The London School of Economics and Political Science

Managing Local-Global Knowledge Encounters: Unpacking the Dynamics of Comprehensive Sexuality Education in Conditions of Precarity

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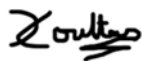
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Clare Coultas

Abstract

This thesis develops a social psychological approach for the study of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) aimed at youth in contexts of 'precarity' (Butler 2009) where wider political systems structure differential experiences of insecurity and marginalisation (e.g. widespread poverty, high HIV prevalence, gender inequality, generational differences). It emphasises the need for greater analytical focus on how change interventions are actualised, from conception through to evaluation. It argues that current framings of CSE in such settings, reify and depoliticise the local-global contexts which situate and shape interventions, and that existing methods neglect the dynamics and interactive aspects of implementation, which are key influencers on programme outcomes. Using the theory of social representations in a dialogical framing, this thesis conceptualises CSE interventions as a form of knowledge encounter; as situated spaces of strategic engagement between local-global knowledge cultures, enacted through the interpretative and communicative practice of differently positioned actors, agencies and artifacts. Through an ethnographic case study of an award-winning CSE intervention aimed at youth in urban Tanzania which had 'disappointing' outcome results, methodological and analytical focus is placed on three core points of interaction: the representations of knowledges on youth sexualities and their strategisation for behaviour change in curricula; youth sense-making of this curriculum knowledge in relation to the [sexual] relationship opportunities available to them; and the processes of communicative engagement (i.e. activities) which make up the intervention. The analyses provide greater context to the outcome results by illustrating how local-global precarity shapes behaviours, implementation practices, and overall change potentials, yet how it is either ignored or minimised in CSE curricula, and reporting and evaluation activities. Such neglect is seen to only further marginalise youth and overburden implementing actors. Whilst precarity is potentially beyond the scope of a CSE intervention, it is argued that more explicit focus needs to be put towards researching the specific insecurities that precarity causes in localities, and that these need to be factored into behaviour change theorisations, activities, and evaluations. In this way CSE interventions are conceptualised as spaces through which theorising on *possibilities* for *relational* forms of agency in precarity can be developed.

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Introduction

This thesis uses a case study of a foreign-funded Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) programme aimed at Tanzanian youth to explore the role of local-global relationships in mediating potentials for behaviour change. Despite decades of extensive international funding being funnelled into behaviour change programmes aimed at supporting young peoples' wellbeing in settings of prolonged and widespread poverty, high HIV prevalence, and gendered inequalities, outcomes have largely been disappointing. CSE represents an international effort to move beyond the decontextualised individual- and peer-centred approaches of the past and promote interventions which, 1) are culturally relevant, and 2) operate at multiple levels, acknowledging the social constraints on individual agency; although the specifics of these aspects continue to be a matter of debate. This thesis presents a detailed analysis of the *processes* by which these conceptualisations of behaviour change (e.g. 'culturally relevant' and multi-level) are, 1) envisaged and promoted in CSE curricula, 2) experienced by youth against the background of their wider life struggles, and 3) implemented by a non-governmental organisation (NGO). Through these analyses, the thesis works to firstly, develop understandings of behaviour change potentials in conditions of 'precarity', defined by Butler (2009) as "that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death" (p. ii). And secondly, it contributes to current debates over approaches to evaluations of *change* in multi-level interventions.

The local-global focus is not new in the study of HIV prevention efforts. Seckinelgin (2007) used it to highlight tensions and differences between globalised discourses about, and localised experiences of, the disease. And Campbell, Cornish and Skovdal (2012) as editors of a special edition, illustrated how it provides a way of examining "how internationally funded programmes serve to open up or close down opportunities for HIV-affected communities to exercise agency in relation to their sexual health and well-being" (p. 448). Yet, more than offering an analytical frame for unpacking interactions between 'global' and 'local' actors, a local-global focus also offers scope, through a process of 'working the hyphen' (Fine 1998), for exploring the

interconnectedness between, and co-constitution of, localities and (their perspectival positioning of) global socio-historical contexts. Stoler (1995) in fact highlights how it is exactly this which was missing from Foucault's (1978) *History of Sexuality*, in that he neglected the ways in which race and colonial peripheries were a key instigator for the creation of the European bourgeois 'metropole' identity, organised by discourses on sexuality. In this way, the local-global in this thesis is not conceptualised as a binary, but rather as an interdependent relationship.

The need to move beyond dualistic examinations of 'the local' and 'the global' is recognised in the social sciences in the work on 'assemblages'. In anthropology 'global assemblages' are conceptualised as the sites at which globalisation transforms societies, cultures and economies in localities, and therefore, pertain to 'abstractable' and 'mobile' phenomena such as technoscience, regimes of ethics, circuits of exchange, and systems of governance (Ong and Collier 2005). In geography, the term 'assemblage' is now beginning to be used in lieu of 'the social' so as to better recognise the ways in which localities are emergent and not materially [and experientially] homogenous, nor spatially bounded (McFarlane 2009). Nevertheless, I would argue that the local-global distinction within these assemblages is still important. Firstly, in terms of acknowledging the particular tensions which arise when local-global knowledges encounter one another, also shaped by the practices and resources through which they engage. And secondly, so as to not neglect historically-rooted legacies of local-global relations which may continue to shape the positioning of an assemblage within 'the global' even today (e.g. colonialism). In this thesis, the local-global is therefore conceptualised as a knowledge encounter that is saturated with power rooted in socio-historical and material contexts, and which is emergent through the relationship dynamics of people and the symbolic contexts (e.g. cultures, ideologies etc.) which they carry with them.

Local-global relationships, in their solidarities and contestations have been, and continue to be, enormously formative in the shaping of CSE. International feminism and alliances between women's groups were fundamental in expanding sexual health from the field of biomedicine, to being recognised and approached as a human right, yet the limitations put on the recognition of sexualities in human rights doctrines, were also constitutive of the different values of 'locals' and groups (Petchesky 2000; Parker

and Aggleton 2012). And contestations between different value-systems remain ever present in CSE. Social science research on HIV in localities has worked to challenge assumptions of universality in sexualities in international arenas, and contributed to understandings of the ways in which social inequalities and identities shape sexual practices (Parker and Aggleton 2012), yet again, notions of how to cater, and to what extent, to these differences varies widely in CSE. Yet through these local-global relationships, approaches to sex education have developed from the didactic provision of individual-focussed health information, to an awareness of the importance of group processes and the need for dialogues in changing social norms (e.g. peer education – Campbell and MacPhail 2002), on to current developments in which international organisations working in non-Western contexts, emphasise actively connecting pedagogies with wider societal structures, in recognition of widespread poverty and pervasive gendered inequalities (i.e. precarity).

These transitions can be seen in the three levels at which such international approaches to CSE operate: individual-focussed knowledge on HIV, sexual health and rights is provided; relational aspects are tackled through a focus on communication, coercion, and 'life skills'; and structural dimensions such as poverty and gender are also approached. Nevertheless, differences do remain in terms of how the structural level is focussed on: UNFPA (2014a) for instance emphasises human rights and gender; IPPF (2010) and UNESCO (2009) talk more about the need for youth to have 'opportunities' for exercising their knowledge and skills, which UNESCO (2014a) identifies as needing to involve micro-finance schemes; and WHO (2010) mark out five main domains through which opportunities for youth need to be enhanced (laws, policies, human rights; [formal] education; society and culture; economics; and health systems). Across all however, an emphasis is placed on the need for CSE interventions to hold relevance to the specific social and cultural contexts in which young people live, and this thesis works to contribute insights into how this 'making' of CSE is operationalised in a non-Western context. Throughout this thesis, youth sexualities are conceptualised across these three interconnected levels (i.e. the Self, interpersonal relations, and socio-cultural structures).

Butler's (2009) term 'precarity', aligns with the co-constitutive conceptualisation of the local-global through its emphasis on how 'local' experiences of insecurity (related to

symbolic and economic marginalisations), are not locally bounded, but rather are politically-induced. The local-global politics which situate the insecurities experienced by youth in the case study context, Tanzania, are clear. The shifting tensions and vulnerabilities in gendered and intergenerational interactions in Tanzania can be connected to international conventions and development projects focussed on promoting gender equality and youth empowerment, as well as representations of identities and interpersonal relations in 'globalising' popular cultures. The particularised form of poverty that Tanzanian youth experience can be seen to be shaped by international trade and immigration agreements that were borne out of colonial legacies. And youth exposures to HIV are situated by the politics of (international) policy versus (local) practice in the provision of health education, preventative services, and treatments. Therefore, in this thesis the term precarity is not only used to represent the manifold marginalisations that youth in Tanzania experience, but also is used as a tool to interrogate how global programmes engage with these insecurities.

The political nature of local-global knowledge encounters, and their ever-increasing complexities associated with technologically-enhanced connections within them, are at the core of arguments for the need of greater focus on the *relationships* through which international aid is implemented and evaluated. My own five years of experience working with youth in East and Central Africa on NGO-led change interventions (including CSE programmes), highlighted the pervasive miscommunications in NGO-youth relations, and how they were not conducive to change. I saw how many youth had the formal knowledge needed to lead healthy sexual lives, however were not putting this knowledge into practice. I saw the fatalism by which they described their relationships and life prospects in the face of poverty, gender inequalities, and HIV and AIDS, yet despite this, how the NGO discourse on 'uneducated' youth persisted. Mosse (2014) argues that a shift from viewing aid as a 'thing' to one of (contested) 'relations', requires three points: firstly, that knowledge itself is conceptualised as a relationship; second, that research frames are inductive rather than deductive; and third, that development institutions be more critically introspective. Eyben (2008) proposes the contribution that complexity theory can make in terms of the need to study emergent, rather than predicted change, in recognition of the contingent nature of 'the social', which I would add, only increases in conditions of precarity. Yet she leaves open the

question of how to connect relational processes in development projects to complex social systems (ibid).

In this thesis, I propose that social psychological theorising provides a methodological and analytical framework through which the dynamics of relationships within knowledge and implementation practices, can be studied in connection with wider societal (symbolic and material) structures. In the case of CSE interventions in conditions of precarity, I argue that such a dynamic analysis of relationships is fundamental for gaining deeper insight into the limitations and potentials of CSE interventions, as well as the ways in which differences and insecurities are managed at this politically-charged local-global knowledge encounter. Before providing an outline of the thesis, I will first situate the case study in the local-global.

The Local-Global in the Mabadiliko Case Study

Tanzania, the setting of the case study, is an East African country that has maintained political stability and relatively stable economic growth since gaining Independence in 1961 (World Bank 2017); for many years earning it the status of 'the darling of international development' (Lynge 2011). It was colonized by the Germans from the 1880s until 1919, when it passed to Britain after Germany was defeated in WW1. Yet Arab populations also have a strong historical presence, with the island Zanzibar, being under the sovereign rule of Oman Arabs until 1890 (when it passed to the British), and (what is now) Tanzania being a key port in the Arab slave trade, thought to date back to the 18th Century (Mbogoni 2013). This extensive Arab presence, can still be seen today in the Arabic contained within the Swahili (national) language and the practice of Islam, with 35.2% of the mainland population estimated to be Muslim, compared to 61.4% Christian (PEW 2010). Tanzania's history is also distinctive from other countries in the region by the African socialist project – *Ujamaa* – which marked its early years of independence. The institutionalisation of Swahili as the national language was an important part of this process, along with the provision of free and compulsory education, and the collectivisation of local production (e.g. farming) activities (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003). It ultimately failed, and there is some debate over whether this was caused by a fault in the design or ideology itself, or whether the project was

never really given a chance, in that local-global dynamics shaped the fall of socialism in Tanzania. Expenses related to taking down Idi Amin in the Ugandan 1978 war, coupled with the effects of collapsing global market prices on trade, necessitated financial support from the World Bank/IMF which required that Tanzania comply with Structural Adjustment Procedures, integrating it into the global (capitalist) market (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003; Wobst 2001). And whilst its compliance with aid programmes and steady economic growth rates provided Tanzania with its 'darling' status in the international development community, the Global Household Survey in 2007 showed that such growth had had little effect on rates of poverty (Lynge 2011).

Today, Tanzania has an estimated population of 50 million, of which youth (ages 14-25), are thought to account for 18% (World Bank 2017). Out-of-school rates for ages 14-19 are high, thought to reach 56%, rising to 61% for girls, and only one-third of girls who enter secondary schools, graduate (EPDC 2014; World Bank 2015). Around 800,000 youth are estimated at entering the workforce each year, and with rapid urbanisation without concurrent industrialisation and urban-investment, unemployment rates are high (e.g. for youth reaching 28.8% in the largest city – World Bank 2017). The majority of income-generation remains in the informal sector, which is enormously insecure (Banks 2016). Whilst the incidence and prevalence rates of HIV have reduced overall in Tanzania, rates amongst youth, and particularly young women remain high, in that they are thought to account for 45%, whilst young men make up 26%, of all new HIV infections in the country (UNFPA 2010). There are large variances in prevalence rates however this gendered disparity uniformly persists. In one report HIV prevalence amongst Tanzanian youth (aged 15-24 years), was estimated at 4% for young women and 1.8% for young men (PRB 2013), whilst in another, this difference was shown to increase with age, reaching 6.6% for young women versus 2.8% for young men (aged 23-24 – THMIS 2011-12). Prevalence rates are also generally found to be higher in urban areas (THMIS 2011-12). Teenage pregnancy rates are also high compared to other countries, with young women (15-19 years) accounting for 37 per 1000 births (PRB 2013).

Nationwide results from the Knowledge, Attitude, Behaviour, and Practices (KABP) survey show that 85% of young women and 86% of young men (aged 15–24) in Tanzania know that the risk of getting HIV can be reduced by limiting sex to one

faithful, uninfected partner, and that 74% of young women and 72% of young men know and believe the effectiveness of condoms in protecting from HIV, and overall these percentages increase in urban areas (TDHS 2010). Nevertheless, out of the premarital youth (aged 15-21) surveyed, only 37% of young women, and 41% of young men reported using a condom the last time they had sex (TDHS 2015-16). Sexual and reproductive health (SRH) education efforts aimed at young people are relatively widespread with a government-produced curriculum that is (in theory) delivered in both primary and secondary schools, however the extent that this occurs in practice is questionable. A vast number of different NGOs also contribute to the delivery of this curriculum which at present is being revised as part of a multi-stakeholder process so as to accord with UNESCO's (2009) guidelines on 'comprehensive sexuality education' (discussed in more depth in Chapter 1). Nevertheless, since the fieldwork took place, NGO-government relations in respect to sexual health and particularly youth health have diminished somewhat with the new President's announcement of his plans to 'crackdown' on homosexuality, and also block teenage mothers from returning to school, accusing NGOs of 'being used by foreign agents' (Gaffey 2017; Githaiga 2017). A detailed analysis of local-global relationships in the Tanzanian CSE context is therefore critical.

The Mabadiliko Programme (a pseudonym used for confidentiality purposes) is a peer-led comprehensive sexuality education and empowerment programme aimed at out-of-school girls (OSGs - aged 12-20 years) in urban Tanzania. The project design won awards for its 'multi-level' approach which worked to change individual behaviours and social norms through education, 'safe spaces', improved connections with local support and service providers, and collaborative entrepreneurial activities. At the time of fieldwork (April – September 2015), Mabadiliko was funded by one of the largest international donor agencies, who had commissioned a foreign expert consultant to design the programme model, as a response to the THMIS 2011-2012 identification that young Tanzanian women were particularly vulnerable to HIV. And the programme materials (e.g. CSE curriculum) were specified to the locality, developed by the 'local' senior staff of the implementing NGO, drawing on internal documents, own professional experience, as well as internationally-recognised guidance documents (e.g. UNESCO 2009). However, the control-group endline evaluation, undertaken by a lead international organisation (September – December 2015), produced

'disappointing' results (the details on this evaluation are provided in Chapter 1). Whilst attending OSGs displayed more progressive gender attitudes and knowledge on contraceptive methods, they did not possess statistically significant greater self-esteem, aspirational attitudes or mental health, nor comprehensive HIV knowledge, nor 'improved sexual behaviours' (e.g. use of condoms and other contraceptives, multiple sexual partners, 'sugar daddies' etc.). Nevertheless, as this thesis will illustrate two vital dimensions of programme context – the local-global, and 'precarity' – were largely overlooked in this evaluation, despite their being key to understanding the 'disappointing' results.

Outline of the Thesis

This thesis works to address the following overarching question:

> How do local-global relationships in a CSE intervention mediate behaviour change potentials in conditions of precarity?

Chapter 1 provides a review of the literature on CSE and multi-level sexual behaviour change programmes aimed at youth in sub-Saharan Africa, and situates the Mabadiliko case study in this literature. The review identifies three areas of contested knowledge that the thesis works to contribute to: constructions of 'healthy sexualities'; theorisations of 'youth subjectivities'; and the study and integration of 'social action' into CSE. Existing methods for the study of CSE are identified as limiting in their not capturing the relational dimensions of power and ethics in CSE. *Chapter 2* maps out a theoretical frame for the contribution I seek to make to the study of (intervention) change-making in conditions of precarity. The frame is informed by a dialogical epistemology that views change as arising through the (power- and ethically-based) dialogical relations between actors (e.g. staff, peer educators [PEs], attending youth), artifacts (e.g. curricula, reporting templates) and agencies (e.g. donors), situated by the interfacing local-global context (e.g. temporo-symbolic and material). My account of this frame explains my methodological focus on 'situated points of interaction' as an entry point for the data analysis. *Chapter 3* justifies the use of the case study approach as the best way to apprehend the potentials and limitations of relationships in CSE. It outlines the three different methods used in the study: document analyses of CSE

curricula; focus group discussions (FGDs) with youth; and an institutional ethnography. In presenting these methods I build on arguments in earlier chapters to illustrate the ways in which a dialogical epistemology and theorisations of (intervention) change-making will be operationalised in my analysis of these three data sources.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present and discuss my findings on the analyses of the CSE curricula, FGDs, and institutional ethnography respectively, in which the power-based and ethical dimensions of relationships within knowledge and in implementation practices are unpacked so as to cast light on, 1) the nature of the local-global knowledge encounter in CSE, and 2) the ways in which their dynamics mediate (i.e. limit or enable) behaviour change potentials. *Chapter 7* discusses the dynamics of the relationships which make up the Mabadiliko CSE intervention, highlighting implications for policy and practice. The chapter concludes with the presentation of what I term an 'open-box' approach to programme design and evaluation. It acts as a response to the empirical findings and harnesses the emphasis on relations-in-contexts which runs throughout the thesis. The open-box approach aims to facilitate more ethical engagements with differences in knowledge, as well as a greater appreciation for the ways in which precarity shapes implementation and behaviour change potentials. Furthermore, it identifies how both of these aspects together, can support greater adaptivity and contextualisation in CSE programming.

Chapter 1. Contestations in the Local-Global Literature on CSE in Precarity

"The history of human sexualities is ultimately as much a history of contestation, resistance, evasion and insistent making and re-making as of regulation and effective policing" – Jeffrey Weeks (2012:250).

Foucault (1976/1980) emphasises the power of localities in dismantling dominant and totalising discourses that subjugate and bury knowledges through the disguise of "functionalist coherence and formal systematisation" (p. 81). And his body of work speaks to the importance of unpacking the emergent histories of such 'knowledge struggles' (ibid). In reviewing the literature on CSE and multi-level sexual behaviour change approaches aimed at youth in sub-Saharan Africa, I identified three core knowledge struggles which underpin the 'making' of CSE: 1) in the constructions of healthy (youth) sexualities; 2) in conceptualising and supporting youth subjectivities; and 3) in the study and integration of social action in interventions. So as to better identify the local-global context in these knowledge struggles, the literature search on these three specific phenomena, was expanded to international and donor contexts. Theoretically, this chapter seeks to define and critically review the literature on these three contested aspects of CSE in precarity, and point to current gaps in understanding that this thesis works to address. And methodologically, this chapter works to justify the research strategy used in this thesis. In explanation, a critical analysis of existing research methods in this field of study, is shown to highlight the ways in which they obscure the relational, power-related and ethical dimensions of CSE, which are the focus of this thesis. I will present the discussion on these three identified contested phenomena in turn, and then situate the Mabadiliko case study in the literature, before concluding the chapter.

1.1 Constructions of Healthy (Youth) Sexualities

Foucault's seminal (1978/1990) work lay the ground for analyses of the politics which underlie constructions of healthy sexualities. His detailed genealogy exposed how sexuality is a 'dense transfer point' of [bio]power between the state and individual bodies, focussed on ensuring societal productivity, and organised through proliferating discourses juxtaposing deviancies with 'healthy' aspects of sexuality (ibid). Whilst Foucault's analysis still holds relevance today, a local-global focus highlights how he overlooked the ways in which racial discourses underpin European constructions of sexuality, and the literature on CSE in precarity, reveals how the subjugation of race in CSE knowledge is ever emergent. Furthermore, the reviewed literature reveals how contemporary constructions of healthy sexualities are enormously contested, shaped by the shifting dominances of social values in global politics, with particular contestation over healthy *youth* sexualities; a politics which 'scientific' evidence-based approaches are not immune to. Each will now be discussed.

1.1.1 Racialised Discourses (of Dominance) on Sexuality

Uncovering the ways in which race, and particularly African ethnicities, have underpinned discourses on sexualities throughout history is essential towards unpacking the emergence of local-global knowledge struggles over constructions of healthy sexualities in CSE in precarity today. An analysis of the racialised discourses of dominance *within* discourses on sexuality, exposes how the 'lineages of power' (Foucault 1976/1980) in knowledge on healthy sexualities can be traced back to colonial times. And this knowledge-power relationship goes beyond Foucault's identification of sexual discourses as a technology of (self-)disciplinary power. Certainly, this aspect of sexual discourse could be seen in the colonies. Waller (2006) for instance, discusses how youth in Tanzania were perceived as dangerous to the colonial order, and describes how colonial missions controlled this 'threat' through the 'reshaping' of adulthood. He illustrates how through colonial institutions, adulthood was constructed as only attainable through marriage, demarcating non-marital relations between young people as risky and wayward (ibid). However, much postcolonial scholarship emphasises that discourses on sexuality in colonial times had much more than a regulatory function on the colonised, and instead highlight how

local-global relationships were shaping social milieu, even before developed transportation systems were established.

Stott (1989) discusses how (imagined) comparisons of the dangerous and over-sexualised primitive to the rational and pious man of Enlightenment thinking, justified colonial ventures through moralistic terms. Arnfred (2004) identifies how this 'othering' of Africans was also crucial to Western identity formation: "This 'other' thing is constructed to be not only different from European/Western sexualities and self, but also functions to co-construct that which is European/Western as modern, rational and civilized" (p.7). And Stoler's (1995) fascinating framing of colonial archive research through Foucault's lesser known lectures on race, offers a slightly different analysis of the proliferation of bourgeois emphases on healthy sexualities through 'self-control, self-discipline, and self-determination.' She proposes that this discourse actually had a restorative function, in that the 'civilizing mission' was not only directed at the colonised but also involved a 'reform of themselves', made necessary by the 'cultural transgressions' that colonial relationships (i.e. the large-scale mixing of races) had produced: "These features, affirmed in the ideal family milieu, were often transgressed by sexual, moral, and racial contaminations in those same European colonial homes [with domestic servants and nursemaids]" (Stoler 1995:8). And certainly, other archival analyses have shown how 'white peril' (the rape of black women by white men) was insidiously more prevalent than the proclaimed and highly publicised 'epidemics' of 'black peril' (black men raping white women), both of which Pape (1990) proposes were strategic tactics used by colonialists "to solidify racial and gender differences and thereby to construct [and justify] a white and male supremacist social order" (p. 699).

The persistence of these racialised undercurrents in constructions of sexualities in present-day international development discourse is also emphasised by postcolonial scholars. Tamale (2011) argues that the focus on African sexual behaviours, conceptualising them as homogenous, static and different to Western practices, being "insatiable, alien and deviant" (p. 17) is indicative of the endurance of colonial stereotypes. And Cole and Thomas (2009) discuss how 'love' is constructed through teleological conceptualisations of African societies as transitional, meaning that "certain intimate and emotional relations were depicted as 'civilised', 'modern', and 'Western' and contrasted with others deemed 'primitive', 'traditional', and 'African'" (p.

16). They point out how the colonial and anthropological fascination with difference meant that values of kinship and exchange in marriage were focussed on, overlooking the more loving and intimate aspects of relationships in Africa which were clearly demonstrable in songs, poems, and love medicines; a discourse which they argue has only been endorsed by the spread of Christianity, school education, NGOs, and media (ibid). Mama (1997) highlights that a likely contributing factor to this is also the monopoly over knowledge production about Africa that the West continues to hold: "Even today, the bulk of research on African culture has been conducted by foreign scholars, mostly from within frames of reference that have often been at best irrelevant and at worst inimical to African concerns and interests" (p. 71-2). Epprecht (2012) also points out how access to scholarly knowledge on Africa (through subscription-only academic journals) remains monopolised by the West.

Yet Stoler (1995) more generally emphasises how racial discourses derive force from "a 'polyvalent mobility', [namely] from the density of discourses they harness, from the multiple economic interests they serve, from the subjugated knowledges they contain, from the sedimented forms of knowledge that they bring into play" (p. 204). And certainly, the polyvalent and mobile power of these racialised discourses can be seen in the silent contradictions which embody much development work. Spivak (1994) highlights how the colonial 'saviour complex' is at the core of development and gender interventions with "White men [and women] saving brown women from brown men" (p. 93), not only constructing 'Third World' women as 'other' and as victims, but also muting their voices and real experiences. Such a silencing through the dominance of white-saviour discourse can also be said of the vilified 'brown' men (Ratele 2008; Groes-Green 2012), and too, of subjugated 'African' discourses on (homo)sexualities and gender (Epprecht 2012). Reid and Walker (2005) also point out how in colonial contexts, medical discourse was crucial in "constructing the [sexualised] African as an object of knowledge", and how this continues today in research on HIV and African sexualities, being "dominated by biomedical discourse relating to women and reproduction, often infused with normative assumptions about women's needs... derived from a European context" (p. 187). And Ahlberg and Kulane (2011) point out how despite racial and gendered prejudicial stereotyping being condemned internationally in Human Rights discourse, that the regulation of (especially coloured) women's bodies and sexualities persisted under the guise of large-scale 'behaviour

change' population control programmes; a model which was then essentially copied over to HIV prevention projects as the epidemic progressed.

Setel (1999) however suggests that "the 'biopower' dynamics of north and south were not so black and white", (p. 242) pointing out that the international respond to HIV and AIDS has offered new skills and technologies to African scholars and "that [bio]medicine, as part of the cultural legacy of colonialism, has accomplished more than the reproduction of colonial power relations, [in that the procedures of power which now operate through biomedicine, are productive rather than regulative, meaning]... there has been a shift from a social use of medicine as a means of control within and among populations (but external to individual bodies) to one in which medicine has become an African technique of knowing and defining persons from the social spaces within (hence acting upon their subjectivities)" (p. 242-3). And certainly, something similar could be said of global activist movements related to gender, sexuality, and sexual health, which have been instrumental in diversifying conceptualisations of sexualities in both local and global contexts, albeit not without tensions (Parker and Aggleton 2012). Also in keeping, Hirsch and Wardlow (2006) relate the connection of love with modernity, not so much in terms of the dominance of globalised (or Western) discourses over African ones (as put forth by Cole and Thomas [2009] earlier), but rather as the deliberate strategizing of Africans who want to claim a 'modern identity'. Nevertheless, I would suggest that these do not negate the possibility of continued racialised exclusions in discourses on sexuality, across different axes of dominance (having 'polyvalent mobility'). Hunter (2010) for instance describes how an HIV prevention campaign in South Africa "uses romantic love to celebrate individuals' ability to move in and out of relationships at will and to choose a partner regardless of race, religion, and sex... But the love it presents is more viable for the sassy middle-class people who frequently appear in its advertisements" (p.199).

Therefore, whilst race relations are changing, the pervasiveness of their structuring of local-global relationships even after colonial times, is clear. Even if some people are creatively resisting or strategizing 'global' knowledge on sexualities for their own needs, the racialised undertones, and the institutionalised subjugation of race, in CSE, have both power-based and ethical implications, particularly for the most marginalised groups of people. Therefore, in studying knowledge on sexualities in sub-Saharan

African CSE contexts, I argue that it is important to situate analyses within this history of systematic non- or mis-recognitions. Namely, the ways in which 'African' cultures are represented and engaged with in CSE interventions need to be unpacked, and so too, do the ways in which African youth, represent their cultures in relation to 'the global'.

1.1.2 The Politics of Values in Healthy Youth Sexualities

The review of local-global literature on the construction of healthy sexualities in CSE, and particularly in regard to youth, revealed how knowledge is also shaped by the shifting (political) dominances of social values. The local-global dimension to this is constituted not only by differences between localities and 'the global', but also through the ways in which the politicised and values-based differences between foreign countries (e.g. USA versus European countries), are exported to other localities through their bilateral funding of NGO behaviour change projects (Ketting and Winkelmann 2013). Uncovering these knowledge struggles over values in CSE is, I argue, key for understanding not only how 'cultural relevance' in CSE is established, but also how knowledge is strategised for behaviour change.

In popularised terms, distinctions are made between 'sex negative' approaches which view sex outside of heterosexual marriage as dangerous or bad and so often only provide information on abstinence as *the* preventative measure. Versus 'sex positive' approaches which view consensual sex as an important part of being human, and so pedagogies focus on the pleasures of sex along with strategies for ensuring that it is safe and respectful. Contentions and shifts in dominance between these two schools of thought over the course of the twentieth century have been most prominent in the United States (USA), where the social conservative, 'sex negative' movement is particularly strong (Weeks 2012). Goldfarb (2009) presents a historical account of these two discourses over the twentieth century which highlights the local-global framing of shifts in their dominance. She gives insight into how medical advances, trends in psychology, the various wars (i.e. WW1, WW2, Vietnam, the 'Cold War'), black liberation and feminist movements, and the HIV and AIDS crises, shaped changes in popularised conceptualisations of sex education as being about disease control, an important part of the (child/youth) socialisation process, a moral endeavour, aimed at developing self-determination, or about social justice (ibid). The

oscillations in the rescindments and reinstatements of the 'global gag rule' which blocks USA "federal funding of NGOs that provide, promote, or make referrals to abortion services, or give information about abortions" (Singh and Karim 2017:e387), are also telling of the ways in which shifting dominances in politics and consequently values in the USA locality also impact on the global. A review of scholarly research published in the Health Education Journal similarly reveals continuities over seven decades in these values-based debates pertaining to "whether exposure to information on sex is corrupting or empowering, and whether sexuality is something individuals (and particularly young people) should be encouraged to control or celebrate" (Iyer and Aggleton 2015:4).

Nevertheless, the struggles between these different knowledges are often not as clear-cut as the negative-positive binary would suggest. Lamb (2013) discusses how the resilient power of the abstinence-only movement in the USA, meant that the 'sex positive' school of thought had to 'reframe and narrow' its focus so as to galvanize the power of scientific discourse which the 2001 Satcher report provided them with, becoming evidence-based sex education (ESE). Yet connecting this analysis with the global, the pressure for evidence of efficacy in sexual behaviour change programmes was extremely heightened in the early 2000s, owing to continued rises in HIV incidences and overall prevalence globally (CDC 2001). The concept of an approach based on evidence, and therefore capable of providing proof of changes in public health goals, and better yet, which was value-free (being scientific) so could be applied anywhere in the world, therefore held great power at this moment in history. Ahlberg and Kulane (2011) point out how such interventions "in essence, not only moved sexuality and reproduction from its sociocultural contexts, but also promoted a view of sexuality as simply a problem for technical interventions" (p. 326).

Yet of course, scientific discourse is not value free. Lamb (2013) demonstrates this through a discourse analysis of an ESE curriculum: "the discourse of science pretends at inclusivity… [yet] Still heteronormativity is almost always implied and other sexualities are often named as deviant… The suggestion that *all* the facts are being discussed… makes invisible those facts that do not fit into the model of sex or sexuality that is presented in such a neutral and scientific way. As an example, a discussion of the 'arousal response' may include a medical diagram of the genital area that leaves out

or leaves unlabelled the perineum or anus... showing a bias toward sex for reproduction or heterosexual intercourse" (Lamb 2013:451). And whilst, to my knowledge, no such analysis has been performed on an international ESE curriculum, Kirby (2008) nevertheless identified the values within the most popular ESE approach – ABC (Abstain, Be faithful, Condomise) – in that each was not presented as a potential option, but rather were presented in a hierarchy where the most 'moral' person would abstain, and the least, condomise.

I would suggest that the global context was also, and continues to be, a key driver of the 'positivising' of sex education approaches, in that the extensive research on the HIV epidemic has highlighted on a global scale, the ineffectiveness, and even potential harm of the moralising and scare tactics used in 'sex negative' approaches, and even implicit within ESE. Qualitative and ethnographic studies across a wide range of contexts, provide detailed insight into the specificities of contexts and the relationship dynamics within them, which are so pervasive that knowledge about HIV and AIDS alone, produces denialism or fatalism rather than change (Campbell 2003; Parikh 2015). As discussed in the Introduction chapter, the current approach promoted in international arenas is CSE, sometimes termed 'holistic sexuality education' which focuses on sexuality as a human right rather than a public health gain (Ketting and Winkelmann 2013). It therefore promotes "learning about the cognitive, **emotional**, **social**, **interactive** and physical aspects of sexuality... It gradually equips and **empowers** children and young people with information, skills and **positive values** to understand and **enjoy** their sexuality, have **safe** and **fulfilling relationships** and **take responsibility** for their own and other people's sexual health and **well-being**" (WHO 2010 – emphases added). And it is suggested that this focus on the more personal and affective aspects of relationships provides CSE with greater capabilities of connecting with people in ways that ESE, reliant on 'cold facts' could not (Lamb 2013; Ketting and Winkelmann 2013).

However, I would argue that there are still potentials for issues over the context-specific nature of conceptualisations of such emotional and relational aspects (highlighted in bold text in the quote above). Rasmussen (2012) argues that the analytical focus on (the harm of) sex-negative approaches has meant that sex-positive programmes have gone relatively uncritiqued, producing an 'idealisation' of the change

potentials that such interventions hold. And a book of edited papers certainly highlights how "an uncritical celebration of pleasure can be just as damaging as a suppression of the possibilities for pleasure. It can dovetail with market manipulation of pleasure for profit. And it can create new expectations and standards that put pressure on people, rather than enabling them to explore the pleasures they desire, or choose" (Jolly et al. 2013:7). A case in point of this is the Hunter (2010) example at the end of the previous sub-section where the use of love in HIV prevention campaigns in South Africa, through its marketization, only connects with the middle class, excluding lower socio-economic groups.

There is therefore clearly a need for analyses of how values shape knowledge and constructions of healthy youth sexualities in CSE interventions. Not only is this important in recognition of cultural variations in social values (and the previous sub-section highlights the limitations of this recognition in sub-Saharan African contexts), but also, in that some values may not be accessible to all people. This last point relates to growing acknowledgments of the ways in which social and economic marginalisations can act as constraints on a person's agency (i.e. ability to act in 'free will'). Yet just as there are differences in values in CSE, so too are there differences in how such agentic power in relation to social contexts, is conceived, along with how CSE interventions make claim to helping people in accessing it. The following section will discuss this in more depth.

1.2 Conceptualising the 'Youth Subject'

The relationship between (an individual's) agency and (societal) structures is an unresolved problematic in the social sciences. Differences in theorising on youth subjectivities in sex education approaches are not new. As outlined in the Introduction chapter, peer education approaches represented a shift away from individual-focussed theorisations of behaviour change (e.g. programmes which identify that people will rationally choose 'good' behaviours once they have the knowledge), to an acknowledgement of the influence of social norms and group processes on behaviours. Nevertheless, the literature on CSE and multi-level behaviour change approaches in sub-Saharan African contexts, highlights an underlying contestation in

conceptualisations of the 'youth subject', namely the pervasiveness of 'the individual'. Therefore before presenting the discussion on how this can be seen in the literature, I will first begin by outlining the three core theorisations of youth subjectivities discussed in the literature, namely the ways in which youth are conceived as being able to access power through CSE. I argue that a detailed understanding of the theorisations on youth subjectivities is crucial for not only unpacking the challenges to their operationalisation in CSE, but also for identifying and unpacking the ways in which CSE interventions engage with conditions of precarity. As will be discussed, this is of particular importance in multi-level interventions, in that their underlying theorisation of behaviour change is not always explicitly stated, yet is a key factor in defining how the multiple levels (and therefore precarity) are engaged with.

1.2.1 Theorising 'The Youth Subject'

Three core theorisations of 'the youth subject' were identified or discussed in the reviewed literature: the individualist biomedical/neoliberal framing; Freire's (1968/2005) materialist relational framing; and Foucault's social constructionist relational framing. In this sub-section, I will outline each in turn, integrating critical discussion from the literature on how each conceptualises youth subjectivities in precarity.

The biomedical/neoliberal framing of the 'youth subject' conceptualises power as rooted in the individual, based on a Platonic/Cartesian construction of Man, who is rational and whose 'project' is to achieve absolute autonomy over Self and over the objective world, what Foucault terms (and ultimately rejects) as the 'sovereign subject' (Markova 2003; Fraser 1985). In CSE it is conceptualised through psychological models, inclusive of 'rational choice theory', and the 'theory of planned behaviour', which underpinned the HIV education efforts (as already mentioned, essentially transferred directly from previous population control programmes [Ahlberg and Kulane 2011]), and the ESE 'ABC' approach; both of which theorise that knowledge on 'risk' leads to changes in attitudes, (individual) perceptions of social norms, and consequently behaviours. Within this framing the youth subject is positioned as 'unknowledgeable', 'at high risk', 'over-pressured', 'developmentally immature', and 'tragic' which Warwick and Aggleton (1990) identify as a 'pathologizing' of adolescence. In line with this, education and sexual behaviour change interventions are viewed as the remedy to this

'lack' in youth, and aspects of precarity are not engaged with. As Aggleton (1991) argues, "So powerful are these logics [of pathologizing and homogenizing adolescence], they determine the questions asked by particular studies as well as the ways in which findings are interpreted, and the uses to which they are put" (p. 262). Despite the abundance of evidence detailing the inadequacies of such an individual-focussed approach to behaviour change, particularly in conditions of precarity (Coates et al. 2008), the extensive reach and dominance of the biomedical/neoliberal model persists, exercised through the institutions of scientific discourse. As discussed in the literature, psychological models that position the power to change (behaviours) as residing within the individual, 'fit' neatly into the biomedical 'positivist' construction of the objective world as being made-up of universal truths which can be accessed through the scientific method and controlled (Stephens 2008; Laverack 2004).

Paolo Freire's (1968/2005) theorisation of changing behaviours through pedagogy is the most commonly used counterpoint to the biomedical/neoliberal model in the literature on CSE in precarity. Rooted in the postcolonial Latin American liberatory psychology and education movements, Freire took a materialist view of power, viewing it as finite and 'out there' in the structures, such as those espoused in the dynamics between the Global North—South, or the elite—'underclass', which result in the 'massification' or objectification of the oppressed. He argued that the only way people can reclaim their humanity and 'take' the power back from the oppressor and become empowered themselves, is through the collective and relational process of *conscientization* in which critical thinking and dialogue are connected to (collective) action – *praxis* – through which "reflection and action [are] directed at the structures to be transformed" (Freire 2005:126). Therefore, within this framing, power and agency are seen as accessible through relations with others, in the intersubjective space between people, as [egalitarian] collectives (Campbell 2014; Stephens 2008). I would like to note here the connection to Bourdieu's theory of 'social capital', namely power through the varying strengths of relations with (different groups of) others (Stephens 2008; Campbell et al. 2014), which has been used in combination with Freire as an underpinning for behaviour change interventions (discussed further in the next sub-section). Nevertheless, as Gacoin (2014) points out, youth, in Freire's theory of *conscientization* are still, as in the neoliberal/biomedical model, positioned as 'rational' in that praxis is conceptualised as "getting students to a goal framed as 'truth'" (p. 62),

in accordance with the "materialist notion of history as a linear process marching humankind in the direction of progress and freedom" (Campbell 2014:51). Another connection with the biomedical/neoliberal model, is that Freire's theory presumes that youth will achieve autonomy over the structures which constrain them: "youth are expected to engage in dialogue around gendered roles and inequalities with the desired outcome of promoting mutual understanding and ultimately gender equality. However, introducing gender as a topic in the classroom does not erase the gendered subject positions that youth bring into that classroom" (Gacoin 2014:62).

Foucault's (1978/1990) conceptualisation of power-through-relations is different from Freire in its social constructionist framing which emphasises, "The omnipresence of power: not because it has the privilege of consolidating everything under its invincible unity, but because it is produced from one moment to the next, at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another. Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (p. 93). He also reflects that because power is everywhere, opportunities for resistance are also ubiquitous (ibid). For some scholars, this understanding of power equates to 'the death of the subject' (Allen 2000), whilst others do not interpret Foucault as rejecting humanism outright, but rather see him as emphasising "the historically, culturally, and socially specific conditions of possibility for subjectivity" (Allen 2000:114). Regardless, Gacoin (2014) points out how this framing "fundamentally challenges what 'empowerment' [through intervention] discourse takes to be its proper object (giving power) as well as what it claims to give (autonomous agency)" (p. 63). And drawing on Ellsworth (1992), suggests that Foucault's framing of subjectivity could be taken-up in CSE in terms of viewing "identity, not as a target to be empowered, but rather as a 'vehicle for multiplying and making more complex the subject positions possible, visible and legitimate at any given historical moment'" (Gacoin 2014:66). This view connects to feminist theorising on agency *in* constraint, which refers to the ways in which the neoliberal (and materialist) framings of agency and structures as being opposed, is not only false, but also reinforces power relations in its not recognising any agency other than being free *from* constraint (Madhok et al. 2013). Nevertheless, as Campbell (2014) points out, there are different forms of constraint, particularly in relation to health and also in contexts of precarity: "Physical survival is a precondition for engagement in collective action and the reframing of one's identity or life narrative... [and in contexts

where people suffer the poorest health owing to structural constraints such as high maternal mortality, high HIV exposure, government-sanctioned identity-based discriminations etc], the claim that power is a monolithic entity that some groups have and others do not, does not seem so odd or inappropriate as it might in more complex (e.g. Western) social settings, where inequalities may take more nuanced forms" (p. 56). And I would argue that this highlights how in some contexts, a focus on identities as 'the vehicle' for legitimising subject positions, could signify a gross underestimation of the force and extents of structural constraints.

Foucault (1984/1997) does in fact discuss this issue in his distinguishing between 'relations of power' in that there are always asymmetries in relationships but that these are "mobile, reversible and unstable", and 'states of domination' where "power relations are fixed in such a way that they are perpetually asymmetrical and allow an extremely limited margin of freedom" (p. 292). He describes colonialism as a state of domination and also gives another example in illustrating his view that, even in dominance there is scope for resistance, which whilst constraining the freedom of the Self, does not negate it: "one cannot say that it was only men who wielded power in the conventional marital structure of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; women had quite a few options: they could deceive their husbands, pilfer money from them, refuse them sex. Yet they were still in a state of domination insofar as these options were ultimately only strategems that never succeeded in reversing the situation. In such cases of domination, be they economic, social, institutional, or sexual, the problem is knowing where resistance will develop... these questions demand specific answers that take account of the kind and precise form of domination in question" (Foucault 1984/1997:292-3). In such cases, he acknowledges that there is a place for 'processes of liberation' but that these in and of themselves are not enough as they do not problematise persisting institutionalised 'relations of power' (ibid), a position which connects to postcolonial scholarship (discussed in section 1.1.1). I suggest that in this framing, the precarity that the youth in this case study experience – widespread poverty, high HIV exposure, gendered and generational marginalisations – could be understood as a state of domination which is further complexified by the pervasive institutionalised relations of postcolonial power.

Therefore, differences can be seen in the ways Freire and Foucault conceive of the placing of power along with the overall projects needed in order to 'gain power'. For Freire, precarity and disempowerment is largely situated at the material level, and therefore accessing it means mobilising against those who have it. Whereas Foucault's conception of precarity combines both material and symbolic marginalisations meaning that whilst mobilisation is important, it will be limited in its scope unless more symbolic forms of constraint are also addressed, requiring a tailoring of approach to the specific symbolic context. However Foucault (1984) was not optimistic about the possibilities for 'bottom-up' change against the dense webs of symbolically-rooted, knowledge-based power, and Freire too in his later work, was more admitting of the challenges associated with 'the journey' of (re)claiming power through community mobilisation efforts (Nolas 2014). Therefore, I propose that the use of Freirean and Foucauldian theorising in CSE initiatives for the conceptualisation of how subjects can (relationally) overcome precarity, remains highly contentious. In that neither provides an actionable framework for empowering subjects against the complex temporo-symbolic and material constraints which have been identified in the case study context. And as the next sub-section illustrates, this tension can be seen in the reviewed literature on CSE, where the challenges of operationalising empowered subjectivities across relational rather than individual terms are highlighted.

1.2.2 Contentions in Mobilising and Empowering Subjects

Campbell and Cornish (2010) identify three generations of approaches to the management of HIV prevention: awareness-raising education (e.g. the ABC ['scientific' ESE] approach); peer education; and community mobilisation (CM - which connects Freirean 'social spaces for critical dialogue' with Bourdieu's concept of social capital [i.e. the building of support networks], therefore creating opportunities for participation and 'bottom-up' collective change). The theoretical underpinning of the first approach – biomedical/neoliberal – is clear, and the other two are often underpinned by a mixing of Freirean and Foucauldian emphases on the need for social recognition in identities, and power *through* relations. They were effectively borne out of efforts to move away from the biomedical/neoliberal model and beyond the individual, in light of the then, mounting evidence on the social dimensions to health and relationships (Aggleton et al. 1994). However they too, have produced mixed

results, particularly weak in terms of the public health goals for youth (Vanwesenbeeck et al. 2015). The multi-level approaches currently promoted (e.g. CSE), are on the face of it, what Campbell and Cornish (2010) term the 'fourth generation', in that they work to not only build supportive networks, but also tackle the more structural aspects which limit potentials for behaviour change (e.g. poverty), and so focus on the creation of 'health-enabling contexts'. Nevertheless, a review of CSE and the (varying) application of these approaches in sub-Saharan African localities reveals the pervasiveness of the biomedical/neoliberal model of subjectivity and behaviour change. This is important for three main reasons: firstly, in how (as already discussed) individualist theorising on subjectivity does not engage with precarity; secondly, in terms of highlighting how the full potentials of peer education and CM may have not been harnessed in that both rely on the fostering of relational subjectivities; and thirdly, in emphasising the need for critical analyses of how the relational level is addressed in multi-level approaches to CSE. I will now discuss the challenges associated with operationalising relational theorisations of subjectivities identified in the literature.

I suggest that one key factor in the pervasiveness of the individualist theorisation of subjectivity in CSE, is the continued framing of interventions as 'education', with many approaches positioning youth as 'lacking' in some way. This can be seen in the large majority of papers which described teaching 'agency/empowerment', 'resilience', or 'life skills' to youth (Haberland and Rogow 2015; Van Der Heijden and Swartz 2014; Boler and Aggleton 2005), and a collection of papers even described them as the 'choice-disabled' (Andersson and Cockcroft 2012). Lamb (2013) problematises an underlying presumption in the pedagogical method used for 'teaching skills' of empowerment, what she calls 'teach to test' whereby role-play is used to give youth opportunities for practice in saying no, negotiating condom use, or asserting themselves with elders: "[These lessons] presume that if one has the competence and familiarity with a purportedly health-promoting behaviour, one is more likely to enact it in the world outside of the classroom. They focus on the practice of health-promoting behaviours rather than the motivation to enact them. The assumption is that being able to enact a behaviour has the expected influence on one's willingness to enact that behaviour" (p. 456). Furthermore, I would add that in this framing, teachers are conceptualised as 'neutral' purveyors of knowledge, meaning that relational issues within pedagogical

activities are commonly described in evaluations as 'poor implementation' (Maticka-Tyndale and Barnett 2010) or 'inadequate fidelity to design' (Chandra-Mouli et al. 2015), and debated over in terms of galvanising evidence so as to ascertain 'who' (peers or teachers) are the best educators. Wight (2008) identifies this endless debate over implementation as indicative of a gap in social cognitive (biomedical) theorising in that information on content is given whilst clarity on delivery is not. A study by Allen (2009) concludes that it is not so much 'who' is the best educator but rather 'what they are like', emphasising the need for much more nuance in conceptualising appropriate intervention approaches in particular contexts.

Approaches which conceptualise empowerment in a more relational way highlight the complexities of CSE delivery, emphasising the ways in which local social dynamics 'seep into' classrooms through people and institutionalisation. Shefer and Ngabaza (2015) for instance illustrate how the pervasive 'moralising' of young women's sexualities by teachers and also the school context as a whole, hinder the more positive framings of sexualities contained within the sex-positive Life Orientation curriculum. And Campbell and Macphail (2002) show how teachers, peer educators and students struggle to break away from authoritarian school hierarchies and gendered power plays as well as didactic methods of teaching and learning by rote. Campbell and Cornish (2012) in theorising their work on community health programmes in India and South Africa, draw a distinction between 'technical communication', being the one-directional transfer of knowledge/skills, and 'transformative communication', which involves a bi-directional exchange of knowledge, 'building the voice' of communities in concert with 'promoting receptive social environments' through the focussed challenging of symbolic, material and relational marginalisations. Their work starkly highlights that in contexts of adversity related to any or all of these three forms of marginalisations, 'transformation' through education, or the transfer of knowledge and skills alone is insufficient, yet also the difficulties of tackling these wider social environments through intervention (ibid).

The literature illustrates how *un*supportive social contexts can impede on interventions inclusive of how teachers lack time and resources, or parents and adults in the community refuse to acknowledge the value of youth participation and mobilisation (Warwick and Aggleton 2004; Campbell et al. 2009). Recognising the power of

contexts not only raises ethical questions in regard to placing young people in peer educator positions when they themselves are constrained by gendered power relations and poverty (Price and Knibbs 2008), but also problematises instances when *conscientization* does not go hand-in-hand with societal change: "it seems important to recognise that when there are few, if any, avenues through which to take action on those [oppressive] structures, to recognise the powerful societal sources of one's disadvantage may be experienced as profoundly disempowering rather than as empowering. That is, reflection is not always liberation" (Cornish 2004:292). This last quote highlights the need for local-global framings and Foucauldian conceptualisations of power in *conscientization* efforts, in that discourses on sexuality are increasingly globalised and not bounded to localities, yet too, the limitations of mobilising youth around sexual rights (i.e. there is not always a clear person or group of people to mobilise against). And overall, I would argue that approaches which theorise behaviour change relationally, provide insight into the complexities and expansive reach of precarities in the constraints that they place on behaviours.

A key feature of CSE approaches in which youth subjectivities are theorised relationally, is the importance placed on integrating young people's voices and experiences into the CSE pedagogies, in recognition of the 'situatedness' and differences in the symbolic valuing of sexual and gendered relationships along with conceptualisations of power to act within them (Spencer et al. 2014; Heslop and Banda 2013; Bell 2012; Ahmed 2011; Hawkins et al. 2009; Boyce et al. 2007). The emphases in international guidelines on CSE (UNFPA 2014a) on 'cultural relevance', youth participation, and the integration of activities which address structural constraints (e.g. advocacy and micro-finance), could be interpreted as indicative of an international endorsement of more relational theorisations of subjectivities (i.e. that they acknowledge the ways in which relations with people and surrounding [socio-cultural and material] structures shape behaviours). However, Seckinelgin (2017) highlights how whilst the complexity of social structures may be explicitly acknowledged, that their operationalisation in HIV prevention efforts can be seen to result in "The richness of structural relations... [being] reduced to already observed or observable relations that will facilitate the implementation of Global AIDS policy" (p. 141). Therefore, in such cases the symbolic aspects of context are likely to be ignored. Furthermore, literature on the 'structural drivers' of HIV, rather than conceptualising the subject as in (relational) constraint,

can be seen to pathologize them, clearly rooted in the biomedical/neoliberal framing: "The structural approach [to HIV prevention] can be distinguished from other approaches by its focus on reducing *vulnerability* rather than individual *risk*... the concept [vulnerability] has been used to explain why **individuals fail to respond with apparent rationality** (that is in ways that seem to protect their own best interest) to HIV prevention programming focussed on individual risk reduction (Ogden et al. 2011:S286 – italics authors' emphasis; boldened emphasis added). In this framing, the 'multi-level' aspect of CSE would not involve connections between the levels. In explanation, structures are tackled merely so that youth can put their 'rational' knowledge into practice; what Hirsch (2014) describes as "the tendency toward a behaviourist approach while forestalling the 'public health nihilist' argument that the only way to address health inequalities is to erase the injustices that produce them" (p. 39).

The adoption of approaches such as 'youth participation', 'critical dialogue', and 'community mobilisation' (termed 'advocacy') in international development programmes (underpinned by individualist biomedical/neoliberal framings) have been described as a 'hijacking' and 'emasculation' of Freire's ideas (Campbell 2014). Firstly, in their use of the term 'social' or 'community' which masks their conceptualisation of these as being a group of individuals (rather than built on relations), and furthermore, that the overall goals of the intervention, whether related to knowledge transfer or skills-building, foreclose knowledge production other than that which is pre-defined and promoted (Gacoin 2014). Furthermore, the inequalities inherent to the dominant discourses by which youth represent their sexualities (Allen 2007) makes an integration of 'youth voices' without Freire's theorising on the process of *conscientisation* and emphasis on the critical investigation of relational dynamics in specific socio-historical, political and cultural contexts, potentially problematic: "Young people often position themselves as contributors to their own oppressive circumstances and blame themselves and others through individualistic and gendered discourses... [their representations] reveal how discourses of victimisation and resistance co-exist within complex identification processes and thus how easy it would be to misrepresent young African voices in the absence of a more critical account of their knowledge and understandings" (Kessi 2010:21).

Therefore the reviewed literature highlights the pervasive and unresolved nature of contestations in theorisations of youth subjectivities (e.g. individual and relational framings) in CSE. I propose that the overarching neglect of the dominance of individualist subjectivity in CSE, and the ways in which it is increasingly associated with activities and language rooted in, and dependent on, relational subjectivities, has two main consequences: firstly, insights into youth sexual behaviour change approaches are difficult to disentangle and are highly convoluted; and secondly, that there is a lack of critical engagement with the ways in which (local-global) precarities situate and shape not only sexual behaviours, but also CSE delivery itself. In this thesis I propose that in order to develop clearer notions of relational agency *in* precarity, that analytical focus needs to be put towards understanding the ways in which structures shape the meanings and actions of people striving to change 'behaviours' (at individual and collective levels). I argue that such an analysis can be achieved through a focus on the *relations* through which CSE is actualised (e.g. from conception and implementation, through to youth [non-/mis-]adoptions of CSE knowledge), in that their dynamics can offer insight into the specific precarities experienced by groups of people in a given context, which can be used to advance understandings of the *potentials* for agencies and behaviour change in these settings. This is based on the premise that connects Foucault and Freire's work: that relationships offer possibilities of power, that can be harnessed through a knowledge, or a *conscientization*, of the socio-historical (symbolic) structures which have produced perceptually 'frozen' asymmetries. Yet importantly, is rooted in Foucault's conceptualisation of power in which structures are anticipated to be: complex (e.g. constituted across local-global axes); dynamic (e.g. shifting and evolving through relationships with and between people); yet also hold the capacity to be experienced as fixed (e.g. by legislation and geopolitics).

I therefore propose that a Foucauldian conceptualisation of subjectivity *in* precarity emphasises the need for study of the ways in which power in local-global knowledge encounters both operates, and is experienced by youth, with the overall aim of identifying specific points at which resistance *could* develop. Consequently, the focus of this analysis is not on 'giving power' to people so that they can overcome structural constraints. Rather, attention is put towards unpacking this relational nexus of power in a given context, with the aim of identifying possibilities for power, accounting for

the 'precise forms of domination', along with the implications of these for CSE interventions (e.g. are they acting as enablers, disablers, how could they help better?). As the next section highlights, the convolutions in CSE programming and pervasiveness of 'the individual' discussed thus far, can also be ascribed to the approaches by which social action is studied and incorporated into CSE, meaning that the study of relations which I am proposing, requires a change in approach.

1.3 The Study and Integration of Social Action in CSE

The pervasiveness of the individual in the study of social action in CSE is too, connected to the legacy and continued dominance of the biomedical/neoliberal model to sexual behaviour change, particularly regarding conceptualisations of *evidence* along with the procedures for obtaining it. Nevertheless, the integration of social action into CSE (e.g. peer- and group-processes of learning, mobilisation activities etc.) has highlighted the need to re-evaluate biomedically-rooted methods of study, in that the 'complexities' of such multi-level programming makes identifications of causal pathways (i.e. between inputs and outputs) difficult. Furthermore, in light of the emphasis on 'cultural relevance' in CSE, I propose that the methods by which CSE interventions are studied, also have implications for the *forms* by which knowledge on social actions (i.e. cultural ways of being and interacting with others) are represented in CSE. Despite the literature on this being rather sparse, this thesis works to highlight the need for a change in approach, namely how greater analytical focus needs to be put towards the procedures and processes by which cultural relevance is established and integrated into CSE. Not only are such analyses important for unpacking the ways in which CSE interventions engage with cultures and the locality-specific precarities that youth experience, but too hold implications for an intervention's behaviour change potentials overall. I will first outline the literature on evaluation approaches to the study of 'complex' interventions, and then provide discussion on the integration of cultural and social knowledge into CSE curricula.

1.3.1 Epistemological Framings of Social Action in CSE

As already discussed in section 1.2.1, the biomedical model of sexual behaviour change is rooted in a positivist epistemology. In positivism, the methodological approach to the study of CSE involves using the scientific method of deduction (i.e. prediction based on natural laws/principles, observation, and measurement) to identify causality (i.e. between the intervention and outcome results), often producing data which is quantitative (Bell and Aggleton 2016). In the evaluation literature, positivist approaches are described as 'black-box' (Astbury and Leeuw 2010) in that only inputs, outputs and predicted outcomes are measured, without any systematic observation of what actually happens in the box (i.e. the intervention implementation practices). The British Medical Research Council (MRC – 2008) guidelines for the evaluation of 'complex' or multi-level interventions (e.g. CSE) however emphasise the insufficiency of black-box approaches in that the interconnections between the different levels (e.g. individual, relational, structural), make the identification of causal pathways difficult. They therefore argue that process (i.e. the ways in which an intervention interacts with the surrounding context and so mediate outcome results – Moore et al. 2015) must also be explored alongside the measurement of outcome results – described as a 'white-box' approach to evaluation (Astbury and Leeuw 2010). Yet how process is interpreted and operationalised through research is still highly varied in the literature, although can be broadly categorised in terms of epistemological underpinnings. In addition to positivism, two other epistemologies are identified in the evaluation literature on complex interventions: interpretivism where qualitative methods are used to 'access subjective understandings' towards identifying specific connections between the intervention and outcomes (Bell and Aggleton 2016); and critical realism which works to produce hypotheses about causality through mixed methods, yet different from positivism, makes no claims to their 'truth' (Pawson and Tilley 1997).

The most common approach to the evaluation of sexual behaviour change interventions involves the use of mixed methods to ascertain causality in conjunction with subjective understandings, yet the literature highlights how the dominance of positivism can be seen to constrain the potentials of interpretive approaches in these mixed methods evaluations. Furthermore, as will be discussed shortly, the insights in regard to evaluations of process, underpinned by either of these epistemologies, are

limited. The positivist evaluation of behaviour change interventions has always been controversial, and overall its evidence, particularly in regard to HIV management, has been weak (Abraham 2014; Parkhurst 2014; Cornish et al. 2014). The positivist deductive approach to research derives from closed experimental conditions where the variables can be controlled, which is obviously not possible in open social systems. Furthermore, in regard to understanding sexual behaviours, measurements (e.g. condom use, number of sexual partners etc.) are often entirely reliant on self-report, through the use of surveys such as Knowledge, Attitudes, Behaviours, and Practices (KABP). Even when these are self-administered, they are still prone to social desirability bias (Kelly et al. 2013), and furthermore, fail to collect information on anything other than what is predicted and looked for (Plummer 2016). This is of particular consequence in non-Western contexts where the presumed neutrality of the KABP survey, rooted in positivist conceptualisations of there being universal truths, means that cultural or even intergenerational variations are not sufficiently engaged with (Launiala 2009). Therefore, whilst the KABP survey provides a scale through which comparisons can be drawn between countries, or across time, its validity is highly questionable.

Bell and Aggleton (2016) reflect on the enormous contribution that interpretative and ethnographic approaches have made to the fields of HIV and sexual health in terms of expanding understandings of diverse conceptualisations of sexualities in different socio-cultural contexts, and therefore enabling a better tailoring of interventions to specific people in specific places. Nevertheless, the integration of qualitative approaches into quantitative systems (which maintain dominance through their connection to global 'evidence'), carries with it various problems. Accounts of how qualitative information is reduced to 'illustrative quotes' that are used to 'flavour' the reporting of quantitative information are widespread (Arce and Fisher 2003; Van Belle et al. 2016). Baxen and Breidlid (2004) also highlight how reductionist conceptualisations of context, collected through qualitative methods, are used to promote instrumentalist solutions such as the "training [must] address the specific needs and circumstances of teachers in the workplace", (p. 22) neglecting the ways in which teachers' own lives mediate, and complicate their capacities for teaching about HIV and AIDS. Lambert (2016) argues that the emphasis on producing "measurable and standardised evaluative indicators and outcomes in order to demonstrate

accountability and document efficacy [i.e. ascertain causality] inhibits the deployment of inductive, context-based modifications to intervention design" (p. 32).

The 'logframe' tool or 'logic model' which is the common method for monitoring and evaluation (M&E), namely the tracking of change in international development interventions, is identified as a key contributor to the reduction of qualitative insights. Whilst it is colloquially known as the 'accounting approach', its positivist underpinning is clear in the predicted causal connections which are made between inputs (e.g. money, resources), outputs (e.g. intervention activities), and outcomes (e.g. predicted and measurable indicators of behaviours that will be changed by the intervention activities). As Hummelbruner (2010) points out, the expansive use of the logframe model has generated much critique, particularly in its assumptions of linear progressions, and oversimplification of the social. The author however identifies that an effective alternative model that appeals to donors has yet to be found (ibid), indicating the institutionalised power which promotes its use. Such power, detectable through presumptions of neutrality, is evident in a review of 24 evaluations of peer-led HIV interventions in low- and middle-income countries, where Maticka-Tyndale and Barnett (2010) remark how "Few publications provided information on monitoring. In those that did, monitoring was… described as posing a challenge, most often related to literacy levels, skills, time and resources" (p. 106).

Such tensions between positivism and interpretivism also persist in the study of the *processes* by which interventions produce change, indicated by the wide variations by which it is discussed in the literature. In more positivist framings, process is viewed as discernible through discrete indicators, such as mid-way outputs of 'target populations reached' (Maticka-Tyndale and Barnett 2010), or Likert scales of arguably quite complex phenomena such as a self-reporting on 'how meaningful participation was' (Villa-Torres and Svanemyr 2015) or 'how good the facilitation skills of the peer educator were' (Mathews et al. 2016). Overall, the primary function of evaluating process in these cases, is to identify the extent of 'fidelity to design' along with insight into factors which may have caused diversions from (the decontextualized) design. The most common qualitative method for evaluating process found in the literature was the interview, effectively equating process with the 'insider perspectives' of practitioners and beneficiaries. Sriranganathan et al. (2015) comment how process

evaluations (based on interviews) commonly report positive results even when the outcome results have been variable and surmise that "these discrepancies may question the reliability of conclusions based on qualitative data" (p. 66). This interpretation is an example of a positivist or instrumentalist framing of interpretive methods. A more nuanced analysis would factor in that such discrepancies could be indicative of the issue of evaluating process after-the-fact, in that retrospective accounts will always involve a certain amount of 'reframing'. Or a consideration of the wider context could give some insight, for instance, the common conditionality of funding with success (Mosse 2005), could incentivise people to speak more positively about the programme in the hope that repeated funding would be given, so that their employment or benefaction could continue.

A number of qualitative process evaluations which integrated ethnography were also found in the literature, focussed on the ways in which socio-cultural contexts shape implementation (Hong et al. 2016; Evans and Lambert 2008; Bell and Aggleton 2012). Such cases really highlight how aspects of practice and context are overlooked in more positivist framings, what Evans and Lambert (2008) describe as "the gap between the decontextualized science of programme design and the much messier art of real world, programme-in-context implementation" (p. 469). Their ethnographic study of an HIV intervention in India, for instance, uncovered that improvements in biological markers (e.g. STI rates and HIV prevalence) were more likely connected to organic mobilisation efforts than a result of the externally imposed intervention design (ibid). Nevertheless, the continued tensions over integrating qualitative methods into indicator-focussed systems can be seen in cases where ethnographies are used to assess 'fidelity to design', becoming a top-down tool in which the intervention itself is afforded neutrality, rather than acting as a critical evaluation of processes of knowledge formation which work to interpret the intervention *in* context. Furthermore, whilst the 'thick descriptions' of activities that ethnographies produce hold significant value in terms of giving insight into the realities of implementation, and the intervention-in-context, they do not always elicit information on the processes by which change does or does not happen.

