far tree on the compound, and in Myufu School in the library.

⁶ Approach letters to parents and pupils are included in Appendices 1.1 and 1.2

⁷ I reflect on the ethics of only working with active parental consent in Chapter 6

⁸ While this approach was largely successful, in Kiragala School there were not enough pupils for such a clear age and class distinction

Shakira explained the research and asked for questions in Luganda, then we sought children's written consent in English.⁹ While Shakira led the sessions, encouraged discussion and used prompts, I joined the group as a facilitator and participator, and managed the use of resources, recording and timing. I followed the gist of conversation in Luganda and would ask Shakira to follow-up on particular points, or to explain briefly what was being discussed so I could observe body language and interactions.

The discussion pivoted around photos that sparked discussions around life in school, with follow-up prompts to direct discussion towards the research aims.¹⁰ I chose the photos from a database at Raising Voices that drew on key aspects of school life identified during observations. Using photos in these discussions as an 'entry point' to discussion (Mitchell, 2008, p. 369), prompted children's reflections. Gathering round the photos also contributed to a relaxed and lively atmosphere and served as an ice-breaker when discussing sensitive topics (Epstein *et al.*, 2006), and we found alongside Clark-Ibáñez (2008) in her research with gender in schools in the US, that photo prompts led to 'story-telling responses' rather than the more intimidating question and answer style, allowing children to be experts on their own experiences (p. 103). The photos below are some examples, although we had a larger bank to draw on and changed photos, or prompts, according to our debriefing discussions.¹¹

⁹ Appendix 1.4

¹⁰ An example of a group discussion guide is included in Appendix 2.4 and a full transcript of a group discussion in Appendix 2.5

¹¹ Photo credit Heidi Brady / Raising Voices

Use of these photographs was covered through consent afforded to Raising Voices. No photographs were included from Luwero District

 <p><i>This is a male teacher. What is the teacher doing? How does the boy feel? How do the other pupils feel? What do male teachers do in school? What makes a good/bad teacher?</i></p>	 <p><i>This is a female teacher. What is the teacher doing? How does the girl feel? How do the other pupils feel? What do female teachers do in school? What makes a good/bad teacher?</i></p>
 <p><i>These children are happy. What makes children feel happy in school? What makes girls / boys feel happy in school?</i></p>	 <p><i>These children are sad. What makes children feel sad in school? What makes girls / boys feel sad in school?</i></p>

Table 3

Individual interviews

Following group discussions Shakira and I asked one child to stay for an individual interview. To avoid children feeling unfairly selected or excluded, we picked their name cards apparently at random, making the selection process a game. Shakira and I had pinpointed a position on the desk where I placed the card of the child I wished her to pick, however, and we also agreed that Shakira would choose a different child if something had emerged in Luganda that was particularly key. Children were selected for interview according to experiences or descriptions of violence that in the group discussion they displayed an interest in discussing, or their being the oldest or youngest, or the most or least socially or academically confident member of the group, or for positions of authority such as prefects or being active in the GST. In Myufu School we interviewed one additional female pupil in order to speak to the particularly active Head Girl.

The aim of interviews was to further discussions of violence from individual perspectives, to allow the space for sensitive and delicate issues to emerge, such as has been used in research into teacher

sexual violence (Leach, 2006), and to observe differences between meaning-making individually and in groups (Price and Hawkins, 2002). During interviews, pupils were reminded again of consent and given the opportunity to decline. I reflect on ethical considerations of this approach in the following chapter. We preceded individual interviews by group discussions to facilitate social phenomena being seen from a range of ways (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003), and to establish some prior comfort when discussing sensitive issues (Orenstein, 1994 in Holstein and Gubrium, 2003; Leach, 2015; Mayall, 1999). At times children spoke at length about something of their choosing, while some children were shy and only responded to questions. I found the approach used with adults, of allowing the interview to range from structured to unstructured according to the participant, was even more important with children to ‘facilitate conversation and comfort’ (Irwin and Johnson, 2005, p. 825), as well as to allow the child to feel in control of their own storytelling (Burman, Batchelor and Brown, 2017).¹²

Writing club

The writing club with P7 pupils served two purposes. I intended to both design alternative, participatory methods to supplement other data collection, as well as finding ways to engage with P7 who were too busy to miss lessons, and as a form of reciprocity for the school. Discussing this with senior teachers, the writing club had two parts: In one classroom I taught an English creative writing class, as asked for by the Headteacher in one school. Separately, certain children would complete written research tasks in a separate, but adjoined space where I could observe research conditions.¹³ As this involved some pupils missing lesson time, I gave detailed feedback to pupils on their creative writing pieces each week to try and account for lesson time lost to the research.

Participatory methods that allow children time to create knowledge and reflection on what they want to share can be more democratic and afford children more power over what they share (Angell, Alexander and Hunt, 2014; Ingram, 2011). Further, as found in research with children in Antigua and Barbuda (Cobbett and Warrington, 2013) and in sub-Saharan African settings (Pattman and Chege, 2003), personalised writing tasks alongside group discussions can reveal different public and private experiences of gender and sexuality. I found as Ennew and Morrow (1994) did in Jamaica, Lima and the UK, that even children with limited literacy were able to convey their feelings in written tasks. This required some trialling of the language to make it easier, however. Following this task, I gave children a chance to explain their writing verbally if they wished. I did this at break and lunch time in a secluded space under a tree and found that while some children did not wish to, others did and

¹² A full learner interview transcript is included in Appendix 2.6

¹³ An example of this written task is included in Appendix 2.7

therefore we had a short interview. For those that wished to follow-up in more detail or where delicate issues had emerged, I asked Shakira to join to conduct the discussion in Luganda.

Making meaning through research: Data analysis

The analytical approach used was critical discourse analysis. Discourse analysis, which ‘involves the careful examination of talk and texts in order to trace the ways in which discourses bring into being the objects and subjects of which they speak’ (Willig, 2013, p. 341), forefronts the ways in which participants talk and act, and construct meaning and their own identities through this talk and action. As Hammersley and Atkinson emphasise in ethnographic approaches, a meaningful analysis of talk draws out how people ‘perform’ social actions and examines what they ‘do’ with their words. As I was seeking social meanings underpinned by both a poststructural lens and one attentive to structural constraints, I also sought meaning in the relationship between everyday and material structures and practices, and how social actors discursively positioned and made meaning around them. Through the lens of critical discourse analysis, discourse both ‘constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices’ (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 61). I thus sought meaning in both discourse and practice in schools, for a fuller account of gender violence (Heslop *et al.*, 2019).

As analysis is not as a distinct phase, but a process, my approach to analysis was multiple and wove into different stages of the research. The formulation of a research focus may itself be an analytical task (Hammersley and Atkinson, p. 160). Shaping focus towards a more extensive examination of gender violence than was originally intended was highly analytical, as academic reading and analysis of my initial visit in 2015 and emergent findings in the field in 2017, led to the conceptual positioning that understandings of the long-term influence of the GST needed a close examination of violence in the two schools. Negotiating this evolving research focus thus proved an analytical task, and as observations began, I began shaping my analysis towards the main themes of peer violence, teacher discipline violence, teacher sexual violence and the GST intervention.

Analysis also occurs in the moment of data collection itself, as choosing what to examine is shaped by theoretical underpinnings, emergent analysis and personal priorities. As Deborah Youdell (2006a, p. 68) writes:

The selection of observational sites and ‘moments’ within my study was driven by theory, hunches, opportunism, students’ suggestions and entreaties as well as the demands, and perhaps more significantly limitations, of field relationships.

Hammersley and Atkinson urge towards thinking ‘*with and through*’ data as well as *about* data (2007, p. 168), and I found that by using data to think with, the data in themselves became tools for analytically selecting what, and who, to research. Through writing observational fieldnotes I also sought to interpret and analyse other data (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). As fieldwork progressed I jotted down emergent themes and shaped my questioning in data collection towards these themes.

After fieldwork, data analysis became a more formalised process. I transcribed all adult interviews and writing club data myself, while Shakira translated and transcribed all interviews and group work with children. I re-read transcripts of all data collected through active data collection, and consolidated ideas for themes that had emerged throughout fieldwork. Observational fieldnotes served as a source of triangulation. From this point, I then engaged in two levels of analysis simultaneously. Firstly, I identified overall- and sub-themes and drew up an initial coding list from these themes.¹⁴ This included the following main codes: Forms of violence, gender, poverty, physical space, Good School Toolkit, dealing with violence, school environment, methodological insights and ‘key’ data.

I then began coding with NVivo across the data, starting with teacher interviews, pupils’ group discussions and writing club data simultaneously, as I sought to identify how meaning was made at a school-level. I intended to continue coding the remaining data in this way, however found that this process served a different purpose than originally intended. Coding across large swathes of text in fact became a useful exercise for re-familiarising myself with the settings with a layer of geographical, temporal and analytical distance. Continuing the ongoing task of negotiating the ‘strange’ and the ‘familiar’ of the school settings, early coding became a way in which I began to ‘make strange’ the research settings. Further, it served as a useful way of comparing meaning across participants and contributed insight into meaning made at a school-wide level. In particular, writing club data was useful in this process as it could easily be compared across data (Punch, 2002). Although useful as an initial practice, therefore, I stopped after coding roughly a third of the data, and instead turned my attention to the other level of analysis that I found to lead to richer, more in-depth insights.

Simultaneously, and gradually the process of analysis that took over, I engaged in a more in-depth process of analysis of particular research moments that had struck me during fieldwork. Firstly, considering data within its social context is essential in seeking its meaning (Cameron, 2001). Secondly, drawing on notions of data that ‘glow’ (Maclure, 2013; Ringrose and Renold, 2014), I reflected in a deeper way on these moments that had occurred either through my observations, or in active data collection, that offered particularly salient insights into schools’ bodily-institutional regimes. Foucault posits:

¹⁴ Appendix 5

...in analysing discourses themselves, one sees the loosening of the embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things, and the emergence of a group of rules proper to discursive practice. [...] A task that consists of not – of no longer – treating discourses as groups of signs but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Of course, discourses are composed of signs; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language and to speech. It is this ‘more’ that we must reveal and describe’ (1972, p. 49).

I engaged with these moments, therefore, not just as ‘signs’ of discourse, but as moments that ‘systematically [formed] the objects of which they [spoke]’, where *knowledge* was constructed through *practice* in a particularly noteworthy way and where descriptions of this *practice* shed light on the *knowledge* underpinning it, in a ‘circular relation’ (Foucault, 1977b, p. 14), and that also offered particular insight into individuals’ *subject* positions and *identities*. I then spent some time triangulating deeply across different data around these moments, seeking ‘thick’ and rich description (Geertz, 1973), and also to reflect on and trouble any pull towards acts of violence in my selection of these key moments (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004). So doing, I gradually built a picture of how meaning was being made in schools, constructing outwards from these moments, and layering across the data.

Reflections on gender

In line with my theoretical approach which seeks to understand schools’ bodily-institutional regimes, relating to both structural inequalities and to post-structural theorisations, gender weaved through my methodological approach and analysis in two key ways.

Firstly, I sought to examine how gender inequalities emerged, were upheld and the bodies of knowledge in this setting within which they were rooted. Here I was also interested in the interrelationships between gender and other structural constraints such as poverty, age and compulsory heterosexuality, examining how gender norms were inextricable from sexual norms and norms of resource acquisition. In this strand of analysis, I take up considerations of agency and how pupils and teachers experienced, reinforced or and fought against these constraints. This can be seen in interviews where I asked questions around the challenges that girls and boys faced, and the constraints that male and female teachers felt in responding to violence. It also underpinned my interest in observations in how teachers and pupils treated, or viewed, female and male teachers and pupils differently; how different forms of violence were used and experienced by male and female

pupils and teachers; how these related to gender norms and structural gender inequalities, how these were fought against or challenged both directly and indirectly, and the gendered teacher-pupil and staff institutional hierarchies within which these actions were embedded.

Simultaneously, I also sought to examine how gender itself was constructed through the repetition of such practices, and how engagement in these repeated practices led to teachers and pupils becoming gendered into subject positions that already held recognised meaning in this setting. I was also attentive to how individuals contested and resisted gendered positionings even as they might uphold them, and the relational ways in which they negotiated identities from within their gendered subject positions. In this strand of the analysis, for example, I explored the differences between how male pupils 'performed' masculinity in group discussions or interviews, or the differences between how they constructed and enacted their gendered identities with Shakira and I (gendered as caring adult females) and Teachers Paul and Matthias (gendered as authoritative male teachers). This can also be seen throughout the data chapters, where I examine how gender is constructed through not only acts of violence, but through discussions of and discursive practices around these acts. Crucially for this thesis examining the prevention of gender violence, I was particularly interested in how the socially constructed nature of gender might point to its impermanence, mutability and the spaces in which gender violence could be disrupted.

My own gender as female researcher was inextricable from this process, and this interweaved with other markers of identity, such as being white, 'foreign' and associated with a high-status NGO in Kampala. During data collection with pupils, I noted how Shakira and I were positioned, and somewhat unintentionally positioned ourselves, in alignment with female teachers in this setting who were perceived to hold closer, more caring relationships with pupils and were more active in promoting child protection. I was also aware of constructing my gender here through actions that would not have constructed my gender as female in the same way in the UK. For example, the participatory group practices that Shakira and I sought to lead with lightness, silliness and humour, attempting an underpinning of warmth and care for their experiences of violence, was, in this setting, a teacher manner highly associated with female teachers. I reflected with interest that this same teacher manner I employed when teaching in the UK some years before, had been gendered differently. This manner that Shakira and I employed both afforded us a greater closeness and trust with pupils, however at the same time I was aware of simultaneously reinforcing these notions of gender.

My gender in relation to teachers was more complex, and emerged, and was constructed, differently with different teachers. It was always, however, inextricable from my 'otherness' as white foreigner. Firstly, in Kiragala School, which had clearer gendered hierarchies among staff (as I introduce

below), I was aware of being afforded considerably higher status than other female members of staff who held more subordinated positionings. I thus observed that with senior male teachers here, my outsider status overrode my femaleness in significance, as the treatment of an outsider associated with a high-status NGO was incompatible with the lower-status positioning of female teachers.

One interesting moment in Kiragala School highlighted how I was both gendered as female, and yet how this was interrelated to my outsider status. During an interview, a male teacher described his desire to marry a British woman who could pay for his travel to the UK, and asked me if I would consider marrying a Ugandan man. I sidestepped this question with some lightness and by changing the topic. This moment showed how I was gendered as female by this teacher in binary opposition to his maleness, and this was inextricable from (compulsory) heterosexuality, and transactional relationship norms. However due to my foreignness and association with resources, his hints at a transactional relationship ran directly counter to contextual norms of men as financial providers for women. Further, I was also interested to see that my role as researcher, and my awareness of being an outsider, led me to respond to this moment with more lightness than I would have done in a UK professional context. This led to me to reflect on how as researchers, we are active in constructing our own gender differently in different settings.

At other moments, however, and particularly in Myufu School, I noted that my gendering as female by men was highly different. One young male teacher, Mark, showed considerable interest in my experiences of teaching in the UK, and asked extensive questions on how children learned and behaved, and my pedagogical practices. In these exchanges, I felt that I was being positioned by Mark in a position of similarity to him as a young teacher, excited by teaching, and yet simultaneously as ‘Other’ in my teaching identity. My femaleness was thus different, or less significant, in this exchange than the interplay between the similarity and strangeness of my teacher identity. This also resonated with the ways in which he spoke to his female colleagues, with more of an expectation of similarity, mutual respect and a downplaying of routinised gender differences, than tended to be the case in Kiragala School. The ways in which I was gendered by teachers, therefore, revealed much about different teachers constructed gender differently, and about the bodily-institutional regimes in the two schools.

With female teachers, I noted that both my association with RV and its stated aims of preventing violence against children and being viewed as female, led to a perception of similarity and closeness based on expected shared interests. Some female teachers, and particularly those engaged in the GST and child protection efforts, spoke to me at length of their concern for pupils. I also contributed to this

with my questioning style and expressed concern for children's welfare.¹⁵ As mentioned above, it was striking how these behaviours were gendered as female in this setting, and also in how I participated in the construction of close relationships with certain female teachers based on this sharing of interests. I return to this more in the following chapter.

In my writing of this section, I note my own gendering of male and female teachers in binary opposition, and draw on existing and recognised understandings of gender difference in this setting to do so. This can also be seen in further chapters where I examine differences in male and female teachers' actions or narratives. This represents how I approach gender in the writing up of this thesis. Throughout, I examine male and female pupils' and teachers' experiences separately, due to my focus on the structural gender inequalities that denote highly differing experiences in this setting. However, I also seek to explore how these gendered subject positions themselves are constructed through acts and discourses of violence, how these are complex, and how teachers' and pupils' identities are fluid and contested in ways that challenge such binary oppositions, and pose opportunities for disrupting them or for constructing them differently.

Introducing the Schools

The town close to the schools, and in which I stayed, is located on the main road between Kampala and Gulu. It has a number of medical centres, banks, small restaurants, a large church, a market and many small businesses. Both schools are situated in small villages amidst farming land, roughly a twenty-minute drive along a dirt road from the town. The villages are a collection of homes and farms spread out among the farmland connected by paths, and the main source of income for families is subsistence farming. It is not easy to drive between the schools without going via the town as the roads are poor, and in rainy seasons these roads become difficult to travel. There are few cars that travel along these roads, while motorbikes are common in and around the town, and bicycles more common in the villages. Most people walk between villages and fields, and the walk to town is 1-2 hours. While the schools are in peri-urban areas, therefore, lifestyle is rural, and many villagers do not travel to the town on a regular basis other than for market day.

Many of the schoolteachers live either on the outskirts of town or in the town itself and travel in on bicycles, or close to the villages themselves and walk to school. Children all walk along the roads to school, and this can be either a short journey or up to 1-2 hours. Children of both sexes are fearful of violence to and from school, with girls fearful of particularly sexual violence from older, male

¹⁵ See appendix 2.3 for an example

members of the community, both boys and girls fearful of violence and harassment from out-of-school boys and of abduction from out-of-town gangs for ritual-related violence.¹⁶

Primary schoolchildren in Uganda do not pay school fees, however in both schools children are asked to pay a contribution to the school structures, running costs, and children can also pay to have porridge at break and lunchtimes. It was difficult to ascertain exactly how much these fees were, what they directly contributed to or how many children paid them regularly. However they emerged frequently in school discussions around poverty, child labour and school exclusions, and many children struggled to pay them. In both schools there was a uniform policy, however not all children could afford uniform and so many attended in their own clothes. Children are also expected to bring their own school resources, and, as with fees, there were many discussions around children's struggles to access resources needed for school.

In both schools there is a school allotment in which staff and pupils grow small amounts of food for the school, and a school cook who prepares a lunchtime meal for teachers and porridge for children. Children undertake the school chores of sweeping classrooms, tending to the yard and gardens, fetching and carrying water, and cleaning the latrines. Pupils in both schools are a range of ages even within the same classes, as children often repeat school years. This means that children are between the ages of 3/4 and 16/17, however the most common age for pupils in the highest years is 13/14 years. In both schools, a Ugandan NGO had implemented a girls-only intervention that promoted messages of girls' rights and empowerment.¹⁷ I have anonymised this intervention, referring to it as 'Strong Girls'.

¹⁶ While children talked often about fears of ritualistic violence and abduction, contextualising discussions with RV staff suggested that this was uncommon and that a number of stories had spread among children. This is significant for the effect it had on children's feelings of fear in the communities, however.

¹⁷ Where I make reference to notions of 'empowerment' throughout the thesis, I do not take up debates around this term (Kabeer, 1999; Unterhalter, 2005), however reference the generalised notions and discourses of empowerment that participants drew on in relation to this intervention and which centred around girls' verbal and academic confidence, and ability to 'say no' to sexual advances.

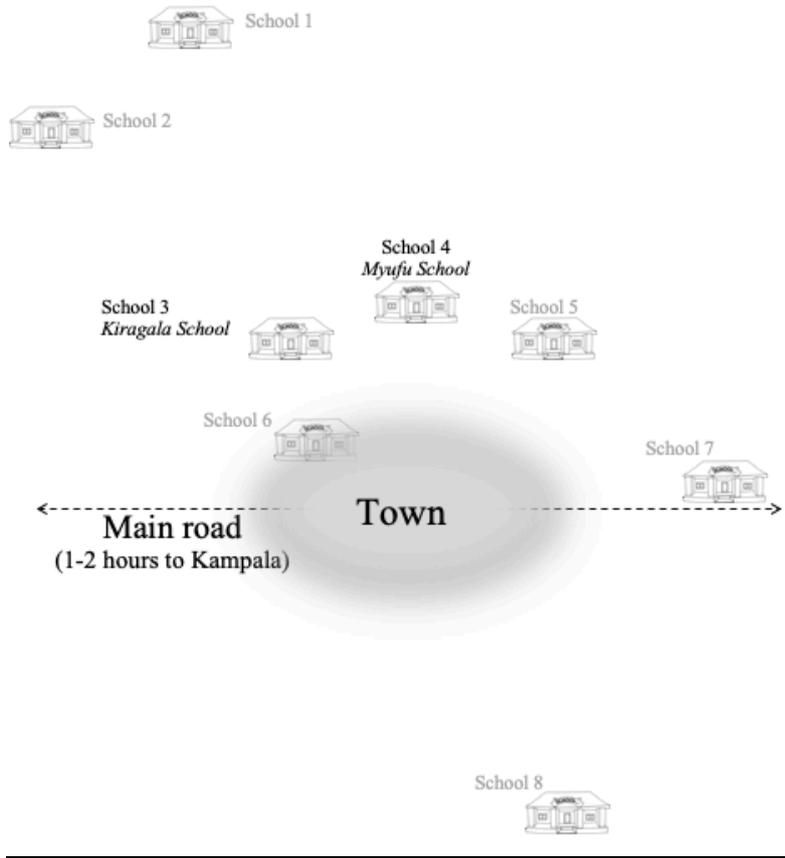


Figure 3



Figures 4 and 5

Kiragala School

Kiragala School is perceived in this area as a small school, with approximately 156 pupils and 10 staff members [f=6 / m=4], and is less well-resourced and has poorer structures than Myufu School. There are no staff quarters so all staff travel in from elsewhere. It has a large site with a tended grass yard in front where girls play ball and jumping games, and a large field where boys play football behind. The structures are poor with half of the classrooms made of mud and half of brick. There is no fence around the school, which is described by staff to be a safety and security concern. The school infrastructure is sometimes damaged which staff believe is carried out by out-of-school gangs, and they fear that children are vulnerable to passing community members and vehicles due to the lack of fencing. There is no electricity or running water, and children collect water from a borehole a short distance away.

There are four latrines with wooden shelters, informally separated between boys/girls and teachers/pupils. There are six classrooms, with a school office that is split between the Headteacher's office and a school administration room that displays school policies, holds school resources and serves as a waiting room. Teachers gather in the P2 classroom at break and lunchtimes which serves as the staffroom. The school has a history of a troubled relationship with its community. The current headteacher is relatively new and has been successful in increasing the student enrolment rate and improving the school's reputation in the community, although he describes this task as still ongoing. School staff say that families in this community are unsupportive of children's education and every Monday many pupils miss school as they accompany their families to town for market day to sell produce, a practice that staff are seeking to reduce. Raising Voices staff also identified the community as being unsupportive of the GST intervention. The school is highly active and successful in sports however, and has a mixed-sex cricket team that travels to compete around the district.

As is common in Uganda, male teachers teach the older classes while female teachers tend to teach the younger years. Older year classes are higher status in this context, and the highest class a female teacher teaches is P5, while P7, the highest status class, is taught by four male teachers and primarily the two senior male teachers. There are between 10-30 pupils in each class, meaning that the staff generally know the pupils well and they have close, familial relationships. Some of the female teachers are actively involved in child protection in the community and have very caring personas with the pupils.

The power in the school sits officially and unofficially with two senior male teachers who run school structures and practices. While the Headteacher does not join the staff gatherings at break and lunchtimes, the other senior male teacher does, and I observe that he dominates the discussion and

other teachers are often quiet around him. This senior male teacher is the only teacher to own a motorbike which I notice affords him further status. He favours, and frequently brings a female teacher to school on his motorbike, leading other staff to suspect a sexual relationship between them. There are tensions that divide two of the male teachers from this senior male teacher, so they tend to sit elsewhere at break and lunchtimes. In the staffroom, therefore, there are often the female teachers and this one senior male teacher. This group of teachers are those more supportive of the GST intervention, while the two male teachers who differentiate themselves have distanced themselves from the GST and new alternative discipline practices.

My reading of the GSS data collected in 2012 and 2014 found that Kiragala had both median levels of violence compared with the other 20 intervention schools, and median levels of violence reduction across the intervention period. Mixed methods data collected at endline also showed a mixed picture of intervention success, as children had among the highest levels of exposure to intervention activities, yet the number of these activities was among the lowest of all schools. This suggested that fewer activities were being undertaken, yet there was meaningful pupil participation and engagement in what did take place. Qualitative data collected by Raising Voices in 2016 suggested that both reduction in violence and GST activities were being sustained in spite of poor school structures and poor community support.

Myufu School

Myufu is a larger and better resourced school than Kiragala, with approximately 360 pupils and 11 staff members [6=f / m=5]. It has large grounds and a high fence that encircles the whole compound, with staff quarters where two of the teachers live with their families. Other teachers travel in from the town or villages close by.

All classrooms are made out of brick, other than the P1 classroom which has a mud structure. There are eight latrines, constructed of brick and metal and formally separated between sexes and staff and pupils, which were recently built with financial support from an iNGO. There are six classrooms, a school library, a school office that is split between the headteacher's office and a school admin room, and a school tuckshop where pupils and teachers can buy snacks. Teachers gather in the P3 classroom at break and lunchtimes which serves as the staffroom. There is no electricity or running water, but there is a borehole on site where children collect water.

The school has a generally positive relationship with the community, however staff say that they have trouble communicating with families as they work hard on their farms, and that some do not see the

value in education. The school has a good academic reputation that is important to its image in the community, and it takes pride in being a well-run and structured school that is proactive in drama and dance competitions in the district and in the GST activities.

The male teachers generally teach the older, higher status classes, while the female teachers tend to teach the younger years. This is not consistently the case, however, as a female teacher teaches P6 and a senior female teacher shares the teaching of the highest status class, P7, with a male teacher. There are between 30-60 pupils in each class, meaning that there is a more formal separation between staff and pupils than I observed in Kiragala School, and the teachers sometimes experience difficulty with discipline in the larger classes. The power sits officially and unofficially with the female Headteacher, and the Senior Woman and Senior Man who are responsible for pastoral support of female and male pupils respectively. The Headteacher does not join the staffroom at break and lunchtimes, and has an engaged and authoritative persona around the school site, and is active and respected in the broader district education community too, often attending meetings and events.

I observe at break and lunchtimes that there are lively debates among school staff, where male and female teachers engage and express opinions, around wide-ranging topics such as farming, education, gender, politics, sexual health, romantic relationships. I notice this with surprise, as such open debate would feel impossible in Kiragala School. This open style of communication, the fact that some female teachers teach the higher-status classes, and the female Headteacher, all point to power dynamics being less clearly drawn along gender lines here than in Kiragala School. All teachers are involved to some degree in the GST intervention, although one female teacher is particularly active in leading the activities. This school is known as a GST 'model school', meaning that it serves as an example to other schools and, during my time there, welcomed a delegate from South Africa to showcase the work of the GST in the school. School staff take pride in the association with Raising Voices.

GSS data collected in 2012 and 2014 found that Myufu School had among the highest levels of violence from school staff of all the schools at both baseline and endline, however that it also had one of the greatest reductions in violence during this GST intervention period. Mixed methods data collected at endline found that the GST had been comparatively highly successful in both reducing violence, in implementing activities and in improving staff-pupil relations. Qualitative data collected by Raising Voices in 2016, suggested that both the reduction in violence and GST activities were being sustained well.

Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the methodological approach to the research, which foregrounded the importance of reflexivity and sought meaningful participation for participants, and engaged a range of methods to capture meaning made across different research encounters. Underpinned by a social constructionist epistemology, the study sought both the ways in which participants reflected on, and constructed meaning, and also in their descriptions of practice in schools. Ethnographic observations served as both data in their own right, and served as tools for analytical insight. Throughout Chapters 7-10, both practice in schools, or *(institutional) practices*, and meaning constructed through and around these practices, or *knowledge*, contribute insights to the findings of the thesis. The methodology was also shaped by an attention to ethical considerations, as conducting research with both teachers and pupils in these primary schools entailed a range of challenges for ethical practice and for child protection, which the following chapter examines.

Chapter 6. Child protection and ethical considerations of research into violence against children in schools

As research with children into violence entails a wealth of conceptually and practically difficult ethical considerations, I now turn to examine ethical questions of researching violence against children in schools and how child protection concerns were addressed in this study. The dilemmas such considerations pose us as researchers, and the partners with which we work, are many, and this chapter details some of them and my approach to mediating them. There are particular dilemmas of positionality for researchers seeking ethical approaches in violence against children research and while working in post-colonial spaces. The need to avoid engaging in, or acting out of, simplistic, discursive constructions of gender and vulnerable children in the post-colonial space of knowledge production, and of seeking out locally-situated knowledge is key (Fennell and Arnot, 2009; Mohanty, 1988), as well as finding ways of taking action that do not ‘ride roughshod’ over existing practices in particular settings (McKeever, 2000, pp. 109-110). Some argue that the role of the researcher in post-colonial spaces with vulnerable children should also be to bring something to the children of the research (Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010; Kiragu and Warrington, 2012). Yet this poses its own concerns of positionality for researchers.

In order to reflect on this task I continue responding to the need to ‘submit one’s method to critical scrutiny’ (Said, 1979, p. 327). While a reflexive approach is not a panacea or guarantee of ethical research (Pillow, 2003), I do believe that in attempting transparency about actions taken and how decisions were made, and making clear the ‘hidden ethnography’ of our own emotions in research (Blackman, 2007), reflexivity can function as a resource for ethical practice (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). With this chapter I also seek to contribute to existing debates and evidence into child protection and ethical issues in violence research with children (Devries *et al.*, 2016). In this chapter I detail the ethical considerations of my approach to working with both pupils and teachers in schools; then examine the child protection protocol and practices undertaken with local partners, and finally return to continue reflecting on the questions of a research positioning with which I opened Chapter 5.

Ethical considerations of research into violence against children in schools

Work with pupils: Ethical challenges of participation and positionality

As discussed in the previous chapter, the methodological approach with children sought ways of engaging their meaningful participation (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Ennew and Morrow, 1994; John, 1996; O’Kane, 2008). Concerns over finding ethical methodologies to do this are particularly

salient in research into violence, particularly as both protection and participation are important (Powell, 2016). Ennew and Morrow argue that in the quest to give children a voice in research:

The main objective is surely to enable them to give testimony in such a way that the influence of adult power and authority is removed to the maximum extent (1994, p. 69).

While I was aware of the need to put children at ease and allow their voices to come to the fore, I also had some discomfort with the extent to which I wished to reduce or downplay the power of myself as adult/researcher in these spaces. As adults have responsibilities for children, we also have an obligation to fulfil these and ensure that children do not suffer harm in the research settings we invite them into (Morrow and Richards, 1996), rendering the ethical standard of ‘do no harm’ even more acute (Graham, Powell and Taylor, 2015; Runyan, 2000). In group research spaces, where peer violence may occur, or where children may share sensitive information about violence by teachers, thus rendering peers’ understandings of the importance for confidentiality particularly acute, ensuring a safe research space requires some researcher authority.

There is also the risk of overstating the level of children’s participation in research. Research with children necessarily involves a power differential (Clacherty and Donald, 2007). The ‘cosy’ nature of participatory approaches may also lull children into a sense of security and lead them to reveal more than they ordinarily would if the research boundaries were clearer (Leach, 2015). Researchers can seek to be transparent with child participants by attempting to show the limits of their power in the research (Chawla and Kjrhol, 1996 in O’Kane, 2008; Williamson *et al.*, 2005), yet this is a complex nuance to convey and researchers may not even know the limits of this power. In qualitative research, where harm may arise out of the interaction itself between researcher and participant, anticipating and assessing harm is highly nuanced and difficult (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). As Parkes (2008; 2010) suggests, moments of difficulty in discussing violence with children may have transformative potential for their ways of dealing with it, and moments of violence in research may actually serve to destabilise it. Another way of viewing children’s positioning is to query if children get something out of the research for themselves (Mayall, 1999). Research encounters providing catharsis or relief for participants discussing difficult experiences has been found in this setting and elsewhere (Biddle *et al.*, 2013; Deprince and Freyd, 2006; Devries *et al.*, 2015a). At the same time, as Devries *et al.* emphasise, this needs to be balanced by making sure we are not misleading or making promises we are not in a position to deliver.

I found in this research into violence that while at times it felt appropriate or necessary to reduce my ‘adult power and authority’, at others it could either seem disingenuous to do so, or these forms of power and authority were in fact needed to make children feel safe and secure to discuss experiences

of violence. Following the approach used in the GSS for child protection (Devries *et al.*, 2015a), follow-up services were also in place for children after their participation in the research, which required my own situated power to organise and negotiate.

During data collection itself, in seeking to negotiate these nuanced formulations of researcher power, I engaged in an adaptive and shifting approach. Using a range of methods with children, as discussed in Chapter 5, allowed shifts between differently nuanced positionings according to what was most appropriate. In group discussions Shakira and I began and ended the sessions with reminders to children to listen to others' opinions with respect and the need for confidentiality, which framed the discussion and set the tone according to researcher authority to create a safe space, and in which we also made clear the boundaries of the research. In the discussion itself however, we would step back and defer to children as 'experts' on their stories. These group discussions in which children outnumbered adults (Mayall, 1999), as well as our questioning style in which we attempted to position pupils as the experts explaining to us unknowing and 'incompetent adult[s]' about children's experiences in schools (Corsaro and Molinari, 2008), could mediate adult/researcher power in the group discussions. As fun and humour is an important aspect of both engaging children and putting them at their ease (Kefyalew, 1996; O'Kane, 2008; Punch, 2002), we also started and ended each session with an interactive game using a soft toy, and this also allowed us to finish the sessions on a positive note. Shakira and I joined in this game, engaging in silliness and attempting to also reduce researcher authority in these ways.

In moving to the individual interview, Shakira and I would then adopt a softer and more sober manner to show children we were listening to them with seriousness and care. As the beginning of the encounter is particularly important when interviewing vulnerable children (Jones, 2003, p. 126), we sought to build on the positive encounters of the group interview by asking which aspects of the group discussion they had enjoyed the most. The soft toy also became an important part of putting children at ease and children stroked or played with the toy while they were talking, particularly about difficult topics. Following the GSS approach (Devries *et al.*, 2015a), all interviews ended with emphasising the child's strength in dealing with the challenges they faced, thanking them for their participation and offering counselling services. In writing tasks, I similarly explained the guidelines and boundaries of the research (i.e. not looking at each other's' work, my own assurances of confidentiality), then moved away to allow them space and authority over their own writing.

Work with teachers: When participants are also perpetrators of violence

Working with teachers alongside pupils posed additional ethical challenges throughout the research, and resulted in many ‘ethically important moments’ requiring adaptive decision-making (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p. 262). One key question was: In the close-knit setting of a school, how do we fulfil our ethical obligations to all research participants if these obligations contradict? How do we build positive and meaningful relationships with all participants in such a dynamic? While these challenges are inherent to research in educational institutions and settings (Dale, 1996; Malone, 2003), they hold particular significance in violence research within such spaces (Drake, 2013; Morrell, Epstein and Moletsane, 2012). There were many moments when I felt the pull of ethical obligations to pupils and teachers in different ways. Where I felt a child’s safety to be at risk the pull towards the child naturally took precedence, however there were more nuanced moments where the pulls were less clear.

In one instance Prossy, a female pupil, described how a male teacher was engaged in sexual relationships with pupils (shown in Chapter 9). While I responded to this in the ways I describe below, the following day I also had an interview scheduled with this same teacher. He requested to hold the interview outside under a tree, which was the only quiet spot available at that time. I felt concerned that Prossy would see this from her classroom window and may feel fearful. The need from a research perspective to conduct this interview as fieldwork was drawing to a close, and my ethical obligations to the teacher not to cancel the interview, to conduct it in a respectful manner and at a location that he was comfortable with, felt like they challenged my ethical obligations to Prossy.

Further, I also struggled with my negative feelings towards this teacher, and in the interview he discussed his frustration with changes in gender dynamics in the community, and described his desire to know more about girls’ sexual activities and prevent them from having boyfriends, which I interpreted as his preference to have more control over girls’ bodies. These contrasting pulls had implications for interpretation too: I queried whether firstly, this teacher deserved to have his interview listened to and interpreted in a more open way and not through the lens of what I had heard the day before, and secondly if the first interview unduly shaped what I was hearing. Conversely, I also wondered whether my reading of the interview in this way was in fact useful triangulation and therefore supported, rather than hindered a deeper and more meaningful analysis of his words.

The pulls we feel towards different research participants can therefore be interpretive, as well as ethical in nature, and can have ongoing implications as well as in the moment of fieldwork. On seeing how some teachers worked hard and with compassion for child protection in constrained material, institutional and social circumstances, I queried whether I was prioritising their voices over others and

the ethics of aligning myself, albeit internally, with certain teachers who shared my values. While the self is the research instrument in ethnographic research, it is a feeling, subjective and embodied one, and I reflected here, too, on how the interpersonal pulls towards different participants might be weaving into my approach to interpretation. These moments also show the challenges inherent to researching teachers' use of violence while also acting as colleague, and I feel sure that a longer research period would have made these challenges less possible to negotiate.

As is also particularly pressing when discussing or witnessing violence, Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois ask, 'at what point does the [researcher] as eye-witness become a bystander or even a co-conspirator?' (2004, p. 27). Ethnographers may have to listen to accounts of, or witness violence or violent language without external judgement in order to conduct meaningful research (e.g. Bourgois, 2004b; Pearson, 2009; Zulaika, 2004). I felt this keenly when observing or discussing teachers' use of violence. There were moments when I found myself in discussions on the merits of different forms of physical and emotional punishment that contrasted with my own feelings, and I wondered if I was implicitly condoning this violence. At the same time, I knew that participants were predisposed to align me with Raising Voices and the prevention of corporal punishment, and therefore may feel either judged by me, or tell me what they thought I wanted to hear if I challenged their use of violence. To do so would also be to impose my own ethical frames on them which I also felt keenly conducting violence research within this post-colonial dynamic (McKeever, 2000).

There were also moments when teachers referred to my presence to enforce discipline. In one such instance a teacher stated, 'Teacher Ellen is watching you', as a reprimand while I was at the back of the classroom observing. Here I was caught between not wanting to undermine the teacher in his classroom and respect his willingness to invite me to observe, and not wanting, at best, to be used to reinforce discipline and thus challenging my positioning for children, and at worst, to be used to condone violence if the teacher then used discipline violence. In this instance I kept my eyes down and engaged myself in marking a book so as not to overtly challenge the teacher, but to also send the message that I was definitely not watching the pupils' [mis]behaviour.

A further concern with teachers relates to the nature of informed consent. Phillippe Bourgois writes, 'participant/observation fieldwork by its very definition dangerously stretches the anthropological ethic of informed consent', and this is particularly pronounced when balancing ethical concerns and moral claims of research into violence and imbalances of power (2012, p. 327). Can we truly inform participants that we are researching their uses of violence and that ultimately we hope these findings will be put to the task of reducing it? If we did would that reduce the insights we would have access to (Burman, Batchelor and Brown, 2017)? Does that mean, however, that our participants in ethnographic observation are therefore not in a position to offer informed consent? While seeking to

manage the ethical issues of informed consent in observation in an adaptive and reflective way throughout the research, I still feel discomfort over this precarious balance. As ethnographers we inevitably engage in some form of deception and can never fully inform our participants (Fine, 1993; Malone, 2003), and in the process of writing reflexively about how I made decisions and moved between research roles, I am discomforted by the layers of deception I see there. The more ‘effectively’ one manages and moves between the different configurations of the participant-observer relationship, perhaps the more deception is required.

Child protection partners, protocol and practices

Institutional partners shaped the planning and practices of child protection in the schools of the research. This study drew on the existing partnerships and protocols of the Good Schools Study (Child *et al.*, 2014; Devries *et al.*, 2015a; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2019), thus working with Raising Voices and their partner child protection organisation Child Health International [CAI] to support the child protection aspects of the research. CAI works within Luwero District and has premises in the district along with a team of both male and female counsellors with experience of child psycho-social and health support activities, and of handling child protection referrals both in their work with Raising Voices in the district-wide research of the GSS.

I thus worked closely with GSS, Raising Voices and CAI staff to develop a child protection referral protocol. This was based on existing GSS procedure, although some amendments were needed for ethnographic research. Some moments of difference between trial and ethnographic approaches to child protection included how in the GSS approach researchers challenged violence when they saw it, whereas in ethnographic approaches, as explored in the sections above, this is complex as challenging violence may threaten the researcher’s positioning and pose further ethical issues. This protocol therefore had two strands of action: One approach for disclosures of violence made directly by children, and those that emerged in moments of ethnographic observation. Following GSS procedure all disclosures were ranked by order of urgency and seriousness, from Level 1 to Level 4, along with a voluntary request to speak to a counsellor even if no reason was given. Further, the protocol outlined that I would document all incidences of violence in ethnographic observations that did not reach the level of urgency required for immediate action, and would share with CAI after the end of the research for them to take appropriate follow-up action. The protocol is included in Appendix 3.1 and the referral form in Appendix 3.2.

Ethical dilemmas and child protection decision-making in the field

During the course of fieldwork 16 children requested and received follow-up services through these mechanisms. Details of these referrals and action taken are documented in Appendix 3.3. Responding to incidences of violence in research are never straightforward, however, and drawing on Guillemin and Gillam's (2004) distinction between 'procedural ethics' and 'ethics in practice', I highlight in this section how ethically challenging moments emerged in ways that could test the boundaries of the child protection protocol. Here I reflect on three moments that showcase the difficulties of real-life child protection and ethical concerns in research. These moments are difficult to write about and difficult to read.

Asma

After school one day on her way home, an 11-year-old pupil called Asma was hit by a passing motorbike and suffered injuries to her chest. As this happened very close to the school and immediately after the end of the school day, all the teachers and pupils gathered round and tried to assist Asma and Asma's family members soon arrived. Asma was in shock and pain, and while her injuries were not visibly severe, it was clear she needed medical attention. As, teachers explained to me, the expected course of action was that the driver should take Asma to a medical centre and pay for her treatment, the next hour and a half was spent with the teachers and parents negotiating with the driver of the motorbike. The driver was refusing, however he eventually agreed.

The key dilemma in this instance related to whether, and at what point, the protocol stipulated stepping in to ensure Asma received medical care. For the time before the motorbike driver agreed to drive Asma to the medical centre, I was caught in the dilemma of offering to drive her in the car that was picking me up, and knowing that if I did so it would disrupt the ways in which the school and parents were dealing with the situation. Further, it would present myself as authoritative voice on Asma's care, and also would present myself as offering material support for Asma. In this resource-poor setting, I knew that this would threaten my position in the school, would challenge the nature of the professional relationships established and might also be unfair to other pupils. While, as per the protocol, I had a duty to ensure child protection referral for harm to pupils that I observed, I thus also felt uncomfortable doing so in this instance.

I decided that the most appropriate action was to wait in the school and in the event of the driver's refusal to take Asma, I would call CAI and refer Asma to receive urgent follow-up care as per Level 1 incidents in the child protection protocol. Following her visit to the medical centre, Asma was in school the next day and I selected her to join the group research session that took place the following

week. So doing, I sought to give her access to CAI counselling services in a way that did not position myself as responsible for her care. The important learning I took here was the importance of having partner organisations, such as CAI, to whom I would have been able to refer Asma if it had been needed, and Raising Voices, with whom I had already discussed ethical dilemmas and sought their advice on culturally appropriate, and organisationally sanctioned, ways of dealing with difficult situations such as these.

Robert

Following a two-week illness of appendicitis, a 13-year-old P7 pupil named Robert died after failing to receive medical care. Investigation from teachers found that Robert had been experiencing severe neglect from his stepmother, his primary caregiver. Robert was a very quiet pupil who did not participate actively in lessons or join fellow pupils' games around the school compound and, following his death, the teachers all reflected on indications that he had been being maltreated. Robert had also been in the P7 writing class I taught but had not taken part in the research component, and on checking my list after his death, I realised he had been one of a handful of pupils not to bring back a parental consent form.

This instance felt like it signified a breakdown in child protection support both within the school itself and in the research. All teachers were severely affected by Robert's death, and as a staff body reflected on how signs of his neglect had been missed. For the research, this instance also necessitated engaging in urgent reflections about child protection process in all aspects of the research that concerned Robert. The fact that Robert had not brought back his parental consent form meant that he had not taken part in the writing club activity, and therefore had not had the option of speaking to a counsellor. I distilled two key considerations for ethical practice that I speak to here in turn: Parental consent, and our role as researchers for child protection in observations in schools.

The requirement of parental consent for children taking part in violence research is a Ugandan national ethical guideline (UNCST, 2014, p. 19). While parental opt-out consent processes were used in the GSS (Devries *et al.*, 2013; Devries *et al.*, 2015a), in this instance, as I was working in more in-depth ways with a small number of children, I followed practice used in sensitive qualitative research in primary schools in other sub-Saharan African settings, in seeking active parental consent (e.g. Bhana and Jewnarain, 2012; Bhana, Nzimakwe and Nzimakwe, 2011; Vanner, 2017). In the light of Robert's case I have rethought this decision, however. In this instance Robert's failure to acquire parental consent had impeded his access to taking part in the research and therefore child protection services. In this context too, reflecting on the responsibilities that adolescent pupils often faced, such

as working both in and outside the home to support themselves and their families, I queried the appropriateness of children relying on active parental consent to take part. As caregivers should also have the option of not consenting for their child to take part in violence research, I reflected that a more ethical interpretation of the Ugandan national guidelines would be to offer parental opt-out, following the GSS trial approach. Alongside parental opt-out, the priorities for gaining consent in this situation would therefore be to attend closely to the nuances of children's ongoing willingness and ease in consenting at all stages of the research process (Clacherty and Donald, 2007; Cocks, 2006; Graham, Powell and Taylor, 2015).

The second key question I asked myself, that of whether or not Robert should have been identified as a cause for concern through school-level observations and thus referred to CAI through these pathways, touches on the genuinely devastating reality of conducting research with children in resource-poor contexts and those with widespread violence. Reflecting on this, the unhappy truth was that Robert was no more of a concern in my observations than many of the other children. Finally, it felt ethically imperative too not to overstate my position in this instance, and to recognise that I, through the research, was part of a network of people and organisations engaged in efforts to support children with their experiences of violence. The shared grief and reflection of the teachers following Robert's death showed the care and mechanisms already in place to support children, as well as the ways in which school staff, as I was, were reflecting on their role to play in how these mechanisms could be strengthened in the future.

Edith, Stella and others

Participants disclosed that two male teachers in each school were engaged in sexual relationships with specific girls, and of sexual harassment of girls more broadly in the schools. Stella was one of four girls in one school who was widely reported to be in a sexual relationship with a teacher, and Edith was one of three girls in the other school. While Stella had a confident pupil persona and held a prefect position, Edith was shy and unconfident and did not participate in lessons. Further, she was present but silent in the group discussion, and later one of her peers said she stayed away from school for the second discussion as she was fearful of being asked about sexual violence. Pupils of both sexes widely described accounts of these male teachers' sexual harassment of girls around the school site.

The ethical dilemmas that the emergence of teacher sexual violence posed were several, and significant. Firstly, there were no direct disclosures made by girls themselves. This has been found in other sub-Saharan African settings when researching sexual violence, as pupils are often more likely to talk about others' experiences rather than their own (Leach, 2006; Parkes and Heslop, 2011), and

this poses the fear of taking action based on rumours (Morrell, Epstein and Moletsane, 2012). As Morrell et al. also attempted, I tried to facilitate situations where disclosures could be made, however this was not straightforward. The below extract from my fieldnotes shows the difficulties of conducting such sensitive research in a school setting:

Tried to get second interviews for disclosures today but wasn't able as Gloria [the named P7 pupil] was absent, Victor went for a burial, Paul was at a wedding, and Ruth didn't have time. I wanted to create a situation where disclosures could take place but wasn't comfortable pushing for one as I don't have Shakira to deal in Luganda, or the safe research space.

Observational fieldnotes, 2nd August

Thus while prioritising creating research opportunities as safe spaces is important, this is not always easy, particularly if the need for such spaces can be urgent, unexpected and in addition to what was planned.