The critical realist approach ('realist evaluations' – REs) to process evaluation has really pushed discussions on the study of social action in interventions forward, through its emphasis on 'mechanisms', therefore highlighting that change is interactive and cannot

be captured by atomised indicators or subjective perspectives alone. The RE approach essentially involves a cyclical process of theory-building (Pawson and Tilley 1997) in which hypotheses or 'programme theories' about causality are generated from the literature and then 'tested' through observations of practice, document analyses, and a style of interviewing termed the 'teacher-learner cycle' in which the interviewer's theories on change processes are the topic of critical discussion (Manzano 2016). Its analytical focus therefore, is on how contexts 'trigger' mechanisms (i.e. interpretations of intervention resources in implementation) to produce outcomes. Nevertheless, Blamey and Mackenzie (2007) emphasise the difficulties of eliciting programme theories in multi-level interventions owing to their "level of complexity, lack of existing evidence base and limited capacity for planning" (p. 446). And certainly, the majority of 'realist evaluations' (RE) have been undertaken in Western healthcare settings where contextual complexities are minimal in comparison to interventions in contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa.

Simpler versions of RE can be seen in international development interventions, which essentially work to ensure that M&E logframes are conceptualised according to a theory of change that can be tested through 'anticipated thresholds' towards outcomes, yet therefore ultimately take on a more positivist, atomised form (Blamey and Mackenzie 2007). And overall, the pervasive dominance of positivism in RE is quite apparent. For instance, the centring of existing literature in the development of theories and according foci in data collection, pose the same potential problems as in positivist approaches where 'insider perspectives' are silenced or overlooked. And furthermore, a 'defaulting' to positivist conceptualisations can also be seen in representations of context: in reviewing 18 REs, Marchal et al. (2012) point out how context is commonly conceptualised as an external and situational constraint, rather than, the critical realist theorisation of how context resides within the relationships of actors, and also between actors and structures through norms and regulations.

Therefore, ultimately, methods for evaluating processes of change and social action in 'complex' interventions such as CSE, are still an area of development and debate. This thesis proposes that social psychological theorising on communicative activities, offers scope for developing an approach through which the situated *interactions* of implementation processes can be studied in ways that prioritise yet do not solely rely

on 'insider perspectives', and which maintain dynamic conceptualisations of contexts, inclusive of more symbolic aspects. I argue that more exploratory approaches to interactive evaluations of process are crucial towards making CSE 'culturally relevant'.

1.3.2 Integrating Culture and Social Knowledge into CSE

Despite calls for the need to make sexual behaviour change programmes 'culturally relevant' to local contexts spanning over two decades (Aggleton et al. 1994), it is only more recently, through discussions on 'structural drivers', that this has become a point of focus in international guidelines on practice (e.g. UNAIDS 2010; UNFPA 2014). Nevertheless, as discussed in section 1.2.2, it is questionable whether the discourse of 'cultural relevance' in CSE is indicative of an acknowledgement of the plurality of knowledge on sexualities. Critiques of the Western culture inherent to the knowledge on sexualities and wellbeing, which is promoted by international (e.g. UN) agencies as 'universal', are long-standing (Parker et al. 2000). And very little direction is given in the *'Technical Guidance'* (UNESCO 2009) on the procedures by which cultural relevance can be established. For instance, the Sexuality Education Review and Assessment Tool (SERAT 2013) which was designed by UNESCO to support the review and alignment of curricula with current guidelines, offers specifications on age-appropriateness, yet gives no mention of culture. The UNESCO (2015) 'Global Review on Practice' offers a little more insight, specifying that,

> "CSE content must respond appropriately to the specific context and needs of young people in order to be effective. This adaptability is central to culturally relevant programming, and includes understanding the messages (sometimes positive, sometimes negative) that cultures convey around gender, sex, and sexuality. This may include a concerted focus on topics such as gender discrimination, sexual and gender-based violence, HIV and AIDS, child marriage and harmful traditional practices" (p. 20).

Yet conveyed within this are a number of assumptions: firstly, that there is a universal form of knowledge to which cultures are relative; second, that 'cultural messages' are unitary and simple to attain; and third, [displaying racialised undertones] that 'traditional practices' are uniformly 'bad'. Furthermore, despite describing cultural relevance as a form of programming, there is an overall distancing, in that the

responsibility of cultural adaptation is left as a choice, and to the discretion and design of the curriculum designer/educator (who in international development contexts, could likely be a non-African, adding a further dimension of potential 'othering').

Whilst there is a reasonable amount of literature on the broad practices of adapting interventions to other contexts, the only published accounts that could be found (at the time of writing) on processes of adapting *CSE content* to non-Western contexts, all related to one curriculum programme: the World Starts With Me (WSM). WSM is a Dutch-led initiative that created a culturally relevant curriculum for the Ugandan context through the mixing of a Dutch programme with academic literature, and existing materials from Vietnam, Namibia and Uganda (Leerlooijer et al. 2011). Information on this initial adaptation process is not given, yet they outline their systematic approach used in the adaption of a Ugandan intervention to the Indonesian context managed through a planning group consisting of Indonesian students and teachers, supported by an expert Indonesian advisory board. Their 'intervention mapping' approach first used a 'logic/logframe model' (highlighted earlier as the common tool used in the M&E of interventions) for the identification of 'the problem' and development of according change objectives most suited to the current context (which were constantly compared with the original context i.e. in this case Uganda, as a discussion point). The theoretical behaviour change methods and practical applications were then reviewed (whilst ensuring that some 'essential behaviour change methods were retained'), and then after piloting, plans for implementation (e.g. teacher training, and performance objectives) and evaluation were developed (ibid). Leerlooijer et al. (2011) note the greatest problem being the "post hoc deconstruction of the intentions of the original programme's developers", (p. 339) necessary for the comparison of the logic models, which in their case, was made easier by a number of 'programme adapters' being knowledgeable about the Ugandan programme. The authors also described how the adaptation process turned into 'an intervention itself', galvanising support from the local stakeholders involved (ibid).

An unpublished PhD thesis which documents observations of a CSE curriculum being adapted to the Ethiopian context, too, found that stakeholders came out with a 'high sense of ownership' from being involved (Schaapveld 2013). However, this is presented with an element of surprise in that the author describes how the stakeholders' influence

was minimal, and essentially performative, owing to the restrictions on removing content as a protection of the curriculum's 'comprehensiveness', essentially understood in terms of its connection to 'best practice' evidence (ibid). Therefore, whilst the WSM curriculum offers a model for adapting curricula, little insight is given into the communicative dynamics of the processes by which this activity was undertaken: were there disagreements, if so, how were these negotiated, and to what end? Yet, as already identified in the discussion thus far, contentions in knowledge (e.g. over values, or youth subjectivities) are not always overt. The implicit power contained within 'global' knowledge, especially in positivist framings (e.g. when 'comprehensive' is equated with evidence-based), means that resistance will not always be articulated and may take more covert forms (Kessi and Howarth 2007). Furthermore, not all knowledge about Self and society is consciously or discursively experienced (Bourdieu 1977). Hunter (2012), for instance describes how in the South African context, human rights discourse does not connect with the (localised) relational conceptualisations of obligations, and the paradoxes that this can cause for people. Yet, without an understanding of the local language and cultural practices, such an insight could have easily gone unnoticed.

Therefore, adaptation procedures which focus on culture *as* content, hold the potential of overlooking the discourses which *shape* content, such as historically rooted local-global power relations, as well as theorisations of being and relating with others. Scott's (1976) seminal book on 'moral economies' first drew attention to the damage that such neglect can do to both Self and society. His study of colonial Burma and Vietnam argued that the ways in which the capitalist (i.e. individualist) ethics were forced on people, disrupted their 'reciprocity ethic' which was fundamental to surviving the precarity caused by subsistence living (ibid). Behavioural insights from present-day USA provide further insight into this psychosocial dynamic. Not only do lower socio-economic groups demonstrate an 'interdependent' rather than an 'independent' Self, meaning that they value relationships over being unique, and that being similar, adjusting to others, and fitting in with their surroundings, is more important than standing out, being heard and having influence over others (Markus and Conner 2013). Evidence also demonstrates how in the USA university context, institutionalised discourse on independence contributes to the poor academic performance of students coming from lower socio-economic backgrounds, namely that there is a 'cultural

mismatch', which in experiments, was reduced when the university was represented with an emphasis on interdependence (i.e. community - Stephens et al. 2012). Overall, these (and other) behavioural insights indicate that interdependence is a rational and adaptive psychological strategy in conditions of scarcity, and so too are socio-cognitive functions such as 'myopic' decision-making (Stephens et al. 2011; Sheehy-Skeffington 2017). This therefore provides new meanings to Englund's (2006) ethnographic study illustrating the damage that human rights discourse can do in contexts of poverty. And furthermore, raises ethical questions about promoting individualism and 'life skills' that emphasise the importance of long-term goals and focussing decisions on working towards them, in conditions of precarity.

This more embodied and relational (therefore adaptive) conceptualisation of culture, emphasises the need to approach the integration of 'culture' into CSE more critically. As Taylor (2007) points out, in positivist framings, culture is viewed as 'compromising' HIV interventions, and certainly this can be seen in emphases on 'strengthening teacher skills' so that they can create 'classroom cultures' that 'build democratic values' (Haberland and Rogow 2015); essentially attempting to separate the intervention from the wider context, and create a 'new' culture, that youth, as agents, are then expected to embody and carry back outside with them, holding complete autonomy from those around them (which in precarity, could limit their strategies for survival). Taylor (2007) also identifies that whilst anthropologists view culture as having the ability to 'assist' HIV interventions, that their institutions and practices can end-up producing an essentialised version of culture, similar to positivist framings: "the 'culture' concept may more often than not involve assertions of 'difference' and the subtle enforcement of inequality between 'self' and 'other' through that difference" (p. 973). An example of this in the African context can be seen in Tamale's (2008) analysis of how the essentialist and static representations of 'African culture' as 'hostile to women' are simplistically used as a counterpoint against human rights discourse, neglecting the positive and egalitarian aspects of African cultures, which she argues, ultimately limits the change potentials of interventions. Therefore, whilst interpretive approaches work to bring culture into the classroom, it can become artificial, even stigmatising, and counterintuitive, especially when the local-global dimension (i.e. foreign researchers) is neglected. In a more embodied framing, the classroom can be seen as containing

culture already: it cannot be separated out, nor 'brought in', as it is contained within people, and produced through interactions.

Therefore, in this section, I have discussed the ongoing epistemological tensions within constructions of social action in complex interventions such as CSE. In doing this, I have also highlighted how analyses of process in behaviour change have not been sufficiently addressed. This is particularly important for CSE in precarity in that, as highlighted in section 1.2, knowledge on change in such contexts is largely lacking. The discussion in this section, expands on this in illustrating the psychological harm that can be caused by poor or mismatched representations of culture in CSE, yet how poor results are then also blamed on people. Weeks (2012) emphasises the importance of looking at 'practical mediations' when exploring how macro-contexts such as neoliberalism regulate sexualities. Likewise, I suggest that in order to understand how socio-cultural contexts influence sexual behaviour change, that observations of practice, are essential. Warwick and Aggleton (2004) argue that "The greatest problem with peer education is that we have neither significantly explored its educational dynamics nor committed ourselves to the critical development of its greatest resource: its practitioners" (p. 149). And certainly, the previous sub-section highlights how little analytical focus has been put towards the 'mechanisms' by which the local-global is negotiated in CSE, and peer educators, who traverse and bridge both local and global knowledge cultures, are key negotiators in this process.

Before discussing the ways in which this thesis works to build on the literature discussed in this chapter, I will first situate the thesis case study, Mabadiliko, in the literature.

1.4 Situating the Mabadiliko Case Study in the Literature

The Mabadiliko peer-led CSE programme is made-up of three core 'change' activities:

1. PEs provide curriculum-led education on gender, sexual reproductive health and rights (SRHR), life skills, and entrepreneurship;

2. PEs act as liaisons with local government support services and health providers and 'sensitise' their communities on using them; and

3. PEs create 'safe spaces' in their local community, and support attending out-of-school girls (OSGs) to work collaboratively and establish a group enterprise from which the profits are shared amongst them.

The predicted outcomes of these activities are that:

1. OSGs are empowered in terms of having improved capacities for making safe choices;

2. There is an increased uptake of health services;

3. Youth interactions with local government and adults in the community are improved; and

4. Evidence for a model could be generated for roll-out to other regions in Tanzania.

Therefore, the theory of change which underlies the Mabadiliko programme emphasises that youth need opportunities as well as knowledge and skills to change their behaviours. The programme resources explicitly mention Paolo Freire's theory of *conscientization* in emphasising the importance of youth taking action against forces which oppress them, nevertheless I would suggest that the pedagogical and evaluation approaches signify a stronger connection to the (biomedical/neoliberal) theory of planned behaviour (TPB). Firstly, in the ways in which 'safe spaces' and collaborative activities are envisaged to change [subjective] norms (more than insight into specific marginalisations, as in Freire's theory), and secondly owing to the measurement of self-esteem and aspirational attitudes in the evaluation of programme effectiveness (perceived behavioural control is a key factor in TPB).

My fieldwork was undertaken across the last three quarters of the Mabadiliko programme (funded by that particular donor). The results of the endline evaluation, undertaken by a lead international organisation, are therefore also part of this case study, and provide a useful comparative to my own analyses in terms of the findings produced from the methods used. Their evaluation looked at both outcomes and processes. The outcome evaluation measured attending OSGs' empowerment through an expanded KABP survey (see section 1.3.1) which was also applied to a control group so as to enhance the significance of the findings. The use of health services and

community support for youth were measured through attendance lists to 'sensitised' health and social services, and Mabadiliko events respectively. The results however, were mixed, and described by one donor representative as *"not very impressive"*, particularly in that no increased uptake of health services had been observed. The KABP results showed that whilst attending OSGs had more progressive gender attitudes and knowledge on contraceptive methods, they did not possess statistically significant greater self-esteem, aspirational attitudes or mental health, nor comprehensive HIV knowledge, nor improved sexual behaviours (e.g. use of condoms and other contraceptives, multiple sexual partners, 'sugar daddies' etc.).

The aspects of the evaluation related to process offered limited insight into these poor outcome results. Interviews were only undertaken with PEs and questions focussed on their knowledge, perceived empowerment, and challenges that they faced in their work; responses to which were largely framed in terms of lacking resources (e.g. not enough pens and notepads), and some PEs mentioned experiencing tensions with a particular male staff member. The second method in the process evaluation involved a participatory mapping exercise with attending OSGs focussed on perceptions of 'safety' in the community. This therefore did not look at their experiences of the intervention's safe spaces, but rather worked to categorise the community spaces and relations in terms of 'safety', notably lacking any clear working definition of safety, and which (perhaps unsurprisingly) produced blanket results of communities as being unsafe and OSGs as victims to this. Consequently, the evaluation recommendations from this part of the process evaluation involved 'instrumental solutions' such as the need to expand the programme in its second cycle to supporting girls as they move around in their communities (e.g. providing girls with bicycles so they can act as 'taxis' for other girls in the community as well as emergency cash funds).

It was also interesting to observe the different narratives that were created in explanation of these mixed results. Despite the donors telling me that they would not be renewing their funding of Mabadiliko as it had failed to generate evidence for scale-up and because of the *"low capacity of staff"*, the Powerpoint presentation of the evaluation results at the stakeholder close-down meeting, put the 'poor statistical significance' down to the small sample size (consisting of 291 attending OSGs and 357 comparative OSGs). A Senior Staff member rationalised the results as being because

"*the social and cultural barriers to behaviour change... are still such a big problem*", whilst another blamed the implementers: "*next time we will only hire PEs with Form 4 [GCSE-level] education*". The PEs interestingly argued that the KABP survey was not a good test of the girls' knowledge because "*they are shy*", "*they forget*", "*they get nervous*". Mosse (2005) identifies how success in development interventions is often socially produced, whereby mixed results are spun so that work and funding can continue. And certainly, this happened in the case of the Mabadiliko programme which found funding from a different donor and is now in its second cycle of implementation with virtually no changes made (e.g. to the resources used, trainings given, work and reporting procedures etc.). This thesis however, through its focus on local-global relationships provides a different telling of the Mabadiliko story.

1.5 Discussion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on CSE and multi-level sexual behaviour change programmes *in precarity*, therefore involving the conceptual bridging of research and writing from sub-Saharan Africa, with 'global' bodies of literature. Three core contestations were identified: constructions of 'healthy sexualities'; conceptualising 'youth subjectivities'; and the study and integration of 'social action' into CSE. In regard to *healthy sexualities* such contestations have strong historical roots tracing back to colonialism, and highlight the local-global nature of discourses on sexualities, produced through shifting dominances in values, connected to historical events, and across racial lines; tensions which continue to emerge in CSE. The literature on *youth subjectivities* reveals how the three core theorisations which are used in different approaches to CSE for conceptualising youth empowerment, are all limited in their capacity to deal with the precarities experienced by youth in this thesis case study (e.g. dense symbolic and material marginalisations). Furthermore, it highlights the convolution in CSE, as change activities rooted in theorisations of relational empowerment are disconnected from theory and used in programmes underpinned by theorisations of individual agency. And lastly, the literature on the study and integration of *social action* into CSE, provides insight into the power by which programmes rooted in individual agency operate (e.g. 'scientific' evidence), outlining the epistemological tensions which shape, and constrain, the study and evaluation of

CSE interventions. The limitations of methods in studying process are discussed, and the gaps in the literature on the procedures by which 'culture' is integrated into interventions are mapped out.

An overarching gap in the literature however, are analyses of how these contestations in knowledge in CSE, manifest *in action*. The limitations of existing methods in regard the study of change-making mean that the actual *dynamics* of interactions are overlooked, both within knowledge, and also in social practices. This has meant that the ways in which power operates, within knowledge and in interactions at the local-global knowledge encounter in CSE, has largely gone unchecked. Importantly, Foucault in his final (1984) essay discusses how the knowledge-power axis needs to be expanded to a triad, and include ethics, also conceptualised relationally, as opposed to the universal structured form found in human rights. In this framing therefore, ethics, exercised through the recognition of an 'other'-in-relations, is seen in the triadic axis as the inverse to power (conceptualised as being exercised through the non- or mis-recognition, or wider subjugation of an 'other') (ibid). The identification of the importance of this knowledge-power-ethics axis in CSE, is not new: Carmody (2015) has for a number of years been developing a sex education programme for youth in Australia and New Zealand which promotes a sexual ethics framework rooted in Foucault's (1984) triadic axis, aimed at providing young people with the tools to tease out and actively manage (or to use an 'empowerment' term, overcome) the ethical dilemmas in their interpersonal relationships and sexual encounters. What I am suggesting however, is slightly different: whilst Carmody's (2015) focus is largely on the 'ethics of sex', I instead argue that in contexts of precarity, focus needs to be put towards the ethics of CSE and behaviour change in general.

As already discussed in depth, the power (i.e. mis- and non-recognitions) that the young people in this case study experience – widespread poverty, high HIV exposure, gendered and generational inequalities, and postcolonial legacies – is institutionalised, creating a 'state of domination' in which limitations on freedom are 'extreme' (Foucault 1984/1997). And as the review of literature in this chapter illustrates, traces of this 'domination' remain evident in the local-global knowledge encounters which make up CSE in sub-Saharan African contexts today. Accordingly, I argue that rather than directing analytical focus on how individuals can become more powerful/ethical in

their relations, that first, analyses of power-ethics-knowledge *in* relations in precarity, need to work towards unpacking two interconnected aspects. *Firstly,* how are African youth (mis- or non-)recognised in CSE (e.g. knowledge in curricula, and implementation practices)? And *secondly*, how do young people, equipped with CSE knowledge, cope with the endemic mis- and non-recognitions associated with living in precarity? I also propose that insights from these investigations can be used to better 'tailor' CSE interventions to the particular context, and so enhance their (ethical) recognition of youth in precarity, and according potentials for behaviour change. I argue that this focus on struggles for recognition in the face of domination, as opposed to resistance where the emphasis is on overcoming power, is fundamental to shifting discussions away from prevailing conceptualisations of agency as only being meaningful when absolutely free from constraint. As I will argue, this autonomous view of agency not only depreciates the experiences of people in precarity, but also enables a neglect of the ways in which 'the global' – in relation to (postcolonial) localities – also contributes to the very marginalisations that it is working to help people fight against.

As already identified however, such an analysis requires a change in approach. In this thesis I argue that the conceptualisation of knowledge in a dialogical epistemology (i.e. theory of knowledge), as always being in relation or in dialogue with a real or imagined Other, can provide the conceptual framework for a *relational study of change-making in precarity* (which pertains to both CSE interventions *and* individualised efforts at behaviour change). As I outline in the next chapter (Chapter 2), dialogical theory provides 1) the analytical concepts or tools through which power-ethics relations in local-global knowledge encounters in CSE (i.e. Foucault's [1984] triadic axis) can be unpacked (e.g. in knowledges, and in implementation practices); and 2) the conceptual basis for developing theorising on *relational agency in precarity*, rooted in a more emergent and contextualised understanding of power, and through which the ethical dimensions of behaviour change, at both individual and collective (e.g. intervention) levels can be brought to the fore.

In regard to the Mabadiliko case study, I identify three core points at which different knowledges encounter one another, and therefore require an unpacking of the power-based and ethical dimensions of relationships between them: 1) the 'culturally relevant' knowledge contained within CSE curricula (i.e. where curricula designers are in

dialogue with localities); 2) the knowledge of youth who have attended CSE sessions (i.e. where both CSE and local knowledges are available for making sense of their relationship experiences and opportunities); and 3) the communicative practices and processes which make-up the implementation of the Mabadiliko intervention (ie. where local-global knowledges are drawn on in the 'production' of CSE). The combination of these three separate analyses not only provide alternative understandings of why the Mabadiliko intervention 'failed' to change the behaviours of the OSGs, but also reveal context-specific potentials for behaviour change.

Mosse (2014) discusses how the study of knowledge *as* a relationship, rather than as merely instrumental, highlights how "knowledge-relationships can be rather unpredictable in their effects" (p. 513). And certainly, the findings illustrate how strategies for recognition underpin these unpredictabilities, in that in viewing ethics at the relational level, the scope for human responses to power also expands (i.e. resistance or submission are not the only options). Overall, the thesis argues that it is these very unpredictabilities and strategies for recognition *in* constraint, which offer the most actionable insights into possibilities for change-making in precarity.

Chapter 2. Conceptual Framework: A Dialogical Epistemology of Change-Making in Precarity

"The dynamics of social action... cannot be developed from the presupposition of static phenomena that are somehow put in motion. Instead, we need a theory of social knowledge that presupposes dynamics as the point of departure" – Ivana Markova (2003:xi).

Social Psychology's (SP) contribution in the history of the HIV response is not, for most, considered positive, in that it provided the individualistic socio-cognitive theories which underpinned the evidence-based sex education approach discussed in Chapter 1. However, SP is a discipline which carries its own knowledge struggles with positivism. Furthermore, the socio-cognitive theories, along with their application in behaviour change interventions, are not representative of the "basic social psychological insight[s] of situationism" (Howarth et al. 2013:371) and interactions (Mead 1934), which emphasise the need to study the actions of people-in-contexts and in relation to others. In this chapter, I will map out a social psychological conceptual framework for the study of change-making in CSE in conditions of precarity. It is rooted in Markova's (2003) theory of dialogicality, which emphasises "the capacity of the human mind to conceive, create, and communicate about social realities in terms of the [Ego-]'Alter' [in this chapter described in terms of Self-Other]" (p. xiii). The theory is underpinned by a dialogical epistemology, in which knowledge is theorised as being: relational, therefore co-constructed through interactions; as situated in, and determined by, temporal, spatial/material and symbolic contexts; and therefore, is dynamic, with movement driven through the 'tensions' produced by two or more (differently positioned) minds meeting, making "social change not only possible, but also unavoidable" (Markova 2003:24). Its separation is clear from positivist epistemologies, where knowledge is theorised in terms of universal truths, implying that change (i.e. cause and effect) can be understood through methods which atomise and break phenomena down into variables or static parts. Yet a dialogical epistemology can also be differentiated from much of social constructionism through the analytical focus in dialogicality of always studying individuals in interaction with real and

imagined others, and also from much materialist epistemologies, in its emphasis on the non-linearity of histories and futures (i.e. emphasis on continual context-specific emergence).

Dialogicality is therefore a study *of* process and change, through which the particularities of Self-Other interactions are simultaneously connected to wider, socio-historically rooted systems of meaning, enabling a 'critical bifocality' (Weis and Fine 2012 – i.e. an analysis of change at the 'micro' in connection with the 'macro'). This anchoring in specific instances of emergence is what differentiates dialogicality from more expansive social and interactive theories such as complexity and systems or actor network theories, which I suggest, is important when the analytical focus is on changes in people. Yet I have found through presenting at conferences, that there are common misconceptions, largely attributed to the Self-Other language used in dialogicality. Firstly, in interpretations such as that prioritisation is given to concrete people over wider systems of meaning, and secondly, that the Self and Other distinctions are themselves atomistic (i.e. by separating them out, analyses of their interdependence are limited). Both these conceptions, however, limit dialogue to being a mode of communication. Instead, Markova (2003) outlines how dialogue is theorised as being *the* world of meaning, in that human existence is experienced (e.g. identity and sense-making processes) as the mind-in-relation-to others, where 'others' also encompasses artifacts, namely "products of human minds which are oriented to other minds" (p. 82) such as paintings, literature, and certainly CSE curricula.

A focus on Self-Other interactions, inclusive of a person reading or writing a curriculum, therefore acts as a point of reference from which tensions between different knowledge systems and structures (e.g. local-global) can be explored. As Cornish (2004) identifies, "society is constituted and reconstituted in the ongoing activity of the everyday. Rather than identifying circumscribed individual or societal causes of a behaviour, in this view, societal and individual are inter-twined, as they are mutually constituted in a reciprocal relationship" (p. 284). Therefore, simultaneously, the focus on Self-Other interactions also provides a grounded insight into the dynamics of change that contested knowledges produce for particular people in particular places and moments in time. In explanation, a dialogical analysis (e.g. of knowledge – where an imagined Other is interacted with; or an interpersonal interaction – where dialogue

is with real but potentially also imagined Others) can provide insight into not only intercultural or inter-ideological relations, but also how different 'results' can be produced through the particular contextual conditions of the dialogue. Social positioning is foundational in the making of such conditions, defined as "the process by which people take up a position about a network of significations" (Clemence 2001:83 cited in Sammut and Gaskell 2010:51). This therefore involves how a Self positions themselves and their knowledge in relation to Others, and therefore also how they recognise and position those Others and their knowledge. However importantly, the particularities of these processes of positioning are also shaped by the position that the Self (and Other) holds in wider (dynamic) structural contexts (e.g. class, institutional/professional hierarchies, gender, geopolitics). Not only do these processes of social positioning in dialogical interactions conceptually connect Foucault's (1984) triadic axis of knowledge, power, and ethics in the emergent theorising of Self and society (i.e. through [mis-/non-]recognitions of others), but also facilitate scope for an analysis of how more material aspects of context (e.g. poverty) also shape these interactions (therefore going beyond the level of symbolic meanings and discourse).

In this thesis, I therefore argue that a dialogical epistemology can make important contributions to the study of CSE in contexts of precarity. More specifically, I work to illustrate how it can provide the conceptual basis for examining the three areas of contested local-global knowledges in CSE discussed in Chapter 1: healthy sexualities; the youth subject; and social action. In Chapter 4, knowledge on healthy sexualities and the youth subject in *CSE curricula* is looked at, where the local-global is understood in terms of the 'cultural relevance' that is proclaimed by the curricula designers, and therefore the analysis works to unpack the (strategic) positioning of local-global knowledges *for* behaviour change. In Chapter 5, youth knowledges on healthy sexualities and subjectivities (in precarity) are explored in *focus group discussions* (FGDs), where the local-global is indicated by their having attended CSE interventions, and therefore analyses look to unpack how youth negotiate local-global knowledges in making sense of their Selves (and agencies), relationships, and society. And Chapter 6 looks at the social actions which 'make' CSE through an *ethnography* of the implementation practices and processes of local-global engagements which constitute the Mabadiliko intervention.

In this chapter, I will outline the three dialogical concepts which will be used to examine 'the local-global' in the knowledges and practices which are examined in these three empirical chapters. Firstly, in looking at the two *knowledge*-based local-global interactions (i.e. in CSE curricula and youth discussions), I draw on a dialogical framing of Moscovici's (1961/2008) theory of social representations (SRT), and in particular, use two dialogical concepts developed by Markova (2003) and Gillespie (2008) to structure the analyses of these two datasets, along with comparisons between them. The concept of 'themata' (Markova 2000; 2003; 2015) will be used to dynamically unpack the socio-historic cultures which shape social representations of youth sexualities and subjectivities; and 'semantic barriers and promoters' (Gillespie 2008) will be used to analyse the power-ethical dynamics of engagements between different 'local' and 'global' knowledges within knowledge (e.g. how curricula designers and youth position Others and the knowledge of Others in representing youth sexualities and subjectivities). And lastly, in analysing the *practice*-based local-global interactions (i.e. the ethnography of the Mabadiliko intervention), I will use Linell's (2009) elaboration of the 'communicative activity types' (CAT) concept, which supports the identification of the activities which make-up the intervention, along with the unpacking of how interpersonal (and person-to-artifact) dynamics, as well as wider contexts, shape patterns and differences within and between the activities (see Table 2.1 for a summary of the three knowledge encounters and their analyses).

Table 2.1 - The Knowledge Encounters in Each Dataset and Analyses Used

Dataset	Dialogical Concepts Used in the Analysis
Knowledge-Based Knowledge Encounters	
Chapter 4: CSE Curricula	Themata (Markova 2000; 2003; 2015).
Chapter 5: Youth FGDs	Semantic Barriers/Promoters (Gillespie 2008).
Practice-Based Knowledge Encounter	
Chapter 6: NGO Ethnography	Communicative Activity Types (Linell 2009).

Each of these three dialogical concepts will be outlined in turn, and then discussion will be put towards characterising the contributions that dialogical theorising – built upon the power-ethically rooted dynamics of knowledge and communicative practices – can make to conceptualisations of change-making in precarity, at both individual and intervention levels, and therefore unpack the *ethics* of CSE in precarity. It is proposed that the combined application of these three analyses can offer insights which can be

used to develop theorisations on building opportunities for more relational forms of agency in the conditions of precarity specific to the case study.

2.1 Themata – The Dialogicality of Knowledge

The sociality of knowledge is central to SRT. Billig (1991) describes SRT as driving "an intellectual revolution… [advocating] a fundamental reorientation of social psychology… [shifting away] from laboratory studies, which seek to isolate variables in the abstract, towards being a social science, which examines socially shared beliefs, or social representations, in their actual context" (p. 57-8). Yet, the depth of this 'revolution' is clearer in Markova's (2012) identification of how SRT's emphasis on the rationality of cultures and traditions, separated it from academic traditions which largely viewed such phenomena as irrational. In his study on the public reception (or emergent social representations) of psychoanalysis in mid-20th century France, Moscovici (1961/2008) argues that "the diffusion of knowledge has all too often been described as a top-down 'dissemination', or as a process whereby the ignorant masses 'copy' an informed elite. We come closer to the truth if we see it as an *exchange* that leads to a qualitative change in both the import and the content of experiences and theories" (p. xxxii – author's own emphasis). Therefore, rationality is seen as context-dependent (rather than objective and individualised as in Platonic/Cartesian rationality), and considered as the process through which individuals and groups are able to navigate and make sense of a social world constantly in flux, what Moscovici (1988) describes as 'world-making'. As Jovchelovitch (2007) remarks, the study of social representations "can shed light on the context-dependent nature of rationality and unpack the theoretical building blocks that link knowledge systems to person, communities, culture and histories" (p. 41).

Markova (2003), however, argues that SRT's emphasis on the communicative nature of knowledge and therefore "the dynamics of stability and change" (p. 4), is commonly neglected in much research. That still, studies predominantly foreground stability, and look at *what* a particular group of people are saying more than *how* interactions between people and knowledges, in a particular context, *produce* knowledge (ibid). Accordingly, she asserts that the dialogical "position with respect to cognition and

language places emphasis on the holistic and situated nature of relational phenomena, on their dynamics, heterogeneity, tension and conflict... [and therefore] characterize[s] social representations as relational and dynamic organisations of common(-sense) knowledge and language... [using the term characterize rather than define because] dynamic phenomena exist only in relation to something else" (Markova 2000:430). In this framing rationality is not just conceived as context-dependent, but 'dialogical' in nature. Accordingly, change in knowledge is conceptualised as resulting from mutuality *with* asymmetries (Markova and Foppa 1991), meaning that the co-construction of knowledge isn't just about 'exchange' (as Moscovici 1961/2008 identifies), but involves reciprocal 'attunement' (Rommetveit 1992) in representing something, yet importantly without interlocutors giving up their unique positions and differences stemming from each own's personal socio-historical backgrounds (i.e. there are always natural asymmetries in dialogues). Markova and Foppa (1991) emphasise that asymmetries are what drive communication, and in a representational sense, these differences are what produce the tension that is necessary for innovation and change.

The concept of 'themata', developed by Markova (2000; 2003; 2015) enables analyses of this dynamic nature of knowledges-in-contexts. Markova (2003) connects the origins of themata to long-standing theorisations about the dyadic foundations of knowledge, namely that human thought is rooted in antinomies (e.g. good-bad, soft-hard, old-new etc.). The dialogical contribution is the tension inherent to these antinomies through their interdependence (ibid). For instance, what we know to be good is interdependently connected to what we know to be bad, and so changes in one would also affect the other. This tension through interdependence not only facilitates transformations and fluidity in knowledge (e.g. according to changing contexts, cultures etc.), but also maintains some stability, in that changes are confined to the boundaries of the dyadic oppositional structure. For whilst social representations are dynamic, they must also sustain an element of unity and stability, being essential for establishing mutuality in representing something. This need for elements of unity and stability can also be seen at a more macro level in the knowledge of discourses and cultures (i.e. that whilst these can change through communication, in order for change to happen, there must be enough commonalities through which people can communicate).

Markova (2003) suggests that there are some themata, what she terms 'basic themata', which are for the most part, evaluative, and "almost eternally foregrounded in public discourse... [being] essential for the survival and enhancement of humanity" (p. 188), giving examples such as we—them, freedom—oppression, moral—immoral, or equality—inequality. Yet that in different cultures, or times throughout history, or groups of people, that these are 'thematised' differently, namely that different milieus produce different social representations from them. For instance, the themata which underpin representations of democracy along with the content ascribed to them in Scotland and Slovakia, are different, rooted in differences in the socio-political systems and the specific historical circumstances of each country (e.g. Slovakia is a much 'newer' democracy than Scotland – Markova 2001). Another example, discussed in Chapter 1, is how a positive sense of Self in one context or social milieu is independence, whilst in another, it is interdependence, yet over time, or through social mobility, these different 'thematisations' of the basic thema (singular of themata) 'social recognition—non-recognition' could change. Therefore, I suggest, that the concept of 'moral economies' (discussed in Chapter 1) can be explored through an analysis of themata.

More generally, Markova (2003) proposes that there are also themata which surface in common sense thinking in relation to certain social or historic events, namely that when something becomes "the focus of social attention and a source of tension and conflict", (p. 184) antinomies are thematised (i.e. tension is created through interdependence) as social representations are produced about the event (e.g. Mad Cow disease changed the content of the thema edible-inedible – i.e. it became thematised – ibid). Markova (2003) also illustrates how some of these 'new' themata will fade whilst others will remain more steadfastly, suggesting, for instance, that morality—immorality has been the most important thema in generating social representations about AIDS but that others such as dirt—cleanliness and life—death have also been central, yet perhaps to less effect. Recent research does for example, indicate that with the introduction of ARVs, some youth no longer view HIV as a death sentence (Roura et al. 2009). Markova (2015) also emphasises, the strategies that sometimes can underlie thematisations, giving as an example, Moscovici's (2011) analysis of social representations of the 'Roma' people, which identified how the themata nomadic—sedentary and pure—impure, have been thematised differently throughout history, dependent on the 'needs' of the societal majority in terms of

'justifying their actions', in relation to the Roma, be it a cultural appreciation (e.g. the Roma as musicians and travelling entertainers), or a discriminatory ostracising (e.g. 'Gypsies' as beggars and delinquents).

In this framing therefore, knowledge becomes a lens through which the adaptive connections between people and dynamic social contexts, can be explored. In that CSE carries the strategy of behaviour change, I suggest that the study of themata that underpin representations of youth sexualities in CSE curricula knowledge (which in keeping with the multi-level focus of CSE, are conceptually explored in relation to the Self, relations with others, and socio-cultural structures), enables an analysis of the ways in which 'the [change] actions' of interventions in sub-Saharan Africa aimed at youth, are 'justified' by the curriculum designers (connecting with discussions on the 'knowledge struggles' in Chapter 1). I also propose that this analysis, when applied to the ways in which youth (who have attended CSE interventions) socially represent their sexualities, can provide insight into how they make sense of their relationships and agency to act within them. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of the themata which underpin knowledge in the CSE curricula versus youth FGDs offers scope for identifying any 'clashes' at the representational level, which as highlighted in Stephens et al.'s (2012) research on 'cultured identities' in the USA university context (discussed in Chapter 1), have the capacity to not only limit the change potentials of CSE, but also contribute to the *dis*empowerment of those it strives to empower.

Therefore, themata will be used as an analytical tool for situating, and therefore tracing the socio-historical underpinnings of knowledge on sexualities in CSE curricula (Chapter 4) and youth FGDs (Chapter 5), enabling comparisons between the two. Yet as already discussed, each of these knowledges have already 'encountered' one another (e.g. the CSE curricula self-identify as being 'culturally relevant', and the youth in the FGDs have attended CSE interventions). In the next section, I will outline how a dialogical approach to SRT also offers scope for exploring the mechanisms by which local-global knowledges are managed *within* each of these knowledges (whilst maintaining recognition of the multifarious, namely, dialogical nature of knowledge i.e. it is not a matter of a uniform 'global' against a uniform 'local'). In explanation, a dialogical framing of SRT enables analyses of how Others and their knowledge are positioned within the knowledge of the dynamic Self-in-context, which I argue is

essential for unpacking the different strategies, and therefore power-ethical dynamics at the local-global knowledge encounter in CSE, and the according implications for behaviour change.

2.2 Semantic Barriers and Promoters – Power-Ethics at Knowledge Encounters Within Knowledge

In SRT, a knowledge encounter is defined as "the meeting of two or more representational systems, expressing different subjective, intersubjective and objective worlds" (Jovchelovitch 2007:129). Much of the academic work on knowledge encounters pertains to 'systems of knowledge', for the most part looking at interactions between science (what Moscovici [1988] terms the 'reified universe'), and common-sense thinking (termed the 'consensual universe' – ibid). I am however hesitant to use the term 'knowledge system' in the context of CSE in precarity. Firstly, in light of the discussion on the historicised local-global knowledge struggles which underpin CSE in Chapter 1 (e.g. colonial, population control, biomedical, development enterprises), I would argue that there are no two clear sides, or bounded systems, and disentangling 'the sides' is not the purpose of this thesis (rather my analytical focus is on points and processes of interaction between knowledges). Secondly, with the integration of 'social knowledge' into CSE as part of the efforts to support students in social relations in a 'culturally relevant' way, distinctions between the reified (i.e. rooted in organised 'facts') and the consensual become all the more convoluted. Foster (2003) remarks how "when Moscovici talks about the distinction between the consensual and reified universes, he is really discussing the way in which modern societies themselves represent different forms of knowledge, rather than suggesting a more concrete and actual division" (p. 233). Therefore, in this thesis, 'knowledge cultures' will be used in referring to the CSE and youth knowledges, in that 'cultures' are such a large part of the overall problematic in interactions between them, and furthermore, in the relational framing, culture is viewed as dynamic, and also offers scope for including the experiential dimensions to the production and communication of social knowledge.

SRT analyses of knowledge encounters, when conceptualised as two or more knowledge 'systems' interacting, often focus on the strategies inherent to each

knowledge system, or look at the outcomes of knowledge encounters. Dimensions of strategy in knowledge, are theorised as being connected to individual and group self-esteem and survival, what Bauer and Gaskell (1999) call the 'project' of a representation. In this way (individual and group) identity is conceptualised as: "a function of representations themselves"; "as the process of being identified [as much] as with making identifications"; and therefore "as points or positions within the symbolic field of culture, in other words, identities are constructed externally and not simply elaborated internally... [and result] in the emergence of social actors or agents"; and finally, as "ways of organising meanings so as to sustain a sense of stability" (Breakwell 2010:6.1 citing Duveen 2001), of which this last point particularly underpins the need for 'strategy' at knowledge encounters. In looking at the outcomes of knowledge encounters, the degree of interactions between knowledges are analysed: 'displacement' is used to signify when "one system of knowledge is favoured over other parallel systems", therefore involving one system holding, or striving for power (of non-recognition) over another; 'selective prevalence', is identified as when "distinct systems of knowledge are held together and retrieved separately at different points in time/space"; and 'hybridisation' is used to describe when "multiple systems of knowledge are drawn upon simultaneously" (Jovchelovitch and Priego-Hernandez 2015:174). The authors suggest that 'displacement' is a key objective in international development projects, indicating that these outcomes of knowledge encounters can also act as strategies (ibid). However, I would argue that the integration of 'culturally relevant' social knowledge into CSE, as well as the already established long histories of struggles between knowledge cultures in postcolonial contexts, means that analyses of encountering knowledges in CSE requires much more nuance.

Gillespie's (2008) theorising of knowledge encounters in a dialogical framing of SRT provides scope for analysing the mechanisms by which dynamic knowledges-in-contexts (i.e. knowledge cultures) manage interactions with other knowledges. He identifies that "communication entails not just difference, but also some representation of that difference" (Gillespie 2008:379), namely 'alternative representations' which act as the dialogical periphery to the 'core [social] representation'. Strategy in this framing, in keeping with the 'project' conceptualisation, involves protecting one's own representation through the use of different types of 'semantic barriers' which can range from non-recognition, to different forms of mis-recognitions of alternative

representations (ibid). And as Batel and Castro (2009) identify, in communications these mechanisms can also result in the imposition of certain representations over others (which connects to the concept of displacement). Gillespie (2008) argues that alternative representations are "important dialogical sub-parts to certain social representations, enabling those representations to adapt to the plurality of representations" (p. 376). Of course such adaptation does not necessarily only mean a lack of engagement with alternatives. Accordingly, Gillespie (2008) identifies that there must also be 'semantic promoters' which would function in stimulating dialogue with alternative representations in more open and less adversarial contexts (e.g. where different knowledges hybridise), although there has been much less theoretical and empirical engagement with (or observation of?) this aspect.

Gillespie (2008) points out how Moscovici (1961/2008) identified two semantic barriers in his study on Psychoanalysis in France, both of which contributed to the communicative genre of propaganda, which work to produce 'straw men', or simplified stereotypes of the alternative (i.e. power through mis-/non-recognition): 1) rigid oppositions (essentially the outright negation of alternatives); and 2) transfer of meaning (involving the [negative] transfer of emotion from a secondary opposition to the current one). To these, Gillespie (2008) adds another four semantic barriers which act in closing down any potential interactions between the core representation and alternatives: 3) prohibited thoughts (inducing fear over the alternative, ascribing it as dangerous); 4) stigma (where people who subscribe to the alternative are attacked, positioning them in a group that the Self would not want to be a part of); 5) undermining the motive (in which the content of the alternative representation is attacked and so by proxy so too people who ascribe to it); and 6) bracketing (where the alternative representation is held apart from reality). He also adds a seventh barrier which is more accommodating to alternatives than the previous six, 7) separation, in that it allows elaboration of the alternative whilst emphasising its distinction and consequently its inability to compete with the core representation (ibid). In regard to semantic promoters, Gillespie (2008) posits that they could be marked merely by the absence of the seven identified barriers, or an active dismantling of rigid oppositions (ibid). In her study of pluralities in representations of mental illness, Arthi (2012) identifies 7) separation as having the capacity to act as both a promoter of, and barrier

to dialogue, and in theory, this potential is also true for 2) transfer of meaning (i.e. a positive emotion could be transferred from a secondary alternative to the current one).

Empirical studies of semantic barriers give insight into the workings and tensions of power-ethics at knowledge encounters, in that whilst power might be exerted through the mis-/non-recognition of the Other, such strategies are often rooted in an effort to affirm one's own recognition, indicating the power or lack of ethics that they themselves are strategically protecting themselves against. Kus et al. (2013) for instance, in post-Soviet Russia illustrate how rigid oppositions and transfer of meaning maintain polemics between (minority ethnic) Estonian Russians and (majority ethnic) Estonians, preventing tolerance of the other's version of history, which also works to preserve self-serving biases in (relative) identity positioning. Kadianaki (2014) shows how the device of stigma, not only blocks interactions with alternatives, but also is transformative for the identities of African migrants in Greece, in enabling them to cope with racist encounters by constructing those Greeks as 'crazy'. And Morant and Edwards (2011) illustrate how alternative representations held by police in regard to presuming that the public perceive of them as being prejudiced, are enormously formative in how police officers construct their professional identities, in their self re-presentation, emphasising fairness as a defining characteristic. Batel and Castro (2009) argue that the non-recognition of alternatives requires some source of power, however, I would suggest that in light of the protective function of semantic barriers (e.g. for identity as well as maintaining some stability in semantic/representational environments) as seen in these studies, that some source of power could also possibly be seen as needed for being more open to alternatives. This is in keeping with dialogical theory in its emphasis on the 'work' required for achieving reciprocity in interactions. In explanation, dialogical theorising on ethics in relations is viewed as not just being about recognising the Other, but also involves making one's own Self open and 'answerable' to the Other and the context in which one is meeting them, yet also the human tendency for avoiding such 'responsibility' (Bakhtin 1993).

Coudin's (2012) study of interactions between 'modern' and 'traditional' representations of madness in postcolonial Congo illustrates how analyses of semantic barriers can give insight into the social positioning of people. For example, she identifies that more educated people (who could be conjectured to have more power)

use less polemical semantic barriers (e.g. bracketing and separation against 'traditional' knowledge on madness) than her 'illiterate informants' (who used rigid opposition, transfer of meaning, prohibited thoughts, and stigma against 'modern' knowledge on madness - ibid). Coudin (2012) acknowledges that the 'modernity' of the interviewers could have worked to strengthen the representational resolve of the 'illiterate informants', which in keeping with the previous empirical work discussed, could be seen to relate to the protection of one's own identity and knowledge system. However, overall she interprets these different uses of semantic barriers as being indicative of the linear progression from 'polemics' to the 'emancipation' of ideas and representations which she connects to the cosmopolitan identities of the more educated (ibid).

This teleological view of knowledge encounters as progressing towards emancipation is common in SRT, and I argue is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, emancipation in representations in a society does not negate power differentials between them. Orbe (1998) for instance discusses how more powerful groups can remain oblivious to these power differentials (i.e. non-/mis-recognitions without polemics): "In each society, a hierarchy exists that privileges certain groups of people... On the basis of these varying levels of privilege, dominant group members occupy positions of power that they use – consciously or unconsciously – to create and maintain communication systems that reflect, reinforce, and promote their field of experiences" (p. 11). He also goes on to point out how, "Directly and/or indirectly, these dominant communication structures impede the progress of those persons whose lived experiences are not reflected in the public communicative systems", (ibid). Secondly, this association of emancipation or pluralism with modernity is enormously Eurocentric in that much African philosophical literature emphasises that such pluralism and relational ethics (e.g. recognitions of Others) were key features of pre-colonial community life (Wiredu 2004). And whilst, of course, these communities would have contained less pluralism than the modern West, the history of colonial violence against such pluralism (e.g. seen in the monotheism of Christianity, and the restructuring of societies according to Western regulatory laws – Waller 2006) which could be seen to continue today through individualist human rights discourse, means that an African 'modern' pluralism would always be different from the form described in SRT. And lastly, this teleological framing of knowledge encounters contradicts the fundamental premise of a dialogical epistemology: the non-linearity of histories and

futures, in that change is conceptualised as continually emergent, rooted in the uniqueness of interactions-in-contexts, and therefore is unpredictable and "not about a happy end" (Markova 2003).

The dialogical framing of SRT therefore emphasises the need to integrate into analyses, the particular dynamics of contexts (e.g. temporo-symbolic, relational, and material) which could be seen to privilege some groups over others (re: themata), and in its emphasis on the 'work' which recognising the knowledge of Others requires, opens up space for much more nuanced analyses of the power-ethics tensions which underpin the 'making' of knowledge on Self, Other, and society (re: semantic barriers/promoters). In regard to the CSE curricula (Chapter 4) I propose that analyses of semantic barriers/promoters not only offer insight into how knowledge on African cultures is 'strategized', namely how it is positioned by curricula designers in connection to 'global' knowledges, in service of the overarching strategy of changing behaviours. But also, how the wider symbolic context to behaviour change interventions in Africa, such as postcolonialism and the controversial literature on what 'African sexualities' are like (discussed in Chapter 1), might contextualise such positioning (i.e. the study of themata facilitates a dynamic analysis of the global knowledge cultures in CSE). In regard to analysing the knowledge of youth who have attended CSE interventions (Chapter 5), I suggest that the identification of semantic barriers/promoters can act as important signifiers of how the 'change strategies' in CSE knowledge is experienced by youth: do they feel recognised and inspired by CSE; if not, how do they protect themselves from it; if yes, what are the knowledges that they need to protect themselves from in order to incorporate CSE knowledge; and what are the implications of these (identity/representational) protective strategies for the behaviour change potentials of CSE? And too, how analyses of themata can give insight into the (local-global) socio-cultural resources that differently positioned groups of youth draw on in making sense of their relationships and agencies to act within them.

I therefore argue that the combined analyses of themata and semantic barriers/promoters enable the conceptual unpacking of the knowledge encounter in CSE (i.e. between curricula designers and youth), in that one can identify who the Others or alternative knowledges are, along with how they are positioned in contextually-rooted 'justifications of action' within knowledge. As Coudin (2012)

identifies, "interpretation [of Others within representations] *is* the context" (p. 27 – emphasis added). In the following section, I will outline how this premise of eliciting insights into contexts through Self-Other interactions, can also be applied to the implementation practices which make-up the Mabadiliko intervention. Namely, I will discuss how the 'communicative activity types' (CATs - Linell 2009) concept, enables a categorisation of Self-Other interactions observed in the CSE intervention, with analytical focus being put towards interpreting how the contextual and interlocuter-specific dynamics of these shape behaviour change potentials. In Section 2.4 I will discuss how these dialogical analyses of knowledges and practices in CSE, combined, can contribute to the development of more relational theorising on agency in precarity.

2.3 Communicative Activity Types – Intervention Implementation Practices as Context

The knowledge struggles identified within the study of process and intervention implementation, were outlined in Chapter 1 as largely pertaining to the ways in which atomistic or reductionist methods of evaluation can (unintentionally) work 'to other' and marginalise both the targets of the intervention as well as those implementing it. This largely relates to a neglect, or an under-appreciation of the ways in which wider contexts (e.g. poverty, postcolonialism, social marginalisations etc.) situate and shape implementation practices and potentials for behaviour change as a whole. In keeping with the previous two sections which focussed on dialogical analyses of knowledge, I propose that a dialogical analysis of practices, can too, through a focus on communicative (i.e. Self-Other) interactions, analysed through the concept of communicative activity types (CATs - Linell 2009), provide insights into the (dynamic) contexts which situate the intervention. In explanation, a dialogical approach to the study of implementation processes and change, enables a view of the CSE intervention in context, which in the case study of this thesis, relates to a view of the intervention-in-[local-global]precarity.

The importance of focussing on interactions in organisations and interventions, largely through ethnographic observations is one of the key tenets of social practice theories. Nolas (2014) describes how social practice theories "provide a lens for engaging with

the dynamics of hard graft and the ethics of care", (p. 127) namely, the ways in which people negotiate the inevitable gaps between 'intention and actuality' in social change projects. In organisational settings, this has inspired new directions in research on learning and communication processes that are less focussed on the organisational systematisation of practices, and look more at the particular constraints and enablers in situated interactions, to elicit "how the meanings and functions of discourse, tools, and knowledge are constituted in social practices" (Arnseth and Ludvigsen 2006:171). In this way, dialogues or interactions are viewed as 'situation-transcending', "linked to habituality, routinization, conventionalism and institutionalization of human practices, that is, our tendencies to do things approximately in the same ways as we have done before, or seen others do, in similar situations", (Linell 2009:50). Observations of communicative actions are therefore essential in this framing for the study of strategies of power and ethics in the knowledge production activities of implementation processes, so that more 'practical' (and non-discursive) forms of consciousness (Bourdieu 1977), and I would also argue agency, can be revealed.

The use of 'artifacts', has also become a keen area of focus within studies looking at the social practices of organisations and institutions, yet from different epistemological framings and using different terminologies. For instance, analyses of organisational artifacts range from viewing them as bureaucratic coordinating technologies (Weber 1968 cited in Riles 2006), to being seen as 'boundary objects', functional as categorisers of knowledge for translation across (disciplinary) communities (Star and Griesemer 1989), or as technical devices of (unidirectional power in) governmentality (Foucault 1991 cited in Riles), or 'material-semiotic tools' that socially coordinate "perspectives and action, meaning-making and gap-bridging in professional work" (Makitalo 2012:59). The contribution that I propose a dialogical framing makes is in its conceptualisation of an artifact as being 'an Other', such that analyses look to ascertain the 'authorial' voice in the artifact and its (strategic) positioning of the person using it, as well as the way in which the Self conceptualises the perspective of the artifact's author, and how the specific context of their interaction might influence this perspective-taking.

I propose that this dialogical framing of artifacts, opens up opportunities for exploring power-ethical dynamics in the use of artifacts. For instance, the 'power' of a reporting

artifact can be seen in its non-/mis-recognition of any implementation experiences other than those which are looked for (e.g. quantifiable feedback on attendees), as well as its non-responsivity, both of which "deprive the Self of his/her dialogical features… [in not allowing] the Self to respond in a unique way to his/her unique environment" (Markova 2016:173). And Markova (2016) emphasises the harm that such 'inauthentic communication' can do to both Self and others (discussed more in section 2.4). Nevertheless, the person using the artifact also has power in their interpretive capacity: "the concept of text presents itself only in the context of interpretation, and only from the point of view of interpretation is there an authentic given to be understood" (Gadamer 2007:168). Yet, as Ramsten and Saljo (2012) also emphasise, from a social practice perspective, how organisational contexts can place limitations on this interpretation: "[actors] deconstruct them [artifacts] only to the extent that is necessary for completing their tasks as practitioners" (p. 34). I would argue that this attention to limitations serves to emphasise the need to study the use of person-artifact relations in specific contexts, in that there might not always be agreement in terms of perceptions of tasks, or more generally, unitary 'cultures' of practice (e.g. in postcolonial contexts or multi-agency projects).

Ethnographic studies of international development intervention practices have been essential in moving away from materialist conceptualisations of the (unified) global versus the (homogeneous) local, and enabling more nuanced analyses of the constraints on, yet also adaptive and creative capacities of, people working within them, thereby also expanding insights into how intervention 'change' happens. Mosse and Lewis (2005) describe how "ethnography reconfigures scale. International development policy is framed by personal histories, individual passions, and bureaucratic strategies" (p. 17), and how actors in organisations can be seen to accordingly "operate as active agents building social, political and economic roles rather than simply following normative [institutionalised] scripts" (Lewis and Mosse 2006:11). Mosse (2005), for instance, in his ethnographic account of his work as a practitioner on an international development project in India spanning over ten years, illustrates how 'flexible' project design templates are used by practitioners to maintain and legitimise the 'language of success' despite fluctuating agendas, contextualised by the overarching pressure of the need to retain funders. In her research on HIV prevention in Cambodia, Aveling (2012) emphasises the critical role that local field

officers play in terms of translating health information so that it 'fits' with local belief systems, whilst also maintaining the language of donors in organisational contexts, yet how little support is given to them in navigating such acts. She too, using the three-dimensional conceptualisation of context (e.g. material, relational, symbolic) as a frame, highlights how hierarchical 'aid chains' and the overarching accountability to donors undermines the mobilisation potentials of the community (Aveling 2010). In studying a maternal, new-born and child health intervention in Kenya, du Plessis and Lorway (2016) also emphasise the importance of project staff as translators of knowledge systems, arguing that the subjugation of local knowledge in monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems is a key impediment to learning about the barriers and enablers of change interventions.

This thesis strives to build on these ethnographic accounts, and through the application of a dialogical epistemology, provide deeper insight into the processes by which (interpersonal and person-to-artifact) knowledge interactions and translations happen, therefore also looking at how knowledge is subjugated, and how the imagined donor shapes practice. In bringing together all of the discussion thus far, I suggest that a dialogical framing of CSE interventions produces the following working definition:

"Situated spaces of strategic engagement between local-global knowledge cultures, enacted through the interpretative and communicative acts of differently positioned actors, agencies and artifacts."

Accordingly, I propose that an analytical focus on communicative interactions (both interpersonal and person-to-artifact), can facilitate insight into the ways in which processes of power-ethically rooted strategies (e.g. for influencing the knowledge of others, or protecting one's own from alternative knowledges), in context, shape implementation, and therefore the change potentials of the intervention as a whole. Importantly, this approach places emphasis on the dynamism of process, as opposed to the atomistic, and retrospective subjective accounts which are common interpretations of process evaluations in the literature. Yet furthermore, it emphasises the dynamism of contexts in that they are re-produced through, and therefore visible in, the (strategized) interactions which make-up the intervention's implementation activities, and therefore enables an exploration of interventions-in-contexts. I suggest that Linell's (2009) elaboration of the dialogical concept 'communicative activity types'

(CATs) is a useful frame through which observed communicative interactions can be organised, and their particular dynamics (e.g. asymmetries, specific contextual situations etc.) unpacked. Linell (2009) situates CATs at the *meso-level* of dialogue, being the "link between situated micro-processes and societal macro-structures" (p. 203). In this way, processes of communication and 'chains' of micro-level interactions (i.e. interpersonal and person-to-artifact) can be identified, without masking their specificity, through the interpretative practice of situating interactions within macro-level contexts, such as the (temporo-symbolic) knowledge struggles and material aspects outlined thus far (e.g. poverty, postcolonialism, international policy and politics, neoliberalism, donor funding cycles, health epidemics etc.).

Linell (2009) gives job interviews, psychotherapy sessions, doctor-patient encounters, and criminal court trials as examples of CATs, and identifies that analyses of CATs need to look at three 'families of concepts' (p. 203):

- *Framing Dimensions*: essentially communicative structures which are pre-given and rarely change (e.g. activity roles, tasks, the role of language etc.), and, I suggest, can be used towards 'naming' each particular CAT.

- *Internal Interactional Organisations and Accomplishments*: communicative methods or styles which are brought about *in situ* through the particular relationships between interlocuters (e.g. turn-feedback patterns, [in]formality, positioning/dominance, topical progression methods, role of artifacts etc.). Unpacking these dynamics works to mark out the variances within each CAT.

- *Sociocultural Ecology:* essentially works to situate the CATs amongst one another and also within 'chains of communication' (e.g. community-NGO-donor relations), socio-cultural histories, societal strata (e.g. gender, socio-economic etc.), and 'wider activity systems' (e.g. international development; HIV management etc.). Interpretation is therefore focussed on unpacking the variances observed within a CAT, and for instance working to identify contextual factors which may have caused misunderstandings or conflicts.

Linell (2010) emphasises that "it is the actual interactional patterns that ultimately make up the real CATs" (p. 52), which are often complex, made up of multiple goals even when organised around a shared goal. For instance, in his analysis of train traffic

control phone calls, he identifies how they serve an important social-relational purpose as much as a professional transactional one (ibid). Linell (2010) describes this multiplicity in terms of the functions and framings of communicative activities as 'double dialogicality' and argues that one cannot understand CATs without putting focus towards the situation-transcending practices/cultures in which interactions are embedded, but also vice versa, how one cannot understand institutional or societal orders/cultures without insight into the CATs which underpin them. In an unpublished PhD thesis, Kullenberg (2014) for instance illustrates how children given the task of instructing another on how to sing a song, produces a CAT which both draws on culturally established notions of teaching, whilst also involving the co-construction of gestures, acts with artifacts, and situational framings or translations. In this way, I suggest that a CAT analysis of intervention practices provides a framework through which the shaping of gaps between 'intentions and actuality' can be mapped out and interrogated at multiple interconnected levels (e.g. micro [specific interactions], meso [types or patterns of interactions], macro [interactions between institutions, cultures, and policies), and which importantly does not pathologize the actual (as can be seen in evaluations which work to ascertain 'fidelity to design'). How do Mabadiliko staff interpret their roles and purpose; how is the intervention constructed as they interact with others (e.g. artifacts, youth, co-workers etc.); and what are the socio-cultural contexts to these interpretative and communicative activities? Accordingly, the strategies which underlie processes of engagement (e.g. self-protection, influence over others) can also be identified and explored through specific interactions *as well as* the wider temporo-symbolic and material contexts of the local-global knowledge encounter.

Therefore overall, I suggest that CATs enable a power-ethics-knowledge analysis of a CSE intervention-in-the-making. I argue that such an analysis is crucial, not only for evaluating the processes by which a CSE intervention in precarity may or may not succeed in achieving its intended change outcomes, but also more generally, for the development of theorising on relational agency in development. In explanation, I propose that understanding the relational processes by which local-global temporo-symbolic and material contexts permeate the 'boundaries' (e.g. intentions) of CSE interventions (e.g. in [CSE and youth] knowledges and implementation practices – therefore examined through analyses of themata, semantic barriers/promoters, and

CATs), is crucial to identifying the 'precise forms of domination' in a given condition of precarity. In a Foucauldian (1984/1997) relational framing of subjectivity, understanding these precise forms is the first step towards identifying where resistance to such domination could develop. The next section details the contributions that dialogical theorising makes to this task at hand.

2.4 A Dialogical Theorising of Relational Agency in Precarity

The discussions in this chapter thus far have highlighted the relational and co-constitutive nature of identity- and meaning-making processes, with both real and imagined others, and also deeply connected to temporo-symbolic and material contexts. Foucault's (1984) identification of the relations between power-ethics-knowledge already situates agency (and its constraint) as being rooted in these same identity- and meaning-making processes. I propose however, that dialogical theorising offers scope for more detailed understandings of how people who are in states of domination, whilst not powerful, are still not entirely powerless (Foucault 1984/1997), and the implications that such insights hold for *change-making in precarity*, at both individual and intervention levels. Namely, I propose that dialogical theorising on the potentials and barriers to transformations through Self-Other relationships, highlights the ethical complexities of CSE interventions in conditions of precarity.

At the level of the individual, dialogical theorising provides a frame through which the operationalisations of precarity in terms of constraining (yet importantly not extinguishing) agencies can be explored. Hutchings (2013) in defining the relational nature of agency, identifies how it is "not seen as qualities or characteristics *belonging* to a subject, but as **expressive and transformative qualities of action** that emerge out of, but are not reducible to, multiple conditions of possibility" (p. 23 – italics author's emphasis; bold emphasis added). In a dialogical framing, such conditions of possibility could be understood in terms of social positioning, in that (temporo-symbolic, material and relational) structures can both open-up and limit the identity-positions available to a person (Sammut et al. 2014). But importantly, identity- and meaning-making processes, and so too aspects of agency, do continue, despite constraints. I suggest that this is the conceptual basis for Madhok et al.'s (2013)

discussion on 'agency in constraint' (see Chapter 1) in regard to how the ways in which people cope with oppressive power might not always look like resistance. In that agencies, rooted in strategies for *recognition* and protecting one's own identity and semantic environment from others, are much more nuanced, and not always explicit or even conscious. Accordingly, I suggest that where the conditions are ones of constraint (e.g. precarity), that analyses of the 'expressive qualities of actions', even when not transformative, can provide insights into how people agentically cope with such constraints. To be specific, I propose that dialogical analyses of youth sense-making of their relationships and agency to act within them (Chapter 5), as well as 'local' CSE implementation practices (Chapter 6), can support the development of theorising on the particular 'conditions of possibility (and constraint)' in the case study context, as well as the actions (e.g. semantic barriers/promoters, and the socio-culturally situated internal interactional accomplishments of the CATs) that individuals take in facing them.

Such analyses, focussed on recognition, are also important in the study of change-making in precarity at the level of the intervention. As discussed in previous chapters, the conditions of precarity in this case study – the "politically induced... failing social and economic support networks" (Butler 2009) – are conceptualised as being produced through local-global relationships, which in African contexts, were borne out of colonialism. Fanon (1952) theorised that the psychological processes by which colonialism operated were rooted in the systematic non-recognition and so dehumanisation of black people. His positioning of racialised oppressions at the relational level (i.e. through a lack of reciprocity, or recognition of 'the black man'), provides a frame for 'postcolonialism', in terms of conceptualising how such processes remain in operation even after African countries 'gained independence': "every ontology [i.e. the black man as human] is made unattainable in a colonized **and civilized** [i.e. the Western] world... For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man. Some critics will take it on themselves to remind us that this proposition has a converse. I say that this is false. The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man [i.e. that the black man cannot dehumanise the white man]" (Fanon 1952/67:109 *cited in* Alessandrini 2009:74 – emphasis added). This connects with Stoler's (1995) identification of how racial discourse gains force from its 'polyvalent mobility' (see Chapter 1), in that psychological

violence against African people can remain implicit in its pervasiveness, and therefore emphasises the importance of undertaking both an analysis of the ethics of CSE, and unpacking how 'local' Africans are (mis-/non-)recognised in CSE curricula (Chapter 4) and local-global CSE implementation relationships (Chapter 6), yet too teasing out what (and who) 'the global' is in CSE.