A second dilemma related to continuing with the final two weeks of the research, or of stopping the research and passing the information on to CAI and Raising Voices for them to take action on sexual violence in these schools. Making this decision related to both the lack of direct disclosures and the severity and urgency of the claims. This dilemma was heightened by the fact that, due to the way I had structured fieldwork, all group work and interviews with female pupils were at the end. To miss these weeks of data collection would both significantly affect the research, as well as miss out on further opportunities for disclosure of sexual violence by girls. I consulted at length with my academic supervisors and Raising Voices staff, and we all agreed that this decision should be made closely adhering to the child protection protocol. These disclosures were categorised as Level 2 (in the 'observations' strand), and I thus followed the planned follow-up action in discussing with partners on the best course of action on a 'case by case basis', documenting all claims in detail and preparing a report for both Raising Voices and CAI at the end of the research, which was two weeks later. Raising Voices and CAI then designed and implemented a follow-up sexual violence campaign at a school- and community-level, in the communities of the research.

Further challenges emerged in relation to balancing confidentiality in institutional settings with poor accountability, with the need to take action on teacher sexual violence and protect those pupils affected. Studies in other settings where teacher sexual violence emerged have approached this in a range of ways. In research in schools in Botswana, Chilisa and Ntseane (2010) report their discomfort and unease at upholding confidentiality and anonymity that they felt ended up protecting the teacher as perpetrator of sexual abuse, rather than the girls themselves. They lament the lack of ethical

guidelines that were needed to shape appropriate action in this instance. On hearing reports of sexual misconduct of a school teacher in South Africa, Morell et al. (2012) acted on the advice of local community members and teachers and did not report it, as they advised this would have been a highly harmful course of action, however show the difficulties and ethical nuances of making this call. In contrast, in a study in Ghana (Leach, 2006) that revealed sexual violence from a headteacher, the researcher sought advice from the district education authorities and handled the case through firstly staging a traditional community event to draw attention to the issue, and secondly propelled the district education office to launch an investigation. The authors also note their unease in aspects of how the case was handled. In the above studies, all authors express their discomfort at decisions made, actions taken and the uncomfortable positions they and the research participants were placed in. This shows the difficulty of such sensitive child protection situations and the fact that while there are many potential courses of action, it is unlikely that any chosen one will allay concerns or feel it has brought about meaningful resolution.

Across the ethically challenging moments described here, the importance of having planned ahead for the protocol and working with local partners for both consultation and to provide ongoing services beyond the end of the research was paramount (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2019). I also found in situations where children's experiences of violence were outside of the research encounter, and thus were not captured and followed-up through referral mechanisms, that the most ethical way of supporting children was thus firstly through school-level documentation of all observed violence and passing this on to partner organisations, and secondly through the research itself which I hoped would be put to the task of supporting schools to prevent violence against children more broadly.

Reflections on a research positioning: Being, knowing, doing multiple things at once in research into violence against children in schools

Returning to the reflections with which I opened these two methodological chapters, I now reflect on the ethical challenges of moving between research roles, and the practical and conceptual challenges of engaging in the additional roles of teaching and child protection alongside research. While the different roles I inhabited during data collection contributed much to the research and even lie at the heart of the claims I feel able to make in this thesis, I also found that managing these different roles was the central practical and ethical challenge of fieldwork. While they could complement, they could also, as this chapter has shown, pose conflicting priorities and cause splits in the research process and in my actions. This challenge was also a highly personal one, as Tedlock (2003) writes, 'ethnographers' lives are embedded in their field experiences in such a way that all of their

interactions involve moral choices' (p. 165). The fact that the different roles laid different, sometimes competing, claims on these 'moral choices' added further challenges.

As explored in these two methodological chapters, throughout the research my roles were that of ethnographic, doctoral researcher seeking to contribute knowledge to the field of understanding and preventing gender violence in schools; researcher working with NGO Raising Voices to provide insights into the sustainability of the GST intervention; Other-teacher in the schools of the research; and working for child protection in upholding ethical research as well as taking action on child protection issues in the schools. The most salient configurations and tensions between these roles became between research, teaching and child protection.

While these roles complemented, such as how engaging with children through a range of different ways contributed to trust and positive relationships, and also all enhanced the richness of the observations I could make, these were also frequently troubling positions. As it became clear that there was significant violence taking place within the school that warranted child protection intervention, I found myself caught between roles in the ways I have examined in this chapter. Other moments of conflict included hearing about or observing experiences of violence that were not covered by research consent and were told to me in my child protection role, such as teachers or counsellors disclosing children's experiences of violence. In these moments I queried whether I should discount knowledge of these in the research, which was of course challenging when I myself was the research instrument. In the evenings I felt caught between upholding my responsibilities to plan lessons and complete marking, while also allowing enough time for reflection and writing fieldnotes.

These moments of conflict in research are some of the most challenging and the pull I felt between different roles led me to question if I was in fact achieving any one meaningfully. However I also found that these different roles led to a range of support networks and experience that I could draw on to fulfil different responsibilities and negotiate these challenges. The child protection aspects of the research meant that I had access to support, staff, expertise and structure of four different institutions to support decision-making processes: Raising Voices, the local supporting child protection organisation CAI, and my two universities of affiliation in the UK. For the research focus, consultation and discussion in the form of academic supervisors, peer network groups and relationships, and academic literature supported all aspects of the research. I therefore found that the different roles actually provided a range of support structures that were fundamental to the fieldwork.

A further resource that enabled me to manage these splits was that of time. In the first eight weeks of the research where I prioritised embedding myself in everyday life and participant observation, the

fact that I was not engaged in active data collection nor knew staff and pupils well, meant that my access to witnessing or hearing disclosures of violence were limited. In practical terms my child protection role therefore lay dormant during this period and I could focus on building relationships and developing my role as teacher. In the second eight-week period where I began active data collection in earnest and this corresponded to increased child protection activity too, all three roles developed together. I became aware that while I was able to use a certain slippage between roles to maintain confidentiality for child protection purposes, this was also a risk as it might threaten to undermine teachers' trust in my research activities. I therefore planned for counsellors and the in-school child protection work to take place at the end of the research period.¹⁸ Careful planning and management of time was crucial to being able to moving between different roles effectively.

The splits of ethnographic fieldwork do not occur only in one direction, however, and rather are multi-dimensional, pulling us in several directions, on several levels at the same time. I felt a further separation keenly as an ethnographer researching violence against children, and this was between the professional and the personal. As Amanda Coffey writes, 'fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work' (1999, p. 1), and this continues long after the end of data collection and into the ongoing process of identity construction and meaning-making. It seems interesting to me that from the outset, without having planned to, I kept two diaries simultaneously: my research fieldnotes in which I included description of daily events, reflections and early analysis, and a personal diary in which I wrote my emotional responses to the fieldwork. As fieldwork became increasingly emotionally challenging, the boundaries between these two forms of writing could become either weakened or hardened, some days writing increasingly copious notes in my personal diary and more limited, factual accounts in my fieldnotes, and other days blurring both. I see in this an interesting attempt to keep emotions out of fieldwork, while simultaneously finding the impossibility of this. I also see efforts at protection through separation: that perhaps I thought through writing myself and the research in two different styles, I could construct boundaries that at once protected the research from my emotions and myself from the challenges of fieldwork.

I knew then, and know even more now having been long engaged in the task of analysis and meaning-making, that emotions lie at the heart of ethnographic research particularly into violence, and that attempts at separation are futile and perhaps even undesirable. I felt beset with many more questions, rather than answers on this point. At the same time, I also see that the process itself of attempting separation and distinction is perhaps crucial. Here, I see again the dynamic relationship between strangeness and familiarity, as we need our emotions to recognise, get close to, and seek to understand

¹⁸ Level of urgency was determined as per the child protection protocol, however. Any more urgent cases would have been followed up earlier outside of school.

the experience of another, but at the same time our emotions can cloud our understanding and run the risk of leading us to overwrite someone else's experience with our own.

For us personally I also feel sure that we need our emotions to retain something of our own sense of self in researching situations, at times of violence, that are not our own. The transformative potential of ethnography lies in its capacity to force us to question our own beliefs and theoretical presuppositions (Shah, 2017), and being open to this is essential in research in post-colonial settings to avoid reinforcing simplistic representations, particularly with vulnerable or marginalised groups (McKeever, 2000; Mohanty, 1988; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). These are highly uncomfortable positionings, particularly when researching violence against children, however. As 'the quest for the "world out there" becomes inter-mingled with questions of the inner world, of identity and representation, of taking sides and shifting positions' (Bhatti, 2002, p. 10), the fear can be that this may come at the cost of our own 'authentic self' (O'Toole, 2002). I therefore believe that reflecting on the role of emotions is a central part of both conducting meaningful research and of retaining a sense of self in this task. By acknowledging this separation I sought between analytic and emotional writing, I attempt here to partially reconcile it.

In moving between these spaces and making choices about what we reveal about our own emotions in research, I draw on the notion of 'crossing borders' in making clear the 'hidden ethnography' of emotions in fieldwork (Bhabha, 1994, in Blackman, 2007). Operating within, and drawing attention to, these emotional in-between spaces, I believe the transparency and ethics of research into violence can be strengthened (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004), as well as offering something of value to ourselves as researchers. Perhaps the task of the violence ethnographer is to make use of our emotions, to recognise them and use them where they can help us understand and help motivate us, but also to reflect on the position we afford them and seek out what they may similarly obscure. With these reflections in mind, I now turn to examine the findings of the thesis.

Chapter 7. “Girls are the weaker sex [...] but boys stand independent”: Constituting the gendered learner subject and pupils’ masculinities and femininities around peer violence

This chapter signals a move towards the data itself, as it is the first of four chapters that examine the findings of this study. With this chapter I examine peer violence in schools, while the two subsequent chapters will build on this to explore teacher discipline and sexual violence. In Chapter 3 I showed how a rich existing literature has explored particularly boys’ gendered identities around violence in schools in sub-Saharan Africa, with some, although fewer, examinations of girls’ femininities around peer violence in schools. These studies have largely been conducted in South Africa (see Bhana and others 2008; 2016; 2016; 2011), Ghana and Botswana (Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008b; Reddy and Dunne, 2007), with some studies with older children and adolescents from Uganda (Kinsman, Nyanzi and Pool, 2000a; Muhanguzi, 2011; Nyanzi, Pool and Kinsman, 2001). However, a gap exists regarding more recent examinations in Uganda and those with primary school pupils.

Further, while some studies have explored the role peer violence may play in institutionalising gender inequality in the school (Dunne, 2007; Mirembe and Davies, 2001), studies that unpick the institutional significance of peer violence, and how teachers make meaning around it, are few. Here I examine both teachers’ and pupils’ discussions of peer violence in order to unpack its discursive role in schools’ bodily-institutional regimes, as well as how the practice of peer violence, for pupils, could be a site of identity construction and negotiation. Drawing on the insights explored in Chapter 3, I here consider all forms of physical and emotional violence between peers in school, with some references to peer violence outside of school for its relevance in constituting learner subjects. While the practice of transactional sex is complex regarding coercion, control and agency (Heslop *et al.*, 2015), and thus may not inherently be seen as violence, I examine it here between peers both for the sexual violence that could, at times, emerge through it, and for the emotional peer violence that occurred around it.

Employing the term ‘knowledge’ to examine all that which is considered to be ‘true’ within a certain bodily-institutional regime, this chapter first examines how pupils and teachers construct gender ‘knowledge’ and, simultaneously, gendered subjects (Butler, 1997b; Foucault, 1982) through discourses around peer violence. I then turn to examining the ways in which girls and boys formulated and negotiated femininities and masculinities around peer violence, finding that these were rooted in, but were more dynamic and complex than, their constitutions of the gendered learner subject. In these ways, I aim to show through this chapter how through the act, or (institutional) practice, of peer violence, knowledge and gendered subjects were formulated and constituted, and that, in a ‘circular

relation' (Foucault, 1977b, p. 14) this knowledge and the constitution of subjects in this way simultaneously underpinned the practice of peer violence. Pupils' gendered identities could be seen to emerge out of, and further shape, this dynamic.

Drawing closely on Connell's (1987; 1995) configurations of masculinities to examine pupils' identities around peer violence, and, while aiming to resist the pull towards hegemonic masculinity as the central reference point (Paechter, 2012; Schippers, 2007), I found here that hegemonic masculinity did indeed often operate as the central point for other masculinities and femininities. I thus examine masculinities first. There were, however, key moments where this hierarchical structuring weakened and where femininities were momentarily located as a referent point for boys in their identity constructions. Further, there were moments where girls constructed femininities primarily in relation to other femininities, with boys and masculinities functioning as a backdrop. Possibilities for both masculinities and femininities around peer violence in these schools are thus explored.

Constituting the gendered learner subject through reflections on peer violence

Gender in teachers' discussions of physical and sexual peer violence

Teachers could engage in the construction of meaning around gender, and thus constitute pupils as gendered subjects, through their discussions of male and female pupils' physicality and their experiences of, or engagements in peer violence. The ways in which male and female teachers constructed gender in their reflections on peer violence varied strikingly. Here I make several references to the Strong Girls intervention, as often the most in-depth and revealing discussions around gender took place around this intervention.

Several male teachers engaged in notions of girls' vulnerability and weakness, and boys' aggression and competence, that they saw exemplified in peer violence. Mark, a male teacher described how 'girls need to be helped. [...] but boys, even if they don't [have] support, they can manage, their lifestyle, they are ok'. Ishmael, a senior male teacher, saw girls' experiences of violence from male peers as indicative of a female weakness, or lack, and masculine strength:

Ellen: Why do you think Strong Girls is only wanting to work with girls and not also with boys?

Ishmael: For them they think that the girls need more help than boys. Yeah. The challenges that face the girls are different from those that face the boys. So they want to empower those girls so that they can go through those challenges [...]

Ellen: And so the girls need extra help because they face other challenges? Or also because they

are...

Ishmael: Yes, they need extra help, definitely. For us we believe that girls are... girls are [the] weaker sex. [Ellen: Ok...] So she needs protection, she needs almost everything. Compared to the boys

Ellen: And the boys don't need because they are somehow stronger? Or...

Ishmael: They need, but not as much as girls

Ellen: And how do boys show that they are stronger? What kinds of things do they do that shows they are stronger than girls?

Ishmael: They are, they are not disturbed very much. Unlike the girls

Ellen: Disturbed in what...

Ishmael: The girls are very much disturbed by the boys. But boys definitely, they stand independent

Ishmael, senior male teacher, 25th July

Ishmael draws on several threads to construct gender difference: the gendered intervention, my own questioning which both reinforces and encourages a reflection on the notion of gender difference, and traditional gender knowledge in this context, shown through assertions such as 'for us we believe'. Through his repeated use of 'the girls' and 'the boys', and his oppositional language, such as 'compared to the boys', and 'unlike the girls', Ishmael emphasises a clear gender binary. Boys and girls are positioned in opposing, mutually exclusive groups, with the implication that the gender groups themselves are homogenous.

Girls are described as 'the weaker sex', a phrase that lends itself legitimacy through its conciseness and clarity, and its suggestion of inherent, naturalised sex difference. Girls are explained to 'need more help' / 'need extra help' / '[need] protection' / '[need] almost everything', with the repetition of 'need' inscribing a notion of 'lack' onto girls. Referring to girls in the passive suggests a lack of action or agency, as 'the girls are very much disturbed' / there are 'challenges that face girls', and when addressing these challenges, it is others that 'empower those girls', they 'prepare them to be strong [...]'. Further, girls' vulnerability to violence is viewed as reaffirming beliefs about girls themselves, as sexual harassment between peers, itself related to structural gender inequality, is mobilised to reaffirm beliefs about female weakness and male dominance. Ishmael's juxtaposition of this violence with inherent, biological differences between boys and girls, suggests a naturalisation of peer violence and the gender inequality with which it is interrelated. Further, the sense that girls' 'need extra help' and 'protection', is suggestive of how the concept of 'protection' for girls in Uganda may at times be intertwined with patriarchal control, as legal contexts protecting girls from defilement have contributed to discursive constructions of older male control over younger girls' bodies (Parikh, 2012).

Boys, and the challenges they face, are notably absent in this extract. Ishmael says very little about boys and responds to probing with short, concise sentences; stating that ‘boys are not disturbed very much’ / ‘boys definitely, they stand independent’. The implication is that there is not as much to say about boys, because they don’t ‘need’ ‘as much’, leaving their experiences unexplored through discursive notions of strength and competency. Boys are further portrayed as active perpetrators of peer violence, as the ‘girls are very much disturbed by the boys’, suggesting a sense of impunity for boys. The binary oppositions of the male and female pupil subject thus position girls’ weakness in opposition to boys’ strength, allowing no blurring between the two gendered subject positions, or nuance within them. Ishmael’s repetition of ‘definitely’ and the use of short statement-like sentences, reinforces the clarity of this binary opposition and performs the dominance of this knowledge.

Female teachers, by contrast, tended to dismiss such essentialised gender discourses, and downplayed the significance of peer violence for pupils’ gender. While female teachers still understood gender in the same binary terms, girls’ experiences of peer violence tended not to be read as a sign of innate gender difference, or be used to preclude boys’ vulnerability:

Ellen: And you said there’s also this Strong Girls programme? [Ruth: Mmm] What is this programme?

Ruth: That programme is majorly based on protecting the girl child. Because girls face a lot of challenges as compared to the boys. [...] The extra support goes to the girls because girls are at a higher risk of danger. That’s what they think. But the situation has changed, even boys do experience problems¹⁹

[...]

Ellen: And what other challenges do you think these children face, in their lives? We have talked about girls and the bad touches, and boys and the needing to work...

Ruth: [...] Challenges, number one. This one cuts across both boys and girls: Dropping out of school. Because for example boys, he has missed school for like a week, he has not got the money yet, so he’ll be like ‘Ah, I’ve got school, I don’t have the materials, why should I go there?’ So he stays. For girls, ‘Ahh the boys disturb me on the way, they say I’m too old to be in school. Ahh, let me stay away from school.’ So that one is dropping out of school. Number two, they get so tired. Especially the boys. They are still young to work so hard. That they find themselves worked so hard in order to get the money. They are always given bigger tasks to do, and paid very less

Ruth, female teacher, 12th July

Elsewhere, Ruth discussed her experience of supporting girls through sexual violence by peers, family members, community sexual harassment and teachers. I observed that Ruth was very affected by the

¹⁹ Here with ‘problems’ Ruth refers to boys’ experiences of sexual violence from older women

‘challenges’ and ‘danger’ that she had witnessed girls experience. She therefore frames her discussion here around the specific challenges that she knew girls faced, which contrasted with the vaguer notions of female vulnerability and ‘lack’ that underscored several male teachers’ discussions. Here she discusses girls’ experience of sexual violence from peers on the way to school as this form of danger for girls. This resonated with other female teachers’ narratives. For example, Mary another female teacher, described girls’ experiences of violence and the need for Strong Girls to support them as a sign of structural gender inequality, saying that ‘in previous years, our grandparents were used not to, not to cater for girls. [...] Because, boys were catered for, much.’ By referring to ‘grandparents’ Mary separates herself from such traditional gender norms by two generations, highlighting both that she thinks the intervention highlights significant change, and also revealing how outdated she portrays these norms to be.

Further, in the above extract Ruth juxtaposes girls’ experiences and vulnerability to peer sexual violence with descriptions of the challenges that boys face too, thus negating the notion of girls being weaker and boys needing no support. Further, the boundaries around forms of gender knowledge and practices are presented as open to change and impermanence (‘the situation has changed’), with discrepancies or conflicts possible between different forms of knowledge and practices (‘that’s what they think. But...’). By raising the issue of boys’ experiences of sexual harassment from women, otherwise entirely absent from the data, Ruth also raises the potential for boys’ sexual vulnerability in a way that was incommensurate with predominant gender knowledge in this context. The learner subjects thus constituted in Ruth’s narratives around violence from peers and community members, were thus those that forefronted their status as vulnerable ‘child’, where gender was less significant than their age in determining experiences of violence.

Traditional gender norms in this context were those that positioned boys as more aggressive and physically dominant, and girls as weaker and more vulnerable, in ways that related to structural gender inequality. Reflections on peer violence here emerged as a key site of the construction of knowledge for teachers, however this knowledge was often different for male and female teachers. While male teachers tended to view peer violence as a sign of innate gender difference, and thus mobilised it to reinforce norms of structural gender inequality, female teachers tended to engage in more porous and less fixed meanings of gender that allowed for both boys’ and girls’ vulnerabilities, and that rejected the gender inequality of ‘previous years’. It was interesting that the most in-depth discussions around gender took place around the gendered intervention Strong Girls, seeking to support girls with experiences of peer and community violence. The fact that men reaffirmed traditional gender norms when discussing this intervention, may have been indicative of the way in which men viewed it as a threat to male dominance, and reacted to this threat with defending or reaffirming their position, as Robert Wyrod (2008) found in Kampala around a women’s rights

discourse. Women, in contrast, used discussions around the intervention to highlight both girls' and boys' challenges, among which was peer violence, and disrupt traditional gender norms. Teachers' discussions of peer violence among pupils thus constituted pupil gender subjects, and also had significance for their own gendered teacher positionings. I return to this in the following chapter.

Constituting gendered learner / 'drop-out' subjects

While peer violence was thus significant for how teachers constructed pupil gender in schools, both teachers and pupils also depicted violent practices associated with gender as being more significant outside of school. Pupils often associated physical manifestations of age and gender with traditional gender norms, and forms of transactional sex, violence and delinquent behaviours, and located these outside the school:

Shakira: Why do you think children drop out of school?

Hasimat: Girls drop out of school because they have developed breasts and they tend to think that they can care for themselves

Phiona: Even the boys sometimes feel like they have grown up and they start using drugs and engaging in theft and robbery and they drop out of school

Hope: The boys escape from school and they go to local cinemas where they watch bad movies

Prossy: When the girl gets a boy who gives her money and buys her eats, she thinks that this boy can be her boyfriend and then she drops out of school

Clare: Sometimes the girl doesn't get the basic necessities at home like sanitary towels and when she gets someone to provide those things, she decides to drop out of school

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 27th July

Here the girls describe how 'using drugs' / 'theft and robbery' / '[watching] bad movies' for boys, and engaging in transactional sex for girls, were gendered practices occurring outside of the school. These behaviours linked to forms of peer violence taking place within the school itself (as I explore in the following section) however here the girls associate this with the constitution of an 'out of school' adolescent gendered subject. The construction of 'good student identities' is thus portrayed at odds with the sexualised or delinquent behaviours of the community, as has been found in constructions of school identities elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (Bhana *et al.*, 2010; Dunne and Ananga, 2013; Salvi, 2019; Vanner, 2018).

Teachers also constituted oppositional 'drop-out' and 'learner' subjects through problems and violence by peers:

Ellen: And what kinds of challenges do you think the students have in their lives that affect them in school?

Mary: In their life... the challenges they have... these children are influenced by peers. So... there are some children who are in the villages, who are not coming to school... the drop-outs. So those influence others, which are still in school. So you can find that that is a challenge, and they can influence them, and others follow them [...] For them, they just see, 'after all, if I can get money'

Mary, female teacher, 28th July

Interestingly, although some children in this study discussed seeking resources either through labour or transactional sex while also attending school, and often even described relying on these practices to pay for school fees or resources, a binary persisted between 'learner' and 'drop-out' subjects, delineated by the discursively oppositional practices of earning money or being in school. This was also seen in depictions of boys' and girls' sexuality, as Mark described in relation to sexual relations between pupils:

Mark: [...] Those girls if they want they get those villagers, the drop-outs. But not in school, ah ah [no] it is not there

Mark, male teacher, 14th July

The school was thus portrayed as a non-sexualised space, where access to resources, and its connotations with transactional sex were positioned outside the school, and incommensurate with 'good' school learner practices.

The notion of gendered behaviours in accessing resources outside of school, led to portrayals of the community as an unsafe place and out-of-school 'drop-out' peers being the cause of violence against learners. In line with findings in other settings that the journey to school can be a significant site of gender violence from peers and community members, and fears about this violence (Parkes and Heslop, 2011; Vanner, 2018), the teachers in this study expressed their concern about pupils' vulnerability to violence on the route to school. This was particularly for girls who were perceived to be at a higher risk of sexual violence:

Ellen: So these problems happen when the girls are walking home from school?

Lila: Yes. When they are at school here they are very safe. But the moment they go out of the gate, problems begin

Lila, senior female teacher, 6th July

Ellen: And which boys are these that are disturbing them on the way?

Ishmael: Those are drop-outs. Majorly drop-outs. Yeah, the drop-outs. School drop-outs, mmm

Ellen: And these are boys that used to come to this school, or?

Ishmael: Ah, they meet them on the way as they go back. As they go back, that's when they... but when we are here, we have no problem. No problem. Mmm. Most of the problems are in the places where they come from, and even on the way

Ishmael, senior male teacher, 25th July

These constructions of the danger of 'drop-out' peers were striking in light of the fact that survey data in this context found that children actually experienced more violence from school staff and in-school peers than community members (Clarke *et al.*, 2016), suggesting both that discursive notions of gender violence from in-school or out-of-school peers were not borne out in practice, and also that they were discursively framed differently. While gendered practices around resource-acquisition, including violence, delinquent behaviours for boys, and transactional sex for girls, were discursively located outside of the school, the school as a place of safety from violence and a 'delayer' of gender, and 'good' learner subjects who focused on their studies, and rejected sex and working for resources, were thus constituted. This could lead to teachers downplaying children's experiences of transactional sex and peer violence in school, seen in the extracts above and in Chapter 10 where I return to this.

Pupils negotiating masculinities and femininities through and around peer violence

In spite of the construction of an out-of-school and in-school binary around peer violence, as survey data showed in this setting (Wandera *et al.*, 2017) both boys' and girls' experiences of, and engagements in peer violence were significant and part of everyday school life. Pupils formulated a range of masculinities and femininities around peer violence and they negotiated these identities relationally. As with teachers, some of the discussions that revealed gender norms underpinning peer violence and identities formulated around it, hinged around the Strong Girls intervention, and I thus draw on these discussions in this section.

Boys and masculinities: Negotiating hegemony and vulnerability

Physicality, resources and hegemonic masculinity

In various ways around the school site, boys constructed masculinities that were hierarchical and relational, and these could shift according to the setting and other identities present. As found by Jon Swain (2004) in British schools, the male body emerged as ‘the major signifier, and bearer of masculine value’ (p.182). In the following instance of masculine identity negotiation in a P4 classroom, Ronald was a 12-year-old male pupil who had a speech impediment and who struggled academically, with possible but unidentified learning difficulties:

The dominant boy [Samuel] was ‘play’ punching Ronald, who was laughing in response and did not retaliate. It seemed he was accepting the dominance of the other boy. One girl [Milly] tried to join in for a while by throwing small bits of paper and giggled as she did as if she was embarrassed. Then she stopped and started up sweeping again. [Samuel] was goading and punching the others, who started to retaliate. One boy at the back of the classroom [John] was left by the other boys and was sitting at a row on his own. He then started really grabbing and irritating (poking, grabbing, pushing) Ronald who was sitting in front of him. Ronald was laughing initially and tried to retaliate a little, but as soon as he did [John] started to really hurt him back. Ronald was making a face because it was hurting him, and moved away.

While all this was going on there were three girls and the one boy at the front (opposite side of the classroom to the other boys) who were looking at textbooks and trying to work. The room went silent when the teacher [Ruth] came in.

Observational fieldnotes, 4th July

Here the process of establishing and negotiating masculine identities and hierarchies can be seen, as the denigration of subordinated or marginalised masculinities was a key way through which boys sought to establish their dominance. Samuel operates in the hegemonic masculine position here, a position which he earns, performs, and others afford him through physically ‘goading’ and ‘punching’ the other boys. As the boys enact and defend their masculinity through retaliating to this violence, John fails to achieve this and is ‘left’ by the others, then seeks to reassert his masculinity by physically abusing Ronald, the most subordinated boy in the class. Ronald appears to accept his position of subservience to Samuel, trying to sidestep the physical violence through laughter or moving away to avoid it, as he accepts the impossibility of earning a higher status masculinity through physicality. In relation to John, a lower-status boy than Samuel, Ronald tries to retaliate, however his attempts to transgress his position are punished through increased use of physical violence, as John strengthens his lower status masculine identity and in relation, reaffirms Ronald’s subordination.

The boys in this study most likely to be physically or verbally abused were those who did not embody

strength and dominance, which intertwined with a tendency for children with disabilities to face discrimination and higher levels of violence, found in this and other settings in Uganda (Devries *et al.*, 2014b; Renzaho *et al.*, 2018). The relational nature of masculinities negotiated through violence and the subordination of less physically dominant forms, also resonates with findings of studies in other sub-Saharan African school settings (Humphreys, 2008b; Vanner, 2018). Research in a primary school in South Africa (Mayeza and Bhana, 2017) found that violence permeated all masculinities, with violence used against ‘non-conforming’ or physically weaker boys, and that this particularly took place through play (Bhana and Mayeza, 2016). While in these studies subordinated and hegemonic masculinities pivoted around homophobic peer violence and the reinforcement of compulsory heterosexuality (see also Connell, 1995), in this context amid the total social and legal exclusion of homosexuality, I observed that the boys relied more heavily on physical dominance through physical peer violence. In the striking absence of homophobic taunts, I therefore found that compulsory heterosexuality was enforced implicitly, yet powerfully, through the total silencing and impossibility of alternative sexualities.

Boys also frequently described experiencing stealing by male peers. Pupils discursively constructed notions of boys as being particularly motivated by resources, and this underpinned their increased likelihood of being involved in theft. In one discussion, Yusuf, a male pupil explained that boys engaged in stealing but girls did not, stating that this was because ‘boys love money so much’. As seen in Teacher Mary’s discussion below, this association with, and motivation by resources strengthened as they grew older:

Mary: Boys....when they grow, when they see that they are starting to grow, they can...they like money

Mary, female teacher, 28th July

As boys grew into adolescence, therefore, gender knowledge around the associations of boys with the adult male provider role of the community could strengthen, as well as making them more able to work and access resources. This association could be seen through, and underpinned, boys’ engagements in theft of each other’s belongings.

Theft could also entail physical violence, and age was a further thread that intertwined with dominant masculine positions to function as a marker for physical strength and dominance. Here a group of boys show how the fight for resources often entailed physical violence:

Shakria: Are there boys at school who annoy you?

All: Yes

Shakira: What do these boys do?

Eric: They beat us when we haven't done anything to them

Isaac: Sometimes a boy takes a pen from another boy and when you ask for your pen back, he starts saying that the pen is not yours and they disturb you

Shakira: Who mostly does that?

Isaac: There are some boys in P.6 who feel like they are grown up and more powerful than the rest

Michael: Some children encourage their friend to fight with other students and when you refused, they all tell you that you are the weaker one

Older boys group discussion, Myufu School, 13th July

Here hierarchies are constructed between boys, relating to both physicality and resources that intertwine. In Isaac's description one boy asserts dominance over another by taking his pen, and simultaneously is enabled to take the pen through physical dominance that is performed and ensured through beating. This is then reinforced through the encouraging of fights between students and verbal taunting of weakness. These boys being 'grown up and more powerful than the rest' showed the significance of age for resources and physical dominance. Mayeza and Bhana's study in South Africa (2017) also found that physical power and violence was a way in which 'big boys' could enforce dominance around the playground, and their physical strength enabled them to take others' resources. The structural violence of poverty that shaped boys' needs for resources and the status attached to resource-acquisition (Parkes, 2015b), therefore functioned as a backdrop to the forms of violence and 'relations of domination and subordination' (p.413) that Mayeza and Bhana observed around the school. The difficulty in securing resources, yet the importance of doing so for masculine identities, could place boys in precarious positions in this study. This could be seen to fuel the already central aspect of vulnerability to masculinity that it must continually earn, prove and reinforce its position (Connell, 1995, p. 84).

The positioning of girls and femininities was also central to boys' negotiations of masculinities, and gender norms of resource acquisition also underpinned notions of boys' dominance over girls in schools. Female pupils reaffirmed that boys' access to resources, or symbolic access through gender norms, afforded them higher status in school:

Shakira: At school who has more power, is it girls or boys? Who show that they have swag, those that know it all, those that take up most prefect posts etc?²⁰

All: It is mostly boys

²⁰ Shakira and I discussed at length how to translate the concept of 'power' into Luganda, as she explained there was no direct translation. In these discussions, we tried both using the closest word for power in Luganda which was close to 'popularity', and also explaining the concept of power with other qualifiers, such as here.

Shakira: Why? What do they do that shows that they have more power?

Clare: The boys usually have some money to eat at school and so they boast around school and they feel like they are on top of the world

[...]

Hasimat: They even have phones and some have bicycles they use to come to school. These things make them feel more powerful than the girls

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 27th July

Here, boys' performances of hegemonic masculinity and dominance around the school are linked to having 'some money', or resources in the forms of 'phones' and 'bicycles'. Interestingly, I did not observe any boy in either school who had either a bicycle or a phone, while a few boys did appear to have small amounts of cash to buy snacks. While teachers explained that some boys were earning money through casual labour alongside schooling, this was much more often talked about in terms of the challenges boys faced in raising school fees and did not relate to access to such highly prized resources and displays of wealth. This suggests that the symbolic association of boys to resources through gender norms, and their greater potential to access cash through labour, underpinned boys' performances of dominance and their status around school perhaps more than their actual access to resources in practice.

In some moments, boys constructed their dominance in opposition to girls' physical and sexual subordination. Here a group of older boys perform hegemonic masculinity when discussing girls:

Shakira: Why are boys naughtier than the girls?

Faisal: Because the boys are more powerful than the girls

Ivan: Because the boys don't want the girls to familiarise with them

Shakira: What else do the boys do or say that shows that they are more powerful than the girls?

Ivan: They change the walk and start 'bouncing'

Shakira: Geoffrey or Joseph stand up and show us how such boys walk...

(Joseph stands up and 'bounces' - Laughter)

Shakira: So when the boys are 'bouncing', is it because they want to intimidate the girls and show that boys are stronger and more powerful than the girls?

All: Yes

Shakira: Does that kind of walking also intimidate other boys?

Ivan: This is to intimidate only girls. You can find a girl on the road and you push them away

Geoffrey: You can only intimidate the girls. With the boys, even if a boy is small, you might push him and he also pushes you

Geoffrey: Even if the girl looks to be stronger than the boy, the boy will always take them on because they know that a girl doesn't beat a boy

The boys both describe the bodily performances of hegemonic masculinity in this context, with ‘bouncing’ and descriptions of pushing and intimidating girls, as well as performing this in the group discussion itself through laughter and acting it out. Strict gender boundaries are constructed, as ‘boys are more powerful’ and ‘they don’t want the girls to familiarise with them’, with physical strength discursively positioned as the marker of this boundary, as ‘they know that a girl doesn’t beat a boy’. While referencing the presence of subordinated masculinities, in ‘even if a boy is small’, Geoffrey reinforces the notion that girls are consistently more subordinated through physicality than boys of any status.

Interestingly, in other moments, even among the same pupils, negotiations of gendered identities could be quite different in nature. The same boys in the discussion above had engaged in highly different depictions of masculinity and femininity in the classroom the week before:

Shakira: Do girls and boys behave the same in class?

Faisal: If we look at everything, we seem to behave the same. Sometimes the girls decide to sit in their corner in the classroom and when boys try to join them, they will abuse the boys and even report the boys to the teachers that they are disturbing the boys and they boys will be told to go and pick the compound and which means that they will miss that lesson

Shakira: Which students mostly sit at the front and which students sit at the back?

Faisal: The teachers always make sure that we sit boy and girl. They don’t separate

Geoffrey: It is mostly the students that misbehave that sit at the back

Shakira: Mmhm and which students are these?

Geoffrey: They are mostly the older students

Shakira: Are these girls or boys?

Geoffrey: Both girls and boys, as long as they are older than other students in class

Here in the explanations of both boys’ and girls’ misbehaviour, the statement that ‘we seem to behave the same’, and descriptions of girls ‘abusing’ the boys, contradicts narratives of clear gender difference and of boys’ domination of the first extract. These contradictory narratives resonated with my classroom observations, in which I noted that while some boys tended to be more dominant and physically aggressive, some boys were also docile and compliant, while some girls could also frequently act with physical violence. I often observed girls engaging in slapping and verbal retorts to boys. In an extract shown below, a group of boys in Myufu School described how girls could

engaging in intimidating language, bad behaviours in the classroom, and throw stones at boys out of school. In the contrast between constructions of masculinity through displays of dominance over girls, and other moments where boys' dominance was not performed in practice or mobilised in discussions, I read two possibilities.

Firstly, in the former group discussion, I interpreted boys' descriptions and performances of physical dominance over girls as displays of hegemonic masculinity to each other, and, to reinforce it in relation to the threat that girls could often put to it through physical retaliation. Boys may therefore have sought to strengthen their masculine positionings through these displays of hegemonic masculinity. Secondly, I note, as seen too in other data, the key role that space plays in these constructions, as the former extract describes interactions 'on the road', while the second describes interactions in the classroom. It appeared as though while boys may have performed physical dominance over girls on the way home from school, in the classroom described here the pupils were positioned according to different hierarchies. Gender is described to be less significant for the organisation of this classroom space and status than age, as 'both boys and girls' are described to misbehave and sit at the back of the class, if they are older pupils. Older pupils, irrespective of gender, are thus portrayed to be more disruptive and less 'good' learners, signified by their location at the back of the classroom. The interplay between masculinities and femininities, and the nature of these identities, could therefore shift according to setting.

In addition to physical violence, peer sexual violence was similarly a site of relational gender identity negotiation that was described to occur often. The girls below described how boys used insults such as 'your breasts are like a jerry can' and 'that girl, she has dairy breasts' as part of bickering in class, then the discussion continued:

Shakira: Tell me more about these boys who say those words

Stella: It is the older boys who are talkative and say such annoying words

Angella: Sometimes a girl might say to the boy "please keep quiet if the teacher walks in and we are talking he will punish us. The boy then says, "ah ah ah... look at your disorganised breasts. Don't disturb me"

Older girls group discussion, Kiragala School, 26th July

Here the older boys, who were often associated with more dominant masculinities, are described to use insults that sexualise and diminish girls' bodies, and thus position boys as authoritative over them. Girls elsewhere similarly described how this harassment could be physical in nature, with boys engaging in 'bad touches' and laughter in the face of this harassment. Through objectification and

harassment of girls in this way, boys could reinforce their masculinity through a display of an aggressive and dominant [hetero]sexuality in front of other boys. These behaviours have similarly been found to be part of masculine identity construction in schools, and reinforce gender sexual norms for later life, in other Ugandan (Lundgren *et al.*, 2019; Mirembe and Davies, 2001) and sub-Saharan African settings (Humphreys, 2008b; Leach, 2003). While girls described these behaviours happening often, they also explained that they had reduced significantly in recent times, which I return to in Chapter 10. Thus while displays of hegemonic masculinity through peer violence occurred often, these were not total across the school. Boys' masculinity negotiations could also be more complex, as I now turn to.

Boys negotiating dominance and vulnerability

Boys' masculine identities, and the role of peer violence, could be more nuanced in other school spaces. Discussions about the Strong Girls intervention, that sought to support girls in their experiences of violence, showed boys negotiating masculinities somewhat differently in the female-dominated discursive space around this intervention. Boys oscillated between reinforcing traditional gender norms that underpinned their dominance over girls, and resisting or challenging this as boys also discussed theirs' and girls' vulnerability:

Shakira: How do you feel that Strong Girls has continued to meet the girls but Strong Boys had not yet come again to meet the boys?

Michael: I feel bad because when they were still around, boys had reformed and they were well-behaved but now, boys escape from school and they have even started dropping out of school

Richard: I feel bad now that Strong Girls only helps girls and this has led to some boys to start misbehaving

[...]

Shakira: Why do you think that Strong Girls mostly helps girls and not boys?

John: It is because it is mostly the girls who drop out of school

Richard: Because they want the girls not to drop out like girls

Isaac: The boys can control themselves unlike the girls. When the boy is out of school he might know what to do and what not to do while girls can easily be deceived by men and they get pregnant

Older boys group discussion, Myufu School, 20th July

Shakira: Is it fair that they mostly talk to the girls and not boys or you think it is not fair?

Faisal: It is not fair at all because they only talk to the girls and not boys, yet it is the boys who will deceive the girls and they end up dropping out of school (*laughter and murmuring*)

Henry: The girls can easily be deceived by a boy, maybe the boy was born with HIV and he infects the girl

Shakira: So Henry you are saying that it is fair for Strong Girls to talk to the girls more than the boys?

Henry: Yes

Ivan: I think it is fair that they talk to the girls more so that the girls stop talking to the boys who might spoil their future when they get pregnant

Faisal: I feel it is not fair because they might only talk to the girls and leave the boys and the boys will also get diseases and infections without having knowledge about those diseases

Older boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 19th July

In the above extracts, the boys both draw on traditional gender norms that position boys as stronger and more competent than girls, and girls as more vulnerable and in need of guidance, while at the same time allude to their own feelings of vulnerability. Girls are rendered passive to boys' dominance, as the boys 'might spoil their future', and notions of both physical and psychological feminine weakness are constructed as they 'can easily be deceived'. Boys being viewed as sexually active and dominant, while girls are perceived to be passive and submissive has been shown elsewhere, such as in Central and Western Uganda where Muhanguzi (2011) found that boys located sexual desire with masculinity, while a double standard for girls emerged where their bodies were sexualised, but also expected to resist boys' sexual advances. A further double standard can also be noted here. In the above extracts, the girls are *passive* in their experiences of sexual violence, yet responsible for preventing it, while boys are *active* and yet their behaviour cannot be changed. This is seen with 'the girls [should] stop talking to the boys who might spoil their future' and the notion that girls should be helped because they 'can be easily deceived by men'.

At the same time, this notion is disrupted in Faisal's statement that 'it is not fair at all' because it is 'the boys who will deceive the girls', suggesting that boys can be held accountable and their behaviour can be changed. In relation to their own vulnerability, Richard and Michael express feeling 'bad' and that boys also needed support. Here they couch boys' vulnerability in terms of 'misbehaviour', which may have been used as an example because it allowed them to describe vulnerability within accepted gender norms of boys' strength, aggression and misbehaviour. Faisal's final statement shows a sense of uncertainty around sexual vulnerability, as he expresses that boys are also sexually vulnerable through diseases and his feeling that 'it is not fair' that boys do not receive support with this. This reminds that in contexts of masculinity tied to sexual aggression and dominance, boys and men are also at a high sexual risk (Reddy and Dunne, 2008), yet acknowledging this may contravene sexual norms of masculine strength and invulnerability, and feminine weakness. The boys' oscillations between exploring their feelings of vulnerability and desire for support, and

reinforcing their dominance and competence, could also be ways in which these boys made sense of their exclusion from the NGO support in ways that reinforced their hegemonic masculine positionings.

While boys could engage in performances and negotiations of hegemonic masculine positions in relation to girls' subordination, therefore, through physical and sexual peer violence, this could vary across schools' physical and discursive spaces. Boys' positions of dominance and status were afforded through their proximity to, or association with resources and displays of physical and sexual strength. While in some moments boys portrayed this as being a total or pervasive dominance, in other spaces masculine and feminine relations of dominance were more complex.

Girls and femininities around physical and emotional peer violence

Femininities in girls' violence against boys

Girls engaged in formulations and negotiations of femininities both in relation to masculinities and to other femininities, around peer violence. While, mirroring Connell (1987), femininities around hegemonic masculinity were often subordinated and embodied emphasised feminine norms of docility, girls could also be active in the construction of both masculine and feminine hierarchies. In the P4 classroom scene observed with Ronald above, while most of the girls were quiet and positioning themselves as apart to the boys' violence, Milly also participates. Elsewhere, girls in this class participated in Ronald's subordination through emotional violence, and I had observed girls laughing at Ronald in the classroom for his impaired speech and academic struggles. Ronald described this in an interview:

Shakira: What do you like about your classroom?

Ronald: What annoys me so much is that I am still new in the school and children are always abusing me and laughing at me

Shakira: Which children mostly laugh at you or abuse you? Are they boys or girls?

Ronald: They are mostly girls

[...]

Shakira: What words do these children usually abuse you?

Ronald: When they see me dark skinned, they think that I am not a Muganda and they start calling me names like- 'mudokolo', 'mululu' (*tribes from northern Uganda, whose skin colour is darker*)

Ronald, 12 years, Kiraala School, 12th July

The girls' behaviour here resonates with studies that suggest girls use more emotional exclusion and humiliation of peers than boys (Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016). Through emotional rather than physical means, therefore girls engaged in the construction of masculine hierarchies along the lines of academic and physical prowess, and racialised exclusion. Girls could thus seek power within hegemonic masculinity discourses through excluding alternative masculinities, in ways similar to how girls in South Africa and England bullied younger or 'effeminate' boys (Bhana, 2005; Renold, 2002).

Girls could also retaliate against boys' violence and intimidation of them through physical violence. While this contravened gender feminine norms in this context, I observed girls in class slapping or using sharp verbal retorts against boys who bothered them in the classroom. Boys described the following:

Shakira: What do girls do that upsets the boys?

Jackson: Some girls can come and occupy the boy's seat and when boy tells the girl to move away, the girl refuses and instead, the girl slaps the boy and the boy slaps back and then the girl reports to the teacher and sometimes the boy gets beaten yet it was the girls who were first to disturb the boy
[...]

Michael: Sometimes when the ball hits the girls accidentally, the girls say 'agga'

Shakira: What does "agga" mean?

(Michael demonstrates "agga" – an arm action used to intimidate fellow pupils. Laughter... the boys perform "agga")

Shakira: So does this "agga" annoy the boys only or even the girls?

Isaac: It also annoys the other girls because even girls do it among themselves

Shakira: And do the boys do "agga"?

Tonny: No we don't do it. It is mostly the girls who do it

Michael: Sometimes when you ask the girl to help you with her book, maybe you didn't attend school the previous day and the girl will do "agga" and say "luzunzize eyo" (*take your words elsewhere, don't disturb me, I don't want to talk with you*)

Older boys group discussion, Myufu School, 13th July

These behaviours pointed to interesting possibilities for classroom femininities, and while many girls behaved with meekness in the classroom, many also did not. In some classrooms in particularly Myufu School, I observed that there were confident and academically high-achieving girls who tended to sit at the front of the class, who actively participated in lessons and also engaged in Strong Girls and GST intervention activities. I observed these girls responding with impatience and physical

violence of slapping or pushing boys who tried to distract them either through sexual harassment, taking their belongings or who copied their work. The boys' laughter at the term 'agga' is interesting as it shows widespread recognition and suggests that this female intimidation was part of everyday behaviours in the school. Further, the boys' confusion and sense of unfairness, seen in Jackson's statement that 'sometimes the boy gets beaten yet it was the girls who were first to disturb the boy', occurred often when boys discussed girls' physical violence. This suggests that traditional gender norms of boys' and girls' behaviours, and related punishments (as I turn to in Chapter 8) did not always represent how gender manifested around the school, as well as how these classroom behaviours of girls could be a moment in which boys constructed their masculinities around dominant femininities, and not the other way round.

These findings are also interesting in light of previous studies in Uganda finding that girls have tended to stay silent in the face of boys' aggression in schools, with one girl explaining that 'they feel it is not ladylike [to challenge boys]' (Mirembe and Davies, 2001, p. 410). Previous studies have shown findings in relation to girl-on-girl physical violence in schools (Bhana, 2008), and girls asserting power over boys in ways that do not challenge gender norms, such as excluding them from typically female chores (Dunne, 2007). Findings that suggest girls act with physical violence against boys, and boys simultaneously construct notions of girls' violence and their confusion or passivity in the face of this violence, are rare, however, suggesting emergent alternatives for girls' femininities around hegemonic masculinity in schools.

Empowered, 'good learner' femininities and sexualised femininities

As with masculinities, femininities were also negotiated in relation to money and resources. While boys were tasked with securing resources, norms for girls positioned them as reliant on men and this reliance underpinned a sexualisation of girls' bodies, occurring in proximity to boys and resources:

Shakira: Who has more power in school, is it girls or boys?

Aida: It is the boys because they say, 'ehhh,,, you look nice'

Rose: I think that it is the boys because when they go back home and maybe fetch water for some people and they are given money, then they come to school and start boasting while saying " ehh... I have my money, should I marry you, I can buy for you eats"

Diana: Even the girls feel powerful when they are at school especially when she is talking to the boys. She pushes forward her chest so that the boys can notice their breasts, walks while shaking her breasts and bum so that other girls can see her

The undercurrent of transactional sex in this description relates closely to the norm of girls' and women's financial reliance on men, and forms of transactional sex in the community that is common in Ugandan settings (Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Ninsiima *et al.*, 2018; Nyanzi, Pool and Kinsman, 2001). The link between resources and girls' sexuality, made explicitly and often elsewhere, may be seen here in how girls' sexualised bodies are described as a way of both securing resources ('so that the boys can notice their breasts') and as a negotiation of feminine status afforded by securing resources ('the girls change and start feeling so nice, they don't want to talk to fellow girls').

The status of securing resources was complex, however, and these positionings entailed a range of social and physical risks for girls. It was recognised that transactional sex could merge with peer sexual violence:

Rose: Sometimes the girls might ask the boys to ride their bicycles and then the boys say, "we shall sort out other things later, you have to pay me for riding my bicycle"

Shakira: So what do they mean by [this]?

Rose: Not so sure but I think they mean that they will have a good time the two of them
[...]

Stella: The boys sometimes starts forcing the girl to have sex

Shakira: Do the girls do these things willingly or some of them are just forced to do them?

Stella: There are some girls who love boys and they do whatever the boys says willingly while some girls are just forced by the boys

Along with risks of sexual violence, transactional sex could also expose girls to emotional peer violence from female peers. Sexual relations with boys emerged across the data as a pivotal element in the construction of girls' identities and in peer violence:

Shakira: The girls who laugh when the boys disturb you or call you names or make the bad touches, are they friendly to these boys?

All: They are those boys' friends

Ellen: And why are they laughing?

Prossy: They enjoy when the other girls are being bullied

Ellen: And these girls who laugh, are they also touched by these boys?

Shakira: So do these girls also get touched by these boys?

Hasimat: These girls are also touched by these boys

Phiona: These girls enjoy the touches and they laugh

[...]

Shakira: So is it that the girls who laugh and talk with the boys so much are the most stubborn girls?

Clare: These girls deal so much with the boys and they are always with the boys

Ellen: These girls who are always with the boys, do they also have friends who are girls?

Hasimat: These girls usually have a group and this group is only friendly with the boys' group and both groups have stubborn girls and boys. For us we don't associate with them

Prossy: These stubborn girls are not our friends. They are only boys' friends and they don't even talk to us so much

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 27th July

Here the girls' repetition here of 'these girls', and the reference to 'a group', constructs a notion of a particular femininity that relates to engagement in and enjoyment of boys' sexualised touching. The girls in this extract construct their femininities in opposition to this group, shown in 'we don't associate with them' and 'these stubborn girls are not our friends', and both groups construct femininities around choices whether to engage in sexualised interactions with boys, and displays of dominant masculinity through peer sexual violence.

These findings also emerge in other settings where transactional sex is common. Also among the Baganda tribe in Uganda Kinsman et al. (2000a) found resentment along the lines of [hetero]sexuality and identified a strong feeling of 'us and them' between virgin and non-virgin groups. Bhana (2018) similarly identified a 'good girl/cool girl' binary in primary schools in South Africa where girls constructed their identities through their bodily displays, and discussed and regulated each others' bodies. Across settings, studies find that girls' disapproval and discussion of each other's sexualities, and the emphasis placed on preference for virginity or sexual restraint is a way in which girls both learn about, and construct, acceptable and non-acceptable sexual identities in relation to contextual gender norms (Bhana and Pattman, 2008; Humphreys, 2008b; Muhanguzi, 2011; Reddy and Dunne, 2007).

This could further lead to emotional peer violence of gossip and rumour-mongering between girls, and girls discussed this often and found it upsetting and difficult to manage:

Shakira: How about girls, do you do things that upset each other as girls?

Patience: The girls abuse when we have not done anything

Rashida: The girls spread lies. They put words in our mouth yet you didn't say those words

Younger girls group discussion, Kiragala School, 8th August

Further, the association of girls with transactional sex could increase with age and reaching adolescent sexual maturity, and this could lead to further gossip around sexual behaviours as Stella here describes:

Shakira: In the discussion you mentioned that students talk about things that are not true and you said “if it is a girl like Cathy, they will not say anything but if it is me, they will say something”, tell me more about that

Stella: It is like this, with my appearance, someone can easily accept that the teacher has a relationship with me than with Cathy because I look older, I am bigger and I even have breasts but Cathy generally looks young. But for me, I am focusing on my books not relationships with teachers because I want to prosper

Stella, 16 years, Kiragala School, 9th August

Along with girls being more likely to experience sexual abuse as they reach adolescence (Parkes and Heslop, 2011; Reilly, 2014), girls thus became more associated with connotations of accessing resources through transactional sex, and could experience the peer violence of gossip. Such acts of humiliation and exclusion have been found across settings to be common forms of peer violence for girls, in contrast to the physical violence of boys (Pells, Ogando Portela and Espinoza Revollo, 2016), and here tended to take place most commonly around the sexualised adolescent female subject and the proximity to resources through transactional sex. Stella’s last phrase here that she is ‘focusing on [her] books not relationships with teachers’, points to a further key aspect to feminine identities, that of a ‘good learner’ positioning. It also references the presence of teacher sexual violence, which I return to explore in Chapter 9.

Girls’ discussions of the Strong Girls intervention around peer violence were also revealing for other nuances among femininities. In these discussions, girls mobilised the intervention to reinforce notions of sexual restraint and coupled this with an empowered, ‘good learner’ identity. Girls drew on themes of confidence and sexual restraint to form a notion of empowered femininities that rejected sex:

Diana: Strong Girls talks to both girls and boys but they mostly talk to girls and tell us that we shouldn’t have relationships with boys when we are still in school because the truth is that there are some girls who have relationships with boys here at school

Rose: Strong Girls teaches girls to protect themselves and abstain from sexual activities especially with older men they are still young so that they have a bright future and also not to get infected with HIV
[...]

Stella: Strong Girls taught me to be confident, to be strong and smart and that is why in class I don’t fear to talk among my classmates and when I don’t want something, I always say “no”

Here the girls reflect on the Strong Girls intervention to construct an idealised, empowered learner femininity. In Stella's assertion that 'when I don't want something, I always say "no"', a discourse of empowerment positions confidence in line with sexual abstinence. Viewing these discourses in light of the silence around teacher sexual violence that also emerged in these schools, that I explore in Chapter 9, several layers of concealment can be seen here. Indeed, Stella herself was a pupil that two teachers believed to be in sexual relationship with a male teacher. While on the surface girls described speaking out and saying no to sexual advances, it was striking that no girls discussed their own experiences of sexual violence from teachers, with some girls actively avoiding being asked. While girls therefore expressed a narrative of bodily empowerment and their intentions to be 'confident', 'always say "no"', and to choose student identities over sexuality, there was a discord between this discursively constituted binary opposition between 'empowered' girls and those that engaged in sexual relationships, and their lived experience.

Furthermore, these narratives could both reinforce gender boundaries around violence, and afford girls the responsibility for male sexual aggression:

Shakira: Why do you think Strong Girls comes and talks to girls so much and not boys?

Aisha: Because the boys are bad behaved

Bridget: Because Strong Girls teaches manners within school

Priscilla: Strong Girls teaches us ways of protecting ourselves in case men want to defile us so if boys get to understand these techniques, they will instead use them to their advantage

Doreen: Because it is the boys who defile the girls

Here the girls view Strong Girls' support for girls' experiences of peer sexual violence as an entrenchment of gender divisions, as involving boys would lead boys to 'use [these techniques] to their advantage', positioning boys as irrevocably violent and separated from the girls. In 'the boys are bad behaved', an assumption of both inherent 'badness', and of impunity, for boys can be seen. Boys are constructed as unable to change while girls are positioned as responsible for preventing sexual violence, resonating with the traditional norms in this context. This perception of girls being victim to boys' dominant sexuality that was stronger and unable to be controlled, and therefore that girls hold the responsibility of protecting themselves from sexual violence, is borne out in studies across Uganda (Muhanguzi, 2011; Ninsiima *et al.*, 2018; Porter, 2015). The central contradiction around gender and sexual violence, of girls' passivity yet responsibility, and boy's action and dominance yet

lack of responsibility, could thus be upheld in girls' narratives of empowerment around sexual violence.

Conclusion

Returning to the queries with which I opened this chapter, that of exploring the positioning of peer violence in the school and its significance for pupils' identities, the analysis of this chapter has revealed both the practice of peer violence, and the discourses that emerged around it, to be key arenas for the production of gender knowledge within the school. Teachers viewed pupils' engagements in peer violence through the lens of their own beliefs about gender, which were in turn positioned in relation to broader contextual gender norms, and their discursive portrayals of this peer violence further reinforced these beliefs. This then constituted gendered pupil subjects in particular ways, and in a 'circular relation' with knowledge and practices of peer violence. These discourses and forms of knowledge around peer violence did not always correspond, however, meaning that different knowledge around gender and peer violence, and thus different possibilities for pupils' subjection, could be seen. While male teachers tended to view peer violence as reinforcing gender knowledge that related to structural gender inequality, that of girls' vulnerability and boys' dominance, female teachers tended to challenge this and instead viewed both male and female pupils as both experiencing forms of vulnerability, downplaying gender differences among pupils. These differences among teachers have implications for pupils' subject positions, identities and interactions, which I pick up in the following chapter.

A further aim of this chapter was to examine and theorise girls' and boys' femininities and masculinities around peer violence. This chapter has shown that traditional gender knowledge in this context, of girls' docility, vulnerability and reliance on men for resources, and boys' dominance, physical strength and as resource providers, underpinned the ways in which masculinities and femininities were negotiated relationally. These identities emerged as more complex and dynamic than the possibilities for pupil subjects espoused by teachers. Boys could embody hegemonic masculine positions through the peer violence of physical violence and theft against male peers, and physical and sexual intimidation of female peers, underpinned by access to, and their symbolic association with, resources. These positionings increased with age. While hegemonic, and thus dominant, these positionings were also not total around the school. The interplay between masculinities and femininities could function differently in different school settings, and, perhaps most interestingly, a sense of incoherence and confusion could be seen in boys' narratives around moments when girls dominated. In relation to girls' physical violence or intimidation in the classroom, or in the female-dominated discursive space of the Strong Girls intervention, boys

expressed some confusion about their positionings. While Connell's (1995) configurations of hegemonic and subordinated masculinities emerged clearly here, therefore, I thus also argue that alternative possibilities for masculinities emerged in these female-dominated spaces or interactions. I return to explore these alternative possibilities in following chapters.

For girls, while many operated in emphasised feminine positions of docility and meekness, these were similarly not total and they could also retaliate against, or participate in to reinforce, displays of hegemonic masculinity and masculine hierarchies. Further, this chapter also showed that a key area of identity construction for girls was in relation to other femininities, and often around the key pivots of sexualised interactions with male peers. This could take place through emotional peer violence of gossiping and exclusion. As with boys, gender norms and forms of peer violence, underpinned by access to resources in this context of poverty, also increased with age. In relation to transactional sex, girls constructed binary, relational identities of empowered, 'good learner' femininities who resist sex, and sexualised girls who were motivated by resources and male sexual attention, with resonances with the construction of a sexualised 'dropout' school subject.

Speaking back to Connell's (1987) assertion that femininities are not reliant on hierarchies for their positionings, this chapter thus argues that, by contrast, pupil femininities here were indeed highly hierarchical, and these hierarchies were reinforced through emotional peer violence. In contrast to boys, whose hierarchies were visible and continually negotiated openly, feminine hierarchies were highly complex however and often operated in veiled ways. Firstly, feminine hierarchies were constructed along multiple planes of status that could be contradictory, as seen in the status of having access to resources, yet the low status attached to the sexualised behaviours associated with obtaining these resources. Secondly, layers of concealment tended to shroud girls' own behaviours and positionings with regard to transactional sex, and the negotiation of hierarchies could conceal as much as it revealed. Chapter 9 explores this further. I now take forward these conceptualisations and explore the discourse and practice around teacher discipline violence in the schools.

Chapter 8. “Boys are stubborn, that is why they are always beaten”: Teacher discipline violence, teacher-pupil relationships and schools’ bodily-institutional regimes

In the previous chapter I explored the ‘circular relation’ between the discursive practices of, and around, peer violence in schools, and the construction of knowledge and constitution of gendered subjects this entailed. I also explored the possibilities for pupils’ masculinities and femininities around peer violence. Building on these findings, this chapter explores teacher discipline violence in schools, which in Chapter 3 I defined as all forms of physical and emotional violence by teachers used as discipline. There I explained my preference for this term over a unique focus on corporal punishment, as while corporal punishment has received considerably more critical attention in existing literature, some evidence suggests that emotional violence is also, perhaps even more, significant for children (Dunne, 2007; Dunne and Leach, 2005).

For corporal punishment, I employ the definition of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, that of ‘any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light’. The UNCRC also describes other ‘non-physical forms of punishment that are also cruel and degrading’, and include: ‘punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child.’ (UNCRC, 2006, p. 4). These latter forms, viewed in this thesis as emotional violence, are also examined in this chapter. The term ‘teacher discipline violence’, therefore, is used to encompass all forms of corporal and emotional violence by teachers. I employ this term also for violence by teachers that does not directly pertain to punishment, for example taunting or mocking by teachers, as this chapter examines how, drawing on Foucauldian analysis, teacher violence in the classroom cannot be extricated from institutional hierarchies and the role of such violence in constructing and upholding teacher authority and pupils’ subordination.

This chapter builds on existing evidence from Luwero District, Uganda showing teachers’ use of corporal punishment to be significant (Clarke *et al.*, 2016; Devries *et al.*, 2014a; Merrill *et al.*, 2017), to contribute qualitative insights that theorise the nature of teacher discipline violence in this setting. In Chapter 3 I outlined how existing literature shows corporal punishment to be underpinned by structural inequalities of age and generational inequalities in this Ugandan context where child-rearing norms support its use (Boothby *et al.*, 2017; Boydell *et al.*, 2017; Renzaho *et al.*, 2018), and of gender inequality, in relation to which a growing body of work unpacks the gendered significance of corporal punishment (Humphreys, 2008a; Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Morrell, 2001a; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b). In addition, work drawing on poststructural theorisations has shown the added institutional significance of relations of domination and subordination constructed and reinforced through physical

punishment in schools (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016; Dunne and Ananga, 2013; Vanner, 2018). Qualitative research has revealed children's complex and often contradictory views and experiences on physical violence, and highlighted a trend of children accepting 'fair' or legitimate forms of physical violence and rejecting those deemed to be unfair (Morrow and Singh, 2015; Ngubane, Mkhize and Balgobind Singh, 2019; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013). I argued in Chapter 3, therefore, for the need to understand and theorise how children experience corporal punishment and other forms of teacher discipline.

This chapter first examines the discursive positioning of corporal punishment and its use by teachers in these two schools, and children's experiences of discipline violence, seeking to theorise these experiences within a framing of pupils' subordination in schools and constitution as subordinated pupil subjects (Foucault, 1977a; Foucault, 1982). The focus of the chapter then turns towards the gendered significance of these forms of violence, firstly examining how pupils constructed gendered teacher subjects through reflections on teachers' uses of discipline violence, and similarly how teachers and pupils constructed gendered pupil subjects through discussions of discipline.

Throughout, I weave through the significance of this for pupils' and teachers' gendered, institutional identities. As with peer violence, I show here how the significance of teacher discipline violence for schools' bodily-institutional regimes could thus be seen in both its practice, and discourses around it. Finally, I draw out the significance of these findings for peer violence in schools, building on the findings of Chapter 7, towards insights into the implications of these different forms of violence for each other.

Teachers' use and children's experiences of teacher discipline violence

Constructing 'fairness' in teachers' and pupils' discussions of corporal punishment

Corporal punishment was the most readily discussed form of teacher violence and both pupils and teachers talked about its use at length; its use, and discussions on its use, were a part of everyday school life. While teacher corporal punishment was thus a highly common and long-held practice in this setting, my data suggested that its use continued at a lower level than in the past, in line with GSS findings (Devries *et al.*, 2015b). Many teachers differentiated between fair and excessive physical punishment. Here Victor describes the boundary between reasonable and unreasonable beating:

Victor: You just give them, just, ok you give some serious punishments, but not which are tiresome. Which are medium. Let me use that language. Medium punishment
[...]

Ellen: Mmm can you give me an example?

Victor: For us, when you cane a child one stick, two sticks, three sticks, that is a medium. But when you exceed more than three. Let me use five onwards. That is a... I take that one as a corporal punishment

Ellen: Ok... because it is serious...

Victor: Because you are hurting the learners' what? The learner's attention, you are hurting them

Victor, male teacher, 1st August

Later in the discussion, Victor compared the 'medium punishments' of today, with the excessive and harmful 'overbeating' of the past, a notion which was mobilised often by teachers. As borne out in other studies that highlight a boundary between 'fair' or 'unfair' use of corporal punishment both in families (Boydell *et al.*, 2017; Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010), and in schools in Luwero District (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017), here a boundary between fair and unfair use of corporal punishment was discursively held and reinforced, although according to teachers, this boundary had shifted in recent times. Pupils similarly described how beating had reduced in recent times.

While teachers discussed corporal punishment openly and frequently, however, their perspectives were complex, and it was frequently difficult to ascertain what everyday discipline practices entailed. Several teachers declared their rejection of corporal punishment, yet I observed or heard that they used it liberally. One male pupil explained in an interview, 'When Teacher Ellen is at school, teachers don't beat children because they fear but when Teacher Ellen goes away, they beat us'. In one instance, a male teacher discussed his distaste for corporal punishment and his appreciation for 'Raising Voices' work with me, then shortly after I observed him caning a pupil aggressively through a classroom window. In another incidence, a male teacher did not want to discuss corporal punishment in an interview, and a few days later I saw him engaged in highly public and organised punishment where he was presiding over a male prefect beating another in front of the class. In these ways, confusion, contradictions and concealment shaped the ways in which many teachers made meaning with me around physical violence. I interpreted this in terms of my positioning, associated with a violence prevention intervention, but also, drawing on insights across the data, that beliefs underpinning corporal punishment, and its use in the school, were in a period of flux and contradiction and indeed characterised by some confusion. I return to examine this in more detail in relation to the GST intervention in Chapter 10.

Pupils readily discussed corporal punishment and other forms of violent discipline, and, as found in other studies (Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008a; Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017; Reilly, 2014; Rojas

Arangoitia, 2011; Twum-Danso Imoh, 2013), similarly discussed the difference between fair and unfair corporal punishment:

Shakira: When you throw the doll, we shall assume that the doll is asking – How are you treated at school?

Ivan: For me I am treated well at school. I am only beaten when necessary

Geofrey: For me I am treated well at school, I am not beaten so much otherwise if I was beaten so much, I would have already left school

Older boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 19th July

Pupils often constructed notions of physical punishment as good teaching if they feel the teacher is fair and ‘teaching and guiding me to do something right’ (*younger girls group discussion, Kiragala School*), while being beaten ‘so much’, as described by Ivan and Geofrey, would be considered unfair.

Discussing fairness was also a way in which children could respond with agency to their experiences of physical punishment. The boys below discuss their feelings about different forms of punishment:

Shakira: Do you think that pulling the ears is worse than beating or beating is worse?

Ronald: I think that beating is worse than pulling the ears

Geofrey: Pulling the ears is very bad because it can cause an ear infection. For me, I’d rather the teacher beats me 5 canes than pull my ears

Ivan: Even me, I’d rather be beaten than pull my ears. Um um..., ears are painful

Older boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 19th July

As this extract shows, children could partake in animated discussions about their feelings on corporal punishment and spoke with confidence. The boys’ readiness to express opinions about, and describe in a matter-of-fact way their experiences of violent discipline was typical of children in these schools and, as Twum-Danso (2013) found in Ghana, points to the routinisation of physical punishment. It also shows, however, that it was not treated with unquestioning acceptance or a blanket response by children. This resonates with Parkes and Heslop’s findings in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique (2011), that while corporal punishment use could be legitimated and even accepted by children, they were not passive recipients of violence, but experienced it with the active, feeling body.

Teachers’ use of corporal punishment was also a key pivot around which children built relationships with teachers, however this was not straightforward. Several pupils in Myufu School discussed their different relationships with two teachers who both used corporal punishment. While Teacher Joseph

was a teacher who was widely feared and disliked by pupils for his perceived excessive use of corporal punishment, which, with triangulation of pupils and other teachers' accounts of his excessive caning, I understood as an indication that there was a level of 'unfair' beating that categorically precluded positive relationships with pupils. On the other hand, Teacher Mark was described to be widely liked by pupils, and this resonated with my observations of pupils' positive demeanour in his classroom, despite his use of physical discipline.

Pupils framed their positive relationships with Mark in two key ways. As Prossy, a female pupil, described, Mark was liked by pupils because 'he doesn't usually beat' and 'we all feel happy in lessons because he is lively'. While I had never seen Mark beat pupils, I had frequently observed his use of other forms of corporal punishment particularly for boys, such as asking them to stand on their hands for extended periods. Boys viewed this as a painful form of punishment, yet they also described positive relationships with Mark and some pupils wished him to handle their child protection referrals, showing significant trust. Boys in Mark's class describe their experiences of corporal punishment:

Isaac: Sometimes we can be with teachers at classes and we joke with them. For example the teacher can say, "Tomorrow morning who is going to come earlier than me? Whoever comes later than me will be beaten 5 canes and even me when I come late, you will beat me". They usually say these things in a joking way. They are never serious about beating us when we arrive later than the teacher

Shakira: Is it possible that a good teacher will also beat students?

All: When you have annoyed that teacher

Shakira: What do students do that annoy these good teachers and they beat you?

Michael: For example when he is teaching and student is playing in class, he will warn you the first time and if you repeat the same thing, then he will beat you

Older boys group discussion, Myufu School, 20th July

The boys here construct notions of 'fairness' and, in line with my observations in the classroom, they also describe a lively and engaging classroom environment and a light-heartedness about the punishment that may have mediated some of its humiliation. I observed Mark administering corporal punishment in his lessons indeed after warnings and without an angry or harsh classroom manner. This indicates that two key aspects, that of 'fair' corporal punishment use, and a warm and engaging classroom manner, could form the basis of positive relationships with teachers.

In another instance, Allan, an 8-year-old male pupil, described his upset that his class teacher had beaten him unfairly and excessively the previous week, yet simultaneously that he liked her as he felt she cared for him. In this instance, the teacher had lost her temper and beaten in an unexpected and,

Allan felt, unfair way. The fact that Allan, and other pupils, continued to have positive relationships with this teacher, suggested that a certain amount of even ‘unfair’ beating was also accepted by pupils if they felt cared for. These examples contrasted with pupils’ wide dislike and mistrust for a male teacher who they stated did not use corporal punishment, but that I observed teaching with an aggressive, unpredictable manner and who tended to frequently shame pupils publicly. Pupils’ experiences of corporal punishment and their relationships with teachers, thus appeared to be significantly shaped by feelings of care, warmth or lively engagement from teachers. This resonates with Robert Morrell’s (2001a) findings in South Africa, where a positive school atmosphere was related to punishment being “lovingly” given and a clear distinction between ‘assault’ and ‘corporal punishment’. It also suggests the significance of teachers being ‘loving’ and this notion of care, which I return to below.

Employing a lens that forefronts children’s subordination to teachers in school settings, and physical punishment as an institutional practice that reinforces and enacts this subordination (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016; Foucault, 1977a), offers theoretical insight into these findings. Pupils’ acceptance of ‘fair’ corporal punishment, and the sense that a pupil is ‘treated well’ if they are ‘only beaten when necessary’, can be seen underpinned by the knowledge of pupils’ subordination to teachers, and that this subordination necessarily entailed a certain amount of physical punishment. The institutional practice of physical punishment could both reinforce this knowledge and constitute the pupil subject in binary opposition to the teacher subject, constituting simultaneously their subordination. In children’s rejection of ‘unfair’ or ‘excessive’ physical punishment, their perception that the tacitly agreed upon terms of this subordination were being transgressed, may be seen. Children’s willingness to be subordinate to teachers was therefore tied to agreement on what this subordination entailed, and did not, in children’s eyes, afford teachers total dominance over their bodies. Thus, as Geoffrey’s assertion above that he would have ‘already left school’ if he was beaten too much shows, pupils’ subordination to teachers was conditional.

The significance of emotional violence

Children perceived emotional violence in very different terms to that of corporal punishment, and expressed experiencing teachers’ shouting, glaring, humiliation or shaming in uniquely negative ways. Here two female pupils, Rose and Stella, describe a scene of poverty-related humiliation:

Shakira: What else do teachers do that embarrass you in class or in the school compound?

[...]

Rose: Sometimes when teachers pass by our homes and they find young children playing naked, the teacher talks about it in class and says “I passed somewhere and children there don’t dress at all. They are always naked”. This makes us feel bad

Shakira: So does that teacher go ahead to say that I passed at for example Rose’s home and saw...?

Rose: When he talks about it, children ask, “Teacher whose home is it?” and then the teacher says that her name starts with letter “A” or he gives them a clue by saying the first two letters of your name

Shakira: When the teacher says these things to a child in class, how do the other children react? Do they laugh or they feel sad that the teacher is shaming their friend?

[Laughter]

Rose: Mmm... [laughter] other children laugh at you and they even make fun out of it

Stella: Your friends will not laugh, they will feel bad but other children in class who are not your friends will definitely laugh at you

Older girls group discussion, Kiragala School, 9th August

The teacher’s humiliation, as described here, draws on how poor dressing was read as a signifier of poverty in this context and was treated with shame. Poverty-shaming as a form of violence could be a way in which structural inequalities of poverty shaped teachers’ use of discipline, and marginalised learners who experienced poverty or resource-paucity. This was often gendered, as I pick up in the following section.

While children did not often frame emotional discipline as violence, they could describe how they suffered more from teachers humiliating, shouting or verbally assaulting them than from physical punishment:

Ellen: And what about the teachers, when they are abusing, what do they say? What kinds of things do they say, nicknaming too?

Edward: No. They just come there and start abusing²¹ like that. Anyhow they can. Even if you have done any such mistake, they don’t talk... what can I say... they cannot talk in a soft way, they just abuse...

Ellen: Abusing straight away? Mmm... and are they also caning or it is mainly abusing?

Edward: Some of them they cane

Ellen: Mmm. What do you think is worse, to be caned or to be abused?

Edward: To me, better caning me, instead of abusing me

Edward, 14 years, Kiragala School, 8th August

²¹ In this context ‘abusing’ referred to verbal abuse

Here Edward describes finding verbal abuse more upsetting than physical abuse. As with Edward, other children reflecting on emotional violence in this way often became distressed, resonating with findings in other settings that some children find emotional and verbal abuse from teachers more upsetting and damaging (Dunne, 2007; Dunne and Leach, 2005). Here Rose and Stella's descriptions of feeling 'bad', and Edward becoming visibly distressed during this exchange, and the broken nature of his speech with, 'they don't talk... what can I say...' and 'they just abuse...', contrasted with the clarity and confidence with which children often discussed corporal punishment. I interpreted this in three main ways. Firstly, as emotional violence was not uniformly viewed as violence, there was thus a lack of clarity around it and this could pertain to a lack of clear vocabulary for it. Children may thus have struggled to find both the words and discursive framings through which to discuss their experiences and feelings of emotional violence. Secondly, the lack of clear vocabulary around emotional violence also pointed to how children did not view it as a legitimate teaching practice and instead presented it as an aberration. This suggests that emotional violence was not viewed by children as inherent to their subordination to teachers, and instead transgressed the terms of this subordination, whereas a 'fair' amount of corporal punishment did not.

This relates to a third interpretation, that within pupils' agreed upon subordination to teachers, a priority for them was to feel cared for. This can be seen as an implicit underpinning to the extracts above, and was discussed overtly in relation to male and female teachers, as I return to below. While it appeared that 'fair' corporal punishment use did not preclude children feeling cared for, emotional violence, and particularly that of humiliation and harsh teacher manner in the classroom, did. This was often expressed in relation to teacher gender, as I now turn to.

Discipline practices, teachers' identities and pupils constructing gendered teacher subjects

The ways in which children viewed relationships with teachers and the forms of discipline they engaged in, were highly gendered. This was interesting in light of the fact that survey data in this setting found no significant difference between male and female teachers' use of corporal punishment (Merrill *et al.*, 2017). Here I examine how these discussions offered indications of the nature of teachers' gendered approaches to discipline and gendered school identities, as well as how pupils participated to construct them. Pupils' discussions of teacher gender also changed with age, as I discuss below.

Younger pupils: Harsh male teachers, 'loving' female teachers and teachers' institutional identities

As is common in this Ugandan setting, younger pupils in both schools (P1-P3/4) tended to be taught almost exclusively by female teachers. In their discussions, pupils of both sexes often described having closer and more caring relationships with female teachers and finding male teachers intimidating:

Shakira: Why do you think female teachers tell you stories and proverbs and not male teachers?

Moses: Because they love us very much and we are friends with them

Younger boys group discussion, Myufu School, 29th June

Shakira: Ok, tell me the difference.. What the female teachers do that the male teachers don't do?

Bridget: Female teachers don't beat so much like male teachers

Harriet: The female teachers can repeat for you in case you have not understood what they are teaching but I don't know whether the male teachers do the same

Doreen: The female teachers teach very well

Younger girls group discussion, Myufu School, 10th August

In these extracts children draw on a loving relationship ('they love us very much and we are friends with them'), a patient classroom manner ('female teachers can repeat for you') and lower physical punishment use to construct the notion of a caring teacher femininity. Younger pupils also described how female teachers could care for them in motherly roles, also borne out by the fact that there were a handful of cases of female teachers who had informally adopted or were housing pupils experiencing violence in their homes.

Shakira: What did that picture remind you of?

Jawaria: One time I was sick and the teacher asked me what was wrong and I told her that I was sick and then she gave me porridge and an also gave me food at lunch time and gave me a friend to take me home. So the teacher cared about me like that teacher in the picture who was caring for the girl

Jawaria, Kiragala School, 8th August

In my observations I noted that, on the whole, female teachers did perform a loving teacher femininity that while did not entirely reject violence, couched it in an environment of caring and effective teaching.

These descriptions contrasted however with certain female teachers who I observed, and children described, embodying harsh classroom femininities that used significant corporal punishment. This included a small number of female teachers that I overheard slapping or beating children frequently in their classrooms, shouting at pupils around the school compound and engaging in a harsh and punitive classroom manner. One such teacher was Rose, a P3 teacher who was described by pupils to engaging in excessive pinching of pupils. Further, these could be mannerisms and behaviours that I observed other, more caring female teachers engaging in on occasion, showing how teachers' identities were not fixed. Overall, female teachers tended to show pupils more care, warmth, and support them with their problems more than male teachers, however, and when they did use physical punishment or shouted at pupils, pupils on the whole still felt cared for. Crucially, female teachers were not described to use humiliation or unpredictable intimidation in the classroom, which pupils feared greatly.

This contrasted with the majority of male teachers that I observed embodying harsh teacher masculinities, although again these were not fixed. Younger pupils described harsher teacher masculinities that were both underpinned by the threat of physical violence, engaged in more emotional violence and lacked a sense of care:

Shakira: Now, let us talk about male and female teachers. Do you think that male and female teachers are the same?

Said: I think they are not the same because female teachers don't beat us like male teachers and they talk to us very well

Hassan: When a male teacher is teaching, he shouts a lot yet the female teacher does not

Shakira: Tell me more about what you mean by the male teacher shouting. Is it a good or bad thing?

Julius: Male teachers talk on top of their voices especially when they are writing on the blackboard and by the time they turn to look at the children, children are scared because then, even their faces look scary

Younger boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 28th June

Nathan: Male teachers "abeera akyungakyunga" (*are always on the look-out for something wrong*). Yet female teachers don't

Younger boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 5th July

Here both corporal punishment and emotional violence play a role in constructions of harsh teacher masculinities, as while female teachers are described to ‘talk to [pupils] very well’, male teachers ‘shout a lot’ / ‘talk on top of their voices’ / ‘even their faces look scary’ / ‘are always on the look-out for something wrong’. This resonates with findings in other studies that teachers’ gender and institutional identities are constructed in relation to contextual gender norms, which in other sub-Saharan African settings have also denoted more reasonable and caring practices for women, and more violent and aggressive manners for men (Morrell, 2001a). This has been shown to lead male teachers to command greater authority from students (Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008a; Mirembe and Davies, 2001), with the threat of physical punishment holding a symbolic presence in these interactions. Here, children engaged in contradictory discussions on this point, however, and some described that female teachers in fact used more physical punishment, suggesting that the increased threat of violence associated with male teachers was not always, or even often, borne out in practice. Furthermore, in my observations I noted that teachers’ use of physical discipline varied, with some male and some female teachers using it a lot, and some of either sex not using it at all, resonating with survey findings of no significant overall difference between and female teachers’ self-reported use of physical violence (Merrill *et al.*, 2017).

I note two possibilities here, firstly that as Humphreys (2008a) found in Botswana, the threat, rather than the actual use in practice, of violence that underpinned masculinity may have been enough to construct fearful teacher masculinities so that male teachers might even use it less. Secondly, as described above and in contrast to corporal punishment, emotional violence and teacher manner did appear to be strikingly gendered. Female teachers more often had softer and more caring teacher identities compared to male teachers’ harsher, more authoritarian identities and significantly more pervasive and severe use of emotional violence. These gendered findings have several implications. Firstly pupils’ more positive relationships with female teachers thus related to gender norms of teacher behaviour in this setting and corresponding teacher identities. Secondly, emotional violence may have been more significant for pupils in shaping their relationships with teachers than physical punishment, as children’s priorities of feeling cared for were more often precluded through emotional than physical violence. Further, as male teachers’ use of corporal punishment was more likely to be accompanied by emotional punishment than female teachers’, pupils’ descriptions that female teachers used less corporal punishment may thus have been a way for children to express that they suffered more from male teachers’ physical violence, alongside this emotional violence.

Older pupils: Relational teacher and pupil masculinities and femininities

Among older pupils, relationships with teachers and constructions of teacher gender were more complex, and these changed over time in ways that related to girls' and boys' own gendered identities in adolescence. Pupils in classes P5-P7 were more likely to be taught by male teachers, although in both schools had occasional lessons with female teachers, and older girls tended to have frequent contact with female teachers in pastoral roles such as the Senior Woman or teachers leading the GST activities. Male and female pupils in this age group tended to have contrasting relationships with male and female teachers, yet still rooted in the different masculine and feminine identities afforded to teachers by the younger pupils.

Older girls often had closer and more trusting relationships with female teachers than with male teachers who they treated more with mistrust. Through their physical similarity, older female pupils often felt that female teachers were more understanding and able to help them with the challenges of adolescence:

Shakira: Which teachers do you talk with, is it male or female teachers?

All: Female teachers

Shakira: Why?

Brenda: Because they are female like us and they understand very well what we tell them and they give us advice

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 3rd August

Often, this sense of guidance and support related to the challenges girls faced with menstruation and of their experiences of violence in the community. It could also relate to girls discussing sexual violence in school, such as the girls below described in relation to experience of male peers' 'bad touches':

Shakira: So when these things happen, do girls report these boys?

All: Yes

Shakira: Who do you tell?

Hope: Madam Esther

Prossy: We also tell the headmistress

Clare: We tell female teachers

Shakira: Why do you only tell female teachers?

Hasimat: Because the girls feel free to talk to the female teachers

[...]

Shakira: P.5 and P.6 class teachers are men, so what happens when you tell these teachers about the bad habits that boys have?

Phiona: Sometimes the male teacher tells them “you stop that” and the boys do it again

Clare: When we tell male teachers, they just laugh and don’t do anything about it and this makes us feel bad

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 27th July

The girls’ description of male teachers’ failure to adequately respond to male peers’ sexual violence, through dismissing, or even encouraging it through laughter, could be seen as a way in which male teachers’ failure to use discipline could also enact further violence on pupils. Linkages between between peer and teacher sexual violence may also be seen, which I return to in Chapter 9. This reinforced notions of a closeness and trust with female teachers.

Older male pupils tended to construct teachers’ gendered identities in relation to their own emerging masculinities amidst norms of masculine dominance. The older classes were more often taught by male teachers, reinforcing a sense of status for male teachers as they taught higher stakes exams classes while female teachers were more often associated with the younger years. I observed that this could mean older male pupils were less likely to respect female teachers’ authority and discipline in the classroom and could at times undermine or reject it, simultaneously constructing their own dominant masculinity.

Shakira: What do you usually see female teachers do?

Ivan: The female teacher pulls the ears as she slaps the cheeks

Shakira: Why do you think that female teachers do more pinching than male teachers?

Geoffrey: Because the female teachers fear that the children can easily retaliate. Female teachers fear that they might beat the students and when the student gets up, he might beat the teacher and he runs away

Ellen: So will the girls also reciprocate once they are beaten or it is only the boys?

Ivan: It is the boys who can do that because sometimes there are boys are old and they can easily beat the teacher

Older boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 19th July

This extract points to the lower status of female teachers and the interplay between physical and institutional subordination of pupil and teacher gender. Mary, a female teacher of the older years in Myufu School, also discussed with me her difficulties in managing male pupils’ behaviour. Similar

findings have emerged in other settings, where boys' rejections of female teachers' physical punishment spoke of tensions between gender and institutional identities (Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008b; Morrell, 2001a). Male pupil and female teacher relationships could thus be complex, due to the conflict between institutional (teacher over pupil) and gendered (male over female) authority. At the same time, however, I did not observe or hear of any incidences wherein male pupils used physical violence with female teachers, so I therefore interpreted Ivan and Geoffrey's suggestions of violence as the boys performing a notion of their own, and other boys' dominant masculine identity in the group discussion. It is also possible that if female teachers had faced physical violence from male pupils, they may not have wished to discuss it for fear of undermining their institutional authority.

This complexity could be seen more strikingly in Myufu School. Due to its female-headed institutional structure, pupils often described how the most feared punishment in the school was to be beaten by the female senior teacher in the presence of their parents. Not all female teachers were viewed in lower status positions, therefore, and while Mary had difficulty with the behaviour of male pupils in her higher years classes, the clear status and authority of the female senior teacher suggested alternative possibilities for teacher femininities. It appeared as though female teachers in positions of institutional authority could embody authoritative teacher femininities and perform masculine authority, through their institutional status.

Discipline practices, pupils' identities and pupils and teachers constructing pupil gender

Mobilising corporal punishment in depictions of pupil behaviour and gender norms

In addition to constructions of teacher gender through and around their use of violence, teacher discipline violence also related to, and shaped pupil gender. Discussions around corporal punishment and punishment often entailed the notion that boys were worse behaved and therefore experienced more punishment than girls:

Shakira: Does this also happen to boys, do teachers pinch them in class?

Brenda: It happens to boys more than girls because they are more stubborn than the girls

Hope: The boys are badly behaved compared to the girls

Milly: Sometimes boys look at themselves as old and powerful and they don't want to be told anything

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 3rd August

Shakira: We can see that the student being pointed at is a boy. Does this happen to girls?

Simon: This happens to boys mostly because they are very stubborn in class

Allan: Boys play a lot in class that is why teachers punish them

Moses: Boys also fight a lot in class than girls and the teachers have to punish them

Younger boys group discussion, Myufu School, 6th July

The constructions of boys as being ‘badly behaved’ / ‘stubborn’ / that they ‘fight a lot’ / ‘look at themselves as old and powerful’, pertain to masculine norms of strength and dominance. Experiencing corporal punishment for misbehaviour was thus both seen as a symptom of gender norms for boys in this narrative, and discussions of corporal punishment could reinforce this gender knowledge. Simultaneously, norms of girls’ behaviour are implicitly constructed in the above extracts that, as the opposite of boys, they are assumed to be well-behaved. It was interesting that in discussions such as these, boys were more often described for their bad behaviour than girls were described for their good behaviour. Boys were active as they ‘play a lot’ / ‘fight a lot’, while girls appear passive and in their ‘lack’ of misbehaviour a notion of absence is constructed. Girls are thus portrayed as *less*, while boys are portrayed as *more*, or *too much*.

In lesson observations I noted that while indeed some boys did embody these behaviours and correspondingly at times experienced more corporal punishment, this was not total, but rather a small group of dominant boys. Further, as discussed in Chapter 7, some girls also engaged in violence or misbehaviours. Pupils themselves could show confusion between narratives around pupil gender and punishment, and the lived experience of gender. In a continuation of the discussion above, younger boys ranged between reinforcing and challenging the notion that boys were badly behaved and merited more punishment:

Shakira: Is there a difference between the boys and girls here at school? It could be in class, while playing in the compound...

Moses: Yes, there is a difference. The girls might play dodge ball while we play football

Simon: The girls and boys might fight together in class and the teacher beats them. And sometimes the teacher might beat the boy and forgive the girl

Shakira: You have mentioned that sometimes the teacher beats the boy and doesn’t beat the girl. Why?

Simon: It is because the boy started the fight and the teacher had to beat him

Moses: Boys are stubborn that is why they are always beaten

Shakira: So when this happens how do you feel?

Simon: We feel bad because sometimes it is the girls who started everything and the teacher instead beats the boy

Shakira: How do the girls behave in class?

Sadam: Some of them don't behave well in class

Younger boys group discussion, Myufu School, 6th July

Here the boys' discussion of punishment elicits gender reflections. In Simon's contradictory statements that girls and boys 'fight together', that 'the boy started the fight' and 'sometimes it is the girls who started everything', and in the oscillation between reinforcing norms of boys' dominance and intractability, such as 'boys are stubborn that is why they are always beaten', and yet 'some of [the girls] don't behave well in class', some conflicts can be seen. Boys could be seen to reflect on teachers' gendered use of corporal punishment as a way of reflecting how gender norms of behaviour were not always resonant with lived experience.

Strikingly, while many participants described how boys experienced more corporal punishment than girls, and this has been found in other sub-Saharan African settings (Dunne, 2007; Humphreys, 2008a), survey data in Luwero District found that boys and girls experienced similar levels of physical punishment from school staff (Devries *et al.*, 2014a). The fact that this perception of gendered experience of physical punishment was thus not borne out in practice suggests a number of interesting possibilities. Firstly, some dominant boys may have experienced corporal punishment more often than girls or other boys, leading to an association of corporal punishment with boys overall. Secondly, as Devries *et al.* (2017) reflect, boys and girls may have been physically punished for different behaviours, as girls may have been more likely to be beaten for late-coming, inattention or poor academic performance than for misbehaviour in the classroom, and therefore this use of corporal punishment would not have been captured in discussions around pupil classroom behaviour. This suggests, however, that girls' experience of corporal punishment may have been sidelined and viewed as less significant. It may have been dismissed in this way because girls' experiences of corporal punishment existed outside traditionally held gender norms of pupil behaviour. This suggests that existing gender knowledge may shape the lens through which the corporal punishment narrative is formed and, as such, meanings attributed to corporal punishment may be different for boys and girls, according to the norms that are reinforced through its use.

Viewed in light of classroom observations, I noted that gendered corporal punishment use differed significantly between teachers and that there was no teacher-wide pattern in how teachers used it with girls and boys. Some teachers of both sexes appeared to use it more with boys, some more with girls and some equally, or not at all, irrespective of gender. Their motivations behind this punishment always had gendered implications, however. Those teachers who used corporal punishment very differently for girls and boys tended to couch their use of physical punishment in traditional gender

norms, linked to structural gender inequality. Additionally, these teachers using corporal punishment in overtly gendered ways tended to be male.

Teacher Charles, a teacher I observed mainly using corporal punishment with boys, discussed his gendered expectations for pupils' futures:

Ellen: And so, we have talked about girls, and the kinds of things you would like to say to girls, if you could give boys some advice, what kinds of things do you like to tell... like advice to boys for their lives?

Charles: Normally, as boys... I like to.... Mostly if I'm with boys, I tell them that please, their chances of survival are very few compared to girls. Because girls even if a girl stops at say Senior 4, or O'Level, can get married and then gets a very good husband, she will survive or lead a better life. But that is not the case with boys. They have to work hard, if they are intending to get very good jobs, they should study higher than the girls. But if things worsen, better say they should be hardworking, unlike the girls they shouldn't... be at the same footing as the girls, saying that ah! They should at least work harder than the girls

Charles, male teacher, 28th July

Charles' gendered perceptions of pupils' gendered futures and ambitions, of boys being responsible for their own futures and needing to 'work hard' / 'study higher', and of lower expectations for girls who are seen as less responsible for their own futures as they will '[get] a very good husband', reminds of contextual gender norms in relation to domestic labour, and resonates with findings in other Ugandan settings that teachers may perceive girls to be less ambitious than boys in light of these norms (Jones, 2011). It also reminds of the material challenges that both boys and girls will face in this context of poverty, and the gendered opportunities young people have to mediate these challenges. Charles' use of corporal punishment mainly with boys, viewed in the light of these gendered beliefs, can be read as shaped by these norms and simultaneously a way in which these norms were reinforced.

On the other hand, I observed Teacher Matthias excluding boys almost entirely from classroom discipline and using corporal punishment only with girls. This gender-differentiated use of physical punishment was similarly underpinned by traditional gender norms, however:

Ellen: Are they somehow the same? Girls and boys? Or are they very different? Do they behave the same...

Matthias: You know, in fact, the truth is, we people are not the same. [...] Take an example. Girls are ever not so harsh, like boys. Naturally. They have to be humble. They have to be humble. That is the

way the woman was created. And when they are growing up like that, when I look at them, me as a teacher, I expected that

Ellen: You expect...

Matthias: Yes. Not to be at the same level like... because those boys they are so stubborn. More than the... so stubborn more than the girls

Ellen: So you expect the girls to be...

Matthias: So when you find a girl, who is more stubborn like boys, then you say, individual difference. We call it individual difference

[...]

Yes, you know, the girls, what I have seen, for the girls, when you call them and you talk to them, at least they hear. They get, they pick faster than the boys. They can make a change. But for the boys, if a boy is so stubborn, you can call him and remain stubborn. But the women, the girls, you can talk to them and they change

Matthias, male teacher, 28th July

Matthias' expectation of compliance and humility from girls, and of misbehaviour and stubbornness from boys could be seen to underpin an over-emphasis on girls' bodies and behaviour, and a permissiveness or disregard for boys' behaviour. Inherent to these forms of knowledge is a sense that while boys' conduct and characters were unchangeable, independent and outside of others' control, girls were firstly more docile, 'naturally', and secondly, that their behaviour could be shaped and changed. This could thus be seen in his increased corporal punishment of girls. It was striking that while Charles and Matthias had opposite gendered applications of corporal punishment, therefore, they were both underpinned by, and reinforced, traditional knowledge around gender in this context.

Those teachers who I observed, and heard from pupils, used corporal punishment rarely or not at all, were also more likely to discount gender differences and resist reinforcing gender norms of behaviour:

Ellen: And do you think that girls and boys behave differently in school? Do you think they are very different boys and girls? Or are they somehow the same...

Ruth: They are not... they are different in... just different physically. As in, the body structure. But in these activities of the school they are not different

Ruth, female teacher, 12th July

It was more often female teachers that held more gender equal views and downplayed gender difference and, interestingly, these female teachers' lower use of corporal punishment also coexisted with these more gender equitable beliefs. As female teachers in these schools were often engaged in

promoting girls' rights discourses, and similarly, were more often actively involved in, and more motivated by, the GST and Strong Girls intervention activities, it is possible that discourses around girls' empowerment and children's rights, promoted by these interventions, may have converged and mutually reinforced here. Interestingly, some teachers could also express gender equitable beliefs and use frequent and significant corporal punishment equally with boys and girls, such as I saw with male teachers Victor and Joseph. Gender equitable use of corporal punishment, whether this was a lot or none at all, therefore, tended to coincide with more equitable beliefs about pupil gender.

These findings speak back to Morrell's findings in South Africa (2001a), that while corporal punishment was used with both boys and girls, it was used to reinforce tough masculinities for boys, and submissive, compliant femininities for girls. The findings here add further nuance, however, suggesting firstly that this could relate to either increased, or decreased use of physical punishment with pupils of one sex, and further, that this differed significantly between teachers. While corporal punishment use, therefore, could be used in a range of ways in relation to pupil sex, it was rooted at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes and could always be seen to have gendered significance.

Poverty-shaming and sexualisation: Reinforcing gender norms through emotional violence

While corporal punishment was the most visible, and discussed form of teacher discipline violence, emotional discipline violence was similarly significant for pupil gender. Male teachers tended to engage in emotional violence more often and in more severe forms, and with regards to shaming, I observed that they shamed particularly male pupils for lacking resources, as seen described below:

There is a lot of banter in this class and it is very lively, and the students joke with each other a lot. At one point Teacher Mark came in, and a group of three boys were arguing –one of them had stole another's pencil (this was being dealt with in front of the whole class). He started to reprimand them using shame, and brought me in saying 'Teacher Ellen is watching you'. He also started to shame the children for being poor, saying 'Ah, these children cannot even afford to buy a pencil, so they are stealing each other's. Shame upon you.' He carried on, drawing attention to how they could not afford it, even writing on the board that it was only 100 shillings to show how cheap it was, and shaking his head that the children might not have enough money for this, or that they didn't buy one.