Yet I propose that dialogical theory also gives insight into another ethical tension inherent to CSE interventions in precarity, namely, how transformation *through* dialogue is conceptualised. Many efforts which work to support 'participation' and foster more power- and politically-conscious communication within institutions and interventions have been influenced by Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) and his concept of the 'public sphere', in which the 'ideals' of dialogues are emphasised (Gillespie et al. 2014). Such ideals focus on reciprocity, based upon inclusivity (i.e. recognition of the other), mutuality (i.e. openness and honesty), and perspective-taking, where the emphasis is on reaching understanding (Habermas 1981/1984). This is contrasted with non-ideal communications where strategy is the key focus, driven by the goal of forcing thoughts and actions onto others, and Habermas identifies communications in which strategy is unconsciously or consciously concealed as 'systematically distorted' (ibid). Already the problematics of this may be evident in that much discussion in this chapter has focussed on how strategies of protection and influence typify knowledge encounters, particularly in CSE where the overarching strategy is to change behaviours. Gacoin's (2014) identification of the 'distortion' of Freirean *change* activities (based on notions of transformation through 'ideal' dialogues) in international development contexts (see Chapter 1) relates to this dynamic, in that change is preconceived in CSE as opposed to emerging from the dialogues. However dialogical theory, in its emphasis on the non-linearity of change, rooted in the specificities of Self-Other interactions, means that its conceptualisation of emergent change is different from Freire's. Where a Freirean analytical focus would be put towards achieving 'ideals' in dialogue, a dialogical analysis instead works to understand how the interrelations of contexts, interlocutor characteristics, and the particularities of engaging with one another, produce or impede change.

Furthermore, Gillespie et al. (2014), in applying Habermas' 'ideal speech' frame to what were found to be pervasively 'non-ideal' communications in healthcare contexts,

conclude that such ideals are just simply 'not applicable' to certain contexts, and remark that "the ideals of dialogue should not be over-extended, thus blinding us to alternative ways of dealing with manifestly non-ideal contexts" (p. 76-7). I suggest that this emphasises the ethical dimensions to such practices which aim to transform people through dialogues in conditions of precarity. Projects based on the underlying presumption that 'ideal' communication *can* happen in any context reflect a pervasive 'non-recognition' of the people expected to implement it, as well as those to whom the project is directed. Chapter 1 provides examples of when such non-recognition can turn into mis-recognition, such as blaming of implementers for 'poor implementation' or 'lack of fidelity to design' which informally also have the potential to connect with the racialised discourses also discussed (e.g. in my own work in the region, muttered comments of "these Africans..." were not uncommon from Expats). Campbell and Cornish (2012) in expanding on Freire's theorising, define 'transformative dialogue' as a "politicised process, through which marginalised groups develop critical understandings of the political and economic roots of their vulnerability to ill-health, and the confidence and strategies for tackling them" (p. 848). The complexities of achieving this transformative process, are highlighted when connected to the local-global framing of precarity in this thesis, in that the economic and political roots of vulnerabilities are not confined to localities. Consequently, any representation of such vulnerabilities as being so, lacks ethics, not only in regard to the neglect of the scale of structural oppressions in precarity, and therefore the limitations of being able to effect change in localities. But also, in a dialogical framing of ethics, how 'the global' is avoiding the 'responsibility' of being 'answerable' at the CSE knowledge encounter; an avoidance which is one of the key tenets of postcolonial critiques of international development.

This institutionalised neglect or even suppression of the colonial past which situates local-global Aid relationships in Africa is theorised by postcolonial scholars as an extension of Fanon's (1952) identification of the pervasive non-recognition of black people. Gilroy's (2009) discussion on human rights, for instance, emphasises how histories of slavery and genocide, viewed as technologies of the pervasive and underlying structures of racism (as conceptualised by Fanon), are stripped from its narrative, and therefore precludes human rights from being relevant or having functionality for systematically (i.e. structurally) oppressed people. He argues that:

"The counter-narrative of human rights we require is evident in opposition to racial orders, in the struggles of indigenous peoples, and in the post- and anticolonial pursuit of liberation from imperial domination. It can furnish an extensive commentary on the effects of racism in securing the alienation of humanity. Taken together those struggles contribute to a culture of freedom sourced from deep within the experience of objecthood [i.e. non-recognition]" (Gilroy 2010:71-2). Therefore, one can see how the disengaged and normative moral order contained within human rights (Markova 2016), might do little for people who are violently objectified or mis-recognised. Yet too, this highlights how non-recognitions of others can be institutionalised, meaning that analyses of ethics in CSE need to go beyond knowledge, and also look at the practices which (re-)produce and promote it. Accordingly, I suggest that a CAT analysis of CSE implementation can offer insight into how any such processes of non-recognition operate in CSE and how 'local' Mabadiliko staff manage them.

For once again, in a dialogical framing, the agencies of people-in-constraint are emphasised; non- and mis-recognised people are not passive victims. In their analyses of 'non-ideal' communicative contexts in healthcare settings, Gillespie et al. (2014) affirm the adaptive capacities of people in dealing with constraints (e.g. on agency, or in terms of marginalisations on identities). Black feminist and queer literatures are conceptually connected through their defiance against structures which violently categorise and oppress, and call for the need to transform the paradigms with which we look at the world (e.g. bell hooks 1992; Warner 1999). Within the sub-Saharan African context, one also sees people *strategically* using neoliberalism (Hirsch and Wardlow 2006), careers in NGOs (Yarrow 2011), or even science fiction – such as in the recent popular culture of 'Afrofuturism', (Womack 2013) – to forge identities, and therefore also relationships, that break away from the dehumanised histories of Africa's and black people's relationships with 'the [white] Global'. Nevertheless, as already discussed in Chapter 1 and in relation to Orbe's (1998) emphasis on hierarchies within societies, some people are likely better equipped to deal with constraints than others. In African contexts, such opportunities for strategically re-presenting oneself are much harder for lower socio-economic groups who must also battle against the material constraints of poverty (see Hunter 2010 in Chapter 1). It is on this basis that an analysis of the local-global dynamics *in* precarity becomes so important. More needs to be known about the strategies by which endemically marginalised peoples manage the

contradictions, and potentials for symbolic violence produced in local-global interactions, such as in CSE.

In discussing the difficulties of achieving reciprocity in intercultural dialogues, Sammut et al. (2014) argue that the identification of semantic barriers which are used by each interlocutor, is an important step towards overcoming them, and so have the potential to facilitate more ethical interactions between people and groups. In line with this, yet more generally, I propose that strategies and processes of mis-/non-recognition (and according strategies of self-protection in response to them) in knowledge and CSE implementation practices (identified through analyses of semantic barriers/promoters and CATs), can in theory, operationalise Foucault's (1984/1997) identification of the need for 'specific answers' to questions of how to create (relational) opportunities for agency in 'states of domination'; essentially a tailoring of approach to the specific temporo-symbolic and material contexts. Furthermore, importantly, in such a framing the burden of ethics falls to the designers and implementors of CSE, and therefore building the agencies of youth in precarity becomes a collective, and truly relational endeavour.

Therefore a dialogical theorising of relational agency in constraint is centred on unpacking the dynamics of power-ethics in the knowledge and practice relationships which make-up CSE: what are the strategies (for influence i.e. behaviour change) of (mis-/non-)recognition in CSE curricula (Chapter 4); what are the strategies (for self-protection) of (mis-/non-)recognition that youth who have attended CSE, use against which knowledges (e.g. local/global) in their representations of their relationships and agency to act within them (Chapter 5); how are aspects of local-global (mis-/non-)recognitions managed by Mabadiliko implementers in the communicative activities which make-up the intervention (Chapter 6); and what are the implications of these three power-ethics analyses for the behaviour change potentials of the Mabadiliko intervention and attending youth, or more specifically, what opportunities do the insights into the constraints on behaviour change offer, in regard to building more relational forms of agency in precarity (Concluding Chapter 7)?

2.5 Discussion

In this chapter I have outlined three analytical tools, rooted in a dialogical epistemology, through which the power-ethical dynamics in CSE knowledges and practices can be unpacked, and therefore enable an examination of the *ethics* of CSE in precarity. Specifically, I have argued that a dialogical approach enables the disentanglement of power-ethics in local-global knowledge encounters in CSE (e.g. in CSE curricula and youth knowledges, and in implementation practices). In doing this, I have outlined how strategies of (mis-/non-)recognitions (for influence or for self-protection) in interactions between *knowledge cultures* (e.g. in CSE curricula and the knowledge of youth who have attended CSE interventions) can be revealed through two analyses: firstly, themata (i.e. antinomies in tension through interdependence) which underpin (or are seen as the dialogical core of) social representations, can provide insight into the socio-historic cultures which shape representations of youth sexualities and subjectivities; and secondly, semantic barriers/promoters which are used to manage interactions with alternative representations, or how 'the Other' (knowledge culture) is recognised and positioned in dialogue with the Selves' representation, give an indication of strategizations for change/influence or self-protection. And lastly, I have laid out how an analysis of communicative activity types (CATs) in observed *practice* can be used to explore how the power-ethical dynamics between interacting knowledge cultures, as well as material contexts, such as poverty, can be seen to shape the implementation of a CSE intervention.

I have argued that the insights from these three combined analyses can make important contributions to the development of theorising on relational agency in precarity, which presents a more emergent and deeply contextualised understanding of power, conceived as operating through mechanisms and processes of (mis-/non-)recognitions in knowledges and practices. In this framing, the difficulty of achieving reciprocity (i.e. the 'ideal') and transformations in communication is emphasised; the neglect of which is identified as holding particular potentials for harm in postcolonial contexts. Accordingly, I discuss how a dialogical epistemology of change-making in precarity is centred on revealing the (unethical) constraints on subjectivities along with people's strategies for coping with them. I have therefore argued that a dialogical epistemology provides the conceptual basis and analytical tools through which Foucault's

(1984/1997) theorisation of subjectivity in 'states of domination' (e.g. the pervasive mis-/non-recognitions of postcolonialism and widespread poverty) can be actualised. Yet importantly it is not so much a theory of *change* but rather a theorisation of how particular constraints (structured by power-ethics-knowledge/practices) shape *change potentials*. Therefore, I am not putting forth a new theoretical framework which can underpin the change goals of CSE interventions, but instead am working to highlight the need to unpack the 'specific forms' of constraint that these youth experience, which becomes ever more important as the literature suggests that CSE itself might be contributing to their marginalisation. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the concluding chapter, I propose that such insights on constraint hold the potential to be *re*-presented as *opportunities* for change, particularly in regard to the knowledge and practices of CSE interventions.

In the next chapter, I will outline the procedures and methods by which the three datasets (CSE curricula; youth FGDs; and the Mabadiliko ethnography) were constructed, the practicalities of data analyses, along with a reflexive account aimed at situating myself and the research assistants in the research process.

Chapter 3. Methodology

"... we have no patterns for relating across our human differences as equals. As a result, those differences have been misnamed and misused in the service of separation and confusion. Certainly there are very real differences between us of race, age, and sex. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions which result from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behaviour and expectation" – Audre Lorde (1980/2007:115)

Striving to work *with* and *through* difference, and untangle the messy and sometimes violent 'politics of Relations' (Glissant and Britton 2013) is at the heart of this thesis. It was borne out of years of working on both grassroots and international change projects in East and Central Africa where *my* obvious difference – my white body – connected me to pipelines of power and systems of oppression that in truth, at that time, was a challenge for me to face. My Global Health background did not equip me for it. Yet through friendships, collaborative efforts at change-making, difficult conversations, generosities, disappointments, feelings of hurt, frustration, shame, and joy, we began to unpiece things. It was through these relations, and learning about our differences, which included new perspectives on ourselves, that we all changed, in ways. Yet this was no linear path to a 'happy ending'. I try to give as honest an account as I can of this experience, and also situate my research assistants in section 3.5. For whilst, certainly in the grassroots projects, we were all connected by the determination to challenge the *mis*recognition of young Tanzanians as being uneducated and in need of being taught how to have a healthy relationship. Working with difference, as Audre Lorde (1980/2007) identifies, whilst essential for change (and which can be seen in Freire's *conscientisation*, in Foucault's Ethical Self, and as the creative core of dialogicality), is difficult, being rife with confusions and distortions; challenges which I firmly believe need to be brought to the fore in CSE.

This chapter therefore, works to provide a critical discussion on how, at each stage of the research, *my* difference and the differences between participants, and even within language, were considered and addressed, contained, or even put to use. I begin with

outlining how the dialogical epistemology (outlined in Chapter 2) shaped the research design, namely the use of the ethnographic 'single case' study and the dialogical triangulation of data sources. I then outline the logistical and ethical preparations that were made for data collection, before providing details on the methods used for each of the three empirical chapters, the practicalities of data analysis in each, and end with a reflexive account aimed at situating myself in the research. Building on the outlining of the conceptual framework (in Chapter 2), this case study needs to be understood as three 'nested' pieces of empirical work, meaning that whilst each study involved different data collection methods, two used the same analytical tools (i.e. themata and semantic barriers/promoters – Chapters 4 and 5), and the third analysis (i.e. CATs – Chapter 6) draws on the findings of the previous two analyses as a contextual resource. In this way, the overall analysis offered should be judged on the basis of what each empirical study contributes to the bigger whole; the findings of which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

3.1 Research Design: A Dialogical Approach

Chapter 2 outlines in detail how the fundamental distinction of a dialogical epistemology is its analytical focus on *interactions* between a Self and others inclusive of artifacts (e.g. curricula, intervention proposal, reporting template etc.). Yet that the surrounding context (conceptualised in terms of temporo-symbolic, relational and material aspects) is also essential in terms of situating these Self-Other[s] interactions. And as Bakhtin and Medvedev (1991 cited in Roberts 2004:98) emphasise, marking out the context is not a simple task: "It is necessary to be able to isolate the object of study and correctly establish its boundaries in such a way that these boundaries do not sever the object from vital connections with other objects, connections, without which it becomes unintelligible. The setting of boundaries must be dialectical [i.e. in tension through interdependence] and flexible. It cannot be based on the crude external data of the isolated object" (p. 77). As has been emphasised thus far, in the case of a CSE intervention, the local-global knowledge encounter is argued to be the crucial boundary in need of study. And Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical basis from which it is conceptualised that this interactive 'boundary' (as opposed to one which separates) is identifiable through interpersonal relationships and points of interaction in, and

with, CSE artifacts. Ethnographic observations together with qualitative methods where the focus is on the meanings that people give to the social world (Bauer et al. 2000), are therefore key. Accordingly, in this section, I will outline how a dialogical approach was applied to the ethnographic research design.

3.1.1 The Ethnographic 'Single Case' Study

In the social sciences, the 'singular focus' of the case study has produced critiques over its lack of generalisability and poor validity through lack of comparatives (Miles 2015). Yet in a dialogical approach, Markova (2016) emphasises the essentiality of 'single case studies' in that the "Uniqueness of the Self-Other interdependence is the foremost feature of dialogical epistemology" (p. 207). Furthermore, citing Lewin (1938), she illustrates how this one point of reference (i.e. Self-Other) is crucial for gaining insight into the complex interconnectedness and multi-dimensionalities of context (e.g. temporo-symbolic, relational and material): "the structure of human behaviour is formed by 'a whole-of-processes' that operate at different levels and depths [which] can be captured by single case studies as concrete events" (p. 205). Therefore, it is theorised that through the study of specific Self-Other interactions, insight can be given into the contexts which situate them, and in the case of interventions, provide a dynamic and situated conceptualisation of practice (which as outlined in Chapter 1, is lacking in the literature). This thesis however, in identifying the 'boundary' of the intervention as the local-global knowledge encounter, also works to place a critical lens on the knowledge of the intervention itself, which I would argue, does have more generalised implications. As Yin (2009) identifies, the case study approach is important "when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 13), and certainly, as discussed thus far, the context to CSE is underpinned by shifting knowledge struggles both 'within' and with the sub-Saharan African context, and which grow ever more complex with the integrations of 'culturally relevant' social knowledge into CSE. Therefore, I suggest that a dialogical approach to the case study also facilitates a 'working' of Self-Other knowledge encounters, through which the strategies of influence and self-protection in local-global relations can be connected to temporo-symbolic, relational, and material aspects of context. Consequently, through this one case study I suggest that insight can be given into the ways in which the knowledge struggles outlined in Chapter 1 manifest in CSE and youth social

representations, and the ways in which these tensions, as well as precarity, shape the change potentials of youth.

Gillespie and Cornish (2010), in outlining methodologies for the study of relations between perspectives (i.e. intersubjectivity), remark that ethnographic methods offer a 'holistic approach', incorporating "both a detailed historical and contextual understanding of the given interaction and a reflective participatory engagement with the research phenomena" (p. 31). In international development and intervention contexts, the contributions of ethnographic methods have been identified in a number of interconnected ways: they are 'emic' as opposed to 'etic', and so prioritise 'insider' over 'outsider' perspectives (Bell and Aggleton 2012); they enable an unpacking of changes over time between "different social actors and intersecting ideologies, relationships, interests, and resources" (Evans and Lambert 2008:469); they can capture the 'organisational cultures' that are produced in multi-agency projects (Lewis et al. 2003); and they can be used to make interventions more adaptive and responsive to the particular needs of people in particular contexts (Hong et al. 2016). Campbell (2014) also identifies their use in unpacking local-global dynamics. Nevertheless, particularly in African contexts, ethnographies carry troubled histories, having been connected to colonial enterprises which 'othered' Africans (Cole and Thomas 2009), and which continue to, today, contribute to the West's monopolisation of knowledge production about the continent (Mama 1997 – discussed in more depth in Chapter 1). For "the writing of ethnography threatens to place the ethnographer as the subject, the active thinker, the giver-of-names, and the people about whom the ethnographer writes as the objects, the others, the people who are given names" (Feierman 1990:38). Consequently, in this thesis, efforts have been made to not only triangulate my observations with other knowledge sources, but to put them into tension with one another, and so challenge them, forming a dialogical triangulation.

3.1.2 A Dialogical Triangulation

Triangulation, essentially referring to the use of multiple methods, data sources, or researchers (Flick 2005), in a positivist framing, is used to strengthen the validity of the findings, so that stronger claims to 'the truth' can be made. In non-positivist research, its use is identified more in terms of how it can enhance understanding: "each method implies a different line of action toward reality – and hence each will reveal

different aspects of it, much as a kaleidoscope, depending on the angle at which it is held, will reveal different colours and configurations of objects to the viewer. Methods are like the kaleidoscope: depending on how they are approached, held, and acted toward, different observations will be revealed" (Denzin 1989:235). Instances of a more dialectical approach to triangulation could also be found in some positivist and critical realist literatures, where the different 'aspects' are not only compared but used to corroborate causal inferences or through contradictions, produce new hypotheses over causality, for instance as seen (in Chapter 1) in the teacher-learner cycle method of interviewing in realist evaluations (REs) (Manzano 2016; Coldwell 1985). I propose that a dialectical approach to triangulation also holds scope for interpretivist and dialogical epistemologies. However owing to the emphasis on the non-linearity and emergent nature of change in dialogical theory (different from critical realism and Hegel's dialectics [see Markova 2003]), I term this approach of putting different aspects *in tension*, a dialogical triangulation, which also holds an exploratory rather than a causal purpose.

As will be outlined in more detail in section 3.3, I used analyses of organisational documents as comparatives for the implementation practices that I observed, and then produced scenario vignettes on contradictions that I found between the documents and practices, or contradictions observed within practices, and used these vignettes in the in-depth interviews as stimulus materials for discussion. In this way, my observations were 'tested' and open to be challenged by the people that I was observing – they were put in tension – not as a means of confirming or disconfirming causality, but rather as a tool for gaining greater understanding of practices, as well as my own contribution to their interpretation. For instance, one of my observations that I felt was significant involved how I saw peer educators (PEs) changing their clothes to suit different contexts, shifting between traditional Muslim/Arab clothing called 'dera' and 'modern' clothes like skinny jeans, tight pencil skirts and button-down shirts. However, these shifts were not always consistent, and sometimes PEs wore tight jeans and skirts whilst they taught or walked around in the community, which in my own understanding of the culture, potentially posed a problem. Nevertheless, when brought up in the interviews with them, the majority of PEs described how for the most part, the communities were not opposed to modern clothes anymore, and that things were changing. And 'changing' being the operative word here, as some PEs did still describe

experiencing problems related to this, such as having to bring clothes with them that they changed into once out of the community. Consequently, in analyses *of* change, and where the researcher holds outsider status (although arguably researchers are always outsiders of a sort), I propose that dialogical triangulation is important. I will identify its application throughout section 3.3.

3.1.3 Initial Plans and Alterations

I also feel it important to give a brief discussion on changes that were made to the research design in respect of the specificities of the context (connecting to the Bakhtin and Medvedev quote at the beginning of this section). I had initially planned to study reciprocity and perspective-taking in sessions when the CSE curriculum was used, and explore 'change' or transformative dialogue in the pedagogical sessions. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, I found that such sessions were enormously didactic, and involved very little turn-taking or discussion at all. This caused me to consider alternative ways through which interactions between the CSE and young people's knowledges could be explored, which led to the development of the themata and semantic barriers/promoters analysis, applied to CSE curricula and focus group discussions (FGDs) with youth.

3.1.4 Overview of Research Questions, Methods and Analytical Approach

As a whole, this thesis works to look at *how local-global (power-ethics) relationships in a CSE intervention mediate behaviour change potentials in conditions of precarity*. The core questions and methods of data collection and analysis, which work to answer this question are as follows:

Table 3.1 Research Questions and Approaches to Data Collection and Analysis

Research Questions	Data Corpus (and Methods)	Data Analysis	Analytical Focus
1. How do CSE curricula strategically position local-global knowledges for behaviour change	3 x CSE curricula: • 1 x *universal* (that practitioners are recommended to make 'culturally relevant'); • 1 x *adapted* (to the Ethiopian context); and	*Themata* (Markova 2000; 2003; 2007; 2015), and	The power-ethics strategies in the (mis-/ non-)recognition of 'local' cultural/social knowledge for influence (i.e.

in representing youth sexualities?	• 1 x *'local'* (developed by the Mabadiliko NGO used as the case study in this thesis).	*Semantic Barriers and Promoters* (Gillespie 2008).	behaviour change).
2. How do youth at the local-global in CSE represent their intimate relationships and agency to act within them?	• 6 x Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with urban-poor youth (3 x all young men; 3 x all young women). • 6 x FGDs with university students (3 x all young men; 3 x all young women). • 3 x Feedback FGDs (1 x mixed sexes urban-poor youth; 1 x mixed sex university PEs; 1 x university students [not PEs]).		The power-ethics strategies in the (mis-/ non-)recognition of local-global knowledges for self-protection (e.g. of Self and semantic environment).
3. How does the local-global contextualise the processes of engagement through which a CSE intervention is enacted, and how do the dynamics of these relations shape change potentials?	• *6-month NGO ethnography* (112 single-spaced typed pages of fieldnotes on unstructured observations and informal interviews; organisational documents; and 3 x think-aloud protocols); • 23 x *In-depth interviews* (12 x PEs; 3 x Field Staff; 3 x Senior Management; 2 x Donors; and 3 x Consultants).	Communicative Activity Type (CAT analysis (Linell 2009).	The management of local-global power-ethics (i.e. mis-/ non-recognitions) in implementation practices.

3.2 Preparations for Data Collection

In this section, I will outline the various procedures involved in preparing for data collection, related to access to the field, the recruitment of participants, and ethical considerations.

3.2.1 Access to the Field – Identifying the Case Study

I identified urban Tanzania as the best field-site for this study for a number of reasons:

1. Having lived in Tanzania between January 2008 – December 2012, working on NGO projects (also in Zambia and D.R. Congo), I had a large network of practitioners through which I could identify a case study.

2. I speak Swahili fluently and know the Tanzanian context well;

3. The long-standing peace, stability, and extensive donor investment in Tanzania (Anyimadu 2016) was anticipated to foster reasonably settled organisational work practices;

4. The urban area was specified for study with the rationale that young people would have had the most extensive and prolonged access to CSE knowledge through billboards, radios, TVs, and access to print press, and therefore have had much greater exposure to the local-global knowledge encounter than youth living in rural areas; and

5. The thesis builds on interviews that I conducted with urban-poor youth as part of my Masters study.

I sent out emails to my NGO network in Tanzania in February 2014, and from this, identified three NGO projects which were implementing CSE in urban contexts. In early July 2014, I went to Tanzania and stayed for three months. During this time, I met with the three NGOs and identified one to be the most suitable for the following reasons:

1. The project design had won awards for its 'bundled' approach which works to change individual behaviours and social norms through education, 'safe spaces', improved connections with local support and service providers, and collaborative entrepreneurial activities;

2. It was in its final year of (4-year) implementation and nearing evaluation time meaning that both implementation and evaluation procedures and results could be studied;

3. The intervention was being implemented in 9 different field-sites within the urban area, and therefore enabled extensive access in terms of observing the

intervention activities, and also meant that comparisons could be drawn between the different sites.

This NGO agreed to my studying their project under the agreement that they remain confidential, and therefore I have created the pseudonym 'Mabadiliko' (Swahili for 'changes') for the project (an anonymised version of the informed consent sheet that the Director signed is in Appendix 1). We also agreed that I would carry out the FGDs in that first 3-month period, and then return for a second 6-month period (April – end September 2015) to undertake the ethnographic observations and interviews (I also returned in December 2015 to carry out more interviews). For reference, the other two projects had the following features: one was a 'one stop' youth centre that combined providing an internationally-designed CSE curriculum with vocational trainings and a health centre, however their CSE programme would have ended its donor cycle by the time the main (second) fieldwork period was planned; and the other implemented a CSE curriculum in Secondary Schools (a site which is extremely difficult for getting access to do research in), and had no accompanying 'structurally-focussed' activities. Nevertheless, contact was maintained with both of these organisations, and were at times used as referents for Mabadiliko, for instance, in checking whether the information that they collected in their Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) systems on CSE activities, was similar to Mabadiliko (it was).

3.2.2 Recruitment of Youth Participants

The main inclusion criteria for the youth participants was that they had regularly attended a CSE intervention, and that they were between the ages of 18-29 years (Mabadiliko and the 'one-stop centre' defined youth as 15-29 years). Part of the agreement with Mabadiliko was that they would help me to recruit youth of both genders from urban-poor backgrounds and university campuses. These two demographics of youth were marked out for two main reasons: first, Mabadiliko ran CSE programmes with these two sets of youth; and two, in line with international education literature, which connects greater agency and overall social development with higher education (Schuller et al. 2004), these two groups were considered good comparatives for understanding different aspects of agency in the Tanzanian urban context. However, on the day that fieldwork began, I was told by the field staff that recruiting urban-poor young men would be difficult as the programme only worked

with urban-poor young women (contrary to how the project had been described to me by the Director in our meetings where my research was negotiated). I therefore, went back to the one-stop centre project to ask if they could help me to recruit urban-poor youth for the FGDs, and they agreed. I also decided it best to recruit all the urban-poor youth from that site, so as to not appear to show 'preference' to the young men, and also so that parallels could be drawn between the genders in the analysis (i.e. all youth were from a similar geographic location, had attended the same CSE intervention etc).

The actual recruitment process involved my giving the programme Coordinators (for the one-stop centre; and for Mabadiliko's university campus CSE projects) a brief description of the research (e.g. the aims of the project, that 2000TSH towards travel would be paid etc.), information on the inclusion criteria, and also a request that the FGDs be kept to a maximum of six people at a time, and that there be at least three groups for each gender. In both projects, I sat with the Coordinators as they purposively identified suitable youth and telephoned them. Yet snowball sampling was also used in that these youth were asked, to in turn, contact other youth which fit the criteria. The Coordinators then organised responding youth into six single-sex groups (i.e. 3 x young women; 3 x young men). In all cases, there were participants that didn't turn up, and the one-stop Coordinator told me how 'unpredictable' and difficult these young people's lives are (e.g. for young men related to informal work opportunities, and for young women involving responsibilities at home), "*it is always such a nightmare trying to organise these youth for activities, you have to just take what you get and keep moving. For some, this centre is the only stable/secure thing that they have, so it is very important that we keep moving*". Information on the youth which attended are as follows:

Table 3.2: Ages and Occupations/University Studies for FGD Participants (Shading = Feedback Session Attendees)

	Urban-Poor Young Women (UPW)		Urban-Poor Young Men (UPM)		University Young Women (UniW)		University Young Men (UniM)	
1	18	Secondary Student	29	Artist	25	Social Work and Peer Educator	22	Journalism
2	20	Peer Educator	28	Artist	22	Social Work	34	Comms.
3	20	Business	23	Business	22	Business and Peer Educator	28	Social Work

4	24	Tailor Student	28	Construction	23	Social Work and Peer Educator	22	Human Resources
5	23	Business	24	Artist & Peer Educator	20	Human Resources	23	Law and Peer Educator
6	24	Security Guard	25	Artist	21	Human Resources	25	Accounting & Peer Educator
7	26	Artist	24	Artist	24	Social Work	24	Business and Peer Educator
8	19	Business	28	Carpenter	20	Accounting	22	Law
9	23	Business	29	Business	19	Human Resources	26	Social Work
10	29	Artist	22	Construction	25	Business	30	Social Work
11	18	Secondary Student	27	Business	22	Social Work and Peer Educator	29	Human Resources
12	27	---	29	Business			24	Journalism
13	28	Tailor Student						
T	FGDs = 25 (13 x F; 12 x M) Feedback Session = 10 (4 x F; 6 x M)				FGDs = 23 (11 x F; 12 x M) Feedback Session = 17 (8 x F; 9 x M)			

In my second period of fieldwork, I organised feedback sessions with the urban-poor youth and university students that had attended the FGDs, and I contacted each participant directly using the contact details that they had given on their consent forms. These sessions were mixed (at the request of the participants in the FGDs – more on this discussed shortly), and returning participants can be identified through the 'shading' in table 3.2 (totalling 27 youth [the university feedback session was split into two groups therefore 3 feedback sessions were held in total]).

3.2.3 Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the ethics committee of the Department of Social Psychology (now the Department of Psychological and Behavioural Sciences) at the London School of Economics and Political Science, as well as the National Institute for Medical Research in Tanzania (see Appendix 1 for a scan of the certificate obtained). Researching sexualities with youth carries compounded 'sensitivities'. Not only are sexualities what De Laine (2000) terms 'back regions', so private spaces where

normally only those involved participate, but also, youth hold a particularly contested relation to them, caught in the transitional space between [the asexual] child- and [sexualised] adult-hood. Furthermore, in Tanzania, youth are extremely marginalised, bound by hierarchical structures which require obedience and submission to elders, meaning that they are largely not accustomed to voicing their opinions and debating topics. Therefore, a number of ethical considerations were incorporated into preparations for data collection, drawing from the British Psychological Society's (BPS 2009) Code of Ethics, as well as literature which focusses on doing research when 'differences' (i.e. between researcher and participants, between participants) could be connected to pervasive structures of symbolic violence, such as in postcolonial contexts or related to gendered inequalities. I now integrate the two in discussion, according to the four domains of ethics identified by the BPS (2009): respect; responsibility; competence; and integrity.

3.2.3.1 Respect

BPS defines respect as how "Psychologists value the dignity and worth of all persons, with sensitivity to the dynamics of perceived authority or influence over clients, and with particular regard to people's rights including those of privacy and self-determination" (2009:10). In the research context, this was established through firstly, setting the inclusion criteria for participants as 18 years and above, therefore ensuring that they were legally able to consent. Secondly, respect was upheld through the informed consent sheet (in Appendix 1), which emphasised that participants were free to not answer questions if they did not so wish, and that they could leave, or change their mind about participating at any time. Their confidentiality was also ensured, and information given on the procedures which would be put in place so as to ensure it (e.g. in the transcription and translation process). The information that was given in the informed consent sheet was also read aloud in consideration that some of the participants might have limited literacy skills. Space was also given for participants to ask any questions, or voice any concerns that they had.

In one of the sessions with young men, one participant said the following: *"You have given us this [informed consent form] paper telling us that what we talk about here is a secret and between us but now that depends on us, there might be a person among us who can't keep a secret. This guy might go out and meet a guy outside who asks him what*

we did in here, 'tell me and I'll give you 1000 TSH', and because of [money] problems,
1000 TSH sounds huge so he will tell him our secrets just to fulfil his own needs." In my
view, this importantly illustrates the complexities of affirming 'respect' in conditions of
precarity. In response to this participant's remark, we discussed the differences
between respect from me in not using their names in publications, which another
participant said wouldn't affect him because he'd likely never see the publication
anyway, versus respect in their community which had very real implications for them.
I therefore confirmed that they should not say anything which would make them feel
uncomfortable or vulnerable to the disrespect of others, and also explained that the
discussion materials had been designed so that they would be speaking in the third
person, about a hypothetical scenario, so that it was entirely their prerogative about
sharing personal details. In the FGDs which followed, I integrated this point about the
differences between my respecting their confidentiality, and their each respecting one
another's, into the introductory talk on the informed consent sheet.

3.2.3.2 Competence and Responsibility

I will discuss the ethical aspects related to competence and responsibility together
because I suggest that in postcolonial contexts and conditions of precarity, these two
in particular, need to be considered in connection. Responsibility is described by the
BPS as "the avoidance of harm and the prevention of misuse or abuse of their [the
psychologist's] contributions to society" (2009:18), and competence is related to
acknowledging and preparing for the 'limits' of the researcher's skills, knowledge,
training, education, and experience (ibid). I would argue, that this is where
considerations of differences are especially important. The most obvious difference was
my own, being a European outsider, and being a woman (in the FGDs with young men).
In that I was hoping to gain insight into the discourses by which youth represent their
sexualities and agency to act within them, I felt it important to employ local research
assistants (RAs) of each gender to facilitate the FGDs (more information on them is
given in section 3.5). For whilst I speak Swahili fluently, I acknowledged my limitations
in terms of ensuring that participants would feel comfortable and as natural as possible
in the FGDs (e.g. some may have never spoken with a white European woman before).
Nevertheless, as Boynton (2017) importantly points out, matching researchers to
participants, whilst having the ability to make participants feel more comfortable, must

also not be equated with 'sameness.' This connects with postcolonial (Mohanty 1984) and intersectional (Crenshaw 1991) framings of research in that categories (e.g. woman, youth, Tanzanian, European etc.) must not be viewed as experientially universal; a conceptualisation which is also foundational in dialogicality (Markova 2003). Consequently, it was my ethical responsibility to also ensure that the RAs were competent, and aware of their responsibilities, such as being conscious of differences, and having the skills to deal with them in discussions. I spent a full day training the RAs on facilitation and active listening techniques which included practice discussions with peers. We also collaboratively agreed on a plan of action for if any of the participants expressed distress or disclosed personal information in the discussions which was a cause for concern. My phone number and email was also given to participants (on their copy of the informed consent sheet) so that they could contact me with any questions or concerns that they might have at a later date.

Campbell et al. (2012) argue that when working with "marginalised communities in serious distress... [ethical considerations need to include dissemination of research *as* intervention involving] a dialogical approach which... [seeks] to strengthen participants' confidence and ability to respond more effectively to HIV/AIDS" (p. 702). As this thesis will illustrate, responding to HIV and AIDS is potentially beyond the scope of discourse, particularly in settings where there are extreme material constraints; as Cornish (2004) was quoted saying in Chapter 1, 'reflection is not always liberation'. Nevertheless, I agree with Campbell et al.'s (2012) premise in that preparations must be made so as to ensure that participants do not feel exploited, and consequently, active attempts made towards making the research of use to them. Boynton (2012) in line with this, argues that this could mean that "in some studies it is the participant who largely directs the research process" (p. 162). In the case of this thesis, at the end of each FGD, I asked participants if they would be ok with me contacting them in my second period of fieldwork so as to organise a session for them where I could feedback my results. In the second FGD, participants mentioned that they would like for that session to be mixed-sex. I therefore, in all of the FGDs that remained also posed this as a possibility, and all participants unanimously, and in fact, enthusiastically, said that they would like that. One young woman remarked, *"we never get a chance to talk about these topics with boys. I'd like to hear what they have to say about us."*

Considerations of differences between genders in Tanzania, had been the main reason for conducting single-sex FGDs, not only being an important comparative in understanding social representations of sexualities and agency, but also in terms of creating a space that participants felt comfortable in. The literature recommends that FGDs with youth be single-sex, as inter-gender dynamics can be 'disruptive' (Heary and Hennessy 2002), and furthermore, in the Tanzanian context where gendered inequalities are pervasive, it was anticipated that male voices could dominate. Therefore, in preparing for the mixed-sex feedback sessions, new considerations for dealing with these issues (e.g. protecting participants from distress, or dominance), had to be made. In regard to the discussion materials, I once again, designed them so that participants did not need to speak from personal experience, and I also incorporated some small-group breakout discussions, as well as one single-sex activity which asked each gender to take the perspective of the other (see section 3.3.3.3 for more details). I also met with the RAs prior to the sessions to give a recap on facilitations skills as well as go over again our plan of action for dealing with instances of distress or concern in the discussions (since nearly eight months had passed since the FGDs).

Of course, other aspects of responsibility included ensuring that the FGDs and in-depth interviews were not disrupted. For the interviews, I held them away from the office and the field-sites in a neutral setting, either a quiet café, whose owner was my friend and helped prevent disturbances, or in one of the 'safe spaces'. The FGDs were held in the counselling room at the nearest university and in the back room of the 'one-stop centre', and in both cases I sat by the door so that I could quickly deal with anybody that came in after we had started. Another responsibility was maintaining the participants' confidentiality. My RAs and I began transcribing ourselves but this became an enormous task when they both found paid employment, so I asked a university Professor who I have worked with before for a professional transcriber that he would recommend. She had extensive experience working with confidential material for academic and international development projects, and I drew up a confidentiality agreement for her to sign (see Appendix 1). The transcriptions were immediately anonymised, and the RAs and I collectively did the translations, reading each other's work. The same procedure was used for the feedback sessions.

Maintaining the confidentiality of the Mabadiliko staff also required consideration in that there were only three field-staff (easily identifiable by gender), and three senior management (easily identifiable by their role). I used gender-neutral pronouns for field-staff in the write-up (except in describing gendered interactions which I had observed), and also referred generally to the senior management as 'senior staff'. All of these interviews were held in 'Swanglish' (a mix of Swahili and English), so I did all of the transcription and translation myself and sent it to the staff member to read over and check. For the PE interviews (which I held in Swahili and which it felt appropriate to do alone after having spent 6 months with them), the transcriber was employed to do the transcription once more, and then I anonymised the transcripts, translated them, and sent them to one of the RAs to look over (the other RA had recently gained employment with Mabadiliko so I didn't feel it appropriate for them to contribute to any of the data handling for the Mabadiliko ethnography). All of the consultant and donor interviews were held in English. The informed consent forms for the in-depth interviews are in Appendix 1.

3.2.3.3 Integrity

And lastly, integrity relates to the importance of "honesty, accuracy, clarity, and fairness in interactions with all persons" (BPS 2009:21). In regard to this, I was intentional in organising that I would be the person to facilitate the introductory discussion about the informed consent sheets. Firstly, so that I could illustrate my abilities in Swahili, so that all participants would be aware that whilst I would not be leading the discussion (I sat to the side or behind, in a position where I had eye contact with the RA so that we could communicate non-verbally if needed – practicing this was part of the training that I gave them), that I could understand all that was being said. Secondly, I used this opportunity to tell them a bit about myself, for instance, why I could speak Swahili, and why I was interested in the topic. I made sure to emphasise that I was not necessarily in a position to bring about rapid change, but that I was passionate about working *with* young Tanzanians towards creating NGO programmes that worked *for* them. I then introduced the RA, and explained that we knew each other from working as peer educators (see section 3.5), and that after the FGD we'd be happy to talk about this experience if they wished. The RAs then spoke a little about

themselves as well, and opportunities were given for asking questions before the discussion began.

3.3 Data Collection

In this section, I will provide discussion on the data collection methods which were used for each empirical chapter: the methods used for the NGO ethnography (Chapter 6); the creation of the CSE curricula data corpus (Chapter 4); and the focus group discussions and feedback sessions with youth (Chapter 5). For each, I will also give information on the procedures by which these methods were undertaken, as well as the measures which were made towards assuring quality.

3.3.1 NGO Ethnography: Organisational Documents, Think-Aloud Protocols, Unstructured Observations, Informal Interviews, and Dialogically-Triangulating In-Depth Interviews (Chapter 6)

As discussed in section 3.1.2, a dialogical approach to triangulation was used in the NGO ethnography, where different data sources were not only compared, but also 'put in tension with one another' (in the in-depth interviews, discussed shortly), towards gaining greater understanding of implementation practices, and the power and ethical dynamics at play. Five main methods were used towards producing four data sources: the organisational documents for the Mabadiliko programme were collected; 'think aloud protocols' of Mabadiliko peer educators (PEs) filling in monthly report templates were audio-recorded; the field-notes were written based on unstructured observations and informal interviews; and finally, in-depth interviews were carried out. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

3.3.1.1 Organisational Documents

In the first period of data collection (when the terms of the NGO ethnography were being agreed and I was carrying out the FGDs), I collected the core organisational documents for the Mabadiliko programme inclusive of the proposal, the logframe, the curriculum, and the PE training curriculum. I was then given all of the reporting documents for the second period of data collection (April – September 2015), as well

as for the final quarter of the programme (the programme ended in December 2015). These amounted to: 9 x activities-indicators databases; 9 x monthly narrative reports for the donor; 3 x quarterly stakeholder meeting reports; and 22 x supplementary reporting documents. I also gained access to all of the (independent consultancy firm's) endline evaluation reports and Powerpoint presentation materials.

3.3.1.2 Think-Aloud Protocols and Procedure

'Think-aloud' protocols (TAPs) essentially involve asking people to speak aloud as they perform a task. The method is commonly used with quite a cognitive emphasis, in that a person's inner thought processes are conceived as accessible through their verbal reporting of it (Ericsson and Simon 1993). This was not the way in which the TAPs were used in this study. Rather, they were undertaken with PEs (and audio-recorded) so as to gain insight into the ways in which they interpreted and used the reporting templates in communicating with Mabadiliko about the work that they had done in one month. In addition to their explaining their thought processes in filling-in the template, I also asked unstructured questions (e.g. how did you calculate that number, why did you put that in that box and not the other etc..), which also looked to understand how the PEs recorded their work over the course of the month. Only three were needed until saturation was met in terms of identifying problems with using the templates (i.e. [mis]interpretations or lack of clarity from which 'poor' reporting could stem). Yet they also provided essential information towards understanding the processes by which PEs interpret and engage with 'evidence' (discussed in Chapter 6). The difference in the in-depth interviews with PEs, where more general questions about reporting were asked, was striking, and highlighted the need for observational analyses of Monitoring and Evaluation activities.

3.3.1.3 Unstructured Observations and Procedures

Unstructured observations signify the non-positivist nature of the ethnography, in that rather than 'observing' and categorizing practice into a predesigned observation instrument (as described in Chapter 1, is commonly used for assessing 'fidelity to design' in CSE implementation), the researcher "*is* the instrument" (Robson 2002:313 – author's emphasis), and through participation, gathers information on practice and meaning-making. Gillespie and Cornish (2010) describe how this approach involves an

"oscillation between participation and observation... [in that] the researcher moves between learning about local meanings, participating in local activities, and reflecting upon those experiences" (p. 31). And the detailed writing of field-notes is essential for documenting these 'oscillating' processes, which can at times be an enormously complex act, involving "both being with other people to see how they respond to events as they happen and experiencing for oneself these events and the circumstances that give rise to them" (Emerson et al. 2011:3). Establishing a systematic process for writing field-notes was therefore key:

1. When in 'the field', I only openly wrote notes in a book in activities where I sat at the back and 'purely observed', (e.g. formal meetings, workshops, evaluations etc), and in such cases I often, in short-hand wrote segments of speech verbatim. In all other scenarios, where my presence was more noticeable or in which I was a participant (e.g. all of the PE sessions, trips in the car with staff etc.), I would write brief notes in my mobile phone, as the use of phones is common in all contexts in Tanzania, yet pulling out a notebook and taking notes was a clear distraction in the PE sessions;

2. I would then always strive to write my field-notes in-full that evening. On the few occasions when I was unable to, I noticed a significant difference in the level of detail that I could recall.

3. The next morning, I would then read over the notes from the previous day, and flip through accounts of the days before that, and work to begin integrating interpretative practice at that stage, with a mind to thinking about change, processes and patterns of action or relationships. As Emerson et al. (2011) identify: "as writing continues and field-notes accumulate, the ethnographer might begin to see earlier tales differently than when he wrote them... The cohesion of field-note tales, then, is temporary and conditional" (p. 121). In this practice, I would only make additions or minor grammatical edits to previous passages, and write anew any changes in thought from earlier writing, and insights which made overarching connections.

I was able to audio-record one PE session towards the end of the fieldwork period. I had tried bringing the voice recorder out on previous occasions but it had caused

massive distractions. As already mentioned, the PE sessions were enormously didactic, so I had already adapted my overall research design, shifting my point of analytical focus from 'actual' curriculum interactions, to 'imagined' interactions contained within dialogues in CSE curricula and FGDs. Therefore, I did not necessarily need a recording, yet I still wanted to get at least one so that I could have a detailed record of the 'intonation' of these interactions (as I said, even note-taking was a distraction so I was unable to transcribe dialogue as it happened). In the end, I came up with a plan with one PE who I had worked particularly closely with. We talked with the group about recording a session at the end of the session prior to it. This meant that they could look at and test out the voice recorder themselves, and agree to the following session being recorded, but that the distraction of the device would be avoided, in that I would sit at the back with it. At the beginning of the 'recorded session', I obtained their consent formally using a 'consent flower' tool that I had designed on a consultancy previously, which uses fingerprints instead of signatures and has the words (I volunteer; I understand; and confidential) in the centre and which are used for discussion on informed consent (in Appendix 1).

It is important to note that whilst this study used unstructured observations as a method, the overall ethnography was not unstructured, in that I went to the field with the goal of understanding the local-global knowledge encounter in CSE, what Duveen and Lloyd (1993) would term a 'motivational ethnography'. This meant that observational and participatory focus was placed on communicative and interpretative acts, which was also represented in my reflections in the field-notes and photographs taken (only photographs of artifacts [e.g. flipcharts, or white- or black-boards] were taken so as to maintain the confidentiality of participants). For instance, in observing one of the quarterly meetings with local stakeholders, I sat at the back of the room, and took (as verbatim as possible) notes on the dialogues that took place. I then also, made sure to be present when the staff met afterwards, each sharing the notes that they had taken on the meeting. I took photos of their notes, and as much as possible sat with them as they wrote segments of their report. In this way, when I received the reporting materials sent to the donor a month later, I was able to compare the photos and notes that I had taken, and identify any additions, exclusions, and edits (which could be used as discussion points in the in-depth interviews with staff, i.e. dialogical triangulation).

'Motivation' also underpinned my prioritisation of the work activities that I observed, in that the Mabadiliko programme environment was made-up of the office, 9 field-sites, and three field staff members who often travelled between them all. In that my overall interest was in the 'cultural relevance' of CSE, if needing to decide between a number of different peer educator sessions to observe, I would prioritise those that were covering topics on 'social knowledge', (e.g. rather than attend a session on contraceptives or STIs, I would go to observe one on gender, life skills, or communication). I communicated this motivation to the Mabadiliko staff and PEs in terms of 'shadowing', in that I asked them to let me know whenever they would be performing a programme activity or reporting on it so that I could 'shadow', and gain insight into how they did it. So as not to place the entire responsibility on them, I would call each staff member, and each PE every Monday morning and find out what their plan for the week was so that I could make my own plan. Nevertheless, often workplans were not kept to, which I would argue is common in contexts of widespread poverty, where life is insecure. As will be discussed in-depth in Chapter 6, situations of activities not going to plan gave me insight into the more 'invisible' activities which were needed for the intervention's implementation. And, the hours spent 'waiting' for activities to take place were, I would suggest, important bonding moments with the PEs and girls who attended the programme.

3.3.1.4 Informal Interviews and Procedure

Robson (2002) defines an informal interview as instances where "one takes an opportunity that arises to have a (usually short) chat with someone in the research setting about anything which seems relevant" (p. 282). These were often possible during transport to and from the field or in passing in the office with Mabadiliko staff, or with PEs and attending girls when we were waiting (often for hours) for an activity to begin. I recognised quite early on the opportunity that these spaces gave in terms of having more natural talks with people about work, and even at times, wondered if I shouldn't have my 'researcher hat' on. But I began the process of writing questions down in my phone so that I could ('naturally') connect the developing interpretations in my field-notes with informal interactions with people. I also used these opportunities to immediately 'check' my interpretations of interactions that I had

observed, for instance, asking a field staff member if I was correct in sensing tension with a local government official, and asking them more about the background to that.

3.3.1.5 In-Depth Interviews and Procedure

Interviews which are 'in-depth' indicate that emphasis is placed on giving the interviewee sufficient time to develop their own account of important aspects related to the interviewer's prompts (Green and Thorogood 2007). In this way, the interviewer develops a topic guide for the discussion however this is not kept to steadfastly, and it is used more as a guide than providing a structure to the interview, so that the interviewee 'takes centre stage' (Gaskell 2000). In this study 23 in-depth interviews were carried out with: 12 x PEs; 3 x Mabadiliko field staff; 3 x Mabadiliko senior staff; 3 x consultants; and 2 x donors. As already mentioned, the interviews that were held with Mabadiliko staff, PEs, and donors were not only used to gain insight into their experiences of implementing the programme, but also as a method of 'dialogical triangulation', in that tensions that I had identified in the other ethnographic methods, were integrated into the topic guide, and interviewees were asked to comment on their interpretation of this practice. The consultant interviews were carried out so as to provide some wider context about youth sexual behaviour change in Tanzania which also supported 'situating' the Mabadiliko programme and its procedures (the interview topic guides can be found in Appendix 2).

The PE interviews opened with an 'identity mapping' task; a method developed by Sirin et al. (2010) which they identify as building on projective methods used by psychologists such as Stanley Milgram and Donald Winnicott. Sirin et al. (2010) describe how identity maps are particularly useful with youth "who live in intricate and often contested political, geographical, and national spaces... [and that] The maps in concert with the interviews enabled new deconstructive insights to emerge" (p. 22; 25). Whilst these maps were not included in the analysis write-up, they were particularly useful in capturing more 'process' information about PE implementation activities. Akin to the 'think aloud protocols', having an artifact from which to base discussions produced detailed insight into PE experiences. The instructions given were: "Please draw or map your experience of working as a volunteer from the beginning to where you are today and also then onto where you hope it will take you. Include people, places, obstacles and opportunities on the way. You can use different colours to show

different feelings, or use lines and arrows. These are just suggestions. Be as creative as you like and if you don't want to draw you can make more of a flow chart." It was interesting to see how PEs interpreted this: some were very literal and drew a map of their placement, providing information about their movements, their allies, their adversaries etc.; some created drawings which represented their disappointments, hopes, gratifications, fears etc.; and others described their PE experience from being recruited, to going to training, and all the ups and downs of their work up to that present time. It was an extremely useful tool for getting the PEs comfortable with talking for lengths of time and the maps were often referenced back to, over the course of the interview.

3.3.1.6 Quality Assurance

As already discussed in section 3.1.2, all the methods used in the ethnographic collection of data, were positioned 'in tension' with one another throughout the 6-month data collection period so as to reveal contradictions, misunderstandings, or problematic communications within implementation processes, or even in my own interpretations. Some of these were then incorporated into the topic guides used in the in-depth interviews. All of the in-depth interviews were held after the second period of data collection (April – September 2015) during which the ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken. I returned to Tanzania for a 1-month stay in December 2015 with the sole purpose of carrying out the interviews. It was an ideal time because the programme had only recently closed-down, the endline evaluation results were known by everybody, and all involved were in a process of reflection, and also reformulation as Mabadiliko worked towards finding a new donor for a second round of implementation. As mentioned previously, all interviews were held in a 'neutral' and quiet space so as to maximise participant comfortability in talking. Interviews with consultants and donors were held in their offices. Mabadiliko staff 'checked' their interview transcripts, and my translations of the PE interviews were 'checked' by one of my RAs. I have also shared preliminary findings with Mabadiliko senior management, who were very thankful and commented "We have never gotten this level of detail on our project from an evaluation before. Thank you for your honesty, the feedback is constructive and has given us a lot to think about." We are also planning

for me to return before the end of this year and do a feedback session with the PEs, also with thought to develop better support systems for them in their work activities.

3.3.2 Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) Curricula Documents (Chapter 4)

In addition to Mabadiliko's curriculum, two other curricula were selected purposively to make up the dataset for the themata and semantic barriers/promoters analysis. Through discussions with a number of experts in the field, It's All One (IAO) and the World Starts with Me (WSM) curricula were identified as cutting edge, effectively considered at that time as the 'gold standards' of the comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) curricula which engaged with the issue of 'cultural relevance' albeit from slightly different positions: IAO is a resource that contains information relevant "for educating young people globally – from Africa to the Pacific, from Asia to the Americas, from Europe to the Arab World" (p. C2) that it is envisaged, educators will use in designing curricula relevant to their local context; whilst the WSM curriculum used for this analysis is 'post-adaptation', created for the specificities of the Ethiopian context. Their excellence in the field is validated in that the WSM was one of eighteen curricula upon which UNESCO based it's (2009) technical guidance for CSE worldwide (and was the one example found in the literature where the adaptation process was published in an academic journal – discussed in Chapter 1). And IAO was the only curriculum resource identified in the IPPF (2010) framework for CSE as explicitly focussing on the "social [as well as individual] determinants of health and wellbeing" (p. 11), and was used by UNESCO as a resource for the development of their Sexuality Education Review and Assessment Tool (also discussed in Chapter 1).

Only the modules that integrated 'social knowledge', were included for analysis. Social knowledge was conceptualised as information which is non-scientific, and which pertains to personal and interpersonal relations (e.g. self-esteem, decision-making, communication, gender, culture etc.). The table below outlines the modules which were included and excluded for the analysis:

Table 3.3: Inclusion and Exclusion in Curricula Data Corpus

	It's All One UNIVERSAL CURR.	The World Starts with Me ADAPTED CURR.	Mabadiliko LOCAL CURR.
Included	• Sexual Health and Wellbeing Require Human Rights. • Gender. • Sexuality. • Interpersonal Relationships. • Communication and Decision-Making Skills. • Advocating for Sexual Health, Rights, and Gender Equality.	• Emotional Ups and Downs. • Friends and Relationships. • Boys and Girls, Men and Women. • Culture and Harmful Traditional Practices. • Seek for Your Entitlement! • Sexuality Is? • Love Shouldn't Hurt. • Your Future, Dreams, and Plans.	• 'Changes'. • Life Skills. • 'Risky Behaviours'. • Gender and Gender-Based Violence.
Contrib. to data corpus	280 printed pages (Activity and Content books)	251 [computer-led] session screenshots & 66 single space typed pages of notes for teachers	48 single space typed pages.
Excluded	2 modules: Puberty and Reproduction; and Sexual and Reproductive Health.	5 modules: Puberty; Pregnancy; STIs; HIV; and Drugs/Substance Abuse.	6 modules: Puberty; Reproduction; Sexual Health; Contraceptives; and the remaining 3 focussed on organisational programme procedures.

Of note, in terms of referencing the curricula data presented in Chapter 4: no referencing information is given on the Mabadiliko (local) curriculum for confidentiality purposes; the IAO (universal) curriculum data is referenced giving a page number with either the letter 'A' or 'C' in front to indicate whether the text comes from the Activities or the Content book; and for the WSM (adapted) curriculum, the screenshots are indicated through both a module number and a slide number (e.g.

M5S10), whilst the accompanying notes for teachers only indicate a module number as the data was presented in an open word document prone to edits.

3.3.3 Focus Group Discussions and Feedback Sessions (Chapter 5)

Green and Thorogood (2007) describe FGDs as "a small (usually 6-12 people) group brought together to discuss a particular issue... under the direction of a facilitator, who has a list of topics to discuss. Typically groups last between one and two hours... [and] have the potential for producing considerable information in a fairly short space of time... [and] For potentially sensitive subjects such as HIV/AIDS, the group setting may also encourage open discussion" (p. 111; 115). In a dialogical framing, Markova et al. (2007) identify how FGDs "allow the researcher to examine dynamic interactions that take place during communication as well as the formation, maintenance and change of socially shared knowledge" (p. 45), and therefore emphasise the 'situated', 'social', and 'emergent' nature of knowledge produced in FGDs. Consequently, they were considered to be the best method through which youth social representations of their sexualities and agency at the local-global knowledge encounter, could be explored.

As already discussed in section 3.2.3.2, participants were not asked to speak of their own relationships. There was an ethical consideration in this, namely, I wanted to ensure that youth were not exposed or made vulnerable in these sessions, in that other participants were likely to live in the same community or attend the same university. Nevertheless, there were also methodological reasons behind not just having an open-ended discussion about relationships:

1. My goal was not to collect stories or perspectives on youth relationships, but rather to elicit insight into how youth make sense of their relationships, and the knowledges that they draw on in doing this;

2. I needed data which would have core similarities from which I could draw comparisons between genders and demographic groups (i.e. urban-poor youth and university students);

3. I wanted to explore how and when NGO knowledge was drawn on, yet if it wasn't, also ensure that there was a section of discussion where it would definitely be addressed *in connection* with a specific relationship scenario (i.e.

not addressed in an abstract way, e.g. what do you think about NGO education sessions?).

I identified the projective method of story completion (SC) as being able to address each of these aspects, in that it "provides an open-ended way of accessing participants' meaning making... Rather than being asked to report directly on their understandings, in SC research, participants are provided with the opening sentences of a story about a hypothetical scenario... and asked to complete it" (Clarke et al. 2015:154). The method was developed by Kitzinger and Powell (1995) in their study of partner infidelity, and described its usefulness for studying research topics where there may be "barriers to direct self-report [e.g. lack of self-awareness or difficulty in admitting]... Projective methods, by providing ambiguous stimulus material, are supposed to create conditions under which the needs of the perceiver influence what is perceived, and people ascribe their own motivations, feelings, and behaviours to other persons in the stimulus material, externalising their own anxieties, concerns, and actions through fantasy responses" (p. 348). In both Clarke et al. (2015) and Kitzinger and Powell's (1995) studies, participants were asked to complete the story individually in writing. However, in that I am looking to understand the mechanisms or communicative devices by which youth negotiate different knowledges (e.g. historically and culturally shared social knowledge at the local-global knowledge encounter), the completion of the stories as a group exercise was an important adaptation. Prompt questions were also designed to go with each story 'stem' or 'cue' that facilitators could use in facilitating discussions. Another necessary adaptation involved preparatory research into youth relationship stories in urban Tanzania, so as to ensure that the story 'stems' or 'cues' were relatable. I will now give details on how the discussion materials were developed, and then outline the procedure for the FGDs, quality assurance, and then also give information on the same for the feedback sessions.

3.3.3.1 Development of Discussion Materials

My MSc dissertation was based on narrative interviews which involved collecting stories from six urban-poor youth (3 x young women; 3 x young men – recruited from a local NGO) on the general topics of relationships, love, and marriage and children. In that study, I used open-ended questions and then also integrated a story completion task for each topic to enable comparisons to be made between participants as well as

between genders (see Appendix 2 for the topic guide used). My RAs had also worked with me on this MSc project so they were knowledgeable about the content. At the beginning of the first period of PhD fieldwork in July 2014, the three of us met and over the course of a weekend, read through all of the transcripts of the MSc interviews and collaborated in creating a 5-part 'stem' story for each of the urban-poor gendered groups, which were made up of 'typical' aspects drawn from the MSc interviews (e.g. the young men approached the young women whilst the young women got called out to; the young men met their person of attraction on a bus whilst the young women met them in the market etc.). Therefore, whilst the content was specific to the gender, there was still comparability in the 5-parts: 1) the protagonist *before* being in a relationship; 2) the protagonist *meeting* a person of attraction; 3) the protagonist meeting the person *on a date*; 4) the protagonist having *relationships difficulties*; 5) and the protagonist *going to an NGO seminar*). The NGO was left to the end of the story so that it could be seen if, and how youth would naturally integrate NGO knowledge before any mention of it specifically.

Table 3.4: Outline of the Urban-Poor Youth Stem Stories

	Urban-Poor Young Women	Urban-Poor Young Men
1.	Rehema lives with her parents and younger siblings who go to school but she doesn't.	Bahati's Mother works as a cleaner, and he lives with two younger siblings and a house-girl from the village.
2.	Walking in the market she hears someone say 'I love you beautiful'.	Sees a girl of attraction on the bus on his way to a job interview. He tells her that he loves her.
3.	When they next meet...	She gives him her number. When he gets money he calls her to meet.
4.	She needs money for sanitary pads. He says that he loves her but is too busy to meet.	As time passes he is only able to see her when he has money.
5.	There is a youth NGO in the comm. and she decides to go.	There is a youth NGO in the community and he decides to go.

We then carried out interviews with six university students (3 x young women; 3 x young men) who were recruited through Mabadiliko, using the same topic guide that had been used in my MSc research. After these interviews, we met together and brainstormed differences and similarities between the two demographic groups of youth. Similarities with the urban-poor youth were that the young men always approached the young women, that young women would often not respond too

eagerly, and that relationship problems were often caused by money (i.e. the young woman needing it and the young man not being able to provide it). Differences were that university students spoke a lot about the struggles of juggling home and university lives, and about how money problems are compounded by stresses about passing exams, and both sexes described stories where female students were coerced or tricked into being alone with a young man, and also gave stories of how female students staying in the university hostels would 'prostitute themselves'. Therefore, in addition to minor differences in specific contexts of the story 'stems', which were again based on the narrative interviews (e.g. the young man meets the young woman in a canteen, the young woman gets called out in the hallway etc.), other more significant differences were also incorporated (e.g. home and university life is prompted; young women stay in the university hostel; young women are coerced into being alone with the young man; and relationship troubles are about exam stress as well as money troubles).

Table 3.5: Outline of the University Student Stem Stories

	Uni Young Women	Uni Young Men
1.	Rehema is in her second year at university. She receives a government loan and stays in the university hostels.	Juma is in his second year of university. He receives a government loan and stays at home with his family [in a poor area].
2.	Walking in the university corridor she hears someone say 'I love you beautiful'.	He sees a pretty girl in the canteen.
3.	He invites her to come meet his friends but when she gets to the house nobody is there.	When they meet...
4.	She's failing her courses and her loan money has run out and every time she calls him he says he loves her but is too busy to see her.	Juma tries to see her when he has money but she is failing her courses and her loan money has run out.
5.	She hears about an NGO seminar at university and decides to go.	He hears about an NGO seminar at university and decides to go.

For each of the five 'relationship stages', prompt questions focussed on sense-making as well as agency in social interactions, so asked about how the protagonist felt, what they thought, what they thought the other person (or other people) thought, what advice they would be given, how they would act, and why they would act that way.

One potential criticism of this method is that it is very hetero- and gender-normative, and I agree that this would be a problem if the purpose of the research was to find out about what youth relationships are like. Instead, the analytical focus in this project is to look at the ways in which young people make sense of these five different stages of a relationship story along with their agency to act within these scenarios, and to explore what knowledges they draw on in doing this. Therefore, the results presented in Chapter 5 do not illustrate what relationships are like in Tanzania, but rather work to reveal how different groups of young Tanzanians *strategically* manage local-global knowledges in representing their identities, relationships, and [structural] contexts. Furthermore, no stories of homosexuality, and only one account of a young woman approaching a young man (after ten years of being in school together) was given in the interviews upon which the stem stories were based. The topic guides for the youth FGDs can be found in Appendix 2.

3.3.3.2 Procedure and Quality Assurance

As discussed in section 3.2.3.2, the FGDs were led by my RAs. I sat to the side and took notes so that I could identify the speakers in the recordings, and also on interactions between the participants as well as between the RA and the participants. At the end of each FGD I sat with the RAs and discussed our immediate thoughts on how it went and what we found most interesting or what could be improved; conversations which I recorded. An interesting point of note was that whilst some participants in all groups referenced their own lives rather than sticking to the 'stem' story, that this was much more common amongst the young men, and this was not only the case when the stories made them look good. Another interesting observation was that in three out of the twelve FGDs, participants challenged the 'stem' story, refusing that a young man would approach a young woman saying 'nakupenda' ('I love you'), and that only an old man or a young man who 'didn't know what he was doing' would use this pick-up line. Considering that the narrative interviews were undertaken in 2010, and the focus groups in 2014, it's possible that the culture of young men approaching young women had changed during this period, or was still at that moment changing, in that other groups saw it as normal, even making one FGD with young men burst out laughing at how 'realistic' this 'nakupenda' detail made the 'stem' story. And there were also other cases where aspects of the 'stem' story were challenged or debated. Therefore, I would

suggest that the FGDs themselves offered a form of communicative validation for stem stories. Yet overall, it was interesting to see that within each FGD there was not significant debate between participants. Only rarely, did a person challenge another's point of view. In instances where differences of opinion were voiced they often started with 'in my view', or 'I think that', and what followed would not necessarily follow-on from what the previous person had said.