Observational fieldnotes, P6 classroom, 30th June

Several layers to the constructions of masculinity may be seen in this extract. Firstly, the three boys argue over the theft of a pencil, which relates to masculine identities and hierarchies and their affiliation with resources, also explored in Chapter 7. Secondly, Teacher Mark reinforces the norms of masculinity, of a 'good learner' identity and the stigmatisation of poverty through shaming the boys for lacking resources. Finally, I observed that Teacher Mark may have been performing his own masculinity in contrast to the boys' poverty and subordination, perhaps in relation to my presence which is suggested by 'Teacher Ellen is watching you' and the fact that he directed these comments towards me.

Humiliation of female pupils was more likely to be sexual in nature, as I observed in a P5 classroom:

In front of the class, but quietly and standing close to her in a way that was quite intimidating, he [Matthias] told a girl who was misbehaving in the front row 'Your mother is a very beautiful lady by the way. She asked me what we can do to help you, a girl that plays all the time in class.' This felt invasive and inappropriate for this girl, and she just looked down when he said this

Observational fieldnotes, 13th July

Here, through the teacher's physical positioning as he stands over the girl while she is sitting, and his leaning over her and speaking quietly that adds intimidation, and the humiliation he enacts through sexualising her mother through describing her as 'beautiful' in front of the class, he reinforces both his institutional authority and his sexual dominance, which mutually reinforce.

Sexualisation of girls' bodies during routine classroom discipline could also be seen in the below description of Teacher Charles:

Shakira: Which kinds of words do these teachers use when they are shaming students?

Priscilla: Teacher Charles can tell you to stand up and tells you that you have a man/boyfriend

Shakira: So which kind of girls does he tell this word?

Priscilla: He tells every girl whether you are young or old

[...]

Priscilla: They write names of men on the blackboard and start telling girls that they will get married to those men

Shakira: Tell me more about this, how do they give you these men?

Priscilla: They write names of men on the blackboard and when a girl does something wrong in class or when they fail to give an answer, they tell you that you are a girlfriend to one of those men

Shakira: So do you know these men? Are they members within the community or at school?

Harriet: They are members in the nearby village and we know them

Shakira: Which teacher usually does this?

All: Teacher Charles

Shakira: So is it only Teacher Charles who does this or even other teachers?

All: Only Teacher Charles

Shakira: How does this make you feel?

Harriet: We feel bad because our friends keep on laughing at us and make fun out of it which annoys us

Shakira: Does he only do it to the girls or even the boys?

All: Even boys

Shakira: So how does he do it for the boys?

Priscilla: He writes down the names of women or girls and he tells the boys that they will marry these girls

Harriet: But he doesn't do it so much with the boys like he does with the girls

Shakira: How exactly does he do it with the boys?

Harriet: When the boy is talking in class, he tells that they are the ones that rape and defile girls on their way

Younger girls group discussion, Myufu School, 10th August

In the above extract, both boys' and girls' bodies are sexualised, and in ways that reinforce both gender and sexual norms, and that routinise sexual violence against girls. While girls are humiliated through assigning them through marriage to men in the community, boys are humiliated through the description of violence of rape and defilement. While boys are mentioned less significantly, and towards the end, the discussion of girls' bodies dominates this exchange, resonating with broader tendencies to sexualise and openly discuss girls' bodies. Charles' emotional violence here can thus be seen to reinforce gender sexual norms and relations of masculine dominance and feminine vulnerability. Further, through his position as teacher, his institutional authority and hierarchy as adult over child legitimises this sexualisation; normalises it by bringing it into the everyday space of the classroom, and simultaneously uses this performance of masculinity to reinforce his institutional authority.

The forms of emotional discipline violence that teachers engaged in could also be key ways in which pupil gender was constructed and contextual gender norms reinforced. Due to the highly different nature of this emotional violence, such as girls' experiencing more sexualised shaming and boys experiencing more poverty-related shaming, it was particularly gendered in its application as well as significance. As suggested by the two extracts above, it was male teachers who tended to engage in emotional violence more often, and this could be seen to further related to pupils' lesser ease and more mistrusting relationships with male than female teachers, as described in the sections above. Further, the three male teachers in these above extracts were all those who tended to use corporal

punishment differently for boys and girls, and thus also those who held beliefs of differences between pupil gender. Gendered emotional violence thus tallied with gendered beliefs and use pertaining to corporal punishment too, therefore.

Implications of teacher discipline violence for peer violence

Discipline violence also emerged as having interesting interconnections with peer violence. In one classroom observation, I noted how the environment created by teacher manner and use of punishment shaped pupils' interactions:

In the morning, Teacher Ruth was very lovely but also fair with the children in P4 – she reprimanded them, but also called them 'my sons and daughters', and they clearly seemed to feel comfortable but still very respectful towards her. No indication that she might use corporal punishment. Gender did not seem to be a separating factor here, as boys and girls were spread equally throughout the classroom and also seemed to contribute equally to the class.

[...]

With Teacher Victor in P5 before lunch, there was a very different feel in the classroom. [...] He threatened to cane two students – one boy and one girl, the girl he threatened to cane twice. For most of the lesson he was also using as a pointing stick the same stick that he had threatened to use as a cane – so this was quite intimidating. This seemed to have the opposite effect of making the children respect him though – they seemed scared when he was threatening to cane, but then the rest of the time didn't seem to respect him.

It was also interesting what the pupil-to-pupil dynamics were here, and how different they were to the P4 lesson. On two occasions, a fellow pupil denounced the pupil who was misbehaving to the teacher – one boy said about the girl, 'teacher look at that dirty girl what she is doing' (she was playing with the ink of her pen).

Observational fieldnotes, 28th February

Here, the incidence where the girl was playing with her ink pen and elicited the comment 'teacher look at that dirty girl', involved two pupils at the back of the room who were not working, with the girl doodling on her arm and spilling ink, and a boy who was sitting observing her, and then consequently reported on her. The differences between the peer interactions in these classrooms were striking. In the P5 classroom the environment was one of unhappy frustration, as the pupils were disengaged and struggled to complete the work. I observed how the pupils appeared to fear, but not respect this teacher as I saw that they might ignore his admonishments until they pertained to physical violence. This threat of violence in the second part of the extract also appeared to contribute to a

classroom environment of competition and disrespect, as the pupils reported each other to the teacher. Antagonistic pupil competition and lack of pupil solidarity therefore seemed to abound in a classroom of teacher corporal punishment that was accompanied by a harsh and unengaging classroom manner.

In Teacher Ruth's classroom in the above extract, I observed a very different classroom environment where pupils were more engaged and sought to impress the teacher academically and elicit her verbal rewards, rather than focussing on the behaviour of their peers. This difference was particularly noteworthy, when on another occasion I observed P5, the same class from the second part of the extract above, being taught by Ruth and interacting with their peers in a lively and cooperative way. The same pupils, therefore, could interact in different ways around different teachers. While this shows how teacher manner, and use of discipline violence as a key aspect of this manner, shaped pupils' interactions, it also suggested that this was not fixed but was open to change, as pupils moved between different teachers' classrooms.

Peer violence around teacher discipline also had different nuances. In relation to the scene described above around poverty-shaming with Teacher Mark, I noted the following:

I noticed an interesting thing in the classroom after this had gone on. I saw that the children started to joke more and take each other's things – after this, I saw three instances in that lesson of children taking each other's pencils, and the other getting annoyed, responding with a slap etc. This makes me think that this method of shaming actually makes the children turn more on each other to assert their superior role in this dynamic – because they don't want to be the shamed ones. Also drawing attention to the stealing, seemed to make it a joke, or something in the class that the children could then do even more to wind each other up

Observational fieldnotes, P6 classroom, 30th June

In contrast to the kind of competition that emerged in Teacher Victor's classroom, a different form of competition can be seen here around Mark's discipline violence. Where his use of corporal punishment and emotional violence was accompanied by a lively and entertaining classroom manner, and public shaming underpinned by humour, peer violence emerged that involved lively antagonisms of verbal banter, slapping and 'jokey' theft. The findings that teacher violence can encourage peer violence has been found in other settings, as in primary schools in Kenya, Vanner (2018) found that a competitive classroom environment shaped through teacher violence led to physical and verbal peer violence, and Pells et al. (2018) found in four countries that the masculine norms pertaining to physical violence by teachers were reinforced among pupils. It is interesting that in this context, teacher violence not only appeared to encourage peer violence, but also seemed to shape the particular

nature and character of that violence, and that the classroom environment and pupil interactions were shaped by teacher manner to a nuanced degree.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored teacher discipline violence and its role in schools' bodily-institutional regimes. As with peer violence, the significance of teacher discipline violence was found in both its use by teachers, and in pupils' and teachers' discussions that emerged around it, and thus the analysis of this chapter focused on both its practice and discursive mobilisations. This chapter argued that pupils viewed discipline violence through a lens of conditional subordination to teachers. As shown elsewhere, pupil subjects were constituted as subordinate to teachers through teachers' use of discipline violence (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016), yet pupils did not submit to a total subordination to teachers and they also constructed priorities for themselves within it. The norms underpinning the boundary between 'fair' and 'unfair' use of corporal punishment, that have been found often in qualitative literature (for example in Luwero District, Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017), were here shown to relate to tacitly agreed upon terms of this subordination.

An attention to both corporal punishment and emotional violence, comparatively poorly understood in existing literature, further revealed that, for pupils, while a certain level of corporal punishment could be within the terms of acceptable subordination to teachers, emotional violence was not ever accepted. Children thus felt distressed by and rejected the legitimacy of teachers' use of emotional violence of humiliation, harsh classroom manner and insults. The analysis also found that within their subordination to teachers, children constructed priorities and these most valued feeling cared for. While corporal punishment could at times be compatible with feeling cared for, emotional violence by teachers tended to preclude these feelings and thus further underscored pupils' negative experience of it. Corporal punishment use that was perceived to be excessive, or unfair, was similarly rejected by children and precluded their feeling cared for. Children's conceptualisation of their subordination to teachers, and what this involved, were not fixed, however, and further possibilities for children's priorities emerged in striking ways around the Good School Toolkit intervention, and around teachers who taught without either physical or emotional violence. I return to this in Chapter 10.

Contributing to studies that have sought to forefront the gendered significance of corporal punishment, this chapter also argued that teacher discipline violence was rooted at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes in a range of ways. Its use was both underpinned by, and at the same time constructed and reinforced knowledge in the form of gender norms for both pupils and teachers, pupils and teachers constructed institutional subjects through the construction of this

knowledge, and this held significance for the negotiation of institutional masculinities and femininities. This was not straightforward, however. Pupils of both sexes and male teachers, tended to discuss notions of boys meriting more physical punishment than girls due to their poor behaviour, and reinforced these norms through these discussions. Yet these were not always borne out in pupils' behaviour in the classroom, and further, female teachers were more likely to downplay gender differences in pupil behaviour.

Male teachers were viewed as being harsher and more authoritarian, and were more feared by pupils, underpinned by masculine dominance and their often higher institutional status, and this chapter argued that this also related closely to their increased engagements in emotional violence. Female teachers were viewed by pupils as more caring, more supportive of the challenges they faced, more trustworthy, for particularly female pupils, and this caring teacher manner tended to relate to also using less emotional violence, particularly in the form of humiliation or intimidation. While, by contrast, there was no overtly gendered pattern to how teachers overall used physical violence, its use was similarly shown to always have gender significance. Some teachers used corporal punishment in similar ways for boys and girls, whether this was a lot or not at all, and this tended to correspond with holding more gender-equitable beliefs. Some male teachers used physical punishment in highly gendered ways, either using it mostly with boys or with girls, and this corresponded with holding more traditional gender beliefs in line with structural gender inequality. Teachers' use of discipline violence was therefore located at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes, and could be seen as a barometer of, or offer insight into, gender knowledge; and use of discipline violence could simultaneously reinforce this knowledge. This had significance for peer violence, which was also found to be shaped by its use, and also for teacher sexual violence, as I now turn to.

Chapter 9. “I don’t know what we are going to do, for sure”: Institutionalised teacher sexual violence as silent underpinning to schools’ bodily-institutional regimes

While peer violence and teacher discipline violence were forms of violence that operated within the visible layer of schools’ bodily-institutional regimes, performed and discussed in the ways described in Chapters 7 and 8, teacher sexual violence took place in both schools under layers of concealment and taboo and outside the discursive boundaries placed around acceptable discussions of everyday life in schools. In this chapter I examine teacher sexual violence in the two schools and situate it within schools’ bodily-institutional regimes, then turn in the following chapter to explore the role of the Good School Toolkit intervention in preventing all these forms of violence.

In Chapter 3 I discussed how taboos, sensitivities and inconsistencies of definition around sexual violence complicate efforts to capture and understand it (Devries *et al.*, 2018; Leach, 2015; Spowart, 2020). Some large-scale surveys (Jewkes *et al.*, 2002) and qualitative insights in localised settings (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Jones, 2011; Leach *et al.*, 2003) suggest that sexual violence by teachers occurs often, however. Many qualitative studies in which teacher sexual violence has emerged have positioned it in line with forms of sexual abuse or transactional sex of the community (Bhana, 2012; Muhanguzi, 2011; Reilly, 2014), or highlighted areas of institutional significance in schools (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Dunne, 2007; Leach, 2003). There are, however, few studies that forefront the institutional nature of this violence. I concluded my reading of this literature by employing the term ‘teacher sexual violence’ to encompass all forms of sexualised interaction between teachers and pupils, seeking out the institutional power imbalances this necessarily entails.

In examining transactional sexual relationships, I employ the definition used by Stoebenau *et al.* in their review of literature in sub-Saharan Africa, of, ‘noncommercial, non-marital sexual relationships motivated by the implicit assumption that sex will be exchanged for material support or other benefits’ (Stoebenau *et al.*, 2016, p. 193). In my use of this definition I seek meaning in the range of ways, often contradictory, these relationships are understood in particular settings, which in Uganda (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2020) and elsewhere (Heslop *et al.*, 2015; Stoebenau *et al.*, 2016) includes contradictory perceptions of choice, coercion and exploitation. This chapter explores these themes in relation to teachers.

In this chapter I first explore the forms teacher sexual violence against girls took in the two study schools; how it was perceived; its gendered and institutional significance and how girls’ negotiated femininities around it. I then explore boys’ experiences and the implications for their masculinities in

schools, and finally examine how responses to this form of abuse shed further light on its positioning within schools' institutional structures. Throughout I point to interconnections with peer and teacher discipline violence. I posit in this chapter that its concealed nature may actually reveal it to be, and add further weight to its significance as, a silent underpinning to other forms of violence and its location right at the heart of the schools' bodily-institutional regimes in ways that resonated across school life.

Unlike other forms of violence explored so far, no pupils directly disclosed their experiences of sexual violence from school staff in the research. The data for this chapter therefore comes from the in-depth testimony of two teachers in one school, and triangulation with other second-hand accounts from pupils and my own observations across both schools. While this makes analysis less straightforward than with other forms of violence discussed here, the indirect nature of disclosures of teacher sexual violence reveal much about its positioning in the school, and this, and the ways in which it was alluded to and revealed, have contributed much to the findings of this chapter.

Teacher sexual violence of girls: Gendered and institutional authority

Gender norms, structural gender inequality and male teacher sexual violence

Teacher sexual violence emerged in both schools in two salient and interconnected forms, and in ways that mirrored norms of sexual relationship and gender violence that took place between peers and in the community. There I examine these forms and their gendered significance.

Teacher-pupil transactional sexual relationships

One form of sexual violence was the practice of teachers engaging in transactional sexual relationships with particular, usually older girls in the school. This tended to involve one to two male teachers in each school and each with around three girls, and involved a perception of these girls being openly favoured. As Prossy, a female pupil, explains:

Shakira: So do these things happen to many girls here?

Prossy: No, it happens to few girls, like three girls

[...]

Shakira: What do they do to show that they like these girls?

Prossy: Sometimes the teacher might tell everyone to go out during break time and then he tells that girl to stay behind. Or sometimes when we are going home, that teacher might tell the girl to stay behind

Ellen: How many teachers are doing this?

Shakira: How many teachers are having relationships with girls?

Prossy: They are about three teachers

Prossy, 13 years, Myufu School, 27th July

These sexual teacher-pupil relationships tended to mirror forms of transactional sex that were common in the community:

Ellen: Is there any other kind of mistreatment do you think that children at the school face, in school, like from the teachers?

Ruth: Yes we have... some male teachers who use gifts, money and some other things to persuade the girls to become their girlfriends...

[...]

Ellen: And can I ask you, what kinds of things does the teacher ask in return for this money?

Like... when you say to be his girlfriend, what kinds of things does this involve?

Ruth: Of course he goes beyond that. He asks for sex... mmm. And he's not going to marry off this girl, because he has a wife at home

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

As with male peers and community members, transactional sexual relationships between teachers and pupils resonated with and reinforced gender sexual norms of masculine financial provision and sexual dominance, and of girls' reliance on men and boys for resources. In Ruth's description, the male teacher is the active, dominant partner in the exchange, as it is he who '[persuades]' the girl to be his girlfriend, 'asks for sex', and who will choose not to marry her. These gender norms of financial provision were especially significant under the backdrop of poverty, in constructing a dynamic in which female pupils could engage in, and be vulnerable to, male teachers' sexual advances in exchange for resources. Similar trends have been found in other settings, such as Leach (2003) found in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana, and Bhana (2012) in South Africa.

Although these practices were described to be common, they were not viewed in consistent ways. In Teacher Ruth's extract above she positions sexual relationships with teachers in response to my question about 'mistreatment'. Her feelings about this were evident in the feelings of sadness she expressed:

Ellen: I really appreciate.. I know it is not easy

Ruth: By the way, I feel concerned. Because sometimes I feel... had she been my sister... [Ellen:

Mmm] I feel that one can be someone important to the country and the community... if at all she drops out because of pregnancy or because of something...

Ellen: Yeah...

Ruth: Mmm

Ellen: And I think it is very difficult when you care about these students, and you are concerned for their wellbeing, and you are seeing this and you don't know what to do. That is a very difficult position

Ruth: Mmm... I don't know... very difficult. I don't know what to do... I don't know how I can help... [...] Mmm. I feel sad, but sometimes I have nothing to do. Have nothing...

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

Here Ruth constructs a notion of teacher-pupil transactional sex as a form of violence, to which I also contribute in my questioning. Her positioning of these girls in need of protection, with 'had she been my sister' / 'very difficult [...] I feel sad', further extend her framing this practice as a form of 'mistreatment'.

For others, however, this practice was seen as a form of transactional sex into which girls entered freely and from which they stood to benefit:

Victor: Ok, these pupils as you know they talk. They talk to those fellow pupils. For them when they look at this, they look at as if it is a miracle

Ellen: A miracle?

Victor: Mmm

Ellen: In what way?

Victor: For them as you know, as long as... ok, where they come from, at their places, some... most of them they are badly off. You understand. Now when they see that they are badly off, and it does not usually happen to see certain... ok teachers who are loving what? schoolgirls. For them, sometimes they think that when they love teachers, they can even get what they need

Victor, male teacher, 9th August

In Victor's description here of girls' viewing transactional sex with teachers as a 'miracle' / 'they can get what they need' and the sense of showing off with 'they talk to those fellow pupils', he frames teacher-pupil relationships as agentic, transactional sexual relations. More broadly, I noticed the striking lack of association between my presence in the school and teacher sexual violence, as male

teachers did not appear to feel that my presence threatened their engagements in sexual violence however there was a clear association of my presence with corporal punishment. It thus appeared that teacher-pupil sexual relationships were not consistently perceived as violence.

Sexual relationships between pupils and teachers could be therefore be perceived as sexualised behaviour that was judged by peers and gossiped about (as in Chapter 7); as desired transactional sex that offered girls badly needed resources and as something to flaunt for higher status (as described by Victor); something to hide and portrayed at odds with a good student identity (as in Chapter 7); or a form of violence that put girls at great physical, sexualised risk (as described by Ruth). These contrasting perceptions of teacher-pupil sexual relationships were further confounded by the layers of secrecy within which they were shrouded, as I return to below.

The violence of teacher sexual harassment around the school site

A second, interconnected form of teacher sexual violence was that of verbal and physical sexual harassment around the school site. I use the term ‘harassment’ here with some trepidation and not to position it as a ‘lesser’ form of violence (Leach, 2015, p. 33), but to represent the repetitive and routinised nature of sexualised touching and words. This was more widespread than sexual relationships, as certain male teachers engaged in this lower-level, more everyday sexual violence with female pupils generally. These two forms appeared to be mostly conducted by the same male teachers, however. Pupils below describe Teacher Matthias using sexually explicit language with female pupils:

Shakira: How do students feel in his class? Or how do you feel in his lessons?

Prossy: Sometimes he uses vulgar words in class for both girls and boys

Shakira: So does he make one student stand up and then he uses the vulgar words directed to this student? Tell me how does he do it?

Prossy: For example one time I was sitting with my friends under the tree and we were reading our books and then he came and said that “abawala tulina emiguwa” [*slang meaning that the girl’s clitoris is long*]

Shakira: So with those vulgar words, does he use them when he is punishing or even when he is just chatting with children?

Prossy: Even when he is chatting, he uses them. Most times he uses vulgar words in his talking

Shakira: How about the boys, what kind of words does he use when he is chatting or punishing them?

Prossy: He rarely interacts with the boys. He mostly likes to chat with the girls

These descriptions resonated with my own observations of Teacher Matthias joining groups of girls at breaktimes to speak with them, removed from other teachers and pupils. Through his use of sexualised language, he both sexualises girls' bodies and locates them in the public, everyday sphere of the school and breaktime conversations.

Such sexual harassment from teachers also related closely with sexual violence by male peers, and clear parallels can be seen between these interactions and those described in relation to peers in Chapter 7. This could be furthered through male teachers' trivialising, or minimising of sexual violence from peers:

Shakira: Why do the male teachers laugh at the girls when they tell them that the boys are making bad touches?

Clare: Some male teachers also laugh as the boys are doing these bad touches

Hope: Some of the boys who do these touches are friends with the male teachers so they cannot do anything

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 27th July

Male teachers that 'laugh' at girls when they are being sexually abused, or these male pupils being 'friends' with teachers, can be seen as ways in which gender boundaries were constructed and reinforced along the lines of sexual violence, and how failure to take these seriously could condone peer sexual violence. Such findings also emerge in other Ugandan (Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Muhanguzi, 2011) and sub-Saharan African settings (Dunne, 2007). This trivialisation thus reinforces the structural gender inequality underpinning sexual violence through first disregarding and therefore implicitly condoning the behaviour, and secondly through diminishing girls' agency and legitimacy in taking action on it while reinforcing a sense of impunity for boys. This points to key mirroring of both male teacher and pupil sexual violence, as Leach (2003) also found in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana that male teachers could be role models for boys in their sexual harassment of girls.

The 'institutional extra': Gendered, institutional significance of teacher sexual violence

In addition to the ways in which teacher sexual violence in these forms related to gender norms and other transactional sex in this context, its location within the school setting and institutionally sanctioned hierarchies of teacher-pupil relationships added a further significance to this violence. In

Chapter 3 I explored how, with some exceptions (Heslop *et al.*, 2015; Leach, 2003), the literature has tended to position teacher sexual violence primarily within community gender sexual narratives, or alongside violence from male peers, and has left the question of institutional authority comparatively underexplored. Here, I examine the ways in which institutional structures and practices such as discipline were central to male teachers' engagements in sexual violence, and the significance of the additional power dynamics of teacher over pupil, in addition to that of adult over child, and male over female, that this entailed.

Sexual harassment had particular significance in its institutional setting of the classroom, as it could merge with discipline violence:

Ellen: And can you ask, are there any wrong things that teachers do that he would like to say now? [Remind about consent – ie. confidential unless for safety]

Shakira asks, James talks

Shakira: Sometimes a girl might say something in class, and as a response the teacher will come and pretend as if he is trying to discipline the girl, but in the form of touching the girl. So the teacher will start touching the girl here and there, here and there, as if pretending to be punishing the girl in the form of pulling the hand... basically doing those touches in class

Ellen: Are these bad touches, or...

Shakira: I think they are bad touches [...] He says yeah it's something that is not good, like the touches that are not good

James, male student, 15 years, Kiragala School, 9th August

Here in the act of 'bad touches' as a form of physical discipline that also functions as sexual violence, the institutionally sanctioned teacher-pupil hierarchy merges with gender sexual norms of male dominance. As the teacher enacts his institutional authority to physically punish pupils in the classroom, subordinated pupil subjects are constituted. As he enacts his male sexual authority by displaying and legitimising his sexual access to girl's bodies, he simultaneously sexualises, and creates sexually subordinate female subjects. These two forms of domination and subordination intersect and mutually reinforce through this act of violence.

I observed this teacher engaging in sexualised touching of female pupils myself:

[Paul] came into Teacher Jamila's class and pretended to slap, then stroked the face of a P4 girl sitting by the door. He also lunged in to make a silly face at the girl sitting next to her. Both looked a bit embarrassed and smiled shyly but awkwardly. Then he seemed to be pretending to draw on the inside of her arm with a pen, and asking them paternally what they were studying. It struck me that there was

huge authority in his manner – he comes into the classroom in a very paternal way and is so confident joking in this way with the children. Around the compound later Paul did the same jokey pretend hitting thing, to a slightly older girl by pretending to hit her own the bottom (this he definitely didn't know I could see, but the others he did). This jokey pretend violence interaction is quite aggressive, because I know he does use [physical] violence (from what the boys said last week) and it is highly unpredictable. So it must really put the students on edge. Interestingly he only seems to do it with girls, and it seems to be girls that respond least well to this unpredictable, jokey manner.

Observational fieldnotes, 11th July

Here, the authority with which this teacher treats girls' bodies in this extract, as he 'stroked' / 'lunged' / '[drew]' on, and hit a girl on her bottom, shows him acting with, and asserting his authority to engage in a range of authoritative bodily actions. This is heightened by his institutional legitimacy as he is able enter classrooms at will, ask girls what they are studying, and move around the compound touching girls' bodies with authority. In the merging of physical violence and sexualised touching here, with 'pretend hitting', and '[pretending] to slap', Paul can be seen to act out of, and reinforce, his authority over pupils' bodies in a range of ways, both as dominant sexual partner or sexual predator, and in the institutionally sanctioned teacher authority. The threat of aggressive physical punishment here underpins the threat of sexual violence, as, as shown in the extract, this was a teacher who was widely described to use extensive corporal punishment. Interestingly, those male teachers who engaged in sexual violence were also those who tended to use physical punishment differently for boys and girls, underpinned by the traditional norms of structural gender inequality, as described in Chapter 8. In these ways, male teachers' institutional authority over pupils' bodies, and sexual and gendered authority over girls' bodies, could closely interrelate.

The authority inherent to teachers' institutional positionings were also significant in teacher-pupil sexual relationships. In the extract below, Rose describes how a teacher humiliated a female pupil in the classroom that he was widely reported to be in a sexual relationship with:

Shakira: Does Mr. Paul do other things that might embarrass girls in class?

Rose: Sometimes when we are in P.7 class, Teacher Paul can receive a phone call and he says "hello dear" and the children will laugh because he has said "dear". He can also say "Stella is my friend" and then tells Stella to get outside because she is his friend. So Stella went behind the class and he gave her money. We saw them but pretended as if we had not seen them. Stella got ashamed and Mr. Paul said "ohh... am sorry" and then the other students laughed

Shakira: Ok, so when he picked his phone call and said "hello dear", who was he speaking to?

Rose: We don't know, but after the call, he explained to us that when someone says 'dear', it doesn't mean that he is in love with that person. So he said that "let me call another person, dear Stella, I love

you so much”. So the boys laughed and Stella got ashamed and ran outside and went behind the class and then the teacher went and found her there

Rose, 13 years, Kiragala School, 9th August

In this incident, Paul singles out and shames Stella in a sexualised way. There is a highly performative and public element to the sexually suggestive language of ‘Stella is my friend’ / ‘Stella I love you so much’, as well as a show of institutional authority and power over Stella in the classroom space, by telling her to leave the classroom, and exchanging money in front of the other pupils with its connotations of transactional sexual exchange. Sexual harassment, or ‘shaming’, as I explored in the last chapter, tended to involve a male teacher publicly engaging in sexualised interaction with female pupils in a way that spoke of his control and authority. Here, in the dynamic of a suggested sexual relationship between Paul and Stella, there are more sinister undertones of public shame and authoritative sexual intent. Through drawing on their reported sexual interaction to sexually humiliate Stella in front of the class, Paul asserts both his institutional authority as her teacher, his gendered, sexualised authority over her in this context of male dominance, and his authority in line with transactional gendered relationship norms. That he adds this third element referring to his relationship with Stella, both heightens and strengthens his power in the other two, and also extends the public shame and humiliation he enacts on her.

Male teachers engaging in sexual violence could also wield interconnected forms of institutional, age and gendered power to punish girls in school for rejecting their sexual advances, as described here by a male pupil:

Shakira: Last week during our discussion, you mentioned that some male teachers disturb girls at school. Can you please tell me more about this?

Isaac: There is a teacher called teacher Matthias and my friend has a friend who was being disturbed by this teacher. The teacher would send particularly this girl for everything. For example he would send the girl to bring for him porridge, chalk, wash his cup and many other things. As a result the girl failed to concentrate in class and she ended up repeating P.6

[...]

Shakira: How about things related to the other word you said in the discussion “kyusa entabula” (literally meaning that a girl had sexual intercourse and can’t walk properly). Why do you think that male teachers use those words on girls?

Isaac: I think that may be when teachers want to start love relationships with the girls and the girls refuse, then teachers get annoyed and they start telling such annoying and intimidating words

Shakira: Is there a particular teacher who does these things or all male teachers do these things?

Isaac: There is a teacher who is well known for sending particular girls to help him with certain things like bringing porridge

Shakira: How about teachers who use those annoying words to the girls, which teachers are these?

Isaac: Those things mostly happen in P.5 not our class

Isaac, 15 years, Myufu School, 20th July

In Isaac's description, Teacher Matthias' harassment of this female pupil through asking her to engage in behaviours that mirror gendered domestic duties, such as washing his cup and bringing his porridge, are read as by Isaac as an institutional repercussion for rejecting Matthias' sexual advances. Teachers asking girls to perform tasks that mirror gendered labour in the home has been found in other settings (Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014), and can be seen as a way in which power imbalances of gender in the home and the institutional teacher-pupil relationship are both reinforced. The fact that this is portrayed here to be a form of punishment for failure to engage in a sexual relationship, or in Isaac's words, girls' refusal to 'start love relationships', suggests a merging, and mutual reinforcement of these forms of dominance. This is further enacted through harassment with teachers described to use 'annoying and intimidating words' against those girls that refused them. Sexual consent was therefore bound with the institutional imbalances of power of the school as failure to acquiesce to their teachers' sexual demands could lead to repercussions for these girls in the classroom.

Similar findings have emerged in other settings of teacher sexual violence. Also in Uganda, Jones (2011) found that girls could have sexual relationships with teachers out of fear as well, as well as for transactional sex. The interconnection of corporal punishment and sexual violence also emerges elsewhere, as Leach (2003) found in schools in Zimbabwe, Malawi and Ghana that the institutional authority of teachers underpinned both sexual violence and corporal punishment. In Mozambique, a group of girls in Parkes and Heslop's study (2011) described how a teacher used the threat of sex as a form of punishment. Gender, institutional, age-related and sexual relationship hierarchies could thus all intersect, and mutually reinforce, in male teacher sexual violence against girls. Building on these findings, I thus found here that teacher sexual violence was fundamentally institutionalised through schools' bodily-institutional regimes in the mutually reinforcing layers of adult/teacher/male authority over child/pupil/female bodies.

Femininities around teacher sexual violence

For girls constructing their identities in relation to teacher sexual violence, its significance could be contrasting and at times contradictory. For some girls I noticed that sexual preference by senior male teachers could afford them a form of status and confidence around school, and this at times, merged with the good student identity of being a prefect and academically successful. This contradicted the discursive binary opposition between sexualised femininities and a good student identity, as described in Chapter 7.

In one school, I observed a group of female pupils who were older and more academically confident than other pupils, who took part in leadership roles around the school and wore t-shirts associating themselves with the Strong Girls intervention. Some of my earliest observations expressed surprise at the confidence and authority with which these girls acted in one classroom:

The majority here are older girls who seem to be very strong academically, so perhaps this is why. The boys seem to sit together at the back right hand corner and are very quiet in this class. Perhaps the girls are intimidating to them? Some of these girls are also involved in the students' court, so they seem to be the ones taking the lead in the school in many ways – very academically strong, very confident.

Observational fieldnotes, 4th April

Over time I became aware that this group of girls was also closely affiliated with the senior male teachers engaged in sexual relationships with pupils, with some named by others as engaged in these relationships. Some girls' identities around teacher sexual violence therefore entailed performances of a confident, empowered femininity whose assurance of their positioning in the school coincided with teacher sexual preference for girls and, with some, their personal sexual relationships with teachers. Interestingly, these same girls tended to be those that openly rejected sexualised identities and stated their preference to prioritise studying (e.g. Stella in Chapter 7). While underpinned by sexuality, these confident student femininities were not overtly connected with displays of it, therefore, and in fact, on the surface, rejected it.

Girls in these positionings related to teacher femininities too. In this school, Jamila, a female teacher was also believed by other staff members to be engaged in a sexual relationship with this same senior teacher, reinforced by the fact that he brought her to school on his motorbike with its connotations of sexual exchange and their engagement in flirtatious behaviours in school. Stella described the following, which I interpreted as pertaining to Teacher Jamila:

Shakira: Do teachers ever do things that annoy you? It can be female teachers or male teachers

Stella: There is a female teacher, I will not mention her name but this teacher doesn't like me because of me talking to one of our teachers. You know when you are clever in class and always passing the class assignments, the teachers will be pleased with you and each time they will be asking you to help out with explaining to other students and generally teacher will be your friend because of the good performance and this is exactly what happens. So when this female teacher realised that many teachers like me because of my performance including Mr Paul, that teacher called one of my friends, 'I want you to spy on Stella to see what kind of relationship she has with that teacher.' So my friend told me about it and I was very surprised. Even when that female teacher comes to teach us, she looks at me badly, sometimes I greet her on compound and she doesn't respond. So I don't know exactly what she thinks [...] I greet her every morning because, I know that I am not in the wrong so there is no reason why she should hate me

Stella, female pupil, Kiragala School, 9th August

Here the merging of high-status, academically successful femininities and connotations of sexual preference can be seen. The discomfiting suggestions here of this teacher 'spying' on Stella, shows indications of how femininities were negotiated relationally and were in competition around male sexual dominance. In Stella's description of Jamila's actions, the institutional teacher/pupil boundary emerges as less significant than suggestions of their sexualised competition.

Some girls, on the other hand, embodied subordinated, submissive and fearful femininities that operated within matrices of fear, coercion and powerlessness in response to male teacher sexual violence. I observed that these pertained to those girls who feared teachers' widespread, everyday sexual violence, as well as those who were either involved in, or who had rejected, sexual relationships with teachers. I noted the following in a group discussion with girls:

During the session two girls were particularly confident and carried the discussion, but the others were very quiet. It has seemed that in the boys' discussions, there are usually two boys that are very quiet, but never as many as this. So it was striking that four of the girls hardly said anything [...] There was a girl in the group (Edith) who Prossy said was one of the girls having trouble with Teacher Matthias. This girl Edith was extremely quiet, looked uncomfortable and seemed very low on confidence

Observational fieldnotes, 27th July

In this extract I display some surprise at the level of reserve and quietness with which girls partook in the discussion, which I later interpreted as being fearful on being questioned about teacher sexual violence. Edith's comportment was mirrored across girls who constructed these forms of submissive

and fearful femininities, and who tended to be very quiet, low on confidence and appeared to physically shrink in the classroom of sexually violent male teachers.

In different ways again, some girls who were sexually associated with male teachers negotiated this by quietly contravening the norms of a good student identity. These girls tended to be quieter in the classroom and did not engage in performances of confidence and academic achievement, yet also did not act in shy or demure ways. While not overtly sexualised, perhaps as openly sexual displays were irreconcilable with student identities, these femininities did involve testing the boundaries of a good student identity and moving with some sexual assurance round the school site. These could be seen in the actions of one pupil who was widely reported to be in a sexual relationship with a teacher and who, I observed while teaching a P7 class, was often absent, would quietly refuse to complete her work, and often talked or giggled while I was teaching. These behaviours could be seen among a number of other female pupils named to be sexually involved with teachers, who also either refused to participate in research, or who responded in unusually and strikingly restrained ways in their interview.

These opposing femininities were not divided in straightforward ways between these schools, different classrooms or even between individuals. I observed how in the classrooms where more confident girls dominated, some girls also appeared fearful and quiet, reminding of Dunne' findings in Botswana and Ghana (2007) that within the same classroom some girls 'visibly shrunk with head and eyes down', and others 'glowed' from male teachers' attention. These contrasts could also take place within individuals, as I observed how one of these apparently confident girls froze and appeared scared when Paul placed his hand on her back in the classroom, or the humiliation and shame experienced by Stella, the highest status girl in the school, described above. Girls embodying fearful and submissive femininities could also enact their agency and resist notions of compliance by rejecting teachers' sexual advances even as they faced coercion and repercussions, or by refusing to take part in research with us.

Teacher violence against boys amidst sexual violence of girls: Hierarchies of institutional masculinity

Sexualised preference for girls and violence against boys

Boys too were affected by teacher sexual violence of girls and positioned in gendered and institutional power hierarchies in relation to it. While in Myufu School I observed that this positioning of boys was

less overt, took place in only certain classrooms, and could most notably be seen in the dismissal of boys' problems in a context of over-emphasis on girls (also explored with teachers in Chapter 7), in Kiragala School forms of violence against boys in the presence of two senior teachers' sexual preference for girls were deeply troubling, significant and pervaded the classroom and school-wide environment.

Boys in this school described how they felt they received harsher punishment and were mistreated in the context of preference for girls. In light of other data, I understood 'they' to mean Teacher Paul and another senior teacher that was also widely implicated in sexual violence. They contrasted the feelings described below with their only other class teacher, John, who was not implicated in sexual violence and they felt treated them fairly.

Who has more power in your school, girls or boys? Why?

Girls have more power in our school because the male teacher we think that they love them. If the case must be for the girl [is about the girl], teacher says you're going to get a punishment

Ellen: And how do your teachers speak to you the rest of the time, are they ever mistreating you?

Or other than this problem they are somehow ok...?

James talks, Shakira translates

Shakira: Ok, that when teachers are speaking to the boys, often times they basically use a language that is a little intimidating amongst them, amongst the boys, and that makes them feel bad, because they feel like they are doing it intentionally because of the presence of the girls

Ellen: They like to show off to the girls?

Shakira: I think like trying to put the boys low in the presence of the girls

James, 15 years, Kiragala School, 9th August

Writing club piece and discussion

Here James describes how the teacher uses more punishment, verbally abuses male pupils and seeks to 'put the boys low in the presence of the girls'. This intertwined with perceived sexual preference for girls, as can be seen in James' written statement, that 'girls have more power' because boys think the male teachers 'love them'. In other sub-Saharan African settings too, in an undercurrent of sexualised interaction between teachers and pupils, boys have been found to perceive a preference for female pupils for male teachers seeking sexual favours (Dunne, 2007). Triangulating this with observations, I noted that in Teacher Paul's classrooms the boys were often quiet and participated little, while certain favoured girls were seated at the front of the classroom and participated often.

A number of unsettling or disturbing situations outside of the classroom too suggested that harsh treatment of boys was significant around the school. In the incidence described below, Paul and another senior male teacher emotionally abuse James, while Teacher John seeks to support him. John had earlier expressed his concern for James as he was struggling to attend school and afford resources due to poverty, while senior teachers had threatened him with suspension from school for poor attendance:

John: Now when the boy came for the second time, to plead, that ‘now... you see I didn’t come for that whole time because there is nobody helping me with the school fees, nobody helping to buy books, so I first looked for the money in the village, I went to work’ [...]

Ellen: So he had to pay for everything himself

John: Everything, that’s what he told me, the boy. That everything is on him. I think he is being tortured psychologically... I think in this home, psychologically, or emotionally [...]

And now we try to talk with the [senior teacher] [*makes sign of dismissal*]

John, male teacher, 7th July

In John’s concern for James, and in the senior teacher’s dismissal of James’ problems, I observed a situation in which James was struggling to source resources to attend school, and the senior teachers dismissed these struggles. This dismissal of James resonated both with an over-attentiveness to girls, as well as with gender norms that viewed girls as more vulnerable and in need of support, and boys as being more independent and competent.

Separately, James also described to me how after taking part in the research he had been verbally abused by these two senior teachers, being told that a girl should have received the ‘support’ instead of him²². In this instance I read the senior teachers’ treatment of James as punishment for his transgression of gender norms that require men and boys to be tough and to not ask for help, and to be financially responsible for themselves, as well as acting out of a context in which girls were sexually favoured. The harassment James received from these two male teachers can be seen to reinforce both masculine norms, as well as the teachers’ authority over him as a pupil. In Teacher John’s concern for James, and his attempt to help him by raising it with the senior teacher, divisions can be seen among the staff on how pupils’ gendered challenges were viewed and responded to. My observations suggested that those male teachers more likely to be involved in sexual violence against girls, were

²² Despite clarifying that it was not, some pupils and teachers continued to associate the research with financial support

those who punished male pupils for transgressing traditional gender norms, and who espoused traditional beliefs around gender for girls too (as explored in Chapters 7 and 8). This suggests a rootedness of engagement in sexual violence against girls with traditional gender norms for both boys and girls.

Pupil masculinities around teacher sexual violence

As with girls, boys' identities around male teacher sexual violence could be both contrasting and nuanced. Boys experiencing neglect or abuse in the presence of teacher sexual violence against girls tended to operate in subordinated masculinities in which they expressed, and physically manifested in their posture and manner, feelings of hopelessness and despondency. Following a discussion where Edward, a male pupil, had also described experiencing abuse from Teacher Paul, he expressed the following:

Ellen: So Edward, now let me ask you who do you talk to when you have these problems? Do you tell anyone that you are feeling sad?

Edward: No. I don't talk to anyone

Ellen: You don't talk to anyone... mmhm. Why is this?

Edward: *[Pause]*

Ellen: Would you like to talk to someone? Or you don't want...

Edward: *[Gentle scoff]* I would like but I don't trust anyone

Ellen: Mmm. So you would like to talk to someone, but actually you don't trust...

Edward: *[Nods]*

[...]

Ellen: Ok, and what about your friends in school, do you have friends in school that you like to have a good time with? That you trust?

Edward: Even if I tell them, no one can... *[trails off]*

Edward, 14 years, Kiragala School, 8th August

Here Edward's manner of talking, his statements such as 'I don't talk to anyone' / 'I don't trust anyone' / 'even if I tell them, no one can...' and his physical composure and posture that I observed, spoke of hopelessness and powerlessness in the face of neglect and abuse at home and a sense that no one could support him.

James in this class also expressed similar feelings of hopelessness that came primarily from his experiences of neglect and labour, and appeared heightened in the context of being overlooked, or experiencing violence, from his male teachers:

What are the things that make you sad?

[...] Secondly I work on my own get some needs and my mother started giving others that make sad. I do some simple jobs get money last year am the one to pay school fees. I like to go to some country to work in future. Some people they don't love me I don't know why [...]

What problems do boys have?

Boys like me I don't have my father he died since 2012. I have only mother that my mother she don't give enough needs that I sit down and I asked on my own, who am I. One day I have got attempted in my heart to drank the poison. That day I have got very sad.

James, 15 years, Kiragala School, Writing club piece

In this extract the social norms that position boys as being financially independent, competent and 'being ok', can be seen here to intersect with the lack of support that James received in school, as described above, and experiences of emotional abuse he had from his teachers, leading James to feel overlooked and unable to cope. Both Edward and James were therefore located within intertwining forms of constraint, as they were at once situated within social norms requiring competency and strength for boys that prevent their seeking help, and harsh treatment of boys by their teachers amid sexual preference for girls.

This second aspect was in contrast to boys in Myufu School who, while experiencing the first form of constraint, did not experience the additional form of teacher violence in the same way. In this school, positionings of power and subordination worked very differently in contexts of teacher sexual violence. In those classrooms in which teacher sexual violence operated and were characterised by a dominant teacher masculinity, pupil femininities shaped by fear and coercion, and pupil masculinities of aggression and sexual dominance, were more likely to emerge. Boys in these classrooms could be boisterous and dominant, and keen to establish and perform hegemonic masculine norms.

As with femininities, however, boys' masculinities were not fixed. The subordinated boys in Paul's classroom who espoused feelings of powerlessness, could also engage in sexual harassment against girls around the school site or could be verbally or physically aggressive in relation to younger boys and engage in theft, in ways that reinforced their masculinity (as described in Chapter 7). In Myufu

school, the most confident and dominant boys who performed aggressive masculinities around the school site, could also express deep sadness, vulnerability and feelings of hopelessness in interviews with us. This was most notable with Isaac, who was among the oldest and highest status boys in the school. I observed Isaac engaging in boisterous behaviours in the classroom and around the school site, and in a group discussion with other boys he stated that ‘I don’t tell anyone my problems’, yet in his interview with Shakira and I shared his personal problems and emotions in an unusual level of detail, with very little prompting from us, and asked to speak to a counsellor to support him. He also described himself as a ‘total orphan’, thus emphasising his status as child rather than an adolescent or adult masculine identity²³. The masculinities that emerged around teacher sexual violence against girls were therefore not fixed, but emerged in different ways according to the setting and others present.

The silence of teacher sexual violence: Responding to teacher sexual violence within school’s bodily-institutional regimes

Denial, evasion, collusion

The ways in which teachers and pupils acted around the disclosure of teacher sexual violence offered much insight into its positioning within layers of taboo and concealment. As noted above, no direct disclosures were made by girls in sexual relationships with teachers, with all descriptions coming from peers or teachers. Disclosures made by pupils were often piecemeal or contradictory. At times this took the form of denying teacher sexual violence in group discussions, while then describing it in individual interviews. Isaac, the male pupil who, shown above, described teacher sexual violence in both the forms of widespread harassment and sexual relationships, in a group interview contradicted this:

Shakira: Why do students drop out of school?

[...]

Isaac: Some teachers force girls to have relationships with them and when the girls refuse, they are forced out of school

Ellen: Is that common in schools?

All: Yes

Shakira: Are these things also common here?

Isaac: We don’t have such teachers here. Those kinds of things are common in secondary schools

Older boys group discussion, Myufu School, 13th July

²³ The full interview with Isaac is included in appendices

Girls, too, could come close to disclosing sexual violence and then distance themselves and the school from it. Rose who described the scene above in which Teacher Paul harassed Stella in the classroom, and who reflected at length on the relationship between Paul and Stella in her interview, also denied that their relationship was of a sexual nature:

Shakira: Ok, so in some other schools, we have been told that teachers give children money with the aim of having love relationships with them and also these teachers do things that show that they favour some girls than others or make bad touches. Do these things happen here?

Rose: Those things are not here. I think why Teacher Paul gave Stella money, she had a problem

Rose, 13 years, Kiragala School, 9th August

Rose's flat out statement that 'those things are not here' contrasted significantly with the reflective way in which she described her observations of Paul and Stella's relationship, the details that teachers had given of their knowledge of their relationship and the gossip around this relationship that I knew to take place among pupils.

As well as denials, girls also shrouded teacher sexual violence in silence through avoidance. Girls avoided topics they didn't wish to discuss by either staying silent in group discussions, avoiding answering questions, or avoiding the research itself. In Kiragala School, Harriet, a female pupil who was widely reported to be in a sexual relationship with Paul, was the only girl in the class to refuse to join the writing club research. In Myufu School, Prossy, a female pupil who discussed Teacher Matthias' sexual relationships with pupils, also explained how the girls involved did not want to speak to us, and how Edith even missed school to avoid us. In my observations of Edith's behaviour above, and of others embodying similar feminine positions to her, I interpreted an undercurrent of coercion and fear that may have prevented her from coming forward.

Girls' silences around teacher sexual violence are found across the literature and can be understood in a range of ways. In a study in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique girls rarely named teachers as perpetrators of sexual abuse, particularly of a transactional nature, which the authors suggest may be due to perceptions of violence (Parkes and Heslop, 2011). Leach (2015) notes similar problems around defining violence, and also the power dynamics of research which may prevent girls from disclosing sexual violence. Further, the responsibility afforded to girls for resisting sex may also feed into a reluctance to come forward to disclose it (Leach, 2003). Gender and sexual norms that may not position transactional sex with teachers as a form of violence, and fear within institutional power dynamics may all have merged here to contribute to girls' silence around teacher sexual violence.