3.3.3.3 Feedback Sessions, Procedure and Quality Assurance

In contrast, the mixed-sex feedback sessions produced a lot more debate both within and between sexes. Nevertheless, it is also possible that this difference is connected to the ways in which the discussion materials were structured. As discussed in section 3.2.3.2, small group- and pair-work as well as a single-sex activity were organised in anticipation of managing the potential domination of male voices. Yet, another possibility for the livelier interactions is that the base material for discussions was anonymised representative quotes from the FGDs rather than a hypothetical projective story. Furthermore, two of the topics put up for discussion were aspects which after familiarising myself with the FGD transcriptions, I felt I still had a lot of questions about (i.e. the meaning behind them, and what they meant for young people's agency), therefore arguably their contentious nature produced contentious discussions! The first was the word 'msimamo' which directly translates as 'position' but was sometimes used as social position, character, attribute or agency; and the second was 'tamaa' which directly translates as 'desire' but seemed to mean different things for different genders. The third and final topic that was discussed in the feedback session was more of a communicative validation. For in all of the FGDs, people who are commonly positioned as sources of support by interventions (e.g. parents, teachers, NGO workers, friends etc.), were largely represented as adversaries or even dangerous. I therefore wanted to firstly, check if this was commonly agreed upon, and secondly, understand more about the specific dynamics (e.g. youth agency) which underpinned this. The topic guides used for each demographic group are in Appendix 2.

Three were carried out in total because 19 university students responded as attending (17 turned up), therefore I split them into two groups. All participants commented to me at the end of the sessions what a rewarding experience participating had been. One young man later asked if he could use the materials to facilitate discussions in his

university, and one young woman at the end of the discussion shared her thoughts on it: *"Your research has really helped us. I myself have learnt a lot here / [Others]: Yes me too / F: Because we are all young people here and these issues that we are discussing, msimamo, tamaa, they surround us. Also, some of us here are in that business of looking for old men, so the discussions that we have been having have also been a kind of education."* And certainly, I too found the debates which were produced by discussing the taken-for-granted terms 'msimamo' and 'tamaa' really quite striking, and one example is discussed in Chapter 5.

3.4 Practicalities of Data Analyses

As outlined in Chapter 2, three dialogical concepts were used for the analyses of the datasets: two of these were applied to the CSE curricula and youth FGDs, both being analysed using the dialogical core and peripheral aspects of social representations, namely themata (Markova 2000;2003; 2015) and semantic barriers/promoters (Gillespie 2008) so as to enable comparisons, as well as examinations of (Self-Other)strategized engagements, between the two; and data collected as part of the NGO ethnography (e.g. field-notes, organisational documents, and in-depth interviews) was analysed according to Linell's (2009) detailing of the 'communicative activity types' concept. In this section I outline the practicalities of each of these data analyses, giving details on the measures that were taken to ensure quality in data preparation and management. The analytic procedures for each analysis, focussed on providing a 'transparent' account of the processes of interpretation in results formation (Green and Thorogood 2007), will be presented at the beginning of each empirical chapter.

3.4.1 Curricula Analysis

As laid out in section 3.3.2, the data corpus for the three CSE curricula was rather large (containing 280 printed pages for the universal curriculum; 251 screenshots of slides and 66 single-space typed pages for the adapted curriculum; and 48 single space typed pages for the local curriculum). Owing to the format of one of the curricula (e.g. screenshots as jpegs) a data mining software was not possible. Therefore, the first stage

of analysis involved breaking-up and categorising data into manageable sections for comparison and analysis. The qualitative analytical software NVivo was used for doing this, and produced eight broadly connected content categories (e.g. Consent; Gender Relations etc.). Following a protocol similar to Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, the next steps involved reading and re-reading the data for familiarisation and then the inductive development of codes (still in NVivo) that worked to collate data within each of these broadly defined eight categories. Through this process, the three 'levels' of youth sexualities (the Self; the relational; and the social/structural) were also explored and coded for. This meant that the next stage of analysis – the development of themes from codes – was both deductive and inductive in nature, in that they were generated inductively from the codes for each curriculum, yet organised deductively according to the three focus levels, and a word document was created for depositing excerpts of text for each theme, which facilitated iterative edits and adaptations to the themes. The analyses of themata and semantic barriers/promoters were then undertaken within each of the three focus levels (i.e. the Self, the relational; and the social/structural). The practicalities of this involved firstly identifying semantic barriers/promoters in the data within the word documents for each finalised theme. These were then tabulated in another word document where one table was developed for each 'level', in which columns indicated each curriculum, rows tabulated the themes, and the semantic barrier/promoters were identifiable using different coloured fonts and highlights in the text. Therefore, sections of text which contained knowledge encounters (signified by the use of semantic barriers/promoters) were prioritised, nevertheless, any other data sections which were pertinent to understanding a particular theme were also included.

The themata for each level in each curriculum were then identified through continual re-readings of these tables which worked to identify both similarities and differences between each curriculum's representations of the 'level'. I conceptualised these analyses in terms of identifying how implicit change strategies (e.g. semantic barriers/promoters) connected to one another, so as to form an overarching strategy at each level, therefore the identification of alternative representations and engagements with them were instrumental in teasing out the themata. In practice, this essentially involved continual editing of possible antinomies throughout readings and initial write-ups until ones were found which represented the 'full' nuances of the data for

each curriculum at each level. This resulted in at least one thema being identified for each focus level in each curriculum. Appendix 3A provides a schematic of the codes[within each broad content category]-to-themes-to-themata analysis, and a table of the themata, semantic barriers/promoters and alternative representations, and underlying strategy for each focus level in each curriculum can be found in Appendix 3B.

The UNESCO SERAT (Sexuality Education Review Assessment Tool – 2013) was also applied to the three curricula, so as to give an indication of how each curriculum would score based on the analysis of content that the tool provides. It is an online Excel sheet which asks the 'assessor' to identify if specified content items or themes are covered in the curriculum with the following responses available: yes; more or less; no; don't know; not applicable (ibid). Once filled in the Excel sheet then automatically tabulates the results giving a percentage score for the curriculum.

3.4.2 Focus Group Analyses

Before starting the analysis of the FGDs (and feedback sessions), I read through each transcript whilst listening to the recording to ensure that nothing had been missed out or misrepresented. Rather than coding and breaking-up the data thematically (as was done with the curricula), the FGD transcriptions were summarised and tabulated according to the five segments in the vignette. These summarisations were made in two stages: first the responses of each gender in each demographic group were tabulated so that differences in responses within gendered demographics could be identified; and then second, the analysis of the first tables were summarised in a table which compared all youth according to the five segments in the vignettes. During these processes and through continual readings of the transcripts in NVivo, potential interdependent antinomies (i.e. themata) were coded, including both those which were explicitly used by participants in discussions, as well as more implicit ones which could be seen to have the potential of shaping representations at any of the three identified levels in youth sexualities (i.e. the Self; the relational; the structural – see Introduction chapter). These began to be refined, as in the curricula analyses, through the jotting down of ideas of potential strategies of the different gendered demographic groups at each level, yet too were further refined through the analyses of semantic barriers/promoters.

The semantic barriers/promoters were also coded for in NVivo, and as in the curricula analyses, were tabulated in a word document. However owing to the interconnected nature of the levels (discussed in more depth in Chapter 5), the semantic barriers were first tabulated with columns indicating the gendered demographic group, and rows, the type of semantic barrier/promoter and the alternative representation they were used to (not) engage with. Then through the summative gaze enabled by this table, in combination with the list of potential themata grouped by levels, and the lists of potential strategies at each level, the tabulation of themata and semantic barriers/promoters within each level began. Similar to the curricula analysis, this was an iterative process, which involved continual re-readings, nuanced edits to possible themata, and reconfigurations of the semantic barriers/promoters across the three levels of youth sexualities identified as making up CSE. The interdependencies between, and juxtapositions of, possible themata, semantic barriers/promoters, and notions of strategy were instrumental in identifying and solidifying the themata as well as the three levels. Examples of the processual aspects of this analysis are given in section 5.1 and a summary table of this combined themata and semantic barriers/promoters analysis can be found in Appendix 3C.

3.4.3 NGO Ethnography Analysis

The first stage of analysis of the ethnographic data (i.e. field-notes, organisational documents, think-aloud protocols, and in-depth interviews) involved identifying in the field-notes the communicative or interpretative activities which had been observed. The fieldnotes were printed and these analyses were made by hand. 61 communicative/interpretative activities were identified in the field notes, yet the number was brought up to 64 with the inclusion of the think-aloud protocols, conceptualised as observations of PEs interacting with reporting templates. Each communicative/interpretative act was then considered in turn, with the aim of identifying the 'framing dimensions' (Linell 2009), essentially communicative structures which are pre-given and rarely change (e.g. activity roles, tasks, the role of language etc.). These details were used to collate the 64 acts into 8 CATs and also contributed to their 'naming' (e.g. where the activity role/task was reporting, the CAT was called 'Reporting'). An Excel sheet was then made for each CAT which tabulated,

for each of the individual interpretative/communicative acts, the people or artifacts involved (and page number reference in the fieldnotes and other relevant data sources), and the three families of concepts identified by Linell (2009 – see p. 73 for the more detailed definition of these): framing dimensions (i.e. aspects other than those which were used to define the CAT [e.g. the use of language]); the internal interactional accomplishments (i.e. the specific dynamics between interlocuters); and the sociocultural ecology. Analyses of the latter began as intuitive or interpretative notes drawn from the fieldnotes, however were expanded on through analyses of organisational documents, and later by the in-depth interviews which acted as a space for the dialogical triangulation of the previous comparative analyses of the sociocultural ecology (i.e the fieldnotes and organisational documents). Accordingly, the coding of the in-depth interviews and organisational documents was both deductive and inductive in that codes were generated from the data yet organised in their relation to a CAT. These were too tabulated in a summarized form so that one could easily identify interviewee and organisational document references to CATs, and an 'other' table was also made. The sociocultural ecology was once again expanded on after the analyses of the CSE curricula (section 3.4.1) and FGDs (section 3.4.2) were complete, in that they were too considered to be a resource on the local-global context to the intervention as a whole (this is however marked separately from the sociocultural ecology in the tabulated summary of the analysis in Appendix 3D).

3.5 Situating Myself and the RAs in the Study

I end this chapter with situating myself and the RAs in this study, as the experiences that we shared together starting nearly ten years ago, shaped this project enormously. For I would place my interest in potentials for learning *through* difference as stemming from the 5-year period (2008-2013) that I spent living as a permanent resident in Tanzania, also working on consultancies in Zambia and DR Congo. Whilst my purpose for going was somewhat cliché: a white European 23-year-old university graduate with aspirations of working in international development, going to volunteer in a rural village. My reasoning was rather more personal. I'd grown up in my Grandfather's home that memorialized his lifelong Quaker mission for peace, working in the formative and early years of the United Nations, that shipped him and his family, inclusive of my

Mother, across Africa and to a lesser extent other parts of the world. His 'big' stories of the grandeur of the UN in its genesis were a large part of my upbringing. Yet so too were my Mother's stories about the experience of growing up with servants and distant parents, having to check your shoes for scorpions, having a fiancé who she later found out was a diamond smuggler, and about the research that she did with sex-workers and "house mamas" in post-independent Zaire looking at their changing positions in the labour market, conducting the interviews in both French and Lingala. We never had the money to go ourselves as a family to 'Africa' so when she passed away it seemed like the most obvious place for me to go. Conflict-ridden DR Congo (previously Zaire), was off the cards and that's when I was attracted to Tanzania: I could learn Swahili so that if I ever got the chance to go to DR Congo, I'd be able to communicate, with at least people in the East of the country.

My volunteering experience involved living for eight months in a rural Tanzanian village with an assigned local peer educator 'partner', Stella, an A-level graduate from the largest city in Tanzania who had herself never lived in a village. In fact, I had chosen the volunteering programme because of its pairing with a national volunteer, yet I had not expected the experience to be such a shock for the both of us. We arrived to find that the village leader had given our house to his mistress, and so we were placed with an old healer woman called Bibi Mauvi who people assumed was nearing 100 years old, yet still worked her land every day, and gave shelter to three of her grandchildren, two who had been orphaned, potentially from HIV. Through the sharing of an every-day life with this family I gained insight into what education meant in this village: copying the notebooks of friends who had copied from their friend who wrote fast enough to be able to copy the text written on the blackboard by a student who had been given a sheet of paper by the teacher who had copied text from a book. And all of this was in English (a language that nobody in the village spoke), just so that the teacher would not have to enter the classroom, and the result was <u>absolute</u> gibberish. I also saw how nobody would go to the local health clinic because the 'Dr' who I later found out was a health officer who had received three months of training, would tell his wife about his patients who would then tell the whole village. I saw how a month's supply of medicine ran out after only one week. And I saw how one of Bibi's grandchildren hid her pregnancy, gave birth to a baby that died only a few hours later, and I sat next to her for a whole day as the village came to mourn the newborn. Yet I also saw how they

judged and reprimanded her at the funeral, and shunned her in the days after, and how one day we woke up to find that she had packed her things and gone, leaving her (also out-of-wedlock) 3-year-old in a state of shock and obvious pain that didn't go away.

In our work as peer educators I saw how the schools didn't want us, particularly me there. I heard stories about which teachers slept with the students, and witnessed the most atrocious corporal punishment beatings (that the organisation we volunteered with had explicitly told us we could not tackle because we would be kicked out of the placement). I saw how the students already knew what we were teaching them, and scored highly in the KABP tests we gave, yet months later would be pregnant or come to my partner asking for help with symptoms that sounded like an STD. After my partner tried to help one student, we found how for the next month, every time we came to run our session, the students would have been sent somewhere else, a blatant exhibition of power by a number of teachers who were obviously threatened by us. I also experienced lengthy pangs of self-doubt and frustration in this work, in that despite rising early every morning to learn Swahili by kerosene lamp-light, I still could not (yet) communicate properly with the villagers. I felt like my only real potential contribution was ensuring that the work was getting done because my partner had quickly lost interest in the programme as well as me after she realised that I did not have the financial capacity to pay for her to go to university. She admitted to me in one heated argument, in broken English and Swahili, about how she had only joined the programme because she had heard that she would meet rich white people who would then act as her donor in life. The only other white person that many of these villagers had seen was the one who had come to lay the water pipes eight years earlier, and children cried and ran away from me like a monster. Stella stopped talking to me after that one argument for two weeks and I had never felt so alone.

Whilst I have no romanticised nostalgia for that experience of living in a village, I will always recognise how invaluable it was. For I wasn't there as a researcher. I was just there. I sat with people for long periods of time saying little and doing nothing (life in the village was unbelievably slow). It changed me in subtle ways. Years later, when an American man and myself got separated from our NGO colleagues, and caught up in violence in DR Congo, and effectively saved by a group of South African military police, I noticed the change. I found comfort in their sitting around and just talking about

popular culture and telling stories as we waited in the darkness for an armoured car to come pick us up and take us to the UN base for evacuation. The American frantically focussed on how all of the military police should be walking the perimeter rather than taking it in turns, and got clearly unnerved by, and impatient with the men sitting in a circle talking as if everything was normal. Whereas for myself, it rested me. All we did in the evenings in the village was sit around a fire with Bibi Mauvi and "*kupiga*" (bashed out) stories. I have also noticed a change in the way that I will just start chatting to people at bus-stops now and truly enjoy the blabbered interactions about the weather or something crazy in the news (growing up in London, this was in no way there before). I now realise how having that time and space to just live, gain fluency in Swahili, interact, and have conversations with people, where I was not trying to get something out of them, acted as the building blocks for the development of commonalities from which harder more contentious truths could be broached. For instance, I often got into long interactions with people, friends and strangers in Swahili, about how not all Europeans live in big houses and live perfect, easy, rich lives, aimed at challenging the common presumptions that I could, and should, be benefactor to people. Conversations on this topic also side-lined the research activities of this thesis, and especially in the ethnography, I *saw* change through conversations about difference, when I witnessed PEs in my stead, telling community members how not all Europeans are rich and *"live like Paris Hilton"*.

When the volunteering programme ended I decided to stay and try and set-up a non-governmental organisation (NGO) with a group of Tanzanian friends that I had met through the volunteering programme. The two RAs in this thesis were part of this group. I signed up to do a Masters online in International Primary Health Care and the Tutor who read my personal statement recommended that I read Catherine Campbell's book 'Letting Them Die', through which I also discovered Freire's work on *conscientization*. We were passionate about trying to do peer education differently, involving participatory research methods for revealing the issues that were important to youth (as opposed to the strategic goals identified in international development literature), and how youth-produced media could then be used as a platform for 'raising consciousness' about youth oppressions. For two years we worked on trying to get this NGO off the ground and I developed a true appreciation of how difficult it is to effect change when you don't move in the right circles and know the right people, or when

you are trying to do something different and are not willing to confine your focus to the current buzzword, or give from the outset, an indication of what the change outcomes will be (over the years I have seen buzzwords change from SRH, to girls' rights, to livelihoods, to accountability). I also simultaneously worked for a large international NGO which gave me insight into the donor funding cycle procedures by which such buzzwords are produced and maintained. Therefore, the global-local has for a long time situated the lens through which I view change intervention work.

It was through these relationships that I gained insight into how precarious life in contexts of poverty can be. I watched as friends got their university places sold from out under them to a person who hadn't earnt a place but who had money. Deaths were also quite a regular occurrence, of friends, of friends' parents, sisters, brothers, or just local faces in the neighbourhood: one day they were there the next they weren't. Hospitals were the most dangerous places of all. So many times I watched people go in there for minor things like an upset stomach or a malaria test and never come back to us. I watched as landlords kicked friends out of their homes in the middle of the night, and employers refuse to pay my friends their earnings. I watched one friend battle for his university place for three years only to find that when he got there, that the government would not issue his late father's pension making him unable to pay for it. Therefore looking back now, I cannot fault the friend in our NGO who 'sold' our ideas to a larger NGO in exchange for a job, or the various instances where 'trust' was broken. Living in the webs of precarity, I learnt about impossible choices. Yet these betrayals also made me aware of my difference. Whilst others around me moved on, seemingly unaffected, living in the moment, I could not do this so easily. When my father died suddenly, my inability to 'keep moving' made my experience of my difference all the more acute, and a year and a half later I returned to the UK.

I would argue that my *ability* to leave signifies the most divisive and potentially problematic difference of all when it comes to working across differences in postcolonial research contexts. As Applebaum (2008) discusses, "White solipsism is often implicated in white desire to do and be good. Even when well-intentioned whites decide not to live in all white neighbourhoods, the very choice assumes and reinforces the 'privileged choice' they have" (p. 294). Therefore whilst some differences between myself and Tanzanian youth could be put to use in research, with the dual goal of

problematising the difference whilst also generating 'new' knowledge from this problematisation (e.g. discussions about poverty, or being a young person in UK versus Tanzania). The differential freedoms-of-movement (in both symbolic and material framings) which typify local-global relations in postcolonial contexts such as Tanzania should not be underestimated. Yet, as highlighted in Chapter 1, disentangling the dense webs of domination and subjugation across local-global axes is enormously complex. In this study I have attempted to engage critically with these problems through the use of participatory (and dialogical) research approaches, through self-study on racial politics and white privilege towards identifying the limitations of my role, not only in data collection but also in terms of my generalised fields of awareness as a white person, and lastly through an explicit unpacking of the dynamics of local-global relations.

As James Baldwin (1962) writes, white people "are in effect still trapped in a history which they do not understand." I suggest that the subjugation of the social histories which connect the West and 'its peripheries' is a large factor in this generalised lack of understanding. Therefore, the problematising of differences at CSE local-global knowledge encounters in the empirical chapters which follow, are as much explorations of whiteness and the West, as they are about youth sexual health in Tanzania.

Chapter 4. 'Culturally Relevant' CSE Curricula and Strategized Recognitions for Change

One of the hallmarks of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) is its emphasis on the necessity of integrating 'local' social knowledge into curricula, and so adapting knowledge to localities so that it holds cultural and contextual relevance for those at which it is directed. At the core of this, is an acknowledgment that [sexual] behaviours are influenced by cultural and social norms, and that efforts to change behaviours therefore need to actively acknowledge and address them. Nevertheless, there is a surprising gap in the literature in looking at how local cultures are integrated into, and represented in curricula along with the communicative devices which are used to integrate culture into wider strategies for [behaviour] change. To date, analyses of communicative strategies in sexual behaviour change have largely remained at the level of rhetoric, studying the extent to which content on sexualities is framed in a [sex] positive or negative way (e.g. whether sex is positioned as natural and healthy, or dangerous and immoral). CSE is firmly positioned in the 'sex positive field', and so analyses of CSE curricula tend to focus on content in a more technical framing. UNESCO, for instance, have developed the Sexuality Education Review and Assessment Tool (SERAT 2013) which marks out for different age groups, what cognitive, affective, and skills-based knowledge needs to be included in curricula for the following concepts identified as 'key': human development; sexual and reproductive health; interpersonal relationships; sexuality and sexual behaviour; communication, negotiation and decision-making; and youth empowerment.

In this chapter, I work to demonstrate that a more nuanced analysis is not only possible but also needed. In emphasising the importance of making knowledge in curricula culturally relevant, CSE efforts are highlighting that there are pluralities in social knowledge about youth sexualities (e.g. the last four out of the six key concepts in the preceding paragraph). Nevertheless, no analytical focus has been put towards identifying how pluralities in this social knowledge are being represented in curricula and furthermore, strategized for behaviour change (e.g. is there silencing of some voices over others? If so, how, and to what end?). The core question which guides this chapter therefore is, **how do CSE curricula strategically position local-global**

knowledges for behaviour change in representing youth sexualities? In Chapter 2, I argued that a dialogical framing of the social representations theory (SRT), in its emphasis on the dynamic and interdependent construction of knowledge, enables an analysis of CSE curricula that goes beyond descriptions of content and the binary sex positive-negative rhetoric commonly used in defining curricula change strategies. A dialogical framing enables an analysis of how 'cultural relevance' is represented *and* positioned for behaviour change: the identification of themata, namely interdependent antinomies which act as the dialogical core or roots of social knowledge, can offer insight into the wider cultures and representational fields and projects that situate each curriculum. An analysis of identified alternative representations, along with the semantic barriers/promoters used to manage their interactions with the core (i.e. themata-based) representation, enables a study of the communicative devices through which socio-cultural knowledge in each curricula, is positioned and strategized, for changing alternative socio-cultural knowledges.

Therefore, in line with the core question guiding this chapter, three empirical questions are tackled:

1. What are the [dialogical] core aspects (i.e. themata) through which curricula representations of youth sexualities are developed (i.e. thematised)?

2. What communicative devices (i.e. semantic barriers/promoters) are used to regulate engagements with alternative representations?

3. What are the differences and similarities between the three curricula and what are the implications of these for understandings of what cultural relevance means in regard to CSE?

4.1 Analytic Procedure

As outlined in Chapter 3, the first stage of analysis involved breaking-up and categorising the large data corpus into manageable sections for comparison and analysis. Only 'social knowledge' was included, understood as non-scientific information pertaining to personal and interpersonal relations (see section 3.3.2). Categorisation drew on the chapter titles in the curricula so as to identify broad themes,

yet too worked to add more specificity in regard to whether the information focussed on the personal or interpersonal, and with whom (e.g. 'life skills' ran throughout two curricula and was presented in a complete section in the third, and was categorised across the first four categories which follow). Eight broad categories were marked out: Consent; Choices and Control; Identity/Positive Self; Relationships and Communication; Desire and Love; Gender Relations; Sexualised Interactions; and Social Influences on/Contexts to Relationships. Yet importantly these were considerd to be interconnected and were not analysed in a standalone way. The compiled curricula data in each of these broad categories was then inductively coded, and a brief description of each category along with their percentage of coding in each curriculum will follow shortly in section 4.2.3. The next stage of analysis worked inductively to generate themes from the codes, however, for each curriculum, these were deductively organised according to the three levels of 'youth sexualities' that are tackled in CSE (see Introduction chapter):

- The Self (interpreted in the curricula readings as aspects which related to identities and behaviours focussed on self-development).
- The Relational (interpreted as aspects which focussed on how a person communicates and behaves with others).
- The Structural (interpreted as aspects which directed focus on societies, cultures and histories, along with how one moves within, and engages with them).

Therefore, the analytical 'separation' of the data was driven by these three conceptual levels rather than the broad content-based categories. Through this process two to three themes were generated for each curriculum at each 'level' (see Appendix 3A for a schematic of connections between codes and themes).

Next, the analysis worked to move further beyond examinations of content, and firstly set to identifying the semantic barriers/promoters used (and according alternative representations) in each of the level's themes in each curricula. These at times signified that an excerpt needed to be moved to another 'level' (e.g. discussion on social norms, so categorised under the 'structural', would be moved to the 'individual' level if the 'stigma' device was being used with an emphasis on an individual's behaviour such as not standing up to social norms, whereas more general stigmatisations against cultures

or groups of people who do not stand up to social norms would remain at the structural level). Furthermore, the semantic barriers/promoters were used in combination with the themes, as signifiers for unpacking the underlying or 'implicit' *strategy* for change (i.e. influence) at each level, which also acted as a kind of intermediate step towards identifying the themata. In explanation, it was identified that similar change strategies were aimed for at two of the levels, yet framed differently (i.e. the themata), therefore I considered marking out the underlying change strategy as an important aspect towards identifying the different frames/themata. For example, at the level of the Self, positive social recognition was clearly the underlying strategy (or goal in terms of influence), and at the relational is was identified as being about power. However the Structural level needed more teasing out, and was confirmed through the identifications of the themata. For instance, initially I had pencilled in the implicit change goal for the structural level as being about freedom against oppression, however this changed to being a more nuanced call for a better world through the identification of the themata in each curriculum that signified health and happiness (in relation to harm) and duties against injustices (interdependently in tension with inaction) as the key 'justifications' *for* change in structures.

There is very little literature on procedures for the identification of themata. As Nicholson (2016) remarks, identifying themata "was not a simple process and needed reformulating on a number of occasions until I was satisfied that the chosen themata fitted the data better than any alternative" (p. 79). I found the alternative representations and overarching implicit change goals of each level to be particularly useful in solidifying the themata for each curriculum at each focus level, in that they helped to indicate *how* the social knowledge was thematised or 'packaged', as well as *why* in terms of being of use for particular people in particular moments in time. For instance, at the relational level, the discipline—ignorance thema started out as educated—uneducated however was changed through an identification of how the alternative representations centred more on aspects of how education connects with control and responsibility, and furthermore is not solely referring to formal education. Furthermore, this specification, when connected to the identification of how the second thema at the relational level (Child—Adult) was focussed on young people avoiding relations where they were not in power, drove a specification of the overarching implicit change goal for that level (i.e. it was not about power but rather

about battles against powerlessness). Therefore overall, the analyses of semantic barriers/promoters and themata at each level were dialogical, transforming through interdependencies in tension, which also connected with analyses of the strategies which underlay them. And in line with Nicholson (2016), this process was pursued until no better alternatives could be identified. See Appendix 3B for a summarising table of this analysis.

Yet before moving to the results, I will first introduce the three purposively selected curricula which make-up the dataset for this chapter, outlining each's explicit change strategies along with a brief summary of the content addressed.

4.2 The Three Curricula and their Explicit Change Strategies

Two curricula were purposively selected to act as comparatives for the analysis of the Mabadiliko case study curriculum (the procedures for this purposive selection are outlined in section 3.3.2). Both were considered 'gold standard' by experts in the field, in regard to their engagements with the issue of 'cultural relevance', albeit using different approaches. I will now give a brief overview of each curriculum, detailing how cultural relevance and behaviour change are explicitly approached. I will then summarise the broad categories of content identified in each curriculum before presenting the results from the analysis of themata and semantic barriers/promoters.

4.2.1 The Curricula

The Universal Curriculum (UC). The first purposively selected curriculum is 'It's All One', which was created by an "international group of experts… [based on] the strategies and priorities established by a number of global health and education agencies, including the United Nations General Assembly, UNAIDS, the World Health Organization, UNESCO, and the World Association for Sexual Health" (p. C2). It was used by UNESCO to develop the SERAT (2013) discussed in Chapter 1 and mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, and the IPPF (2010) framework identifies it as an important resource particularly for addressing the social determinants of health and wellbeing. It is made-up of two booklets providing content (indicated by 'C' in the referencing in this chapter) and activities (indicated by 'A' in the referencing in this

chapter). It is available for download on the internet, and it is designed to act as a 'universal' resource which educators can use in developing locally-relevant curricula. It is therefore considered in this analysis to represent 'the global' engagement with culture, and the 'pre-adaptation' stage.

The Adapted Curriculum (AC). The second purposively selected curriculum was 'The World Starts with Me', a computer-based extra-curricular CSE programme aimed at youth aged 12-19, that has been customised for cultural relevance in eleven low-income countries (Vanwesenbeeck et al. 2015; Leerlooijer et al. 2011). Its collaborative (between a Dutch NGO and local host organisations) protocol for adaptation is well-documented along with procedures for piloting and evaluation (Leerlooijer et al. 2011 – discussed in Chapter 1), and UNESCO (2010) identified it as one of eighteen example case studies of CSE curricula upon which their technical guidance was based. The curriculum used in this chapter for analysis was sourced from the Dutch NGO, who identified their Ethiopian curriculum (adapted from their Kenyan version) as the most accessible, and 'best fit' for comparison to the Tanzanian context. The curriculum is delivered to youth through a computer programme (that I took screenshots of), and accompanying notes for each module are also given to teachers/facilitators to assist in discussions. This curriculum is therefore considered in this analysis as representing the 'post-adaptation' stage of local-global interactions.

The Local Curriculum (LC). The Mabadiliko (case study) curriculum is described as local because it was designed by senior [Tanzanian] staff members in the NGO. They utilised 'global' materials such as the UC in designing it, however no local-global collaborative effort was involved (as seen in the design of the AC). Rather the staff described the process of development as using international resources and amalgamating them with internal teaching resources and the staff members' own expertise, and knowledge and experience rooted in the Tanzanian context.

4.2.2 The Explicit Change Strategies

Whilst all three curricula direct explicit focus towards supporting youth in facing the social constraints on their relationships, the explicit change theories differ slightly. The UC and AC are both 'rights-based' essentially rooted in the theorisation that knowledge of human rights is a key factor for helping "young people in taking control over their

own lives" (AC-M1+2). Both acknowledge that youth might not feel that they have control over their lives and emphasise the importance of creating safe and supportive environments through pedagogical activities: "As part of teaching human rights help students appreciate that they are powerful and that they matter in the world" (p. C19). Nevertheless, rights *as* pedagogy are interpreted in slightly different ways. For the UC, teaching rights means applying "universal principles to the varied cultural and social circumstances in which people live" (p. C7), through which learners "may discern what they deem fair or unfair" (p. C220). Accordingly, in tandem with teaching rights, it also explicitly theorises that critical thinking is an essential aspect of changing norms: "You can challenge stereotypes related to gender and other aspects of your own life. To do this, you must have the ability and confidence to identify how these stereotypes have affected your identity, personal development, and choices" (p. C224). The UC emphasises that "An educator's own values should not interfere with teaching about sexuality. Remain neutral and avoid imposing your personal values on learners" (p. C81).

In the AC, rights, termed 'entitlements', are described as allowing "a diversity of interpretations to co-exist; they do not impose a rigid interpretation but rather set a frame of reference" (M7). The purpose of teaching about entitlements is therefore viewed as being an "[investment] in young people's assets rather than to moralise and warn them", (p. M7), and so views the teaching of rights to be empowering in and of itself. Therefore, the AC connects rights more with the theory that enhancing self-esteem facilitates [behaviour] change: "One step to becoming aware and exercising their entitlements is for young people to be supported in developing their self-esteem and taking control over their lives... [and so] focusses on helping adolescents to get to know themselves and on supporting them in building their self-esteem... taking a consistently positive approach towards sexuality" (M1+2). In this way, the UC can be seen to place its pedagogical change emphasis on critically comparing localities to (the global) human rights so that 'bad' cultures can be identified, whilst the AC focusses on how knowledge on (the global) human rights can empower and inspire youth to take more control in their lives in a general sense. The UC does also speak of the need for young people to have confidence, but the pedagogical activities focus more on the use of critical thinking for changing social norms. In the AC the pedagogical focus is more personal, aimed at building the self-esteem for personal growth and development.

The LC discusses human rights, particularly in relation to gender, yet explicitly describes its theory of change as being rooted in Paolo Freire's *'conscientisation',* known for its emphasis on praxis in which insight into one's own oppression acts as the basis for [collective] liberatory action. However, the interpretation of Freire's work in the LC creates a theorising of change quite different from Freire's (1968/2005) focus on oppression and the power of the collective community. Instead, the explicit presentation of Freire's work in the LC defines it as a process of giving individuals the skills to not be helpless to the various difficulties in life:

> "[Freire] wanted them [Brazilian farmers] to change their needy lives and instead live correctly. He didn't want to solve their problems but wanted to help them to solve their own problems. But when he told them to find solutions to the problems they face they responded, 'We can't, we will die in this condition'. We [Tanzanians] are also slaves to different things in our lives and when we are told to change we end up responding by saying that 'We can't' (that's why some of us are thieves and liars)... The lives of so many young people in Tanzania are full of worries. What they earn is not enough for the important needs of their daily lives. Most of them have insufficient levels of education and so it is hard to run their daily lives. Life skills have been used to help a person to overcome the problems that they have."

Akin to the UC and AC, activities aimed at building 'life skills' are envisaged as enabling youth to take control over their lives related to aspects of self-awareness, -determination, organisation, and communication.

Therefore, all three curricula certainly do explicitly work to integrate discussion on the social constraints that youth are likely to experience, with a focus on developing the skills of individual youth in being able to deal with them. Nevertheless, differences have also been identified, not only between the curricula and the specific approaches by which they theorise [behaviour] change, but also, for the LC, even between what is referenced and what is actually described. Before looking at how these differences connect to the representations and strategisation of social knowledge, I will first outline the similarities and differences in the content of knowledge.

4.2.3 Social Knowledge Content

As described in section 4.1, eight core interrelated categories of social knowledge were identified in the three curricula. Table 4.1 gives a brief outline of each of these along with their coding percentage in each curriculum.

Table 4.1 – Summary and Outline of the Social Knowledge Categories in the Three Curricula and their Percentage of Coding in Each Curriculum

Social Knowledge Category	Description	Coding %
CONSENT	Both the UC and AC discuss consent in terms of the right to say 'no' to sex and also the responsibility to listen to, and respect a partner who says 'no'. They both also frame it in terms of being infringed on by dangerous people and situations where 'force' is used through money or gifts, authority, family pressure, alcohol, or guilt-tripping, and emphasise the need to avoid these people/situations, and believe in one's ability to do so. Consent in the LC is discussed in terms of knowing one's rights and being able to recognise the different forms of abuse that strip a person of their right to consent.	5.6% - UC 7.4% - AC 1.8% - LC
CHOICES AND CONTROL	All three curricula emphasised the power associated with making 'responsible choices'. In the UC and AC this was framed in terms of knowledge on human rights whilst in the LC it was related to controlling emotions.	19.7% - UC 17.8% - AC 13% - LC
DESIRE AND LOVE	Both the UC and AC discussed the connections and tensions between desire and love and how it is important to communicate desires and also focus them on the future. Both the AC and LC also discussed how if one loves oneself, others will too.	5.8% - UC 7% - AC 1.4% - LC
GENDER RELATIONS	All three curricula emphasised the dangers of gendered inequalities, and the UC and AC explicitly juxtaposed 'local' gender dynamics with universal rights.	6.4% - UC 11.7% - AC 14.5% - LC
IDENTITY / POSITIVE SELF	All three curricula emphasised the importance of knowing oneself, and in the AC and UC this was connected with taking pride in one's uniqueness, and in the LC in terms of taking a position on issues.	20.3% - UC 15.1% - AC 28.6% - LC
RELATIONSHIPS AND COMMUNICATION	All three curricula represented good relationships in terms of honest communication and how young people can be taught the skills of this. The UC and AC also emphasised how youth	8.1% - UC 10.9% - AC 10.1% - LC

	need to seek out trustworthy support from adults.	
SEXUAL INTERACTIONS	Both the UC and AC emphasised the importance of responsibility in sexual interactions rooted in trust and respect for each other's rights. No mention other than condom negotiations was mentioned in the LC.	5.3% - UC 8.1% - AC N/A - LC
SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON / CONTEXTS TO RELATIONSHIPS	All three curricula discussed how cultures differ, and whilst all covered how harmful local cultures can be, only the AC and LC also highlighted how culture acts as a support structure. All emphasised the importance of youth participating in social change activities.	28.7% - UC 22.1% - AC 30.4% - LC

I also applied the UNESCO (2013) tool – the 'SERAT' – designed for the purpose of evaluating content in CSE, to the three curricula. In that the SERAT was based on the universal curriculum, its mark was 100%. The adapted curriculum's mark was 80%, losing marks for not having sufficient content on [homo]sexuality, the influence of media, abortion, and the responsibility of people to speak up to injustices. The local curriculum's mark on the SERAT was 45%, losing marks for not having any content on family, [homo]sexuality, the influence of media, aspects of maturity in terms of communication on decision-making, and the responsibility of people to speak up to injustices. It also lost marks for not covering sufficiently, content on abortion, emotions, different kinds of relationships, and transactional sex. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis however, despite emphasising the need for 'cultural relevance', no mention or evaluation of it is integrated into the SERAT framework.

Through the next three sections, in presenting the analysis of the themata and semantic barriers/promoters in representations of youth sexualities (identified at three levels: the Self; the relational; and the structural) in each curricula, I will illustrate why analyses of content are insufficient as a marker of cultural relevance or the utility of the curriculum for youth in their specific contexts. For each focus level of youth sexualities, I will present the themata, and each curriculum's thematisation of them, in turn. The semantic barriers/promoters will be indicated throughout the presentation of each thema, as they too contribute to an understanding of the curriculum's overall thematisation of the thema in question.

4.3 The Self: Positive Recognitions in Identities

Social knowledge concerning 'the Self' focussed on what constitutes positive recognition in identities. Whilst the representations of this, in all three curricula, were rooted in the thema independence—dependence, the thematisation of this antinomy was different in the LC. In the AC and UC, independence was represented 'as truth', whereas in the LC it was represented 'as responsibility'. Each will now be presented in turn.

4.3.1 Independence—Dependence as Truth

Both the UC and the AC represent a positive Self as being independent, and emphasise the importance of not conforming to social norms, represented as 'rigidly opposed' to human rights. In the AC, this rigid opposition (indicated by the underlined text) positions human rights as fact and social norms as conjecture.

> AC: "Meti recently started playing football with a girls team, her auntie thinks football is for boys and wants her to stop, so do some of her friends. Should she continue to play football? Yes/No. _Everyone is entitled to his/her own opinion and also the responsibility to respect the opinions and choices of others_. So if Meti is not harming anyone by playing football there's no problem" M7S8-9.

Whilst in the UC, progressive change towards human rights is represented as an inevitable truth, making the adherence to social norms a foolish mistake. This is achieved through the combination of three semantic barriers: first, the rigid opposition against social norms (underlined text); second, an undermining of the motive of the norms themselves (highlighted text); and third, an implicit stigmatisation (in **bold**) of those who are not part of the change towards human rights:

> UC: "_We often tend to think of our own values and beliefs as "natural." However,_ they are deeply influenced by our families, communities, and society... Those individuals or groups who have the most power often have the greatest influence in determining both social norms and laws. Some laws, norms, and individual values are concerned with sexuality... _Social norms change over time_... **Although we are all influenced by social norms, each of us can also develop her or his independent ideas about the fairest way to behave and treat others**" p. C23.

Having established that social norms are bad and should be challenged, the UC and AC go on to develop the implications of this for the Self in different ways. The UC asserts the importance of not conforming and being independent by emphasising the morality in the brave pursuit of just and progressive change. The position of not standing up to social norms is implicitly stigmatised as lacking and weak (in **bold**). And rigid oppositions (<u>underlined</u> text) are set up between the type of people who accept unfair situations and the type of people who speak out against injustice:

> UC: "**Some people accept things the way they are, <u>even when they are unfair</u>. They may not care. They may not know how to change the situation. Or they may feel that trying to make a change would be too uncomfortable or risky. Other people <u>speak out against unjust conditions</u> in their own relationships and families, in their schools, in their communities, and in their society. Some people speak out or act even when their actions might put them at emotional, economic, legal, social, or physical risk. People <u>who believe in social equality</u>** <u>can take a number of actions</u>. It is rarely effective to challenge the entire social fabric. Rather, <u>people can contribute toward small but important changes even in highly conservative settings. Making a difference can be exciting and empowering</u>" p. C229.

In the AC, the discussion develops in the accompanying notes for teachers, and proceeds to justify independence as a natural and thus good part of human development. This is achieved through the combined use of two devices: first, independence is represented as a biologically-driven fact, creating a rigid opposition (<u>underlined</u> text) against any alternatives (positioned as conjecture); but second, an alternative representation is acknowledged (i.e. that youth should not contradict adults), however, it is immediately dispelled as a conflict to 'independence as fact', through the 'separation' (highlighted text) device, whereby engagement with this alternative is promoted, representing it as 'part of the process' of becoming a good and 'responsible' adult:

> AC: "In their teens, <u>young people start to develop concrete cognitive thought processes. They learn to reason logically and hence to contradict other people – peers as well as the adults in their lives. This is part of the process of becoming more autonomous and taking on greater responsibility</u>" M1+2.

In the following quote, the importance of not opposing youth independence is further solidified through the use of the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts', where any prevention of the independent Self is represented as dangerous and harmful:

> *"If the development of this sense of self is impeded, this often results in young people's confusion about themselves and their role in the world ('I don't know what I want to be when I grow up')" M1+2.*

Therefore, both the UC and AC, in connecting independence with human rights and biology, represent positive independent identities as a truth that can be achieved through knowledge and strength, and which must not be prevented. They establish this factual position through the use of semantic barriers which 'shut down' alternatives, representing them as conjecture, as bad and unjust, as weak, and as dangerous. Nevertheless, the AC, also uses a semantic promoter in communicating with teachers (through the notes which accompany the curriculum). I suggest that this indicates an anticipation of resistance which is 'addressed', in this case, through an absorption of the alternative *into* the core representation, therefore working to *re-*present adult-youth conflicts too, as a 'true' and important part of human development.

4.3.2 Independence—Dependence as Responsibility

The LC represents a positive Self as being independent at the interpersonal level. Therefore, rather than positioning independence as truth (as in the UC and AC), it is positioned as a responsibility both to Self and others. As the following quotes illustrate, the semantic barrier stigma (in **bold**) is used, to 'shut down' alternatives through a focus on 'the person':

> *LC: "People with praiseworthy characteristics and who have self-respect are able to assess issues and deal with things when they go wrong. They have a big chance of being free/independent and they like to take responsibility for themselves and others, they feel proud of their work and they have plans. They are also smart at controlling their emotions and encouraging others to do the same... **A person with undesirable characteristics** or who has no self-respect or self-confidence, can easily be convinced by others, and shows their feelings with no self-confidence nor are proud in their work. Most of the time they have big unrealistic expectations and it's very easy for them to be put down or to be unhappy."*

> *LC: "An assertive person fights for their rights without infringing on other people's rights... [and] look for opportunities so that all can benefit...* **And aggressive person** *always has a position on issues and uses power/force in getting what he/she [individually] needs."*

This last quote also marks out the limitations on independence, in that too much force in one's position can infringe on one's responsibility to others, and also represents independence *as* a responsibility to others, so that 'all can benefit'. Nevertheless, in the following quote, the bracketing device (highlighted text) is used to indicate that responsibilities to others are not always correct:

> *LC: "All communities expect that both women and men will live according to the certain needs and expectations of the community. These needs and expectations are sometimes only stigmatizations."*

Therefore, the discourse of human rights is referenced in the LC, yet remains implicit in the representation of responsibility in independence as being practice-based and situationally-dependent. Accordingly, youth are positioned as having to discern in their interactions with others, their own needs and emotions, whilst also being aware of the needs and expectations of others, and furthermore, simultaneously weigh each of these up in terms of assessing whether they are just or not. And those who are not able to do this are stigmatised as 'undesirable', weak, or 'aggressive'. This differs from the UC and AC, where independence is represented as a kind of abstract codebook which can be followed and applied to any and all contexts. The AC positions adults as barriers of this, whereas the UC positions personal weakness as a barrier.

Therefore, whilst all three curricula emphasise independence, the differences in how they represent positive recognitions of independence indicate that there are 'cultural Selves'. Both the LC and AC recognise the relationships which youth are entwined in, yet address the constraints associated with this in different ways: the AC works to 'lift' these constraints through focussing *change* communication on adults; whilst the LC positions youth as the changemakers, in that they need to 'lift' people with them as much as they are able. In contrast, the UC requires that youth reject and breakaway from relationships which are not based on human rights, arguably calling for a 'type' of person that the LC describes as 'aggressive'. Nevertheless, all three curricula emphasise

that youth need to contribute to progressive change, and so stand-up to adults and peers who work against this. The following section will look more in-depth at how each curriculum represents youth as being able to have this power in relationships.

4.4 The Relational: Battles against Powerlessness in Relationships

The discussions in the curricula on relationships were quite clearly carried the strategy of emphasising the importance of battling against powerlessness in relationships. In line with the previous section, all three represented the need for independence in achieving this, however recognised the accessing of power in different ways. The LC represented power as accessible through education, rooted in the thema discipline—ignorance. The UC instead represented power as accessible through maturity, therefore rooted in the thema child—adult. And the AC drew on both of the themata in representing the accessing of power in relationships.

4.4.1 Power as Education (Discipline—Ignorance)

Both the LC and AC represent power in relationships as achievable through education, thematised in terms of how discipline over oneself enables positive interactions with others, albeit with slightly different conceptualisations of power. In the LC, discussions focus on how youth need to learn the 'skills' of self-control, and position the only barrier to this as being a lack of belief in oneself, therefore stigmatising (in **bold**) those who do not have control over themselves:

> LC: *"Important Things in Life Skills. The ability to understand consequences... The ability to have constructive ideas... The ability to create and maintain relationships with your fellows and have positive conversation with people that surround you... The understanding of knowing yourself... The ability to control emotions and sexual drives... The ability to control stress."*
>
> *"Young people will have the ability to have assertiveness and negotiate in practicing safe sex and in protecting themselves against HIV/AIDS **if they believe in***

themselves, that they have the ability to control the changes that happen to them.*"*

In line with this, the LC provides guidance on steps that can be taken to cultivate self-control inclusive of *"thinking deeply",* acknowledging and writing down *"all things from the heart... and prioritising actions", "sharing ideas and problems with others",* and participating in activities such as running, acting, and events organising. Yet importantly, as is emphasised in the quote that follows, power through self-control in relationships is connected to responsibility, so 'power with', rather than 'power over'. Furthermore, this power *as* responsibility is represented as not achievable through formal education, therefore rigidly opposing it (underlined text) with the cultured community, and the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts' (highlighted text) is used to emphasise the dangers of this neglect:

> *LC: "They [formal education students] fail to learn about the system of life, on how to live with other people in the community. They are trained to focus on books and forget to look to those around them. They forget that eyes are on them and that people look to them for how to behave."*

In AC, formal education is represented as providing the discipline necessary to have power in relationships and over one's life, and I would suggest, implicitly stigmatises (in **bold**) those who are uneducated:

> *AC: "**Educated and more independent women can better share** their decisions with their husbands about life issues, the use of contraceptives and about when to take children, how many and how their birth should be spaced" M6Sl8.*

In connection to this, the discipline needed for having responsible or 'good' relationships is represented as fact in the AC. As seen in the following quotes, not only does this shut down any dialogue with alternative representations, through setting them up as rigidly opposed (underlined text) to fact. Young people are also positioned (and I would suggest, stigmatised – in **bold**) as ignorant, through the implication that the only thing they have lacked prior to that moment was knowledge about how relationships should be:

AC: "Responsible sex is... when there are no regrets or negative consequences afterwards... involves negotiation and friendship for a long time... does not need money or gifts. **Is that clear for everybody? There are no two ways about it. Anyone who tells you differently is wrong.***" M8S17-18.*

"Practice the dating code. Be clear about your limits. If you do not want to have sexual intercourse or sex at all, **explain this clearly to your friend from the beginning. Pay your own way, then your date won't expect any sexual favours in return for money he or she has spent on you. Don't take alcohol or drugs***" M12S25.*

This stigmatisation (in **bold**) of youth as being ignorant is particularly striking in the AC's discussion on poverty, where it represents youth who use relationships for money as doing this because they have not considered other options. And furthermore, emphasises the importance of showing discipline in finding other solutions through the use of the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts' (highlighted text), implicating the dangers of ignorance in this matter:

AC: "Money! Can you earn some money instead of getting gifts? Can you do some work, like selling vegetables, groundnuts, popcorn or sweets after school to earn some money? Maybe you can join a small barbershop? **Please try to find another solution to your problem.** *Your life depends on it" M12S20.*

Therefore, the AC, positions power in relationships as having control *over* oneself and others through the prescriptive knowledge on how relationships should be.

4.4.2 Power through Maturity (Child—Adult)

The AC does however acknowledge that young people are still in transition into adulthood, and therefore have constraints on their control in relationships. It therefore emphasises that in transactional relationships, represented as dangerous through the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts' (highlighted text), that a responsible young person would go to an adult for help (I suggest also implicitly stigmatising [in **bold**] those youth who do not):

AC: "Gifts are hardly free; they oblige. After some time, the adult want 'payment' for the gifts they provided. The young person has to 'pay' through sex. These

relationships put you at risk of STIs, HIV/AIDS or pregnancy, disrupt your studies and make you the target for the anger of the partner of this adult. **If you are in this situation, talk to someone you trust, get help, get out of this situation**" *M12S16.*

Furthermore, across the child—adult thema, adulthood is represented in terms of having the factual knowledge on responsible relationships (rigid opposition shown by <u>underlined</u> text), and therefore stigmatises (in **bold**) those who do not:

AC: *"Myth 4: A man cannot be held responsible if the girl or woman was exciting him by her dress or by being flirtatious. *<u>False! All men are fully capable of controlling their sexual urges.</u>* **Those who say they cannot, are lying and not grown up. If men are not able to control themselves they have a problem***."* *M12S34.*

The AC also, in the accompanying notes for teachers, stresses how the power afforded to youth through human rights is 'truth', and therefore works to shut-down and rigidly oppose (<u>underlined</u> text) any alternative representations in which youth might not be viewed as capable of taking control and having power in their relationships:

AC: *"adults often fear that when young people are 'given' the entitlement to make their own decisions on when to have sexual intercourse, they legitimise young people to be sexually active, have pre-marital sex at a very early age or have extra-marital sex.* <u>*Regardless of whether this is true or not, entitlements are not 'given': people are entitled to their entitlements, and entitlements are self-evident. They are already there, and they have already been assigned*</u>" *M7.*

This differs from the UC's thematisation of power-in-relations across the child—adult thema. For whilst the AC uses this thema to highlight the social constraints on youth in exercising their power, the UC uses it to emphasise that 'good' and responsible relationships are only available through maturity. In this way, the UC represents youth as maybe not yet having the power to act responsibly in relationships. This can be seen in how a rigid opposition (<u>underlined</u> text) is set-up through a moral framing (i.e. good versus bad relationships) rather than between human rights as fact and alternatives as conjecture (as in the AC):

> UC: "Be clear that <u>a safe and comfortable sexual relationship requires a certain maturity and power to negotiate for oneself</u>" p. C81.

Also, the UC represents consent as complex, and therefore something that youth may not be able to give: *"The line between voluntary, wanted sex and forced sex is sometimes hard to distinguish. It is more like a continuum" p. C105*. On first reading this section on consent in the UC, I initially marked it as a potential semantic promoter, in that the continuum representation facilitates engagements with alternative representations of consent. However, in looking at the activity which is connected to this discussion, I saw that for each 'case study' given, a 'yes/no' answer was asked for in response to the question *"can this person give meaningful consent?" p. A81* (determined by their knowledge of the others' sexual information, their belief in their right to decide, their 'level' of maturity, their sense of power and control over their life etc.). Therefore, the continuum representation of consent signifies more a stigmatisation of youth as not being capable of effectively dealing with 'complex' relations. Furthermore, the main guidance to youth on how to negotiate powerlessness in relationships, other than telling *"a trusted adult"* (as in the AC), remains at the stigmatising (in **bold**) level of avoidance:

> UC: "As best you can, **avoid situations where you are likely to experience pressure** to have unwanted sex for material or financial reasons" p.A78.

An implicit connection to the discipline—ignorance thema can also be seen to underpin the maturity rhetoric in that power through assertive communication is presented as something which can be learnt. Again, this is presented through the rigid opposition (<u>underlined text</u>) between good versus bad relationships, together with an implicit stigmatisation (**in bold**) of those who do not 'learn' or are unable to use this skill.

> UC: "Knowing how to express yourself so that you are understood, and being able to understand what other people are trying to say, <u>are important and empowering skills. These skills can help you develop relationships that are based on mutual understanding and satisfaction</u>... Some people find that their status in a community influences their ability to express their needs, desires, and feelings to

another person. It may also affect their ability to put their decisions into action.
Everyone can learn to communicate more effectively" *p. C140.*

"*in many cultures, men have the role of initiating sex and women are supposed to be more passive sexually. however, this pattern reflects certain cultural attitudes about gender roles; in fact, women can also initiate sex.* **even those women who follow traditional gender roles often develop an indirect way to communicate their desire for sex to their partners**" *p. A68.*

Therefore, all three curricula represent battles against powerlessness in quite different ways. The LC focusses on self-control, representing powerlessness in terms of a disconnection from others in the community, as much as an ignorance or inability of the Self. The AC, instead represents powerlessness as ignorance or in terms of excessive social constraints, and so places focus on knowledge as truth as well as dispelling constraints through negotiations with adults. And the UC represents youth powerlessness as natural, and therefore promotes avoidance of relationships until youth have matured, at which time representations of powerlessness then accord more with the AC. These representations of relations also align with the representations of the Self in the previous section: the UC once again, calls for youth to essentially remove themselves from relationships; the LC emphasises relationships; and the AC once more, represents youth as socially constrained, yet also ultimately expects them to rise above this through human rights knowledge. Furthermore, all three, use similar semantic barriers aimed at blocking alternative representations along with the exclusion of people who assign to them. Such 'excluded people' would include those who feel they have no control over themselves or in relations with others, or who struggle to communicate in relationships, or who are reliant on relationships for accessing money.

4.5 The Structural: Creating a Better World

The final level of focus – the structural and socio-cultural aspects – was discussed in all three curricula, in terms of the importance of creating a better world. However, this was thematised differently in each curriculum. In the UC, the problems with the world were represented in terms of injustice, and therefore representations were rooted in the thema action—inaction, against these injustices. In both the AC and LC, the

problems with the world were represented in terms of dangers, yet their representations of the 'better world' were different, for the AC, focussed on happiness, whilst the LC emphasised health (discussion on them is combined under the thema health/happiness—harm).

4.5.1 The Call to Activism (Action—Inaction)

Connecting to the previous two levels of themata, the UC situates the importance of independence and power through assertiveness in relationships in the wider fight against repressive cultures and societies. It does this first, by presenting human rights through rigid oppositions (underlined text), as the only true and good way of structuring society. Accordingly, cultures and social norms are presented as debilitating and backward falsities and the semantic barriers of stigma (**in bold** i.e. implicit ignorance) and undermining the motive (highlighted text) are also employed in closing down any dialogue with alternative representations.

> UC: "*Sexual norms often reflect and reinforce narrow or misinformed attitudes about the sexuality of other groups*" p. C91.

> "*The concepts of human rights and sexual rights are internationally recognized. They apply to all regions of the world, including Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, the Arab World, and the Pacific*. **But many people do not know what these concepts mean, or how they affect their own lives**" p. C19.

> "*Religious texts may also be interpreted selectively to justify or oppose certain practices*" p. C62.

Therefore, youth are called upon to make efforts towards dismantling oppression in the contexts they live in *through* their relationships. In the following excerpt, the local tradition of female circumcision is represented as dangerous (prohibited thoughts in highlighted text), as apart from reality (bracketing in ~~strikethrough~~ text), being implicitly stigmatised through associations with ignorance (**in bold**), and juxtaposed in rigid opposition (underlined text) against [modern] Western Aid organisations who are educating people on 'good' human rights principles.

> UC: "*Fatima, an 11-year-old West African girl, overheard her parents discussing her circumcision. She was frightened because she remembered how her elder sister had*

*returned from the ceremony — in pain and miserable. She thought also about her best friend, who had been in and out of the local clinic with severe infections caused by her circumcision. She did not want to experience what she saw the other young girls around her go through, and she begged her parents not to force her to be circumcised. ~~They were reluctant to listen to their daughter because they believed~~ she would be unmarriageable if she were not circumcised, and **they did not think the choice should be made by someone so young and inexperienced**. Fatima's sister, however, had heard of <u>an organization in town that **worked to educate local families about the dangers and health risks of female genital mutilation (FGM). She asked a staff member from the organization to her family's hut to speak with her parents about Fatima's situation. Part Two: What Happened to Fatima: The aid worker convinced Fatima's parents</u> that circumcision was dangerous to their young daughter's health and that <u>there were other ways to mark the important rite of her passage into womanhood. Today Fatima is happily married and grateful that her parents were so open-minded</u>" p. A30.*

Implicit stigma (**in bold**) is also employed towards those who do not act, when so many others do not rest in finding ways to fight for 'good' (a rigid opposition in <u>underlined text</u>):

*"**Despite social norms, millions of young people are determined to "be themselves" and to** <u>realize more of their potential as human beings</u>*. <u>They believe in greater gender equality and in diversity</u>. *Many young people are able to resist pressures to conform to an idealized body image"* p. C50.

*"**Despite social taboos, many young people refuse to be isolated. Where they can, they create safe spaces to meet each other**"* p. C57.

*"If questioning or challenging a specific instance of discrimination is not possible, **a person may look for a safer way to respond**"* p. C233.

Consequently, at the structural level, the UC positions youth as key changemakers in the creation of a just world.

4.5.2 Just Health or Also Happiness? (Health—Harm)

The AC and LC are quite different in the ways in which they represent structures and socio-cultural contexts. Rather than emphasise the need for individuals to contribute to widescale change as seen in the UC. Both the AC and LC remain at the personal level, and focus on the harm that environments can do to an individual, and the actions that an individual can take. In the LC, this is first developed through a range of semantic barriers towards closing down any engagement with aspects of context that threaten one's health. Using rigid oppositions (underlined text), community perceptions and traditions are presented as mere conjecture, as dangerous (prohibited thoughts in highlighted text), and through stigma (**in bold**) and an undermining of the motive (text in ~~strikethrough~~), are represented as 'for other people'.

> LC: *"Community gender perceptions are the general beliefs and perceptions of community members (that <u>have no foundation in truth and facts</u>) about issues or people."*

> *"Blindly agreeing with social norms can be dangerous especially in terms of practising safe sex, as the norms promote gender inequality and stereotypes"*

> *"most of the time ~~this [discrimination] is done deliberately~~ according to the customs and traditions of a certain community."*

> *"The sources and reasons for gender-based discrimination: The <u>negative perspectives</u> of men and community members towards a woman; **Not believing in equality and human rights**; <u>**Traditional beliefs that do not believe in gender equality**</u>; **No accreditation and acknowledgement of the work that women do**; The economic hardship that makes women helpless and sometimes have to enter into dangerous work like commercial sex work; **Alcohol and using of drugs**; ~~Ambitions to authorities and power~~."*

The LC then puts forth that youth can overcome these harmful contexts through a focus on their health which implicitly stigmatises (**in bold**) those who cannot. Furthermore, it positions the role of peer educators as supporting and encouraging others to live healthily, although I would suggest, neglects the complexity of doing this

regarding sexual health, only using simpler changes to behaviour such as exercising more or quitting smoking as examples in the stepwise guidance provided.

> LC: "**Make decisions to love yourself** by maintaining cleanliness… **Make healthy meals, and try to use the allowance you get from Mabadiliko so as to maintain your health**. Eating healthy foods will give you energy so you can work hard."

> "Provide simple instructions to improve health such as 'two minutes of exercise, twice a day'."

In the AC, the harmful nature of cultures is implied in the module on culture being titled, 'Culture and Harmful Traditional Practices' along with the representation of "Wife beating as a cultural way of demonstrating authority by boys and men" M6S14. Nevertheless, for the most part, it is less polemical than the UC and LC in its discussions on culture, using once again, separation as a semantic promoter in tandem with semantic barriers in service of representing socio-cultural contexts as not necessarily harmful outright but rather, outdated, and not conducive to the happiness afforded by human rights. The future orientation afforded by separation as a promoter (~~strikethrough~~ text) represents progress and development in cultures and individuals as an inevitable and important process, diffusing outright conflicts between cultural representations and human rights. Nevertheless, this change is put forth as necessary through an undermining of the motive (highlighted text) of cultures as unrealistic or outdated in accordance with a rigid opposition (underlined text) between the powerful and successful international/global community, and that of the insignificant/outdated 'local'.

> AC: "In many African societies, including Ethiopia, adolescents are often regarded as children and hence have mostly been ignored or neglected, due in part to the culture of silence imposed upon them. Consequently, they lack a way of expressing themselves and critical decisions even regarding their sexual lives continue to be made for them by adults. However, a more realistic and effective approach to promoting adolescents' well-being is to consider them as actors and decision-makers in their own entitlements with the potential ability to effect change themselves… International agreements and development programmes affirm that

young people are entitled to exercising their human entitlements, including sexual and reproductive health entitlements… ~~This is a crucial process in which they learn to build their self-esteem, develop their own values, set life goals and acquire an adult identity~~" M1+2.

"Isn't it strange that opinions on having sex for boys and girls are so different? In fact, these standard opinions are a bit old fashioned" M5S39.

"Although the Ethiopian culture advocated for and viewed sex as sacred only to be practiced at particular times, globalization, modernism have changed these views and have created more opportunity for discussions on sex and sexuality. In the past, grandparents held the function of passing information about sexuality to young people, but over time and with advancing information technology, peers now play this role" M6.

"today, social norms on condom use during premarital sex have become more realistic; social norms on gender roles, particularly the position of women in matters of sexual decision-making, are also evolving; supportive social norms on people living with HIV/AIDS is becoming a fact" M1+2.

Accordingly, youth are encouraged to use the language of human rights (and the science which backs it up) in communicating with elders who have 'outdated' knowledge. Not only does this implicitly stigmatise (**in bold**) people who hold alternative representations to human rights as uneducated, but also means that very little support is given towards the practicalities of young people dealing with such clashes in knowledge. This is presented in quite a simplistic way through rigid oppositions (underlined text) in which human rights is fact and so automatically represented as closing down any alternatives.

AC: "Kidist is afraid that her father even wants her to get married already. Here is some advice for them. Kidist, the legal age to get married is 18. Tell your father that you will do your best and want to stay on at school at least till Grade 12" M2S30-1.

"What can be done [about harmful traditional practices]? *creating awareness *sensitising communities" M6S27.

"Hiwot is a young mother and does not want to have more children. She wants to use the pill, but her mother refuses to give her money for transport to get the pill as she feels she is too young. Is Hiwot entitled to get information about the pill? <u>Hiwot is entitled to get information about all forms of contraceptives, so that she can make her own choices</u>" M7S11-2.

*"Myth 3: Girls ask to be raped if they are wearing sexy clothes or walking in a sexy manner. *Not true! No one asks to be raped. <u>A girl has the right to dress as she pleases without being attacked. Boys and men have to respect girls and control themselves</u>" M12S33.*

*"**Most of Ethiopian men** <u>believe that men are more intelligent than women, even though it has been scientifically proven that they are equally intelligent</u>" M5S17-18;20.*

Therefore, the ways in which structural aspects are represented in all three curricula, essentially build on the relational representations, presuming that youth have power to the extent that they will be able to stand-up to injustices, or at the very least, avoid them. By framing local cultures and traditions as dangerous, bad, and insignificant, all the curricula are effectively positioning the wider community as being what youth need to separate themselves from, and therefore, all require an independent Self. In doing this, the LC neglects previous emphases on responsibilities to others. One of the Mabadiliko PEs had noticed this contradiction in the curriculum, where its guidance suggests that PEs should use their allowance to live healthily: *"they [the NGO] don't seem to understand that our allowances goes to our families. This is not money that we use on ourselves"* (Rehema). Nevertheless, I would argue that all three curricula are limited in connecting discussions on structures with relational dynamics. In the UC, contradictions can be seen where at the relational level, youth powerlessness is represented as natural, yet at the structural level positions them as able to face societal oppressions. Another example, is the ways in which gender inequalities are framed as dangerous in all three curricula, yet no discussion is put towards unpacking the different constraints on girls and boys in creating a 'better world'.

4.6 Implications and Discussion

In this chapter, I have looked at how three different CSE curricula represent youth sexualities in their strategies for behaviour change in culturally relevant ways. In doing this, I first worked to identify the themata which underlie representations, and therefore cultural framings of social knowledge pertaining to youth sexualities at three levels: the Self; relations; and socio-cultural structures. Through this analysis I also set out to identify the semantic barriers/promoters which were used in engaging with alternative representations, and so develop insight into the communicative devices by which 'cultural' social knowledge in each curriculum is strategized for changing behaviours. The implications of these analyses for understandings of cultural relevance were also discussed throughout.

At the level of the Self, one themata was identified (independence—dependence) although it was thematised differently in the curricula. In the AC and UC, independence in identities was represented 'as truth', and so the main strategization device involved juxtaposing human rights (as truth) against social norms, represented as conjecture. Nevertheless, the AC did make an acknowledgement of the relationships that youth might be entangled in. The LC, instead, represented independence in identities as responsibility to Self and others, and therefore the strategization device was also a lot more personal, and worked to stigmatise those who depend on, or are, neglectful of others. And it was argued that whilst all three promote an independent Self, that the differences between them do give an indication of cultural differences in positive recognitions of identity. At the level of relations, two themata were identified (discipline—ignorance; and child—adult) which essentially represented the accessing of power in different ways, the former through education (used in the LC and AC), and the latter through maturity (used in the UC and AC). All were found to use similar semantic barriers which involved the exclusions and stigmatisations of people who could not gain control or power in their relationships, marking them as ignorant or 'bad'. It was argued that each curriculum's representation of relations aligned with their representation of the Self, ranging from absolute independence in the UC, and therefore having the ability to remove oneself from relationships in which one is powerless, to the LC's emphasis on power *through* relations, and the AC being in-between the two, yet more aligned with the UC view. And finally, at the structural level,

two themata were identified. The first, action—inaction, was used in the UC to position youth as changemakers in the creation of a just world, and in doing this, used strategization devices which represented cultures as bad (rigidly opposed to 'good' human rights). In the AC and LC, cultures were represented as harmful, yet in the LC framed in connection to health, whilst in the AC in relation to happiness. Whilst both used devices which shut down alternatives and excluded people who ascribe to harmful cultures (representing them as backward or bad), the AC also used a semantic promoter, towards *re*-representing culture as insignificant when in comparison to human rights.

Therefore, I would argue that in all three curricula, 'cultural relevance', acts as a justification for changing culture, and youth are positioned as the change-makers (albeit in slightly different ways). In the UC and AC this change is clearly and explicitly directed towards human rights, and I suggest that its positioning as rigidly opposed to cultures is problematic. Firstly, in that for many people, even in Western contexts, human rights are not 'truth', but rather, are aspirational. Therefore secondly, social and cultural norms are not the inverse to human rights, nor are they conjecture. Yet the violence of this non-recognition of 'local' cultures becomes clear when connected to previous discussions on postcolonialism (in Chapter 2), and how individualist notions of human rights were borne out of a racialised 'wiping out' of the temporo-symbolic and material contexts (e.g. slavery and genocide) which continue to structure the systematic oppression of black people today (Gilroy 2010). In the UC, its emphasis on rights *as* pedagogy through critical thinking, means that any dilemmas associated with the juxtaposing of rights and cultures, are left to the educator to deal with. In contrast, the AC, in its accompanying notes to teachers and use of semantic promoters, does make attempts to create representational connections between human rights and culture. This could be indicative of its adaptation process, in that conflicts were anticipated, at least from teachers, and therefore, efforts put toward minimising them. However, no outright acknowledgement is given to potential conflicts between contrasting the two. Rather, youth are advised to simply inform adults of their rights, claim their rights, and then no further discussion is given beyond that. Therefore, in both cases, neither curricula support youth in negotiating conflicts between local cultures and human rights outside of the classroom. Accordingly, I would suggest that both the UC and AC illustrate Orbe's (1998) identification of how the communication

systems of the 'privileged' reflect, reinforce, and promote their own fields of experiences, and how this oversight of others can impede the progress of those whose lived experiences are not reflected, in that energy is put towards effecting individualist human rights in structures which do not allow it, yet too the stigma that is accorded to this 'failure'.

The LC is rather more muddled in its presentation of the change to cultures it is seeking. As identified in section 4.1.2, its explicit change strategy was also quite unclear in that human rights were incorporated into discussions on gender and gender-based violence, yet, Paolo Freire was explicitly referenced, however misinterpreted, emphasising individual change rather than collective through the (mis)presentation of praxis as 'life skills'. And despite the LC's representation of a positive Self as independent, collective undertones are also clear, in its emphasis on responsibility to others, as well as its identification of how the focus on the individual in formal education is inadequate for empowering youth. I suggest that this confusion is also connected to presentations of human rights as 'truth' in international health arenas. In explanation, the pervasive non-recognition of values rooted in interdependence through their being reduced to 'conjecture', signifies the 'culture' of global knowledge along with its privileged standing, in that powerful and pervasive 'alternative' psychologically-rooted ways of seeing and experiencing the world (i.e. interdependence), are at best overlooked, and at worst, disregarded. In this way, the use of human rights by local NGOS in the design of 'culturally relevant' curricula becomes an almost impossible task, in that fundamental conflicts at the level of values remain implicit, and therefore unaddressed; a paradox and stigmatising burden which is left to the educators or recipients of the education to untangle. Thus the LC illustrates how whilst the (implicit) objective of 'global' knowledge in CSE may be to displace 'local' knowledges (i.e. that human rights and individualist notions of agency should replace cultural and interdependent framings of Self, relationships, and society), that in actuality, such efforts are ineffectual when the underlying values-based conflicts remain unaddressed. I would suggest that this is indicative of 'agency in constraint' and how it may not always look like resistance (Madhok et al. 2013), instead remaining at more implicit strategies for self-protection. Namely, whilst the 'local' curricula designers adopted the individualist language of human rights and

empowerment, the content which underlay this language held much more resonance with interdependent ways of being.

I therefore propose that the limitations of evaluating curricula on the bases of content alone are revealed by the analyses of themata and semantic barriers/promoters. The latter, highlight how even pedagogical programmes with explicit and overall values of sex positivity and affirmation, can still implicitly rely on communicative devices that utilise fear, morality, denial, and shame in engaging with alternative behaviours to the one being promoted. This was particularly striking in the AC discussions on money problems where transactional relationships, and being financially dependent on one's partner, were represented using shaming and fear-inducing devices. Similar exclusions can also be seen in the UC's discussion on consent, in which it represents a person as not being able to give meaningful consent when there is a transactional element to the relationship. In fact, the UC's overall representation of power in relationships as being accessible through a maturity that is framed as absolute freedom from constraint has the potential to be enormously stigmatising in and of itself. Therefore, I would suggest that none of the curricula sufficiently address poverty and the ways in which it can impact on relationships, and consequently represent an overarching non-recognition of people in poverty, which in some cases also manifests in terms of *mis*-recognising them through stigmatisations. The following chapter will now discuss the themata and alternative representations by which Tanzanian youth represent their relationships and agency to act within them, which too gives insight into how youth manage the mis- and non-recognitions which have been identified through this analysis of CSE curricula.

Chapter 5. Youth Representations of their Sexualities and Agency at the Local-Global in CSE

In light of current emphases on making comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) 'culturally relevant', it is important to explore the particularities of relationships in context. Prevailing representations of African youth sexualities identify gendered and intergenerational power relations, as well as the transactional aspects of sexual relationships (particularly related to older 'sugar daddies') as crucial impediments to youth sexual health. As seen in the previous chapter, CSE curricula focus on encouraging youth to avoid or fight against such risks and strive to provide them with knowledge and skills so they are able to act with agency, yet also responsibly in their relationships and self-development. However, how are youth interpreting and engaging with this knowledge? Do the representations of self, relationships, and society in the curricula connect with the ways in which youth experience and make sense of their lives? And furthermore, what more general role do NGOs and 'the global' play in the ways in which youth represent their relationships, agency to act within them, and potentials for change? Huq (2007) highlights the complexities of studying youth cultures in that they are in constant regeneration, sometimes in reaction to what has gone before, but also can be completely spontaneous, "many of the causes and effects of youth culture are intangible, unquantifiable variables" (p. 22). Such dynamism has only accelerated with globalisation, causing particularly rapid socio-economic changes on the African continent, what Ntarangwi (2009) describes as "the culture of change" (p. xi). And NGOs are part of this change. They have been implementing sexual behaviour change interventions in urban areas for decades, and for the most part, are operationalised by people who grew up, and still live, in the 'local'. Consequently, representing NGOs and the cultures they aim to change as distinct, only works to reify each, and neglects the ways in which they interact, and have been interacting for a long time (Gillespie et al. 2012).

Therefore, this chapter is not an analysis of 'African youth sexualities', but rather works to explore the ways in which youth who have attended CSE interventions, negotiate knowledges in discussions about their sexual relationships, anticipating that there will

be dialogue between 'local' and NGO representations of youth sexualities, as well as potentially new representations which stem from an integration of the two. Therefore, the following question is tackled: **how do youth at the local-global in CSE represent their intimate relationships and agency to act within them?** As already discussed in Chapter 2, and illustrated in Chapter 4 on the curricula knowledge, a dialogical framing of social representations theory (SRT) provides the tools through which local-global encounters *within* knowledge can be uncovered (i.e. themata, and the semantic barriers/promoters used against alternative representations). I suggest that the presupposition of change in dialogicality, and its focus on situated knowledge interactions, is also particularly suited to the study of youth cultures. And I propose that an analytical focus on the dynamics of this local-global knowledge encounter, namely the study of *how* youth negotiate different knowledges, has the potential to offer insights into why behaviour change may not be happening in the way, or to the extent, to which NGOs predict. The same analysis that was applied in the previous chapter (4) is used, and so three core empirical questions are asked:

1. What are the [dialogical] core aspects (i.e. themata) through which young Tanzanians represent their sexual relationships and agency to act within them (i.e. thematised)?

2. What communicative devices (i.e. semantic barriers/promoters) are used to regulate engagements with alternative representations?

3. What are the differences and similarities between groups of youth (e.g. single-sex groups of urban poor youth; and single-sex groups of university students), and with the curricula representations (outlined in Chapter 4), and what are the implications of these for behaviour change?

5.1 Analytic Procedure

This chapter is based on the youth focus group discussions (FGDs). The analytic procedure of the FGDs followed the processual approach to the curricula analyses (e.g. the interdependent identification of themata and semantic barriers/promoters, also putting thought to the different strategies which underlay them, at the three core levels

at which youth sexuality is approached in CSE: the Self; the relational; and the structural). However, owing to differences in both the forms and functions of the data, the procedures for the FGD analysis were slightly different. Firstly, the 'form' of the data was one in which different gendered demographic groups followed a similar vignette and therefore there was a 'frame' to the discussions (see section 3.3.3.1), meaning that comparative analyses were not only explored at the three levels, but also at each of the sections to the vignette, as well as across *and* within the different gendered demographic groups. Different tabulated summarisations of these therefore enabled a continual 'macro' gaze on the various similarities and differences within and between groups throughout the analyses. Secondly, the functions of the data were different to the CSE curricula, in that the underlying strategies did not display such uniformity (e.g. in the curricula centred on influence). Rather, the self-protective strategies which underlay youth representations showed enormous variance, shaped by societal social positioning, as well as the unique interactions between youth as well as between them and the research assistant and myself. Nevertheless, considerations of strategy were still useful in the identification of the different levels, in terms of identifying the level-based problematics which required strategies of self-protection. Therefore, whilst in the curricula chapter, the title for each section which presented the results of the analyses for each 'level' indicated the underlying strategy, in this chapter the titles instead give an indication of the overarching problematic at each level.

Furthermore, the analyses of themata and semantic barriers/promoters in the youth FGDs was also a much more complex task than in the curricula analysis, in that there was enormous overlap and interconnectedness between the levels. Youth represented their identities in strongly interdependent ways, and therefore their structures *and* their relations could also be viewed as identity-based. For example, themata which could just have easily been used at the level of the Self were identified as underpinning the structural and relational levels: us—them (a thema at the structural level); and *msimamo—tamaa* (Swahili terms often used to signify types of people but which was used as a thema at the relational level). The alternative representations were instrumental in teasing these distinctions out. For instance, the (alternative) representation of NGOs as 'spheres' and 'buildings' completely separate from the 'Swahili streets' was interpreted as an indicator of their being structural rather than

relational. This was further confirmed by the juxtaposition of (structural) representations of insecurity (i.e. poverty) against the conditions which must be met for leaving 'the local' and passing over to the 'global' or NGO 'sphere', therefore indicating a clear us—them representational dynamic in structures. The young people's alternative representations were also much more complex than those in the curricula, in that youth did not just 'speak to' the global, but also to their peers and community, however this also supported the identification of levels. As discussed in section 5.4, the teasing out of the *msimamo—tamaa* thema also involved further discussions with youth, and it was excluded as a potential thema for the Self, through the identification that neither 'msimamo' or 'tamaa' *as types* of people were identified with by the youth, but instead were problematised in relation to sex (i.e. 'the games'). Nevertheless, the characteristics (locally) ascribed to each of these types of people – fixity and change – did underlie representations of the Self, yet were represented 'in tension' owing to NGO representations of change, and therefore fixity—change was identified as a thema for the Self.

Therefore, whilst the youth knowledges did not neatly align to the three levels, I would argue that the levels were still a useful frame, not only so as to enable comparisons with the CSE curricula analysis (Chapter 4), but also as a way of identifying and teasing out, both the expanse of identity-based issues, but also the differential (i.e. socially positioned) experiences of the problematics of local-global interactions in relation to Self, interpersonal relations, and society. As with the curricula analysis, the themata were identified through these iterative processes of putting potential themata 'in tension' with the semantic barriers/promoters and according alternative representations, also with a mind to the levels and underlying strategies or problematics. Examples of potential themata included: Africa—Europe; Trust—Distrust; Stability—Change; School—Culture; Success—Failure; Need—Satisfaction; Inclusion—Exclusion; Life—Death; Reciprocity—Trickery; Safety—Danger. And nuanced refinements were made through continual re-readings and juxtapositions of the various analytical factors outlined above (e.g. stability was adapted to 'fixity' in light of the recognition that youth identities were anything but stable despite traditional representations aspiring to this, and reciprocity was adapted to 'agreements' so as to signify that despite expectations of reciprocity, these were rarely experienced and also

held a much more adversarial nature). And as with the curricula analysis, this iterative process continued until no better alternatives could be found.

In addition to the semantic barriers/promoters identified in Gillespie's (2008) typology, one new semantic promoter and one new barrier were identified: exaltation as a promoter; and stigmatisation-of-Self as a barrier. Overall, I would argue that their use signifies the pervasive marginalisations that these youth experience, yet also their efforts (and strategizing) at the semantic level, for recognition of a kind and self-protection (of identities and semantic environments), so that they are not just passive recipients of marginalisation. See Appendix 3C for a summary table of the themata, semantic barriers/promoters and underlying problematic at each level. I will now discuss each level in turn, presenting the themata and semantic barriers/promoters used, and also highlighting throughout, differences and similarities between groups of youth as well as with the findings from the curricula analysis (in Chapter 4). I will then, at the end, discuss the implications of the analysis for potentials and understandings of behaviour change. I present the structural level first as the identity-based aspects of it are needed for situating the results for the Self.

5.2 The Structural: Deprivation and Privilege

Youth thematised representations of the socio-cultural structures which surround them in clear juxtapositions between deprivation (in their localities) and privilege (associated more with 'the global'). The local-global therefore signifies exclusion for them, not only in terms of not being able to access 'the global', but also in regard to the exclusion from 'the local' which would be the likely result of any efforts made at accessing the global. Consequently, interactions between the local and the global were represented for the most part, with great ambivalence, and often the emphasis focussed on the dangers of 'the global' for youth who were firmly held in (comparative) structures of deprivation (e.g. poverty). Two themata were identified through which these discussions were developed: us—them, where the 'them' represents NGOs and 'the global', yet each requiring different routes of access; and insecurity—[conditional]security through which the entanglements of deprivation are emphasised. Each will be presented in turn.

5.2.1 Us—Them

The us—them thema was evident in two main ways: firstly, in how youth represented NGOs and the knowledge they promote as essentially being in a different 'sphere' which doesn't connect with the deprivation in their lives; and secondly, in terms of the widespread poverty and breakdown in local culture, juxtaposed against the privilege and expanding culture of 'the global'. Nevertheless, there were clear gendered and demographic differences in how youth managed engagements with the alternative representations of the NGO and global.

In relation to NGOs, the university students (Uni) demonstrated a strong and resolute opposition to the NGO knowledge sphere through the semantic barrier 'bracketing', where the NGO knowledge was set apart from reality: *"[Sex education] is empty words. It's like giving someone a hoe with no place to dig. Of what use will that hoe be?"* (UniW); and *"At our age we know how to have good relationships... but in the reality of our lives right now, in short, you cannot have real love"* (UniM). The urban-poor (UP) youth, also represented NGO knowledge as disconnected from the 'Swahili streets': *"Here is where us peer educators are really failing... We can give someone counselling but then when they return home they are met with a different environment"* (UPM). However, instances were also seen where 'separation' was used as a semantic promoter, which I would suggest indicates that for UP youth, NGOs remain an important potential opportunity, namely the notion that if a person is exposed to the NGO sphere for a long time, that they could shift into it: *"F9: You can bring a person to the centre, they will listen, they will accept it [the information], but then when they return to the streets, yes they were told to do this and this, but where are those people now who were telling them what to do? [They're not there] So they'll end up ignoring it / F12: Maybe if they went to the centre often and for a long time they could change"* (UPWs). Nevertheless, for the most part, the UP youth used the stigmatisation-of-Self semantic barrier, albeit in different framings, to emphasise how the NGO opportunities and knowledge was 'not-for-them'. For the UP young women, this related to their inability to 'move into' the NGO sphere: *"many of us are in need. If a girl of twelve years were to go to an NGO to try and build her life, any money that she gets will go to her family, she will be used by her parents so she will basically end up working for free and what kind of future can come from that? So,*

when we talk about education, we need to be cautious in looking into who this education will benefit" (UPWs).

The UP young men displayed greater power in their use of the stigmatisation-of-Self semantic barrier, by not only representing NGO knowledge as 'not for' urban-poor young men, but rather expanded this exclusion to African men generally, by positioning NGO representations of relationships as a European thing: *"For Tanzanians, for Africans, relationships mean something different than what it does to Europeans, especially when it comes to relations with the opposite sex... If only people could build-up relationships that weren't about sex I think there would be more development/progress in our communities"* (UPM). In this next quote the use of the 'bracketing' semantic barrier (<u>underlined text</u>) adds further weight: *"For the European this [friendship before sex] is very easy but for us it's sexual, never such a friendship first, there is no love story... let's make it clear for us Africans especially we Swahili people a girl to call a boy as a friend or a boy to call a girl a friend there is no such thing, if you see that kind of thing we say 'there must be something going on because this is not our culture'... We don't have that kind of friendship, <u>that is a lie and this is where people make movies not reality</u>"* (UPMs). I suggest that this representation of a collective (imposed) exclusion is not only a strategy used to protect against the NGO alternative, but also to bolster the justification of prevailing dynamics in sexual relationships (this will be unpacked further in following sub-sections). It is however also possible that my presence in the room influenced the bringing-up of Europeans in discussions.

In contrast, 'the global' was represented by all youth as an alternative which could be accessed, and engagements with it were semantically promoted through 'exaltation', namely the elevation and privilege which it could afford to a person. Nevertheless, such engagements were always represented ambivalently, in that a semantic barrier was also used. Yet the different demographics of youth used different semantic barriers which I suggest is indicative of differences in representations of how the Self interacts with structures. For instance, the UP youth, used the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts' which represented the dangers of 'moving into' the global sphere, in that it meant 'moving out' of the local, and also in that the global only strengthened divisions with the NGO sphere. For the UP young men, engagements with 'the global' referred to greater freedoms in relationships, *"in the old days, the position was to marry someone*

from your own tribe but now with globalisation we see different tribes marrying, even Chinese marrying Tanzanians", but also the dangers of the sexualisations associated with this freedom *"with globalisation everyone has a phone so you know these days the 'sex system' is completely open [with porn on phones]'. A person knows about sex before even starting and this system forces our sex organs to have sex even when we shouldn't"* (UPM). The UP young women instead referenced 'the global' in terms of how its representation of beauty as having 'stylish things' could help them escape the poverty of their parents by enhancing their potentials of getting married, yet how accessing these things meant going against the local culture of not having sex before marriage: *"she needs to look beautiful, she needs to be seen as good to others, but if you look at her parents... normally they won't be able to cater to her needs so she will need a man to you know",* and *"FI3: In this relationship she will only want money / FI0: But she will still want a good life [i.e. to be married] / FI3: She knows 'if he gives me money I can buy nice sandals, I can plait my hair, I can buy a new dress so that people will look at me well' / She can't go out with a person and not get at least 10,000 TSH"* (UPWs). And therefore, this also connected with the representation of NGO knowledge not being 'for them': *"She will think 'they say that I need to be faithful and have one lover', but she can't satisfy her needs"* (UPW).

The Uni youth, instead represented ambivalence in engaging with 'the global' and the opportunities for social mobility that it affords, through the semantic barrier 'stigmatisation', and therefore, rather than danger, signified interactions with the global in terms of blame (for disrupting the local), whilst also acknowledging that poverty can cause people to do this: *"[UniM] Before technology this didn't exist because when you went to university you would find students with a good financial status being the ones with luxury things, and those with a bad financial status, not having those good things. In the old days there was an order to things... / [UniW] But also these things have changed because of poverty. You might find someone studying at university but their economic situation at home is very bad, and she is not satisfied with her life and what her parents are able to give her, so she decides to engage in bad relationships just for money, so it's only because of poverty"* and *"Globalisation is an information economy, information spreads and increases [or expands] people's desires [for material things]. For some this desire is about impatience [to have that privilege] but for others it's because of the hardships of living in poverty"* (UniM).

5.2.2 Insecurity—[Conditional]Security

These ambivalences in us—global interactions connect to the second thema by which youth represented their structural context, namely the insecurity associated with deprivation, but also the dangers of the conditions through which security or privilege could be accessed. And these representations only solidified disengagements with NGOs and NGO knowledge.

In all groups, it was recognised that young women were particularly vulnerable in the insecure—[conditionally]secure structural context. For the UP young women this could be seen in the fatalistic acceptance of the unlikelihood that their relationships would lead to the security of marriage, *"I don't think that he will want marriage because that is difficult, so he will only want to play with her"* (UPW), and furthermore the dangers of participating in these out-of-wedlock relationships: *"F1: She knows if she gets pregnant that... / [Said at same time, almost inaudibly] F3: "She will die" / F1: ... her parents will kick her out on the streets"* (UPWs). UP young women therefore described how commonly the continued use of relationships for security, despite the dangers involved, was protected by a stigmatising (semantic barrier) of those girls who did not do it: *"F11: You're a peasant [derogatory term], you're not with it [if you only have one man] / F13: 'If you carry a bucket you should always have a back-up' [an expression meaning when you have a husband you should also have a back-up boyfriend] / F11: Because when it [the bucket/husband] falls/spills, the back-up can help you / Or the 'three cooking rocks', you can't cook on one rock [you need three to balance the pot over the fire]. One to satisfy your needs, another to give you money, and another that you love, this is how girls live their lives these days. If you have only one man you stay quiet because people will think that you're stupid"* (UPWs). The UP young men also fatalistically accepted how poverty caused girls to do this, and accordingly used the semantic barrier 'prohibited thoughts' to indicate the dangers of ascribing to the secure relationships based on trust and love that the NGOs recommend: *"If you love her you have to be careful because it likely won't be about love for her... Poor girls have their needs. When they reach a certain age they can't ask their parents for things anymore, they are expected to buy them themselves but they have no way so they need men"* (UPM).

For the Uni youth, poverty was signified by government loans running out or being delayed, to which all discussion groups agreed that the most common response for Uni

young women was prostitution owing to the speed by which money, and hence [conditional] security (in both life and social positioning), could be accessed, *"She must sell herself so that she has quick money to maintain her status"* (UniW). Once more, demonstrating a strong ['bracketing'] opposition to NGOs' lack of engagement with the insecure realities of poverty, one participant remarked, *"if these [NGO] seminars worked our sisters who sell their bodies wouldn't still be out there. It has even increased whilst I have been at university and now even boys are selling themselves"* (UniW). And one Uni young man, expanded on this, also pointing out how social mobility for women through means other than relationships is not at present a common reality: *"It's much easier for us [boys] to sustain ourselves in this [university] environment than it is for girls. When they come to university, supporting their family [with their government loans] is a new thing, they don't know how to budget and people are less likely to cooperate with them in business. The most simple ways on offer to them [for making money] are to sell themselves or find a man."* (UniM). Furthermore, all groups of Uni youth described how the university context only contributes to such vulnerabilities through Uni staff acting as predators: *"FS5: For this man [who the group decided must be a Professor/Teacher] to walk and follow her and say 'I love you', it means that he has figured out that there is something that she needs and already has a mind to getting something [sex] in return... / FS7: She cannot hold on to both school and these worldly things. So Rehema must accept this teacher so that she can do well in her classes. And on top of that she sees that the teacher gets a salary which means she knows 'he will meet all my [financial] needs'... [If she loses her studies] her life will be lost"* (UniWs). And, *"You do not want to find her [your girlfriend] at the Dean's office... Chatting with the Dean... or a teacher... We have teachers here who have [sexual] relations with their students... They can fail both of you... For them [teachers] to get what they want"* (UniM).

Some groups of young women (both UP and Uni) also described NGO workers as acting in predatorial or disingenuous ways which acted as a semantic barrier, 'undermining the motive' of NGO knowledge more generally: [Interviewer: *"Do you see many NGO workers as role models?"*].. *FS4: That is not true [shakes head vigorously]. You know, many of them, to be perfectly honest... Many of them are selfish. They will stand and say 'I am ready, please follow me and I will help' but it is not true... you follow them and they tell you to stop wasting their time. And if you go out and tell people that you went to this person and they turned you away, who do you think will believe you?... And many*

(workers) come here just because they are paid to show up by some organisation. So what they say is not what they do / FS7: Some approach you after the seminar for sex" (UniWs); and *"F3: I come to a seminar to be educated but then after you [the facilitator] approach me and ask to have unprotected sex so why shouldn't I ignore you... therefore these NGOs and what they teach it's all talk... it means that the community just ignores what these [NGO] people say, they say you are a teacher who is good in the classroom but later if I see you, you are different from how you teach and then you ask me why I ignore you?... It's because you ignore yourself / F2: It's true, many NGOs give education but they themselves don't follow it yet they want us to follow it, this isn't realistic"* (UPWs). Therefore, for all young women, insecurities and dangers are widespread in their environments, also being much more expansive than just the prevalence of sexually-transmitted infections (STIs).

Two of the young men also described NGOs as exacerbating rather than helping these insecurities. One Uni young man in the feedback session connected the Uni young woman's quote about NGO workers not being role models to the same issues described above: *"It's globalisation. Back in the day people had their culture. But now with globalisation young people are chasing a good life very fast. They have become greedy. Before there was no greed. Our elders used to work and their development came from their own sweat. But ahh today, all we want is money and that's why we are being fooled... It's possible that when I start working at an NGO I don't have greed in my mind but then the Manager tells me about how we can both make money together, and once you start you can't stop"* (UniM). Whilst for this UP young man, donor-project cycles were identified as adding to insecurities, as well as causing NGO fatigue in his community: *"This NGO system has changed. Years before there used to be lots of companies coming to fight HIV in our communities and provide 'youth friendly services'... but where are these projects today?... this has created a bad environment where if a donor leaves then the project goes with them. We have seen the Champion project come and go, also the Ishi campaign, Youth Talk... but still parents can't talk to their children and young people don't even want to come and talk about [sex] education anymore"* (UPM). Nevertheless, another UP young man in the feedback discussion reconciled the overall security that NGOs offer in terms of employment to youth, yet how, in a context so grossly lacking in other alternatives, unsuitable people can come to take these positions: *"many people go into these NGO jobs, not because they want to change their community, but because*

life is hard and attending seminars can lead to employment. So many NGO workers don't care about their work, they themselves haven't been changed by the education so how can they change other people?!" (UPM).

5.2.3 Similarities and Differences

In this section, I have presented youth discussions pertaining to the structures which situate their sexualities. Their representations emphasise how they are caught-up in structures of insecurity and injustice, albeit to varying degrees. For example, where the UP youth are seen to stigmatise themselves for being excluded from the NGO 'sphere', the Uni youth demonstrate greater power and resolve in their representational position, using the 'bracketing' barrier to instead position NGOs as apart from their reality. The Uni youth also stigmatise rather than warn others from moving into the 'global' sphere, giving an indication that such actions are based on choice rather than desperation. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that for some Uni youth, the reasoning is still desperation rather than choice. The greater vulnerability of UP youth can also be seen in their representations of NGO knowledge as dangerous, and the stigmatisation of young women who follow NGO advice, represents a more coercive form of warning off youth from being 'nonsensical' and thinking that the NGO knowledge relates to them. For young women, it is clear that the dangers of NGOs are not confined to the knowledge that they promote, and all groups of youth can be seen to discount advocates and representatives of NGOs, not only for their duplicity, but also in the young men's representations of them as contributors to insecurity, yet at the same time, the only option that some youth have. In this way, NGOs are not represented as an aspirational alternative, unlike the capitalist global, which only further strengthens separations from NGOs.

These representations of structures not only clash with those in the curricula (in the previous chapter), which emphasised youth responsibilities in creating a 'better world', but also highlight the striking absence of any engagement with poverty, and the insecurity that it produces. I would argue that the use of semantic devices which self-exclude are indicative of protective responses against this neglect by NGOs. Another striking absence in the curricula is discussion on 'the global', and how the independence promoted by NGOs, is also being pushed by capitalist ventures, meaning

that complexities for the Self, in living at the local-global, are completely overlooked or even underplayed. The following section will unpack this in more depth.

5.3 The Self: Interdependencies Under Threat and Social Exclusions

The youth representations of their identities clearly placed emphases on interdependence and the prioritisation of relationships, and fitting into one's surroundings, for a positive sense of Self. All groups of youth described how *"a person learns from the environment that surrounds them"* (UniW), in which environment means people as much as structural aspects: *"due to the behaviour of the people she hangs around with, she ends up adapting her behaviour and behaves the same way"* (UPW). However, in connection with the previous section, and its illustration of the pervasive and shifting tensions between the local and the global, along with the dangerous conditions place on accessing the global, such interdependencies can be seen to be under threat. These tensions for the Self at the local-global are thematised through the following themata: fixity—change; and old—new. Each will now be discussed, and then once again, the similarities and differences between groups of youth and with the curricula, will be unpacked afterwards.

5.3.1 Fixity—Change

Aspects of fixity were pervasive in representations of the Self, and UP youth used semantic barriers such as stigmatisation-of-Self and the positioning of formal schooling as rigidly opposed against the 'local' culture, so as to disengage with representations of development through education: *"There's a Swahili proverb it says 'the baby of a snake is a snake' this is happening in our poor streets... So [the community]... will think of him as they think of his Mother, because she is a cleaner then she doesn't know the importance of education that's why even her son doesn't know the importance of education"* (UPM). And *"You know if you have stayed home for longer than two years then your mind starts to copy the environment. She won't even be thinking about school. She will now just be waiting to be married in line with her culture"* (UPW). Yet the wider societal stigmatisation of being uneducated did come out in one discussion group

where the [Tanzanian] interviewer [aside from the topic guide] asked *"How would a girl of Rehema's type react?"* and for a number of minutes after, all participants' responses included *"'Even uneducated people' ... [e.g.] dream of having a good life, of being loved and living happily"* (UPWs). The Uni youth discussions however, highlighted the gendered disparities in opportunities for change through formal education. Whilst Uni young men emphasised how education *"can lift him and his family [out of poverty]"* (UniM), the opportunities offered to Uni young women through university were represented rather differently: *"they [girls] don't even come to class and they don't fail... and tomorrow you see them get out of the teacher's car and walk majestically"* (UniM); and *"[University enables her] to look for a man who will treat her well"* (UniW). In the feedback discussion one Uni young woman identified this fixed misrecognition of female students as the reason for why the dangers of the university context for young women were not changing: *"There is no formal recognition that this [teachers having sex with students] is a problem... a student might complain that a certain teacher did this to me, but who do they report to? [Teachers]. So, the system doesn't allow her to find the solutions to her problems. If anything, it threatens her and only adds to her suffering"* (UniW).

There was also a fixity in the moral framings by which youth described the people around them, essentially distinguished by whether they were sexually active (and all the other 'bad' behaviours that go with that e.g. drinking alcohol, going to nightclubs, using sex for material things etc.) or not. The majority of youth represented themselves as having no control over the group of friends that they have: *"she might find herself in bad groups and she will find herself wasting her time, and her life"* (UniW); *"he's lucky if he ends up making friends with a peer educator"* (UPM); *"F3: A big percentage of friends are not good... They will tell you 'how can you be with a man that gives you nothing, find another, there are so many' / F1: Friends that give good advice are very rare around here"* (UPWs). Only the Uni young men and one Uni young woman expressed that a person can choose their friends and 'environment': *"At university you meet people with different characters so he can start to decide what kind of a person he wants to be, and this is where a person can destroy themselves. You can come to university a good person, he doesn't drink alcohol, he doesn't go to nightclubs, but he mixes with people that do, so it is for him to decide on what life he wants"* (UniM); and *"meeting different people helps expand your ability to understand and incorporate new things into your life... at*

university a person gets to develop by learning about the bad things in life and on how to avoid them" (UniW). Nevertheless, the Uni young men did also talk about the 'mob psychology' at university where *"men want to follow the crowd, be like other people without even knowing their background (i.e. if their privilege comes from family wealth)"* (UniM), and described how *"the 'model' for girls at university is to desire [material things]. 3pm on a Friday you can see the cars start parking up to pick up the girls. They don't want for anything"* (UniM). Therefore, this tension is clearly associated with the need to be seen as similar to (and so not beneath or excluded from) others: *"she finds herself in the wrong groups because she wants to look good like her colleagues so that she remains on the same 'level' with them"* (UniW).

Furthermore, adjustments to 'bad' people were represented as being fixed (i.e. that there is no return from the 'the bad'). For young men (as well as some young women), this fixity was represented as being caused by the power of sexual desires: *"he is already a ladies man and looking at his environment [the 'poor people' streets] I don't think if he used a condom... if someone is used to having sex all the time so that is going to be their legacy"* (UPM); *"[sex] has become her behaviour and she takes it as a normal thing... she might be affected psychologically... [and] normally if you have more than one man, you can't change because one man won't be enough"* (UniW); *"however he started having sex, that is the way he will continue, so it will only be unsafe sex"* (UniM). For women however, the fixity of the 'bad' had more social consequences in that 'changes' in women were viewed as only being possible through sexual relations: *"[The community] will assume that you look good because you have started seeing a man"* (UPW); or *"if you see your wife, your girlfriend has changed... you start to doubt... maybe she has a new guy"* (UniM). Yet whilst 'positive' changes (i.e. those that make a woman more desirable) would result in gossip, 'bad' changes (i.e. the loss of status, or illness) for women, resulted in absolute exclusion: *"when you have stuff, you always have many friends. But when they see that Rehema's situation has changed, they will start to disassociate themselves from her"* (UniW); *"you already have a bad reputation at the university so nobody will help you"* (UniW); and *"[people] will say bad things about her, say that she has a bad character, that she is a prostitute and that 'it's not suitable for our children to hang out with her'"* (UPW). Consequently, regardless of the reason for the 'bad' fixity, the semantic device of prohibited thoughts was used (as it was in the curricula) by some youth in warning off others, particularly girls, from crossing over to

the 'bad': *"a big problem is that these girls get used to these quick ways of getting what they want so they won't be able to settle, they won't be able to marry"* (UniM); or *"even if you stay within a marriage you start hating that man because in your mind you've started comparing [him to previous lovers]… Someone who has never had sex with anyone else before the husband is not tortured by these dissatisfactions"* (UPW).

Only the Uni male peer educators (PEs) represented change as possible for anybody and in doing this stigmatised against those who did not 'choose' a good life: *"We'll tell you how to wear a condom, we'll tell you to not do this or the other but the final decision is yours. If you want to have a good life and live well with people you will do it"* (UniM PEs). Yet for other youth, the challenge posed by NGO representations of behaviour change through intervention on these pervasive representations of fixity, were managed using semantic barriers. 'Separation' could be seen in the representation that receiving NGO education before starting to have sex is different from receiving it after: *"he entered into a relationship before getting the education… Now that he has it… He might consider it as useless"* (UniM); *"If she had gotten this education earlier, so that she didn't grow thinking that money is only available from men, because it's too late now"* (UPW); or *"This peer education should reach young people in time… because once you start these behaviours it's very hard to change"* (UniM). Also, the stigmatisation-of-Self device was used by one Uni young woman in emphasising that many youth do not see the 'good' NGO as being for them: *"For Rehema to really absorb what is being taught [by the NGO], there must be some living examples. Maybe someone that has gone through what she is going through. When that person stands up to speak she will believe that she really still has a chance to change and maybe have a good life, 'it doesn't matter what I have done in the past, I can still come back'… But if they just come and talk about not having unprotected sex … She will think, 'I have already done that, I am already infected, this is not for me, it is too late'"* (UniW).

5.3.2 Old—New

Tensions with 'old' ways of (interdependently) representing identities were clear amongst all groups of youth except for the Uni young women, who potentially were not affected by this in that by being at university, they had already broken away from 'old' interdependencies: *"She will be free [at University] to do anything without being questioned"* (UniW). UP young women (except for one who described a positive

supportive relationship with her Mother), instead, represented parents as a hindrance, and expressed resentment at having to be (seen socially to be) dependent on them whilst also lacking support from them, or even having to provide for them: *"Parents play a big part in ruining their children... we are raised to fear them... if you ask your Mother for money for sanitary pads she will shout at you saying 'haven't I taught you to use a cloth' so you see it as better to be with a man"*; and *"these days there are families where even if you are wearing new clothes, they won't ask you, because they know that they didn't buy those clothes... 'ok Mum I'm going out with my guy', 'ok, you just go ahead', and maybe she is out all night but the Mother doesn't worry, if she [the Mother] is given 10,000TSH herself, she just thanks God"* (UPWs). Young men's representations of this issue were less personal, and instead highlighted the wider fracturing of local society, and one UP young man identified NGOs as not helping with this*: "in the old days there were procedures. If an old man loved a young girl they had to follow a protocol, 'I will go to her parents, maybe I can bribe them so I can get the girl', but nowadays people do as they wish, if he sees a girl he just goes ahead and chases her and there is no one to make sure that he stays responsible to her"* (UniM); and *"NGOs aren't educating parents. They only educate youth but then when they go home their parents tell them differently. In the old days a child belonged to the community... So whereas before children were educated by the community, now they are completely dependent on their parents for education and many parents in our streets are not educated. NGOs need to look at supporting them"* (UPM).

This fracturing of interdependencies in the local society held clear implications for male identities. The 'old' form of recognition as a successful male adult was predominantly through the provider role: *"As the boy in the family he needs to be seen in the community as a man who is doing something for his family so he has dropped out of school to find paying work"* (UPM). Yet all of the young men described how challenging the achievement of this form of recognition is in contexts of poverty: *"[Your friends] don't know how much you're hustling to make her look good in front of their eyes. When they know it was you who did the whole work then they will praise you and from there you will start bragging but you know that you are poor and have lots of problems so you have to work hard to provide for her and even when you can't take care of her anymore and you want to dump her because it's too much for you, you will keep providing for her so that she looks good every day and so that your CV will be good to*

your friends" (UPM); and *"It has been written in scriptures that women shall experience pain while giving birth and men shall sweat... Therefore, it is my responsibility to feed the woman and do the things that will please her. But this is a heavy responsibility on us youth. Today having a girlfriend at University and wanting to pay for every one of her expenses, it is impossible... She has her [government loan] allowance... And you have yours... Why then, should we only spend my money? And that is how girls are, they wait until you run out of money before they start spending theirs. And they might even get you in debt and refuse to bail you out. It is just people taking on more responsibility than they are capable of taking on at that time"* (UniM).

As can be seen in the last quote, Uni young men, unlike UP young men, are clearly beginning to resist this 'provider' form of recognition. Several also described their families as a "nuisance" or a "burden" that they are trying to escape, and in one group, resisting the entire convention of marriage was discussed: *"MS6: long ago marriage had its importance but these days a young person if I get married it becomes an obstacle to meeting other girls, so now young people are doing it [not getting married] as a fashion / MS4: It's true a person will have a baby outside of marriage which is very different from long ago / MS5: Before the community would have taken a person having a baby outside of marriage as him being a hooligan who has no respect for his wife, but now people take it as very normal thing, and it's [become] very important especially for boys, they call each other 'real man' for these behaviours, it gives them status"* (UniMs). This resistance is potentially indicative of the greater power afforded to Uni young men through higher education, and as with Uni young women, the opportunity of forging a life apart from one's family. Nevertheless, whilst UP young men all claimed that they would marry if they could, they also maximised on 'newer' forms of recognition in identities as a "sharp shooter" or a "ladies man", exclusion from which involved ridiculing : *"Guys will laugh at you if you don't have a girlfriend"* (UPM); *"His friends will likely tease him if they see that he likes her too much, [and say] 'she was flirting with me'"* (UPM); and *"There are people who ridicule me for sticking with one woman year after year"* (UniM). The main difference between the two groups however was that whilst Uni young men represented these new identities in new ways, UP young men anchored them in 'older' framings, *"in Islam you're allowed to have four wives you see, this is because God knew this before, that men are always crazy and weak when it comes to women"* (UPM). Furthermore, some of the Uni young men showed resistance against these new

identities by stigmatising those who adopt them as 'uncivilized': *"Before they used civilized language, they called their mistresses 'little houses', whereas today they are called 'diversions'"* (UniM).

5.3.3 Similarities and Differences

This section highlights how the combined experiences of poverty and interactions with 'the global', are disrupting and reshaping opportunities available to young people for positive social recognition. The local curriculum (in Chapter 4) insinuates this at the relational level in its discussions about how formal education is contributing to the breakdown of cohesive communities. However, its focus on independence and neglect of poverty, mean that the dilemmas which youth face in their identities are completely overlooked. For the youth discussions emphasise exclusions as being what is at stake in their identities. Yet all three curricula represent the Self in terms of positive versus negative recognition, giving no thought towards issues of *non*recognition, which I argue highlights the privilege inherent to all three. Once again, the Uni youth can be seen to have greater opportunities and resolve in forging 'newer' forms of recognition, although Uni young women are still enormously constrained by institutionalised forms of non-recognition (e.g. of their intellect). The UP youth, instead display limited convictions in the concept of self-change itself. Without marriage, they are excluded from 'older' forms of recognition, and without formal education, represent themselves as excluded from the 'safe' recognitions afforded by 'the global'. They therefore represent sexual relationships as the only pathway for positive recognition of the Self. Yet the dangers of the sexualised Self (in terms of health as well as exclusion from 'the local'), particularly for young women, mean that whilst the UP youth represent themselves as excluded from NGO representations of the Self and self-change, they still hold onto it, which I would again argue, can be seen as a form of protection against a complete submission to social exclusion. Furthermore, the detachments which all groups of youth describe with 'their local', highlights the likely inapplicability of the advice given in the adapted and universal curricula about turning to 'trustworthy adults'. The next section will discuss the ways in which youth represent the opportunities afforded to them through relationships with others.

5.4 The Relational: About Survival Not Power

All three curricula (in Chapter 4) represented battles against powerlessness as the primary focus in relationships. From the discussions thus far, it is perhaps already evident how a focus on power might likely be limited in connecting with these youth. However, the themata by which youth represent their relationships (independence—dependence; and agreements—betrayals), indicate that whilst battles for survival rather than power are the primary focus, that traces of NGO representations of power can be seen in the ways in which youth are justifying their relationship dynamics. These justifications also connect strongly with the themata in the previous two sections, portraying tensions between the local and global, old and new, fixity and change, as well as the risks associated with conditional opportunities for bringing oneself out of poverty.

5.4.1 Independence['Msimamo']—Dependence['Tamaa'] in 'The Games'

Unpacking the meanings behind the terms 'msimamo' and 'tamaa' made-up much of the discussions in the feedback sessions, and in the analysis their juxtapositions became clear. Their direct translations are 'position' and 'desire' yet the ways in which youth used them also indicated a stable versus a changeable person, a person who has agency and direction in their life versus one who does not, and also a moral association with the 'good' old and the 'bad' new ways of life, identities, and relations. I was finally able to reconcile these different dimensions when realising that at the relational level, they essentially represent the extent to which one is independent of, or dependent on, what all youth described as "*the games*" (i.e. sexual relations) which make-up prevailing battles for recognition (for the Self) and access to power and privilege [and therefore ultimately survival] both between and within genders. Such adversarial relations therefore negate from the outset possibilities for mutuality and [reciprocal] responsibility in relationships (which are key aspects of interdependence): "*People only laugh with you when you are of benefit to them. When you are not, they do not care... People only look for their own wellbeing*" (UniW); and "*Most of the time people have a negative attitude about [don't trust] their [sexual] partner*" (UPM). Furthermore, this relational dynamic underpinned the stigmatisation-of-self or 'prohibited thoughts' that all youth except one Uni young man used in representing how 'true love' is 'not for

them' or should be avoided because it is dangerous: *"When I meet someone I will never be able to show true/sincere love... I'll stay just because I'm gaining [financially] from him and he's gaining [sex and social status] from me. Because nowadays it's about gaining from each other... give me I give you [laughs slowly shaking her head] but sincerely love won't exist"* (UPW); and *"Some of them [people who secretly have HIV] are our girlfriends [Laughs]... Because many have sex with people just to get money... [and] they get it [HIV] too... It is very dangerous if you love a person"* (UniM).

Therefore msimamo, and the ability to not engage with or compete in 'the games' and have love in relationships, is clearly represented as a privilege experienced by those who are not 'in need': *"Pendo might have true love for Juma... but it is just that she cannot get those things she needs... But she might also think that Juma will get a job in the future... so she might hang out [have sex] with another person until he is able"* (UniM); *"to have msimamo is to be satisfied with your life and to not think about what others have as being better than what you have"* (UPM); *"when you are poor there are temptations everywhere"* (UPW). Youth (except the Uni young women, discussed shortly), nevertheless did indicate strategies through which youth 'in need' could have msimamo. The Uni young men represented this in terms of excluding oneself from 'bad people': *"If someone is serious about their education they will choose a good [friendship] group... like a discussion group, those that read and do things like that and avoid temptation"*; *"He might come from an environment of religion and respectability and stay with that, finding friends who stay in classrooms, or he might be tempted into other things and let go of his msimamo"*; *"if the girl is not after a relationship like how the NGO says, then she will tempt him away from his msimamo"* (UniMs). The UP youth, similarly described how having msimamo would require disconnecting oneself completely from the surrounding community, moving into the NGO or the religious 'sphere': *"slowly he might be able to change but he would have to leave his whole life and friends behind him to do this"* (UPM); *"me and my friends we do the same things, so say they go to nightclubs but then they see her going to church, there will be a split and that is where you will see if she has msimamo or not"* (UPW). Yet, the difficulties in doing this, after having tried sex (remembering the representation of unidirectional movement between 'good' and bad' spheres), was also emphasised: *"Bahati can't think of anything but sex, it is already drawn on his brain, and with sex on your brain you won't again be able to think about development [or your own progress in life], so he's just looking for work so he can have*

this girl" (UPM); *"she will need to keep busy so that she doesn't think about sex all the time"* (UPW); *"There is a Swahili proverb that say 'if you eat human flesh, you will always eat human flesh and can't stop doing it',... [So] he can't stop himself from his desires... and only bad things can come from that"* (UPM); *"Many are caught like that [addicted to bad sexual relationships], to the point that they ruin their studies, many many students can't study because of relationship problems. They go to the Dean to ask to postpone and return home for a bit, they just can't find a way to go on"* (UniM).

Yet such 'absolute removal' from the games was clearly problematic for young women. The Uni young women only referenced msimamo when talking of NGO knowledge, and used the semantic barrier of 'bracketing' to emphasise how it was not possible in their reality (as discussed in section 1) to be independent from 'the games'. And two of the discussion groups described how having msimamo was dangerous for a young woman at University, telling potentially the same story of a female student who had been recently kicked out because *"she stuck with her msimamo"* and repeatedly refused a teacher's sexual advances (Uni youth). For the UP young women, their reliance on relationships for survival limited potentials for msimamo (churches and NGOs rarely offer monetary support to people): *"she might go to church or the mosque for one or two days... [but then] she will start desiring her relationships from before, 'in my relationships I was healthy and now I look a mess', money problems, 'wait, let me just agree to [have sex with] this man, then she's back in it"* (UPW). Furthermore, the UP young women described there being limitations on their msimamo even when a woman had it: *"there could be two Rehemas – one who has 'msimamo', knows herself and that this behaviour [of unprotected sex] is bad. She won't be happy but won't be able to make sure a condom is used because she has various [money] problems, but then there are those who just, truthfully, mh, just do it"*; and *"Even if you have education and have msimamo, as a woman you cannot save yourself because we have a weakness, we can't believe in ourselves because next to men we women are underneath. For example, if I were to go to the station and say to the bus driver that I have no money but really need to get somewhere he will tell me 'you must agree to have sex with me, do you agree?' You see, this is why we [women] have no confidence in ourselves, we can't save ourselves until we get help from someone else so it's really hard. And this is different for men, they can get on the bus and arrive at their stop and just get off without paying but me if I get off like*

that and meet that driver again they will really hurt me so I will always need help" (UPWs). Therefore, again the pervasive constraints on women are clear.

Nevertheless, one group of Uni young women did discuss how some of their peers identified their use of sexual relationships for having social mobility as a marker of independence and form of msimamo, *"she will see her [sexual] use of men as a way of getting what she wants in life, as her msimamo"* (UniW). However, as was debated after this comment as well as represented in other groups, such actions were assigned more commonly to representations of tamaa together with the semantic barrier stigmatisation-of-self so as to explain why msimamo (and the NGO representation of independence in relationships) was 'not for them': *"There is more tamaa today than there was before... girls these days we are so much after money. I have a boyfriend but at the same time I have a sugar daddy that can give me money and can provide me with my other needs. So the truth is there is no msimamo these days. And I feel bad about that because not having msimamo is a bad behaviour"* (UniW); *"M6: Msimamo comes from education, from having your own brain / M8: It's true. You know we Tanzanians we live by copying [conforming]"* (UPMs); *"In the old days people had msimamo but now people don't. There is no true love in Africa because people don't have msimamo. People change like chameleons... no-one is trustworthy... and it's all because of the need for money and tamaa for wanting to be seen as better than others"* (UPM).

5.4.2 Agreements—Betrayals in Tamaa

For those dependent on 'the games', be it for survival, social status or the need to satisfy sexual desires, the main point of focus was to maximise chances of survival over defeat. And there were clear gendered strategies in this, thematised by the ever-present tensions between agreements and betrayals. The unpredictability and tension in these negotiations was largely rooted in the overarching representation of sexual desire as being completely uncontrollable: *"It only means unsafe sex... when they meet, everybody is horny, now talking about a condom? There is always 'let's do it faster and off we go'"* (UPMs); *"I do not want to have a scenario where sex is available but I do not have condoms with me... But if both of you go prepared and in your senses, everything will go well"* (UniM); and *"MS3: After you have satisfied each other [sexually], that is when the regrets start because the feelings you had have gone / MS8: You are back to the normal situation, you will ask yourself, 'really was that me or am I dreaming?' So for a certain*

time your brain was shut-down by your feelings / FS2: Yes when a woman is alone with a man she will find herself having sex even when she went there with no plans of doing that" (Uni youth). A question was asked in the feedback session about this representation of sex as being inevitable when alone. Two out of the three groups said that once two people are alone together it would be impossible to stop sex happening, and the UP young men said that force would be used if needed. In the third group, these same views were being expressed but one Uni young woman stood up to and challenged the group: *"FS1: You can make him stop / FS2: No, psychologically he has already taken your clothes off / FS1: But she can still leave; FS2: That depends, for some people it's very hard / MS4: If he/she has msimamo... / FS1: Yes women with msimamo they won't even let you touch their boobs and if you move close she'll move away / MS11: But look at the question it says that they are about to start. That means no one has msimamo / FS1: But she can still leave / MS4: Hmm women maybe not men / MS1: The mind is not his"* (Uni youth).

This representation of sex and consent has clear implications for the dynamics of agreements and betrayals. Firstly, all youth were adamant that they had no control over the sexual encounter, which clashes with NGO knowledge that connects positive identities (in the LC) and relationships (in the AC) with the controlling of emotions. Only Uni young men talked about 'control' however, and were seen to manage this clash through the stigmatisation-of-self device: *"We should not let our emotions control us... but as you see Juma is controlled by his emotions... He might get the education but his emotions will get him back to doing what he used to do"* (UniM). Furthermore, this representation of powerlessness was used by a number of young men to normalise rape: *"you know you can't take your girl to a room that you share with your friends, it's not good you can easily share her with your friends"* (UPM); *"a man is very weak when it comes to sex, it's not easy for him to control himself if a woman is not strong enough to stop him"* (UniM). The young women also clearly held a similar representation of this, in that they commonly used the verb *'kushinikiza'* ('to push') when describing young men doing what would be defined as rape in NGO knowledge, whilst saying *'kulazimika'* ('to force') when talking about people in power or poverty as causes for sex. And in the vignette for Uni young women, where this exact scenario happens (i.e. a young man tricks a young woman into being alone – see section 3.3.3.1), all but one of the young women decided that they would be hurt but not angry with the young man. It is important to note that all of these youth have attended sessions on gender-

based violence (which includes discussion on rape and consent), yet this representation of powerlessness in sex appears to remain unchallenged by NGO knowledge (i.e. only Uni young men discussed the notion of control), and is immensely coercive.

Nevertheless, all youth did emphasise the importance of consent, in that *"she must first agree"* (UPM). However, their representation of it was quite different from the NGO representations (seen in Chapter 4), instead being anchored in local marriage negotiation procedures, where the courting involves the man providing the woman with gifts, who indicates consent through acceptance of them; an agreement which is considered binding: *"he will use money, flour, chips, or even promise her something big like a phone or stylish clothes to get her to agree"* (UPW); *"Simon will look for Rehema in a private place and only what will follow is she must pay him for the presents that he has brought to her. Therefore, only sex will follow"* (UPW); *"FS6: At first she has to agree by her mouth [verbally] to show that she has accepted his gifts. The other things can follow / FS4: Maybe he will propose to meet at some place... [and when he does] Rehema must go because she has already accepted [to have sex with] him"* (UniWs). Therefore, it is in these negotiations where the gendered strategies thematised by agreements and betrayals, are exercised.

For young men, survival in "the games" involves having sex without too much of a financial loss and so common tactics involve tricking girls into being alone, lying about financial capabilities or absconding from 'payments', or general avoidance of a more long-term provider role: *"He will show off to give the impression that he has money... so that no one will look down on him"* (UniM); *"If you are honest with girls you don't get them but if you lie you do"* (UniM); *"He knows that if he had told Rehema that he's alone that she wouldn't have come so he decided to lie to her. She will think if I have sex with him he might buy me more things, and he will love me more"* (UniW); *"She can't agree immediately to go somewhere like a guesthouse because there is only one thing that can happen there. He will lure her, you know he will lie to her maybe 'let's go see my Mother she wants to meet you"* (UPW); *"He has sex with them and then pretends he gets a call, leaves and then blocks their number on his phone"* (UPM); *"if she has brains she will get the money and gifts before they are alone"* (UPW). Therefore, defeat for young women is having sex but being cheated out of any kind of gain from it, to which a fixity in terms of 'devaluation' is assigned: *"After sex you know she's not good so you end it right there"*

(UPM); *""She will feel very bad, like she no longer has any value"* (UniW). Male defeat was signified by losing a young woman that he likes because of not being able to provide for her: *"my girlfriend came and asked me to help her but I can't right now, I can't even get a loan, so I've been avoiding her for three weeks now, I don't think I can go back to her now [because she will have found another man]"* (UniM). This was described as happening a lot, and owing to the adversarial dynamics of relationships, all young women made sense of a man not being able to provide for her when she asks, or avoiding her, despite saying that he loves her (as happened in the vignettes), as meaning that he has lost interest: *"A person who says that they love you can't even come for just ten minutes and give you some small thing [money] and then leave?! Mh! She will feel very bad, truly it will hurt her that he doesn't love her anymore"* (UPW).

Other than ensuring the giving of gifts/payment before intercourse, other strategies were also spoken of, that young women use in attempting to maximise their [limited] power in 'the games': *"F6: The girl will have to assess whether she is okay with the meeting place, a guesthouse or at his friend's place… / F8: Some girls will only meet you in the streets but he will try and make sure they are close by to a guesthouse"* (UPMs); *"[Sometimes] she will tell her friends that she is coming with her boyfriend and they will agree in advance… So you two can come and rest, and spend the night together until the morning after"* (UniM); *"If there's another man who has been bothering her she might 'beep' his phone but it's hard for a woman to just start something up with a man, from nowhere 'ok I agree [to have sex] with you come over'. Definitely the man will ask himself what is going on [see her as 'cheap']. She could 'beep' his phone and see if he has needs and in these discussions she will say that she needs money"* (UPW). Nevertheless, any sign of desperation immediately disadvantages a woman: *"if a woman wants money then she won't ask about a condom, Bahati can just do her however he wants"* (UPM). And both young men and women discussed how relationships with older people are in fact preferable, largely because they do not play such games: *"without doubt Rehema will find, or her friends will find, an older person to give her the things that she wants"* (UniW); *"Truly us men hate to be asked for money that's why you see lots of men going out with older women"* (UPM).

5.4.3 Similarities and Differences

This section illustrates how the disconnections between youth and NGO representations seen in previous sections (i.e. related to the Self and structures), situate and compound clashes in representations of relations with others. Advice to youth in the curricula, focussed on negotiating with adults (AC), avoiding dangerous or harmful relationships (UC), or exercising self-control (LC) all neglect the ways in which poverty and globalisation continue to disrupt societal hierarchies and produce insecurities which make relations paradoxical: for whilst interdependencies are disrupted, they also become all the more important in terms of recognition and the accessing of resources for survival, yet at the same time, are dangerous. As has been seen throughout this chapter, the stakes for young women in these relations are significantly higher in that 'defeat' can mean absolute social exclusion. Nevertheless, I would argue that all youth suffer from these adversarial and paradoxical relations, which can be recognised by the similarities between groups in the semantic barriers used, as well as the strength in the protective (identity) mechanisms used. For example, all groups of youth are exposed to NGO knowledge on power (e.g. through human rights, education, maturity etc.), yet their unchallenged, and therefore hegemonic, representation of sex as all-powerful, negates it outright, and so is the strongest semantic barrier available. Only some of the Uni young men recognise the NGO knowledge on self-control, yet even they, in doing this, exclude themselves from it using the stigmatisation-of-Self device. In this case though, I would suggest that the stigmatisation-of-Self device is indicative of their greater sense of power than the other youth, just in that they are able to acknowledge the alternative, and have the capacity to deal with dependence on sex as being a choice as much as a natural truth. Some of the Uni young women could also be seen to display greater power in their outright rejection that independence is possible or even ideal in their relationships (in contrast, other Uni young women and UP youth used the stigmatisation-of-Self device).

Another protective strategy, but against 'local' knowledge, can be seen in how youth have redefined the term 'msimamo', towards emphasising, or even reclaiming their self-exclusion from it. For the term originally represented the holding of a strong position amongst others in the community; 'local' recognition which, as already discussed, is difficult for youth to access owing to not being able to marry because of

poverty. They therefore use it in a different way, associating it more with autonomy in relations, however not in 'the global' sense where autonomy means power *over* context, but rather where 'msimamo' is equated with autonomy from the risks and dangers of a deprived and enormously unstable environment, of which people are viewed as being a part of, namely 'the games'. In this way, they privilege it, as they do with 'the global', yet in a way which suits their particular relations-in-context experiences. The 'local' power or prestige in the term can be seen to persist however, in how some young women are said to extend its use even further away from the original meaning, using it to recognise their *use* of sexual relationships as independent power.

Therefore, I suggest that youth exclusions are most acute at this level. All groups would be vulnerable to stigma in the representations of power in relations in the three curricula (Chapter 4). And furthermore, all are (self-)stigmatised by 'the local', involving exclusions not only from elder generations, but also from one another, typified by widespread distrust. Clashing once again with NGO knowledge, relationships with peers are considered so dangerous that sexual relations with older people (i.e. 'sugar daddies and mummies') are represented as safer.

5.5 Implications and Discussion

In this chapter, I have looked at how different groups of youth, who have attended CSE interventions, represent their intimate relationships and agency to act within them. I applied the same analytical frame to their discussions as that used in the analysis of CSE curricula (Chapter 4), working to draw comparisons between the two datasets. I therefore, set to identifying the themata which act as the dialogical core of youth representations of their sexualities, at three interconnected levels: the Self; relations with others; and socio-structural contexts. I also looked for the semantic barriers/promoters that youth used in managing engagements with 'alternative' representations to their own. In presenting these, I also integrated discussion on interpretations of similarities and differences between the different groups of youth, as well as with the CSE curricula (Chapter 4).

Youth representations of the structures which situate their intimate relationships were rooted in two themata: us—them (representing NGOs as well as 'the global' more

generally); and insecurity—[conditional]security. Both themata were used to emphasise the deprivation (comparative to the global), marginalisations, and associated insecurities (i.e. the precarity) that youth experience in their social contexts. Yet the use of different semantic barriers by different groups of youth, indicated that they experienced these structures differentially, with Uni youth displaying greater power and resolve in their representational positions (e.g. against NGO knowledge). 'The global' was aspired to through the semantic promoter 'exaltation', yet always ambivalently, in that semantic barriers were concurrently used so as to emphasise how engagements with the global required 'leaving the local'. At the level of the Self, the two identified themata were: fixity—change; and new—old. Youth drew on them in illustrating how 'old' opportunities for positive social recognition had broken down with poverty and globalisation. Uni young men explicitly discussed 'newer' forms of recognition, yet Uni young women strikingly less so, even with their formal education, owing to pervasive and institutionalised gender inequalities. For the UP youth, sexual relations were represented as the only 'new' pathway for positive recognition of the Self, but they also simultaneously warned against it as dangerous and bad. At the relational level, the two identified themata pertained to representations of youth involvements in 'the games', namely the struggles for positive recognition and survival *through* sexual relations: independence—dependence on the games; and agreements—betrayals in dependence (on the games). Unlike the other levels (i.e. Self and structures), youth representations of their relationships were similar across all groups of youth, and all rooted in (self)exclusion from notions of control or power in relations with others.

I suggest that all of these themata give an indication of struggles for agency-in-constraint, be it efforts to get out of deprivation and the insecurity that goes with it, or striving to find opportunities for a positive sense of Self, or trying to navigate the complex and dangerous 'games'. Additionally, the semantic barriers give insight into the relational instances of agency-in-constraint that all groups express, rooted in strategies for protecting one's own identity and semantic environment (albeit with varying degrees of force) against the extreme contraints and compounded marginalisations from both local and global knowledge cultures (e.g. poverty, gender and intergenerational dynamics, NGO knowledge, the privileged West etc). The hegemonic, therefore unchallenged and coercive representation of sex as all-powerful,

as well as the consistent use of the newly identified 'stigmatisation-of-Self' semantic barrier, are both devices which provide youth with an 'active' (or even agentic-in constraint) position when feeling exclusion from others. By this, I mean that youth are not simply submitting to feelings of exclusion from NGO representations of 'the powerful Self', but rather are re-claiming their exclusion from it. Whether rooted in the 'difference' pervasively ascribed to 'African sexualities' (as discussed in Chapter 1), or connected to similarly stereotyped ascriptions of 'the global' (e.g. Hollywood), or perhaps both, these semantic barriers illustrate how youth are internalising 'global' knowledge about sexualities, yet at a semantic level, are expressing actions aimed at protecting themselves from it. And importantly, NGOs are connected with the global and the privilege that it represents, rather than the local, and so too are protected against.

Therefore the use of these semantic barriers by youth has two important implications for behaviour change potentials. Firstly, these barriers provide insight into *why* behaviour change interventions might not be working. The moralising and shaming devices used in the CSE curricula (in Chapter 4) in discussing power in relationships, are blocked by youth, and therefore no engagement between the different representations is likely until the NGO knowledge makes explicit efforts to 'promote' engagements with alternatives. The stigmatisation-of-Self device is much subtler and nuanced in its differential use by the different groups of youth, but arguably is just as powerful as a barrier to 'global'/NGO knowledge, in regard to its personalisation of such exclusion, in that one's Self and group identity is viewed as the marker of such marginalisation, which in interdependent framings, cannot be changed. Furthermore, this personalisation holds implications for communications in NGO pedagogical contexts, as presumptions of stigma is a strong incentive not to participate in open discussions. Therefore, secondly, the use of these semantic barriers is also indicative of the pervasive lack of ethics, namely the non- and mis-recognitions of youth living in precarity, that is contained within NGO knowledge. The insidiousness of moralising and shaming tactics, which as Chapter 4 highlights, is even utilised at an implicit level in 'sex positive' CSE, could, in line with Orbe's (1998) identification of how privilege systematically obscures others' fields of experience, be reflective of the 'privilege' of curriculum designers. In explanation, only people who have not experienced the

deprivation and insecurity associated with living in precarity could think that it could be overcome through sheer will and choice.