Teachers were similarly silent around teacher sexual violence. I found this particularly striking among female teachers, who in both schools tended to be engaged in both efforts at child protection and in promoting a girls' rights discourse. Victor described how teacher-pupil sexual relationships were widely known amongst staff:

Victor: That one is also, even the madams know. That master loves²⁴ that girl.

[...]

Ellen: All of the teachers, they know that this situation is happening?

Victor: They know. They know. The situation. What it is

Victor, male teacher, 1st August

Victor's assertion that all teachers were aware, and his statement that 'even the madams know', also references how female teachers were associated with taking care of female pupils. This association with female teachers also implies a responsibility with female teachers to prevent sexual violence of girls, in keeping with gender norms around female responsibility for sexual protection and response.

I found it highly striking that in both schools, the Senior Woman teachers, tasked with girls' welfare, both showed restraint or avoidance of talking about teacher sexual violence. In Kiragala School Teacher Brenda was the only teacher to refuse an interview in spite of our close and positive relationship. In light of disclosures made by other staff, I later learned that particularly Teacher Brenda was highly involved in addressing teacher sexual violence in covert ways within the school, as I explore below. In Myufu School, having observed Teacher Esther's confidence in communication, proactiveness in preventing incidences of violence and her close knowledge of pupils' wellbeing, in my fieldnotes I noted surprise at the restraint she showed in her interview.

A further striking area of silence pertained to the possibility of boys' experiencing sexual violence. Evidence conducted in sub-Saharan Africa (Parkes and Heslop, 2011; Sumner *et al.*, 2016; Ward *et al.*, 2018) and in Uganda (Naker, 2005) suggests that boys' experiences of sexual violence are significant. The silence that shrouded sexual violence against boys in this study was almost total, however, with only one teacher referencing its possibility (Ruth in Chapter 7). This suggests that while girls' experiences of teacher sexual violence were sensitive and taboo, boys' experiences, in this context of both the total denial of homosexuality and norms that position females as sexually subordinate to males, were discursively located as impossible.

²⁴ In this context, the word 'love' used in this way denoted sexual relations

Hegemonic masculinity and gendered subordination among school staff

The forms of silencing that took place around teacher sexual violence were highly gendered among staff and deeply rooted in gender norms and hierarchies within the schools. Ruth explained how in Kiragala School, where authority lay with male teachers, and where these male teachers had made sexual advances to female teachers too, it was difficult to challenge teachers on their engagement in sexual violence against pupils. Here she describes sexual violence against girls as being ‘urgent’ and her concerns about how it could be handled amongst staff:

Ruth: Yeah, it’s so urgent. Because the Senior Woman has... the Senior Woman went as far as informing the Headteacher. But I don’t know whether the Headteacher has also intervened. Because for us we could not handle him. Being a male, we could not...

Ellen: You mean because he is a man it is difficult to challenge him? Or, when you say being a male... what do you mean?

Ruth: Ok, we didn’t want... the relationship in the school to be... disorganised. That’s why we had to tell the boss to talk to his... *[trails off]*

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

Here Ruth’s constrained positioning and lack of agency can be seen, and the assumed significance of ‘being a male’ and the trailing off, both suggest the presence of a norm that she believes is self-evident in gendered power dynamics. In her statement that ‘we didn’t want... the relationship in the school to be... disorganised’, points to the structuring of the staff hierarchies in ways that prevents junior female staff from challenging senior male staff members. While teachers widely described how there were codes of conduct for teachers’ conduct in schools, and these were designed to prevent and take action on teacher sexual violence, in practice, as described here and in relation to broader inefficacies of policy enactment as identified in Chapter 1, staff gendered power dynamics could render this difficult or impossible to do.

Literature into sexual violence in schools across sub-Saharan Africa finds similar silences from teachers in gendered ways. Studies in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal (Bhana, de Lange and Mitchell, 2009; de Lange, Mitchell and Bhana, 2012), and Ethiopia (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018) found that while male teachers were more forthcoming in discussing gender violence and female teachers were more reluctant, neither male nor female teachers were comfortable openly discussing male teacher sexual violence. Regarding sexual violence in the community in South Africa, Bhana (2015b) found that female teachers acted with a strong ethic of care for female pupils, however the structural violence of gender inequality supporting male violence, and poor policy and legal frameworks for child

protection, constrained their abilities to act. Findings across studies show that teacher sexual violence is rarely officially reported or addressed (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014; Dunne, 2007; Muhanguzi, 2011).

Hierarchies of masculinity could also be constructed around teacher sexual violence and that constrained subordinate teacher masculinities in their efforts to challenge it. A tension emerged between Paul and Victor, a senior and a junior member of staff, that pivoted around Paul's engagement in sexual violence of pupils:

Victor: There is a teacher, I collide with him. The one who is in line with the Headteacher

Ellen: You collide with him? Collide with him how?

Victor: He loves these girls. And I don't like this practice. I think it is not good

[...]

Victor: Those are the queries which disturbs me here, seriously. But as you know, for those people, maybe they think that so long as I dislike that habit, they need to force me to go out, to go out of this school. [...] Because I look at that. They usually use their techniques to torture me. Seriously

Victor, male teacher, 1st August

Here and elsewhere, Victor described how ruptures between male staff and relational teacher masculinities emerged around the issue of teacher sexual violence, seen in his depiction of 'colliding' with Paul. Paul can be seen to use his institutional authority over Victor to enact emotional violence on him for challenging his use of sexual violence, as Victor feels 'they need to force [him] to go out', and 'use their techniques to torture [him]'. Interestingly, while Victor faced repercussions for transgressing the gender and institutional norms of his subordinate masculine teacher identity, it was striking that this same masculinity perhaps afforded him the possibility of challenging at all, while the subordination of institutional femininities constrained Ruth's agency to the point of rendering such a challenge by female teachers impossible.

Covert challenges to teacher sexual violence within school's bodily-institutional regimes

Some teachers and pupils found ways to challenge teacher sexual violence, however. In spite of the presence of institutional protocols and codes of conduct to oversee teachers' professional conduct, no teachers appeared to be addressing sexual violence through these channels, and instead did so in covert ways that related closely to schools' bodily-institutional regimes. Teacher Ruth described how her and the Senior Woman Brenda, attempted to handle teacher sexual violence through observing

girls and teaching them ‘tricks’:

Ruth: At risk... being at risk. Ah... because we talked. The Senior Woman talked to them, and we are still observing their ways. I remember she told me that she told those girls I’m going to... keep spying on you. Mmm. That’s what she told them. And so we are still making observations

[...]

Ruth: But through the... through the Senior Woman, those girls are given tricks

Ellen: Like tricks?

Ruth: Tricks on how to handle such situations. Because it might not happen at school, it might happen... maybe at home. So the Senior Woman, and this girl child... Strong Girls project, it has... the Senior Woman and the Strong Girls project have given these girls all possible skills of overcoming such teachers

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

Here the covert responses to teacher sexual violence in the forms of ‘making observations’ / ‘spying’ / ‘observing their ways’, resonates with observation as a form of child protection that Bhana (2015a) found in a South African township. The act of observing, in Bhana’s study, was found to be essential for taking action on sexual violence, but in this study I also inferred that it could be a way of female teachers not allowing sexual violence to pass unnoticed, and therefore refusing to accept it passively, even if no preventative or responsive action was taken.

Also in this extract, the practice of teaching ‘tricks’ and ‘possible skills of overcoming such teachers’, shows ways in which female teachers could see their role as to support girls in ‘overcoming’ teachers’ sexual violence. These approaches remind of discursive representations of girls’ responsibility for sexual violence and notions of empowerment that promote girls’ resistance and rejection of sexual relationships (Chapter 7). In contrast to the direct approaches taken with other forms of violence, such as Teacher Susan actively seeking to find the best ways to intervene to protect children, as discussed above, teacher sexual violence was approached in indirect ways, and thus afforded different meaning.

Teacher Victor described the following discussion with a female pupil who was sexually approached by a senior male teacher:

Victor: One child is the one who told me that the boss tried to con her

Ellen: And the boss is the [senior teacher]?

Victor: Yeah. ‘And also another teacher is also conning me. And I wondered, the [senior] teacher is conning me. Even a teacher is also conning me.’ Then I... the girl told me that, ‘I came to wonder, the [senior teacher] wants to love me, the same applied to a teacher.’ Then I asked her, ‘what did you

decide to do when they happen towards you, what did you decide to do?’ The girl laughed. And she told me that ‘I dodged them.’ ‘How did you dodge them?’ The girl told me that, ‘I used my technique to deceive them.’ ‘Ah, you know how to deceive those people, yet you are schooling in the same school?’ The girl told me that, ‘yes, so long as we are old enough, we can deceive’. That is what they told me

Victor, male teacher, 9th August

In Victor’s description here, with, ‘what did you decide to do?’ / ‘how did you dodge them’ / ‘“we can deceive”. That is what they told me’, the responsibility is placed on the female pupil to handle this situation, with a lack of responsibility apparent for both the male teacher approaching her, and for Victor, as he locates himself as a bystander to this violence. The statement that ‘so long as we are old enough, we can deceive’, and ‘I used my technique’, points to the ways in which these actions of ‘tricks’, ‘[deceiving]’ and [dodging]’ were contextually recognised and legitimised patterns of behaviour that girls could grow into as they aged. Crucially, these approaches underscored the impunity for male perpetrators of sexual violence and located the responsibility for preventing it with girls themselves.

In such a context of female responsibility for preventing sexual violence, it was striking that while taboos surrounded the disclosure of teacher sexual violence, it did not always surround the act of sexual violence itself:

Ruth: [...] Because there are some who do it silently, and there are some who do it openly. Like that one, he openly does it. But there are some who are silent and yet they do it

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

These findings resonate with other studies in sub-Saharan African school settings, that while female teachers and pupils were reluctant to disclose or discuss it, male teachers could engage in sexual abuse of girls secretly or openly (Leach, 2003). I myself observed with surprise the ease with which male teachers engaged in touching girls’ bodies with sexual authority, or used sexually suggestive language. While this openness in front of me spoke of the discursive separation between sexual violence and other forms of violence, it also revealed these male teachers’ sense of impunity in their actions.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the forms and positioning of teacher sexual violence that emerged in these two schools, and the complex significance this held for pupils' femininities and masculinities. The forms, and silences around teacher sexual violence, as explored here, showed how male teachers' age and institutional authority intersected with gender norms that situated responsibility for sexual violence with girls, and covert approaches that did not openly challenge male teachers could further reinforce this impunity. A situation was thus constructed in which girls and women were both afforded the responsibility of dealing with teacher sexual violence, yet their agency to do so openly and in ways that challenged male teacher authority was constrained. This dynamic can be seen as one of triple constraint, where girls firstly faced the challenge of teacher sexual violence; were then also afforded the responsibility of preventing it and protecting themselves; and thirdly were constrained in doing so in covert ways that did not openly challenge gender and institutional power dynamics. At the same time, the fact that these same teachers and pupils were finding some ways to communicate, or reach out to address teacher sexual violence, even in covert ways, suggested that it was not entirely fixed or accepted, with the possibility for alternative subject positions and identities emerging. As in Bhana's study, silence did not mean passivity, as female teachers engaged in reflection and sought creative ways to support girls (2015b).

In Myufu School, where the headteacher was female, the power sat predominantly with the Headteacher and the Senior Woman, and where there was a culture of female teachers openly challenging and contradicting male teachers and their use of corporal punishment, teacher sexual violence still appeared to persist unchallenged, however. In spite of this apparent openness, male teachers' sexual relationships and harassment of girls seemed to go largely unaddressed and no teacher at this school discussed it with me, in contrast to Ruth and Victor who did in Kiragala School. As only pupils, not teachers, from this school discussed this violence with me, I am limited in the analysis I feel able to make here. One possible interpretation is that in light of Myufu School's emphasis on academic excellence, the teachers in this school may have been overlooking continued instances to avoid stigmatisation of the school, or in the hopes of its discontinuance. Or, that teachers may have been challenging sexual violence in ways that were not clear to me. Further research and analysis would be needed on this incidence to make further claims.

What is significant, however, is that while gendered and institutional power dynamics were fundamental to the occurrence and persistence of systematic teacher sexual violence and other related forms of violence in Kiragala School, in Myufu School the presence of powerful institutionally-sanctioned femininities was not sufficient to destabilise or prevent the occurrence of male teacher

sexual violence. These gendered structures may, however, have detracted from the pervasive and constraining hegemonic masculinity that underpinned the enactment of violence against boys, silenced women and girls, and that contributed to a school-wide culture of fear and other related forms of violence in Kiragala School. Instead, in Myufu School these forms of sexual violence, the forms of violent masculinity associated with it, and pupils' femininities and masculinities that emerged around it, were more often confined within the classrooms of certain teachers. In both schools, however, the teacher sexual violence of some male teachers was institutionalised and located at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes, and, additionally, shaped both peer violence and teacher discipline violence. I now turn to consider how the Good School Toolkit addressed these forms of violence and return to theorise schools' bodily-institutional regimes further in light of this violence in Chapter 11.

Chapter 10. “Pupils here they are blessed. That [it] is one of the schools in the Good School programme”: The long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit to prevent gender violence

The previous three chapters have explored gender violence in the forms of peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence. In these chapters I explored their positioning within schools’ bodily-institutional regimes, and saw them as both underpinned by, and reinforcing, knowledge about gender, and an (institutional) practice through which pupil and teacher subjects were constituted, and in relation to which they negotiated institutional identities. I also explored the interconnections between these forms of violence, which I return to in the following, concluding chapter. In this chapter I examine the long-term influence of the Good School Toolkit [GST] intervention to prevent gender violence.

The GST involves a whole school approach with a six-step process of change over eighteen months involving the establishment of staff, pupil and parents committees; critical reflection activities for teachers; training in alternative discipline approaches such as students’ courts, participatory establishment of school rules, training teachers on ‘guiding and counselling’ techniques, suggestion and discipline boxes, walls of fame for positive reinforcement; dramas, events and assemblies to promote messages of non-violence; and guides pupils and teachers to strengthen respect, communication and positive relationships. The process is led by in-school staff and pupil ‘protagonists’, trained by Raising Voices.

Here I build on the findings of the Good Schools Study [GSS] to assess the long-term influence of this intervention, through drawing on this qualitative data collected two and a half years after its implementation. The GSS found the GST intervention was successful in reducing, but not entirely preventing, physical violence from school staff (Devries *et al.*, 2015b), and included a qualitative study examining its influence on teacher violence in the short-term (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017). This chapter thus seeks to examine how, and in what ways, this influence on teacher discipline violence was achieved and sustained, and, further, the influence it also had on the other forms of violence examined in this thesis. So doing, it contributes to a current gap in research, identified in Chapter 2, into the long-term influence of interventions, through a qualitative lens to unpack the complexity of social change and that attends to the gendered nature of all forms of violence in schools (see also Leach, Dunne and Salvi, 2014; Parkes *et al.*, 2016b).

This chapter first examines the long-term influence of the GST gender violence in Kiragala and Myufu Schools, paying particular attention to teacher discipline violence as this was both the most

directly addressed form of violence in the intervention approach and where the most significant influence had taken place. The chapter then explores its influence on peer violence and teacher sexual violence, and finally turns to consider children's identities and participation in schools in light of the intervention and the significance for schools' bodily-institutional regimes. It will argue that this intervention has significant potential to influence these other forms of violence too, however draws conclusions about how this could be strengthened. In the final chapter, I reflect on the implications of these findings for sustainable approaches to preventing gender violence in schools.

The long-term influence on teacher discipline violence

The findings in Chapter 8 revealed norms that supported notions of 'fair' and 'unfair' corporal punishment, and also indicated that this boundary had shifted in recent times. Teachers and pupils both reflected on this shift and related it to the GST, suggesting a significant long-term success of this intervention is its influence on teachers' use of corporal punishment. This speaks back to GSS survey results that while the GST had not eliminated violence, it had led to a 42% reduction in past-week violence from school staff (Devries *et al.*, 2015c), and suggests that these reductions had been sustained in these two schools.

Charles, a recently relocated male teacher, compared this to his experience teaching in other, non-GST implementing, schools:

Charles: In fact I was informed by the Headteacher, that this school is in the Good School programme, and she told me what I should do and what I should not do

Ellen: And what were these things that you should do and should not do...

Charles: Mm... this, whatever... unnecessary caning. And they told me that instead of caning them, instead you give them some simple punishments. [...]

Ellen: Ok... so there's less caning here do you think than in other schools?

Charles: Yeah! In other schools caning is very serious

Ellen: Mmm, but here it is not serious?

Charles: ...They cane children seriously. But here... mmm [no]

Charles, male teacher, 28th July

The phrase 'unnecessary caning', and the implication that here caning is 'not serious', recalls the findings of Chapter 7 and qualitative insights in other studies (Boydell *et al.*, 2017; Frankenberg, Holmqvist and Rubenson, 2010), that where there is widespread acceptance of corporal punishment, norms tend to denote a boundary between excessive and reasonable physical punishment. These

findings here resonate with those shown by Kyegombe et al. (2017), in suggesting that the GST had shifted the boundary delineating ‘fair’ and ‘excessive’ use. Thus while corporal punishment persisted, suggestions were that it was less than in the past and also compared to other schools. I now turn to examining how this influence had been achieved, identifying two key mechanisms: Firstly critical reflections on violence, and secondly institutionalised, alternative discipline practices.

Critical reflection on uses, meanings and experiences of violence

One way in which the GST supported long-term changes to teachers’ use of physical punishment was through critical reflection. This key element to the intervention that guided teachers to reflect on their use of violence and aimed to destabilise it, was a key part to the shift towards acceptance of the GST that occurred in teachers’ narratives. Reflection on teachers’ experiences of violence in their own personal histories, led by in-school teacher protagonists, was one form that this reflection took. Ruth, a protagonist, described this process:

Ruth: ...And so we told them to reflect, as they were still young children in schools, what they went through. We asked them if it was good or bad. So most of them felt sad, about what they went through as they were growing up. So they found themselves changing, from corporal punishment... because there were some things they could do, not knowing that they were forms of corporal punishment. And when we told them to reflect, when they were still little children, they said, ‘No, it was not good’

Ellen: What kinds of things were these?

Ruth: They remembered... because I remember one teacher said, [laughs] he was told to stand using the hands, putting the legs up, hands down, for thirty minutes [**Ellen: Oh...**] So he did not feel good. The second one said, ‘Ah, my teacher used to call me a black ant.’ [...] So we asked him, ‘how could you feel when your teachers could call you black ant?’ So he said ‘I could feel miserable, whatever whatever...’ So we told him, ‘My dear, if you also do the same that’s what your children are also feeling’. So he said, ‘Eh! All these things are also corporal punishment? We have been using them not knowing that they are corporal punishments.’

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

The language used around behaviour change here, such as ‘not knowing’ about forms of discipline, point to the construction of hierarchies of knowledge, where teachers trained by Raising Voices ‘teach’ knowledge to others in the school. While this speaks to concerns of educational curricula devaluing local knowledge (Adjei, 2007; Adzahlie-Mensah and Dunne, 2019; Nyamnjoh, 2012), and the connotations of NGO involvement in transnational spaces within broader contexts of global violence prevention efforts (explored in Chapter 2), teachers’ reflections on the GST intervention

nevertheless departed significantly from their perception of punitive and ‘outsider’ approaches to preventing corporal punishment.

The non-confrontational and respectful approaches facilitated through the GST emerged as an integral aspect of its success and underpinned meaningful reflection on violence:

Joseph: Now... maybe the Good School programme, they have done good work in the schools, good work in Uganda... we appreciate that [...] Because those people, instead of being humble, maybe to us, to workers, to down here, to us they are harsh

Ellen: Who is harsh?

Joseph: Those people from the government [...] Yeah, the government workers, and the ministers and whatever... So at least, for us here we are taught not to intimidate these pupils. Not to bring... corporal punishment. But *kati*, for them they just... intimidate us

Joseph, male teacher, 11th August

Alongside other data, I understood that Joseph used more corporal punishment than any teacher in the school and elsewhere he described his difficulties in accepting the GST, yet here he explains how its respectful and ‘humble’ approach led him to ‘appreciate that’. This is presented in contrast to punitive government approaches which he describes as ‘harsh’ and that seek to ‘intimidate’ teachers. These sentiments were widely shared by teachers. Mark, a male teacher compared feelings of trust/mistrust between the GST and another NGO intervention:

Mark: Not sure what they [Strong Girls] are doing. But with Good School, that one is a hundred percent nice

Mark, male teacher, 10th August

In light of the sensitivity and intimidation that teachers could feel in relation to emerging policy frameworks and discourses around child rights, a key success of the GST appeared to be its forging a separate discursive space in schools, based on support and respect.

These findings resonate with those that suggest that social norms can be shifted by interventions that engage in critical reflection and discussion rooted in mutual respect and suited for the setting, even with sensitive topics (Brown *et al.*, 2016; Diop and Askew, 2009), and that argue for the need to prioritise teachers’ voices and involvement for meaningful change (Lauritzen, 2016; Spear and da Costa, 2018). Further, studies in other sub-Saharan African settings have also found that teachers lie at the heart of intervention work to prevent violence (de Lange and Mitchell, 2014; Heslop *et al.*,

2018b), and here the successful involvement of teachers' actions and beliefs were central to the intervention.

While the GST had shifted norms around corporal punishment, it also appeared to have strengthened space for ongoing reflection on violence in discipline approaches. Mark, a male teacher who was highly supportive of and engaged in the GST activities, and also used physical punishment in some forms but rejected beating, discusses his difficulty in defining corporal punishment:

Mark: Now there is one, that the meaning of corporal punishment, even up to now I can't give you the meaning. Up to now. Even me

Ellen: You can't give it..?

Mark: I don't know the meaning of corporal punishment

Ellen: Ah, ok

Mark: Because they say it harms the body physically. Mentally, and also psychologically. Then you say corporal punishment can harm physically, that's caning, that's physical. But even if you tell a child to write an apology letter, you are torturing that child mentally. [...] Some children are unable to write. If you tell to go and write an apology letter, they are unable to write a good, good letters. You have tortured that child psychologically [...] Therefore I fail to get the real answer, what corporal punishment... because of that one

Mark, male teacher, 10th August

Here, Mark describes his personal reflections on different aspects of violence, that can 'physically' / 'mentally' / 'psychologically' harm children, which may happen through alternative discipline approaches (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017). I observed that these forms of reflection often took place around discussions of the GST. This suggested that even when the GST had not led to a blanket reduction in corporal punishment for all teachers, it had played a meaningful role in strengthening spaces within which teachers reflected on discipline. These spaces suggested that teachers were afforded the creative room around the intervention to reflect on and construct meaning around corporal punishment, discipline and the messages and activities of the GST in ways that did not devalue their own knowledge, priorities and experiences (Adjei, 2007; Nyamnjoh, 2012), even as it also promoted the NGO-led intervention agenda. A crucial aspect to this was that teachers felt respected and supported, rather than undermined, through the GST approach.

Institutionalised alternative discipline approaches

A further way in which the GST supported long-term shifts in corporal punishment was through alternative discipline approaches that had become institutionalised in everyday school life and worked effectively. Two GST alternative discipline practices continued to be used in these schools: School rules with associated punishments and students' courts. In the fieldnotes below, I observe the school rules and students court in practice. In this school, pupils and teachers had co-written school rules that were on display in classrooms, and these rules had corresponding non-violent punishments. Pupils reported misbehaviours to Teacher Susan, who noted them down and handed them to the students' court clerk:

The students court was really interesting – it definitely seems to be a fully functioning part of school life – the children knew what to do and how to behave. It is under the mango tree because there isn't a classroom big enough to hold all the students. The prefects stand to keep order (mixture of girls and boys) while the rest of the children sit. The judge is a P7 boy – there seems to be a lot of respect for him and everyone, including the teachers stand when he arrives. The clerk, who runs proceedings, has notes of all the misbehaviours and runs the court, is a P7 girl.

There are two lawyers on either side – a mixture of girls and boys. I was really impressed – it seems to be run in a way that is trying to be as formal and similar to an ordinary court as possible, yet down to earth enough that is clear that children make full use of it and it is easy for them to use and get engaged with. The misbehaviours were: a boy who called a girl a 'big head', a girl who stole a boy's pen, a girl who thought her class had stolen her books, a boy who said a girl had slapped him. The 'accuser' makes a claim against the 'accused', which the judge hears and decides what the punishment should be. These are all written in the school rules.

The children seem to abide by it – if they were asked to apologise, they got down on one knee to ask for forgiveness. The girl who had stolen the pen was asked for her mother to buy 3 pens in return [...] So it is clear that it is respected and frequently used. The teachers were interjecting a little, but Teacher Paul explained afterwards that as this is only the second court of the year with a new court, then they need some initial guidance.

Observational fieldnotes, 15th March

In this observation I was struck by the organised running and functioning of the students' court, and by how seriously the rules and process were taken by pupils and teachers alike. The fact that the pupils appeared to know the rules and how to respond when rules were broken, and this was effectively followed up and respected, suggests this was a functioning, institutionalised method of discipline.

Children similarly widely described their appreciation of rules and courts as methods of discipline.

Shakira: What do you think of these rules?

All: They are good rules

Shakira: Why do you think they are good?

Henry: It helps children to be well-behaved in class

Faisal: It helps students to learn properly

Older boys group discussion, Kiragala School, 12th July

The unanimous response to Shakira's question around rules in the first extract and formulaic responses of 'it helps children/students to...' points to the presence of a discourse of positivity surrounding alternative discipline practices. I observed that they were indeed widely used and displayed in classrooms and that this offered structure and clarity around expectations that pupils appreciated. Where pupils feared punishments that were unpredictable and unfair, children appeared to appreciate the clarity and perceived fairness around rules. Reflecting on the arguments made in Chapter 8, that pupils' priorities in discipline approaches are that the tacit terms of their subordination to teachers be respected, the clarity and structure could be seen to make visible, and support, children's tacit agreement with teachers. The fact that this was done without violence meant children had more positive relationships with teachers, as I return to below. Some moments suggested students' courts could be linked to pupil shaming however, relating to Mark's reflections above on how even alternative discipline approaches could entail violence against children.

Teachers also felt that these alternative discipline approaches functioned well for their potential to support more effective discipline. Mark, a male teacher, describes the concept of the GST 'working' that emerged frequently across the data with teachers:

Mark: At first, we thought it would be impossible. It was, it is... a problem. At first. But...

Ellen: Why did you think it would be impossible?

Mark: We thought children cannot live minus some punishments. Because we are used. We thought it can't work. But we got used slowly by slowly, showly... yeah... [...]

Ellen: What was the thing that changed your mind?

Mark: And what helped us to change, the minds? The way it started working

Mark, male teacher, 10th August

Unpacking this concept of 'working' in light of other data, I interpreted it as an indication that teachers felt the GST supported the structures, practices and discipline approaches that were central to

the institutional functioning of the school. For Joseph, the concept of ‘working’ related to maintaining pupil discipline even without corporal punishment:

Joseph: The first day, when I saw those people [Raising Voices] coming and introducing those things. Then I felt, they have come to spoil our children [...] I felt bad and I did not like them first. But secondly...let alone as they continued teaching... I saw something important

Ellen: What was the important thing that you saw?

Joseph: As they continued teaching, then I saw that ah ah... because one, they continued teaching, showing us how to handle, that sticks is not the best way of handling pupils. But you can even handle those girls, those pupils, and get them what you want when the sticks are not there. [...] So that one, that one helped us so much. So we ended up liking them...

Joseph, male teacher, 11th August

Here, further discursive constructions of the journey from initially rejecting or disliking the intervention aims and approach, with ‘they have come to spoil our children’ / ‘I did not like them at first’, to a discourse of positivity with, ‘we ended up liking them’, can be seen. In this extract, the shift for Joseph occurred when he saw that ‘you can handle those girls, those pupils, and get them what you want’ without physical discipline. The shift, therefore, is one where the institutional power structures of teachers over pupils, that teachers already value and rely on in the school setting, are upheld, and even strengthened, through the GST activities.

Alternative discipline approaches, which in these two schools referred in particular to school rules and students’ courts, therefore appeared as highly effective institutional tools in two key ways: Firstly offering a way of supporting the functioning of the school and teachers’ roles in upholding discipline, and secondly of writing non-violent ways of doing so into the institutional everyday life of the school.

Positive staff relationships around discipline

Changes to teachers’ use of discipline violence were also underpinned by staff relationships, however these were significantly shaped by the existing bodily-institutional regimes and staff power dynamics in the schools. In Kiragala School, where gender dynamics were presided over by senior male teachers espousing a particularly dominant form of hegemonic masculinity, the female teachers who were motivated for preventing violence had difficulty challenging or responding to violence. In relation to corporal punishment, Teacher Ruth asked me to ask Raising Voices to continue coming to the school to support their GST activities as she felt fellow staff would not listen to her. In relation to sexual violence, as described in Chapter 9, gendered power imbalances prevented her from feeling

able to challenge male teachers. While the GST appeared to have strengthened female teachers' motivation to prevent violence in this school, therefore, gendered, institutional hierarchies constrained these efforts.

In Myufu School gendered identities and relationships worked somewhat differently, and it emerged as discursively possible, even expected, for female teachers to challenge male teachers on physical discipline. The following extract displays interesting nuances of staff relationships around physical violence:

Charles: ...In fact, here, all teachers are so social. They tell you what is on the ground. And what I've liked, if such problems arise in say a specific class, these teachers tend to share ideas with others.

[Ellen: Ok] Leaving the children aside, but they share with other teachers

Ellen: So they sit down and they discuss...

Charles: Like 'please I was confronted by such a problem, a certain girl came and told me about this and that, and what is the way forward, what steps should we take.' Yeah, they consult each other.

[Ellen: Mmhm] And I've liked them for that, they are so cooperative

[...]

Ellen: So I'm also trying to understand, because of course there is still some caning... and so when this happens [...] when a teacher canes a student here, what do the other teachers do? Do they ever say anything or maybe they just think ah, it is...

Charles: They say, 'ah, here we work as a team'. Once you are seen caning a pupil, ah! Other teachers will be touched. In fact they will ask you why... [Ellen: Mmm] If, say, you give them... a reason and whatever... they will tell you 'you have done this, instead of that'. Yeah. Especially here I've liked one madam. She is Madam Esther

Ellen: Madam Esther

Charles: Esther, yeah. She's open-minded. Whenever she sees you doing something wrong, she'll never keep quiet

Ellen: What kinds of things does she say?

Charles: She'll never backbite you, she'll come to you and tell 'no please, my fellow whatever, you have done this... here we are not allowed to do this. You would have done this instead of that...'

Ellen: Mmm. So what kind of examples can you think of this happening? [...]

Charles: Especially these ones in higher classes²⁵ [...] They had done their mocks and some of the pupils performed poorly. So their teachers' anger rose and then they had lined them out for caning [...] Teachers were harsh, saying 'ah we are out of time, we have been teaching this every now and again, how come you fail these papers and...' But I don't know where Madam Esther came from and she cooled them down. And they accepted. Instead they had given simple punishments, such as slashing the compound

[...]

²⁵ This refers to two male P7 teachers

Ellen: Mmhm. And can you think of any other examples like this? [...]

Charles: Mmhm, here, also... as staff members we have lunches, we normally gather there, say, 'ah, what should I do to these ... they have done this'. And then she has been giving sources of advice. In fact I like... I credit her for that

Ellen: And that's because she is the Senior Woman teacher do you think? She gives this advice...?

Charles: Yeah, she's the Senior Woman teacher. And she deals with these, with the problems of girls very nicely, in fact I've liked her. She has what we call, secrecy. Secrecy

Ellen: Mmm, so she's very discreet

Charles: Uh huh [yes] Mmm. She is good, she is good

Charles, male teacher, 28th July

This extract is interesting at a number of levels. Firstly, there are descriptions of a positive and supportive staff environment as, 'all teachers are so social' / they 'share ideas with others' / 'they consult each other' / 'they are so cooperative' / 'we work as a team'. This corresponded with my observations of a lively and non-judgmental atmosphere and of discipline working as a team.

A second aspect is that this supportive environment for change was led by the Senior Woman in this school. Charles describes her as 'open-minded,' 'giving sources of advice', and gives examples of her challenging fellow teachers. I note a number of implications of this for Esther's feminine teacher identity. On one hand, Esther challenges male teachers in a way that female teachers felt unable to in Kiragala School, with Charles describing directly challenging language such as, 'here we are not allowed to do this, you would have done this instead of that,' and publicly confronting two male P7 teachers. The fact that in this description the male teachers accepted her challenge and changed their discipline approach, and that Charles describes his appreciation for her ('especially here I've liked one madam') precisely because of this direct challenge ('whenever she sees you doing something wrong she'll never keep quiet'), suggests that this environment disrupted the traditional gender norms that positioned women as subservient to men, and contrasted directly with power dynamics in Kiragala school. I interpreted this as partly due to the institutional role of Senior Woman that affords Esther some status, in the context of a female-headed institutional hierarchy wherein the headteacher was a woman.

The messages of the GST here served to frame and reinforce the legitimacy of Esther's taking action on corporal punishment. This was also seen in an interesting moment I observed where Mary, the teacher GST protagonist in Myufu School, rolled her eyes visibly in front of me and other staff when Matthias espoused traditional gender norms of division of labour. This moment went unremarked on by the teachers, and I was struck by the openness with which Mary disrespected and dismissed a male

teacher's traditional views in this way. Also in this instance, I interpreted that her role as GST protagonist may have shored up her position and legitimacy in doing so.

Two strands of traditional gender norms also interweave in the above extract, however. Firstly, Esther is positioned in the role of supporting and guiding fellow teachers and offers a voice of reason in contrast to male teachers' anger. In the scene described, while male teachers 'were harsh', and 'their anger rose', Esther 'cooled them down'. This reminds of gender norms positioning men as more dominant, aggressive and unable to control their aggression while women are viewed as softer and more reasonable.

Further, Charles also describes appreciating Esther for how 'she deals with these, with the problems of girls very nicely' and with 'secrecy.' I interpreted this as referring to the discursive notion of girls' generalised vulnerability that was often discussed around risks of sexual violence, pregnancy and difficulties in accessing resources for menstruation. In light of how teacher sexual violence was also taking place here, however, and that Esther was not forthcoming in discussing this, or girls' other problems with me, I understood that this notion of 'secrecy', may have also encompassed teacher sexual violence. Further, this 'discretion' could serve to reinforce a notion that female pupils and teachers were responsible for addressing 'the problems of girls'. Male teachers appreciating Esther's 'secrecy', could thus be seen to reinforce firstly a notion that girls problems were an area for women and girls to resolve, and secondly that this notion of 'secrecy' may have provided either the discursive space for male teacher sexual violence to be concealed or overlooked, or for female teachers to address it covertly. It appeared as though discursive boundaries denoted what aspects of gendered, institutional life Esther was permitted to openly challenge.

The long-term influence on peer violence, teacher sexual violence, and broader community violence

Reducing peer violence: Institutionalised approaches

In addition to influence on teacher discipline violence, teachers and pupils also perceived that peer violence had reduced in a meaningful way over time due to aspects of the GST, despite it not being a direct aim of the intervention. Findings from across the data suggested that institutionalised alternative discipline practices had contributed to reduced peer physical and sexual violence, although the links were not as clear as with corporal punishment.

Peer sexual violence

Data suggested that boys' sexual harassment of girls had reduced since GST alternative discipline approaches, which was striking considering that it was not explicitly addressed through the GST activities or promotional messages. Girls in both schools identified a shift in peer sexual violence:

Shakira: Ok tell me, the bad touches that the boys make, are they common?

All: No they are not common

Shakira: Why do you think they are not common now?

Stella: Because of Raising Voices and Strong Girls, there are many rules that have been put in place and this has reduced boys' bad manners

[...]

Shakira: When these things happen to the girls. How easy is it to talk to your teachers about it?

Stella: For me I find it easy to talk about it

Angella: I can easily talk about it

Shakira: So who do you mostly talk to about the boys who make these bad touches?

Diana: At school we talk to the Senior Woman about it

Angella: At home I talk to my mother and during the parents meeting, they talk about it

Stella: For me I talk to my brother whom I follow because I find it easy to talk to him about various things

Saidat: I can report to the student court and they punish the boy who has done it

Older girls group discussion, Kiragala School, 26th July

Older girls in both schools described how boys' uses of 'vulgar words' and 'bad touches' had reduced since the GST alternative discipline approaches. Several layers of institutional activity appear in the above extract. Firstly, Saidat identifies the students' court, and Stella identifies school rules as contributing to the prevention of peer sexual violence. In light of how in Chapter 8 girls described how their experiences of peer sexual harassment were not always taken seriously, particularly by male teachers, and on witnessing the process of the students courts, as described above, I interpreted the structured nature of rules and associated punishments and their effectuation through students' courts as being central to this change. The structured nature of sanctions and punishments may have offered a way of publicly legitimising and formalising action taken against peer sexual violence.

While acts of peer sexual violence may have reduced in these ways, indications elsewhere suggested that gender norms underpinning these forms of violence had not been addressed. The presence of widespread discourses around girls' chastity and sexual protection as a form of empowerment, and

girls' responsibility for preventing sexual violence that were deeply entrenched (described in Chapters 7 and 9), suggested that gender norms also underpinning peer sexual violence had not been destabilised. Other studies into efforts to support girls experiencing sexual violence note similar trends, as in South Africa, teaching girls to 'avoid bad touches' was at once a form of child protection and also a reinforcement of good sexual behaviour for girls (Bhana, 2015a), and findings from an intervention in Kenya, Ghana and Mozambique suggest that while seeking to empower girls, interventions also run the risk of reinforcing messages of chastity for female pupils (Heslop *et al.*, 2015). Critical reflection around the gender norms that underpin gender violence may therefore destabilise it further and more meaningfully.

Institutionalised discipline approaches may be most effective in preventing peer sexual violence and destabilising gender inequality that underpins it if they are combined with critical reflection and discussion on these gender norms, such as has been found to be effective in approaches to preventing peer sexual violence in other sub-Saharan African settings (Jemmott *et al.*, 2018; Keller *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, evidence also suggests that interventions that seek to prevent violence but that do not address gender norms may even reinforce unequal norms or expose girls to other forms of violence. A study in Uganda that found how a parenting intervention could reinforce male power when couples were interviewed together without critically engaging with gender norms (Siu *et al.*, 2017), and a sports intervention found that girls' confidence to protect themselves from violence increased but they experienced more violence from peers as a result of their participation (Hayhurst *et al.*, 2014). This suggests that while institutional practices may have here, to a certain extent, reduced peer sexual violence perpetration, the persistence of unequal gender norms that also underpin this violence, suggests that partnering institutional practices with work to destabilise gender inequality may lead to more sustainable prevention of peer sexual violence.

Peer physical, emotional violence and theft

Teachers' reflections on peer physical, emotional violence and theft also suggested that GST institutional approaches had contributed to reducing these forms of peer violence over time. Viewed in light of pupils' discussions of peer violence, however, these reflections could miss the significance of persisting forms of peer violence for children. The following discussion with Paul, a senior teacher, both suggests that peer violence had reduced and shows how those forms that persisted could be diminished in teachers' narratives:

Ellen: And what about problems between the students themselves? Do the students ever have problems between the students?

Paul: Erm... those ones are very minor. They are very minor. According to the Good School programme, we have tried to sensitise these children. And we have told them, that when we are here, we are brothers and sisters. We must try to treat each other equally and responsibly. So those are just minor issues

Ellen: Minor issues. And what kinds of issues are the minor issues, like stealing, or name-calling.... Like what kinds of things are the minor problems?

Paul: Err.. minor problems... they can, er, nickname their friends, they can insult them, but fighting has decreased, stealing has decreased, because according to the rules and regulations, the class rules and regulations, if someone steals one pencil, he has to buy a dozen. If someone steals a pen, he has to buy a dozen. So someone looks at that and says, 'if I can not afford to buy one pencil, how about a dozen?' So someone will always say 'no, I will not steal.' If somebody fights, we shall always invite the parent here, and give them a suspension of three days. Then that one is a very big punishment, somebody will say, 'missing school for three days, I will not catch up with my friends. So fighting, to hell.' That's why I'm saying we are experiencing minor issues

Paul, senior male teacher, 11th July

Here Paul describes how 'fighting has decreased, stealing has decreased', and associates this with the GST, as 'everything changed when we enrolled for the Good School programme.' Paul identifies the institutional mechanisms effective for addressing peer violence, such as the 'class rules and regulations', as being responsible for this change. Viewed in light of my observations of the students' court, and pupils' appreciation for this and for school rules, alternative discipline practices thus appear to have been effective in reducing these forms of peer violence. Furthermore, considering that teachers' use of violence had reduced, and, as shown in Chapters 7 and 8, peer violence could be shaped by teacher violence, it is also possible that improvements in peer relations were an indirect outcome of reduction in teacher violence.

The fact that pupils very rarely described experiences of serious peer physical violence, and instead spoke commonly of emotional violence in the form of insults, name-calling, gossip, and of less serious physical violence or theft, tallies with these descriptions. At the same time, as shown in Chapter 7, pupils widely discussed how they suffered considerably from peer emotional violence. Paul's description of these forms of violence as 'very minor' was a trend I also observed with other teachers. The tendency for teachers to dismiss emotional peer violence, also found in primary schools in Kenya (Vanner, 2018), contrasted starkly with the fact that pupils discussed it at length, at times becoming very upset by their experiences. In some settings literature also suggests that emotional peer violence may even be extensive and more challenging for children to manage than physical violence (Dunne *et al.*, 2013; Hendriks *et al.*, 2020).

Institutional practices of the GST activities thus appeared to have provided the schools and teachers with ways of managing and reducing peer violence, and the findings suggested that it had reduced in its most severe forms. At the same time, emotional violence still persisted and affected children greatly, while teachers tended to overlook these forms of violence. This suggests that reflection and discussion, involving children, on what constitutes peer violence, and with an attendance to how these forms of violence are gendered may be meaningful here. The fact that teachers were discussing different forms of violence suggests that there was space for reflection on peer violence, however this could be taken further.

Interventions with school pupils that meaningfully influence both attitudes and behaviours are rare, with research into interventions to prevent bullying, largely from the Global North, finding limited effectiveness of actual reduction in use of violence even if they may have influenced attitudes and beliefs (Ball *et al.*, 2012; Farrell *et al.*, 2015). Incorporating both institutional practices to prevent peer violence, with discussions and reflections on what constitutes peer violence in its different forms, may offer ways of doing this, in line with how an attendance to both critical reflection and institutional practices were effective in reducing teacher discipline violence.

The continued silences of teacher sexual violence

The long-term influence of the GST on teacher sexual violence was significantly more difficult to untangle and this related to the layers of concealment and taboo within which it was situated. As absences in data can indicate a theme (Ryan and Bernard, 2003), the near total absence of discussion around the influence of the GST on teacher sexual violence was striking in light of its significance in the schools, and served to highlight the silence surrounding this form of violence. I interpreted this absence firstly as a question of definition, as, as explored in Chapter 9, teacher sexual violence was viewed in a range of contradictory ways and its discursive situation within layers of silence and taboo heightened this range of contrasting definitions. This was in contrast to corporal punishment, which as shown in Chapter 8, was openly discussed and widely viewed as a form of violence. The discursive location of sexual violence outside of the ‘violence’ discussed in the GST, points to both how it was not consistently considered as a form of violence, nor one that was open to challenge through the GST. The omission of teacher sexual violence in discussions of the GST also relates to how it was challenged through neither the critical reflection, nor institutional practices that were effective in addressing teacher discipline violence. Its shrouding in silence appeared to have prevented it being addressed through either of these two mechanisms.

There were, however, a small number of contradictory moments that suggested that individuals interpreted an association between teacher sexual violence and the GST in their own ways. Teacher Ruth, for whom sexual relationships between teachers and pupils constituted a form of violence, insinuated how she felt the GST served its prevention:

Ruth: [Teacher sexual violence] is common in schools, yes. And for us we thank God that we have got the Raising Voices programme, but in schools where it is not...where it is not, ah [shakes head] I think... it's horrible

Ruth, female teacher, 8th August

Here the association of the GST in preventing teacher sexual violence was interesting considering that in the discussion shown in Chapter 9, Ruth felt there were few recourses to action to prevent it. Simultaneously, there were no concrete examples given by Ruth or others of the GST serving to address teacher sexual violence. I tentatively interpret Ruth's feelings here as indicative of a more general form of support and accountability that she felt held sway in the school in the presence of a violence prevention intervention, even if in practice it may not have supported her.

Discussions with another teacher suggested a troubling association for him between teacher sexual violence and the GST. In an interview, Matthias described his frustration that he did not know about adolescent girls' sexual activities and that he sought this information from their younger sisters. While he framed this in a narrative of protecting girls from sexual violence, I interpreted this as also having undertones of sexual intent and control due to widespread reports of his sexual violence. He then described how the positive relationships between staff members and pupils encouraged by the GST led to him achieving closer relationships with female pupils:

Matthias: When you become so friendly to these children, and you achieve the skills, let me see like the Raising Voices skills, they can give you, the approaches, then you can call and talk to them, to these children. You know, these children are so clever [laughs] when they see that you are harsh, they can fail to tell you. They can't give you the what, the information. You see? [Ellen: Yeah] They can't give you the information, they keep quiet. But, after creating that friendly situation, we call it special relations, they start coming closer to you

Matthias, male teacher, 11th August

While there was no indication that the GST approaches or activities did facilitate a sexualised closeness between male teachers and female pupils, particularly considering girls' widespread mistrust of this teacher (shown in Chapter 9), it is interesting that, for Matthias, a sexualised closeness

that he desired with female pupils may have been at least represented, if not served by the positive relationships promoted by the GST.

Teacher sexual violence was therefore largely absent from discussions of the GST and when it was present this link was contrasting and related to individual teachers' feelings and intent. This suggests that teacher sexual violence was not openly challenged or prevented through the GST intervention and could take place alongside it, even as other forms of violence were being disrupted. Without either the institutional practices for the prevention and response to teacher sexual violence, or the critical reflection on what constitutes sexual violence, this form of violence remained concealed in a layer of taboo where it was unaddressed and unchallenged.

Influencing children's broader experiences of violence and forms of support

A further form of violence that the GST appeared to have indirectly addressed was children's broader experiences of violence in homes and communities, through positive teacher-pupil relations that supported disclosures of violence. In line with the reduction in corporal punishment, as Kyegombe et al. (2017) also found, a key long-term success of the GST intervention was its influence on strengthening positive staff-pupil relationships. Teachers and pupils both discussed at length how positive relationships had developed through and after the intervention:

Shakira: Do tell your class teachers or any teacher that you find easy to talk to?

All: We talk to any teacher whom we find easy to approach

Shakira: Do you ever talk about your problems at home with teachers?

Angella; Sometimes when the teacher realises that you are [not] attentive in class, the teacher takes you outside and asks you whether you have a problem at home or at school and you tell her

[...]

Shakira: How about the teachers, has there been change in the teachers conduct themselves here at school?

All: Yes

Stella: Teachers who used to beat very much no longer beat us and now we learn from a better environment

Angella: Before Raising Voices, whenever you would approach a teacher and tell him that I didn't understand this work, the teacher would say " don't disturb me, it is because you don't pay attention in class, that is why you don't understand when I am teaching". Right now, teachers are willing to explain anything that you have not understood

Older girls group discussion, Kiragala School, 9th August

Pupils widely described more positive, trusting relationships with teachers, whom here they describe on the whole to be ‘willing to explain anything’, and keen to support children with their problems, and this intertwined with reduced beating. Improvements in teacher-pupil relations were widely described to strengthen teachers’ capacity to support children with their experiences of violence in their homes and communities, as described here by Jamila, a female teacher:

Jamila: In the past they were fearing us. Now we are friendly to them, they are friendly to us, so they can tell you each and everything.

Ellen: Mmm.. and what made this change?

Jamila: That is [laughs] Raising Voices!

Ellen: It was Raising Voices, ok

Jamila: Because the children speak, they can speak... each and everything they tell you... That ‘Madam Jamila, for me I didn’t eat food...’ For me I receive several cases

Jamila, female teacher, 16th July

Here, Jamila describes positive and ‘friendly’ relationships with pupils following the GST and explains how this meant pupils shared their problems with her. Problems that pupils were described to share with teachers frequently related to the everyday challenges of life in a poverty context, such as lack of resources and food.

At times children’s openness with teachers enabled them to take action on community violence. I observed several incidences where teachers stepped in to act in child protection roles, such as two female teachers who had invited female pupils to live in their homes following experiences of violence or neglect, and cases where the Senior Woman teacher took action prevent sexual violence in the home or to support children to access resources they needed. While this occurred in both schools, I observed that it was particularly common in Kiragala School that was a smaller school and therefore the relationships between staff and pupils appeared closer. In Kiragala School, several of the female teachers had taken a particular interest in child protection, supported and encouraged through their increased knowledge of pupils’ lives, following positive relationships they attributed to the GST intervention.