Yet more than this, the postcoloniality of such mis- and non-recognitions must not be ignored. The individualist and accordingly, actively *un*historical (in terms of oppressed peoples) framing of human rights (Gilroy 2010), which was evident in the universal and adapted curricula, and present as a tension in the local curriculum, is exposed as psychologically violent when considered in comparison to the youth representations. Namely, the interconnectedness of the levels (e.g. Self, relations, and sociocultural structures) in youth representations of their sexualities, seen in how issues of identity are salient at all levels, is indicative of their interdependent understandings of Self, in that positive identities are constructed in terms of being similar to, and fitting in with other people who are conceptualised in both interpersonal (i.e. relational) and environmental (i.e. structural) ways. In this framing therefore, identity is not just a matter of the individual, but rather relations and structures hold significant implications for constructions of positive identities. Accordingly, the representations in CSE curricula of structures and relations as being avoidable, and as aspects which 'good' youth will separate themselves from, denotes a gross non-recognition of 'local' ways of being. Yet these 'local' understandings of positive identities are themselves fracturing under the compounded weight of poverty and globalisation meaning that neither 'culture' is relevant or representative of young people's experiences: the '(old) local' lacks relevance in its expectations of fixity in Self and relations; and the 'global' is unsuitable in its requirement of autonomous power over Self and context. The fatalism associated with these exclusions from both local and global framings of positive identities can be seen at the level of the Self, where accepted actions in the other two levels are marked as dangerous, where the strongest defence against NGO knowledge is self-stigmatisation, and where no protective barriers are used against local representations of positive identities that are accepted as not being available to youth.

I propose that semantic barriers can act as useful signifiers of relational agency (in-constraints). For the results of the analysis in this chapter certainly align with Coudin's (2012) identification of how the different uses of semantic barriers give an indication of a person's social positioning (see Chapter 2). Yet too, they offer an alternative

interpretation of her results, in that the greater 'power' afforded to educated people is not necessarily equated with less polemical managements of different knowledges, but rather, that their use of semantic barriers indicate their perceived power *over* the different knowledges. Accordingly, agency can be conceptualised as dialogically constituted, and thus expressions of action (e.g. semantic barriers/promoters) can be expected to be specific to the knowledge encounter. For instance, in discussing madness in postcolonial Congo, educated people can be seen to show greater perceived power over the two encountering knowledges, which in that instance results in less polemics. Whilst in this case study, the Uni youth demonstrations of greater perceived power over the two encountering knowledges, results in their showing stronger representational resolve in rejecting NGO knowledge because of its unsuitability to their context, therefore maintaining polemics. Furthermore, I propose that insights into semantic barriers can be used to 'tailor' efforts at developing the (relational) agency of youth. For whilst similar representations of power can be seen in regard to the actual sexual encounter, the identity implications and constraints surrounding sexual relationships, and strategic devices for coping with them, vary widely between and even within the different groups of youth. Accordingly, the starting point for discussions on agency also need to vary: for Uni youth, efforts could start by working to apply the criticality on NGO knowledge to the (gendered) interrogation of local knowledges; whereas activities with UP youth would first need to work on developing such criticality, which would also need to factor in gendered differences. Additionally, I would suggest that these differences and similarities could also be used to identify when single-sex versus mixed-sex discussions would be useful along with how to facilitate them.

Therefore overall, I would argue that this analysis of themata and semantic barriers/promoters highlights the complexities of agency for all of these youth, and therefore the need for interventions to also complexify. Living at the boundary of the co-constitutive, and consequently, shifting local-global means having to continually negotiate one's position(-in-contexts) through strategies for recognition which are not only rooted in self-protection, but also more fundamentally, are about survival (e.g. in the face of poverty, and against the dangers of HIV exposure). The reductive representations of agency offered by each knowledge culture therefore signify a psychologically violent non-recognition of how interdependencies can no longer be

depended on as a source of power, nor are 'dangerous' contexts avoidable or controllable. Even if these circumstances cannot be fixed through intervention, NGOs do hold the capacity to not contribute to the stigmatisation of youth in their struggles for agency in these extreme constraints. A failure to do so risks the continued 'blocking' of NGO knowledge by youth. Furthermore, I would argue that bringing to the fore, and therefore acknowledging the precarity that the local-global causes through the combined conditions of widespread poverty and globalisation along with the pervasive antagonisms between knowledge cultures, holds the potential to support youth in developing the criticality needed for building relational agency (i.e. perceived power over both global *and* local knowledges). More will be discussed on this in Chapter 7.

The following, and final empirical chapter, will provide insights into how these antagonisms between the local and the global, identified in the knowledges in CSE curricula (Chapter 4) and youth who have attended CSE interventions (this chapter), are (un)managed in implementation practices, and their influence on the behaviour change potentials of the Mabadiliko intervention as a whole.

Chapter 6. The Local-Global in the 'Making' of a CSE Intervention

The examination of *implementation process* in combination with measurements of outcomes is now considered essential for the evaluation of interventions, particularly those considered to be 'complex' where causal pathways are difficult to identify (MRC 2008). And certainly, comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) falls into this category with its expansion from the provision of technical knowledge (i.e. facts) on HIV transmission, to the current approaches which commonly aim to also change other aspects which influence individuals' behaviours, such as social knowledge (e.g. norms) and material contexts (e.g. financial incomes). Yet, as was identified in Chapter 1, *how* process is interpreted and operationalised through research is highly varied in the literature, ranging from indicators of progress towards meeting target outcomes, to the collection of subjective viewpoints on factors which limited the success of the intervention. As illustrated in the analyses thus far however, poverty is pervasively *not recognised* in CSE curricula (Chapter 4), which could be seen as managed by young people in the FGDs (Chapter 5) in their identifying NGOs and their knowledge as separate from 'the Swahili streets', as 'not for us', instead viewing NGOs as more connected to the privileged Global. Furthermore, an implicit 'clash' between global and local knowledges, maintained in the curricula by stigmatisation and devices of non-recognition, was also revealed, specifically between independent and interdependent ways of being, which presented in the LC curriculum (the teaching resource designed by 'local' staff at Mabadiliko – the case study CSE intervention), as a muddling in the underlying theory of change. And whilst young people in the FGDs displayed quite strongly, interdependent notions of Self, their discussions also illustrated how the combined experiences of poverty and globalisation, along with differentially experienced marginalisations, are fracturing interdependent opportunities for a positive sense of Self, yet too how the control-over-context which is required for independent Selves, is also alien to their field of experience. Therefore, this thesis argues that conditions of precarity (e.g. poverty, marginalisations, postcolonial Aid relationships etc.), add a further dimension of complexity to interventions which is not effectively captured in common methods of evaluation (e.g. surveys, interviews etc.).

This chapter works to illustrate the contribution that a dialogical approach to an institutional ethnography of the Mabadiliko intervention can make to analyses of implementation process, and particularly to understandings of how wider (e.g. local-global) contexts situate and shape the change potentials of the intervention as a whole. As a reminder, the Mabadiliko programme was focussed on empowering out-of-school girls (OSGs), therefore the group of youth – urban-poor young women – who were identified in the FGDs (Chapter 5) as under the most constraints. The 'theory of change' identified in the Mabadiliko proposal was that OSGs would have greater opportunities for agency through *knowledge* on healthy sexualities, the development of *skills* for making 'safe choices', and *opportunities* for the (micro)economic and social mobilisation of peers in collaboration with the wider community. The endline evaluation however, produced 'mixed' results: whilst gender attitudes were more progressive in attending youth, no significant changes were seen in self-esteem, aspirations, and sexual behaviours. The donors blamed Mabadiliko, who in turn blamed the peer educators (PEs), the evaluation methods, and the concept itself that cultural change can be achieved in a four-year period. In this endline evaluation, process was studied through interviews with PEs and a mapping exercise with attending youth, both of which identified problems over safety, firstly, in terms of moving around the community, and secondly with some (male) Mabadiliko staff, and therefore recommended OSGs and PEs have more support for transport and emergency cash funds; essentially the instrumentalist solutions which indicate reductionist framings of complex contexts that Baxen and Breidlid (2004) discussed (see Chapter 1). In this chapter I will illustrate how a dialogical analysis of implementation process can provide richer insights into the contexts which shaped the (non-)transformative effects of the Mabadiliko programme, yet too, the contexts which situate the endline evaluation's interpretations of the (lack in) changes.

In a dialogical framing, interventions are conceptualised as situated spaces of strategic engagement between local-global knowledge cultures, enacted through the interpretative and communicative acts of differently positioned actors, agencies and artifacts. Therefore, observational and analytical focus is placed on points of engagement between knowledge cultures with the aim of exploring in-depth, the ways in which interactions are accomplished through particular relationship dynamics and the meeting of contexts conceptualised at temporo-symbolic, relational, material

levels. Using Linell's (2009) development of the dialogical concept 'communicative activity types' (CATs) as an analytical frame, patterns and variations within and between the identified CATs in implementation practices are unpacked. Firstly, towards identifying the strategies (e.g. influence over others, self-protection) which underlie the processes of engagement which make up the intervention, and secondly, through interpretation, focussed on marking out how such processes act as enablers or disablers of change. In explanation, the shaping of gaps between intervention intentions and actuality are mapped out and interrogated through analyses of strategized relations-in-contexts, where the actual is not pathologized (as it is in evaluations which work to ascertain 'fidelity to design'). The core question which guides this chapter is therefore: **how does the local-global contextualise the processes of engagement through which a CSE intervention is enacted, and how do the dynamics of these relations shape change potentials?** The three empirical questions which are addressed towards answering it are as follows:

1. What types of communicative activities (CATs) enact the intervention?

2. What are the particular dynamics of relations-in-contexts which shape patterns or variations within each CAT?

3. How do processes of engagement within and between the CATs enable or disable change?

6.1 Analytic Procedure

Sixty-four communicative acts were identified in the data, understood as when a person had been observed interacting with another person or with an artifact, in service of the intervention. These were then grouped into eight CATs, categorised according to the 'framing dimensions' of an activity (which rarely change), signified by roles and the main task:

1. Community Sensitisation, Recruitment and Liaison (typified by the core task being mobilisation);

2. Pedagogy (in which the core task was knowledge transfer);

3. Reporting (in which the core task was knowledge creation and translation of practice);

4. Accountable Presentation of Mabadiliko to Others (in which the core task involved the organisational use of evidence on the intervention);

5. Evaluations with Stakeholders (where the core task was collecting views on intervention practice);

6. In-Person 'Monitoring' of PEs (where the core task involved checking implementation and that expected outcomes would be achieved);

7. Organising Work (with a core task of planning work activities and meetings); and

8. Welfare Support to PEs (in which the core task was pastoral care).

In fact this analysis of marking out the framing dimensions, and therefore the identification of the 'types' of observed communicative activities worked to expand the analysis of implementation practices quite significantly, in that initially 42 'communicative events' were identified, however the CAT analysis signified how at times, within one observed interaction, multiple CATs could be at work. This was particularly found with CATs 1, 6, 7, and 8.

Refinements of the CATs were then made through the analyses of organisational documents. For instance, the identification of 'mobilisation' as a change goal in the Mabadiliko proposal and logframe meant that some of the activities previously categorised under the title 'presentation of Mabadiliko to others' (so a more general version of CAT4) were removed and recategorized in what is now CAT1. Furthermore, in doing this, the emphasis on accountability in the remaining activities, resulted in the more specific title for CAT4. Much of the analytical focus was then put towards unpacking how sociocultural ecologies shaped the internal interactional accomplishments within each CAT along with interconnections between CATs. From the continual readings, codings and tabulations of the interviews with staff and PEs and organisational documents, the eight CATs were grouped into three core *processes of engagement*: Change Mechanisms (CATs 1+2); Evidence (CATs 3+4); and 'Invisible Labour' (CATs 5-8). Furthermore, a ninth CAT was identified in the organisational documents and interviews with staff and PEs – 'safe spaces' holding the task of fostering collaborations between PEs and attending OSGs – which had not been observed, yet

clearly contributed to the process of Change Mechanisms, and so was included in the analysis of this first process, also with attention put towards its unobservability. See Appendix 3D for a tabulated summary of this analysis.

Each of these three processes of engagement will now be presented in turn with discussion on their implications for change given at the end.

6.2 Mabadiliko Change Mechanisms

The most explicit process of engagement in the Mabadiliko intervention, was made-up of the three activities identified (in the proposal and logframe) as its 'change mechanisms': the mobilisation of OSGs and communities in liaison with local support services (defined as CAT1: Liaising Community Sensitisation and Recruitment); the curriculum-led transfer of knowledge on gender, SRHR, life skills and entrepreneurship (making up CAT2: Pedagogy); and 'safe spaces' produced through peer-to-peer collaborations, which whilst not observed as a CAT per se, was discussed at length in the PE interviews, and therefore discussion on the local-global contextualisation of its 'making' (e.g. relations-in-contexts) is examined through these accounts. Overall this process of engagement highlights how poverty and clashes in local-global knowledge cultures are enormously influential in the shaping of CSE, yet how the pervasive neglect of this by the 'global'/NGO, positions the implementing PEs at the frontline of power- and ethically-based struggles over recognition, for influence and self-protection. This means that the 'accomplishments' of the CATs rely enormously on the particularities of interpersonal relations and each own's social positioning. Fundamentally, therefore the CAT analysis highlights not only the futility of 'global'/NGO presumptions over consistency in change mechanisms (e.g. reflected in the endline evaluation approach), but too the burden that such a framing places on implementors. Each CAT will now be discussed in turn, and their combined implications for change discussed at the end.

6.2.1 CAT1: Liaising Community Sensitisation and Recruitment

The mobilisation activities in liaison with local support services (e.g. community adults, local government, health centres, police etc), in their having to happen on a rolling basis, really highlighted how the conditions of precarity that the OSGs

experience, disrupt the intervention in terms of OSG attendance: *"the biggest barrier to our work is in getting girls to come to our meetings. Sometimes a parent needs their child but they are with you at the seminar, 'this programme, it is causing lots of disruptions, I don't want you to go there anymore.' Or girls get tempted away, 'why do you bother going to those seminars? Look how your friends are getting money but you are doing useless things for free'... So it means our numbers of attendees often drop quite fast and dramatically"* (Tuni). The communicative activities which carried the task of mobilising OSGs, took two forms. The first involved sensitising community members to the programme and the benefits it offers. As I was told is common, the example I observed involved attending OSGs and PEs standing up in front of big crowds and using microphones to tell their life stories, which carried the main message that Mabadiliko had helped them to 'change': *"I couldn't help feeling that it was slightly voyeuristic as they spoke about their parents dying, having babies as teenagers or being raped or taking drugs, and the way that they all used the same language in describing their 'change' – 'but now with Mabadiliko my life is better...'. The nerves that they showed in talking about these deeply personal issues in front of so many people was noticeable, and understandable considering that many of these people are their neighbours and so see them often"* (from fieldnotes). In this way, attending OSGs and PEs were used *as* the change mechanism, reliant on the premise that their change stories would inspire others. However, as my feelings of unease signify, this exposure too puts them at risk of getting stigmatised by the community for their previous behaviours, which becomes likely when understood in connection to the pervasive representations of fixity, and a person's inability to change from bad to good (discussed in Chapter 5).

The second form of mobilisation involved making house-to-house visits, and so was much more informal yet more direct in its mobilisation task, aimed at collecting phone numbers of possible OSG attendees. Yet the one that I observed really highlighted the difficulties of accessing OSGs in these urban-poor communities: *"they are literally all asleep inside their homes in the afternoon because of having to get up early and do all the housework.. [the PE] explained to me how lucky we were to have the local government officer accompany us as 'nobody would listen to me if I were alone, you know they wouldn't wake up their daughters inside to come out and talk to me'"* (fieldnotes). This government representative actually dominated the talking and often mispresented the programme (e.g. as offering [formal] schooling and business opportunities) and was

never corrected by the PE. In this way, the (logframe) assumption that PEs can mobilise OSGs to attend sessions, neglects the cultured intergenerational dynamics in the community, namely the pervasive non-/mis-recognitions of youth by their elders: firstly, in how parents commonly act as the gatekeepers to OSGs, and are unlikely to listen to PEs; and secondly, in how supporting adults (e.g. this local government officer), too, have the potential to non-/mis-recognise PEs and therefore also the NGO message that they carry; a power which will unlikely be challenged by PEs.

These observations along with the PE interviews really highlighted the difficulties that PEs faced in their liaising activities, specifically the ambivalences in their relationships with adults. Only one of the twelve PEs described her relationships with the local support services as uniformly 'good'. All others instead described how adults could act as *"my advocate"* yet how also something was often expected in return, *"it's hard to get help from the nurses and Drs [and other PEs said the same about government officials, parents, teachers etc.], they want money, because they know you get things [from the NGO]"* (Hilda). One staff member also told me about a Dr in one placement who was potentially sexually harassing the PE yet their ambivalence in intervening: *"It's just so complicated to know whether they are really being harassed or hurt or if they want it and just don't want to be open about that... really you can't count on what these PEs are saying because sometimes they want you to see them as needing help but then the next day they are like 'oh look how big and important my man is!'"* There were also numerous stories of injustices that PEs had experienced in their efforts to liaise with the adults in their communities and their difficulties in facing them. For instance, the government representative in the previous paragraph who helped in the mobilisation activities, only a couple of months later stole money from the PE, which could not be recovered, *"nothing can be done because he owes money to lots of people, some worse off than me... the whole [government] office feels shame... so I now need to find ways of working around him"* (Jacqui).

One PE described how the difficulties of operationalising support for her work in the community held potentials for really knocking the confidence of PEs, and how Mabadiliko were of little help in this: *"out of ten adults, you can find maybe four who understand/listen to you, the rest follow the culture that if a person is young that their intelligence is small... And so you have to constantly defend yourself... Some will*

understand you but if there is one who doesn't, she can make others not believe in you, so you can start out feeling confident but then after all these questions and having to explain and defend yourself, you lose [that confidence]. In these times I really feel alone... you go to the local government to talk to the leaders but every day is an emergency, 'today I have a meeting', and you see that you will fail if you depend on them for getting the message to the target audience... Same with the Mabadiliko staff, they are busy, I call them and say 'these people aren't listening to me can you come?' but they have kept people waiting for hours at some planned meetings... relationships with the community are hard" (Rehema). Nevertheless, this same PE also later discussed how her sitting on the local Child Protection Committee made lots of adults respect her, *"not like how they saw me before",* demonstrating how whilst the role of PE can offer youth new opportunities in terms of social positioning and recognition from others, the disruptions that this causes to social hierarchies can also expose them to new vulnerabilities. Therefore, this CAT really highlights not only the constraints, specifically constituted through local-global interactions, that shape implementation practices, but too the agencies-in-constraints that are expressed in 'unique' interpersonal actions of PEs-in-contexts.

6.2.2 CAT2: Pedagogy

PE agencies were also enormously formative in the 'making' of pedagogical activities. In this CAT, 'the global' is signified in the curriculum and therefore the local-global constituted through PE interactions with it (although as already discussed in Chapter 4, the local-global is already produced through the 'local' curriculum designers' interpretation of 'global' knowledge). The pedagogical activities could also be broadly divided into two, being those sessions where the curriculum was used (five sessions), versus those when it was not (six). Further discussion with the PEs indicated that their level of experience, yet I would suggest perhaps more to the point, their perceived agency, was an influential factor on this, with PEs who had been working for two+ years giving a range of reasons for resisting using the curriculum. One explained that *"If you hold the curriculum in front of the students when you're teaching then they know that you don't know what you're talking about, that's why we try to read it first and then go and teach them from our head"* (Maua); another described how *"I just summarise [the information] myself when I teach, I don't use the curriculum because it's too big",* (Aisha)

and certainly one staff member also described the curriculum to me as *"bigger than a bible"* (although they were later observed reprimanding a PE for not having read it all, indicating that their earlier acknowledgement of its size was not an official stance). A third PE admitted avoiding using the curriculum because *"[when I use it] the girls ask 'why are you confusing us?'… 'I don't understand the guidance [in the curriculum]'… I read it but it's heavy."* (Rehema). Accordingly, I would suggest that strategies for self-protecting PE identities are influential shapers of how, and if, the curriculum is used.

All of the pedagogical activities were didactic, nevertheless the use or avoidance of the curriculum did impact on the knowledge produced as well as the formality of the discussions, and I propose that in these instances, formality could be viewed as a form of protective 'barrier' in communication, in that it limits opportunities for attending OSGs to challenge the knowledge of the PE. In the five observations where the curriculum was held throughout the session, its authority in terms of enforcing formality, was clear: *'As the PE talks she flips forward and back through the pages but at such a speed that I can only think that it is more for emphasis than her actually reading anything. It makes me think about how this is part of the 'act' of being a teacher, together with her smart 'modern' clothes and position in the room – her standing at the front, everybody else sitting down. And the power that the curriculum holds as an object, not just the words within'* (fieldnotes). Common procedures involved reading out sections verbatim, however following along myself, I realised that in all cases the educator jumped about, never reading out the entire module in order, and often skipping whole sections - *"You can come across words that are difficult so you fail to read them"* (Zawadi). Also in all of these scenarios students were told to write down notes as the facilitator spoke which further enhanced the didactic-nature of the interactions – *"Don't just say yes in agreement, I expect you to write down 'Gender and Gender-Based Violence' at the top of your page"* (transcription of audio-recorded session).

Two of the five sessions where the curriculum was used and followed, were on the topic of gender, yet in both cases, the verbatim reading resulted in the knowledge being presented incorrectly. In one (audio-recorded session), an aspect of the specific Tanzanian context caused confusion, namely the similarities (only one [soft] vowel in difference) between the words for gender (*jinsia* in Swahili) and biological/physiological sex (*jinsi* in Swahili). Whilst writing on a flipchart, the PE

incorrectly used the term *jinsi* in place of *jinsia* for 3 minutes: *"Sex is the responsibilities that have been traditionally set by the communities. [Speaking more slowly] Is the responsibilities set up by the community, have you written this down?"* (recording transcript). When realising her
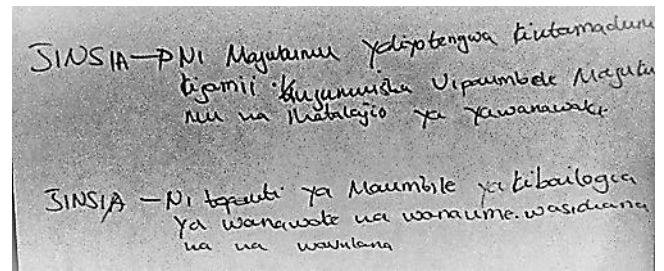
mistake, she crossed out the 'a' in a way which still made it look like it could be *jinsia* (the lower written term in the photo). Shortly after a girl arrived late and *"looking at the flipchart I couldn't help but think that she might read both the definitions of gender and sex as 'gender'"* (fieldnotes). In the exercise which followed where example descriptions were read out, asking students to identify if gender or sex was being talked about, all were identified erroneously and were never corrected: *"PE: First, women give birth, men don't. Is that gender or sex? [looking at one student]. Student: 'Gender'... PE: Sara said gender do you agree? [Murmured yes's]. Second..."* (recording transcript).

In the second observed gender session (where the curriculum was used), *'I had spoken with the PE on the phone the previous day, saying that I was hoping to observe a session on gender however when I arrived she said that gender is not in the curriculum. She showed me a scrap of paper on which was written a definition of the physiological difference between sexes and asked if this was what I was hoping for her to talk about. I showed her the chapter in the book on gender and gender-based violence and she seemed surprised but also unworried and preceded to read aloud'* (fieldnotes). In both of these two observed pedagogical sessions on gender, one of the curriculum exercises which listed examples of gender stereotypes, such as *'boys have more need for education than girls because girls leave home when they get married'*, were read out as fact. Accordingly, the power of the 'local' interpreter of the text in the (global) curriculum is really highlighted here, which as in CAT1, exposes how the 'change mechanism' is reliant on the 'unique' PE-to-artifact interactions (i.e. the PE perspective-taking or interpretation of the curriculum designer's knowledge). Yet too, the underlying power of 'global' knowledge is also signified in that it is 'transferred' with minimal, if any, critical engagement or interrogation, ultimately resulting in the risk that its meaning might get lost in translation.

The four observed sessions where the curriculum wasn't used were still rather didactic involving the facilitator talking at length and then making structured space for questions or asking for confirmation that all had understood, to a resounding "yes" or "no." However, these sessions had a much more informal feel, typified by all sitting in a circle on the same level, and the facilitator using a much more jovial and softer tone (both of which were arguably enabled by the absence of the curriculum). Further adding to this informality was the creative mixing of the knowledge from the curriculum with more experiential knowledge, essentially rooting the curriculum knowledge in the OSGs' lives and local language. I suggest that this connects with the discussion at the end of Chapter 5 in regard to dialogical agency, and perceived power *over* knowledge, in that this hybridising of (local-global) knowledges indicates perceived power *over* both knowledges. In one observed case, this improvisation could be seen to *enable* the change potentials of the Mabadiliko intervention: *"[As in the curriculum the PE] described how puberty is a natural process that affects boys similarly to girls with bodily changes and desires starting. Yet when talking about female desires she expanded on the curriculum, describing the desires that girls had been talking about in the focus groups I had held (not discussed in the curriculum), like wanting to look good, wanting phones etc. She described these desires as dangerous, being how many girls become prostitutes, and said that once you go down that road it is almost impossible to change. She then connected this to the entrepreneurship activities [simultaneously making a plug for the programme] in terms of how it can help girls to get money for their desires without having to resort to sex"* (fieldnotes).

However, in the three other observed sessions where the curriculum was not used, and local-global knowledges were hybridised, incorrect or stereotype-reinforcing knowledge was presented. Three times I observed the calendar method of contraception being incorrectly taught (it is not even included in the curriculum), and never connected to discussions on condoms and/or STDs (the senior staff later explained to me that the Catholic Church is 'aggressively' pushing this approach in communities). In another case I observed a staff member respond to a male PE-in-training who strongly disagreed with gender equity, with a stereotype (albeit positive), saying *'How can you question the fairness of getting more women in parliament? When men get money they use it to buy beer but women will use it to help children to go to school?'* In asking them about this later in an interview, pointing out that their response

was actually a stereotype, they answered, *"the curriculum is not always relevant to the Tanzanian context... it's a bit tricky, thinking of those [example gender] cases. Sometimes you have to speak how people speak... when we were at a staff workshop, you know this was just joking but that's how the reality of society is, male colleagues told one of our lady colleagues, 'you know when we are in the office, when people, when men ask you to make a cup of tea, you disappear, you ought to get married [laughs] because people think you are more like a man, not a woman.' [Laughs]. These are just some of the things that exist in the society, so we want our PEs to change... so that they speak the same language of equity you call it, but as far as gender is concerned, it's a bit hard to change [I: hmmm] but we try to change."*

The interviews with the PEs offered more insight into the particular topics in the curriculum that gave them stress, all of which, I propose, can be connected to conflicts in values which were left unresolved in the 'local [Mabadiliko] curriculum' (see Chapter 4). Seven out of the twelve identified what I term social knowledge as the most difficult to teach (six named 'life skills', and one named gender): *"I missed the gender training and don't really understand what it's about... [and] I'm supposed to understand more than my students so I haven't taught it to them yet"* (Zainabu); "*even I can't grasp what these life skills are*" (Hilda); and *"every day I say to them 'listen! The process of knowing yourself involves one, two, three', and tomorrow again they come and I say it again but they still don't understand these life skills... I believe that if a person already understands themselves, they can change, but to study by yourself or be taught by a PE like me is very difficult because it starts with the family... 'knowing yourself' doesn't mean a lot when you leave the classroom and lack the basics at home and so have to go with a man when he calls you [to have sex so can get money to buy basic things like soap]"* (Jacqui). The remaining five PEs all listed 'contraceptives' as the most difficult topic to teach. Two PEs explained that *"these are things they shouldn't know about at their age, if you teach them then they will want to try it"* (Upendo), whilst another two talked of feelings of unease about how others would see them if they taught about it, *"girls want to be taught condoms in a practical way but if people see you doing this they think that you are teaching the girls to have bad characters"* (Priscilla); *"they will think that you are having lots of sex"* (Rashida). One described how her girls flat-out refused to believe that contraceptives other than condoms would not cause infertility when used before having children, *"I even brought a nurse to talk to them and they didn't believe her so I*

only teach about condoms now" (Rehema). Therefore, the tactic used by most was to avoid difficult topics. None spoke to Mabadiliko staff about these issues.

I therefore suggest that the range of interactional accomplishments within this CAT are indicative of Linell's (2010) discussion on 'double dialogicality' and the multiplicity in functions and framings of communicative activities. For instance, in delivering the curriculum knowledge, culturally established notions of teaching, which in the case study context are based on the learning-by-rote methods which can be traced back to the colonial era, are drawn on, yet so too are the knowledges of the Catholic church as well as 'local' youth representations of desires. Yet the most influential factor in the shaping of pedagogical activities, is arguably the PE strategies for protecting their identities, which are differential, dependent on the perceived agency, and perhaps even the social positioning that the PE brings with them into the 'classroom', yet too which is relationally expressed as they interact with the particular OSGs in attendance.

6.2.3 'Safe Spaces and Peer-to-Peer Collaborations

The third identified change mechanism of the Mabadiliko intervention – the creation of 'safe spaces' for the fostering of peer-to-peer collaborations – gives some more insight into why PE identities were at risk of being challenged by attending OSGs, as much as they were not recognised by adults in the community (identified in CAT1). Whilst not observed as a CAT per se, the PEs' accounts of working to create and maintain 'safe spaces' within the local community as well as facilitate the group entrepreneurial activities within them, really highlight the adversarial nature of relationships which is produced by the insecurities of poverty and according competitions for scarce resources. In one placement the local government officer hijacked the key to the space, claiming that the local government had greater use of it, and generally many volunteers described the distrust and tensions that the space caused with adults in the community: *"Those people in the community who we worked with every day [before the safe space now] feel like guests, they see the money that was spent on it and all they want to know is where is the money for them"* (Rehema); *"Another challenge is the space where we meet. It's not in a very open place, it's quite hidden, you need to enter the local government office's gate and it's in the back, and so many parents forbid their girls to come... they don't trust that good things are taught in hidden places"* (Hilda). The spaces also caused tensions between PEs. Mabadiliko had funded one local

space for every three placements to share between them. However, this sharing came with problems, with often two of the three groups complaining that the space was too far and that travel allowances should be given to them, as well as arguments over who could use it when, or over resources (e.g. flipcharts, pens, copies of the curriculum) going missing.

The presumed peer-to-peer collaborations of each 'girls group' within these safe spaces were also typified by tensions. In CAT2, the anxieties that PEs had over having enough authority for being a proclaimed 'educator' were revealed, and the challenges that OSGs made on their power was a common discussion point in the PE interviews: "*they see you as their peer so they joke around a lot and can be very disruptive… we can't beat them because they are supposed to be ladies who understand themselves… so we just have to keep trying to teach them*" (Tuni); or *"if you know these young girls, when they meet there are often problems, many times there are conflicts and when these conflicts happen and parents are told about them there can be real problems, which is why I don't want my own sister to come, I don't want her associated with this, oooohh can she talk, even if you apologize it's never enough, you can't be that way in this work, you have to just keep moving forward. Another day when a girl who you've fought with comes you can't exclude her, you have to teach her and move on"* (Rehema). As was also seen in CAT1 in relation to adults in the community, the money that PEs received from Mabadiliko was a particular point of contention, *"from the girls we get problems because they expect to be paid if they come. If my students see me looking good one day, the next day they will turn away from and be hostile towards me because they see me as getting money when they get nothing. They study for free whilst [they believe] I get lots of money"* (Maua); and *"[another PE] says that they [OSGs] are mean because they are jealous that I get some money while they see themselves as the same as me… [but] when a person discourages you, when they say 'really you? You think that you will be able [to teach others]?' it really hurts me"* (Jaha).

Of course, the most collaborative aspect of the Mabadiliko intervention was the group enterprise activity from which it was envisaged that attending OSGs could also make a small income. Despite many efforts, I was unable to observe interactions related to this activity, and the PE interviews indicated the dysfunctionalities of the enterprises overall. In the period of my fieldwork, I only saw one group sell goods at the

promotional event described in CAT1 (other groups were also supposed to do this but failed). However, in the interview with the PE overseeing this group, she let slip that actually the products which had been sold at this event were from her own personal business, as the group *were having issues at that time"*. Another PE in their interview spoke at length about how the failure of these group enterprises was a disabler of the intervention as a whole: *"you know these girls are in a very difficult environment so they have a lot of problems, their families depend on them... the money that they get from this [entrepreneurial activity] is very small, for instance shared between the ten girls in each group, it's not nearly enough to meet their needs and then they are told that they need to wait for another 6 months for the next payment. Many stop coming... if they increased the profit they got that could help, because they will know 'if I do this business I get something' it will be easier for them to stop doing the other things they do to get money, 'I don't need to go to Juma or Khamis, I can get money myself so that my Mother can eat, so that the children can go to school.' Small business really has the potential of helping girls to support themselves... [Education on] Reproductive health is something for a person who is able to think a lot about their life, if a person is tired and hungry, you can't tell them about reproductive health while they are being told 'if you want me to use a condom I'll give you 5000TSH, but I'll give you 20,000TSH if we don't have to', which do you think they'll choose?"* (Priscilla).

Therefore, overall I would argue that this last change mechanism 'activity' highlights how social recognition through CSE is deeply connected to money, bringing opportunities yet more so tensions and constraints, which are essentially not recognised by the 'global'/NGO. Yes, the need for attending OSGs to have access to money is recognised, however, the gross underestimation of the amount of money which is needed and also the amounts which can be generated through small businesses, in and of itself represents an overall non-recognition of the experiences of people living in precarity. And once again, the burden of this neglect falls to the implementing PEs who are themselves living in conditions of precarity.

6.2.4 Implications for Change

Both CATs 1 and 2 were found to have disappointing results in the endline evaluation (measured through health service attendance lists and the KABP survey respectively), interpreted in the main by donors and senior staff as resulting from poor

implementation. The endline evaluation integrated a measure of financial literacy into the KABP survey (showing no statistically significant difference with the control group), however no evaluative focus was put towards the functioning of the group enterprise projects, nor the use and maintenance of the safe spaces. Overall, the processes of engagement which made-up the Mabadiliko change mechanism can be seen to lack sufficient oversight, particularly in regard to support that PEs clearly need in navigating the power-ethical dynamics of relationships upon which implementation depends. This overarching non-recognition by the 'global'/NGO of the impacts of precarity on relationships not only limits learning about the programme, but also the change potentials of the activities themselves. The CAT analysis reveals tensions at two core points of engagement within Mabadiliko's change mechanism which went unnoticed in the endline evaluation and organisational learning procedures: when PEs (dis)engage with the curriculum; and when PEs relate to, or facilitate relations between, others.

The first, highlights the complexities of using a curriculum as the medium for changing social knowledge (e.g. gender, life skills, and even the concept of change itself), where even verbatim readings can result in communications which do not hold 'fidelity to design', whilst others, that involve improvisation hold transformative potentials, yet not consistently. This connects with the relational characterizing of agency (in Chapter 2) where "transformative qualities of action.. emerge out of, but are not reducible to, multiple conditions possibility" (Hutchings 2013:23). Furthermore, the common tactic of avoiding difficult topics has serious disabling potentials, and as indicated in the interviews, connects to the second problematic point of engagement, namely PE attempts to control their relations with others in line with meeting perceived expectations of PE (i.e. educator) identities. This second problematic point of engagement emphasises how the changes to identity caused by the PE role, related to access to money but also greater social capital, disrupts relations with others (both peers and local adults). And such disruptions to social hierarchies and relations, whilst offering new opportunities also bring new vulnerabilities. In conditions of precarity where resources and opportunities are scarce, even people perceived as having power (e.g. government officials) can be seen to become scornful, or worse, exploitative of the PEs that they are supposed to be supporting. Amongst peers, one can see how relationships can become adversarial rooted in jealousy or resentment that a girl,

seemingly the same as them, now has extra money and power, and how this limits potentials for collaborative action.

Overall, the CAT analysis of the Mabadiliko change mechanisms highlights how relational change activities (e.g. community mobilisation activities, peer-led pedagogies, and collaborative activities) were implemented and evaluated in purely individualistic ways (i.e. no organisational oversight was put towards these activities, and the evaluation only looked at outcomes). I argue that this represents a pervasive non-recognition by the 'global'/NGO of the 'work' that is needed for transformative actions to be produced through relational activities *in* precarity, and that this not only places PEs in vulnerable positions (in terms of a positive sense of Self as well as in relations with others), but also means that insights into the specific constraints, yet also opportunities for change, are overlooked at an institutional level.

6.3 Evidence

The second process of engagement – the production and use of evidence – identified through the CAT analysis as 'making' the Mabadiliko intervention, gives insights into the *practices* which maintain this pervasive non-recognition by the 'global'/NGO of the 'local' experiences of change-making in precarity. Two CATs were identified as making up this process: CAT3: Reporting (pertaining to the creation of evidence); and CAT4: The Accountable Presentation of Mabadiliko to Others (involving the use of evidence). Each one illustrates how this systematised non-recognition of 'local' knowledge on change-making in precarity, paradoxically serves yet at the same time also harms the strategies of both the donor and the implementing organisation (Mabadiliko). Effectively, evidence systems signify a barrier in communication between the local and the global, which ultimately results in the production of 'bad data' and the neglect of, or even disinterest in, any change other than what is expected by the global. As in the previous section, each CAT will be discussed in turn, and then the more general discussion on their implications for change, presented at the end.

6.3.1 CAT3: Reporting

The reporting CAT really highlighted how the underlying strategy of 'the global' – to collect data that would enable comparative analyses of implementation and impact (in terms of reach to 'target populations'), connected to their own need to be accountable in their spending – not only resulted in the non-recognition of implementors (e.g. PEs and as a whole Mabadiliko) in regard to the complexities of change-making in precarity. But also, in this 'inauthentic communication', produced the dynamic where the donor too deprived itself of its dialogical features, in that the reporting template *became* the imagined donor, and therefore was at the mercy of different interpretations according to the different strategic needs of different people-in-contexts. And the result of this pervasively distorted bi-directional perspective-taking, was 'bad data', in that much of the *change* activities along with the specific constraints on them were not captured.

The 'global' power and authority inherent to the reporting templates and systems, in that they were interacted with as if they were the donor, was clear. In almost all cases, general questions about them were met with answers of there being "*no problems*", "*everything goes into the report.*" However, the think aloud protocols quickly exposed the issues with such blind authority, namely, how the complexities of translating practice into quantifiable evidence were entirely overlooked, meaning that the wide variations in interpretations of the reporting template were not only non-recognised, but contributed to the *mis*-recognition of staff (i.e. implementors were blamed rather than the reporting template). When specifically brought up in interviews (i.e. dialogically triangulated), more critical discussion on the task of translating practice into evidence was elicited. A core identified issue was that the reporting templates given to PEs were aligned to outcome indicators rather than work activities (e.g. pedagogy sessions had to be categorised into gender, sexual health, or rights even though many of the modules in the curriculum didn't fit neatly and cut across these categories). This meant that the complex act of translating practice into these indicators was happening at the lowest level by people with no understanding of the programme 'logic', resulting in a distortion in perspective-taking.

Even the aspects of reporting which required less interpretation, namely the recording of numbers of attendees to programme activities, showed variation. Only total

[monthly] numbers of beneficiaries (disaggregated by gender and age ranges) were collected by the organisation (discussion with other comparable NGOs in Tanzania confirmed that this was the standard data to collect for such activities, and indicates the overall strategy of enabling comparative analyses). PEs were supposed to keep activity reports and then combine these into the monthly report however none of them did, *"the forms themselves are difficult to understand, they are so many, or they're not used because we simply don't have them… they're kept in the safe space and they go missing"* (Tuni). In the interviews, it was discovered that only five of the twelve PEs had been formally trained, the rest having learned from one another, which is yet another example (in connection with the first process of engagement) of the systematic non-recognition of how precarity can act as a disruptor of implementation: *"the donor is very rigid in their funding, there is little manoeuvre from the proposal and we just didn't expect to have such high [PE] dropouts and so didn't budget enough for trainings [four PEs dropped out during the fieldwork period]"* (senior staff). Nevertheless, variation in calculations of the total numbers could be seen even in those who had been trained, some counting each individual only once, regardless of their coming to multiple activities, whilst others counted the total number of attendees (so in some cases counted one person multiple times).

Another consequence of positioning PEs as the translators between practice and the [authoritative] organisational reporting artifacts, was their complete submission to it, resulting in very literal and mechanistic interpretations of what evidence the organisation wanted from them, as well as what was recognised as work and what was not (discussed further in the next section). As one PE explained to me, *"[Mabadiliko] only ask for monthly reports so that's all that most PEs do. I keep a record but many just write what they remember so lots of things are forgotten… [but regardless] my report doesn't show my full experience and work that I do because there is no space/item for putting a lot of it in"* (Jacqui). And certainly, on numerous occasions I witnessed exasperated staff saying to PEs *"why isn't that in your report?"* Three of these times were concerning PEs accompanying girls to the health clinic (a lack thereof specifically pointed out by the donor as a shortcoming of the project). However, on looking at their report template, the relevant activity category was described as 'the number of girls who have access to voluntary testing for HIV, family planning services and the prevention of transmission of HIV from mother to child, through Mabadiliko'. The

three observed cases where PEs were scolded for not reporting on health centre visits, were because of girls having symptoms (one with vaginal itching; one having discomfort when urinating), and one girl needing a pregnancy test because of a missed period. Certainly, the first two could be said to not 'fit', and explain the PEs not seeing their visit as not fitting in that category, but I also wonder if the HIV-focus in the description might have also caused avoidance for all. Arguably the most important gap in terms of knowledge on intervention implementation, and which could have been used to interpret the weak endline evaluation results, was information on girls dropping out: "[*The monthly report] doesn't ask for girls that drop out... we don't create a group thinking girls will come and stay, life these days is so changeable",* (Aisha); an understanding of the intervention which does not align with the learning and evaluation procedures, and consequently was not shared with the donors.

In the interviews with PEs, four described telling Mabadiliko staff about the difficulties that they had in using the reporting templates but that no changes had been made, and one PE described writing at length recommendations about how to improve the reports on the back of one report that she submitted, *"but I've never heard a response. I've asked many times but always get, 'we'll look into it'"* (Jacqui). Discussion with senior staff exposed the lack of agency that the organisation actually had on this matter. One explained to me how without core funding (i.e. money not tied by the donor to specific activities), they were unable to make any changes to the reporting artifacts and systems – *"we don't have the resources to collect information other than what the donor requires."* Another senior staff member described how *"It's very hard to understand... outside of the logframe, what particular impact we have brought to a particular placement... It would be a kind of freedom to explore different angles and see the community in different ways not bounded by our precepts, our systems, in fact our logframe... [yet returning to placing the responsibility on individual actors] our staff need to know to look for these things so that we can capture this impact [not looked for in the logframe]."* Therefore, here, one can begin to understand how not only 'blame' trickles down, but so too does non-recognitions, in that the organisation is not in a position to be responsive to the PE comments on reporting issues, and therefore with a strategy of self-protection, essentially creates a totalising barrier to communications with them on this issue.

CAT4: Accountable Presentation of Mabadiliko to Others

A strategy of self-protection at the organisational (Mabadiliko) level, underlies and drives CAT4, specifically associated with the (survival-based) need for repeat funding which is conditioned on 'success'. This CAT is therefore also connected to the systematised nature of the non-recognition of precarity in CSE, in that the donor's funding requirements make it in the organisation's interest to too, 'wipe out' the mess and complexities of practice. Consequently, evidence systems can be seen to be used by both the donor and the organisation for blocking local-global communications, and in so doing, also blocking insights into change, constraints on it, and an overall *recognition* of the difficulties of change-making in precarity, and the people attempting to do it.

Seven cases in this CAT involved people explaining the project to me positioned as an evaluator. I quickly realised the normative nature of responses to my questions (e.g. PEs attach activity reports to their monthly reports, all PEs have received formal training, the curriculum is used by PEs in their teaching), which were contradicted quite easily by my observations in the field. Furthermore, I became aware of how my speaking Swahili gave me access to non-normative knowledge, presented through informal, open talk, as well as insight into the fluidity by which people moved between using the normative artifact-based evidence (often discussed in English or 'Swanglish' - a mix of English and Swahili), and the more descriptive experiential knowledge (spoken in Swahili) which often contradicted it. There was an element of complicity in terms of not highlighting these contradictions, indicative of the coercive force of the strategy of conforming to 'global' success ideals. In one example, a staff member had been telling me (in Swahili) about problems such as a PE stealing money and girls refusing to do the set activities, as we rode in a car over to the placements with a Tanzanian evaluator: *"I found myself wondering if he would include what we had just discussed in his report, [he didn't], or if he would comply with this seemingly unspoken rule that informal conversations are omitted. I couldn't help but feel uncomfortable with the thought that I might be breaking that unspoken rule"* (fieldnotes).

This dynamic could also be seen in the remaining seven activities in this CAT, which involved my observing interactions between the organisation and those they are accountable to (e.g. local stakeholders [e.g. parents, local government, police, health

centre workers etc.], evaluators, donors). For instance, at two stakeholder meetings I observed results indicators being read out which all who were present knew were not entirely true, *"she lists as one of their achievements the building of the 'safe space', even though anybody who walked past it to get to this meeting would see that it is an empty building site"* (fieldnotes). Also at a promotional event, with the donors present as guests of honour, the speeches on *"girls as the responsible leaders of tomorrow… [were challenged slightly when soon after] the DJ started playing modern Taarab music that is associated with 'kigodoro' a new 'culture' in which women in public places start dancing on the floor as if having sex and end up taking all of their clothes off, just walking away when the music stops. All of these young girls who had moments before been called future leaders and key to inspiring other girls in their communities to be empowered were now on the floor gyrating (albeit not taking their clothes off) but dancing as if having sex, with the whole community, men and women, old and young, standing around watching. Senior staff and donors stood at the side-lines shaking their heads, [but no mention of this was made in the report]"* (fieldnotes).

In a similar vein to what a staff member highlighted earlier regarding the unspoken complex tensions between teaching about gender versus 'the reality of society', the 'messiness' of intervention implementation is clear, and I would argue, is visible to most, if not all actors involved. Certainly, in terms of Mabadiliko (staff and PEs) and the local stakeholders who collaborate with the intervention, there is an incentive to minimise any issues or complexities in implementation, when repeated funding is conditioned on 'success': *"[the local government officer's] fear of the programme ending was clear as he kept pushing the staff member to translate for the evaluator how important it is that the programme continues"* (fieldnotes). The reductionism and finality in girls' and PEs' change stories (used for mobilisation purposes in CATI), representing the past as 'bad' and the present as 'good', can also be said to align with these acts of removing from sight the complexities of what *change* involves at personal levels. More generally however, the focus on predicted indicators (e.g. number of attendees who tested for HIV at the promotional event) arguably can be seen to cause a neglect of, or disinterest in, unexpected occurrences (e.g. the girls' dancing potentially undermining Mabadiliko as a whole in the eyes of the community); a separation between evidence and context which is interestingly further maintained by the distinguishing uses of English and Swahili.

6.3.3 Implications for Change

Evidence-related systems and artifacts are commonly overlooked in evaluations, being ascribed with the neutrality that typifies research tools in positivist framings. The CAT analysis however exposes how the interpretation processes (of both the artifact, and the implementation practice) required in communicative actions related to evidence, are enormously influential on both the knowledge produced and implementation practices more generally. It emphasises how such actions involve dialogical engagement in which artifacts are not neutral, and rather, reveals how they function as the boundaries of the interventions, structuring what knowledge is looked for, collected, and valued in terms of defining impact. Yet in turn, the interpretative acts required for enacting artifacts, create porosity in these boundaries. For variations in interpretations of the social context and work practices, as well as the categorisations in the artifacts, as we've seen, are significant. Furthermore, the implications of neglecting this relational dynamic goes beyond just the limitations on learning about context, implementation process, and unexpected impacts, but also, has the potential to contribute to disabling the change potentials of the intervention as a whole.

The 'think-aloud' protocols and interviews with PEs revealed how the authority of evidence-related artifacts, and their systematic neglect of, and disengagement with contextual challenges, contributed to burnout and blame. Speculated target numbers were stuck to steadfastly: *"So you see, the number 25 is small. The target says to get at least 30 [girls]. So the attendance is still not good and the activity is small. She [talking about another PE] needs to do better"* (Upendo). And any problems with reporting, were blamed on the PEs: *"remember the kind of PE that we normally recruit, the level of education, even if we train them they struggle with reporting",* (senior staff). One staff member explained to me that PEs were expected to give more information than what was asked for in the report, and rather than question the reporting template, persistent vagueness in their reporting was treated with suspicion *"the report will say 20 girls have learnt SRH, but what in it? And then [when you ask them this], they will start thinking about what they know on the topic but it's not that they've learnt it that time"*. Many of the PEs described the hurt that this pervasive distrust directed at them caused – *"I submit my form and am told that I've forged it, and I hate this because I've done the work... why would you cast me down like that?"* (Rehema).

Furthermore, at the organisational level, a neglect of the ways in which artifact-related evidence strips the 'messiness' of social contexts from view, minimises the work involved in efforts at behaviour and social change. In such cases, implementation practice is blamed, when actually, as the CAT analysis illustrates, more far-reaching issues could be at fault. The clearest example of this is the complete absence of donor awareness (limited to the knowledge contained in reports) of there being high dropouts of OSGs and turnover of PEs, both of which, offer an explanation for the disappointing endline results. The systematised nature of such non-recognition of precarity, which produces this culture of 'blame' gives an indication of how local-global Aid relationships have the potential to become a 'technology' through which the 'polyvalent mobility' (Stoler 1995) of racialised/postcolonial discourses operate. The following and final process of engagement provides a deeper understanding of the implications of this non-recognition for people along with the 'activities' by which they cope with it.

6.4 'Invisible' Labour

The final identified process of engagement which was identified as 'making' the Mabadiliko intervention, what I term 'invisible labour', is made-up of four CATs, all of which signify (agentic-in-constraint) acts of coping with the pervasive non-recognitions discussed thus far (e.g. regarding poverty, clashing knowledge cultures, and differently positioned people attempting to effect change in these conditions). These four CATs give detailed insights into the harm that such non-recognitions and inauthentic communications cause for both people, and the organisation as a whole. Yet too, how people adaptively strategize to 'fill in the gaps' between intentions and actuality identified in the previous two processes, and therefore at a more person-based level strive to change behaviours and produce globally-recognised evidence. Accordingly I would suggest that it is these more person-based strategies of both influence and self-protection which are the actual 'makers' of the intervention, yet which receive no recognition. In explanation, the necessity of this process of engagement, and also the importance of its invisibility, can be understood through the underlying contradiction combinedly produced by the local-global non-recognitions of the previous two processes: that precarity constrains implementation practices and

according behaviour change potentials, yet that 'success', upon which survival depends, is only understood through framings where precarity is not recognised. Accordingly, the burden of managing this 'high stakes' contradiction falls to implementors, and as the CATs in this process illustrate, the different and at times contradictory strategies which underlie these activities, hold implications for the behaviour change potentials of the intervention as a whole.

All four of these CATs therefore, in their efforts to uphold the normative façade of artifact-based evidence, contributed to two main, yet not necessarily aligned, strategies: the containment of, and wiping-out from view the 'mess' of project implementation; and the provision of the necessary support required for change-making in precarity. CATs 5 and 6 involved Mabadiliko staff working to mediate ('imagined') donor interactions with the local context of the intervention, aimed at addressing any potential disablers of change 'off-book' so that successful artifact-based evidence could be achieved. And CATs 7 and 8 related to supporting PEs on some of the difficulties which were revealed in the first presented process of engagement – the Mabadiliko change mechanism – yet which were overlooked by reporting systems, and so also remained 'off-book'. These activities of invisible labour showed scope for having both disabling and enabling effects on the intervention's change potentials, which once again, will be discussed after the presentation of each CAT.

6.4.1 CAT5: Evaluations with Stakeholders

This CAT, focussed on collecting community views on implementation through evaluations with stakeholders (e.g. parents, local government and support service representatives etc.), illustrates how the 'wiping out' of the mess of implementation is understood, and undertaken by staff, along with how these acts only work to foster distrust both with the local community and the donor, and therefore essentially act as barriers to communication. Three evaluations with stakeholders were observed, one as part of a quarterly review and the two others contributing to an annual review. They involved group discussions yet were typified by low responsivity in dialogues in that the younger Mabadiliko staff took notes as the elder stakeholders dominated the discussions airing their discontent with the programme: *"One government officer stood up, 'I've never even met the volunteer in my district. How are we supposed to work together?' Another man then expressed passionately how many people in his community*

were still suspicious of the project activities, and how a community meeting needed to be called... one man sitting next to me muttered, 'we have told them all this before, duh, these meetings are so unprofessional'" (fieldnotes). This last comment in particular indicates a grievance with the lack of reciprocity in stakeholder interactions with Mabadiliko, and not only provides another confirmatory perspective on the pervasive non-recognition (by the 'global'/NGO) of liaising problems experienced by PEs discussed earlier. But also, through analyses of the reporting documents on this particular activity which were sent to the donor, give an indication into how such non-recognition is systematised, in that the only remark in the report on the challenges which were collected from stakeholders, described the need for more resources along with the general comment, *"we were able to learn a number of issues that will be helpful in improving implementation of the project."*

When I asked a staff member why this information, which gives insight into the difficulties of implementation, was not shared with donors, they responded saying, *"the donors give us money to implement the programme and what they need to hear from us is how did we use their money according to what they wanted us to do... challenges that should be addressed to donors is if the budget is low or the equipment they give us isn't working anymore... Of course they won't give us that budget but they will know at the end [why something isn't working,] they already have the report."* Therefore, once again, a quite literal and mechanistic interpretation of evidence-related artifacts (i.e. where artifacts *are* the imagined authoritative donor), and accordingly (distorted) perspective-taking on suitable information on practice, can be seen (i.e. inauthentic communication). And similarly, just as misalignments in perspective-taking over what evidence is relevant were seen to cause Mabadiliko staff to distrust PEs, the absence of details on challenges to implementation, too caused harm, being viewed by the donor as suspicious, *"one weakness of the organisation was that there was a disconnect between the reality on the ground and what we were reading in the reports."* Yet, more than just acting as a barrier to communication, this adversarial dynamic could also be seen to shape interactions in the remaining communicative activities within this process of invisible labour, having both enabling and disabling change potentials.

6.4.2 CAT6: In-Person 'Monitoring' of PEs

One staff member, in explaining to me how the donors had started visiting the placements without giving prior notice, described them as 'going looking' for evidence that the work was not being done properly, *"it's like a witch-hunt."* This positioning of the (imagined) donor as a threat shaped this CAT – the in-person monitoring of PEs – which was also necessitated by such 'monitoring' of implementation not being perceivable through the report-based evidence (that was framed according to outcome indicators rather than implementation activities). I observed this CAT on three occasions in anticipation of a donor visit to the placements, and on another three occasions in the lead-up to the endline evaluation. All held the task of ensuring that the main expected results would be seen by the donor – that the girls' groups were functioning and that knowledge was being transferred – and therefore involved a 'testing' of knowledge and practices in comparison to the curriculum and logframe. Over the course of these interactions, staff teased out this information by fluidly switching positions, from friend-to-boss and from supporter-to-discipliner, identifiable through their tone. Whilst the three observed activities aimed at preparing for the endline evaluation were the most pressured, distinctive by the greater stress of staff and therefore greater emphasis on the 'boss' and 'discipliner' positions, the relationship dynamics which made the most distinctive differences in these interactions was the gender of the staff member.

On the two occasions where the staff member was male, interactions were very didactic and formal, in which he gave instructions on how to perform 'change' for donors using phrases such as *"we need to work hard to prepare you for the donor visit"*, or *"make sure to bring the girls that talk well"*, as well as guidance given in terms of *"just say you've forgotten"*, *"it's not good to be shy... it's better that you talk"*, or *"that's why it's important to write in books... if a visitor comes and the girls can't answer their questions you can show them the exercise books to prove that you've been doing the work."* The four observed interactions with female staff did include this didactic provision of guidance on performativity, however in all cases, also involved moments of dialogue which were much less hierarchical and displayed greater reciprocity, involving a questioning and challenging of knowledge, that in a dialogical framing, can be conceived of as holding transformative potentials (not seen in the pedagogical CAT). Nevertheless, such

interactions were always ultimately contained by the staff member reverting back to an assertion of their authority, which I propose can be seen as an identity-protecting strategy. For instance, in the excerpt below, not only can you see OSGs challenging one another in making sense of complex issues such as consent and desire, Girl5 can also be seen to challenge the staff member through her ignoring of her, and more bidirectional and parallel knowledge transfer can also be seen, yet the return of the staff member to a blaming of individuals for not displaying the 'correct' knowledge at the end, reasserts their authority:

Girl1: I learnt that to prevent HIV and pregnancy that I need to avoid bad behaviours like how Sophia [in the educational radio drama] acts.

PE1: But she was raped.

Girl2: No she wasn't, the hospital boys gave her money to buy clothes and then wanted [to have sex with] her and she didn't want them but ends up pregnant.

PE1: Exactly, it says that she doesn't know whose baby it is.

Girl3: It's just better not to have sex at all!

Girl4: That's impossible!

[F] Staff: Really you can't stop?

Girl4: Not immediately. It's impossible to say 'today I'll stop having sex', but maybe after two months.

FSW: So the horniness [sexual feeling] burns you and you have no control?"

[Girl4 nods].

[F] Staff: Who had sex yesterday?

[Only one girl puts her hand up and quickly lowers it when she realises that nobody else has].

[F] Staff: Or this month?

Girl5: When I feel horny I feel like there are insects in my pants and if I wash with hot water it goes away.

[Everybody laughs]

Girl5: And I also make plans for myself, or things like that. We need to find ways of making ourselves happy without sex. That's the only way we can avoid the impacts of multiple relationships.

[Long silence].

[F] Staff: It seems that many topics are not being taught.

(Transcribed dialogue in field-notes).

Therefore, I suggest that this CAT highlights two important aspects regarding behaviour change in precarity which are 'missed' in the 'the global' systems of non-recognition. Firstly, this CAT underscores the complexities of negotiating clashes in knowledge cultures, which as identified in Chapter 5, is particularly pertinent to the subjects of consent, rape and (power over) sexual desires in the case study context. It highlights how *difference* between interlocuters (e.g. staff-PEs-OSGs; intergenerational; interpretations of the intervention resource) is instrumental in teasing these clashes out, yet too, the pervasive non-recognition of this work in CSE. In explanation, the fact that these youth might not score well on a KABP test does not negate the transformative potentials of these interactions, and the importance of providing regular opportunities for having them (i.e. supporting these OSGs to think critically about social knowledge). And secondly, in a similar vein, this CAT emphasises the emergent and unpredictable nature of change through interactions with others, in that identity-protecting strategies of (non-/mis-)recognitions (e.g. of staff, PEs, and OSGs) have the potential to open up and close down reciprocities, and cannot be easily controlled against or predicted. This too connects with the discussion in Chapter 1 on the importance of conceptualising culture in CSE as embodied and relational in that, for example, the wider gendered divisions in society (connected, but not reducible, to the gendered inequalities) could be viewed as the underlying constraint on potentials for reciprocity, and therefore transformative dialogues between the OSGs and male staff. As identified throughout the thesis, such ambiguities in, and the complex dynamics of interpersonal relationships is grossly *un*recognised in CSE, and further exemplified in the final two CATs.

6.4.3 CATs7+8: Organising Work & Welfare Support to PEs

The final two CATs, focussed on the tasks of work planning and the pastoral care of PEs, are best presented together. For the interplay of these two activities gives further insight into the ways in which the unethical separation of context (e.g. the 'mess' of poverty) and intervention evidence, is experienced by PEs and staff, and how the consequential strain in these relationships, can disable, yet also have the potential to enable *change* through collaborative practice (e.g. the empowerment of PEs theorised to accordingly support the empowerment of OSGs). The organising work CAT included activities undertaken via telephone which were all adversarial, in that each interlocuter (one staff member and one PE) was observed distrusting and challenging the other (e.g. about where they were, why they were late, why they couldn't come etc.). The face-to-face interactions in this CAT were less adversarial yet grievances about [poor] communication were still the common topic of conversation and were spoken about quite openly. In discussing this relationship dynamic with PEs in interviews, some obviously valued and felt empowered by the informality with staff, *"we really work together like equals, like friends",* (Maua) whilst others expressed frustration with it, *"[the staff] call me at 10pm to tell me I have to be at a meeting with them 9am the next day, and then they don't arrive until 3pm."* (Rehema). Contextualised by the previous CAT, one can see how the donor distrust of Mabadiliko, and the practice of surprise visits, trickles down.

Yet overall, staff were clearly sympathetic to the difficulties that PEs experienced in their lives and how their own poverty and difficult life situations could impact on their work capacities. Over the course of the fieldwork, staff were frequently observed taking it in turns to remind one another how difficult the PEs' lives are, when one of them was having a moment of anger, *"[F. Staff] These old PEs are bad, they get comfortable and lazy and stop caring, I can't believe that they are unable to meet today. [M. Staff] But there's only six months left on the programme now, this always happens. They start getting scared because when we leave they're just left there, what will they do? It's hard for them, it's not that she [the PE] is bad"* (from fieldnotes). Yet, with there being no formal recognition of the precarity of these girls' lives (e.g. the wiping out of the 'mess' in reports, and the lack of preparation for dropouts of PEs, and also the inability to respond to it), any pastoral care of PEs, remained entirely 'off-book' and in the invisible.

One staff member described having to *"split my personality when I'm with them",* and certainly this was observed on a number of occasions, with at the end of a meeting, this staff member changing their tone of voice. One female staff member (in fact the one quoted just earlier complaining about how the old PEs are bad) described the importance of having relationships with *"my girls"* outside of work, inviting them to her house to cook a meal, lending them small amounts of money, giving them advice on their personal problems or sometimes just a space to get away from the pressures of their home and/or community where they work: *"[supporting them in this way] is not a job to me... what they have been through, most of it is what I've been through and I didn't have someone like me there to be there for me... I see what they are going through and I feel it. Sometimes it even stops me sleeping. I see it as a way of giving back."* Yet she also described difficulties particularly with PEs who were of similar age to her or who had higher [formal] levels of education, *"they feel we're just the same and now I'm there directing them on what to do and giving them that small amount of money at the end of the month."*

Therefore, the PEs relationships with Mabadiliko staff, like the local adults, were typified by ambivalence, with little assurance of fairness or reliability. For instance, not all PEs were invited to this female PE's home, and some expressed distrust of staff, connected to their fluctuations in support versus blame or friend versus boss, *"many of their promises are empty"* (Jacqui). Another similarity with PE relationships with local adults, was not so much an expectation of reciprocity, but certainly a rewarding of it. For instance, the two PEs considered by staff as *"the most helpful"* were promised internships at the close of the project, whilst staff expressed no support for, and effectively stigmatised a PE who was rumoured to have had an intimate relationship with a male staff member that ended badly and was disrupting work: *"all the other PEs get on with him so if there is an issue then it lies with her."* In the interviews, a clear division could be seen between the PEs who saw their work with Mabadiliko as a stepping stone for *"getting opportunities in developing my experience",* (Rehema) versus those who viewed it as employment and really depended on the allowance for survival, *"Many of the PEs are similar to the girls that they work with... you give a PE [money] and tell them to change their life, how are they supposed to do that when they must share it with their family?"* (Priscilla). Yet, this institutionalised non-recognition of pastoral care which therefore remains entirely in the informal, means that such transactional

expectations of reciprocity in implementation relationships, could result in those PEs who are the most 'in need', receiving the least support, which overall puts limitations on the change potentials of the intervention as a whole: *"we are paid money basically just for water so how can I improve myself on that?"* (Jacqui).

6.4.4 Implications for Change

The CAT analysis of processes of engagement centred on 'invisible' labour really highlights staff and PE agencies-in-constraints, where strategies are focussed on protecting not only identities but also survival at both individual and collective/organisational levels. Whilst these act as a barrier to reciprocity in dialogues with the donors and 'global', they can be seen to conversely strengthen camaraderie and transformative interactions in the 'local'. However I would argue that the ambivalences which run throughout this process of engagement, signify the overarching constraints of precarity on these relationships, meaning that such opportunities for collective action, support, and *change* remain enormously insecure, and so for some people or in some instances, simultaneously hold the potential to only exacerbate experiences of precarity. Accordingly, agencies truly are *in* constraint, and the global 'Aid' to the production of such precarity, through its pervasive *un*ethical non-recognitions of Selves, relations, and structures, is particularly highlighted in this process: the 'global' non-recognition of the differential relationally-experienced agentic capacities of different changemakers, which can be seen to result in stigmatisations (e.g. good .v. bad PEs); the 'global' non- and mis-recognitions of how poverty and clashes in knowledge cultures structure the lives of staff and PEs and accordingly too their implementation practices (e.g. transactional expectations in reciprocity, and again, stigmatisations of 'poor' implementation, comparatively conceptualised against 'ideal' practices); and overall, the donor 'threat' to survival.

Therefore, the extra *labour* required in the 'making' of the Mabadiliko intervention and too its invisibility is both produced and disregarded by the global. Nevertheless the stakes could not be higher and the compounded pressures of protecting one's own and the organisation's identity *and* survival, under conditions of such symbolic violence (from the global and for many, also the local), make staff and PEs vulnerable to burnout, blame, disappointments, and indiscretions, which can overall, work against the intervention's change goals: *"If they want us to change and they want girls to change*

they need to encourage us not discourage us. When you tell girls that they are not doing well enough, they will get angry or lose interest and drop out" (Rashida). I propose that this conveys how the ethical implications of CSE go beyond aspects of constraint, in that the pervasive *mis*-recognitions – stigmatisations and blame – of people who are negotiating multiple intersecting forms of constraint, can actually cause harm. The systematic neglect of PE dropouts are a signifier of this: when the focus is on 'success' (e.g. for the donor understood in terms of 'good' comparative results; for the NGO equated with repeat funding), important questions such as, did the PE dropout because of insecurities in their personal life or did they dropout because of difficulties in implementation activities, are not asked.

Furthermore, from an analytical perspective, this process of engagement in particular, reveals how seemingly unconnected acts can create chains of communication which can get overlooked in conventional evaluation methods. For instance, despite all PEs in the endline evaluation interviews being asked what the greatest challenges in their work are, the knowledge about high dropouts of OSGs and PEs (which offers an explanation of the endline results) was not tapped into, potentially owing to the ambivalences that PEs experience in their relations with elders and donors, but also the omnipresent nature of 'global' non- and mis-recognitions of the 'local': *"a person [evaluator/donor] comes for a short time and likely doesn't even understand much about what it takes to teach these girls... you are constantly having to start over from the beginning... means that all that work I do means nothing... [and] when these visits happen you are told 'bring six girls', but I can't, it's all in a rush so I have to just choose quickly "you girl, come'... so the donor don't always meet girls who have knowledge"* (Jacqui).

6.5 Discussion

The CAT analysis provides detailed insights into the *dynamics* of contexts, constituted across local-global axes, and the strategies, at both individual and collective levels, which contribute to 'the making' of a CSE intervention. Through examinations of patterns and differences within CATs, as well as interconnections between them, three core processes of local-global (non)engagements were identified. The first, made-up of

activities conceptualised as the intervention's change mechanisms, illustrates how 'the global' non-recognition of precarity in its design and planning of the intervention, namely the directive presumption of 'the ideal' in communicative activities, acts as a disabler of change. For the CATs highlight the contentious nature of 'change mechanisms', in that the precarity of poverty (i.e. the scarcity of resources and opportunities) and clashing knowledge cultures are experienced in and through relations with others, and can therefore become competitive, underpinned by individual protective strategies of identity *and* survival, which can severely limit the transformative potentials of dialogues and collaborations. The second process of engagement, made-up of activities related to the production and use of evidence, exposes the practices by which 'the global' focusses on the ideal, and therefore how the absolute non-recognition of actualities, is maintained. Namely, the underlying strategy of evidencing the successful intentions of the intervention that operates through reporting artifacts, produces communications between the donor and NGO that are inauthentic and distorted, and which ultimately work to produce a semantic barrier between the global and the local (i.e. between the intervention and local contexts). As discussed, reporting artifacts can therefore be viewed as a kind of neo-colonial technology, where experiences of the non-ideal are not only ignored but pathologized, effectively resulting in the dehumanisation of changemakers *and* punishments (i.e. threats of stopping funding) when the 'ideal' gaze is not met (i.e. the symbolically violent policing of success). And the third and final process exposes 'the [extra] work' that is collectively undertaken by individuals in Mabadiliko, aimed at producing 'the ideal' yet simultaneously the invisibility of such labours. The potentials for contradictions between collective (i.e. organisational) and individual strategies of self-protection against the pervasive 'global' non-recognitions, produce ambivalences and precarities in the relationships which make-up this process, and ultimately threaten possibilities for behaviour change.

Therefore, 'the global' can be seen to run throughout these processes, where its blind focus on 'the ideal' is reinforced and promoted (Orbe 1998) through design, planning, and the punitive monitoring and evaluation artifacts, establishing an omnipresence in 'local' imaginings. The violence of this dynamic becomes ever clearer when one considers what 'the ideal' actually is: reciprocity, namely that *both* interlocutors are open, inclusive, and focussed on achieving mutuality in perspective-taking. In this way,

not only does 'the global' not recognise and work to displace local knowledge cultures, it effaces itself from these dialogues, blocking and distorting communications so that insights into the complexities and difficulties of changemaking in precarity remain hidden and pathologized. The local-global 'making' of CSE can therefore be said to be enormously unethical. Nevertheless, person-based efforts at effecting change *within* the dominating constraints of overarching non-recognitions, persist. However, whilst such managements of the local-global offer opportunities for transformation through improvisations aimed at *promoting* engagements between knowledges (underpinned by the organisational strategic goal of achieving global markers of success). They also require individualised self-protective strategies (e.g. against attacks on one's professional identity, against burnout, against threats to one and all's survival), that can conversely work to undermine transformative potentials.

Consequently, the CAT analysis provides detailed insights into both the processual practices (and communication systems – Orbe 1998) which produce the pervasive non- and mis-recognitions of 'the local' (e.g. PEs, staff, OSGs, 'local' communities, stakeholders etc.), as well as the local-global contexts *and* strategies (at individual/collective/institutionalised levels) that ultimately ensure their endurance. Accordingly, the violence of CSE not only pertains to the non-recognition of the local, but too, the distortion of the dynamics, and consequential burden, of changemaking. Weis and Fine (2012) in discussing safe spaces, identify their 'misapplication' as owing to the pervasive divorce of these spaces from structural constraints, and I would argue that such 'silo-ization' and active *de*contextualization can also be said for the intervention as a whole, maintained through artifacts which prioritise the pre-defined 'intentions' of the intervention (e.g. logframes, KABP surveys, and interviews). Therefore the politics of implementation, which can be conceptualised as the continual interplay of (local-global) contexts 'seeping *in*' to the intervention *with* individualised and collective strategies at managing them (made variant through different social positionings), and which are played out *through* communicative activities, are too depreciated and overlooked.

My final question in the PE interviews was 'what do you want people to know about what it's like to be a peer educator?' and all responses focussed on wanting more recognition for how difficult their work is: *"There are no people other than us who*

actually do the work, who know about how hard this work is… I think it's because of how we are overseen. For them to know about the kind of problems that we face they would need to do as you have done and talk to us and follow us doing our work" (Rashida). The following and final chapter, in bringing together the findings from all three empirical chapters, works to develop discussions on how the non-recognitions which have been identified could be addressed, and so bring to the fore, the ethical aspects of CSE in precarity.

Chapter 7. Discussion and Implications

"To the Elders ... I cannot find the God you serve and I have been known to stay out all night searching" – Nayirrah Waheed.

"We are the ambassadors of our girls in the streets. We have 'the know' about the streets from where we come. But who listens?" – Jacqui (Mabadiliko PE).

Poor youth sexual health in precarity is what sociologists would describe as a 'wicked problem': 1) the specific causes and effects are difficult to identify; 2) the context is made up of complex and politically-charged interfaces of material, temporo-symbolic, and relational dynamics; and 3) there is no 'once and for all solution' (Weber and Khademian 2008). Literature on 'wicked problems' emphasises the need for networks rather than silos of practice, "defined by the enduring exchange relations established between organisations, individuals, and groups" (Weber and Khademian 2008:334). However, networks have been a large part of the international response to HIV and AIDS and social development projects, certainly at least in the last decade, seen in their strategies on 'combined' or 'multi-level' approaches, as well as donors now preferring to fund collaborative consortiums of NGOs. Nevertheless, as the empirical chapters reveal, even such networks of NGOs run the risk of silo-ization through the institutionalised divorcing of interventions from the local-global contexts which situate, and seep into them through the relationships which 'make' the intervention (i.e. turn intentions into actuality), both within knowledges and in implementation practices. In explanation, the disregard for how contexts and responsive strategies *shape* 'exchange relations', produces a silo-ization of intentions from actuality; a systematic non-recognition of precarity which represents the core problem of ethics in CSE.

It is possible that the insecurities and ruptures to the social fabric that prolonged poverty and (postcolonial) globalisation combined are causing, may be beyond the scope of a time-limited discrete intervention. Nevertheless, the dialogical epistemology which has underpinned the analyses of changemaking in precarity in this thesis does give insight into the 'precise forms' of domination that situate 'the making' of CSE in

urban Tanzania, along with how people are managing and coping with such constraints. As outlined in Chapter 2, I propose that these specific insights into local-global contexts of constraint, along with people's (agency-in-constraint) strategies of coping with them (e.g. self-protection), can contribute to the development of theorising on relational agency in precarity. And overall I argue that a dialogical epistemology can make important contributions to debates on how these more relationally-based *change* efforts can be evaluated. I am not suggesting that the recommendations discussed will necessarily make CSE interventions successful outright. Such an assertion would signify a reversion to individualist notions of agency where a person or people are able to effect change *in the face of* the complexity of the large-scale drivers such as poverty, globalisation, and the social constructions of gendered relations in precarity, that make HIV and AIDS such a 'wicked problem' in my particular case study context. Rather, I am proposing that the thesis findings have actionable implications for *enhancing potentials for change* in precarity, which at the core, emphasise the need for greater ethics in the relations which make CSE. Accordingly, 'the making' of CSE is identified as a political act, but one which is at present dangerously *de*politicised in 'global' arenas, driving pervasive unethical non-recognitions of both the people and organisations which are working to effect change in 'local' contexts, as well as those at which such efforts are directed. Therefore whilst some of the 'local' insights remain specific to Tanzania, others hold more generalised implications for international CSE organisations, in regard to their ways of working in non-Western contexts.

The analytical tools provided by the dialogical framing of SRT and social practices have been instrumental in exposing the *scale* of local-global relationships which mediate the behaviour change potentials of CSE. These range from perspectival engagements contained within the knowledges of both local and global peoples (along with different social positions within them), to relations between local and global organisations which are also constructed through perspective-taking in specific interpersonal and person-to-artifact interactions, and therefore which ultimately emphasise the continual interconnections between all levels. And a dialogical theorising of agency in constraint emphasises the importance of maintaining this multi-level (micro/meso/macro) gaze in the marking out of 'specific answers' (regarding opportunities for relational agency) to the 'specific forms' of domination (Foucault

1984/1997 – see section 2.4) within temporo-symbolic, material and relational contexts. In explanation, the empirical chapters of the thesis highlight how micro-textual dynamics hold the potential to influence the change outcomes of the entire intervention, as do colonial histories and 'global' communication systems, yet within each of these, the (strategic) adaptive capacities of differentially (socially) positioned individuals and groups also hold change potentials, along with the 'chains' of communicative activities that are collectively produced.

In this chapter, I will begin by answering the overarching research question of this thesis, and outline the local-global (power-ethics) relationships in CSE which mediate behaviour change potentials in precarity. In that only disabling and ambivalent change relationships were identified, discussion on these will act as a summarisation of the specific forms of domination and constraint in the case study context, where relationships are considered as the analytical point through which contextual and strategic dynamics can be unpacked. Owing to the institutional nature of the identified constraints, the second part of the chapter will provide discussion on the contributions that dialogical theorising can make to the design, implementation and evaluation of CSE, what I term the 'open-box' approach. This approach foregrounds ethics and the transformative potentials of *recognitions* between different knowledge cultures, and in view of the dialogical emphasis on the emergent nature of change through people-in-[dynamic]contexts, emphasises the need for the continual unpacking and evaluation of contextual and strategic constraints on these processes, and so too, adaptivity in programming. Thus, it is argued that theorisations of relational agency in precarity also need to be emergent, and specified to contexts. This is not to say that 'global' indicators cannot be collected, but rather that more effort needs to be put towards ensuring that such local-global communications do not become psychologically violent in their non-recognition towards people who are already battling against multiple forms of marginalisation. Furthermore, as this case study illustrates, the dialogical study of changemaking in precarity offers insights into the relation-based problematics and potentials for change, which are commonly overlooked or reductively engaged with in other (non-interactive) epistemologies.

7.1 'The State of Constraints' in CSE: Disabling and Ambivalent Local-Global Relationships

The Mabadiliko case study underscores how constraints on behaviour change are produced by 'the global' as much as 'the local', and therefore the symbolic violence in interpretations of failed interventions as owing to local cultures and poor implementation. Through the empirical chapters, 'the global' can be seen to be represented by: human rights where all people have autonomous power over contexts; rational and educated people (e.g. expert curriculum designers); and wealth. Juxtaposed against this, the Tanzanian 'local' is (mis)recognised in terms of 'bad' cultures and weak or immoral people who choose to partake in transactional relationships or who do not follow implementation protocols, and therefore are effectively punished when behaviour change intentions do not turn into actuality. Yet too, the local can be seen to be pervasively *non*-recognised in regard to different conceptualisations of *being* (e.g. interdependent identities), the insecurities caused by the far-reaching webs of poverty, and consequently the enduring difficulties of managing the local-global knowledge encounters of CSE in precarity. Such mis- and non-recognitions could be conceptualised in postcolonial terms where 'African' differences are homogeneously pathologized without due consideration of the lasting effects of colonial histories. However, I would argue that the empirical chapters give insight into the *neo*-colonial nature of CSE, in that the underlying strategies identified in the CSE curricula (Chapter 4) and implementation (Chapter 6), focus on wiping out local culture, whilst only offering a flawed and inadequate alternative: in the present day being human rights, which is unreal in the sense that many people even in the West fail to live autonomously; and in the past being the Victorian morals which historical analyses now suggest was as much for the colonisers as for the colonised (Stoler 1995).

Such pervasive and institutionalised non- and mis-recognitions by the global of the local can be seen to underpin the *distortion* of relationally-based methods of behaviour change (e.g. peer education, community mobilisation). Be it in the conceptualisation (e.g. curricula design) processes, where social knowledge (e.g. related to communication, gendered dynamics, power in relationships, positive identities,

cultures) was represented by 'the global' as being universal and therefore change, just a matter of education. As well as in implementation processes where transformative dialogues aimed at changing social norms were presumed, viewed as a 'thing' that could be 'given' through a curriculum. And also in the conceptualisation of process evaluations as being about 'fidelity to design' meaning that the curriculum designer's (decontextualised) knowledge is privileged over other forms. The blind dominance of 'global' knowledge in CSE (i.e. non- and mis-recognitions of 'local' knowledges) runs throughout these processes and shapes the relationships through which CSE is actualised. Despite the language of participation, collective action, and 'cultural relevance', rooted in theorisations of relational subjectivities, the drivers of CSE – claims to 'evidence' and human rights as 'truth' – are firmly rooted in biomedical/neoliberal individual-focussed subjectivities.

Chapters 4 and 5 illustrate how this silent 'clash' results in an implicit moralising and shaming of people who ascribe to knowledges other than the 'universal' form in CSE. This becomes particularly violent in conditions of precarity, where such aspects of 'the social' are not solely shaped by 'local' cultural norms, but are also connected to wider struggles for survival in a globalising world. In the case study context such postcolonial globalisation can be seen in how feelings of deprivation are only reinforced by comparisons with the privileged global – comparisons which are promoted by CSE and the general spread of Western capitalist media – and the fracturing effects that such local-global poverty has on 'local' cultures, also holding implications for identities and communities. Against the background of behavioural insights which identify interdependence as a rational adaptive strategy to conditions of scarcity (Stephens et al. 2011; Sheehy-Skeffington 2017), the problematics of singularly promoting independence in CSE become ever clearer: more than just pathologizing people in poverty, the universality by which independence is represented, disables the possibility of any real engagement with local knowledges.

This is not to say that the 'global' knowledge in CSE is of no use at all to youth in precarity. My point is that by not recognising and actively shutting down engagements with knowledges about how precarity shapes behaviours and agentic opportunities, the 'global knowledge' in NGO responses to HIV produces a relationship with youth in which only acceptance or rejection of the 'global' starting assumptions about youth

sexualities is possible. And as this thesis illustrates, the result is often that global knowledge is largely negated outright by youth as 'not-for-us'. In this context, any support that global knowledge might be able to give, is neutralised alongside the aspects of it which are considered irrelevant by youth. The youth FGDs (Chapter 5) highlight the complexities of their lived environment, where neither independent or interdependent values and ways of being are fully available to them, indicating that monolithic conceptualisations of cultures in postcolonial contexts are likely a thing of the past. I therefore argue that these findings highlight how whilst CSE (on the face of it) engages with complexity (e.g. poverty, marginalisations) through its structure (i.e. its multi-level focus), its content, and the approaches by which content is produced and communicated, remain neglectful of complexity; a negligence which is unethical, and is failing youth.

Nevertheless, the case study also reveals how representations of the global as monolithic are too, inadequate, in that curricula knowledge is shaped by people-in-contexts (e.g. the differences between the three curricula in Chapter 4), and how the actualities of implementation depend largely on the different strategic engagements between differently positioned actors, agencies, and artifacts. Pigg (1992) identifies 'the global' in international development projects as acting as a map that orients the movements of people in localities through providing a way of conceptualising the ground that they stand on, centred on new opportunities for wealth, influence, and upward social mobility. As she remarks, "everyone wants a piece of the development pie" (Pigg 1992:511), yet their routes of accessing and engaging with it will vary widely, rooted in different social positionings as well as the particularities of relations-in-contexts. Departing from the conceptualisation of development 'as a thing' where such differences in navigating the development map are pathologized, this thesis has proposed that analytical focus needs to be put towards understanding the power-ethically based strategies which structure these differences. Not only for the identification of constraints on agencies, but also so as to facilitate greater institutional *management* of local-global knowledge encounters in CSE. For as the case study has highlighted, such management is strikingly absent; an institutional blindness which is enabled through (mis-)conceptions of universality in knowledge, the neutrality of artifacts, and the overall non-recognition of how self-protective strategies and contexts shape the communicative relationships which 'make' CSE.

Six core local-global relationships were identified in the case study, three of which could be identified as disablers of change potentials, whilst the remaining three, seen to hold more ambivalent associations with change, and so give indications of both constraints and opportunities for change. Discussion on how the disablers of change can be reframed as opportunities will be discussed in section 7.2. The main premise of the recommendations that will be discussed, centre on how much can be done to improve the quality and ethics of these *relational dynamics* through which an intervention is actualised (from conception to evaluation). Whilst these may not enable behaviour change outright, I argue that they do offer scope for *enhancing potentials* for CSE-driven change in precarity.

7.1.1 Disabling Change Relationships in the Mabadiliko Case Study

The Mabadiliko case study highlights three main points of interactions in local-global relationships where behaviour potentials are disabled: when curriculum designers construct CSE knowledge; when youth engage with CSE knowledge; and in donor-NGO engagements over the construction of knowledge about implementation. What connects these relationships, is 'the global' non- and mis-recognitions of the ways in which precarity shapes youth sexualities. Each will be discussed in turn.

The differences between the three CSE curricula (Chapter 4) illustrate how the ways in which curriculum designers *relate* to both local and global contexts shape the (strategized) presentation of content on social knowledge. The universal curriculum (UC), designed by 'international experts', in which 'international' largely equates with Western knowledge systems (discussed in Chapter 1), only references localities in terms of rejecting them. The 'adapted curriculum' (AC) was produced through a Dutch NGO facilitating a workshop with local Ethiopian stakeholders towards adapting a CSE curriculum from another context to the locality (the original curriculum in this adaptation process was Dutch). Not only are the more progressive Dutch attitudes to youth sexualities evident in the representations of youth's abilities to have power in relationships (as opposed to the UC framing of relationships before maturity as being 'bad'). Local knowledges are recognised and engaged with albeit in a ('global') dominating way, recognisable through the use of communicative devices which work to *persuade* adoptions of global knowledge. And lastly, the 'local curriculum' (LC), produced by Tanzanian experts drawing on international guidelines as resources, is

indicative of the difficulties of integrating global knowledge on youth sexualities with 'local' experiential knowledge. Whilst the language of independence is used, aspects of interdependence are emphasised, meaning that the silent antagonisms between independence and interdependence (discussed earlier) go unchallenged. Nevertheless, in all three curricula, 'the global' is afforded the invincibility of 'truth'. Accordingly, the complexities of disentangling differences in social knowledge and contradictions with life experiences, are left to youth – a group whose abilities and 'rational' capacities are at the same time contradictorily questioned, and too pathologized in global knowledge (Warwick and Aggleton 1990).

The ways in which youth (dis)engage with 'global' NGO knowledge on sexualities, is also indicative of the difficulty of this task of disentangling and reconciling antagonisms between representations of social knowledge. In fact, youth strategies of coping with the constraints of knowledge clashes and the overarching non-recognition of them (by 'the global'), acted as a forceful barrier to behaviour change. Those with greater perceptions of agency and life opportunities (i.e. the university youth), were strong in their representational resolve against NGO knowledge, whilst the least agentic (i.e. the urban-poor youth) internalised and self-stigmatised their not being able to live according to the NGO representations of sexualities. Furthermore, youth's perceptions that NGO workers are also not able to reconcile the different knowledges or 'practice what they preach', can be seen to be used by youth as a confirmation of NGO knowledge as not-being-for Tanzanian youth. Therefore, in the 'mess' of the social, the polemics or antagonisms created by NGO knowledge claims to 'truth', could be seen to produce contradictions which undermined its overall message of youth empowerment (e.g. through critical thinking [UC], self-esteem [AC] or collective action [LC]), and according behaviour change potentials. In addition, the (mis)recognition in CSE curricula of the global *as* human rights, only contributes to (self)stigmatising representations of 'African sexualities' as different from 'the global' (with comparisons also being made with relationships in Hollywood movies). I propose that this also compounds fatalistic representations of relationship opportunities through setting 'the bar' unrealistically high; a fatalism which can be connected to 'the risks' that youth take in forging 'global' identities. For the youth FGDs (Chapter 5) highlighted the current crisis in youth identities in which the combined experiences of poverty and postcolonial globalisation mean that strategies for self-protection are about more than

just maintaining stability in one's own identity and semantic environment, but are fundamentally about survival, for which sexual relationships are the most, and for some the only, available resource. Yet poverty and globalisation, and their fracturing effects on communities and families were starkly absent from the CSE curricula.

And lastly, in the donor-NGO engagements regarding the construction of knowledge about implementation, acts of symbolic violence (i.e. forceful non-recognitions) can be seen in how systems of reporting and evaluation not only repress critical awareness of potentially problematic relationships (e.g. between donors and Mabadiliko staff, PEs and attending youth) but also restrict organisational attention to only that which is predicted and planned for (i.e. only that which is in the logframe). In this way, the difficulties of reconciling the antagonisms between knowledge cultures and the fracturing effects of poverty and globalisation, which frame and constitute the enactment of CSE, are overlooked. The failure of NGO knowledge systems to acknowledge contradictions between their programme assumptions and the everyday realities of living in precarity at local-global knowledge encounters has two main effects. Firstly, the likelihood that the intervention will succeed in changing behaviours and empowering youth is undermined, in that endemic constraints on agencies are ignored. And secondly, youth and implementers are pathologized through the donors' blind focus on fidelity to preconceived programme designs as the essential pathway to success, despite the fact that these designs do not recognise youth realities, and hence are incapable of resonating with their own experiences of sexualities in precarity. Accordingly, 'staff incompetence' or the persistence of local cultures are common explanations of intervention failures, which as in the Mabadiliko case study, result in the repeat rollout of the programme, holding the premise that more education is the answer, when actually, problems are also likely rooted in the interventions themselves.

These three relationships therefore hold important implications for CSE, not only in terms of disabling change potentials, but also in regard to ethics. The curricula and youth FGD analyses highlight the *politics* of social knowledge, in that the social (e.g. geopolitical) positioning of curricula designers, and of different groups of youth are enormously influential on the shaping of social knowledge on youth sexualities and subjectivities. The CAT analysis of the Mabadiliko intervention gives further insight into the practices by which 'global' communication systems *de*politicise the

problematics of knowledge encounters, and conditions of precarity more generally, through the non-recognition of fields of experiences other than their own (Orbe 1998). For despite significant theorising in the social sciences on the difficulties of intercultural communications (Sammut et al. 2013), which are arguably even more complex in postcolonial contexts where histories of dominance (and surface-level compliances) situate intercultural interactions, the potentials of problematics in communications remain largely unrecognised by 'the global' (e.g. in curricula design and reporting/evaluation procedures). And the ethical implications of this pervasive non-recognition of 'the work' required for negotiating knowledge encounters, can be seen in the self-stigmatising devices variably used by youth, as well as the burnout and antagonisms in relationships that were identified in the Mabadiliko implementation practices. I therefore suggest that greater analytical focus needs to be put towards the situated knowledges of curricula designers, implementors, and youth, along with interactions between them, which requires a *mode of appreciation*[1] that I propose can be facilitated by dialogical theorising (discussed further in section 7.2).

7.1.2 Ambivalent Change Relationships in the Mabadiliko Case Study

Three points of interaction in implementation practices (Chapter 6) were identified as having ambivalent relations to behaviour change, namely that whilst they were not enablers outright, their change potentials remained unexplored, *ad hoc*, or underdeveloped. These include: donor relationships with attending youth and PEs; PE relationships with the intervention; and PE relationships with the wider community. These relationships are connected by the distorted view of peer education held by all actors, typified by didactic conceptualisations of pedagogy, and mechanistic representations of implementing actors and the relationships which make up intervention implementation (i.e. a neoliberal/individualist framing of a relational behaviour change method). Accordingly, rather than identifying contradictions in pedagogies and tensions in implementing practices as part and parcel of local-global CSE relationships in precarity, implementers were blamed for 'poor fidelity to design'. I propose that the viewing of ambivalences in implementation practices as *potentials*, opens up opportunities for engaging with the ways in which precarities shape CSE, and

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[1] I am grateful to Peter Aggleton for this interpretative term.

if engaged with, can *enhance* potentials for behaviour change. Each will now be discussed.

The imagined presence of the donor, conceptualised as a threat, produced strategies of self-protection (e.g. for the survival of the intervention and accordingly individual/group access to resources) that worked to mobilise youth to engage with the knowledge in the curriculum so that Mabadiliko would be seen as successful. And the CAT analysis revealed how the shared goal and purpose generated by this positioning of the (imagined) donor produced instances of the collaborative and horizontal pedagogical interactions amongst the attending girls, that the curriculum was designed to mediate, yet failed to. However, the overarching stress of this relationship with the donor also could be seen to amplify blame and antagonisms in relationships between staff, PEs and OSGs, as well as burnout. Nevertheless, I propose that this relational dynamic highlights two main potentials for enabling youth engagements with NGO knowledge (whether this would necessarily lead to behaviour change is still queried in that the curricula knowledge still might not be relevant and useful to youth). Firstly, it identifies the pedagogical potentials of learning incentives, in that 'learning goals' (as opposed to 'performance goals') can help to make learning experiences less abstract and (debilitatingly) pressured (Oettingen and Gollwitzer 2001). Such incentives could include a certificate of participation, a group discussion or presentation, or a competition between the different girls' groups related to the creative use of knowledge learnt in the pedagogical sessions.

For secondly, the *power* of the donor, in regard to the *recognition* of implementors and attending OSGs, is highlighted. Whilst this power is represented in a dominating (i.e. threatening) way, therefore producing fear of the donor, the interviews with PEs revealed how praise from donors also holds enormous power – *"the donors clapped and my girls [faces] shone [with pride]"* (Aisha). Yet many of the PEs lamented about how relationships with the donor wasn't good: *"I would say that they (the donor) haven't communicated well with the girls, you know you must work hard to build a good relationship with the girls. The first time that they [the donor] came, there were many of them and the girls didn't want to come, they were scared and we really had to push them to go, and they (the donor) asked them quite specialist questions... my group talk well... But that day that the donor came they failed to talk, they couldn't talk at all"* (Rehema).

Therefore, whilst donor relationships with PEs and youth hold potentials for enhancing behaviour change, shifting interactions from one of fear to one of trust is potentially quite a difficult task: *"these donors [who often don't speak Swahili and who have studied development yet never lived it], they often just don't understand the people that they are trying to help, they have no view into their lives"* (Mabadiliko senior staff member). I propose that this connects with the previous section on disabling (i.e. blocked) relationships between local and global knowledges, and so once again, indicates that extra support is needed towards facilitating donor recognitions and appreciations of the field of experiences of implementors and attending OSGs.

The second relationship identified as having an ambivalent connection to change, was how PEs relate with the intervention/NGO. The relational theorising of agency which underpins the peer education method, conceives of PEs as potential enablers of behaviour change, particularly in regard to the task of reframing 'global' knowledge so that it connects with the life experiences and language of attending youth. And whilst instances of such 'improvisations' (Eyben 2005) were seen by some of the more experienced implementors, overall, the Mabadiliko case study revealed how PEs were not supported in this capacity by the intervention. Instead, they were scolded for not reading the curriculum in its entirety (all 217 pages of it), and the knowledge within it was not open to critique, meaning that disagreements with the knowledge (e.g. that girls should not be taught about contraceptives) or feelings of confusion with it (e.g. life skills, gender etc.) resulted in the topics not being taught (unbeknownst to the Mabadiliko staff and donor). This dynamic again connects back to 'the global' non-recognition of the politics of knowledge, and therefore I suggest that greater critical engagement with the content of curricula at an institutional level, which would require more reciprocity in relationships with PEs (e.g. training PEs on transformative/dialogical rather than didactic communication, and presenting the knowledge in the curriculum as needing to be reframed to the locality), has the capability of enhancing change potentials in two main ways. Firstly, detailed insight into the locality-specific 'struggles' between local and global knowledges can be elicited and engaged with as a learning opportunity (e.g. in discovering that gender stereotypes [albeit positive] are being used in teaching about gender, a specific re-training of staff and PEs focussed on the pervasiveness and subtlety of Tanzania-specific gender stereotyping could be facilitated). And secondly, supportive relationships between the

intervention and PEs can be fostered. The current lack of institutionalised (pastoral) support for PEs was identified as making both PEs and Mabadiliko staff vulnerable to burnout, disappointments and indiscretions, which in turn affects implementation practices.

And lastly, PE relationships with the wider community showed ambivalence, in that whilst collaborative practices with local social service providers (e.g. health, police, government) were key to the effective implementation of the project, PEs received very little support in negotiating these relationships, which were in some cases highly adversarial (as illustrated in Chapter 5 and 6, community adults and service providers are themselves affected by poverty). I am not suggesting that these relationships could have necessarily been improved by institutional involvement, but rather that *recognition* from the donor and Mabadiliko staff over the complexities of these relationships could serve to not only lessen the stresses of PEs and field staff, but also have the potential of empowering PEs through the provision of guidance on how to best negotiate antagonisms with community adults. Instead, the absence of institutionalised recognition on this issue connects with wider neglects of precarity in 'global' knowledge in CSE (e.g. the presumption that youth have 'trustworthy' and supportive relationships with adults [emphasised in the UC and AC - Chapter 4], whilst in the youth FGDs [Chapter 5] relationships with adults were typified as distrustful). The (white) Western (privileged) culture presupposed by notions of 'care' in international development knowledge more generally (where care is assumed to involve 'a space of innocence' [Thompson 1998] and that carers prioritise acting in accordance with the needs of those being cared for), can be seen to act as another form of symbolic violence in extreme settings, such as widespread poverty (Coultas et al. 2016). Therefore, the complexities of creating 'health-enabling contexts' (Campbell and Cornish 2012) in conditions of adversity needs explicit institutional focus or at least recognition in multi-level CSE interventions.

Therefore, I propose that these relationships which were identified as having ambivalent effects on the mediation of behaviour change, highlight the power potentialities of top-down (i.e. institutional) recognition in terms of creating structures that work to foster relationships rather than ignore them. For without donor commitment over the need to engage with the 'contradictions and paradoxes' of

environments, as opposed to the continuance of ignoring and simplifying them (Eyben 2005), many of the change potentials discussed thus far would be difficult to achieve. For instance, in presenting preliminary results from the ethnography to Mabadiliko senior management, I pointed out how PEs needed more formalised support: that providing them with a curriculum and a one-off training was insufficient; that they would likely benefit from monthly support groups where they could discuss the problems they face in their work and collaboratively find affirmation as much as solutions with guidance from a more experienced 'change-maker'; and also that the insecurities in their own lives need to be better catered for and recognised by both Mabadiliko and the donor. Their response was that "*the donor is actually telling us that we are already too bottom-heavy... that too much work and money is going on the volunteers and activities*". When I asked the donor about this they said that this comment was more about how senior management oversight was lacking. Therefore, not only is there a potential miscommunication here between the donor and Mabadiliko management, the overarching problem – the need for PEs to have supportive relationships – is side-lined.

Therefore, I would argue that overall, the local-global relationships in the Mabadiliko CSE intervention (both disabling and ambivalent ones), highlight how little importance is placed on relationships, rooted in a problematic 'logframe' mentality which is informed by either a problematic (neoliberal) theory of change, or a problematic misunderstanding of the rationale and required pathways for participatory development. It is vital to view relationships as important points of interaction, capable of *disabling or enabling change* and therefore in need of institutional focus. In the current framing, relationships are presumed to function in a mechanical and predictable manner, which not only minimises the (materially- and symbolically-rooted) insecurities of living in precarity, but also neglects the vulnerabilities of people within these relationships. But most importantly, this mechanistic framing of relationships misunderstands the processes that underlie effective transformative pedagogical and communicative practices. Namely, that they need to be dialogical (rather than tokenistic or instrumental) in nature, based on assumptions that the knowledge and experience of all parties are equally important (and rational), and need to hold equal weight in programme implementation. Another critical aspect of this is the need for the presumption that *there will* be differences between interventions'

performance guidelines and the realities of practice; a disjuncture which needs to be viewed as a learning opportunity rather than a fault or inadequacy. I will now outline the open-box approach to programme design, implementation, and evaluation that I propose provides scope for structuring more 'improvised' engagements with the complexities of interventions-in-contexts.

7.2 The 'Open-Box' Approach to Programme Design, Implementation, and Evaluation: Operationalising Opportunities for Relational Agency

In that 'wicked problems' involve difficulties in ascertaining causality, are made up of complex interfacing aspects of social contexts, and cannot be solved outright, this thesis argues that a more *processual* approach to programme design and implementation is needed in conjunction with processual evaluations of practice (and of course, that such process evaluations are more than just atomistic or subjective representations of interactions). Through a focus on relations (e.g. between donors, implementers, and target communities), this thesis has provided insight into the micro-capillary pathways of social inequalities-in-action, rooted in the material, relational and temporo-symbolic contexts of local-global relationships in CSE. And as discussed in Chapter 2, I propose that these insights can be reframed towards developing theorising on opportunities for relational agency in precarity. The findings highlight the need for greater recognition by donors and in curricula, of the ways in which precarity shapes programme activities and outcomes, as well as how the complexities of local-global relationships contribute to this. Furthermore, the empirical chapters illustrate how current non-recognitions are institutionalised, in that systems of knowledge production (e.g. programme design, implementation, and reporting/evaluation) are key contributors to the silo-ization of interventions from contexts.

I therefore argue that a change in approach is needed, namely that fostering institutional recognitions of the local-global contexts which situate and 'make' CSE, requires 'opening the (siloed) box' of interventions. The 'boxed' metaphor of

interventions originates from the evaluation literature (Astbury and Leeuw 2010), yet I argue holds significance for aspects of design and implementation as well, in that, as already discussed thus far, the non- and mis-recognitions of wider contexts can be seen to run throughout the making of CSE. The open-box approach therefore works to support institutional managements of the local-global (temporo-symbolic, material and relational) contexts in CSE, fostering engagements which are self-reflexive, exploratory rather than presumptive, ethical, and adaptive. In explanation, I am arguing that a key aspect of operationalising opportunities for relational agency in the case study context, involves changing the institutional structures and processes of CSE. Hirsch (2014) identifies this meso-level (e.g. social processes and institutions) as the most actionable point for interventions aimed at transforming structures, in that localised political and ideological understandings of constraints can be identified, and interventions tailored to engage with them. And certainly, as will be discussed, the CAT method which operates at the meso-level of dialogue is identified as being able to enable this conceptual bridging of micro- (e.g. specific interactions) and macro- (e.g. cultural) aspects in the production and evaluation of CSE. Yet the findings of the case study emphasise how attention also needs to be put towards the micro-textual dynamics of CSE, in that implicit strategies of influence in CSE curricula knowledge, and strategies of self-protection in youth knowledges are strong mediators of behaviour change potentials.

Therefore drawing on the conceptual, empirical, and practical findings of the thesis, I identify three core institutional processes in which this more 'open-box' approach is needed:

1. *In the theorisation of youth subjectivities*. As I will outline, an open-box approach would involve the marking out of different forms of contextual constraints as well as differential identity-based experiences of them, and so work to produce behaviour change goals which are not only specific to contexts and demographics of youth, but which are also engaged with critically rather than normatively, and so 'failures' would be understood in terms of requiring adaptation or further investigation rather than punishment. Such a change would essentially represent a prioritisation of precarity in the relational theorising of youth subjectivities.

2. *In the production and facilitation of the knowledge encounter*. As will be discussed, an open-box approach would involve proactive engagements with the politics of social knowledge and encounters between different knowledges. Accordingly, institutional attention would be put towards understanding how 'global' knowledge is interpreted and (dis/mis)engaged with, as well as the communicative devices (e.g. semantic barriers/promoters) which are used in managing engagements between local-global knowledges. In connection to the previous process, such examinations of the knowledge encounter would be ongoing and emphasise reciprocity in dialogues with implementors, and so too, adaptivity in CSE knowledge in relation to dynamic contexts and strategies (e.g. semantic barriers) identified as being used.

3. *In the production and use of evidence*. This discussion focusses on the potentials for applying the CAT method more systematically in programme implementation, along with the dialogical triangulation of observations, so that intervention intentions are placed in tension with actualities. Furthermore, it is proposed that the analytical focus of CATs on how contextually-situated 'internal interactional accomplishments' (i.e. strategies, social positionings, and perspective-taking) shape implementation activities, provides scope for operationalising the adaptive emphases discussed in the previous two processes (e.g. the continual examinations of the constraints on, and enablers of change in the temporo-symbolic, material, and relational contexts that situate practices and knowledge encounters).

All three aspects of the 'open-box' approach essentially represent a *mode of appreciation* in terms of *expecting* rather than pathologizing differences in knowledge, how social positionings (i.e. agentic-in-constraint strategies-in-contexts) contribute to the shaping of these differences and (dis)engagements between knowledges, and therefore the complexities of behaviour change in conditions of precarity, and the need for generating processual evidence on how relationships-in-contexts shape change potentials. Accordingly, explicit focus is put towards unpacking knowledge- and practice-based relationships, aimed at facilitating recognitions and therefore ethical negotiations between asymmetries and differences in relationships, drawing on the conceptual tools of dialogical theory (outlined in Chapter 2). In this way, the 'open-

box' approach involves the critical analysis and installing of CSE interventions-in-contexts. I will now present discussion, also drawing on the literature, marking out the application of the open-box approach to the three identified institutional processes, before providing a few concluding remarks.

7.2.1 Prioritising Precarity in Theorising Youth Subjectivities

The starting point of this thesis was that *precarity* is insufficiently engaged with in the theorisations of youth subjectivities which underpin CSE. In Chapter 1, the reviewed literature revealed the pervasiveness of 'the individual' (conceptualised as having autonomous power *over* context) and the according distortion of activities (e.g. peer education, community mobilisation) aimed at building more relational forms of agency; a dynamic which is also evident in the ethnography of the Mabadiliko intervention (Chapter 6). Yet the reviewed literature also indicated the problematics of applying more relational theorising on youth subjectivities in CSE: Freire's materialist epistemology fails to effectively engage with the complexities of symbolic marginalisations (e.g. postcolonialism and the local-global nature of precarity that youth experience – exemplified in Chapter 5); and the interpretation of Foucault's social constructionist epistemology, as how identities can act as the 'vehicle' for legitimising subject positions, was identified as running the risk of neglecting more material aspects of constraint. Nevertheless, I argued that Foucauldian theorising did offer scope for being applied to CSE in a different way, namely that Foucault's (1984) conceptualisation of the knowledge-power axis as needing to be expanded to a triad, and include ethics, understood in relational terms (i.e. as being 'recognised' by the other in relations), provides the conceptual basis for unpacking the specific dynamics of 'constraints' on agencies (understood in terms of temporo-symbolic, relational, and material contexts). And that these insights into the specificities of constraints could be reframed as opportunities for building agencies through relations, and so result in the prioritisation of precarity in theorising youth subjectivities.

The analyses of CSE curricula and youth FGDs, certainly revealed how precarity is not only not recognised in CSE, but also mis-recognised, and how the different socio-structural positionings of youth strongly influences their capacities for coping with this. The most striking example of such mis-recognition was how poverty, which is omnipresent in youth knowledges and implementation practices, was only addressed

in 'global' knowledge in terms of 'transactional relationships' where youth are stigmatised for *choosing* to enter into such relationships through their non-avoidance. Echoes of the colonial fascination with the transactional aspects of African marriages (Cole and Thomas 2009) can be heard here, and whilst university students could be seen to resist this stigma, the urban-poor youth clearly internalised such representations of 'African' relationships as not only being different, but also 'less than' Western ones. Campbell and Mannell (2016) call for the need to reconceptualise agency in extreme contexts, arguing that it needs to be recognised as more of a continuum, ranging from survival and coping on the one hand, on to resistance and radical social change on the other. They highlight how interventions based on feminist and global health conceptualisations of (autonomous) agency, whilst important, can conversely end-up subjugating and silencing the experiences of people in constraint (ibid). Yet I would argue that the mis-recognitions identified in this case study highlight the post- or even neo-colonial dimensions to the subjugation of agencies other than autonomous ones, and therefore the institutionalised complicity in constraining youth subjectivities. And in light of the 'polyvalent mobility' (Stoler 1995) of such identity-based discriminations, I propose that any form of theorising on 'coping' and relational agencies in constraint, needs to integrate an interrogation of postcoloniality in CSE knowledge systems and structures.

Such a structural approach to theorising on youth subjectivities in precarity, would be different from the biomedical/neoliberal conceptualisation of the 'structural drivers of HIV', where people in poverty are viewed as irrational, and therefore efforts are put towards 'removing' poverty so that they can be rational (Ogden et al. 2011). Rather, theoretical and pedagogical attention would be put towards identifying and unpacking the power-ethical dynamics of local-global knowledges, so as to map out the representational resources which are available to different groups of youth, along with their implications for agency. Yet I propose that such an effort would need to go beyond Orbe's (1998) theory of unpacking dominant structures through marginalised groups' engagements with them, in light of the complexities of the local-global *as* a representational field, typified by polemics between global and local knowledges (e.g. positive identities) along with the shifting dominances, and conditioned, even dangerous, opportunities for agency, primarily focussed on survival (see Chapter 5). Instead I suggest that a more intersectional approach is needed. The theory of

intersectionality (Crenshaw 1991) highlights how analyses of structural constraints on agency, when focussed on 'groups', often conflate and ignore *intra* group differences, and how such elision of difference can become institutionalised and structurally violent. For example, in her analyses of domestic violence and rape, Crenshaw (1991) works to illustrate how the intersections of gendered and racialised structural constraints mean that women of colour experience violence and rape in a manner which is qualitatively different from those experienced by white women and men of colour. Yet importantly, she also emphasises how their experiences are politically erased through laws, policies and interventions which only focus on one aspect of marginalisation, and therefore paradoxically work to decrease the visibility of those who experience intersecting marginalisations (ibid).

And I would argue that Chapter 5 highlights how the shifting intersections of gendered and intergenerational inequalities, postcolonialism/globalisation, and the far-reaching webs of poverty, produce variant and dynamic experiences of constraint which are erased from both NGO and 'local' representational fields. Crenshaw (1991) emphasises the importance of studying structural constraints on subjectivities from intersectional standpoints, and therefore I propose that theorising on relational agency in precarity needs to adopt a similar approach. In explanation, efforts aimed at building relational agencies need to *recognise* the identity-based and relational implications (Gillespie and Cornish 2010a) of precarity. Namely, *opportunities* for agency are going to vary both between demographic and gendered groups as well as within them, in that different contexts (that situate identity expressions) are relationally produced (e.g. the communicative dynamics between a PE and attending OSGs are shaped by the particular OSGs and interrelations between them, the PE's experience and relations with the NGO and the NGO resources, as well as the PE's relations with their parents and community adults etc.).

I propose that the analyses of micro-textual dynamics (e.g. themata and semantic barriers/promoters) in youth knowledges (Chapter 5) provide a starting point from which identity- and contextually-based recognitions in CSE could be fostered. For I would argue that the dialogical analyses illustrate how (relational) agency is not just about how one acts with others, but also can be seen through how a person expresses perceived power *over* knowledge. hooks (1989) discusses the power potentials of being

at 'the margin' (e.g. of oppressive boundaries set by race, sex, class etc), in that it enables a standpoint from which one can foster criticality in (not) engaging with dominant discourses. Yet once again, the intersecting nature of local-global oppressions that youth experience must be recognised. For whilst the university students illustrate such 'power' in their rejections of NGO knowledge owing to it not reflecting their experience, their criticality on 'local'(-global) knowledges (e.g. how 'old' identities are no longer possible owing to the combined effects of poverty and globalisation, as well as discussions on postcolonialism), would clearly require more specific and intentioned support. And furthermore, such support would likely need to differ between genders, and also differ from discussions with urban-poor youth, in that their overall lack of perceived power over knowledges (both local and global) would mean that the journey to criticality would be different from that of university students. Nevertheless, I would also argue that the hegemonic representation of powerlessness in sex, and overall relational dependence on others (through sexual relationships), by all groups of youth, signifies the pervasiveness of poverty as a constraint on youth agencies, in that strategies for survival (which for many relate to both oneself and one's family) remain ever-present.

Consequently, pedagogical efforts aimed at unpacking and engaging with the intersectional and structural aspects of identities *as* constraints, would also need to factor in how local-global contexts (e.g. temporo-symbolic and material) are relationally produced. This connects more with the findings of Chapter 6, where the effects of poverty, experienced at both individual and collective levels, as well as institutionalised contexts of dominance (e.g. global/donor-to-staff-to-PEs-to-OSGs), could be seen to constrain potentials for collaborations, underpinned by reciprocity and perspective-taking in dialogues. Therefore, a prioritisation of precarity in theorising on youth subjectivities would also consist of a sustained analytical focus on the *production* of dialogues aimed at transformation: what does transformative dialogue look like; what are its enablers and disablers (e.g. what are the identity-based strategies at play; what are the institutional processes that maintain asymmetries in identity positions and what are the wider contextual dynamics to these processes); how might these be able to be maximised and controlled (Gillespie and Cornish 2010a)? This also aligns more generally with literature on peer education which emphasises

that more exploratory analyses of its transformative potentials are needed (Southgate and Aggleton 2017).

Therefore, a relational theorising of agency in constraint calls for greater institutional attention to be put towards identifying and developing 'moments of ethics' (Alessandrini 2009) in which the ethical recognition of others (e.g. attending youth and implementors) is not mechanistically presumed (e.g. through [depoliticised] collaborations, PE status, or knowledge on human rights), but rather is expected to require "ethically sensitive negotiation at the boundaries of our being" (Shotter 1992:11). At the institutional level therefore, such a 'mode of appreciation' would require greater adaptivity to the contexts and different social positionings which situate youth subjectivities and therefore theorising on change potentials. The next two sub-sections will explore in more depth how such a critical and contextually adaptive approach to knowledge production could be designed and implemented, and also evaluated.

7.2.2 The Dialogical Production and Facilitation of CSE

As already discussed in this chapter, antagonisms between local-global knowledge cultures in the actualisation of CSE is a significant constraint on behaviour change in conditions of precarity. Even within 'sex positive' approaches to CSE, negative devices, such as moralising and shaming are used. I propose that a dialogical framing and adaptive approach to curriculum development and so also implementation, are needed towards not only diffusing these polemics, but also towards facilitating engagements with the insecurities of living in precarity. Markova (2012a) discusses how "during the 1970s and 1980s, there were well-meant ethical reasons to insist on providing 'neutral' information to patients and clients with various medical conditions... [but that there are] many examples from professional articles, from daily life, or from novels, that show that neutral language is something next to impossible" (p. 9). And certainly, in the literature review (in Chapter 1) and curricula analyses (in Chapter 5), the ways in which inherent values shape not only the (cultural) framing of (even scientific) knowledge, but also more implicit approaches to behaviour change, are clear. Therefore whilst the content of CSE curricula is important, I would argue that more process-driven theoretical attention urgently needs to be put towards unpacking how pluralities in knowledge can be engaged with and strategized for change, in ways that do not

stigmatise, moralise or condescend people who already experience manifold marginalisations. And I propose that dialogical theory provides a framing through which such engagements between knowledges can be designed and implemented.

The dialogical emphasis on responsibilities and interdependencies in Self-Other relationships, highlights the current distortions in local-global communicative interactions. Markova (2012a) identifies the potential issue in dialogical learning practices, as being too much focus on 'the Self'. However, in regard to knowledge encounters in CSE, I would identify the current limitation as being the evasion of 'the (global) Self', through its self-identification as being universal or even 'a truth'. In this way, I propose that the rectification of mis- and non-recognitions of 'local' knowledges needs to involve a bidirectional effort at *de*colonisation. Firstly, local knowledges need to be better situated in the colonial past, in that the legacies of the colonial gaze on 'African sexualities' needs to be explicitly addressed and unpacked. Yet secondly, an identification of the imperfect humanity and 'culture' of 'the global', also needs to be incorporated (e.g. discussion incorporated on the sexual health issues that youth in Europe and USA experience). Youth in contexts such as Tanzania need to be presented with a 'real', as opposed to an idealised, 'other' from which they can situate themselves. Chapter 5 particularly highlights how 'the aspirational' can become violent when it is not only out-of-reach, but also represented in a moral framing, and furthermore, how it closes down potentials for engagements between different knowledges. Without denying the importance of human rights, the (mis)representation of 'the global' *as* human rights only works to dehumanise already marginalised youth. Accordingly, I suggest that an important part of *recognising* Tanzanian youth in precarity, is supporting them to recognise how whilst their situation is unique, that they are also similar to others, in that youth all over the world are struggling to live healthy sexual lives.

I also propose that the dialogical emphasis on the dynamic nature of the social as well as its identification of how differences between interlocuters hold potentials for change, provide framings through which curriculum development can be more adaptive to local contexts, and in so doing, also be more responsive to aspects of precarity. Conceptualising social knowledge as ever-changing accentuates the need for efforts at establishing 'cultural relevance' to be ongoing, and that presumptions about

'systems' of knowledge or values, are not only archaic in today's globalising world, but can be stigmatising. I have already discussed how the original conceptualisation of PEs (rooted in a relational framing of agency) was that they would act as translators between local and global knowledges, yet how this key feature of peer education is neglected in interventions like Mabadiliko. I propose that a dialogical approach to social knowledge in CSE curricula can provide a framework through which the pedagogical relationships that PEs were originally envisaged as producing (i.e. that they would reframe curriculum knowledge) can be fostered. A dialogical approach would require a number of fundamental changes in practice: that both international knowledge on youth sexualities and youth knowledges are *recognised* as valuable which requires that social knowledge in CSE curricula is represented as plural and complex rather than through moralised claims of universality; that PEs are trained and encouraged to look for tensions between knowledges in their work practices; and that PEs and NGOs work collaboratively in unpacking identified 'knowledge struggles' and together consider if and how edits might be made to the curriculum. Not only would documentation of these processes enable critical engagements between local and global knowledges in CSE, generating processual evidence on knowledge encounters-in-action, but such collaborative practices also hold scope for strengthening relationships between PEs and NGOs.

This dialogical framing of social knowledge would need to begin at the curriculum development stage. The procedure used for the development of the AC in the workshop with local stakeholders, for instance, can be seen as insufficient in providing space for local knowledges through its focus on 'behaviour change goals' and 'problem sexual behaviours' (Leerlooijer et al. 2011), both of which are strongly rooted in 'global' knowledge frames. Instead, a dialogical procedure for running such a workshop would look to explicitly unpack differences between knowledges in regard to relational phenomena such as social values, representations of positive identities, "forms of trust and distrust, rights and responsibilities, authority and power" (Markova 2012a:23). Furthermore, the feedback sessions with youth, where discussion points focussed on unpacking how phenomena such as these might have changed over the years or in interactions with different groups of people, are an example of how deeper insights into the temporo-symbolic contexts which situate differences and interactions between knowledge cultures, can be developed through discussions.

Therefore, a dialogical production and facilitation of local-global knowledge encounters in CSE involves working to *promote* engagements between different knowledges through an emphasis on change, local-global interdependencies, and complexity, in that there are no 'truths' in relational phenomena, and not even necessarily stabilities in conditions of precarity and globalising localities. Yet such a dynamic approach to the integration of social knowledge into CSE curricula would also require more reactive approaches to monitoring, evaluation and overall programme designs. I will now discuss how dialogical theory provides the analytical tools for doing this.

7.2.3 Context-Focussed Processual Evaluations of Change and Programme Design

As discussed in Chapter 1, the importance of studying processes as well as outcomes, is emphasised in the literature on evaluating complex or multi-level change interventions. Astbury and Leeuw (2010) describe this as a shift from (opaque) 'black-box' evaluations, where only inputs and (predicted) outputs are monitored, to (transparent) 'white-box' approaches, which look to uncover the causal mechanisms by which inputs turn into outputs. Yet I suggest that the findings from the CAT analysis in Chapter 6 highlight how even a 'white-box' evaluation might not be sufficient for the processual study of change in conditions of precarity for three reasons. Firstly, the internal organisational (and inter-agency) dynamics, such as reporting systems which were shown to shape implementation practices, would likely go unstudied, in that they are not part of the theorised change mechanism. Secondly, the focus on *causal explanation* in white-box approaches means that less visible or wider aspects of contexts which situate interventions (e.g. symbolic marginalisations connected to postcolonialism, globalisation, the insecurities of living in poverty etc.), can be overlooked or minimised. And thirdly, the 'boxed' mentality, neglects how change interventions in conditions of precarity, are built upon relationships which far exceed the 'boundaries' of an intervention: symbolically, local-global relations shape communicative processes; and implementation practices are shaped by wider material constraints (e.g. poverty) as well as the individualised self-protective strategies of implementers.

I therefore propose that a more open-box approach to evaluation is needed, and I suggest that the CAT method of analysis, and the associated methodologies used in the collection of data for Chapter 6 (e.g. a motivated ethnography focussed on interpretative and communicative interactions in implementation, and the dialogical triangulation of data sources), can provide a framework through which such a change in approach can be organised. The open-box approach works to extend the insights of white-box approaches regarding the need to identify the mechanisms by which change happens (or does not happen), however frames this analysis with an exploratory rather than a causal emphasis, in acknowledgement of the ways in which wider contextual factors (e.g. the symbolic and interpersonal relationships just discussed) are dynamic, and permeate the boundaries of an intervention (which are much more porous than the box metaphor allows for). Yet the gathering of information on these wider and less tangible aspects of context not only contributes to the processual evaluation of an intervention, but can also bolster a more open-box and explorative approach to theorisations of behaviour change and knowledge production more generally, as already identified (in the previous two sub-sections), are needed in conditions of precarity. The open-box approach to process evaluation can therefore also contribute to the identification of context-specific change potentials, provide detailed and continual documentation on implementation practices (as 'evidence' for donors), be put towards testing more intersectional theorisations on youth subjectivities, and monitor the knowledge encounters in CSE overall (where artifacts are not afforded neutrality). Accordingly, 'the journey' (Nolas 2014) of 'installing' an intervention-in-context is emphasised in the documentation processes, where intentions are critically evaluated against actualities, which in a relational framing far exceed the 'boundaries' of an intervention, and so too, can facilitate adaptivities in intervention design and programming (already discussed).

However, the specificity of this PhD thesis, and my own subjectivity, is also exposed in this discussion. For, an open-box evaluator needs quite specific skills. They would need to: be fluent in the local language and culture, and comfortable and confident in communicating with actors at all different levels; have an in-depth understanding of the socio-political and local-global contexts that situate the content of the intervention; be literate in theorising on behaviour change and communication/dialogue; and have the professional space and authority to critique

internal practices. Furthermore, the relational constitutions of these aspects mean that even two people identified as having these characteristics could produce two very different analyses of relations-in-contexts. Yet importantly, I am not presenting the open-box approach as an alternative to 'black box' evaluations, in that the comparative purpose they serve arguably remains important. Rather, I am suggesting that in conditions of precarity, and particularly in postcolonial contexts, the potentials for symbolic violence in black-box approaches needs to be kept in check. The collection of data through 'rapid assessments' midway or at the end of an intervention may be adequate for the comparative purposes of 'global' knowledge systems, but cannot be relied on for determining the 'success' of an intervention in that the complexities of implementation are not only overlooked but distorted through the incentives associated with stripping them from view (e.g. funding conditioned on success). Furthermore, qualitative assessments which do not factor in observations of implementation and translational practices, or that take an uncritical view of the 'boxed' logic, can too contribute to the production of reductive conceptualisations of context, and the collection of instrumental perspectives on practice (e.g. local communities are unsafe; a lack of flipcharts limited behaviour change potentials; no, there are no problems with reporting artifacts etc.). Accordingly, a process evaluation focussed on contexts and their dynamic shaping of implementation relationships, would not negate black-box evidence, but rather would work to shed light on its politics, and act as a countering force against the dominance of positivism, through a more 'indigenous research ethic' (Denzin 2009).

The open-box approach therefore contributes to wider calls for the need to broaden understandings of evidence, and how 'the mess of practice' and wider complexities which situate change interventions need to be actively engaged with (Cornish 2015) and cannot be captured by current practices (Eyben 2008). Understandings on behaviour change in precarity will continue to be limited if dependent on evidence that ignores the insecurities which typify widespread poverty and marginalisations, and focus on evaluating actualities against intentions rather than the testing of intentions against actualities. In explanation, rather than assessing 'fidelity to design', evaluations need to look towards determining how and why the design may not be working as expected in a particular context towards identifying potential modifications that are needed. Accordingly, the open-box approach highlights the potentials for change

offered by observational and dialogical analyses of interventions-in-context, namely how in conditions of precarity, the study of knowledge encounters-in-action, provides scope for making interventions more adaptive to contexts, as well as generative towards theorisations on change-in-precarity. And overall, it emphasises the need for greater focus on, and provides a conceptual frame for the analytical study of, relationships.

7.3 Concluding Remarks

Case studies enable explorations of 'the complex', which I have argued is one of the key issues currently facing CSE in precarity. The intricate web of the temporo-symbolic, relational, and material environments that are ever emergent, and situate interventions in contexts such as Tanzania, can be so easily overlooked by methods that atomise, or even work to contain and explain. Fine (1998) calls the latter 'Master Narratives', emphasising the (neo)Imperialism of scholarship which works to close contradictions, in that by stripping the disorder and outrage from people's lives, such narratives 'other' them, and also position the researcher beyond reproach. Through a focus on relationships, I have worked to 'open the box' of a CSE intervention in precarity and explore 'the mess' in its emergence in detail. Therefore, as I have strived not to 'contain' in my analyses, so too must I resist the temptation to contain in my conclusions. There is no one clear overarching actionable solution to the challenges thrown up by the Mabadiliko case study. Nevertheless, I would argue that the case study overall highlights the striking neglect in both programme practices and the academic literature, of relationships and the dynamic, interactive, and processual aspects of intervention implementation. Whilst this was a single-case study, I propose that the findings related to strategizations in knowledge production, the social positioning of experiences of knowledge encounters, and processual enactments of an intervention-in-context, have generalisable implications for how (interventionist) change in precarity is conceived and approached. The findings highlight the pervasive lack of institutional recognition for 'the work' that changemaking in precarity requires, and how the ethics of CSE rests upon strengthening reciprocities in relationships between research and programming, and between interventions and contexts.

Yet the specificity of 'development' institutions in contexts such as Tanzania also needs to be remarked on. Markova (2016) describes how "Humans create their institutions as common responses to specific problems, and in turn, they challenge institutions when they no longer serve their needs" (p. 92). However, in postcolonial contexts, institutions were created and governed by the colonisers, and today, continue to be overseen by ex-colonisers. And such coloniser-colonised relational dynamics can arguably be seen in the neutrality afforded to artifacts (which are interpreted differently by different people), in the pervasive blaming of people rather than acknowledging the insecurities caused by precarity, and in the antagonistic juxtaposition of human rights against 'culture'. Just as in Stoler's (1995) identification of colonial moralising ventures being as much about reforming the colonisers as the colonised, I would suggest that today's greatest fears in the West – that the 'mess' of the natural and social worlds cannot be tamed and controlled, and that we are not as close to an egalitarian society as we would like to think ourselves to be – underlie much development work. Whilst this neo-colonial dynamic is rooted in a fundamental desire for a better world for all, it is still violent to those at which it is directed, in that not only does it not (symbolically) recognise their uniqueness, it neglects how the world that it is trying to create, does not exist in the West either. Not all people in Europe and USA have access to health care, or have control over their lives, or are in relationships in which trust and choice and monogamy are possible. I am not saying that these are not things to aspire to, but rather that their *mis*representation as obtainable for anyone through mere choice or education, is enormously unethical, and needs to be exposed and problematised.

Frank (1989) discusses how Habermas' "political agenda is set by the problem of how we respond to a world in which each knows, but differently. The generalized other has become others, who generalize but not so neatly... Our politics are our communicative interactions, and vice versa" (p. 356). And in Habermas' time, imagining 'the ideal' was the task at hand. However, I would suggest that today, whilst dealing with diversities remains the core issue, the pressing task centres on understanding more about the *non-idealised*: how aspirational 'grand narratives' have themselves marginalised and silenced people; and the need to validate and recognise the efforts of people at managing, even if not resisting, such exclusions. Zittoun (2016), from a socio-cultural psychological perspective identifies the generative force of institutions as resting in the

'existential creativity' of people, namely "the experience of having 'created' the given" (p. 5). She adds, "without individual creativity, people cannot participate to the renewal, questioning and necessary correction of institutions" (Zittoun 2016:6); necessary in the sense that the social world is dynamic, and therefore, institutions need to be able to change as well. I would therefore argue, that the question rests not so much on how international development institutions can foster 'participation' from localities, but rather how *creative* capacities in localities can be cultivated and encouraged. And I propose that a continued problematising of power and ethics through (mis-/non-)recognitions in local-global knowledge encounters is a fundamental aspect of this task.

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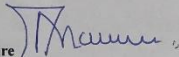
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Appendix 1: Ethical Documentation

A: Certificate of Ethical Approval from the Tanzanian National Institute for Medical Research

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF
TANZANIA

National Institute for Medical Research
P.O. Box 9653
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 255 22 2121400/390
Fax: 255 22 2121380/2121360
E-mail: headquarters@nimr.or.tz
NIMR/HQ/R.8a/Vol. IX/1807

Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
P.O. Box 9083
Dar es Salaam
Tel: 255 22 2120262-7
Fax: 255 22 2110986

02nd September 2014

Clare Coultas
C/O Dr. Richard Sambaiga, Lecturer
University of Dar es Salaam
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
P O Box 35043
DAR ES SALAAM

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE FOR CONDUCTING
MEDICAL RESEARCH IN TANZANIA

This is to certify that the research entitled: Youth Sexuality in Tanzanian 'Development' (Coultas C et al),
whose local Supervisor is Dr. Richard Sambaiga, Lecturer, Dept of Sociology and Anthropology, University of
Dar es Salaam, has been granted ethical clearance to be conducted in Tanzania.

The Principal Investigator of the study must ensure that the following conditions are fulfilled:
1. Progress report is submitted to the Ministry of Health and the National Institute for Medical Research,
    Regional and District Medical Officers after every six months.
2. Permission to publish the results is obtained from National Institute for Medical Research.
3. Copies of final publications are made available to the Ministry of Health & Social Welfare and the
    National Institute for Medical Research.
4. Any researcher, who contravenes or fails to comply with these conditions, shall be guilty of an offence
    and shall be liable on conviction to a fine. NIMR Act No. 23 of 1979, PART III Section 10(2).
5. Sites: Dar es Salaam Area.

Approval is for one year: 01st September 2014 to 31st August 2015.

Name: Dr Mwelecele N Malecela

Signature
CHAIRPERSON
MEDICAL RESEARCH
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

CC: RMO
        DED
        DMO

Name: Dr Donan Mmbando

Signature
CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER
MINISTRY OF HEALTH, SOCIAL
WELFARE

B: Organisation Information Sheet and Consent Form

Research Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before deciding to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information. Feel free to discuss any issues, and if there is anything which is not clear or any questions you have, feel free to ask Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk).

What is this research about?
This research study is trying to find out more about the intimate relationship experiences (*mahusiano ya kipenzi*) of young people in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and to also look at how information on healthy relationships is understood and communicated by NGOs.