Further, teachers also described how their understandings of the problems children faced at home, and their increased motivation to support children with experiences of violence due to participation in the GST, allowed them to be more understanding and seek alternative discipline approaches of ‘guiding and counselling’ instead of punitive discipline. My fieldnotes below describe such a scene:

Today a boy was being reprimanded for taking three cups of porridge when he should only have one. It was interesting because this is quite a bad offence, but I saw Teacher Jackson reprimanding him in quite a calm way. When I asked what the punishment would be, Teacher Mary said that it was difficult to come up with a punishment for this, and it was perhaps better to ‘guide and counsel’. Teacher Esther explained that it was bad, but maybe his parents didn’t give him any food at home

Observational fieldnotes, 6th April

In this instance the teachers engage in non-punitive and caring discipline approaches, to ‘guide and counsel’ this pupil which were encouraged through the GST, underpinned by an awareness of the problems they faced at home, also elsewhere described as facilitated through the GST intervention. The fact that Jackson, Mary and Esther all discuss this approach presents it as a widely held practice, and, as described by Charles, points to the atmosphere of staff teamwork in discipline in Myufu School.

Positive relationships were not total, however, and the school’s bodily-institutional regimes shaped the extent and nature of positive, open teacher-pupil relationships. As described in Chapter 8, girls were unlikely to talk male teachers about their problems, particularly older girls who mistrusted male teachers due to potential for sexual violence. Younger pupils of both sexes also preferred to discuss their problems with female teachers that they saw in motherly, caring roles and compared to harsh teacher masculinities. Older boys widely described being unlikely to talk to any teachers about their problems. This could be seen most dramatically in the incidence with Robert, that showed how where pupils felt unable to talk to teachers, and where staff conflicts prevented staff from communicating effectively, this could have devastating implications. The death of Robert, discussed in Chapter 6, revealed the extent to which some, particularly male, pupils felt unable to discuss their problems with staff. Teacher Ruth shared with me that she had had concerns about his welfare before his death and had asked him several times if he was ok, to which he had replied ‘fine’ and ‘even laughed’ because she asked him several times, showing, according to Ruth, his evident reluctance to share his experiences of neglect at home.

Here in Kiragala School, this was exacerbated by the tensions between Teachers Paul and Victor, who, as Robert’s class teacher and the Senior Man in the school, were those most involved in his wellbeing. During Robert’s illness, Victor had been visiting him in his home and it appeared several teachers knew about this, but Paul had not been told about Robert’s ill-health. Further, a second senior teacher, Ishmael, had been made aware but had not shared this information with Paul. Following Robert’s death, I observed the following scene in the staffroom:

At breaktime Paul was harassing the other teachers, particularly Victor because he hadn't been told soon enough. He was getting angry with them and shouting at Victor. The other teachers seemed to be defending him, I heard Ruth say 'If you are angry with him then you should also blame me because I also knew'. It seems that they all thought Paul had been told because they saw Victor talking to Ishmael and Paul together, but in fact Ishmael had never told Paul

Observational fieldnotes, 8th August

Here the communication had broken down between the three male teachers most responsible for caring for Robert within the school's pastoral institutional structure. Several layers converged here to place Robert in this position of vulnerability: Firstly Robert's reluctance to discuss his problems with school staff; secondly a discourse of boys' competence and lack of need for support which, as I explored elsewhere, contributed to an overlooking of boys' vulnerability and may have explained why Ishmael did not share information about Robert's illness with Paul, his class teacher; and thirdly, poor staff relations, rooted in a conflict around teacher sexual violence (as explored in Chapter 9), that prevented effective communication. The functioning of the GST intervention to enable teachers to support pupils with their problems at home, while significant in some moments, was therefore also shaped, and here constrained, by existing bodily-institutional regimes in the schools around masculine norms, teacher sexual violence and gendered staff dynamics.

The long-term influence on pupils' identities, confidence and participation

In addition to violence, the GST also had a long-term influence on pupil identities that were both gendered and related to the schools' institutional structures. Involvement in the GST activities was discursively constructed as having improved pupils' confidence and participation in the school. Pupils in both schools constructed discourses of positivity around the GST that were in part shaped by children's increased voice and confidence, which, as they described it '[helped] pupils to have a speech' and '[brought] confidence'. These findings are in line with other studies that find pupils and teachers working together can bring about meaningful shifts in the value afforded to children's perspectives and their meaningful participation (McLaughlin *et al.*, 2015). This form of participation in the GST also had gendered significance.

While gender equity of participation in GST activities was encouraged in both schools, I observed that in practice gendered participation related closely to schools' bodily-institutional regimes. These findings offer insight into GSS findings that suggested girls may have benefited less from the GST intervention (Devries *et al.*, 2017; Knight *et al.*, 2018). In Kiragala School, where status and authority

sat largely with two senior male teachers, gender equality of participation was promoted but boys tended to hold, or were associated with, positions of authority:

Who participated most in the Good School activities – girls or boys? Do boys and girls do different jobs?

Boys do the different jobs at school
Boys help a good school in getting firewood pieces

And all of them boys and girls may practice most in the Good School activities but all most boys because boys have more power than girls

Ann, 13 years, female pupil, Kiragala School

Who participated most in the Good School activities – girls or boys? Do boys and girls do different jobs?

No, boys have to be the chairperson

Salim, 14 years, male pupil, Kiragala School

In Myufu School, where two senior female teachers held positions of highest status and authority, I noted a strikingly different discourse around gendered participation. Pupils widely described how girls held the same, or higher status in this school than boys, and this was often framed around participation in the GST activities:

Who participated most in the Good School activities – girls or boys?

Do boys and girls do different jobs?

Girls. Girls are many at school
Some boys didn't want
Some boys go there and the teacher remove them like me
I missed one day and teacher removed me

Ken, 14 years, male pupil, Myufu School

Who participated most in the Good School activities – girls or boys?

Girls because they are [more] confident than boys
They behave [better] well than boys
They can advice their fellow pupils on the assembly

Who do you think has more power in school, girls or boys? Why?

Girls have more power in our school because they are confident, they advise their fellow pupils in assembly, they participate in debate, they participate in the court, they are prefects like our head prefect is a girl

Faith, 13 years, female pupil, Myufu School

As these extracts show, in Myufu School a discourse of female pupil empowerment and confidence was widely promoted and mobilised that was underpinned by, and reinforced girls' increased participation in the GST activities. In this school I observed how, in a GST drama performance for Raising Voices staff the majority of the performers were girls, and in a GST pupil committee meeting

(led by the female teacher Mary) the girls sat at the front and participated actively, while the boys sat at the back and talked amongst themselves and made jokes. These behaviours, which I interpreted as forms of self-exclusion, alongside Ken's description of feeling excluded with 'some boys go there and the teacher remove them like me', was interesting as it suggested an association of these forms of participation with particularly female pupils, and also that boys could feel excluded in female-dominated spaces.

In Faith's description of girls participating more frequently because 'they behave [better] than boys' and 'they are [more] confident than boys', an interesting merging of the traditional gender norms that associate girls with positive behaviour, with new emergent norms of female confidence can be seen. Pupil femininities could therefore be seen emerging wherein traditional feminine norms merged with notions of a good student identity and messages of the GST to construct a notion of female empowerment. Girls located this shift as being related to both the GST and Strong Girls interventions:

Charity: Children now are very confident. Before whenever a teacher would tell the student to say something, the student would want to hide under the desk, they would avoid eye contact with the teacher

Shakira: Why would you attribute this change to the Good School programme?

Brenda: It is mostly attributed to Strong Girls and the Good School programme who usually tell us that when we are speaking to people, we should look in their eyes and we shouldn't be shy

Older girls group discussion, Myufu School, 3rd August

Teachers also observed these new behaviours. In one instance, Teacher Charles observed girls coming forward to volunteer bring chairs for our interview and exclaimed with surprise, how it was a display of confidence that would not have been possible before the GST. Joseph, a male teacher and father of a daughter in P6 marvelled at his daughter's increased confidence, saying to me, 'she is confident... just look at her. She knows what to do'. Alongside these incidences and high-status positions, however, I also observed contrasting moments in Myufu School. Boys were still described to be higher status than girls in other moments (Chapters 7 and 8), I observed how they could also often dominate the classroom space, and as described in relation to Edith in Chapter 9, these described forms of empowerment did not include all girls, and some girls could be silenced in contrast to other girls' confident femininities.

These findings suggest that the GST intervention had the potential to destabilise gender norms and inequality, despite not being overtly gendered in its approach, however its functioning in this way was significantly shaped by existing bodily-institutional regimes in the schools. While in Myufu School in

the presence of powerful institutionally-sanctioned teacher femininities, participation and representation in GST activities served to destabilise traditional gender norms and to locate girls in positions of power, in Kiragala School in the presence of a particularly violent and pervasive hegemonic masculinity, these activities encouraged girls' and boys' participation in all roles other than those of seniority, which were perceived to be held by boys.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the long-term influence of the GST intervention on the forms of violence examined in this thesis, and thus sought to build on the findings of the Good Schools Study which found promising results of this intervention to prevent teacher discipline violence in the short-term. It has also sought to respond to a broader gap in existing knowledge about the long-term influence of violence prevention interventions in schools, through qualitative methodologies that unpack social interactions and meaning around interventions, and through a lens that forefronts gender. In line with short-term qualitative findings (Kyegombe *et al.*, 2017), the analysis of this chapter found that two years on, the GST intervention had significant influence on reducing, but not entirely preventing physical violence by teachers, and on improving teacher-pupil relationships. It achieved this through two key mechanisms that intertwined.

The first mechanism was through inviting critical reflection to destabilise the knowledge that underpinned corporal punishment. Positive relationships between Raising Voices and teachers that led them to feel respected and supported, were essential to this approach being meaningful. The second mechanism was through institutionalising alternative discipline approaches into everyday school structures and practices, that supported and strengthened what pupils and teachers already valued around discipline in schools. While corporal punishment had not been prevented, and instead norms supported its use at a lower level, the findings of this chapter also suggested that space had been opened up for continued disruption to knowledge supporting violence and reflection on meaningful, non-violent and effective discipline, that could be further harnessed to continue destabilising norms around violent discipline. Crucially, teachers also did not feel devalued or that their experiences and perspectives were overlooked in the GST approach.

An outcome of these mechanisms was the further influence on the improvement of teacher-pupil relationships. Here the reduction in teachers' use of physical violence had improved pupils' positive feelings around teachers, and the 'guide and counsel' alternative discipline approaches and reflections of teachers' own experiences of violence, had led teachers to understand better the challenges that pupils faced. Pupils' subsequent increased willingness to open up to teachers and share their problems

strengthened these relationships, and teachers' capacity to support pupils in their home lives, further. Viewed through the lens of what children most valued within the terms of their subordination to teachers, as identified in Chapter 8, it appeared as though alongside fairer and more legitimate discipline approaches, children's feelings of being cared for by teachers strengthened significantly through the GST intervention. While Chapter 8 explored how pupils may have accepted a certain level of physical violence as part of their subordination to teachers within contextual norms of violence in child-rearing, the influence of a reduction in physical violence in these schools, and the strengthened sense of feeling cared for by teachers, on pupils' described feelings of wellbeing and confidence in schools, was profound. This has significant implications for both insights into how teacher discipline violence may be reduced through this intervention, what this reduction means for pupils' experiences and lives in schools more broadly, as well as for the potential for the GST intervention to destabilise deeply entrenched dynamics of subordination and hierarchy within these schools.

This chapter also examined the influence of the GST intervention on peer violence, teacher sexual violence and the significance for structural gender inequality in these schools. While the GST intervention did not directly address these areas, this analysis has provided insight into the potential for a whole school intervention focussing particularly on corporal punishment, to do so. The findings here are more mixed. The analysis showed that the GST had had a long-term influence on peer violence through one of the two mechanisms described above, that of institutionalised alternative discipline approaches. It had not, however, destabilised the knowledge that underpinned these forms of violence, meaning that gender norms relating to structural gender inequality had not been challenged and these persisted. This also suggests that if engagement in these institutionalised discipline approaches slipped, these acts might again continue as before. Teacher sexual violence, shrouded as it was in layers of taboo and silences, had not been addressed through either of these two mechanisms and occurred in ways that were largely unaffected by the GST intervention. I pick up the significance of these findings for interventions to prevent teacher sexual violence in the following chapter. Further, the GST had also had a meaningful influence on encouraging pupils' participation and confidence, and this was particularly marked for girls in Myufu School.

The functioning of the GST intervention in all these areas, however, was highly shaped by the schools' bodily-institutional regimes. In Myufu School, with its female-headed staff structures, the GST was mobilised to encourage girls' participation and confidence and this had influence on the knowledge, subjects and identities around gender norms. Also in this school, the positive, more gender-equitable staff relationships and teamwork approach to discipline strengthened its capacity to challenge teacher discipline violence at a school-wide level. This cohesion at the institutional level and sense of pride in the school's academic status, as discussed in Chapter 9, may also have prevented

teachers from coming forward to disclose teacher sexual violence that also took place in this school, however, and thus this remained unchallenged.

In Kiragala School, with its gendered power imbalances and highly hierarchical staff structures, the GST intervention was mobilised to promote boys' and girls' inclusion in activities, but boys tended to take more senior roles which strengthened boys' higher status. Staff tensions and gendered power imbalances also constrained teachers' capacity to support pupils with their problems and challenge violence at a school-wide level. In spite of this, however, individual teachers built particularly close and positive relationships with pupils, strengthened in individualised ways, by the GST intervention. The most significant and striking moments of teachers' care for pupils that I observed in the study took place in this school. Further, two teachers in Kiragala school were willing to disclose teacher sexual violence and hoped to use the GST intervention, and me as an outsider associated with this intervention, as a means of disrupting teacher sexual violence, in a way that no teachers did in Myufu School. Schools' bodily-institutional regimes were therefore both shaped by, but also profoundly shaped, the particular functioning of the GST intervention in each school.

Chapter 11. Conclusion: Gender violence in schools' micro bodily-institutional regimes and micro interventions for sustainable prevention

This thesis has examined gender violence in two primary schools in Uganda and the long-term influence of an intervention to prevent this violence. So doing, it has sought to contribute to two bodies of literature: that of school violence prevention interventions and of sociological literature seeking to understand and theorise gender violence in schools. It has attempted to enhance the contributions it makes to these fields by combining these aims. In my shaping of the thesis I argued that a meaningful examination of the long-term influence of an intervention to prevent violence is one that is closely rooted in an examination of how gender violence functions in schools. With this chapter I return to examine the contributions of the thesis shaped by this claim. I first examine the insights offered into two levels of the theoretical framework as outlined in Chapter 4 and included again below in Figure 6, at the levels of acts of violence and schools' bodily-institutional regimes. I then employ the framework to draw conclusions about sustainable intervention approaches to prevent gender violence.



Figure 6

Acts of violence: Interconnections between peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence

At the level of acts of violence, this thesis has argued that peer violence, teacher discipline and teacher sexual violence were fundamentally interconnected in both practice and in the ways in which they were underpinned by schools' bodily-institutional regimes. I return to the latter of these in the following section, and here examine how they were interconnected in practice.

Building on the findings of Chapter 7 on peer violence, Chapter 8 revealed how peer and teacher discipline violence shaped each other. Peer violence could bring about teacher discipline violence, such as how teachers used corporal punishment to punish pupils for fighting or disagreements between peers, and, inversely, teacher discipline shaped peer violence in myriad ways. Some of these

were direct, such as how prefects could be called upon to discipline other pupils, and this could entail physical or emotional violence, or the instance I observed of Teacher John presiding over one pupil caning the other in front of the P6 class.

At other times the link between teacher discipline violence and peer violence was more nuanced, such as in Chapter 8 where I compared how a class of P5 pupils behaved in a competitive and aggressive manner towards each other under the repeated threat of corporal punishment with Teacher Victor, to how a class of P4 pupils collaborated in a cooperative and positive way with Teacher Ruth who mostly eschewed violence and had a warm and encouraging manner. I observed that when Teacher Mark engaged in the emotional violence of humiliating pupils for stealing and lacking resources, and when this was done in a lively and humorous way, pupils turned on each other in a comical and competitive way to further steal each other's belongings in an aggressive, if upbeat, classroom atmosphere. At other moments, pupils described how Teacher Paul's use of humiliation that was without warmth, led to peers laughing at them in a way that left them feeling hurt and shamed. These findings thus contribute further insights to existing findings that teacher use of violence increases antagonism and violence between peers (Pells *et al.*, 2018; Rojas Arangoitia, 2011; Vanner, 2017), however take this further to suggest that nuances in teacher manner and nature of violence shape the nature of peer engagements. Teacher violence was revealed here to not only encourage or increase peer violence, but to shape the antagonism, competitiveness, humour or shame with which peer violence took place.

Chapters 7 and 9 revealed clear interconnections between peer and teacher sexual violence. Previous studies in schools in sub-Saharan settings have found that in their sexual harassments of girls, teachers may serve as 'role models' for boys (Chikwiri and Lemmer, 2014; Leach, 2003; Leach and Machakanja, 2000), and, further, that teachers can implicitly condone peer sexual violence through dismissing it and failing to take it seriously (Dunne, 2007; Mirembe and Davies, 2001). The findings here strengthen the evidence base on this, as girls described how male teachers could laugh at or dismiss sexual violence, or described a similar mistrust towards both boys and male teachers due to fears of sexual violence. These links were not always consistent throughout the schools, however, as in Chapter 9 I also discussed how in some classrooms male teachers' sexual violence against girls conversely led to more despondent and passive behaviours from boys. In spite of this, there were clear indications that teacher and peer sexual violence were closely interconnected as the literature has suggested. This study thus builds on Mirembe and Davies (2001) to offer more recent findings from Ugandan settings, and also adds to the literature examining nuance of masculinities around sexual violence which I turn to below.

Findings into the interconnections between teacher discipline and teacher sexual violence are particularly significant for this study into the institutional nature of gender violence, and for insights into the comparatively less well understood form of teacher sexual violence. Linkages between these two forms of violence were myriad and strong in these two schools. Physical punishment could have sexual undertones or be sexual in nature, such as the description of Teacher Paul touching female pupils sexually as a form of discipline in the classroom. Similarly with emotional violence, humiliation as discipline in the classroom could be sexual in nature, such as Teacher Charles jokingly assigning girls' sexual partners in the community. Sexual violence could also underpin some teachers' uses of physical and emotional discipline in ways that were not overtly sexualised in manner, as seen in how Teacher Mattias was suggested to mete out chastisement and classroom tasks as punishment for girls rejecting his sexual advances.

Further, I observed that male teachers who engaged in sexual violence tended to use corporal punishment in more gender-distinct ways: for example how Teacher Matthias used corporal punishment almost exclusively with girls, linked to an over-attention to girls' bodies, which also emerged in his sexualised language and interest in their sexual behaviours; or how Teacher Paul used more extreme and frequent physical punishment for boys, which appeared as harsher physical punishment and emotional treatment of boys amid sexual preference for girls; or Teacher Charles who was engaged in sexualised classroom humiliation for girls, and used corporal punishment almost exclusively with boys. While used in apparently opposite gendered ways, therefore, the gendered use of corporal punishment coincided with their engagement in sexual violence. By contrast, those teachers who were not reportedly engaged in sexual violence, both male and female, tended to use corporal punishment in more gender-equal ways, such as Teacher Victor who used it frequently, and Teachers Joseph and Rose who used it severely, for both boys and girls, or Teachers Mary, Susan, Ruth, Jackson and Esther who were described to use it less overall.

In these ways teacher discipline and sexual violence emerged as highly interconnected and both were underpinned by teachers' institutional authority. Some previous studies have highlighted connections between these two forms of violence, such as how pupils could face institutional sanctions for sexually rejecting male teachers (Dunne and Ananga, 2013) and could engage in sex out of fear of teachers' authority (Heslop *et al.*, 2015; Jones, 2011; Reilly, 2014), or receive institutional rewards in exchange for sex, such as grades, preferential treatment or resources (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Hendriks *et al.*, 2020; Leach, 2003). However the explicit focus of this thesis on teacher discipline and sexual violence, both separately, and on the links between them, has allowed the fundamentality of this interconnection to come to the fore in new ways. Both forms of violence emerged as gendered and underpinned by intersecting gender inequality, generational inequality and institutional

hierarchies, that legitimise male/adult/teacher authority over female/child/pupil bodies, and these linkages resulted in myriad interconnections between these forms of violence in practice.

The positioning of this interconnected gender violence within schools' bodily-institutional regimes could be seen as threefold: Firstly, as resonates with existing empirical and theoretical insights identified in Chapters 3 and 4, violence emerged across the analysis as an (institutional) practice through which knowledge was constructed, and which reinforced this knowledge through the 'stylised repetition' (Butler, 1990, p. 179) of violent acts. Secondly, as also highlighted in Chapters 3 and 4, violence could be a means through which the boundaries of this knowledge were reinforced and those who transgressed them were punished. Throughout the thesis, the analysis has also shown that in some school settings, classrooms, and around certain teachers, gender violence in these interconnected forms emerged more often than others, and at times in highly different ways, and this related to different bodies of underpinning knowledge. This necessitates some reworking of the concept of schools' bodily-institutional regimes, which I now turn to.

Schools' bodily-institutional regimes

Micro regimes: A plurality of bodily-institutional regimes

Speaking back to both Connell's concept of the 'gender regime', and Foucault's 'regimes of truth', that underpinned my conceptualisation of schools' bodily-institutional regimes, I synthesise the findings of this thesis to propose that we might talk of schools' many 'micro' bodily-institutional regimes. The analysis found that gender violence, in its interconnected forms, emerged in different ways at different moments, in different spaces and in relation to different school actors. Speaking back to the framework in Figure 6, this had significance for the kinds of knowledge that were reinforced through acts of violence, the subjects that were constituted through them and the identities that emerged around them. While a plurality of micro regimes emerged, they did not operate in isolation, however, but rather were overlapping and interconnected. Employing the theoretical framework, some examples from across the data chapters and in the different schools, shown below, exemplify this simultaneous plurality and connectedness.

In Myufu School, I examined how Teacher Matthias held beliefs about strict gender differences that were underpinned by norms of gender and gender inequality of the context, that pertained to male dominance and aggression, and female humility and malleability: '[girls] have to be humble' / 'boys are so stubborn' / '[girls] can make a change' / [boys] 'remain stubborn'. These forms of *knowledge* underscored, and were reinforced by, the (*institutional*) *practices* of increased corporal punishment

use with girls and sexual violence with girls. The male *subject* as dominant, active and stubborn, and the female subject as passive, humble and changeable, could be seen constituted through these practices. The *identities* that emerged here were those of fearful, silenced and self-silencing feminine identities, dominant and aggressive classroom masculinities, and a sexually and institutionally authoritative teacher masculinity.

Also in Myufu School I described a scene in which Teacher Mary led a GST intervention activity session, and where boys positioned themselves at the back and sought to quietly disrupt, while also excluded themselves, from the main activities that were dominated by girls. A micro regime in this space, around these activities, could be seen wherein the knowledge of girls' rights and empowerment and the practices of girls performing and being more active in the GST activities, interconnected and constituted the female learner subject as confident, smart and independent, and the male learner subject as disruptive. In these spaces, girls embodied confident and active learner femininities, and boys saw themselves as subordinated.

These regimes were different again to those that emerged in Chapter 8, in Teacher Joseph's classroom where pupil gender was downplayed, but children were fearful of his severe use of corporal punishment. Here the knowledge that children would perform and behave better if they were physically disciplined and the practice of frequent, severe discipline interconnected, as the meek and subjugated learner subject who was subordinate to the teacher's authority was constituted, and pupils' identities were those of children/pupils fearful of adult/teacher violence. The ways in which the male pupil Isaac moved between the micro regime of Matthias' classroom, seen in his practices (boisterous classroom behaviours), subject position (competent older male pupil), identity (hegemonic masculinity) (Chapter 9), to the space of our interview with him, where he discussed his feelings of vulnerability and asked for support, revealed different possibilities for action and self-positioning in different regimes. Despite my observations of his positive relationship with male teachers, the fact that Isaac was more comfortable with a female teacher handling his referral to a counsellor suggests that this action was more suited to a micro regime around female teachers than one around male teachers.

Teachers also moved between different regimes, and further additional micro regimes emerged amongst the staff themselves. I described how in Myufu School while some male teachers espoused strict notions of gender inequality in their classrooms, in the staffroom they interacted with female teachers in a respectful way, positioning themselves as an equal match for female teachers in debates, with, as shown in Chapter 10, Charles even expressing admiration for Teacher Esther's challenge to other staff members on their uses of violence. The contrast between this and how gendered staffroom

dynamics worked in Kiragala School, shows how the interplay between regimes functioned very differently in the two schools.

In Kiragala School, the micro regime constructed around the senior male teachers, and in particular one senior male teacher, was particularly dominant. Across data chapters, I examined how in Teacher Paul's classroom the *knowledge* of girls' docility and sexual subjugation to men, and boys' strength and independence, along with a strict hierarchy between males, interconnected with the *practices* of male teacher sexual violence of female pupils and increased physical and emotional violence against boys. Here the *subjects* of the female learner, who was docile and subjugated, yet simultaneously preferred and more highly visible, and the independent, competent but subjugated male learner were constituted. In relation to these a range of *identities* emerged, where female pupils tended to embody more confident classroom femininities and boys embodied quieter and more despondent classroom masculinities. Micro regimes amongst staff also centred around the dominance of Teacher Paul, who, as senior teacher, held institutional authority. Paul dominated staff spaces and embodied a particularly outspoken and dominant form of hegemonic masculinity where he routinely put down Teacher Victor, a comparatively subordinated male teacher, and moved with bodily and institutional authority around female teachers, who felt they could not challenge this authority.

In Teacher Ruth's classroom a regime of very different gender and institutional relations emerged. Ruth espoused the knowledge of children's rights and viewed the role of a parent and teacher as one of caring for children and offering encouragement and guidance, strengthened by forms of knowledge promoted by the GST. This related to classroom practices of non-violent discipline and encouraging, warm teacher manner and verbal interaction, which strengthened these forms of knowledge. Children's subject positions in these micro-regimes were those of children learning and being guided, and largely embodied classroom identities of the 'good', enthusiastic and cooperative learner. This emerged in striking contrast to the regime I observed around these learners without the presence of Teacher Ruth. In Chapter 7 I noted how in this same class these boys negotiated hierarchies of masculinity around peer violence particularly in relation to Ronald, a male pupil with possible disabilities, and in how girls engaged in emotional violence against him. The same group of learners, in the same physical classroom space, could therefore operate in different micro regimes according to the presence or absence of a teacher.

Structural inequalities: Regimes of dominance and resistance

This plurality and the presence of multiple micro bodily-institutional regimes did not suggest an equal weighting to these regimes, however, and there were clear levels of authority between them. While

some micro regimes were pervasive and dominant, others emerged only in particular spaces, were fragile and more easily overridden. Further, some regimes entailed significant gender violence within them, while others did not, or did so to a lesser extent. It is here that the limits of a uniquely structural or poststructural theorisation may be seen, and how these two theoretical positionings mutually strengthen to enhance understanding of how gender violence operates within bodily-institutional regimes of dominance.

For example, the bodily-institutional regime that emerged in Teacher Paul's classroom and around Kiragala School under his oversight as senior teacher, took easy predominance over those that emerged around notions of gender equality and children's rights in Teacher Ruth's classroom, or those around boys' dominant masculinities in the school compound. This same regime also entailed gender violence against pupils and other teachers within it. Analyses of how some regimes operated in dominance over others, and how some regimes entailed more violence, offer key insights into how structural inequalities and gender violence functioned in schools. I now examine how the dominance of some regimes over others was ensured in five ways, relating to the structural constraints of inequalities in this setting.

Firstly, bodies of contextually located knowledge weaved through, and underpinned, multiple regimes. Where these forms of knowledge were the most entrenched and long-held, with deeply rooted contextual significance and had claims to 'historicity' (Butler, 1997a), these forms of knowledge and the practices that occurred around them held more contextual significance, and were more widely recognised and accepted than those that were new or emergent. Thus long-held beliefs and practices around corporal punishment, or gender division of labour and resource acquisition, held considerable significance in these schools and weaved through many micro regimes. Some bodies of contextually located knowledge could conversely disrupt or challenge gender violence, however these were constrained in their abilities to do so due to the constraints listed below. Contextual bodies of knowledge that challenge violence are returned to below, however.

Secondly, where this knowledge related to underpinning structural inequalities of the context, and where policy contexts upheld these inequalities, the regimes that emerged around them functioned to secure structures of hierarchy and inequality within the schools, which further reinforced the strength of their positioning. In both Kiragala and Myufu schools, deeply rooted structural gender inequality; the structural inequalities of poverty that meant resources were scarce and thus strengthened gendered norms and practices around securing them; and age/generational inequalities that gave adults authority over children's bodies and reduced children's agency in challenging violence, upheld by patchy and poorly enacted child-protection policies in this setting (Awich Ochen, Ssengendo and Wanyama Chemonges, 2017; Child *et al.*, 2014), meant that bodily-institutional regimes around male

dominance, hierarchies attached to resource acquisition, and adult authority, emerged as the most dominant. These constructed hierarchies with the overlapping subjectivities of male/resource provider/adult located as those with the highest status.

The institutional setting of the school added a third layer of significance. The institutional hierarchies that positioned teachers as dominant and learners as subordinated, reinforced age/generational inequalities and the legitimised authority of adults' over children's bodies. Further, where structural inequalities corresponded with institutional hierarchical structures, such as in Kiragala School where the senior teachers were male and embodied particularly dominant forms of hegemonic masculinity, this regime was particularly predominant. Where institutional hierarchies did not directly correspond with these structural inequalities, as in Myufu School with its female-headed staff structure, a greater plurality of dominant micro regimes emerged. In Myufu, therefore, while some classrooms were dominated by strict gender norms and by violent, hegemonic masculinities, in other spaces regimes also came to the fore which were presided over by institutionally sanctioned dominant femininities. This plurality allowed more space for a range of possibilities for gendered, institutional identities and reduced the dominance of one regime over all others.

Examining institutional subjects in schools reveals a fourth way in which both positions of inequality and domination were ensured. Employing Deborah Youdell's (2006a) concept of possible/impossible institutional subjects, certain teacher and pupil subject positions could be seen as possible and less possible across regimes. Taking a less sedimented, and more fluid and situational view of these positionings than Youdell, however, I found here that the possibility/impossibility of subjectivities was relational, with some subjects being possible or less possible in different moments. There were moments in which female pupils, for example, could not be both the sexually restrained 'good' female learner who rejects transactional sex and access the resources they needed for school. Similarly, boys could easily not be both financial providers for themselves and others and be 'good' learners who do not work outside of school.

Girls could not be the docile and subordinate female and the well-behaved learner who does not challenge institutional authority while openly rejecting male teachers' sexual advances, yet to not do so would threaten norms of female chastity and sexual restraint of the 'good' female learner. Boys could not be both the competent and independent male, who was only ever perpetrator, never victim of abuse, and simultaneously discuss feelings of vulnerability. Female teachers could not easily be both the caring, supportive female teacher who protects children from sexual violence, and the 'good' female teacher who does not challenge senior male teachers' institutional authority. As learners and teachers negotiated these often incommensurate subject positions, they could find themselves in impossible positions, which upheld their exclusion or subordination. For male teachers, however,

working and thus having resources, norms of male dominance underpinned by violence, and being adult with authority over children's bodies, were all commensurate and mutually reinforced across micro regimes. Where this corresponded with senior staff status, these positions of possibility were expanded further.

Finally, where dominant regimes in the schools were also those that entailed significant, interconnected forms of gender violence, the strength of their positionings could be further upheld. Some regimes that entailed violence were not the most dominant in schools, such as that which emerged in Teacher Joseph's classroom in Myufu School around his significant use of corporal punishment which was challenged by other teachers. Some regimes were both dominant and violent, however, such as that which emerged around Teacher Paul in Kiragala School. This violence could further serve to shore up the dominance of this regime.

While power is not a zero-sum game (Foucault, 1982), in Kiragala School a zero-sum game was thus in effect produced, where the authority of senior male teachers was both upheld by intersecting layers of dominant and most consistently 'possible' subject positions (adult/teacher/resource provider/male/institutionally senior), strengthened by deeply embedded contextual knowledge and pervasive engagement in gender violence. In Myufu School, the sedimented and contextually significant knowledge that supported the superior status of the male/adult/resource provider subject, were similarly present, although not reinforced by institutional staff hierarchies. Regimes securing male teachers' dominance still emerged, therefore, however these were more dynamic and situational, as they were overridden by, in some spaces, those around the institutionally authoritative female subject. Schools' bodily-institutional regimes were shaped differently in different schools therefore, negotiating structural inequalities of the setting in different ways.

The multiplicity of regimes in these schools, and the examples given above, also point to the presence of regimes that were positioned as separate or in opposition to both dominant regimes, and to those entailing violence. For Foucault (1978), resistance is fundamental to power, is never external to it, and discursive practices may serve both power and resistances to power simultaneously. Regimes of resistance that emerged here, while always presenting the possibility of destabilisation to dominant regimes, were not necessarily able to do so in practice.

Regimes of resistance emerged, for example, in the spaces around Teachers Ruth, Mary, Esther and Susan who sought to teach without violence and adhered to knowledge of the violence-free classroom, and who downplayed gender differences amongst pupils. They also emerged in the spaces around Teacher Victor who rejected Paul's engagements in sexual violence and the relations that accompanied this. These regimes were thus in positions of resistance to the regime of senior male

teachers' dominance described above in Kiragala School. These could also serve to shore up regimes of dominance, however. Firstly, as all regimes operated in the same contexts and contextually located knowledge and practices weaved through them, regimes of resistance were not separate and external to those of dominance. As discourses can be deployed to various ends and serve different regimes of truth in different moments, or even simultaneously (Foucault, 1978), the knowledge, practices, subjectivities and identities of different micro regimes did not consistently serve the interests of these micro regimes, and could even reinforce another, or to destabilise themselves. This could be seen in how the knowledge and practices of girls' empowerment, around the Strong Girls intervention, did not operate separately to those of girls' weakness and vulnerability, as shown by the male teachers who mobilised these discursive practices to strengthen knowledge of structural gender inequality, explored in Chapter 7. This was also seen in how female teachers' attempts to protect girls and prevent male violence, through teaching girls 'tricks' or quietly observing male teachers, reinforced the notion of girls' and women's responsibility for preventing male violence, and impunity for men and boys.

The presence of regimes of resistance could further strengthen dominant regimes in the conflicts that occurred when they clashed. As violence could emerge to punish those who transgressed norms, violence could thus strengthen the boundaries around regimes, and positionings of domination. This could be seen when, in Chapter 9, James, the male pupil, faced emotional violence and harassment from two male teachers when he sought help for his hard labour outside of school, thus reinforcing the impossibility of boys discussing their problems; in the emotional violence that Teacher Victor faced as a result of challenging Paul's engagements in sexual violence, reinforcing Victor's inferior institutional status and leading him to fear for his institutional standing; and in the suggestion that girls experienced violent institutional repercussions for rejecting male teachers sexual advances, thus further subjugating them both sexually and institutionally.

Regimes of resistance, thus did not *de facto* destabilise dominant regimes, and could even often function to reinforce them. Interweaving structural and poststructural theorisations therefore, reveals both the fundamentally impermanent and mutable nature of these regimes of dominance and resistance, as well as the very real constraints that are placed on this possibility of change. Regimes of resistance did, however, present the continual possibility for disruption, and these could thus function as fruitful ground for interventions to meaningfully challenge regimes of dominance. I return to this below.

Institutional gender identities: Femininities and masculinities around gender violence

This thesis also sought to examine institutional, gender identities emerging around, and as part of, schools' bodily-institutional regimes, also shown in the framework in Figure 6. It has aimed to draw on and speak back to Connell's (1987; 1995) conceptualisations of masculinities and femininities, and to contribute to theorisations of girls' femininities that trouble the pull towards hegemonic masculinity as the central reference point (Paechter, 2012; Paechter, 2018; Schippers, 2007). Here I synthesise the findings from across the thesis, adding to Connell's conceptualisation of masculinities with insights from this Ugandan context, and offering a new conceptualisation of femininities around gender violence in these schools.

In Chapter 7 I explored how in this context of structural gender inequality, hegemonic masculinity among male pupils emerged as the central pivot for other masculinities and for femininities. At the same time however, this chapter exposed alternative possibilities for male pupils and how femininities also constructed identities relationally, and in hierarchical ways. In Chapters 8 and 9 the predominance of hegemonic masculine identities emerged in various ways through the practice, and discussions of, teacher discipline and teacher sexual violence, and these chapters also explored the range of possibilities for other masculinities and for femininities. Below I first examine the configurations of masculinity and femininity that emerged across schools' micro bodily-institutional regimes, with hegemonic masculinity at the centre. The subsequent sub-section explores alternative identity possibilities that also emerged and posits some implications for schools' bodily-institutional regimes.

Identities around hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic, subordinate and marginalised masculinities

Hegemonic masculinities, as described by Connell (1995), could be seen in both schools among those male teachers and pupils that sought to establish sexual domination over female pupils and other male pupils or teachers through acts of gender violence. While violence can be central to the dominance that underpins hegemonic masculine positions, it is 'the successful claim to authority', underpinned by the threat of violence, not necessarily direct violence, that characterises hegemonic masculinity (1995, p. 77). Hegemonic masculine identities thus could also be embodied by those male teachers and pupils who mobilised discourses of naturalised masculine superiority and feminine weakness, and

who discursively positioned girls as weak and vulnerable to male violence and boys as capable and physically and sexually powerful.

Subordinated and marginalised masculinities, also as conceptualised by Connell (1995), emerged around these hegemonic forms, and in different ways in the two schools. In this context where homosexuality was both legally and socially forbidden, and was almost totally absent in discursive constructions of gender and sexuality, and where a high premium was placed on resources amid resource-paucity, these matrices of domination and subordination took place primarily through the mobilisation of two salient facets of hegemonic masculinity: access to resources and physical dominance. Subordinated and marginalised masculinities were therefore those that were unable to provide resources for themselves, for girlfriends or for their families, and those that embodied physical and social traits of weakness or feminisation. In certain instances, these masculinities were embodied by specific male subjects, such as male pupils who were routinely mocked for embodying characteristics associated with physical weakness, such as being short, speaking with a lisp, or spoke or carried themselves in ways that was associated with femininity. More commonly, however, these subordinated and marginalised positionings shifted, overlapped and were embodied by different pupils or teachers at different moments in relation to their spatial positionings and others present.

Hegemonic masculinity also functioned differently in the two schools and this had implications for other masculinities too. In Myufu School, where the hegemonic masculinity that presided in some regimes was one of the domination of most men and boys over most women and girls, and momentarily subordinated boys, male teachers and pupils shaped their identities in ways that related to male dominance and could negotiate differing positions in this hegemony according to the resources, school space and other actors of a particular moment. In the dominant regimes in Kiragala School, where hegemonic masculinity entailed the domination of one, or a few, men over all girls and women and all other men and boys, and where this performance of hegemonic masculinity intersected with institutional status of being senior teachers, the domination of the hegemonic masculine and institutionally superior male staff members was particularly pervasive, significant and violent. Here boys were consistently positioned in subordinated positionings in relation to these teachers and these positionings were patrolled and enforced through violence.

Boys in classrooms in Kiragala School where the structural violence of poverty and the impossibility of homosexuality intersected with the violence they faced from senior male teachers, thus had limited options available to them for identity construction. These constraints could lead to either increased emphasis on the mobilisation of the few resources of masculinity in regimes emerging in other school spaces, seen in the examples of older boys who engaged in peer sexual harassment or sought to dominate in physical competition over resources around the school compound. Around Teacher Paul,

they could also lead to subordinated masculinities that adopted the physical comportment of subordination and espoused feelings of despondency, hopelessness and despair as boys were unable to embody masculinities that they could succeed in or that worked in their interests. Most male pupils in both schools were positioned somewhere on this spectrum between hegemonic and subordinate, marginalised masculinities, engaged in a continual negotiation of seeking to fulfil hegemonic masculine ideals, and their feelings of vulnerability, neglect and fear as they were unable to do so and the violence they faced as a result.

Emphasised, sexualised, authoritarian and advocate femininities

In addition to identifying emphasised femininities that orbited around, and upheld, positions of hegemonic masculinity through displays of compliance and docility (Connell, 1987), several other configurations of femininity also emerged across Chapters 7-10. These I call sexualised, authoritarian and advocate femininities. In line with Connell's description of how some femininities may be 'defined by complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation' (1987, p. 183), these configurations could be seen embodied by female teachers and pupils in different ways, at different moments, could overlap and were indeed characterised by 'complex strategic combinations' in relation to the predominance of hegemonic masculinity and to gender violence.

In this context, *emphasised* femininity was characterised by traits of compliance, docility and subordination to men in a context of traditional male-headed, at times polygamous households, being responsible for child-rearing and domestic responsibilities, and adhering to the contextually shaped boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable sexuality. These positionings could at times be compatible with or did not directly conflict with institutional identities. Female pupils who worked hard in class, behaved with meekness and compliance in the classroom and fulfilled the discursive notions of resisting transactional sexual temptations of the community through attending school, embodied emphasised feminine identities as well as the institutional identities of a 'good' learner. I observed these behaviours, to varying degrees, among all female pupils in the schools. Tropes of emphasised femininity could be seen among all female teachers who, again to varying degrees, discussed how they continued to run their households in addition to their professional responsibilities, acted in maternal or child protection roles within the schools, dressed with sexual discretion and acted with docility and in subordination to the male staff. Where challenges emerged, female pupils and teachers could be seen to weave aspects of other femininities into those of emphasised femininity, as I explore below.

In contrast to the contextually favoured positions of emphasised femininity, *sexualised* femininity could be seen among learners or teachers who displayed overtly sexual behaviours and the resources gained through transactional sex. Amid a backdrop of competing for resources in resource-scarcity, sexualised femininities were in competition with emphasised femininities and with each other. This was seen in Chapter 9, in the example of a female teacher, possibly Jamila, who may have been in a sexual relationship with a senior male teacher, and who the female pupil Stella believed had attempted to spy on her, amid suggestions of her sexual relations with the same teacher. These positionings could also be seen among pupils' descriptions of girls who flaunted displays of resources and sexual confidence (Chapter 7). Sexualised femininities were at odds with the favoured institutional identities of 'good' learner and teacher, however, and thus were more commonly discursively positioned outside of the school and associated with the practices of sexual promiscuity, transactional sex, early marriage and pregnancy of the out-of-school adolescent girl construct. Women and girls engaging in sexualised feminine identities thus tended to move between these and emphasised feminine positions, while other women and girls used discussions of sexualised femininity to reinforce the oppositional positioning of emphasised femininity and its preferred status. Despite the distinctions between the two, sexualised femininity was not entirely at odds with emphasised femininity, however, as the concept of remaining subordinate to male authority, and an absence of voiced dissent, underpinned both forms.

Authoritarian femininities could be seen among female teachers who embodied characteristics of harsh and authoritarian manner and discipline. The teachers who engaged in these femininities tended to be those who also held positions of institutionally sanctioned power in the school, such as senior teachers, and did not entirely contravene emphasised feminine norms in this context as they rarely challenged male teachers, and their use of harsh discipline mirrored masculine, authoritarian identities. A small number of female teachers engaged in these positionings in each school, and were either underpinned by senior institutional status, or tended to be those who taught younger pupils, such as Teacher Rose (Chapter 8). Authoritarian femininities emerged less often among female teachers of older years, perhaps as the hegemonic masculinities of older male pupils could threaten and challenge female teachers' authority. These femininities could be seen to reinforce the notions of an authoritarian institutional identity that also underpinned masculine dominance.

Recent policy shifts and interventions supporting girls' education and the promotion of a girls' rights discourse appeared to have given rise to, or brought to the fore, further femininities that positioned themselves in opposition to, and sought to challenge, male dominance. I call these identities *advocate* femininities, as some women and girls advocated for girls' education, empowerment and (among female teachers) offered support to girls for the challenges of gender violence. Advocate femininities discursively positioned new norms of girls' empowerment in opposition to the traditional norms of

structural gender inequality. The constraints of gender inequality and regimes of dominance upheld by this inequality, led to restricted positionings for these advocate femininities, however. As they sought to challenge hegemonic masculinity from different positionings, that I call *overt* and *covert advocate*, these efforts frequently reinforced the dominance of hegemonic masculinity even as they might apparently destabilise it.

Overt advocate femininities could be seen among female teachers and pupils that actively drew on emergent discourses of female empowerment promoted through the Strong Girls and GST interventions in the schools and broader policy shifts promoting girls' education. This included female teachers who led intervention activities and who discussed the need to support girls to be empowered in relation to traditional gender norms and the sexual violence of men and boys in the community. Among female pupils this included girls who either led or participated in intervention activities and who moved, spoke and presented themselves with an overt confidence in the school and who discussed their plans for the future, their desires to continue studying, and their intentions to reject male sexual advances and to speak out against violence. While perhaps the most active in shifting norms of femininity in the school and in successfully promoting new discourses of girls' education, these overt advocate feminine identities did not engage in a meaningful way with, or thus disrupt, the underpinning causes of female subordination, however. Women and girls could either ignore or shroud in secrecy acts of gender violence that took place within the school and thus challenged its positioning as a discursive terrain of empowerment and safety, or could reinforce notions of female responsibility for, or vulnerability to, male sexuality through placing the emphasis on themselves to reject and resist male violence or male dominated sexual encounters.

Covert advocate femininities were embodied by women and girls who sought to prioritise navigating themselves, and others, safely through the gender violence of hegemonic masculinity, taking steps to reject and challenge male violence but without disrupting gender and institutional hierarchies in a way that risked harmful repercussions. These identities could be seen among female teachers who, within feminine norms of child-rearing, acted in parental roles towards children in the school through seeking to support and protect them from violence. As shown in Chapter 9, rather than challenging male violence directly, however, these female teachers engaged in practices such as observing male teachers closely, discussing among themselves how best to support girls and teaching girls 'tricks' to reject and resist male teacher and community member sexual violence. These female teachers thus constructed theirs', and pupils' feminine identities around a sense of solidarity and fear of male violence and a shared outsmarting of men. Among female pupils, covert advocate identities could be seen among girls who sat in silent opposition to, or evaded male teacher sexual violence, while maintaining outward performances of docility, and in those girls who reported male teacher sexual violence to Shakira and I individually but were fearful of discussing it in groups.

In this context of male dominance and widespread failure of child protection policies to support action taken on violence against children, challenging male violence in covert ways could thus be based on a valued judgment that these were the most effective ways to safely and meaningfully navigate through the gender violence of hegemonic masculinity. So doing, however, covert advocate femininities could also strengthen the dominance of hegemonic masculinity through implicitly legitimising its hierarchical positioning, and through girls learning from their female teachers the impossibility of overtly challenging masculine, institutional authority. These covert advocate femininities also interacted in overlapping ways with femininity in its emphasised, authoritarian and sexualised forms. Emphasised femininity, as the most prevalent and contextually sanctioned identity, characterised and shaped the ways in which all women and girls acted to differing degrees, and they tended to weave alternative authoritarian, sexualised or advocate aspects into these (emphasised feminine) identities, in order to navigate the challenges of structural gender inequality and, in the case of Kiragala School, male dominated institutional hierarchies.

In these ways, the most pervasive and sedimented configurations of masculinity and femininity were those that emerged around hegemonic masculinity, and these could all serve to reinforce it in different ways. These identities emerged across micro bodily-institutional regimes in the schools, however, in the ways described above, were negotiated and functioned relationally and differently according to different school spaces, and regimes. They could also be embodied by different actors in different moments, and thus were fluid, dynamic and relational. While the masculinities and femininities described above emerged out of, and could serve to shore up dominant regimes particularly shaped by hegemonic masculinity, the data chapters also highlighted moments wherein emergent alternative possibilities for identities could be seen. I now turn to examining these alternative possibilities.

Emergent 'possibilities' for femininities and masculinities

For Connell, configurations of masculinities and femininities are 'actions [...] configured in larger units' (1995, p. 72), with their functioning as larger units imbuing such configurations with social recognition and meaning. Across Chapters 7-10 I detailed moments in which possibilities for masculinities and femininities emerged that did not conform with the contextually significant configurations of identities as explored above, and could even offer meaningful destabilisation to the predominance of hegemonic masculinity. I refer to these as 'possibilities' to describe actions that I observed to be repeated or that recurred often enough to suggest emergent significance, but had not yet configured into recognisable 'larger units' of identity. Interestingly, these possibilities occurred most notably around interventions, which I return to in the following section.

For masculinities, these emergent, alternative possibilities emerged often in female-dominated regimes or discursive spaces. In Chapter 7 I examined how boys in both schools displayed confusion about their positionings around the Strong Girls intervention that focused on girls, and how they oscillated between feelings of strength and competence, and vulnerability, exclusion and desire for support. Similar findings emerged in the female-dominated GST spaces in Myufu School, where boys felt excluded. I also examined how boys sometimes felt confusion and a sense of unfairness around girls' violence, while at other times emphasised their dominance over girls and the impossibility of girls' using violence against them. In these moments boys embodied a sense of confusion that was not commensurate with masculinity in any of its forms in the hierarchical structures described above. In relation to adult females who used positions of authority to take action for child protection, and where these spaces involved no other male actors, boys could also express a sense of vulnerability that was difficult or impossible for older male boys to express elsewhere. This could be seen with Isaac who requested a female teacher handle his child protection referral, and with James and Edward, who in the research space led by Shakira and I, described their feelings of vulnerability and helplessness in the expectations and challenges placed on them, along with abuse they faced in school.

Among male teachers, alternative possibilities could be seen among some male teachers around the GST intervention or in relation to child protection activities external to the school. This emerged in the incidence I observed of Teacher Jackson disciplining a male pupil in a gentle way, which female teachers framed with the GST notions of 'guiding and counselling'. These also emerged in Teacher John's efforts to access support for James with his experiences of labour outside of school; in Teacher Victor's visitations to Robert's home during his illness; and in Victor's assessment of my outsider presence in the school as a means of reporting teacher sexual violence and thus hoping to access external channels to prevent it. In these moments, male teachers thus behaved in ways that were not commensurate with hegemonic masculinity or any of its relational configurations, and these actions often emerged outside the school space, or in proximity to interventions and external actors related to them, such as myself through my association with Raising Voices.

Alternative possibilities for female pupils were seen in the ways in which some girls contravened the norms of feminine configurations as described above, in disclosing sexual violence to Shakira and I, without knowing the consequences and that could have resulted in risk to themselves. Girls' physical violence against boys for distracting them or sexually harassing them in the classroom, as described in Chapter 7, could be seen as ways in which some girls rejected the predominance of hegemonic masculinity. Interestingly, these actions simultaneously contravened feminine and 'good learner' norms, while also serving them through promoting girls' stated desires to concentrate on their studies and reject sex. Among female teachers, similarly interesting possibilities emerged, such as could be seen in the way Ruth disclosed sexual violence to me, similarly not knowing the consequences; in the

ways in which Teacher Esther challenged male teachers' use of corporal punishment and was respected for doing so; and in Mary's act of rolling her eyes at Matthias' espousal of traditional gender norms in front of me and other staff, thus subtly, but powerfully, delegitimising the claims to power of this knowledge. All of these moments were similarly strengthened by, or occurred around, interventions.

These emergent, alternative possibilities for identity negotiation suggested that while the configurations of masculinity and femininity that emerged around hegemonic masculinity were predominant, identities were not limited to these. Further, their emergence showed both the potential to destabilise regimes of structural inequality and gender violence, and the fact that some school actors were also actively engaged in seeking to do so. The fact that these identity possibilities often emerged around interventions has significant implications for insights into long-term, sustainable violence prevention interventions, which I now turn to.

Sustainable interventions to prevent gender violence in schools

Turning to the relationship between interventions, regimes of resistance and alternative possibilities for identities, therefore, I synthesise the findings of this thesis to respond to research question 6, which asks what they offer for the sustainability of interventions to influence gender violence over the long-term. Here I argue that while presenting as an outside, or external, intervention, the Good School Toolkit in fact operated in ways that was closely interrelated with, and was not outside or external to, schools' existing bodily-institutional regimes. It became attached to, responded to, was shaped by, co-constructed meaning with, and challenged, aspects of schools' existing regimes. Assessing the convergence between the GST and existing regimes within the school may be seen as a key aspect to understanding potential for sustainability. Secondly, insofar as we talk of micro regimes, I posit that we may also talk of micro interventions. This could be seen in the ways the GST interacted with existing micro regimes in the school that functioned as fertile spaces for sustained change. Finally, I argue that the findings presented in Chapter 10 into the GST offer insight into the method of sustainable violence prevention, suggesting that the most meaningful and sustainable interventions are those that involve micro interventions into both *knowledge* and *practices* – the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes – simultaneously.

Micro interventions

The findings of Chapter 10 showed how, while presenting as an external, NGO-led intervention, with its declared aims of preventing violence against children in schools, the functioning of the GST intervention was closely related to existing knowledge, practices, subjectivities and identities within the schools. In the same way as a Foucauldian analysis revealed how discursive practices did not serve one regime within the school, but could serve many, and how regimes do not exist separately or externally to one another, the same emerged regarding the GST intervention. In Chapter 10 I described how the GST became most meaningfully adopted and appreciated by teachers when they saw that it was ‘working’, which, as a term, mobilises bodies of knowledge and practices already operating in schools. Here this suggested that when the GST was seen to shore up knowledge and practices around the ‘good’ teacher, that cares for and effectively disciplines pupils, and the ‘good learner’ who behaves well and focuses on studies, it had more support from teachers and could thus operate in meaningful ways. This underscores the importance of NGO interventions working closely with existing bodies of knowledge and priorities in particular settings.

The analysis in Chapter 10 showed that the potential of the GST activities to disrupt structural gender inequality in the schools was also shaped by the schools’ existing bodily-institutional regimes. In Myufu School, I showed how its existing regimes around female-headed institutional structures shaped the possibility of the GST to promote girls to high-status positions within its activities. Conversely, in Kiragala School existing regimes around structural gender inequality meant that boys tended to hold positions of power in the GST activities. In relation to the Strong Girls intervention also taking place in the schools, pupils often elided the messages promoted by both the Strong Girls and GST interventions, mobilising the GST to shore up knowledge around girls’ empowerment even though these were not overtly promoted in the GST messaging. The ways in which the GST was viewed, and mobilised for notions of girls’ empowerment, thus related to other discourses present in the schools. These findings suggest that once within the school, an external intervention becomes part of the schools’ bodily-institutional regimes in a fundamental way.

The relationships of influence functioned in two ways, however, and the GST also served to shape and influence schools’ micro bodily-institutional regimes themselves. The ways in which the GST influenced schools’ micro regimes necessitates, as described above, that we talk not of one, singular intervention in the schools, but of many micro interventions. Thus functioning as an intervention ‘package’, the GST offered a range of micro interventions that addressed, and were mobilised in different ways by, different regimes in the schools. Where micro interventions interconnected with existing regimes of resistance in the schools, powerful practices of violence prevention could occur, and this strengthened the emergence of alternative ‘possibilities’ for masculinities and femininities. The following examples re-examine some moments described above, in light of this claim.

Holding a widely recognised and respected role as leader of the GST intervention activities with its focus on girls' empowerment in Myufu School, meant that Teacher Mary's exasperation with Matthias' traditional gender norms, shown in the rolling of her eyes, was afforded some status and a legitimising framing. Teacher Esther, already in a role as Senior Woman and thus employed within schools' existing structures in the practice of child protection, may similarly have been enabled to act with institutional legitimacy in challenging Joseph's use of corporal punishment through mobilising the knowledge and practices of the GST intervention. In Kiragala School, the GST offered a means of strengthening positive relationships with pupils that were particularly important to Teachers Ruth, Susan, Jamila and Brenda, and enabled them to take action to support children with experiences of violence in the community. Further, my presence in the school which was affiliated with Raising Voices and the GST intervention, facilitated Teachers Ruth and Victor, and pupils Isaac and Prossy to disclose teacher sexual violence in the schools, leading to external interventions to take action on it. Thus while not offering direct challenge to sexual violence, the GST strengthened discursive spaces and external partnerships through which teachers sought to disrupt it. The most meaningful areas for sustainable prevention of gender violence therefore occurred at the convergence between micro interventions and existing micro bodily-institutional regimes of resistance, underpinned by contextual bodies of knowledge, that already sought to reject or prevent violence.

This therefore identifies two key ways in which the GST intervention could have a meaningful influence on preventing violence: Firstly, where teachers and learners found that the GST intervention offered them new, or more effective ways of achieving what was already valued within schools' existing bodily-institutional regimes, such as how alternative discipline approaches were found to 'work' in both managing pupils' behaviour and improving teacher-pupil relationships, it could garner meaningful and long-lasting support, and thus, in this example, corporal punishment was meaningfully reduced. Secondly, where there were bodily-institutional regimes of dominance and subordination, underpinned by structural inequalities, the regimes of resistance that emerged around them, supported by bodies of knowledge in these settings that rejected violence and the constraints of gender inequality, could offer fertile ground for micro interventions that challenged gender violence. Through a convergence of the GST interventions and existing regimes of resistance that sought to destabilise structural gender inequality, therefore, meaningful and sustained possibilities for addressing gender violence and preventing gender inequality emerged. Conceptualising schools' regimes as multiple, and the task of intervention as multiple, the myriad spaces for intervention are opened up and present new ways in which their meaningful long-term influence on preventing violence may be examined and assessed.

Drawing on the theoretical framework in Figure 6 to reflect on the insights of Chapter 10, offers insights into the tools by which the GST's micro interventions were effective in practice, and thus, I

argue, a conceptualisation for the method of sustainable approaches to prevent gender violence in schools. Chapter 10 showed that corporal punishment was most meaningfully challenged through a dual attendance to both the *knowledge* underpinning it, as well as to alternative discipline *practices* that were effectively institutionalised. Addressing these two fundamental areas at the heart of schools' bodily-institutional regimes: knowledge and (institutional) practices, therefore, emerged as having significant potential to reduce corporal punishment, a process that self-strengthened and mutually reinforced due to the interconnectivity of knowledge and practices, and, further, offered potential to constitute subjects differently and for alternative possibilities for identities to emerge.

Returning to questions raised in Chapter 2 regarding the post-colonial critiques placed on NGO involvement in schools, and of colonial legacies in schools in sub-Saharan Africa, the findings of this thesis also offer suggestions for teacher discipline violence prevention approaches within post-colonial spaces. The long-term influence of the GST intervention suggests that a whole school approach to preventing violence, that prioritises teachers' meaningful inclusion and leads them to reflect on *knowledge* in a way that respects their perspectives and experiences, and offers them support and training in their teaching practice in the form of (*institutional*) *practices*, has the potential to prevent violence in a way that does not devalue local knowledge and experience (Adjei, 2007; Dei, 2004; Nyamnjoh, 2012). Further, the fact that it had influence, albeit not total, on building and strengthening positive relationships between teachers and pupils, and on facilitating children's voice and participation in these two schools, suggests that this approach also has potential to destabilise the unequal relations, violence and learners' subordination within schooling structures whose roots lie in colonial forms of subjugation (Adzahlie-Mensah and Dunne, 2019; Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah, 2016; Leach, 2008; Morrell, 1993; Tafa, 2002). The fact that the GST itself was designed by Raising Voices in close partnership with Ugandan schools, and for Ugandan settings, may have been crucial for this, however more evidence is needed here. Further research is needed into how interventions to prevent violence may do so in ways that do not reinforce hierarchies of knowledge and that challenge colonial legacies in school structures.

In relation to the other two forms of violence examined in the thesis, where only one of these two key mechanisms was addressed, such as how that peer violence was addressed through (*institutional*) *practices*, but not *knowledge*, practices shifted but without also addressing knowledge, this did not bring about meaningful destabilisations for alternative gender subject positions to be constituted and for alternative identities to emerge. Chapter 10 also showed how teacher sexual violence was not addressed through either of these two mechanisms and thus persisted in these two schools alongside the GST intervention. This poses critical questions for the sustainability of interventions and for the appropriateness of seeking to address this form of violence alongside teacher discipline and peer violence in schools.

Addressing peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence in interconnected approaches

This thus returns the focus to a question asked early on in the thesis. In Chapter 2, I examined the tendency for school violence prevention interventions to address gender violence in siloes, with corporal punishment and non-sexual peer violence being addressed through approaches that are not overtly gendered, and sexual violence being addressed through overtly gendered approaches. This chapter queried the conceptual and practical usefulness of such a siloed approach. To this question this thesis offers insights and also posits further questions.

I have argued here that peer violence, teacher discipline violence and teacher sexual violence are interconnected and underpinned by the same structural inequalities of gender inequality, poverty and age/generational inequalities and similarly situated within schools' bodily-institutional regimes. This argument posits that the most meaningful examination of gender violence is thus one that captures these interconnections, as well as examines how they are simultaneously distinct and entail their own significance. I also examined the Good School Toolkit to prevent these forms of violence and found that while it had a meaningful long-term influence on preventing and disrupting meanings of teacher discipline violence, and to a certain degree peer violence, it did not have these same forms of influence on teacher sexual violence. I argued that this was due to the gendered social and institutional layers of taboo and silencing within which teacher sexual violence operates in schools' bodily-institutional regimes. Furthermore, I found that this intervention had the potential to address structural inequality that also underpinned gender violence, but that its capacity to do so was shaped by existing bodily-institutional regimes in the school.

As the arguments offered in this thesis were formed through an examination of an intervention that is not overtly gendered, and one that primarily seeks to address corporal punishment, it is not in a position to offer insight into the capacity for overtly gendered interventions that seek to address all forms of gender violence in schools to achieve this. This is a key limitation to this thesis. It is possible that the most sustainable and meaningful approaches to violence prevention may be those that tackle all forms of violence in schools and the interconnections between them, however it may also be possible that the layers of taboo and silencing within which teacher sexual violence operates may prevent any intervention that sought to address this alongside other forms of violence, from doing so as meaningfully as the Good School Toolkit has done. Finding meaningful and sustainable ways to prevent teacher sexual violence alongside other forms of violence in schools is a key area for future research, and this thesis has offered insights into the interconnectivity of forms of gender violence and how they function in schools, to support these efforts.

Methodological reflections

To methodological literature, this thesis offers insight into how a qualitative study with ethnographic methods may be in a position to capture teacher sexual violence in schools, shrouded as it is in silences, concealment and dilemmas of definition and notoriously challenging to capture in large-scale research. As no pupil directly disclosed experiences of sexual violence to me, however, this is simultaneously a key limitation to this thesis. While the findings presented here suggest that an in-depth study in two sites based on building relationships over a period of months may support disclosures of teacher sexual violence from other school members, I note that my lack of fluent Luganda is a key limitation and fluency in Luganda may have further supported direct disclosures from pupils. I also note the possibility that a longer time period may have further supported disclosures of violence, however at the same time query as to whether a longer period would have ended up both threatening the in-school relationships on which the research was founded and may have constrained the capacity to take meaningful and time-sensitive child protection action in schools. Further examinations of a range of methodological approaches to capturing teacher sexual violence are needed to take these findings further.

Further, due to the fact that, for female pupils, trust came more easily for female teachers than it did for male teachers, I also note that the process of being gendered, and of gendering myself, as female, in this setting, afforded possibilities for trust and exposure to girls' experiences of sexual violence in a way that may not have been possible for researcher gendered as male. In Chapter 5 I reflected on how mine and Shakira's manner and behaviours with pupils were thus aligned with female teachers that were trusted by pupils in these schools, and this afforded us a greater closeness and trust with both male and female pupils in different ways. Drawing on the theoretical framework offered in this thesis, we as researchers, therefore, are subjectivated on entering a research setting, and become constituted into subject positions that already exist, and, further, we are also active in the construction and negotiation of identities in relation to this subject position.

This highlights interesting tensions for both structural and poststructural perspectives on gender. Firstly, we as researchers are therefore active in constructing gender in sites of research, in ways that we both may simultaneously understand and may not understand, or grasp to varying degrees at different stages of the research. Secondly, we may at turns both rely on, and be constrained by, these existing bodies of gender knowledge and subject positions to conduct meaningful research. This emerged as particularly the case here in relation to structural gender inequality, and where, in particular moments or particular bodily-institutional regimes, strict gender binaries were characterised by inequality and mistrust.

In addition, the process of conducting this research in partnership with an NGO that had designed and implemented the intervention, and was also engaged in the process of amending the intervention following the research findings, was an integral aspect to this research. NGO-researcher collaborations are not straightforward, however this study shows that a partnership based on shared aims and willingness to engage in an open, dynamic, if at times uncomfortable dialogue around differences in key concepts and approaches both strengthens the research findings, and enhances their capacity to have a timely and real world impact.

Concluding comments

Finally, to conclude this thesis, I return to the sentence with which I opened it to consider how while schools are places of violence, inequality and fear they are also places of safety, friendship and care. As interventions seek to prevent violence in schools, and as this thesis has also sought to contribute knowledge to the task of understanding and preventing acts and experiences of violence, perhaps we may also forefront the ways in which these aspects of schooling continue as parts of everyday school life. There is much hope and potential for interventions in the ways in which they may support and strengthen these aspects of schooling, and my intention with this thesis has also been to contribute knowledge to this area.

Appendices

1. Approach and consent forms

Appendix 1.1 Approach to parents leaflet – English version

The leaflet below was written in English and translated into Luganda, and distributed to all parents in Luganda in March 2017 at the start of my involvement in schools. Here I include the English version.

For more information please contact:

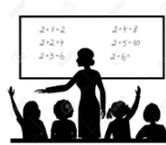
Ellen Turner: (mobile no.)
Researcher (email)

Teacher name: (mobile no.)
Teacher In person in school

(name): (mobile no.)
Chairperson MUREC

Research project:

Education in primary schools in Uganda



Information for parents

Who are we?

My name is Ellen Turner and I am from the Institute of Education, a university in London. I am here with *Raising Voices*. Later on a researcher called [name] will join me.

I will be here until September.

Why is the project being done?

We would like to learn about education in Uganda and to hear your child's thoughts about being a primary school student. We are also interested in the *Good Schools* programme. It is important to us to hear what your child thinks.

Who will be taking part?

We are speaking to teachers, administrators and students in two schools.

If your child is selected to take part, we will ask for you to sign a piece of paper to say you agree.

Please contact me or [name of teacher] if you have any questions at all.

What will happen if my child takes part?

We will ask your child some questions about how they find school, what they like and what difficulties they have. We will also do some drama or art activities.

No-one will know what your child says and it will remain strictly private. However, if we are worried about your child's safety, we may want to tell someone about this.

What will happen to the findings of the project?

The findings will be shared with the school, *Raising Voices*, and the university in London. I will write a report, a thesis and some articles to publish.

Your child's name will be changed so no-one will know what they said. We hope the project will help improve the *Good Schools* programme and children's experiences in school.

Appendix 1.2 Approach to pupils leaflet – Luganda version

This leaflet was written in English and translated into Luganda, and distributed to all pupils in Luganda in March 2017 at the start of my involvement in schools. Here I include the Luganda version.

Bwoba olina ky'obuuzza tuukirira:

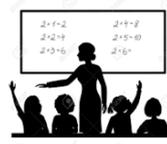
Ellen Turner: (number)
Omunoonyereza

Musomesa (name): (number)
Omusomesa

(name) : (number)
Chairperson MUREC

Omutwe:

**Okunoonyereza ku
by'enjigiriza mu masomero ga
ppulayimale mu Uganda**



Ffe b'ani?

Nze Ellen Turner nga nva mu ttendekero ly'abasomesa ekkulu erisangibwa mu London. Tuli wamu n'ekitongole kya *Raising Voices*.



Kiki ekinaabawo nga nzikirizza okwetaba mu kunoonyereza kuno?

Tujja kukubuuzza ebibuuzo ebikwata ku kiki kyekitegeeza okubeera omuyizi wa ppulayimale. Tujja nakukolayo katemba oba ebiiyiye ebirala.



Okunoonyereza kuno kunaatwala bbanga ki?

Njenda kubeera wano kussomero lyammwe okutuuka mu September. Osobola Ntuukirira obudde bwonna ne tunyamyamu oba okubaako ky'ombuuzza



Lwaki okunoonyereza kuno kukoledwa?

Twandyagadde okuwulira endowooza yo ku kye kitegeeza okubeera omuyizi wa ppulayimale. Ebirowooza byo ne byozze oyitamu bikulu nnyo gyetuli.



Ani aneetaba mu kunoonyereza kuno?

Nkyayogerako n'abasomesa bammwe era nkyayinza n'okujjako mu kibiina nga muso Oluvannyuma, nga ndiwamu tujja kwogerako n'abayizi abamu.



Nteekeddwa okwetaba mu kunoonyereza kuno?

Kiri gyoli okusalawo okwetaba mu kunoonyereza kuno. Ate ne bwoba okkiriza mu ntandikwa oliwaddembe okwekyusa oluvannyuma n'ogaana okukwetabamu.



Ani anaamanya ku bye njogedde?

Bwoba oyagadde osobola okubuulirako abantu abalala ku byetunaaba togeddeko. Naye nze ne sirina gwengenda kubuulirako.

Naye bwe wabaawo ekitweraliikiriza ku mbeera gy'olimu, tukyayinza okutegeezaako omuntu omulala. Naye era tujja kusooka kwogerako nawe



Ebinaazuulwa binaakozesebwa bitya?

Njakutegeeza essomero lyammwe ku binaaba bivudde mu kunoonyereza kuno. Nja nakutegezaako aba *Raising Voices* wamu n'ettendekero lyabasomesa erisangibwa mu London. Njanakuwandiika alipoota, n'ebiwandiiko ebirala ebinyinza okufulumizibwa mu butongole.

Erinnya lyo tujja kulikyusaamu kitusobozese okulemesa omuntu yenna okuteebereza by'onaaba otugambye.

Tusuubira nti okunoonyereza kuno kujja kwongera okulongoosa embeera abayizi ze bayitamu nga bali ku masomero.



Appendix 1.3 Approach to teachers letter

This leaflet was written in English and given out to teachers at both schools in March 2017 at the start of my involvement in schools, following a similar letter written to school administration and having obtained their written consent for the school's participation.

UCL Institute of Education
WC1H 0AL
London, UK

Dear Teacher,

I am writing to inform you of a doctoral research project I am conducting in your school. I am informing you to ask if you will consider taking part in this research.

The focus of this research is to learn about education in primary schools in Uganda and how you have found being a part of the *Good Schools* programme. Your school was one of two schools selected for the research. I am very interested to hear about your experiences at school to understand what you think.

I will be in the school for two days a week until September 2017. I am interested in the day-to-day life of the school and you may see me around the school site. Please come and speak to me any time, to offer your thoughts or ask me any questions.

My visit will consist of the following parts:

March – May 2017

- Joining lessons
- Reading and writing groups with students (*not research*)

June – September 2017

- Individual and group interviews with school staff
- Joining lessons
- Drawing/drama activities and interviews with students

Individual and group interviews

Individual and group interviews will take place on the school site with your full consent. Individual interviews will take place with a translator and myself. Group interviews will involve you, at least two of your colleagues and myself. I will ask you questions about your experiences and opinions of teaching in primary schools. It is entirely your choice to take part and you can stop at any point.

Joining lessons

This research will involve me joining lessons that you are teaching with your full consent. This is a non-judgmental observation for me understand teaching in the school. It is entirely your choice to take part and you can stop at any point.

After the research has finished, I look forward to sharing my findings with the school.

Please do not hesitate to ask me any further questions.

Thank you in advance for your interest.

Yours sincerely,

Ellen Turner / PhD student at UCL Institute of Education [email address]

Appendix 1.4 Pupils' consent form

For adult and child participants, all participants were read aloud the study details and signed a written consent form, in English for teachers and in Luganda for pupils. For parents, a consent form in Luganda was sent out to all parents of the age/gender group I was conducting research with a couple of weeks in advance (June-August 2017).

Here I include the pupil consent forms in English.

Written consent for child participants

(to be read aloud to the participant at the beginning of any data collection)

Introduction to data collection

Hello, my name is Ellen Turner and this is [researcher name] who speaks Luganda and will be helping with the research. I am from London, England and am from an education university there. We are here to better understand children's experiences in primary school here in Luwero district. We are interviewing children in P 4, 5 and 6, as well as teachers and other school staff.

Can I ask - would you prefer to speak in English or Luganda?

(note the response and continue in English / Luganda)

We are talking with children at different schools in the district about the learning environment for primary school students in Uganda. We are very interested to hear about your experiences at school to understand what you think. Your views are very important to us.

We are here to learn from you regarding your experiences of school life and we will also ask you about the Good Schools programme. I would like to tell you a little about the research itself. Firstly, this research has been approved by the Uganda Research Ethics Committee, Mildmay. I am working with two universities in London, England, and the research is paid for by these universities. They are called London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, and University College London. I am also here working with Raising Voices, which is a Ugandan organisation that promotes non-violence.

Some of the questions might talk about things that some people find quite personal, or may be difficult to answer. You have the right to stop the interview at any time, or to skip any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, or you don't want to answer. There are no right or wrong answers and we are interested to hear your honest opinions. The interview or research will not take longer than 1 hour and it may be less than that. Please tell me if you would like to stop at any time.

Everything you choose to tell us during this interview will be kept strictly secret. Information about your name will be stored safely and only I and [researcher name] will have access to that information. If you tell us about something that makes me think your current safety or wellbeing might be at risk, we may need to let the District Probation Officer or the health centre know so that we can do my best to keep you safe.

Your participation is completely voluntary, and there will not be any financial compensation. But telling us about your experiences could be very helpful for improving education in Uganda. I will share the findings, and updates on the study, with you through the school.

You can ask us any questions you like at any part of the interview. And remember, you can stop at any time or say you don't want to answer any questions too.

Do you have any questions about any of the things I have just said?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

(note the response and either stop or continue with the interview)

If you have any questions about the project, you can-

- Ask me now or contact me – (mobile no.)
- Contact MUREC chairperson (name and mobile no.)
- Contact Teacher (name and mobile no.)

Do you have any questions about any of the things I have just said?

Are you willing to participate in this interview/group research?

DOES NOT AGREE TO PARTICPATE

AGREES TO PARTICPATE

Is this a good place to hold the interview/research or is there somewhere else that you would like to go?

TO BE COMPLETED BY RESEARCHER

Name of Researcher Obtaining CHILD Consent to Participate in Study:

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Name of participant (print) _____

TO BE COMPLETED BY PARTICIPANT

I certify that I have read the above consent procedure/ that it was read to me:

Signature or thumbprint of child _____

Date _____

2. Tools and data collection

Tools were continually adapted throughout the data collection process, following my own observations and debriefs with Shakira. Here I include the schedule for fieldwork and some examples of tools used.

Appendix 2.1 Data collection schedule (June-August 2017)

The below was the initial schedule and changed somewhat throughout the course of fieldwork, particularly with regard to teachers' interviews which were sometimes planned and at other times more impromptu.

	In Raising Voices office	Kiragala School		Myufu School	
	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Week 1 19 th – 23 rd June	- Check-in meeting - Training with Shakira - Sustainability PLI meeting	- Print consent forms - Meeting with (name) - Ethics with (name)	- Re-introduction in school - Meeting with HT and Paul to agree plan	- Re-introduction in school - Meeting with HT and Mary to agree plan	- Training with Shakira - Meeting with (name) and (name)
Week 2 26 th – 30 th June	- Shakira in office - Meet with (name) - Work on tools	- Sort laptop charger - Print pictures - Work on tools	3:00 – 4:00 – Boys 7-11 (a) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 1	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club practice 3:20 – 4:15 – Boys 7-11 (a) 4:15 – 4:45 – Boy interview 2	3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 3 3 rd – 7 th June	- Check-in meeting - Timeframe plan - Finalise contract - Work on tools	2:00 – 3:00 – John interview 3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club practice	3:00 – 4:00 – Boys 7-11 (b) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 3	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club practice 11:00 – 12:00 – HT interview 3:20 – 4:15 – Boys 7-11 (b) 4:15 – 4:45 – Boy interview 4	3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 4 10 th – 14 th July	- Meet with (name) and (name) - Speak to (name) and (name)	3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club 1a	3:00 – 4:00 – Boys 12-16 (a) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 5	3:20 – 4:15 – Boys 12–16 (a) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 6	2:00 – 3:15 – Mark interview 3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 5 17 th – 21 st July		2:00 – 3:00 – Susan interview 3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club 1b	3:00 – 4:00 – Boys 12–16 (b) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 7	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club 1a 3:20 – 4:15 – Boys 12–16 (b) 4:00 – 4:45 – Boy interview 8	3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 6 24 th – 28 th July	- Meet with GS and learning teams - Discuss data with Shakira – give in red	11:00 – Victor interview 3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club 2a	Jamila/Brenda/Elizabeth? 3:00 – 4:00 – Girls 12-16 (a) 4:00 – 4:45 – Girl interview 1	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club 1b 3:20 – 4:15 – Girls 12-16 (a) 4:15 – 4:45 – Girl interview 2	2:00 – Mary interview 3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 7 31 st – 4 th August		3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club 2b	3:00 – 4:00 – Girls 12–16 (b) 4:00 – 4:45 – Girl interview 3	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club 2a 3:20 – 4:15 – Girls 12-16 (b) 4:15 – 4:45 – Girl interview 4	3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 8 7 th – 11 th August		3:00 – 4:30 – Writing club	3:00 – 4:00 – Girls 7-11 (a) 4:00 – 4:45 – Girl interview 5	8:30 – 9:30 – Writing club 2b 3:20 – 4:15 – Girls 7-11 (a) 4:15 – 4:45 – Girl interview 6	3:30 – 4:00 Phonics lesson
Week 9 14 th – 18 th August		Spillover week			

Appendix 2.2 Teacher interview guide

All interviews with teachers were written, conducted and transcribed in English. I include a guide here in English and a transcript below.

Teacher interview

- What is your job title and main responsibilities at (name of school)?
- How long have you been here?
- What do you enjoy most about your job?

* * *

- What challenges do you think teachers face in their jobs?

Possible probes –

- What do you find most difficult in your everyday job?
- Have these challenges always been the same?
- Are these challenges the same for men and women?
- What challenges outside of school do teachers face that affect their jobs? How do they affect them?
- How do teachers resolve these issues?
- Do you feel you have enough support from government / administration / other teachers? What kinds of support?

* * *

- Please can you tell me a little bit about the pupils in your school (what you think of their behaviour, performance)

Possible probes –

- Are these the same for boys and girls?
- How do you find interacting with the pupils – any challenges?

- What challenges do you think pupils face?

Possible probes -

- What challenges do pupils face outside of school that affects their lives in school?
- Are these the same for boys and girls?
- Who do they talk to when they have these problems?
- How do they resolve these issues?

* * *

- Do you think schools have changed since you were a pupil in school? How? For better or worse?

- Is there anything else you'd like to add, or any questions you have for me?

Appendix 2.3 Teacher interview transcript

Female teacher 2 at Kiragala School

Teacher Ruth

Date of the interview: 12/7/17

Name of interviewer: Ellen Turner

Interview time: 12:00 – 13:00

Interview location: Under the second largest tree outside (furthest from school buildings)

Ellen: Thank you Madam Ruth... [for signing the consent form]

Ruth: You're welcome Teacher Ellen, mukwano gwange. At least I have a friend in England now...

Ellen: Yes you do [laughs]

Ruth: [laughs]

Ellen: I have some friends in Uganda...

Ruth: For sure. At least, that's why I want you to know our homes. So that at least the next time you come, you are hmmm, so now I'm going to visit so and so.

Ellen: Ah, that would be nice. I would love to see your homes. [Ruth: Ok] I am sorry that I can't invite you to my home, because my home is very far.

Ruth: It's very far. Ok.

Ellen: So let me ask, how long have you been a teacher at Kiragala?

Ruth: I've been a teacher at Kiragala since January 2012.

Ellen: Ah so five years.

Ruth: Yeah that's five years

Ellen: And you are a teacher of Social Studies?

Ruth: Social Studies, and Science. Primary 4

Ellen: And Science. And you teacher Primary 4, Primary 5 and Primary 6?

Ruth: No, I teach Primary 4, Primary 3 and Primary 5.

Ellen: Ah yeah, Primary 3. And what do you think are the best things about being a teacher?

Ruth: The best things about being a teacher... you don't grow old so easily. Because you're smiling all the time, laughing with those young ones and playing with them. Keeps you young all the time

Ellen: Keeps you young, it's true

Ruth: It takes your stress away. Yeah.

Ellen: Mmm. So do you think this is the thing you enjoy most in your everyday job? It's these young ones?

Ruth: Yes. I enjoy the young ones so much. Because first of all I hate seeing them suffering. [Ellen: Mmm] Now like if some of them to tell me what they are going through, I can give some help where I can.

Ellen: Mmm. And do they often come to tell you their problems?

Ruth: Yeah they do, they do come

Ellen: Ah. What kinds of problems are these?

Ruth: Some of them lost their parents and they think that losing parents maybe is the end of life

Ellen: Ah, why do they think that?

Ruth: Sometimes it's the parents who have been providing each and every thing to them, so after they have passed on these children have to work for themselves, providing all the necessities. So as a teacher, I only come... I can help where I can. According to my resources. And mostly I give them counseling and guidance where necessary.

Ellen: And who are these children that come to speak to you? Are they P4 members or are they all students?

Ruth: All students, not only P4 members. Because we would say P4 members are used to me as their class teacher. But even others from other classes, there are some that find confidentiality in me.

Ellen: Ah, that's nice. Even though you are not their teacher.

Ruth: Yes. I am not their teacher but they come to me and tell me about their problems, yes.

Ellen: And are these boys and girls?

Ruth: Yeah. Both boys and girls

Ellen: And do they come to you with the same kinds of problems, these boys and girls? Or are they different problems?

Ruth: Sometimes their problems are different.

Ellen: Mmm. Like how are they different for boys and girls?

Ruth: It's different in a way that girls don't experience the same problems as boys. Now like, I can give an example, there was a girl who came to me, complaining that her parents passed on, she stayed with her Grandmother. Her Grandmother and the uncles. So the uncles could say, ah ah, you are now our wife. Let us do such and such. Eh?

Ellen: Ah...

Ruth: It's... that problem is so rare with boys. It's rare.

Ellen: And was this recently that this happened?

[Interruption – a girl comes to Ellen to have her work marked]

Ruth: With boys, they are only complaining, 'I don't have the necessities...' now sometimes like 'Why didn't you come to school yesterday?' and they're like, 'Madam, nobody provides me with school fees, clothes, books, so I had gone to work somewhere in order to get some money'... you see?

Ellen: And do girls also go to work so that they can come to school?

Ruth: No

Ellen: Why don't girls have to do this?

Ruth: [Pause] I don't know why, but girls have never come to me with such. I've never experienced that. It's only boys that tell me 'I did not come because I had gone to work'. But girls I... ah ah [no] I've never got any girl with such.

Ellen: But girls come to you with problems like with, you were saying their uncles are doing things to them...

Ruth: Mmhm. If not the boys who dropped out of schools, they are disturbing them on the way from school to home or from home to school.

Ellen: Ah, what kind of disturbing are they doing?

Ruth: Like, the bad touches. If not, abusing them. 'You're ugly, you're too old to be in school'. And such. So they abuse them, and sometimes they touch the... is it... we term it as bad touches. From those boys who dropped out of schools. Those are the main issues concerning the girls.

Ellen: And also you said sometimes if they have lost their parents then they have to stay with other relatives, these other male relatives will do things to them?

Ruth: Sorry?

Ellen: These other male relatives sometimes they will do things to them?

Ruth: Yeah. Some girls do keep quiet, but those ones who come out to speak up, they are also there. Some of them keep quiet, because they have been threatened by their uncles.

Ellen: And does this happen a lot? Is it often that this happens?

Ruth: Not so often, not so often.

Ellen: And when they speak up and they come to you like this, what can you say? What can you do to help them? Because it is so difficult.

Ruth: Mmm it is so difficult. So I alone, sometimes... I feel... how should I term that one... if I feel that I cannot help, then I have to take it to the Senior Woman.

Ellen: Mmm, Madam Brenda

Ruth: We sit together with Madam Brenda and find out what we can do. If it involves calling upon the parent, we do it. If it means, good enough nowadays we have this Strong Girls project. They give them some skills of how they can handle such situations.

Ellen: So if it is, and if it is the parents that are doing these things? How do you... who would you call for them?

Ruth: Good enough, Madam Brenda the Senior Woman teacher, she is so frank. She calls the parent [Ellen: Ah] Talks to the parent, and tells that parent that [inaudible] if you continue with that situation in your home, we shall take you to better authorities. Mmm. Then, if that parents continues with the same situation, then the headteacher has to come in, plus some other authorities.

Ellen: Mmm. Yeah.

Ruth: But at first it's the talk between the Senior Woman teacher and the parent. In case it fails that's when we fight.

Ellen: And are these problems that girls face at all ages, or do they get more serious as they get older?

Ruth: More serious with older ages. But again... [pause] more serious with older ages, and less serious with these little ones. It's less serious

Ellen: And is it the same for boys? [Pause] You know you said they have these problems of they don't have books... [Ruth: The boys?] They don't have pens, they have to work... Is this more serious with older boys, than younger boys?

Ruth: With older boys. Because young boys don't come out to tell us such. Mm, Mm [no]. The young ones just keep quiet. 'Don't you have a book?', 'Teacher I lost it'. But in actual sense the boy is lying to the teacher. But these older ones tell the truth. 'I had gone to work'

Ellen: And can the younger boys go to work? Or it is only the older boys?

Ruth: Mmm... I think they can. Because there is one, he's in Primary 3 now, who sells those banana leaves, so as to earn some money.

Ellen: For his books...

Ruth: For his needs. He stays with his uncle. That's the only one I have come across. In fact he's that very one [points] who is moving with Jonah. That boy buys himself from A to Z. So it is at a higher case with the upper ones, and at less with the...

Ellen: ...younger ones, mmm. And what other challenges do you think these children face, in their lives? We have talked about girls and the bad touches, and boys and the needing to work...

Ruth: Thank you Teacher Ellen. Challenges, number one. This one cuts across both boys and girls: Dropping out of school. Because for example boys, he has missed school for like a week, he has not got the money yet, so he'll be like 'Ah, I've got school, I don't have the materials, why should I go there?' So he stays. For girls, 'ahh the boys disturb me on the way, they say I'm too old to be in school. Ahh, let me [Ellen: Stay away...] stay away from school. So that one is dropping out of school. Number two, they get so tired. Especially the boys. They are still young to work so hard. That they find themselves worked so hard in order to get the money. They are always given bigger tasks to do, and paid very less.

Ellen: Mmm. What kind of work do they do? They sell banana leaves...?

Ruth: They sell banana leaves, they dig in people's gardens, fetching water in towns...

Ellen: Mmm. Ah it is hard for them.

Ruth: Selling brooms...

Ellen: So they are tired when they are in school

Ruth: Yeah. They get so tired at that early age.

Ellen: Mmm. And so girls don't work like this? Or they do..

Ruth: For girls it's very rare. It's very rare. Simply because girls are shy. They shy away. They are like 'Ahh, my teachers will get me on the way moving with banana leaves, my teachers will get me on the way moving with brooms'. So they don't want to do that kind of work.

Ellen: So how do they resolve their problem of not having materials and not having books?

[Pause] Because the boys they have to work because they don't have their materials? [Ruth:

Yes] What do girls do when they don't have their materials?

Ruth: My dear... if it becomes severe, the lacking materials severely, they have to drop out. If not, they go to boys. [Ellen: Mmm] Mm?

Ellen: Other boys in the school.

Ruth: [Shakes head] Those boys who dropped out of school, they work here and there and get some little money, so this is the girl who lacks materials, and the boy says 'ah ah, I will give you everything' So the girl goes in for that and gets the materials from the boy.

Ellen: And these are the older boys that have dropped out of school?

Ruth: Yes. And most especially the boda-boda men. [Ellen: Ahh..] Yes. Because for them they are working on a daily basis and earning something, so they are taking most of our girls.

Ellen: Ah.. and they are so much older than these girls.

Ruth: They are so much older than the girls. And some of them are infected with HIV. So you find the girls getting infected too, at that early stage.

Ellen: Ahh, oh sorry. That's awful. And this happens with girls here often? Or it is not often?

Ruth: Here in Kiragala, not... it's not often. Yes. Because we told them, 'Girls, if you have problems please come and speak to us. If like you are lacking a book...' I think a book of 1000 a teacher can provide.

Ellen: And, so you think, that this open relationship that children have with teachers in Kiragala, actually it protects the children from dangerous behaviours?

Ruth: Yeah. Because, like, a child without a pen, she has asked from the friends and they don't have. And this is the child that runs straight to the teacher she feels like talking to. 'Teacher so and so, may I use your pen please?' So that means her problem has been a pen and it's been solved now.

Ellen: Mmm. And do you think all the teachers in this school they are supportive like this with the children? They have these same relationships?

Ruth: I don't know what is happening in some other schools, but according to Kiragala, I just don't know whether we are just blessed, but here at Kiragala the teachers are parental.

Ellen: Yeah

Ruth: They do provide.

Ellen: And they all care for the children?

Ruth: They do.

Ellen: And has it always been like this since 2012?

Ruth: No. It wasn't the same case. But because of the programme of Raising Voices, the school has totally changed, positively.

Ellen: Ah, in what ways?

Ruth: It has changed positively. Because the relationship between the teachers and pupils has improved. But at first pupils could hide away with their problems, that means the relationship was not that good. But today it's... it's good. Not fair, not excellent, but it's good.

Ellen: Good. Hmm. And do you think it's the same for all the teachers in the school? Or do you think some teachers have different teaching styles?

Ruth: I've not got you so well...?

Ellen: Do you think it's the same for all the teachers in the school? Or do you think some teachers have different teaching styles? They relate to the children differently?

Ruth: According to my observation, as if most of them relate to the children well.

Ellen: And do you think, you said this is partly related to Raising Voices programme, did this happen really fast? Or has it happened really slowly, like this change.

Ruth: Ah it has happened gradually. It has taken years. Since 2013.

Ellen: And what do you think are the biggest things that caused this change in the school?

Ruth: What has caused this change in the school? Are the minimal corporal punishments.

Ellen: Mmm. But what do you think has caused these changes to take place?

Ruth: What has caused these changes to take place...

Ellen: Like why was it successful? If it was successful, why do you think it was? Was it the protagonists...

Ruth: It was successful because the protagonists did their work, and the non-protagonists too...how should I term that one. The protagonists themselves have done their work. The non-protagonists too have tried 90% following the roots of the protagonists.

Ellen: Mm. Yeah that's good. And you said there's also this Strong Girls programme? [Ruth: Mmm] What is this programme?

Ruth: That programme is majorly based on protecting the girl child. Because girls face a lot of challenges as compared to the boys. But the Strong Girls project comes in much more than the teachers and the community. Yes. In case the situation is severe, they know what to do next.

Ellen: And how long has the Strong Girls project been at Kiragala?

Ruth: It's one year.

Ellen: Ah, one year. I have not seen them in the school, how does it work?

Ruth: You haven't seen them in the school? By the way they are always here in your absence. And now, they have just been here. Those ones who have just been here under the... [Ellen: Ah, they were here] You know they found out that most of the pupils we have here are HIV-positive.

Ellen: Most of them?

Ruth: Yes. [Pause]

Ellen: Ahh.

Ruth: So that man, who has been riding the cycle, is a counselor. He always comes here, counseling both boys and girls. He checks on them from their homes. Yes. He reminds them on how to continue taking their medicines so as to stay healthy. They are always here. Only in your absence, sometimes.

Ellen: And you said this is more supportive of the girls?

Ruth: Yeah, more supportive...

Ellen: Does it offer support also to the boys?

Ruth: Less support to the boys.

Ellen: What extra support does it give to the girls?

Ruth: The extra support goes to the girls because girls are at a higher risk of danger. That's what they think. But the situation has changed, even boys do experience problems.

Ellen: Like bad touches and things?

Ruth: Mmm

Ellen: From older boys?

Ruth: There are some older women.

Ellen: Ah, older women.

Ruth: Yes. But those boys do keep quiet. But those girls do report.

Ellen: And this happens on the way home for school for boys also? Or in the family...?

Ruth: In their families... on the way home from school... Especially when it comes to money and telephones. You know those little boys love telephones. So this is the older woman who can say ah ah, you come and get this telephone eh?

Ellen: And how do you know these things? These boys have told you?

Ruth: Mmm... none of them have come to me to tell me. But sometimes when I'm watching the television, or reading the newspapers... You can listen to stories of other people.

Ellen: So you just imagine that these boys also have the same problems?

Ruth: Yes. Only that they don't come out to speak up.

Ellen: Ok, mmhm. And do you think... like it's quite interesting because... I wonder how do the boys feel that the girls have this support and they don't have this extra support?

Ruth: By the way they felt so bad at first. But what these people of Strong Girls had to do was to bring in some few activities for the boys too. Even last time, you were not here when those people of Strong Girls brought the police officers to teach the girls about defensive skills. From the police officers. So the boys were like, 'How about us?!' [Ellen: Mmm] So the counselor had to tell them that 'this has been the opportunity for girls, next time it will be the opportunity for boys'. But here they consider girls much more.

Ellen: Mmm. And do you think that girls and boys behave differently in school? Do you think they are very different boys and girls? Or are they somehow the same...

Ruth: They are not... they are different in... just different physically. As in, the body structure. But in these activities of the school they are not different.

Ellen: And their characters? In lessons? Do you think they are so different?

Ruth: In lessons? They are not so different. Because I cannot say that girls are much more knowledgeable, or boys are much more knowledgeable... no they are not.

Ellen: And they seem to get on very well together, the boys and girls.

Ruth: Yes! They are not different. They are only different in... their physical structure. But in classwork, they are not different.

Ellen: And they play their cricket together don't they...

Ruth: Yeah

Ellen: So you don't think there are these problems between the boys and girls in this school? Between them...

Ruth: Sorry?

Ellen: You don't think there are these problems between the boys and girls in the school?

Ruth: In the school... I have never experienced that in Kiragala. But I cannot rule out, I cannot rule it out that...

Ellen: ...it has happened. Hmm. And do you think they have any problems between the students, like between the boys...? Oh! I wanted to ask you. There was some nicknaming in the classroom this morning. What does that word mean, 'lukoto'?

Ruth: Lukoto... I also wanted to try to find out but they have refused. Maybe I will talk to them. Softly. Because last time I heard them calling that very boy, that 'kafoopi'. Kafoopi means someone who is very short. I told them, 'Members, remember the what? The rules and regulations.' So they kept silent.

Ellen: And this was the other boys?

Ruth: Mmm. That means they have started again, we have to... awaken it up.

Ellen: And between the girls? Are the girls ever having any problems like nicknaming?

Ruth: Among themselves? [Ellen: Mmm] Yes. Not so common nowadays, but it's there. Yeah.

Ellen: So it's not common now but it used to be in the past.

Ruth: Yeah, it used to be. And... at least when you've got percentage wise it is still there, like at least 30%. It is still there.

Ellen: And what do you think changed it so it's not as bad as it was before?

Ruth: What has changed it?

Ellen: Mmm, you said it's not as bad as it was before. It was worse in the past.

Ruth: It was worse in the past. Because we could not come out. The teachers [pupils?] could not come out to speak how bad it was. Nicknaming our friends.

Ellen: But now there's... the pupils they tell you that it is happening?

Ruth: Yeah. Because we give them an example. There is... our woman member of parliament, told us that she had hated school for almost a year. When her grandmother could tell her to go to school she could be like 'No I will not. From Monday to Sunday, I am not going to school I am not going to school.' Until one time her grandmother asked, 'why do you hate going to school?' She said, 'My schoolmates say, nicknamed me...' [pause] There is a black insect.

Ellen: Hmm, it's horrible.

Ruth: Because she has a very black skin. So they nicknamed her the name of that insect that I've forgotten. That's why she hated school. But her grandmother had to convince her a lot. Yes.

Ellen: Ah, to go to school.

Ruth: So we give them that example.

Ellen: Ah. And so then they stopped?

Ruth: They had stopped, but again, they have raised it again. We have to sit and work upon it.

Ellen: Yeah it is the same everywhere, it is so bad in England, this nicknaming.

Ruth: Nicknaming is very bad.

Ellen: Bullying, things like that

Ruth: Because even when I was still in primary school. I had a friend who was nicknamed 'jaajaa wa abaana'

Ellen: Grandmother of children?

Ruth: Yes. Grandmother. Can you imagine? In primary 4. She told her mum 'I will never go back to school. My classmates say I'm very old. I will never go back.' So she stopped.

Ellen: Ah. So she was older than the other students?

Ruth: Yes she was older than all of us. And so bright in fact

Ellen: But she stopped going?

Ruth: Mmm. So we gave them different examples that kept them...

Ellen: And so we have talked about... let me check the time. It is 10 to 1. We have talked about the challenges that children face. I wonder, what do you think are the challenges that teachers face in their jobs?

Ruth: In their jobs? Challenges?

Ellen: And also in their lives, that might affect them when they are...

Ruth: Not only here?

Ellen: Yeah, anything. What do you think are the challenges that teachers face?

Ruth: Problem number one, some teachers move long distances to their stations of work.

Ellen: From their homes?

Ruth: From their homes to places of work. Number two, some bosses are not all that... [pause] harsh bosses.

Ellen: Like headteachers?

Ruth: Yes. Some headteachers are not all that friendly my dear. You come to the headteacher, 'please my boss, I have got such and such a problem' you see the boss is like ah ah, I don't entertain people with problems, go away. So some bosses are not all that...

Ellen: But that doesn't happen here?

Ruth: Here. Mm, it's very rare. It's rare here.

Ellen: And what other challenges do you think that teachers face in their lives that might affect them in school?

Ruth: Some schools don't provide lunch for teachers. So that means they either pack their lunch from homes, or stay hungry, day long. Some communities have a tendency that teachers are earning much money, and they are doing less work.

Ellen: Ahh, so they imagine they are earning a lot of money?

Ruth: Yes. Because when it comes to holidays, the teachers are still earning the salaries and they are not working. So the communities tend to hate the teachers for that reason. Yes.

Ellen: Because they are always earning?

Ruth: That even over the weekends, those people are paid! They have not worked. So...

Ellen: Do they respect that you work very hard during the week for their children...?! [Laughs]

Ruth: [Laughs] Some of them do appreciate, while others don't.

Ellen: Hmm. And what do you think.... Men and women have the same challenges in their lives that affect them as teachers?

Ruth: No.

Ellen: They have different problems?

Ruth: They have different problems.

Ellen: Like what kind of different problems?

Ruth: For the female teachers, they are always disturbed by the male bosses...

Ellen: Ah?

Ruth: Yes. You find the headteacher, who is a male, having had a relationship with all the women on the staff. You find the women quarrelling with one another, because of one person, the boss. But thank God here at Kiragala it has never happened.

Ellen: Yeah...

Ruth: For the years I have been here. But in some other schools you know? You meet as teachers, you sit and talk about your stations. So some other teachers in other schools, they say 'ah ah, me I'm seeking for a transfer because my boss a, b, c'

Ellen: Ah, so first they have the problem with the boss, then they have the problem with the other teachers because of this problem...

Ruth: Yeah

Ellen: That is so difficult. Yeah. And are there any other problems do you think that are so different?

Ruth: [Pause] Mm, mm. I don't think.

Ellen: No others. And personally for you, what do you find most difficult in your job? Like what are the things that you find difficult?

[Phone rings. Excuse me – No problem! Ritah...]

Ellen: So my question was about, what are the things that you find most difficult in your job?

Ruth: The most difficult things in my job.... The parents don't appreciate. They don't know that the teacher works for the good of their children. They don't. And I don't think they will ever realise that. Not until their children have graduated. That's it. Parents don't appreciate. Second to that, especially the female teachers, have to keep at school from morning up to sunset. At home we also have a lot of work to do. So female teachers they get so tired. Especially me [Laughs] I don't know how to balance the two.

Ellen: You have lots of work at home?

Ruth: Hmm

[Phone rings. Ritah again. Ellen speaks to Ritah, greets her. Ruth continues talking]

Ellen: So... I think we were talking about... you were saying you find it difficult to manage your work at home and your work at school. So you have much work to do when you leave school and go home?

Ruth: Yes.

Ellen: And does anyone help you with this work?

Ruth: I used to get maids, but some of them could mistreat the children so now there is...

Ellen: Ah

Ruth: When it comes to mistreating children, ah ah, [no] we are not friends then.

Ellen: And your husband, he does not help with this work?

Ruth: No, he's working from a distance.

Ellen: Ah yeah, you told me

Ruth: He only comes back over the weekend.

Ellen: And so, you think this is something that female teachers have this problem? That they have to do the work at home?

Ruth: Most of them

Ellen: And their husbands don't help either?

Ruth: They don't, no. By the way, African husbands don't help. With domestic work. Most of them, they don't.

Ellen: So is their role, more to get the money?

Ruth: Mhm.

Ellen: And with the children? They don't help?

Ruth: The children?

Ellen: Do they help with the children?

Ruth: Who?

Ellen: The husbands

Ruth: Helping with the children... yeah, they do. Some of them do. Others don't.

Ellen: Mhm. Is there anything you'd like to ask me, anything you'd like to say?

Ruth: Teacher Ellen, I would like to ask you... how do you find the people of Uganda? Are they friendly?

Ellen: Very friendly

Ruth: Very friendly? That's good

Ellen: Very friendly. But actually there are many differences. In some ways there are no differences, and in some ways there are many. So for me I used to live in London, so it's a big city. And people are very stressed, they are always rushing, there are many things to do... they are too busy to stop and talk to you... they are worried for x, y, z. So sometimes you feel so stressed in this place because no one has the time to talk to you. So actually it is a big difference.

Ruth: So if you come late for work.

Ellen: Ah it is really bad...

Ruth: They will not listen to you

Ellen: They will tell you off, you will have many problems. Like everything in England is... they have many regulations and they are really strict. So that is one difference, that I find it here that it is more peaceful. People are more friendly, they have more time for you.

Ruth: And what I like about you people, for you you are good at managing the time. You keep time.

Ellen: It is a difference because like I said everyone... you are expected to be on time. So that is a difference, that people expect you to be on time. So you have to be on time. [Ruth: Ok] So other differences... I think there aren't so many other differences really

Ruth: Secondly, when you came to Uganda, you had never tasted some of the foods, our local foods.

Ellen: [Laughs] No I had never tasted.

Ruth: And even you tasted for the first time? How was it? Were you not affected in any way?

Ellen: Well no because... actually this is one of the main things in England, that we eat food from all over the world.

Ruth: Oh!

Ellen: So in our country, our English food we don't eat so so much. We mainly eat food from other places in the world, because you know in our country there are so many people living there from India, from Africa, from Europe... So we have food from all these places. And actually they have been living there for so many years, that now it is like it is our food. So we eat many food from China, much food from India, much food from Africa... so for me I'm quite used to eating different food.

Ruth: Because for me sometimes I ask myself, but ah, Teacher Ellen has eaten such food. Won't it affect her health?

Ellen: Oh no, no. Actually I really like this food. I love matooke...

Ruth: In Africa we have a variety

Ellen: Only that in England we eat less [Laughs]

Ruth: [Laughs]

Ellen: So for me I feel like I eat little but actually for me I feel like I eat a lot.

Ruth: Mm! Ah for us here we do eat a lot

Ellen: At lunchtime we eat very little. So we can be so so hungry, and then eat a small amount, and then we are full.

Ruth: Ok

Ellen: We eat much at night. So at night we eat a big meal with our families, yes.

Ruth: And I wonder why, people... the medic officers say you people, you should eat heavy breakfast, eat heavy lunch, but eat less food at night.

Ellen: Yeah, I know. We are the opposite.

Ruth: That's what they tell us.

Ellen: Actually for us in England we eat a heavy breakfast, we have a very light lunch, and we have a heavy dinner in the evening. So it is different.

Ruth: Ok. For us here the medic officers say that during daytime your body is so active, you are doing that and that so you need to eat a lot. But at night you are free, so you should eat light food.

Ellen: Yeah, you are going to sleep.

Ruth: And actually you should eat like 30 minutes before you sleep, if not an hour.

Ellen: Hmm. Because otherwise it just sits. Actually for us in England I don't know why we eat so much in the evening... perhaps it is because it is a cold country so we like to eat a lot in the evening, so we get home and have a hot meal with our families before we go to sleep.

Ruth: Yeah

Ellen: And also it is... I think we only eat small things at lunch because you know I was saying people are so busy, like at lunchtime, sometimes I don't eat lunch in England, because I am so busy, I am rushing here and there. So sometimes that's why we eat light at lunch because we sit for 5 minutes, and then we go.

Ruth: So that's why it's very rare to find you people who are very fat. [Ellen: Laughs] Like it is here in Africa. You find someone who is so fat. Because for you you are ever up and down.

Ellen: But actually it's not good because we are stressed. Actually we do have some very fat people too but...

Ruth: That's what my friends say. I'm also always stressed, here at school you have to keep yourself working, when you go back home you just start from where you stopped. So I rest less. That's why my body is still... [laughs] My headteacher always says ah ah, 'you other teachers, as you are eating just give much food to Teacher Ruth.' He thinks I eat small, I eat little food. I do eat, but because I work a lot...

Ellen: Yeah, you are doing many tasks...

Ruth: Even Mr. Paul himself he does a lot of work.

Ellen: Yeah, it is the same. Ah, thank you so much for this interview Teacher Ruth.

Ruth: You're welcome Teacher Ellen

Ellen: Are there any other questions you wanted to ask me?

Ruth: Maybe some other time

Ellen: Any time, you can ask me any time.

Appendix 2.4 Learner (P3 – P6) participatory workshop guide

The guides for participatory workshop with learners, and follow-up interviews, were written in English and translated into Luganda. They were then conducted in Luganda by Shakira. Shakira translated them into English during transcription.

Here and below I include an example of a participatory workshop guide (workshop 1 of 2), a transcript (workshop 2 of 2) and a follow-up interview guide all in English.

Child participants - Participatory workshops

Workshop 1

Time plan

- 15 mins – Explanations, signing of consent forms, questions
 - 10 mins – Ice-breaker game
 - 30 mins – Discussion on what you like/don't like about school (using pictures)
 - 10 mins – Conclusion activity (remind confidentiality)
- (1hr 05 mins)

Ice-breaker game

Throw the toy to different children asking the following questions -

- What is your name
- How many brothers or sisters do you have
- What is your favourite colour
- What is your favourite subject

Discussion

1. Picture – smiling children

These children are happy.

- *What makes children happy in school?*

2. Picture – boys playing football

Here are some boys playing football.

- *Do you play like this with your friends?*
- *Who do you play with?*
- *What happens when you play football that frustrates or upsets you?*
- *Do the other boys ever do things that upset you?*
- *Do girls also play football? Why, why not?*

3. Picture – girls playing...

- Here are some girls playing.

- *Do the girls in your school play like this?*
- *Do you play with girls at break? Why, why not?*
- *If you tried to join in with these girls, what would happen?*
- *Do girls ever do things that upset you?*

4. Picture – classroom

This is a classroom.

- *Do you have classroom rules?*
- *What do you think of these rules?*
- *What happens when these rules are broken?*
- *How do children behave in class?*
- *What do teachers do when they misbehave?*

- *Do boys and girls behave the same in class? Why, why not?*
- *What kind of children sit at the front, back and middle of the classroom?*

5. Picture – school compound

- This is a school compound.

- *What makes you feel happy in the compound?*
- *What jobs are there to do in the compound?*
- *Do boys and girls do the same jobs in the compound? Why, why not?*
- *Do boys and girls do the same jobs at home? Why, why not?*

6. Picture – group of school pupils

Here is a group of school pupils. Please look at these children.

- *Who do you think would be a prefect? Why?*
- *Who do you think would be the best in their class?*
- *Who would you like to play with at break?*
- *Who do you think would be the most stubborn?*
- *Would any of these children be mean to other children? Why?*
- *Would any of these children beat other children? Why?*
- *Do the boys and girls do the same jobs around the compound? What do they do?*

7. Picture – walking home from school

These are children walking home from school.

- *How do children get to school?*
- *Who do they go with?*
- *What happens on the walk that makes children feel good and bad?*

Concluding activity

Say one good thing that happened to you last week, and one good thing you are looking forward to next week.

Appendix 2.5 Learner (P3 – P6) participatory workshop transcript

Both the learner participatory workshop and the follow-up interview were conducted in Luganda and led by Shakira, with me mostly listening and contributing at times. As I spoke basic Luganda I was able to follow parts of the discussion, but not all. My comments throughout are directed to Shakira.

Discussion with Kiragala Girls 7-11, workshop 2

Date of discussion: 9th August 2017

Place of discussion: School compound, under the furthest tree from the school buildings

Time: 11:00

Participants: Sylvia, Rashida, Patience, Asma, Jawaria and Hadijah

SHAKIRA: Thank you for allowing to take part in our research. Like I said we shall be using pictures to discuss about different things. Let us look at the first picture. Ellen puts up the picture. What do you think is happening in that picture?

Sylvia: I think parents are in a meeting

Patience: I think that teachers are in a meeting

Hadijah: I think that the headmaster is talking to the teacher

Jawaria: I think that the head teacher is talking to parents

SHAKIRA: Now tell me, what do you think makes a good teacher?

Rashida: A good teacher respects himself

Patience: A good teacher doesn't beat children all the time

Jawaria: a good teacher teaches students properly

Asma: A good teacher should be smart

SHAKIRA: We have talked about what makes a good teacher, how about a bad teacher, how does she or he look like?

Patience: A bad teacher beats students all the time

Sylvia: A bad teacher doesn't dress properly

Rashida: A bad teacher is not attentive when teaching children

SHAKIRA: Do you get to chat with their teachers?

Jawaria: For me I get a chance to chat with Madam Brenda

Patience: For me I get a chance to talk to Teacher Susan

Rashida: For me I talk to teacher Jamila

SHAKIRA: Ok, I can see that all of you talk to your teachers. What exactly do you talk about with your teachers?

Patience: For me I talk to my teacher about what I want to be in future

Jawaria: I tell my teacher about children who beat me at school

SHAKIRA: How about the rest, what do you talk about with your teachers?

(silence)

SHAKIRA: All of you have talk about chatting with female teachers, how about male teachers, don't you talk to them?

Patience: I talk to Mr. John whenever I had problems when I had just joined school

Ellen: And what do these teachers say when they share their problems?

SHAKIRA: When you tell teachers your problems, what do they do?

Rashida: They beat them

Jawaria: They talk to them and they reduce the bad manners

Asma: They tell them to bring their parents

Patience: They talk to children not to fear when they have problems

SHAKIRA: Please tell me more what you mean by that?

Patience: For example when the teacher gets to know that you are not well off at home, your uniform is always dirty, she encourages you to tell your parents to buy soap so that they wash their uniforms.

Ellen: And are all teachers like this when they talk to them about their problems?

SHAKIRA: When you tell teachers your problems, do they all respond like this?

Jawaria: For me there is teacher whom I can talk to easily than other teacher

SHAKIRA: Which teacher is that?

Jawaria: Madam Brenda

SHAKIRA: And is there any teacher that you cannot easily talk to?

(silence)

Patience: For me I have some teacher whom I can easily talk to. For example madam Susan, madam Ruth and master John

SHAKIRA: And is there any teacher that you fear?

Patience: Yes, Mr. Paul

SHAKIRA: How about the rest?

Rashida; Madam Ruth and Madam Brenda are my favourite. I can easily talk to them and I also fear Mr. Paul.

SHAKIRA: Let us go to another picture. Ellen puts up the picture. That picture is showing a teacher pointing at a student. Tell me, how does that child feel when the teacher is pointing at him?

Chorus answer: He feels bad.

SHAKIRA: Why do you think that child feels bad?

Rashida: Because the teacher is pointing at him.

SHAKIRA: Does this usually happen? Do teachers usually point at students in class?

Jawaria: Yes, when the teacher is teaching and the child is talking or playing, the teacher will point at him and tell him to stop talking.

SHAKIRA: Which teachers mostly point at children in class, is it male teachers or female teachers?

Chorus answer: Both

Jawaria: Male teacher and female teachers all point at children in class to keep quiet?

SHAKIRA: And do teachers sometimes single out children and they use words that shame students?

Patience: Sometimes it is the headmasters who do that, especially at assembly. For example if the child escaped from school and the headmaster finds him hiding somewhere,

SHAKIRA: Which words does he use to shame the child?

Patience: The headmaster might say that “ look at this boy, I found him in the bush he didn’t attend classes yet his mother works so hard to have him in school. So I am going to beat him and also send him home to bring his parent”

SHAKIRA: How about in class, are there teachers who shame students?

Rashida: Yes, Mr. Paul

SHAKIRA: What does Mr. Paul say?

Rashida: He sometimes calls students names that they don’t like. For example he called me “nabisunsa” (not sure what that means)

SHAKIRA: What does “nabisunsa” mean?

Chorus answer: We don’t know

SHAKIRA: And tell which kinds of punishments do teachers give students in class?

Jawaria: One time, as the teacher was teaching, I was talking and she called me and beat me.

Rashida: They made us stand and put our hands up.

SHAKIRA: How about pinching your ears?

Sylvia: Yes, they pinch us.

Jawaria: Mr Musa usually pinches us. Yesterday he pinched my ears.

Rashida: He usually says that he is taking the ear to Kampala and then he pulls the ear and it becomes painful.

Ellen: What about the female teachers, do they also pinch you?

SHAKIRA: And the female teachers, do they also pinch you?

Chorus answer: Yes. Madam Susan and Madam Elizabeth

Ellen: Can we ask about beating, how often are they beaten at school?

SHAKIRA: Have often are you beaten in class or at school?

Hadijah: They usually beat us two or three canes.

Rashida: Sometimes when the teacher puts work on the blackboard and goes out, some children start playing instead of doing the work and when the teacher comes back, he beats those who are talking.

SHAKIRA: These teachers who beat you, are they class teachers?

Chorus answer: Any teacher can beat us if when talk in class.

Jawaria: When the teacher is teaching and you are laughing, he beats you.

Ellen: *And does this happen like once a week, twice a week?*

SHAKIRA: **Is the beating very common? For example, how many times do they beat you in a week?**

Sylvia: It is not common, they mostly give us punishments.

SHAKIRA: **And which punishments do they usually give you?**

Rashida: They can tell you to clean the compound alone.

Hadijah: They can tell you to sweep classes or to fetch water.

Ellen: *Lets ask, is there for example someone who was beaten last week?*

SHAKIRA: **Was any of you beaten last week?**

Jawaria: Madam Ruth beat me because I didn't have an English book. She beat me on my hands.

Asma: Madam Susan sent us to bring firewood and she came and asked all those who hadn't brought firewood and she beat us two canes.

Rashida: Last week, Madam Susan beat me because I hadn't brought firewood yet I was not present when they were sending us for firewood.

Ellen: *When the teacher beats, does it make you dislike that teacher? Does it affect your relationship with that teacher?*

SHAKIRA: **When the teacher beats you, does this change your relationship with that teacher?**

Rashida: It hurts me when he beats me but I don't get annoyed for long because I know that he is teaching and guiding me to do something right. For example the teacher might warn you that don't do that thing again and after a short time, you do it again, and I think it is ok because he would have warned you.

Ellen: *These teachers that you don't want to talk to about your problems and those that you fear, why is it that you don't want to talk to them?*

SHAKIRA: **You talked about the teachers that you fear and that you cannot talk to them about your problems, why is it that you fear them and cannot to talk to them?**

Patience: Those teachers are tough and not easy to talk to

SHAKIRA: **Why do you say that those teachers are tough?**

Patience: Sometimes the things they do show that they are tough. For example, he might find a group of students and then he shouts at them, beats them and then tells them to go and fetch water.

Ellen: *Is it because the punishments are fair or they are extreme?*

SHAKIRA: **So do you fear these teachers because the punishments they give you are fair or you feel like they are too much and too heavy for you?**

Patience: We just fear these teachers because of what they do and how they shout at us.

Rashida: Sometimes we share with the male teachers what we go through at home because we were told that we should always tell our teachers when I feel that we are not happy but these male teachers just ignore what we tell them. For example, sometimes you are beaten so much at home, or you are given too much work especially those who stay with step moms but they don't do much about it.

Ellen: *And the female teachers care about their problems?*

SHAKIRA: **What about the female teachers, do they respond to your problems?**

Chorus answer: Yes

SHAKIRA: **Ok, let us move to another picture. Ellen puts up the picture. Look at that picture, what do you think the teacher is doing?**

Rashida: The teacher is touching the child because the girl is feeling sick.

(All other participants think that the teacher is touching the girl because she is sick)

SHAKIRA: **Which teachers usually try to find out whether the children are sick, just like what you see in that picture?**

Rashida: Teacher Brenda.

Sylvia: Madam Jamila

SHAKIRA: **So it mostly female teachers who do that?**

Chorus answer: Yes

SHAKIRA: **Do the female teachers also care about the boys like they do care about the girls?**

Chorus answer: They also care about the boys

SHAKIRA: **Do boys also talk to female teachers about their problems or they tell male teachers?**

Chorus answer: They also talk to the female teachers about their problems

SHAKIRA: Do you think that there are some children who keep quiet about their problems?

Chorus answer: Yes

SHAKIRA: Are these children mostly girls or boys?

Patience: They are mostly boys

Ellen: When it comes to being punished or beaten, who is beaten more, boys or girls?

SHAKIRA: And who is beaten or punished more, is it boys or girls?

Chorus answer: We are all beaten the same.

SHAKIRA: How about punishments, are there punishments for girls separate from the boys?

Sylvia, No, we all receive the same punishments. If it is fetching water, we all carry 10 liter jerry-cans.

SHAKIRA: Let us look at another picture. (laughter...). That picture is showing a woman from Strong Girls. Do know Strong Girls?

Chorus answer: Yes

SHAKIRA: Ok, tell me about Strong Girls?

Jawaria: It teaches girls to behave well.

Rashida: It counsels girls in schools

Patience: It helps girls to learn how to sustain themselves in future.

SHAKIRA: So I would like to know, does Strong Girls help boys the way it helps girls?

Rashida: The boys have Strong Boys and we have Strong Girls

SHAKIRA: Is Strong Boys also similar to what Strong Girls does?

Sylvia: Strong Boys, is rare, they don't come so frequent like Strong Girls

Rashida: Strong Girls comes every month but Strong Boys, hmm... it take a long time to come.

Ellen: Why is there Strong Girls?

SHAKIRA: Why do you think Strong Girls is in existence?

Patience: It helps girls to learn how to prosper

Rashida: It helps girls to learn how to do good things

SHAKIRA: Good things like what?

Patience: They teach us how we can serve even when we are poor. For example, when you need a book for 700 shillings and a pen of 500 shillings, then you will know that you need 1,200 shillings and you have to start having poultry so that you can afford to buy those things.

Ellen: Why do you think that Strong Girls has helped girls more than boys?

SHAKIRA: Why do you think that Strong Girls has helped girls more than it has helped boys?

Jawaria: Girls have to protect themselves

SHAKIRA: Protect against what? Jawaria tell me more about that

(silence)

Sylvia: Girls have to protect themselves so that they become faithful and don't engage in acts of prostitution.

Patience: Girls can be more helpful to the parents for instance if they have some income activities like selling chicken and they help their parents but the boys think about marriage once they think that they have grown up.

Ellen: Why can't the boys help their parents?

SHAKIRA: Why do you think that boys don't help their parents?

Patience: When the boys grow up, they start doing their own things and they don't care so much about their parents' needs like the girls. However, there are some boys who care but they are few.

SHAKIRA: Let us look at our final picture. Ellen puts up the picture. That picture shows a man from Raising Voices, do you know an organization called Raising Voices?

Chorus answer: Yes

SHAKIRA: What do you know about it?

Patience: This organization helps students to stop calling either bad names

Ellen: Can we just ask Patience because she is new at this school, how does she know about Raising Voices, who told her about it?

SHAKIRA: Patience, you are new in this school, how did you get to know about Raising Voices?

Patience: The teachers here have taught us about Raising Voices.

SHAKIRA: Which teachers?

Patience: Madam Brenda, Madam Ruth, Madam Jamila, all teachers.

Ellen: How did they do it, did they just tell Patience alone or...?

SHAKIRA: So Patience, did they tell you alone or they talked about it in your class?

Patience: They took all of us in one class and told us about it.

Ellen: And did they do this once or they did it several times?

SHAKIRA: Did your teachers tell you about Raising Voices once or they told you about it several times?

Patience: They have done it once since the term begun.

Ellen: And what about those students who have been here for longer, what do they know about Raising Voices?

SHAKIRA: For those of you who have been in this school for a longer time, what do you know about it?

Rashida: They taught us about our parents not beating us so much and once they beat us, we should come and talk to the teachers.

SHAKIRA: What else did they tell you?

(silence)

SHAKIRA: Do you know about the Good Schools Programme? This is a programme brought by Raising Voices. How many of you know about it?

(silence.... None of them knows about the GSP)

Ellen: What do the teachers tell you about Raising voices?

SHAKIRA: What do teachers tell you about Raising Voices?

Rashida: They mostly talk to us about discipline. They told us that we should respect our elders, respect our teachers, our parents and also to behave well here at school.

Patience: The teachers talk to us about safe schools and said that children shouldn't call their friends names that they don't like, they also said that we should treat each other as sisters and brothers at school and they should not talk in class.

Ellen: Who has been here for many years?

SHAKIRA: Amongst all of you, who has been here for a long time?

Rashida: I was here in nursery class and P.1 and then I left and came back in P.3 and now I am in P.4

Ellen: Let us ask Rashida, what changes did you see before Raising Voices came and after?

Rashida: I remember, before we used to have sports days and speak days but now, we no longer have them.

SHAKIRA: How come you no longer have them?

Rashida: I don't know what I can tell you but I think it could be because of Strong Girls or Raising Voices.

Rashida: Now, students are behaving well because when I was still in baby class, they used to beat us so much but now, children don't fight as much as they used to.

Ellen: Anything else? What about the teachers?

SHAKIRA: How about the teachers, how were they behaving then and how are they behaving now?

Patience: Raising Voices came and drew pictures on the walls but I was not present that day.

Rashida: Before some teachers like Madam Jamila and Madam Brenda used to abuse children. For example madam Jamila used to be very rude and used to say, "you weird girl, come and do the work"

SHAKIRA: Thank you for very much for allowing to participate in the research. We have come to the end of our discussion. Does any of you have any questions that you would like me to answer?

(silence ... no, we don't have any questions)

SHAKIRA: Ok, if you don't have any questions, we shall play our final game using this doll. I would like you to tell me which families would you like when you grow up?

Sylvia: I would like to have a good home with two children, boy and girl

Asma: I would like to have two children in the future

Jawaria: I would like a family that is well known in the community and is well behaved and I would like to have 5 children

Hadijah: I would like to have 2 children

Rashida: I would like a rich man, a very nice house and 4 children, 2 girls and 2 boys. I also want to be a respectable woman.

SHAKIRA: Thank you very much for allowing to talk to us about your experiences here in school and at home. Do you have any questions?

Chorus answer: No

SHAKIRA: Thank you very much

Impressions

The discussion was held in the school compound, which was more refreshing although participants were distracted by passers-by and also a few children in the school compound. It was a good discussion with P,4 participants being more active than P.3 students, notably was Patience and Rashida. Some participants were new in school, for instance Patience and Hadijah were just one term old in the school but knowledgeable about the school system and culture. Despite this, Patience was knowledgeable about Raising Voices although they didn't specifically know the Good Schools Programme. Participants were aware that there have been changes in their school but were not sure whether the change was as a result of the Raising Voices or by Girl Power.

Appendix 2.6 Learner (P3 – P6) follow-up interview transcript

Interview with Isaac P6 at Myufu School

Date of interview: 20th July 2017

Interview time: 16:00 – 16:45

Place of discussion: School Library

SHAKIRA: Thank you for allowing to talk to us. We have talked about many things in the previous discussion about children’s experiences in school. What did you like about the discussion?

Isaac: I liked sitting with my friends and we discuss about different things.

SHAKIRA: And is there anything that we talked about that you didn’t like in the discussion?

Isaac: um um... nothing.

SHAKIRA: I know that we talked about many things in the discussion we had earlier on. Is there anything that we talked about that reminded you of something good that happened to you?

Isaac: (silence). Nothing good may be something bad.

SHAKIRA: Ok what bad thing have you remembered?

Isaac; When I was still young, my mother took me to live with my maternal uncle who was a traditional healer and I stayed there for some time but was not taken to school yet I was already 5 years. I suffered and was emotionally tortured because I was not going to school like my cousins. When my mother passed away, I was brought to live with my aunt and I started school at Myufu School. While in P.1 I became the first in class and when the teacher was handing my report card to me she said “ get your report card you leader of the stupid ones”. I was in a very bad condition because all my feet had been eaten up by jiggers because they were not caring about me. I used to come from home but never reached school because of the jiggers. I always stopped on the way, hide in plantations and then go back home at 1pm. I used to do this because children at school would laugh at me, intimidate me and I was in too much pain because of the jiggers.

Isaac: I started staying with my grandmother and after a short while, she relocated elsewhere and I was taken to another home- maternal relative. At that put stopped school for a year and resumed the following year. When I came here at Myufu School, I repeated P.1 and got promoted each year because I was very bright in class. Starting from P.4 I started declining from the first position in class to the 9th position and then the following term I became 19th and I am still declining. I also relocated to another home where I am staying but I am still not happy there because children in that home mistreat me and they don’t like me. They are younger than me but hey always want to intimidate me, shout at me and they refuse to do anything that I tell them to do. They keep on spoiling my things and when I tell them to stop, they tell me that I don’t belong to that home.

SHAKIRA: Where is your father?

Isaac: My father also passed away in 2016 but before he passed away, he was in plan of taking me somewhere so that to have a better life. One day my father called me to go and visit him - he stays here in (town name), so when I got there, I was shocked to see my father in too much pain, I had T.B and had lost too much weight, I looked at home and I started crying because I knew I was heading for the worst. After that visit, he passed on a few day later.

(Noise from outside, some children enter the library looking for the musical drums and Isaac tells them that the drums had been put in a different room)

SHAKIRA: Why do you think that you are declining in your studies?

Isaac: I think that I am declining because of the suffering I am going through at home. First of all I change homes every now and then and people in those homes don’t like me, I do all the household chores myself and the other children don’t. I am a total orphan now that my father also passed away. Generally I am not in a good condition.

(Noise coming from outside. Ellen moves out to request the children to move)

Isaac: There is also an old woman in the village who once said that she would cut me into pieces and when she said that, I run to into my uncle’s place.

SHAKIRA: But was this old woman meaning what she was saying or she was joking about it?

Isaac: I think she was joking but people in the village usually say that woman has a ‘bad tongue’ that when she says something, that thing happens. She has a habit of cursing people and indeed bad things

happen to them. So she told my grandmother where I am currently staying that “*ok those who have taken that child uh uh um um... lets pray you will manage staying with him*”.

Isaac: Despite all those things, I try to be calm and strong because I would want to continue with school. Since I don't have parents now, I have to persevere all conditions since I don't have anywhere else to go.

SHAKIRA: Do you have siblings?

Isaac: We are two kids from my mother and father but my father has four other kids from another woman. In total we are six children.

Ellen: Are they younger?

SHAKIRA: Are they younger than you or you are older?

Isaac: They are all younger than me. But ever since our father dead, it is only me in school. The rest refused to go back to school.

SHAKIRA: Where are they staying now?

Isaac: They are staying with their mother in (town name) but they dropped out of school.

SHAKIRA: Thank Isaac for sharing with us your life experiences and thank you for being a strong and brave boy. I can see that the situation you are in is not simple but I appreciate your courage and determination despite the challenges. Like I mentioned at the beginning, there is an organization called CAI here in (town name) and this organization has people who are experts in counselling children who have various problems. This organization however doesn't offer financial support like school fees but they talk to the child and see how best to handle certain problems at school and at home. So would you like to talk to someone from this organization?

Isaac: Yes

SHAKIRA: When would you want this person to come?

Isaac: I would want him to come next week or any time before we begin exams.

SHAKIRA: Ok... when these children experts are coming to school, they request to have a name of a teacher whom they will contact when they are coming to school. So which teacher would you like to be the contact person who will communicate with these people from CAI?

Isaac: I would want our class teacher - Mr. Mark to be the contact person

SHAKIRA: Who would you prefer to talk to- male or female counsellor?

Isaac: I would prefer a female counsellor.

SHAKIRA: Thank you very much Isaac for sharing with us. You can feel free to talk to teacher Ellen or myself anytime when you see us around school in case you want to talk more about any other thing. How about here at school, do you have any challenges at school?

Isaac; I don't have any problems here at school. In fact when I am at school I feel better than being at home.

Ellen: Can we ask a question. Last week Isaac was saying male teachers disturbing female pupils. That was in last week's discussion with other students.

SHAKIRA: Last week during our discussion, you mentioned that some male teachers disturb girls here at school. Can you please tell me more about this?

Isaac; There is a teacher called teacher Matthias and my friend has a friend who was being disturbed by this teacher. The teacher would send particularly this girl for everything. For example he would send the girl to bring for him porridge, chalk, wash his cup and many other things. As a result the girl failed to concentrate in class and she ended up repeating P.6.

SHAKIRA: How about things related to the other word you said in the discussion “kyusa entabula” (literally meaning that a girl had sexual intercourse and can't walk properly). Why do you think that male teachers use those words on girls?

Isaac: I think that may be when teachers want to start love relationships with the girls and the girls refuse, then teachers get annoyed and they start telling such annoying and intimidating words

Ellen: So that sort of thing happens in school?

Shakira: Yes, Isaac says that he thinks teachers use these words as a way of getting back to the girls when the girls refuse to have relationships with teachers.

Ellen: Is this all the male teachers or particular teachers?

SHAKIRA: Is there a particular teacher who does these things or all male teachers do these things?

Isaac: There is a teacher who is well known for sending particular girls to help him with certain things like bring porridge.

SHAKIRA: How about teachers who use those annoying words to the girls, which teachers are these?

Isaac: Those things mostly happen in P.5 not our class

SHAKIRA: Are there anything that teachers do that upset you?

Isaac: Yes, beating us.

SHAKIRA: Which teachers beat you most?

Isaac: Teacher Joseph, the class teacher of P.7.

SHAKIRA: Why does teacher Joseph beat?

Isaac: He rarely beats me but it hurts me to see my friends beaten. The other day we did a paper and all those who were below 40% were beaten. He first beat them for late coming and then two canes for poor performance. For me I hadn't attended school that day. He also said that the next paper, he will beat below 60% and will beat 4 canes.

SHAKIRA: When such things happen and you get upset, is there any one at school here or at home you can share with about things that annoy you?

Isaac: No. I don't talk about my problems at home with anyone or even at school. I have only shared with you but not anyone else.

SHAKIRA: Thank you Isaac for sharing with us and for being a strong and brave boy, I know that what you are going through is not easy but with some counselling, I hope you feel better.

Now as we conclude our discussion, I would like you to tell me your dreams for the future.

(Shakira tells Isaac her dreams for the future, so as to lessen the tension that may have been caused by the discussion)

Isaac: I might not go to secondary because I don't think that I will have money for school fees. But if I get lucky and complete school, I would like to work in petroleum.

SHAKIRA: What else would you like in the near future.

Isaac: I would like to be a teacher.

SHAKIRA: Thank very much Isaac. We hope that the child counsellor will come soon.

Continue being strong like you have been and remember, with God nothing is impossible.

Shakira's notes:

The discussion was very informative and elaborate. The participant shared his personal challenges that perhaps are currently contributing to his decline in class performance. His life story is very sad and at one point in the discussion I realized he was getting emotional but controlled his tears. I think he needs urgent help so that he concentrates in class. Overall the discussion was insightful.

Appendix 2.7 Learner (P7) writing club tool and example

Writing club tools were designed after some pilot rounds, and then continued to be adapted after each use with small groups of learners. Below is an example of a writing club tool and piece of data, with adapted formatting. I typed up each piece of writing club data for analysis, and included learners' crossings out and spellings.

Name:Rita..... Age: ...13..... Boy / girl ...Female.....School:Myufu.....

Problems children have

We are trying to understand some challenges that school pupils have in their lives.

You can answer the questions about things that happen at school, or at home, or in the community.

Remember that you don't have to answer all the questions if you don't want to.

If any of the questions make you feel sad and you would like to talk to someone outside of school about this, please write at the bottom of the paper and Teacher Ellen will help to arrange this.

What do you think are the biggest problems that children have?

1. Children have problems of ~~raping~~ defilement
2. Children have problems of kidnappers
3. I think are the biggest problems that children have when she / he beat her that is the problem.

What are the things that make you sad?

1. Things that make you feel sad are the hunger
2. When her parent did paid school fees that make you feel sad
3. Corporal punishment makes children to feel sad
4. Learning difficulties makes children to feel sad
5. Forced ingestion makes children to feel sad
6. Pinching makes children to feel sad
7. Shaking makes children to feel sad

Do you think boys and girls have the same problems?

Why / why not?

I think boys and girls have the same problems when kidnaped them.

I think boys and girls have the same when beating them.

I think boys and girls have the same problems of experiencing weat dreams.

What problems do girls have?

.....
.....

What problems do boys have?

.....
.....
Who do children talk to about these problems?
.....
.....

What do you think would be the best way to help children with their problems?

*Yes I think would be the best way to help children with their problems.
Children talk about these problems because they want to help them*

* * *

Thank you for answering these questions.

If you would like to speak to someone about anything that has made you sad, please write a note here to Teacher Ellen:

Yes I would like to speak to someone about anything that has made you sad.

ET notes on pupil

Sits at the front of the class with (name) and other well-behaved, high-achieving girls. Works very hard and takes her studies seriously. Is quiet, but does participate. Her younger sister is in P6 and has a wily, earnest and slightly cheeky energy about her. (Rita) is much more meek. Her father is Teacher Joseph, the class teacher. She asked to speak to a counsellor and this made me worried that it was about her father (highly possible as both parent and teacher), and how to handle that with him.

3. Child protection referral

Appendix 3.1 Referral protocol

Managing disclosures of violence (during interviews, FGDs and participatory methods)				
	Description of disclosure	Action	Timeframe for reporting case to CAI	Timeframe and type of monitoring / follow-up
Level 1	Forced sexual intercourse (rape) within the past week	Call CAI directly and immediately to arrange follow-up	Same day	Check in with CAI same day to check immediate action has been taken
	Obvious serious untreated physical injuries	Ensure that CAI immediately accompanies child to health centre		Check in with CAI re. follow up within one week (face-to-face or phone call)
	Serious immediate <i>plans</i> to harm oneself or others	Document referral and give to CAI Notify point person at RV		
	Serious threats reported/child cannot go home			
Level 2	Severe physical violence within the past week	Pass information on to CAI to decide best course of action	Same day	Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (face-to-face or phone call)
	Less severe sexual violence (non-penetrative) within past week	Discuss referral with child so they are informed of what will happen. If child is unhappy about referral, make their feelings known to CAI and discuss how this can influence nature of action taken		
	Moderate injuries observed			
	Has <i>thoughts</i> of harming oneself or others	Ask child where the best place to meet would be / how they would like to be contacted (school/home/etc)		
	Reports threats of harm (and fear) by parents/adults	Notify point person at RV		
	Serious signs of malnutrition/neglect	Document referral and give to CAI		
Level 3	Severe physical violence, but not in the past week	Ask child if she/he wants to talk to someone	Within two weeks	Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (phone call)
	Sexual violence, but not in the past week	Ask child where the best place to meet would be / how they would like to be contacted		
	Mild to moderate violence that has caused distress	Document referral and give to CAI		
	Minor injuries observed			
Voluntary	Child reports they would like to talk to someone, whether or not they disclosed violence	Child name/ information is referred to CAI Ask child where the best place to meet would be / how they would like to be contacted	Within three weeks	Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (physically/phone call)

Managing observations/overhearing violence during observations

	Description of observed incident	Action	Timeframe	Monitoring / follow-up
Level 1	Observed obvious serious untreated physical injuries	Call CAI directly and immediately to arrange follow-up	Same day	Check in with CAI same day to check immediate action has been taken
	Overheard or disclosed forced sexual intercourse (rape) within the past week	Ensure that CAI immediately accompanies child to health centre		Check in with CAI re. follow up within one week (face-to-face or phone call)
	Serious physical or sexual violence by teacher observed	Document referral and give to CAI		
Level 2	Serious physical violence that has caused injuries, prior to the past week, by teacher	Notify point person at RV Discuss with CP team at RV (name, name and name)	Same day	Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (face-to-face or phone call)
	Inappropriate touching / interactions with students of a sexual nature	Action taken on a case by case basis		
	Reported forced sexual intercourse (rape) prior to the past week			
	Observed serious physical or sexual violence between children			
Level 3	Observed mild to moderate physical or sexual violence between children	Follow school protocol for child protection (e.g. speak to designated teacher, headteacher or classroom teacher)	Same day or following day	If no satisfactory response taken, contact CAI to deal with case
	Serious signs of malnutrition/neglect			Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (face-to-face or phone call)
	Observed or overheard injuries caused by physical violence			
Level 4	Observed mild or routine physical violence from teachers to students	No immediate action taken All cases documented – then forwarded to CAI at the end of fieldwork CAI to design and implement appropriate sensitisation programme based on descriptions of violence	At the end of fieldwork (September 2017)	Check in with CAI to discuss sensitisation programme (Short term feedback to take place over email. Long term feedback to take place on ET's return visit back to Uganda several months after the end of fieldwork)
Voluntary	Child reports they would like to talk to someone, whether or not they disclosed violence	Child name/ information is referred to CAI	Within three weeks	Check in with CAI re. follow up within two weeks (face-to-face or phone call)

Appendix 3.2 Referral documentation form

DOCUMENTATION OF REFERRAL <i>To be completed by Ellen Turner (researcher)</i>	
Name and date:	Name of school: Kiragala Myufu
Name of child: Age of child:	Child's address (village, parish, description):
Best way to contact child:	Nature of referral: Disclosure made by child Observed
	Level of referral: 1 2 3 4 Voluntary/Counselling req.
Nature of disclosure / observation (specific disclosures and dates if applicable):	
Any additional comments (from researcher)	
What does the child want to happen next? / How does the child feel about referral?	
Has child already disclosed problem to anyone (apart from the researcher)?	
What action is the researcher taking?	
Level 1 Check list <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Child Protection Agency (CAI) notified immediately. Ensure child taken to health centre • Document referral • Notify point person at RV 	Level 2, 3, 4 Voluntary Notification Check list <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determined with child where the best place to meet would be/how want to be contacted • Child name/ information is referred to CAI • Document referral •

REFERRAL ACTION <i>To be completed by CAI staff member responsible for case management:</i>	
Name of child:	Level of referral: 1 2 3 4 Voluntary/Counselling req.
Date of receipt of case note from Ellen Turner:	Person receiving case note:
Plan for action:	Date of plan for action:
	Level of referral: 1 2 3 4 Voluntary/Counselling req.
Date of action taken:	
Description of action taken and any additional disclosure by child:	
Further follow-up needed?	
MONITORING REFERRAL FOLLOW-UP <i>To be completed by Ellen Turner:</i>	
Date of monitoring action taken:	
Description of monitoring action taken:	

3.3 Referral monitoring

Below is a table documenting the referrals made and action taken, with brief descriptions of reasons for the referral.

Ref. no.	Date referral made	School	Age	Sex	Referral level	Disclosed by child/observed	Reasons for referral	Further details	How to contact	Action taken
1	29/6/17	Myufu	8	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Problems with father at home	Doesn't want parents to know about referral	School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
2	6/7/17	Myufu	10	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Scary experience in community with older boys		School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
3	11/7/17	Kiragala	13	F	Voluntary	Disclosed	No info given	Delayed – wants in a couple of weeks	School – Teacher Brenda	Met counsellor
4	11/7/17	Kiragala	13	F	Voluntary	Disclosed	No info given	Delayed – wants in a couple of weeks	School – Teacher Brenda	Met counsellor
5	12/7/17	Kiragala	12	M	Level 3	Disclosed	Severe physical violence in the home, historically. Peer violence currently	Doesn't want parents to know about referral	School – Teacher Ruth	Met counsellor
6	13/7/17	Myufu	13	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Orphan, struggling with neglect at home and bereavement		School	Met counsellor
7	18/7/17	Kiragala	15	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Bereavement		School	Met counsellor
8	20/7/17	Myufu	14	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Feeling anxious about school fees for sec. school		Home (phone no. given)	Met counsellor
9	20/7/17	Myufu	12	F	Voluntary	Disclosed	Worried about poor feeding and accommodation		School	Met counsellor
10	20/7/17	Myufu	13	F	Voluntary	Disclosed	No info given	Father teaches at school and she lives on the school site (handle with extra sensitivity)	School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
11	20/7/17	Myufu	12	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	No info given		School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
12	20/7/17	Myufu	15	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Problems at home		School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
13	27/7/17	Myufu	13	F	Voluntary	Disclosed	Problems with stepmother at home		School – Teacher Esther	Met counsellor
14	26/7/17	Kiragala	14	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Neglect and overworked at home		School	Met counsellor
15	1/8/17	Kiragala	15	F	Voluntary/ Level 2	Disclosed / observed	No info given by pupil Teacher disclosed fears of sexual violence by a fellow teacher about this pupil	Teacher is possible perpetrator - extra sensitivity in how handled at school	Through parents	Met counsellor (home) / discussed with CP team
16	1/8/17	Kiragala	14	M	Voluntary	Disclosed	Feeling abused and overworked at home		Through school	Met counsellor

Ref. no.	Date referral made	School	Age	Sex	Referral level	Disclosed by child/observed	Reasons for referral	Further details	How to contact	Action taken
17 & 18	Details compiled throughout fieldwork	Myufu & Kiragala			Level 2	Disclosed /observed	<p>Second-hand reports of sexual relationships between teachers and pupils in each school</p> <p>Pupils describing inappropriate sexual touching or language in the classroom</p> <p>Observed sexualised interactions between teachers and pupils</p>	All details included in report		<p>Ongoing phone calls with CP team and academic supervisors to discuss how to handle</p> <p>Formal meeting with CP and RV to share disclosures</p> <p>Written report with all details compiled and presented to RV and CAI</p> <p>CAI and RV prepared school-level follow-up intervention activities</p>

4. Schools selection

Schools were selected for the criteria described in Chapter 5. Using Good Schools Study data, I ranked all 21 schools that received the Good School Toolkit intervention between 2012-2014 into three groups (high, medium and low) in relation to each other on the following areas:

- Violence reduction during the intervention based on different levels of violence between 2012 and 2014 – *1- Highest levels of violence reduction*
- Levels of violence in 2014 - *1- Highest levels of school staff physical violence use*
- Number of school-led GST activities in 2014 – *1 – Highest no. of activities*
- Student exposure to GST activities in 2014 - *1 – Highest student exposure to activities*
- Qualitative observations of uses of violence and GST activities in 2014– *1 – Most positive observations of perceived change in uses of violence and of school experience with the GST*

Using Raising Voices sustainability data collected during in-school observations in 2016, I ranked into three groups according to –

- Reduction in violence and signs of positive staff-student relationships - *1 – Most positive observations of perceived change in uses of violence and of improved staff-student relationships*
- Sustained GST activities and continued motivation for activities - *1 – Most positive observations of GST activities being sustained and of motivation for activities*

I then narrowed down to eight possible schools due to reasons of geographical location and access. These eight schools and their rankings are shown in the table below.

	2014 Endline (GSS survey data)					SUSTAINABILITY (Raising Voices qualitative observations)	
School name	Violence reduction 2012-2014	Violence levels 2014	School-led activities (over 4 terms)	Student exposure to GST activities	Endline qual. observations	Reduction in violence/relationships	Sustained GST activities/motivation
	2	3	3	2	3	n/a	n/a
	1	1	2	2	2	n/a	n/a
	3	2	2	2	1	n/a	n/a
	1	2	1	1	1	2	3
Myufu School	1	3	1	2	1	1	1
	2	3	1	2	1	1	1
	1	1	2	2	3	2	3
Kiragala School	2	2	3	1	1	1	1

5. Code list

Initial code list

1. Forms of violence

- 1.1 Corporal punishment
- 1.2 Emotional abuse
 - 1.2.1 Verbal abuse
 - 1.2.2 Neglect
 - 1.2.3 Marginalisation
- 1.3 Sexual violence
- 1.4 Sexual harassment
- 1.5 Transactional sex
- 1.6 Peer violence
- 1.7 Overwork
- 1.8 Violence and fear walking around

2. Gender

- 2.1 Gender roles
- 2.2 Gender identities
- 2.3 Similarities – positive relationships
- 2.4 Boys
- 2.5 Girls
- 2.6 Men
- 2.7 Women

3. Poverty

4. Physical spaces

- 4.1 Happened in school
- 4.2 Community
- 4.3 Family / home environment
- 4.4 Role of school

5. Good School Toolkit

- 5.1 Activities
- 5.2 Opinions
- 5.3 Suggestions of change
- 5.4 Policy - Other outside influence

6. Dealing with violence

- 6.1 Feelings about violence (children)
- 6.2 Taking action after violence (children)
- 6.3 Adults' responses to violence

7. School environment

- 7.1 Relationships in school
- 7.2 Parents–school relationship
- 7.3 Everyday life in school
- 7.4 Positive behaviour management
- 7.5 Teachers' power over children's bodies

8. Methodological insights

9. 'Key' data

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