Who is doing this research?
This study will be carried out by Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk), PhD Candidate in the Department of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics, supervised by Dr Catherine Campbell (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk).

Why have [Organisation Name] been asked to participate?
[Organisation Name] has been selected for study because of your working at the forefront of youth sexual health and empowerment issues in Tanzania and are nearing the end of your project..

What will participation involve?
[Organisation Name]'s participation will involve permitting the researcher to observe the ways in which information about healthy sexual relationships is used by staff e.g. audio-recordings of training/facilitation sessions where healthy relationships are discussed with young people, and observations of staff reporting on education session activities. This will also include providing the researcher with all training tools used and relevant organisational documents. Interviews with key staff will be held and audio-recorded. Restless Development will also assist the researcher in organising interviews and focus groups with youth.

How long will participation take?
The research will stretch over the period of 1.5 years: Phase 1 for the months July-end Sept 2014; and Phase 2 for the months April – end Sept 2015.

What about confidentiality?
It has been agreed that **no** identifying organisation or personal staff information (e.g. name) will be shared with anybody and everything that is said and observed will be completely anonymized. All notes and recordings taken will be labelled with numbers rather than names and anything said that could indicate the identity of the organisation or staff member will be removed or changed. These numbers will also be used in the write-up of the study so anything said or observed will be completely confidential.

If any staff members would prefer to be excluded from the study please contact Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk).

<div align="center">**Informed Consent**</div>

Project: Youth Sexuality in Tanzanian development
Researcher: Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk)
Supervisor: Professor Catherine Campbell, Head of Department (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk)

_____

To be completed by the Organisation Representative

Please answer each of the following questions:

Do you feel you have been given sufficient information about the research to enable you to decide whether or not to participate in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Do you understand that your participation is voluntary, and that you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason, and without penalty?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you willing to take part in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you aware that the observed programme sessions will be audio recorded?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you aware that staff communication and reporting processes will be observed?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the researcher to use anonymized quotes in presentations and publications?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the anonymized data to be archived, to enable secondary analysis and training future researchers?	**Yes**	**No**

Organisation Name:_____

Organisation Representative Name:_____

Org. Rep. Signature: _____

Date:_____

If you would like a copy of the research report, please provide your email or postal address:

C: Youth FGD Consent Forms (English and Swahili)

RE: Signed Consent for Participating in a Research Study on Young People's Intimate Relationships in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Dear Sir / Madam,

This research study is trying to find out more about the love and sexual experiences of young people in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This is because we want to make sure that all health and support services are able to give young people the support that they need, if they ever need it. Permission for this study was obtained from the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology; Tanzania National Institute of Medical Research; and the Ethics Committee of the London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom.

By signing this consent form, you are agreeing to attend a recorded interview / focus group that will be no longer than 1.5 hours and held in Swahili. This interview / focus group will be conducted by two people: the lead researcher, Clare Coultas, and a Tanzanian research assistant of the same sex as yourself. Any travel expenses will be reimbursed.

None of your personal information (e.g. name) will be shared with anybody and everything that you say in the interview will be completely anonymous. Your signed consent form will be locked in a filing cabinet that only the lead researcher (Clare Coultas) holds a key for, and all notes and recordings taken from the interview will be labelled with a number rather than your name. These numbers will also be used in the write-up of the study so your name will not be shown anywhere.

You have the right to refuse to participate and also withdraw from this study at any time. There are no conflicts of interest.

The contact person and lead investigator for this research study is: Clare Coultas (+255 [0] 719 174266 / c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk). If you have any questions or in the case of an emergency please do not hesitate to contact us or the Tanzanian National Health Research Ethics Committee at POBOX 9653 or +255 (0) 222 121400.

"By signing this form, I hereby do declare that I fully understand the purposes of this research study and all other information as laid out above and consent knowingly to participate in this study."

_____   _____
Name   Signature

_____   _____
Age   Date

_____
Occupation

YAH: MAKUBALIANO YA KUSHIRIKI KATIKA UCHUNGUZI JUU YA MAISHA YA VIJANA, MAPENZI NA NGONO NDANI YA DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA.

Utafiti huu unajaribu kugundua zaidi juu ya maisha na mahusiano ya kimapenzi na ngono kwa vijana wa Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. Hii ni kwa sababu tunataka kuhakikisha kwamba huduma zote za kiafya na misaada inaweza kuwafikia na kuwasaidia vijana endapo watahitaji. Ruhusa kwa ajili ya elimu hii ilitolewa na tume ya sayansi na teknolojia Tanzania, Taasisi ya taifa ya utafiti wa tiba(National Institute of Medical Research) kwa kushirikiana na tume ya Ethics ya London School of Economics and Political Science,United Kingdom.

Kwa kusaini fomu hii ya kurushusu, ni kwamba unakubali kuwa katika usaili / kikundi cha zungumzo utakaorekodiwa (Kunakiliwa) ambao hautazidi muda wa masaa 1.5, usaili huo utafanyika kwa lugha ya Kiswahili. Usaili / kikundi cha zungumzo huu/hiki, kutafanywa na watu wawili : Mtafiti mkuu, Clare Coultas pamoja na msaidizi wa mtafiti mtanzania mwenye jinsia kama yako. Gharama yoyote ya usafiri utarudishiwa.

Chochote kuhusiana na mambo yako binafsi (Jina, n.k) na yote utakayosema katika usaili huu vitakuwa siri. Fomu ya makubaliano utakayosaini itafungiwa (itahifadhiwa) katika ofisi ya mtafiti mkuu (Clare Coultas) ambaye pia ndiye anayeshikilia funguo za ofisi hiyo. Kumbukumbu na nakala zote zitakazotokana na usaili zitahifadhiwa kwa namba na wala sio majina (jina lako). Namba hizi pia zitatumika katika uandishi wa utafiti huu, hivyo basi,jina lako halitatumika sehemu yoyote.

Una uwezo wa kukataa na hata kujitoa katika utafiti huu muda wowote. Hakuna malumbano yoyote yatakayotokea.

Wa kuwasiliana nae na ambaye ni mtafiti mkuu wa utafitit huu ni: Clare Coultas (+255 (0) 719 174266 / c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk).

Kwa maswali yoyote au tatizo lolote tafadhali usisite kuwasiliana nasi au Tanzanian National Health Research Ethics Committee: POBOX 9653 au +255 (0) 222 121400.

"Kwa kusaini fomu hii, ninakubali kuwa ninaelewa kikamilifu sababu za utafiti huu na ujumbe wote kama ulivyoandikwa hapo juu na pia ninaridhia ushiriki wangu katika utafiti huu."

_____   _____
Jina   Sahihi

_____   _____
Umri   Tarehe

_____
Kazi

Debrief Sheet

This study was looking at the intimate relationships of young people in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and at communication between young people and NGOs providing information on healthy relationships.

In exploring this a number of methods were used: individual interviews; discussion groups; and observation of NGO sex education sessions. In the interviews and discussion groups, stories about the relationships of fictional characters were described and then participants asked to give their opinions on these stories or stories of their own.

This study builds off of the findings of a previous research study which showed that the lived relationship experiences of a group of Tanzanian youth were such that even with knowledge of healthy relationships, they were not able to put this knowledge into practice and felt bad about this. The hope is that by understanding better young people's relationships and communication between youth and NGOs, that steps can be made to make sex education sessions relevant, useful and supportive for young people struggling to protect themselves in their relationships.

Please contact the lead investigator, Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk) or her supervisor Catherine Campbell (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk) with any questions or further information that you would like to receive or provide.

Thank you again for your cooperation and input.

D: NGO Worker Consent Form

Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before deciding to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information. Feel free to discuss issues with anyone, and if there is anything which is not clear or any questions you have, feel free to ask. Take your time reading, and don't feel rushed.

What is this research about?
This research study is trying to find out more about how knowledge about youth sexualities is created and communicated in NGO contexts.

Who is doing this research?
This study will be carried out by Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk), PhD Candidate in the Department of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics, supervised by Dr Catherine Campbell (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk). Clare is British but she lived in Tanzania for 5 years and speaks Swahili fluently so can be contacted directly with any questions.

Why have you asked me to participate?
Because in your role working for an NGO you have knowledge about / experience in curriculum delivery and/or reporting on this activity.

What will participation involve?
Participants will be asked a number of questions and to discuss their views and opinions on the youth quotes provided.

How long will participation take?
No more than 30 minutes.

What about confidentiality?
None of your personal information (e.g. name) will be shared with anybody and everything that you say in the interview will be completely anonymous. Your signed consent form will be locked in a filing cabinet that only the lead researcher (Clare Coultas) holds a key for, and all notes and recordings taken from the interview will be labelled with a number rather than your name. These numbers will also be used in the write-up of the study so your name will not be shown anywhere.

If you are willing to participate, then please sign a Consent Form. You can keep this Information Sheet for your records.

Informed Consent

Project: Youth Sexuality in Tanzanian 'development'

Researcher: Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk)

Supervisor: Professor Catherine Campbell, Head of Department (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk)
_____

To be completed by the Research Participant

Please answer each of the following questions:

Do you feel you have been given sufficient information about the research to enable you to decide whether or not to participate in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Do you understand that your participation is voluntary, and that you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason, and without penalty?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you are willing to take part in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you aware that the interview/focus group will be audio/video recorded?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the research team to use anonymized quotes in presentations and publications?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the anonymized data to be archived, to enable secondary analysis and training future researchers?	**Yes**	**No**

Participants Name:_____

Participant's Signature: __________

Date:_____

If you would like a copy of the research report, please provide your email or postal address:

E: Consent Form with Peer Educators

YAH: MAKUBALIANO YA KUSHIRIKI KATIKA UCHUNGUZI JUU YA JINSI YA NGO JIFUNZA KUHUSU MAISHA YA VIJANA, MAPENZI NA NGONO NDANI YA DAR-ES-SALAAM, TANZANIA.

Utafiti huu unajaribu kugundua zaidi juu ya jinsi ya NGOs zinatengeneza na tumia maarifa kuhusu maisha na mahusiano ya kimapenzi na ngono kwa vijana wa Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. Hii ni kwa sababu tunataka kuhakikisha kwamba huduma zote za kiafya na misaada inaweza kuwafikia na kuwasaidia vijana endapo watahitaji. Ruhusa kwa ajili ya elimu hii ilitolewa na tume ya sayansi na teknolojia Tanzania, Taasisi ya taifa ya utafiti wa tiba (National Institute of Medical Research) kwa kushirikiana na tume ya Ethics ya London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom.

Kwa kusaini fomu hii ya kurushusu, ni kwamba unakubali kuwa katika usaili utakaorekodiwa (Kunakiliwa) ambao hautazidi muda wa masaa 1.5, usaili huo utafanyika kwa lugha ya Kiswahili. Usaili huu, kutafanywa na mtafiti mkuu, Clare Coultas.

Chochote kuhusiana na mambo yako binafsi (Jina, n.k) na yote utakayosema katika usaili huu vitakuwa siri. Fomu ya makubaliano utakayosaini itafungiwa (itahifadhiwa) katika ofisi ya mtafiti mkuu (Clare Coultas) ambaye pia ndiye anayeshikilia funguo za ofisi hiyo. Kumbukumbu na nakala zote zitakazotokana na usaili zitahifadhiwa kwa namba na wala sio majina (jina lako). Namba hizi pia zitatumika katika uandishi wa utafiti huu, hivyo basi, jina lako halitatumika sehemu yoyote.

Una uwezo wa kukataa na hata kujitoa katika utafiti huu muda wowote. Hakuna malumbano yoyote yatakayotokea.

Wa kuwasiliana nae na ambaye ni mtafiti mkuu wa utafitit huu ni : Clare Coultas (+255 (0) 719 174266 / c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk).

 "Kwa kusaini fomu hii, ninakubali kuwa ninaelewa kikamilifu sababu za utafiti huu na ujumbe wote kama ulivyoandikwa hapo juu na pia ninaridhia ushiriki wangu katika utafiti huu."

_____   _____

Jina   Sahihi

_____   _____

Umri   Tarehe ya leo

_____   _____

Masomo – umefika wapi   Umefanya kazi na Restless kwa mda gani

F: Expert Consent Form

Participant Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before deciding to participate it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information. Feel free to discuss issues with anyone, and if there is anything which is not clear or any questions you have, feel free to ask. Take your time reading, and don't feel rushed.

What is this research about?
This research study is trying to find out more about the intimate relationship experiences of young people in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and to also look at what communication is like between these young people and the NGOs providing information on healthy relationships.

Who is doing this research?
This study is being carried out by Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk), PhD Candidate in the Department of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics, supervised by Dr Catherine Campbell (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk). Clare is British but she lived in Tanzania for 5 years and speaks Swahili fluently so can be contacted directly with any questions.

Why have you asked me to participate?
Because you are an expert in the field of youth sexual health and sexuality education.

What will participation involve?
Participants will be asked a number of questions and to discuss their views and opinions.

How long will participation take?
No more than 1 hour.

What about confidentiality?
None of your personal information (e.g. name) will be shared with anybody and everything that you say in the interview will be completely anonymous. Your signed consent form will be locked in a filing cabinet that only the lead researcher (Clare Coultas) holds a key for, and all notes and recordings taken from the interview will be labelled with a number rather than your name. These numbers will also be used in the write-up of the study so your name will not be shown anywhere.

**If you are willing to participate, then please sign a Consent Form.
You can keep this Information Sheet for your records.**

Informed Consent

Project: Youth Sexuality in Tanzanian 'development'

Researcher: Clare Coultas (c.j.coultas@lse.ac.uk)

Supervisor: Professor Catherine Campbell, Head of Department (c.campbell@lse.ac.uk)
_____

To be completed by the Research Participant

Please answer each of the following questions:

Do you feel you have been given sufficient information about the research to enable you to decide whether or not to participate in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Do you understand that your participation is voluntary, and that you are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason, and without penalty?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you are willing to take part in the research?	**Yes**	**No**
Are you aware that the interview/focus group will be audio/video recorded?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the research team to use anonymized quotes in presentations and publications?	**Yes**	**No**
Will you allow the anonymized data to be archived, to enable secondary analysis and training future researchers?	**Yes**	**No**

Participants Name:_____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date:_____

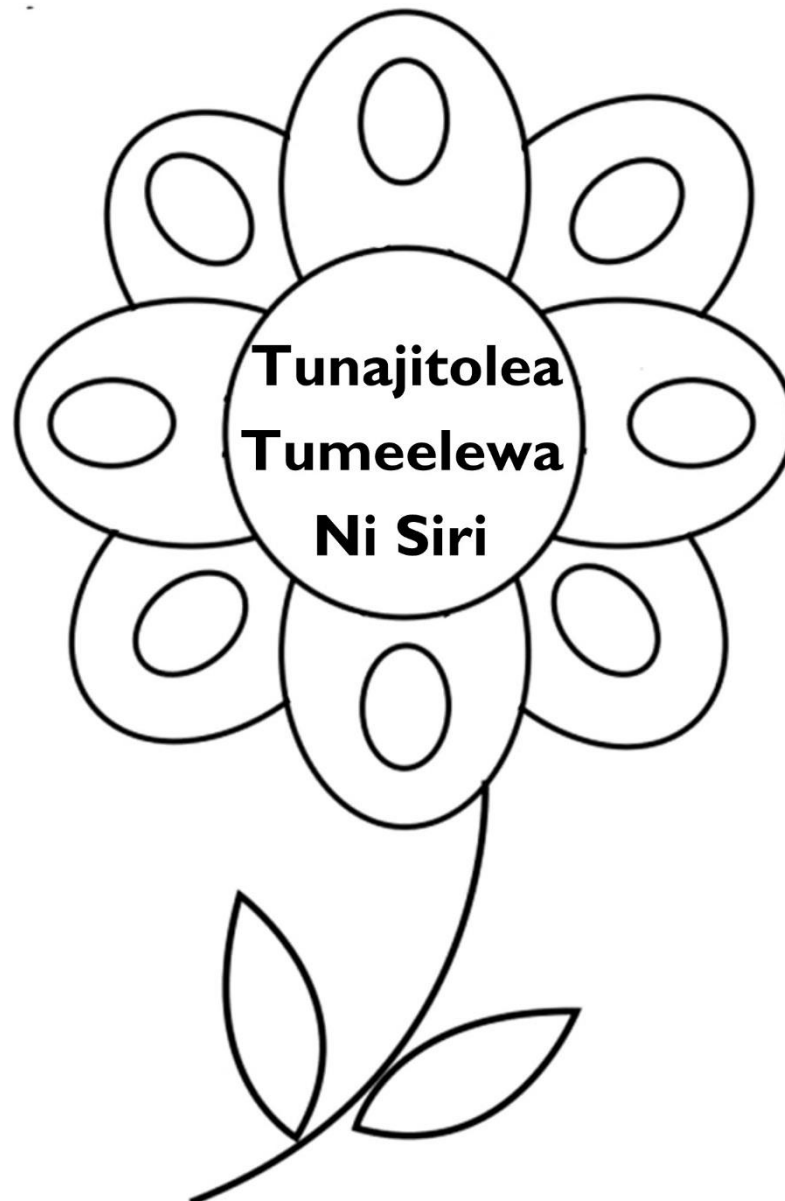If you would like a copy of the research report, please provide your email or postal address:

G: Recorded PE Session Informed Consent Flower

Name of Researchers : _____   **Date :** _____

Place : _____   **Participants :** _____

Tunajitolea

Tumeelewa

Ni Siri

H: Transcriber Confidentiality Agreement

Youth Sexuality in Tanzanian 'Development', London School of Economics, UK

This research is being undertaken by Clare Coultas, PhD candidate in the Department of Social Psychology, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom. The purpose of the research is to explore the sexual relationship experiences of young people living in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

As a transcriber of this research, I understand that I will be hearing recordings of confidential interviews and focus groups. The information on these recordings has been revealed by interviewees who agreed to participate in this research on the condition that their interviews would remain strictly confidential. I understand that I have a responsibility to honour this confidentially agreement. I agree not to share any information on these recordings, about any party, with anyone except the Researcher of this project. Any violation of this and the terms detailed below would constitute a serious breach of ethical standards and I confirm that I will adhere to the agreement in full.

I, _____ agree to:

1. Keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the content of the interviews in any form or format (e.g. WAV files, CDs, transcripts) with anyone other than the Researcher.

2. Keep all research information in any form or format (e.g. WAV files, CDs, transcripts) secure while it is in my possession.

3. Return all research information in any form or format (e.g. WAV files, CDs, transcripts) to the Researcher when I have completed the transcription tasks.

4. After consulting with the Researcher, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Researcher (e.g. CDs, information stored on my computer hard drive).

Transcriber:

_____   _____   _____

(print name)   (signature)   (date)

Researcher:

_____   _____   _____

(print name)   (signature)   (date)

This study has been reviewed and ethically approved by the ethics committees in the Department of Social Psychology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in United Kingdom, and the National Institute of Medical Research in Tanzania.

Appendix 2: Data Collection Tools

A: Peer Educator Interview Question Guides

English	Swahili
Can you draw / map your experience of working as a volunteer from the beginning to where you are today and also then onto where you hope it will take you? Include people, places, obstacles and opportunities on the way. You can use different colours to show different feelings, or use lines and arrows. These are just suggestions. Be as creative as you like and if you don't want to draw you can make more of a flow chart. 1. Can you talk me through your map? 2. What are the main things that have happened since I last saw you in September? 3. My last visit was an annual review meeting held with you all by Mabadiliko staff. In it they said that donor had said that the girls' knowledge wasn't good enough. How did that make you feel? 4. How do you feel about the programme now coming to an end? 5. How would you describe your role as a peer educator? 6. Which modules/topics do you like to teach and why? 7. What do you find are the hardest modules/topics to teach and why? 8. What do you find most useful about the curriculum? 9. What do you find most annoying or difficult about using the curriculum? 10. How do you feel about the support that you get from Mabadiliko staff? 11. How do you feel about your work of writing reports? What do you like about it? What do you find difficult?	Naomba unateka au tengeneza ramani kuhusu uzoefu wako wa kujitolea kuanzia mwanzo hadi unapokuwa leo na pia kisha kwenye ambapo unatumaini itakuchukua? Pia uweke watu, mahali, vikwazo na fursa njiani. Unaweza kutumia rangi tofauti kuonyesha hisia tofauti, au kutumia mistari na mishale. Haya ni mapendekezo tu. Kuwa ubunifu unavyotaka. 1. Je, unaweza kuzungumza na mimi kwa kupitia ramani yako? 2. Mambo kuu ni nini ambayo yametokea tangu sisi tulikutananae mara ya mwisho? 3. Ziara yangu ya mwisho ilikuwa pamoja na wafanyakazi wa Mabadiliko walipofanya mkutano na ninyi mavoluntia wote pamoja. Katika huyo mkutano walisema kwamba wafadhili wamesema kwamba wasichana kwenye vikundi hawana maarifa yakutosha. Ulisikiaje kusikia hiyo? 4. Unajisikiaje kuhusu hiyo mradi kwa karibia kumaliza? 5. Jinsi gani unaweza kuelezea jukumu lako kama waelimishaji rika? 6. Je modules/mada gani kwenye curriculum unapenda kufundisha na kwa nini? 7. Je modules/mada gani kwenye curriculum unaona ni uguma sana kufundisha na kwa nini? 8. Kutumia curriculum, je nini ni manufaa zaidi? 9. Kutumia curriculum, je nini ni vigumu zaidi? 10. Je, unasikiaje kuhusu msaada unapata toka wafanyakazi wa Mabadiliko?

12. What training did you receive on reporting? What was good about it? What was bad about it? 13. Where does your own sexuality, desires, and relationships fit onto your map/drawing and into your work as a peer educator? 14. I noticed that many volunteers change their clothes, sometimes wearing deras and other times wearing tight jeans or office clothes. Why do you think this is? 15. One of you when I first met you all said to me that she was happy that I was coming to 'look at Mabadiliko staff, not just you peer educators. What do you think was meant by this? 16. Do you have anything that you would like people to know about what it's like to be a volunteer peer educator?	11. Unasikiaje kuhusu kazi yako ya kuandika ripoti? Unapenda nini kuhusu hilo? Ni nini unaona ni vigumu? 12. Umepata mafunzo gani kuhusu jinsi ya kufanya ripoti? Nini ilikuwa nzuri kuhusu hilo? Nini ilikuwa mbaya kuhusu hilo? 13. Kwenye ramani/uchoraji yako, ni wapi unaona mahusiano ya kimapenzi yako? Unapatanishaje tamaa zako kwenye kazi yako? 14. Mimi niliona kwamba mavoluntia wengi wanabadilisha nguo zao, mara fulani wanavaa deras na mara nyingine wanavaa jeans ziliyosongwa au nguo za ofisi. Kwa nini unafikiri mavoluntia wanafanya hiyo? 15. Nilipowakutana kwa mara ya kwanza, mmoja wenu akaniambia kwamba amefurahi nimekuja kuangalia wafanyakazi wa Mabadiliko, siyo ninyi tu. Unafikiri alimaana nini kusema hiyo? 16. Je, una kitu chochote ambacho ungependa watu kujua kuhusu inakuwaje kujitolea kuwa waelimishaji rika?

B: Interview Questions for Mabadiliko Staff

Example Interview Questions for Mabadiliko Field Staff

1. What are the updates on the project since we last spoke?

2. What do you find most fulfilling in your job?

3. What do you find most stressful in your job?

4. What do you think are the strengths and difficulties with the curriculum?

5. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the reporting systems (... are there activities that happen that don't get reported on? If yes, why and what)?

6. What are your thoughts on the endline evaluation results?

7. There were a few bits about the programme that I noticed weren't in the reports – can you for each of them describe your thoughts on why they weren't included?

8. Another aspect that I saw was absent from the reports yet takes up a significant amount of your time is supporting PEs. It seems like most of this happens outside of working hours / not in formal meetings – is there a reason for this? How do you feel spending so much of your out-of-work time in providing this kind of support?

9. How would you describe the PEs' relationships with one another?

10. In cases where the PEs are needed to support each other in their work, I noticed that sometimes there were power struggles. Is this something that you have seen? What are your thoughts on it?

11. I saw that often field staff would give further explanations of topics with stories from the Swahili context. For instance, in explaining gender equality one staff member talked about women in parliament in Tanzania. Do you think staff go into the session knowing Swahili examples that they will give or do you think they think of them on the spot?

12. I remember one of the boys strongly disagreed with women being in parliament in Tanzania and the staff member responded saying - "how can you question the fairness of getting more women in parliament? When men get money they use it to buy beer but women will use it to help children to go to school." What do you think of this response?

13. What do you do when someone asks you a difficult question or something that you don't feel comfortable answering? How do you feel in this situation? Can you give me an example of such a situation?

14. Are there any aspects of your work that you feel you could do with more support on?

15. Any other comments to add?

Example Interview Questions for Mabadiliko Senior Staff

1. Any updates on the project since we last spoke?
2. What do you find most fulfilling in your job?
3. What do you find most stressful in your job?
4. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the programme?
5. What do you see as the biggest support needs of the field staff?
6. What do you see as the biggest support needs for the PEs in doing their work?
7. What are your thoughts on the reporting data that is required by the donor? What does it show? What does it not show?
8. What were the procedures for creating the reporting system [with the M&E Manager this question also involved a 'think aloud' element in 'talking' me through the different reporting documents and the processes by which they were created, and also envisaged to connect with one another]?
9. What were the procedures for creating the curriculum?
10. I noticed that the calendar method of contraception was often taught be PEs, despite not being in the curriculum? Do you have insight into this (e.g. was it taken out)?
11. How would you describe your relationship and communications with the donor?
12. What are your thoughts on the endline evaluation results?
13. From what I can tell there's quite a big difference in the way that different people talk about youth sexual health issues in Tanzania. At higher levels – government policy forums, NGO working groups – the biggest problem is described as youth not having access to education, whereas people working with youth tend more to describe the problem as being that youth have the

education but for other reasons aren't able to use it. What do you think about this? Do you agree? Why do you think there is this difference?

14. I also noticed that there seems to be an unspoken separation of informal and formal knowledge. For example, the difficulty of working with PEs, the craziness of their lives so that they often drop out and replacements need to be found at short notice doesn't seem to go into the reports. Also at the festival, the ways that the girls danced at the end and the problem of kigodoro isn't reported on. What do you think about this? Is it communicated in other ways to donors or does it stay with the staff in the NGO? Why do you think there is this separation?

15. Any other comments to add?

C: Example Interview Questions for Donors and Consultants

Example Interview Questions for Donors

1. Can you describe for me your experience of working with the Mabadiliko programme (e.g. from beginning to the present day)?

2. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses of the programme?

3. How does it compare with other programmes in the region that you are funding?

4. What were the procedures for creating the reporting system and programme materials (e.g. curriculum)?

5. What are your thoughts on the reporting data that you receive from Mabadiliko?

6. How would you describe your relationship and communications with Mabadiliko?

7. What are your thoughts on the endline evaluation?

8. What has been the biggest lesson for you in working on the Mabadiliko project?

9. What do you see as the biggest assets and challenges for youth sexual behaviour change in the Tanzanian context?

10. What are your thoughts on the Tanzanian policy context?

11. From what I can tell there's quite a big difference in the way that different people talk about youth sexual health issues in Tanzania. At higher levels – government policy forums, NGO working groups – the biggest problem is described as youth not having access to education, whereas people working with youth tend more to describe the problem as being that youth have the education but for other reasons aren't able to use it. What do you think about this? Do you agree? Why do you think there is this difference?

12. I noticed that at the festival (which a donor representative attended), kigodoro music was played at the end and the girls danced to it and shocked everybody, yet it wasn't included in the report. What do you think about this? Is it communicated in other ways or does it stay off reports? If so, why do you think there is this separation and to what effect?

13. Any other comments?

Example Interview Questions with Consultants

1. Can you describe for me a bit about your experience of working as a consultant on youth sexual behaviour change projects in Tanzania (e.g. when/how did you start, what kinds of projects have you worked on, how might your focus or methods changed over the years)?

2. What is the most rewarding project that you have worked on and why?

3. What is the most challenging project that you have worked on and why?

4. What are your thoughts on different models of youth sexual behaviour change?

5. What, have you seen, is the standard information collected in M&E systems on behaviour change activities? What are your thoughts on this?

6. What do you see as the biggest assets and challenges for youth sexual behaviour change in the Tanzanian context?

7. What are your thoughts on the Tanzanian policy context?

8. From what I can tell there's quite a big difference in the way that different people talk about youth sexual health issues in Tanzania. At higher levels – government policy forums, NGO working groups – the biggest problem is described as youth not having access to education, whereas people working with youth tend more to describe the problem as being that youth have the education but for other reasons aren't able to use it. What do you think about this? Do you agree? Why do you think there is this difference?

9. What is your experience of working with donors and NGOs (e.g. how are they different, how do they relate with one another)?

10. Have you worked on a curriculum development project? Can you tell me a bit about the processes/procedures by which the curriculum was developed?

11. Any other comments?

D: Youth Interview Question Guides (based on MSc Research with Urban-Poor Youth in 2010)

1. Explain to the participant that in this study we are looking for stories on intimate relationships. These stories can be true from their own life or about their friends' experiences, and we also will want their help to make a story with us.
2. Read through the consent form with them and get their signature.
3. To help the participant get used to telling stories, start by asking them to tell us a short story about where they have come from, e.g. what they do, their family, their likes / dislikes, their friends, what they want to do in the future etc...
4. Then for each of the following topics, first ask if they can think of any stories to tell us about the topic. THEN ask them to make a story out of the pointers that you give them.

Relationships

Can you think of a story that will help us to understand what sexual relationships are like for young people here in Tanzania? This can be a story from your own experience or about your friends, relatives, someone that you know.

Je unaweza kufikiria hadithi ambayo itatusaidia sisi kuelewa jinsi mahusiano ya kimapenzi yalivyo kwa vijana hapa Tanzania? Hii inaweza kuwa ni hadithi ya kweli kutokana yaliyo kutokea wewe au kuhusu rafiki zako, ndugu, au mtu yoyote unayemfahamu.

Aisha / Simon are about your age and also [*insert occupation*]. Can you make up a story for us about a sexual relationship that you think Aisha / Simon would have. In your story you can talk about: *Aisha / Simon anaumri unaolingana na wewe na anafanya kazi kama yako. Je unaweza kututengeneza hadithi kuhusu uhusiano wa kimapenzi ambao unadhani Aisha / Simon atakuwa nao. Kwenye hadithi yako unaweza kuzungumzia kuhusu:*
• How do you think he/she met her partner;   • *Unadhani alikutana vipi na mwenzi wake;*
• What the relationship is like (e.g. long-term or short-term; if they're faithful; do they love each other; what part does money play in their relationship);   • *Uhusiano wao uko vipi (e.g. uhusiano ya muda mrefu au muda mfupi; je wanaamiana; je kila mmoja anampenda mwenzake)*
• What the sex is like (e.g. where do they meet; how often do they meet; what does Aisha/Simon like and dislike about the sex; do they kiss and hold one another after sex, do they use a condom);   • *Ngono imekuaje (e.g. ni wapi wanapokutana; wanakutana marangapi; Aisha/Simon anapenda au hapendi nini kuhusu ngono wao; je wanabusiana na wanakumbatiana baada ya kufanya ngono; je wanatumia kondomu)*
• What do they like and dislike about their relationship;   • *Wanapenda au hawapendi nini katika uhusiano wao*

> - How this relationship might end (e.g. would one of them break it up; who would do this and how would they do this).
> - *Je uhusiano huu utaisha vipi (e.g. je mmoja wao atauvunja; nani anaivunjika na wanaivunja vipi?)*

Love

Can you think of a story that will help us to understand how young people love each other in a relationship here in Tanzania? This can be a story from your own experience or about your friends, relatives, someone that you know.

Je unaweza kufikiria hadithi ambayo itatusaidia sisi kuelewa jinsi vijana wanavyopendana katikia mahusiano hapa Tanzania? Hii inaweza kuwa ni hadithi ya kweli kutokana yaliyo kutokea wewe au kuhusu rafiki zako, ndugu, au mtu yoyote unayemfahamu.

> Prisca / Benja told a boy / girl that they loved them yesterday. Can you make up a story for us about what you think the situation was like for Prisca / Benja to say this? In your story you can talk about:
>
> *Jana Prisca / Benja alimwambia mvulana / msichana kuwa alimpenda. Je unaweza kututengenezea hadithi kuhusu jinsi unavyofikiri hali ilikuwaje kwa Prisca / Benja kusema hivi? Kwenye hadithi yako unaweza kuzungumzia kuhusu:*
>
> - Who this boy / girl is to him/her (e.g. how long have they known them; what their relationship is);
> - *Huyu mvulana / msichana ni nani kwake (e.g. amemfahamu kwa muda gani; uhusiano wao uko vipi);*
> - What Prisca / Benja means by saying "I love you" to their partner (e.g. how long has it taken them to say this; how their relationship will change; what do they expect from their partner after they say this);
> - *Prisca / Benja anamaanisha nini anaposema "Nakupenda" kwa mwenzi wake (e.g. imechukua muda gani kwa wake kusema hivi; uhusiano wao utabadilika vipi; kila mmoja anategemea nini kutoka kwa mwenzi wake baada ya kusema hivi);*
> - What does this love feel like.
> - *Haya ni mapenzi gani, yako vipi?*

Marriage and Children

Can you think of a story that will help us to understand what getting married means to young people here in Tanzania? This can be a story from your own experience or about your friends, relatives, someone that you know.

Je unaweza kufikiria hadithi ambayo itatusaidia sisi kuelewa jinsi kuoa / kuolewa inamaanisha nini kwa vijana hapa Tanzania? Hii inaweza kuwa ni hadithi ya kweli kutokana yaliyo kutokea wewe au kuhusu rafiki zako, ndugu, au mtu yoyote unayemfahamu.

> Can you make up a story for us about how you think Jane / Willy plan for their married life to be like? In your story you can talk about:

Je unaweza kututengenezea hadithi kuhusu ni jinsi gani unadhani Jane / Willy anapanga jinsi maisha yao ndoa yatakavyokuwa? Kwenye hadithi yako unaweza kuzungumzia kuhusu:
- The type of person that he/she would want to marry;   *Mtu wa aina gani anataka kumuoa/ kuolewa nae;*
- How his/her married life will be different from his/her previous relationships;   *Je maisha ya ndoa yatatofautiana vipi na mahusiano yaliyopita;*
- What he/she wants and expects from being married;   *Anategemea nini kutoka katika ndoa;*
- What the sex life is like and whether they are faithful to one another.   *Maisha yao kimapenzi yakoje na je wao ni waaminifu kwa kila mmoja?*
- If they have children, will they talk to them about sex and relationships? What will he teach them?   *Je kama wakiwa na watoto, je wanaongea nao kuhusu ngono na muhusiano? Wanawafundisha nini?*

E: FGD Topic Guides for University Students

University Young Men

Explain to participants that this study is a university project looking to learn more about the relationships that young people have and to do this we need their help in completing this story about a boy called Juma (estimated to take 1hr-1h30)

Go through and sign the consent form.

Ask if they have any questions

While making the story with the participants use the questions provided as a guide but feel free to add more to find out more about the information that they are providing (remember to try and keep these questions open-ended). This is **especially important if participants disagree on things, try and encourage them to talk about why their opinions might differ** and spark debate.

Juma is 22 years old and is about to go into his second year of university, studying in Dar es Salaam. He receives a loan from the government for studying and stays with his family in Gongo la mboto.

Juma ni mvulana wa miaka 22

1. How do you think Juma feels about his life?
   Je, unafikiri Juma anafikiria nini kuhusu maisha yake?

2. What do you think Juma's life is like at university?
   Je, unafikiri maisha ya Juma chuoni yanakuwaje?

3. What do you think Juma wants for his future?
   Unafikiri Juma anafikiria nini kwa maisha yake baadaye?

There is a pretty girl called Pendo that Juma sees in the lunchroom every day.

Juma anamwona msichana mrembo mmoja kwenye canteen kila siku.

4. How does Juma start talking to this girl?
   Juma anaanzaje kuongea na huyu msichana?

5. What do you think this girl thinks about Juma?
   Unafikiri huyu msichana anafikiri nini kuhusu Juma?

6. What does Juma have to do to get this girl to meet him outside of university?
   Juma anahitaji kufanya nini kumshiwishi huyu msichana kumkutana nje ya chuo?

7. What kind of a relationship do you think Juma is looking for with this girl?

Je, ni aina gani ya mahusiano unafikiri Juma anatafuta kwa huyu msichana?

8. What kind of relationship do you think this Pendo wants?
Je, ni aina gani ya mahusiano unafikiri Pendo anataka?

When they meet...

Wanapokutana...

9. What do you think happens? (e.g. where do they meet, what do they do?)
Unafikiri nini kinatokea? (mfano: wapi wanakutana, nini wanafanya?)

10. What kind of physical contact do they have?
Aina gani ya mahusiano ya kimwili walionayo?

11. What about sex? (e.g. do they have it, how does it start, how do you think Pendo is feeling, do they use a condom, how does it finish?)
Vipi kuhusu ngono? (mfano: je, wanafanya ngono, wanaanzaje, unafikiri Pendo anasikiaje wanapofanya ngono, wanatumia kinga, wanamalizaje?)

12. Where did Juma learn about how to have sex?
Ni wapi Juma alijifunza kuhusu kufanya ngono?

13. How does their date end?
Wanaachanaje?

Some time passes and Juma tries to see Pendo when he can. But she is having a very difficult time: she is failing her courses and her loan money has run out.

Muda kidogo unapita na Juma alikuwa akikutana na pendo anapoweza. Lakini maisha yake ni magumu sana kwa sasa. Ana supplementary kwenye masomo na boom yake imekwisha.

14. How do you think Juma feels about his relationship with Pendo?
Je, unafikiri Juma anafikiria nini kuhusu mahusiano yake na Pendo?

15. How do you think Pendo feels about their relationship?
Je, unafikiri Pendo anafikiria nini kuhusu mahusiano yao?

16. What do you think Juma's friends are saying about his relationship?
Je, unafikiri rafiki zake Juma wanasema nini kuhusu mahusiano yake na Pendo?

Juma hears about a seminar in the university run by an NGO and decides to go.

Juma anasikia kuhusu semina kinachosimamiwa na ngo na anaamua kwenda.

17. Why do you think Juma decides to go?
Kwanini unafikiri Juma ameamua kwenda?

18. What do you think the NGO says about how young people should act in their relationships?

    Je, unafikiri shirika hili lisilo la kiserikali [ngo] litasema/kushauri nini kuhusu vijana lazima wanakuwaje kwenye mahusiano yao?

19. Knowing how Juma's relationship is, how do you think it makes Juma feel to hear about this?

    Je, unafikri Juma anawaza nini kuhusu alichokisia kituoni hapo?

20. What do you think makes it difficult for Juma to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?

    Unafikiri ni mambo gani yanasababisha Juma kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo ngo inazungumzia/kushauri?

21. What do you think can help Juma to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?

    Unafikiri ni vitu gani vinaweza kumsaidia Juma kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo NGO inazungumzia/kushauri?

22. How do you think this story about Juma and Pendo's relationship ends?

    Unafikiri hadithi hii inayo husu mahusiano ya juma na pendo iliishaje?

University Young Women

Explain to participants that this study is a university project looking to learn more about the relationships that young people have and to do this we need their help in completing this story about a girl called Rehema (estimated to take 1hr-1h30)

Go through and sign the consent form.

Ask if they have any questions

While making the story with the participants use the questions provided as a guide but feel free to add more to find out more about the information that they are providing (remember to try and keep these questions open-ended). This is **especially important if participants disagree on things, try and encourage them to talk about why their opinions might differ** and spark debate.

Rehema is 22 years old and is about to go into her second year of university, studying in Dar es Salaam. She receives a loan from the government for studying and because her family stays in Iringa she stays in the university hostels in Mabibo during term time.

Rehema ni msichana wa miaka 22 na anaingia mwaka wa pili chuoni hapa Dar es Salaam..... !!

1. How do you think Rehema feels about her life when she is at home?
   Je, unafikiri Rehema anafikiria nini kuhusu maisha yake anapokaa nyumbani?

2. How do you think Rehema feels about her life when she is at university?
   Je, unafikiri Rehema anafikiria nini kuhusu maisha yake anapokaa university?

3. *What is her life like staying in the hostels?*
   Maisha yake yanakuwaje kwenye hosteli?

4. What do you think Rehema wants for her future?
   Unafikiri Rehema anafikiria nini kwa maisha yake baadaye?

One day when Rehema is walking through the university corridors she hears a voice behind her say "I love you beautiful".

Siku moja rehema alikuwa akitembea kuelekea sokoni alisikia sauti ikikisika kutoka nyuma yake ikisema "mrembo nakupenda".

5. Who do you think said this to Rehema?
   Je, unafikiri ni nani aliyesema maneno haya kwa rehema?

6. What does she do?

Anafanya nini?

7. What kind of relationship do you think this man called Simon is looking for with Rehema?
   Unafiiri ni aina gani ya mahusiano huyu mtu anaitwa simon anataka kwa rehema?

8. What kind of relationship is Rehema looking for?
   Ni aina gani ya mahusiano rehema anatafuta?

9. What does Simon have to do to get Rehema to be interested in him?
   Je, simon anatakiwa kufanya nini ili kumshawishi rehema amkubali?

10. How does Rehema show that she's interested in Simon?
    Rehema anamwonyeshaje...

Simon invites Rehema to come meet some of his friends but when they arrive at the house nobody else is there:

Simon anaalika Rehema kukutana marafiki zake lakini wanpofika nyumbani anaona Hakuna mtu:

11. How do you think Rehema feels?
    Je, unafikiri Rehema anajisikiaje?

12. What do you think happens next?
    Ni aina gani ya mahusiano ya kimwili walio kuwa nayo?

13. What about sex? (e.g. do they have it, how does it start, what is pleasurable about it for Rehema, what things might Rehema not like doing, do they use a condom, how does it finish?)
    Je vipi kuhusu ngono? (mfano: wanafanya ngono,wana anzaje,Rehema anapenda na hapendi nini ya ngono,wanatumia kinga, na wanamalizaje?)

14. Where did Rehema learn about how to have sex?
    Ni wapi Rehema alijifunza kuhusu kufanya ngono?

15. What do you think Simon thinks/feels about Rehema?
    Je, unafikri simon anafikiriaje kuhusu rehema?

16. How does their date end?
    Waliagana vipi baada ya kumaliza kuwa pamoja?

The end of term approaches and Rehema is very stressed out. She is failing most of her courses and her loan money has run out and when she calls Simon he says that he loves her but that he's busy and can't come see her.

Kipindi kinakaribia kumaliza na Rehema ana mawazo sana. Ana supplementary kwenye masomo na boom yake imekwisha. Kila mara anampigia Simon anasema anampenda lakini ametingwa na hana mda kumwona kwa sasa.

17. What do you think Rehema's friends advise her to do?
Unafikiri marafiki ya Rehema wanamshauri afanye nini?

18. What do you think Rehema ends up doing and why?
Unafikiri Rehema kwa mwisho anafanyaje na kwa nini?

19. What do you think people in the university say about Rehema being in this situation?
Unafikiri wengine chuoni wanasema nini kuhusu Rehema kuwa kwenye hali hii?

20. What does Simon say?
Simon anasemaje?

Rehema hears about a seminar in the university run by an NGO and decides to go.

Rehema anasikia kuhusu semina kinachosimamiwa na ngo na anaamua kwenda.

21. Why do you think Rehema decides to go?
Kwanini unafikiri rehema ameamua kwenda?

22. What do you think the NGO says about how young people should act in their relationships?
Je, unafikiri shirika hili lisilo la kiserikali [ngo] litasema/kushauri nini kuhusu vijana lazima wanakuwaje kwenye mahusiano yao?

23. Knowing how Rehema's relationships are, how do you think it makes Rehema feel to hear about this?
Je, unafikri rehema anawaza nini kuhusu alichokisia kituoni hapo?

24. What do you think makes it difficult for Rehema to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
Unafikiri ni mambo gani yanasababisha rehema kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo ngo inazungumzia/kushauri?

25. What do you think can help Rehema to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
Unafikiri ni vitu gani vinaweza kumsaidia Rehema kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo NGO inazungumzia/kushauri?

26. How do you think this story about Rehema and Simon's relationship ends?
Je, unafikiri hadithi hii inayo husu mahusiano ya rehema na simon iliishaje?

1. Can you share with us any stories that you have heard at university about young people's sexual relationships?

2. In what ways do you think girls are affected by hearing stories like these at university?

F: FGD Topic Guides for Urban-Poor Youth

Urban-Poor Young Men

Explain to participants that this study is a university project looking to learn more about the relationships that young people have and to do this we need their help in completing this story about a boy called Bahati (estimated to take 1hr-1h30)

Go through and sign/thumbprint the consent form.

Ask if they have any questions

While making the story with the participants use the questions provided as a guide but feel free to add more to find out more about the information that they are providing (remember to try and keep these questions open-ended). This is **especially important if participants disagree on things, try and encourage them to talk about why their opinions might differ** and spark debate.

Bahati is 17 years old. He lives in Temeke, Dar es Salaam with his mother who works as a cleaner in a guest house, his two younger siblings who both go to primary school and a young girl relative from the village who helps at home with all the housework and cooking. Bahati no longer goes to school.

Bahati ni mvulana wa miaka 17 na anaishi maeneo ya Temeke jijini Dar es Salaam pamoja na mama yake ambae anafanya kazi ya usafi katika nyumba ya kulala wageni, wadogo zake wawili ambao wote ni wanafunzi wa shule ya msingi na msichana wa kutoka kijijini kwao ambae hufanya shughuli za ndani. Bahati ameacha kwenda shule.

1. Why is this?
   Kwanini hali hii?

2. How do you think Bahati feels about his life?
   Je, unafikiri Bahati anawaza nini kuhusu maisha yake?

3. What do you think other people think about Bahati not being in school?
   Unafikiri watu wengine wanafikirije kuona Bahati haendi shuleni?

4. What do you think his relationship is like with the housegirl when they are home alone in the day?
   Unafikiri unafikiri kuna aina gani ya mahusiano kati ya bahati na msichana wa kazi wanapo kuwa peke yao nyumbani siku nzima?

One day Bahati takes a ride on the daladala bus to go into town to see his uncle's friend who might have some work for him to do. He sees a pretty girl sitting by herself and he sits down next to her. He tells her that he loves her and she just turns her head away.

Siku moja bahati alipanda daladala na kuelekea mjini kukutana na rafiki wa mjomba wake ambaye angeweza kumtafutia kazi bahati. Ndani ya daladala alimuona msichana mrembo aliekuwa amekaa peke yake hivyo aka amua kukaa karibu nae. Alimwambia kuwa anampenda lakini yule msichana aligeuza kichwa na kuangalia upande mwingine.

5. What do you think this girl is thinking/feeling?
   Unafikiri huyu msichana anafikiria/anawaza nini?

6. What happens next?
   Nini kilitokea?

7. What kind of a relationship do you think Bahati is looking for with this girl?
   Je, ni aina gani ya mahusiano unafikiri bahati anatafuta kwa huyu msichana?

8. What kind of relationship do you think this girl wants?
   Je, ni aina gani ya mahusiano unafikiri huyu msichana anataka?

Before the girl gets off the bus she gives Bahati her phone number and her name- Pendo. He doesn't have any money on his phone so calls her from his friend's phone a few times and when he finally gets some money from somewhere he calls and asks her to meet him.

Kabla yule msichana hajashuka kwenya daladala alimpatia bahati namba ya simu na jina lake pia- pendo. Bahati hakuwa na hela kwa simu yake hivyo alimpigia kutumia simu ya rafiki yake na alipofanikiwa kupata pesa aliweza kumpigia kwa simu yake na kumuomba wakutane.

9. What do you think happens on this date? (e.g. where do they meet, what do they do?)
   Unafikiri nini kilitokea siku walio kutana? (mfano: wapi walikutana, nini walifanya?)

10. What kind of physical contact do they have?
    Aina gani ya mahusiano ya kimwili walionayo?

11. What about sex? (e.g. do they have it, how does it start, what does Bahati like about the sex, how do you think Pendo is feeling, do they use a condom, how does it finish?)
    Vipi kuhusu ngono? (mfano: je, wanafanya ngono,wana anzaje,Bahati anapenda na hapendi nini ya ngono, unafikiri pendo anafikiria nini, wanatumia kinga,wanamalizaje?)

12. Where did Bahati learn about how to have sex?
    Ni wapi Bahati alijifunza kuhusu kufanya ngono?

13. How does their date end?
    Wanaachanaje?

Some time passes and Bahati tries to see Pendo whenever he has money.

Muda kidogo ulipita na Bahati alikuwa akikutana na pendo wakati akiwa na pesa.

14. How do you think Bahati feels about his relationship with Pendo?
    Je, unafikiri bahati anafikiria nini kuhusu mahusiano yake na pendo?

15. How do you think Pendo feels about their relationship?
    Je, unafikiri pendo anafikiria nini kuhusu mahusiano yao?

16. What do you think Bahati's friends are saying to him about his relationship?
    Je, unafikiri rafiki zake bahati wanamwambia nini kuhusu mahusiano yake na pendo?

In the community there is a local youth centre run by an NGO and he decides to go.

Katika jamii kuna kituo cha vijana kinachosimamiwa na ngo na anaamua kuenda.

17. Why do you think Bahati decides to go?
    Je, unafikiri kwa nini bahati amekubali kwenda kituoni hapo?

18. What do you think happens at the youth centre?
    Je, unafikiri nini ilitokea kituoni hapo?

19. How do you think Bahati feels about being there?
    Je, unafikiri Bahati anasikiaje kuwa pale?

20. What would the NGO say about how young people should act in their relationships?
    Je, unafikiri shirika hili lisilo la kiserikali [ngo] litasema/kushauri nini kwa vijana kuhusiana na nini wanatakiwa kufanya kwenye mahusiano yao ya kimapenzi?

21. How do you think it makes Bahati feel to hear about this?
    Je, unafikiri bahati anawaza nini kuhusu alichokisikia?

22. What do you think makes it difficult for Bahati to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
    Unafikiri ni mambo gani yanasababisha bahati kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo ngo inazungumzia/kushauri?

23. What do you think can help Bahati to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
    Unafikiri ni vitu gani vinaweza kumsaidia Bahati kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo NGO inazungumzia/kushauri?

24. How do you think this story about Bahati and Pendo's relationship ends?
    Unafikiri hadithi hii inayo husu mahusiano ya bahati na pendo iliishaje?

Thank the participants for their time and ask if they have any further questions, comments or things that they think are important to add.

Urban-Poor Young Women

Explain to participants that this study is a university project looking to learn more about the relationships that young people have and to do this we need their help in completing this story about a girl called Rehema (estimated to take 1hr-1h30)

Go through and sign/thumbprint the consent form.

Ask if they have any questions

While making the story with the participants use the questions provided as a guide but feel free to add more to find out more about the information that they are providing (remember to try and keep these questions open-ended). This is **especially important if participants disagree on things, try and encourage them to talk about why their opinions might differ** and spark debate.

Rehema is 17 years old. She lives in Temeke, Dar es Salaam with her parents and two younger siblings who both go to primary school. Rehema doesn't go to school.

Rehema ni msichana wa miaka 17. Anaishi Temeke Dar es Salaam na wazazi wake pamoja na wadogo zake wawili ambao ni wanafunzi wa shule ya msingi. Rehema haendi shule.

23. Why is this?
    Kwanini haendi shule?

24. How do you think Rehema feels about her life?
    Je, unafikiri rehema anafikiria nini kuhusu maisha yake?

25. What do you think other people think about Rehema not being in school?
    Unafikiri watu wengine wanafikirije kuona Rehema haendi shuleni?

One day when Rehema is walking to the market to buy some vegetables she hears a voice behind her say "I love you beautiful".

Siku moja rehema alikuwa akitembea kuelekea sokoni alisikia sauti ikikisika kutoka nyuma yake ikisema "mrembo nakupenda".

26. Who do you think said this to Rehema?
    Je, unafikiri ni nani aliyesema maneno haya kwa rehema?

27. What does she do?
    Anafanya kazi gani?

28. What kind of relationship do you think this man called Simon is looking for with Rehema?
    Unafiiri ni aina gani ya mahusiano huyu mtu anaitwa simon anataka kwa rehema?

29. What kind of relationship is Rehema looking for?
    Ni aina gani ya mahusiano rehema anatafuta?

30. What does Simon have to do to get Rehema to be interested in him?
    Je, simon anatakiwa kufanya nini ili kumshawishi rehema amkubali?

So when Simon and Rehema next meet:

Rehema na simon walipo kutana tena:

31. Where do they meet and what do they do?
    Walikutania wapi na walifanya nini?

32. What kind of physical contact do they have?
    Ni aina gani ya mahusiano ya kimwili walio kuwa nayo?

33. What about sex? (e.g. do they have it, how does it start, what does Rehema like and like about it, do they use a condom, how does it finish?)
    Je vipi kuhusu ngono? (mfano: wanafanya ngono,wana anzaje,Rehema anapenda na hapendi nini ya ngono,wanatumia kinga, na wanamalizaje?)

34. What do you think Simon thinks/feels about Rehema?
    Je, unafikri simon anafikiriaje kuhusu rehema?

35. How does their date end?
    Waliagana vipi baada ya kumaliza kuwa pamoja?

Some time passes and Rehema needs money to buy sanitary pads but whenever she calls Simon he says that he loves her but that he's too busy to meet her.

Muda ukapita rehema akawa anahitaji pesa kununua mahitaji ya kike lakini kila akimpigia simu simon alikuwa akisema anampenda lakini ametingwa na kazi kwa hiyo hawezi kuonana na rehema.

36. What do you think Rehema thinks about this?
    Unafikiri rehema anawaza nini kuhusu suala hili?

37. What does Rehema do to get the money for the sanitary pads?
    Rehema anafanyaje ili kupata pesa ya kununulia mahitaji yake?

38. What does Rehema do when other men chase after her?
    Rehema anafanyaje wanaume wengine wanapomtongoza?

39. What do you think Rehema's friends are saying to her about her relationship with Simon?
    Unafikiri rafiki wa rehema wanamwamniaje rehema kuhusu mahusiano yake na simon?

In the community there is a local youth centre run by an NGO and she decides to go.

Katika jamii kuna kituo cha vijana kinacho simamiwa na ngo na anaamua kuenda.

40. Why do you think Rehema decides to go?
    Kwanini unafikiri rehema ameamua kwenda?

41. What do you think happens at the youth centre?
    Unafikri ni nini kimetokea kituoni hapo?

42. How do you think Rehema feels about being there?
    Je, unafikiri Rehema anasikiaje kuwa pale?

43. What would the NGO say about how young people should act in their relationships?
    Je, unafikiri shirika hili lisilo la kiserikali [ngo] litasema/kushauri nini kwa vijana kuhusiana na nini wanatakiwa kufanya kwenye mahusiano yao ya kimapenzi?

44. How do you think it makes Rehema feel to hear about this?
    Je, unafikri rehema anawaza nini kuhusu alichokisia kituoni hapo?

45. What do you think makes it difficult for Rehema to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
    Unafikiri ni mambo gani yanasababisha rehema kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo ngo inazungumzia/kushauri?

46. What do you think can help Rehema to have a relationship like how the NGO describes?
    Unafikiri ni vitu gani vinaweza kumsaidia Rehema kutokuwa na aina ya mahusiano ambayo NGO inazungumzia/kushauri?

47. How do you think this story about Rehema and Simon's relationship ends?
    Je, unafikiri hadithi hii inayo husu mahusiano ya rehema na simon iliishaje?

Thank the participants for their time and ask if they have any further questions, comments or things that they think are important to add.

G: Feedback Session Topic Guides

Urban-Poor Youth

Topic	English	Swahili
Msimamo / Social Position	In pairs/groups discuss answers to the following: • What does it mean to have or not to have msimamo? • How does a person get/develop msimamo? • Do you think there are more or less or the same number of Tanzanians with msimamo today compared to the past/older days? Why? *"If Rehema has 'msimamo', Rehema will agree [to sex] but she will be stressed to have sex without a condom… but if Rehema doesn't have 'msimamo' she will not know herself at all, and she will just do it like this and because this man can use strength so she will just do it"* In this quote we see that even with msimamo, Rehema, a girl from Temeke, cannot make sure that a condom is used. • Would you say that this is true for many girls in Temeke? • Also a man using his strength is talked about – how would a man use his strength on a woman in this scenario? • How do you think youth without msimamo or young women who can't control condom use, feel when they	Katika Makundi, Jadili maswali ya maswali yafuatayo: • Nini maana ya kuwa au kutokuwa na msimamo? • Namna gani mtu anapata msimamo? • Unafikiri watanzania wa kizazi cha sasa ni wengi au wachache wenye msimamo au idadi ni sawa ukilinganisha na watanzania wa kizazi cha nyuma? kwanini? *"Kama Rehema atakuwa na 'msimamo', Rehema atakubali kufanya ngono lakini atakuwa na wasiwasi juu ya kufanya ngono bila kondomu....Lakini kama Rehema hatakuwa na 'msimamo' hatajitambua kabisa, na atafanya kama hivi na kwa kuwa huyu mwanaume atatumia nguvu basi ataamua kufanya hivyo hivyo''* Katika hii nukuu hapa, Tunaona kuwa pamoja na msimamo, Rehema msichana kutoka Temeke hawezi kuamua juu ya kutumia Kondomu. • Je unaweza sema kwamba huu ni ukweli kwa wasichana wengi wa Temeke? • Pia mwanaume kutumia Nguvu kumezungumziwa – Je ni jinsi gani mwanaume atatumia nguvu juu ya mwanamke kwenye hadithi hii? • Unafikiri vijana wasio na msimamo au wasichana wasiokuwa na maamuzi juu ya matumizi ya kondomu

	hear NGO messages about choosing a good and healthy life? • What do you think it would take for more young people to have msimamo?	wanajisikiaje wanaposikia ujumbe wa kuchagua maisha mazuri na ya afya kutoka kwenye NGO? • Unafikiri nini kifanyike ili vijana wengi wawe na misimamo?
Potential sources of support	Split into 3 groups, each having one of these quotes, and discuss answers to the following questions (each group will then share with the rest of the participants who will also be asked if they have anything to add): 1. Do you agree with this statement / is it something that you see in your community? 2. Has it always been this way or if things were different before, what do you think has caused the change? 3. What do you think needs to happen for young people to be able to get support from these people? *"Parents play a big part in ruining their children… we are raised to fear them. When the Dad comes home we all run to the bedroom and wait for what we'll be told off for today, and also the mum is always raging. You can ask your Mother for money for sanitary pads she will shout at you saying 'haven't I taught you to use a cloth' so you see it as better to be with a man.Many parents don't know what a good or bad relationship is. They get angry if their son calls a girl a friend and call peer educators hooligans."* *"Most of the time people have a negative attitude about their sexual partner and don't trust them. They also don't trust their friends. If a girl tries to tell her friend that she should leave her boyfriend because he's bad for her the girl will think that her*	Jigaweni katika makundi matatu, kila kundi litakuwa na nukuu moja na kasha kutoa majibu kulingana na maswali yafuatayo, (Kila kundi litachangia na washiriki wengine ambao watauilizwa pia kama wanakitu cha kuongezea): 1. Unakubaliana na maelezo haya/ Ni kitu ambacho ubakiona kwenye jamii yako? 2. Hali imekuwa hivi siku zote au kama hali ingekuwa tofauti kipindi cha nyuma, Je unafikiri nini kimesababisha haya mabadiliko? 3. Unafikiri nini kifanyike ili vijana waweze kupata msaada ktuka kwa watu hawa? *"Wazazi wana nafasi kubwa ya kuharibu maisha ya watoto wao…tunalelewa kuwaogopa wazazi. Wakati baba anaporudi kutoka kazini wote tunakimbia kwenda kujificha na kusubiria nini kitakacho fuata, na hata wakina mama mara za wanakuwa na wasiwasi. Unaweza kumuomba mama pesa ya sanitary pads lakini atakukaripia na kukwambia kwani sijakufundisha kutumia kitambaa, kwahiyo unaona ni bora ukiwa na mwanaume. Wazazi wengi hawaelewi mahusiano mazuri au mabaya yapoje. Wanapata hasira pindi kijana wao anapomuita msichana mpezi na pia wanawaita waelimisha rika kuwa ni wahuni"* *"Mara nyingi watu wamekuwa na mitazamo hsai kuhusu wapenzi wao na kutokuwa amini. Na pia hawa waamini hata rafiki zao. Kama msichana akimwambia rafiki yake kuwa amwache mpenzi wake kwa kuwa ni mvulana mwenye tambia mbaya, msichana huyu*

	friend is after her boyfriend. And men in Temeke are in competition with each other, they have the character to sit together and say bad things about others and start scandals" *"I come to a seminar to be educated but then after the facilitator approaches me and asks to have unprotected sex so why shouldn't I ignore him and his NGO? Therefore these NGOs and what they teach it's all talk… it means that the community just ignores what the NGOs say, people in the community say 'you are a teacher who teaches me good ethics in the classroom but later if I see you, you are different from how you teach, a male teacher but maybe even a female teacher, and you want to know why I ignore you?'… It's because you ignore yourself'… Many NGOs give education but they themselves don't follow it yet they want us to follow it, this isn't realistic"*	*atafikiria kuwa rafiki yake anamtaka mpenzi wake. Hapa Temeke wanaume wanatabia ya kushindan, wanatabia ya kukaa pamoja na kuongea mambo mabaya kuhusu watu wengine na kuanza skendo''* *''Nimekuja kwenye semina kupata elimu lakini baadae mkufunzi ananitokea na kunitaka tufanya ngono bila kinga, sasa kwanini nisiachane nae na hiyo NGO yake? Kwahiyo hizi NGO na mambo wanayotufundisha ni maneno tu....hii inamaanisha kwamba jamii idharau kinachosemwa na NGO, Watu katika jamii wanasema 'wewe ni mwalimu ambae ananifundisha maadili mema darasani lakini baadae kama nakuona umebadilika kulingana na unayo nifundisha, mwalimu wa kiume lakini hata mwalimu wa kike, nab ado unataka kujua kwanini nakudharau pamoja na NGO yako?....Jibu ni kwasababu unajidharu wewe mwenyewe'....NGO's nyingi zinatoa elimu ambayo wao wenyewe hawatumii,na wakati huo huo wanatuambia sisi tuzifuatilie, huu sio uhalisia?*
Desire, and Consent	Many people when I tell them about my research say to me that the problem with today's youth is 'tamaa' [desire]. • What do you think they mean by tamaa? • Do you agree and think that tamaa is more of a problem now than before? If yes, why? Read aloud these two quotes: *"Bahati is already in the sex universe and he is more than confused he is totally crazy… you know these days with porn on phones, the 'sex system' is completely open and this system forces our sex organs to have sex even when we shouldn't. You can't even take your girl to a room that you share with your*	Watu wengi nikiwaambia kuhusu utafiti wangu, wananiambia kuwa tatizo kubwa la vijana wa leo ni 'Tamaa' • Unafikiri wana maanisha nini wanaposema Tamaa? • Je, unakubaliana na swala hili kuwa Tamaa ni tatizo siku hizi kuliko kipindi cha nyuma? Kama ndio, kwanini? Soma kwa Sauti hizi Nukuu mbili: *"Bahati tayari amshaingia kwenye ulimwengu wa mapenzi na ameshachanganyikiwa kabisa...unajua siku hizi kuna video za ngono kwenye simu, mfumo mzima mzima wa masuala ya ngono upo wazi kabisa na hali hii inalazimisha viungo vyetu vya uzazi kufanya ngono hata kama hatupaswi kufanya. Huwezi hata*

friends, it's not good you can easily end up sharing her with your friends"

"You get some men that mount you like a housefly, 'let's get to work', when you leave there he doesn't know what makes you content/happy… Some girls complain saying 'why do I get hurt when having sex?'… Of course you're going to get hurt if the man is ready while you are not. He ejaculates and you are yet to get the feeling… but if he plays with you, you will find there's no winner, both of you climax together and it becomes easy to enjoy sex. "

1. What do these two quotes tell us about sexual desire?
2. What are your thoughts on this idea that once alone young people are powerless to male sexual desire?
3. You all talked about how before sex, that a girl must agree but what would happen if once alone a girl or boy decided that they didn't want to have sex? Could they communicate this to the other person? If so, how?

For the given quotes answer the following questions [girls discuss the boy's quote, and boys discuss the girl's quote]:

1. What is this person's desire?

kumpeleka msichana wako kwenye chumba ambacho unachangia na rafiki zako, sio vizuri kabisa unaweza ukajikuta unachangia msichana wako na rafiki zako kirahisi rahisi hivi hivi''

''Unakuta baada ya wanaume wanakupanda kama inzi wa nyumbani, 'twende kazi', unapoondoka pale hata hajui ni nini kimekufanya upate maumivu au furaha….Baadhi ya wasichana wanalalamika na kusema 'kwanini Napata maumivu wakati nafanya mapenzi?....Bilashaka utapata maumivu kama mwanaume atakuwa ameshajiandaa na wewe hujajiandaa. Atafika kilele wakati wewe ukiwa bado hata hujaanza kupata hisia....lakini akiwa anachezeana na wewe utaona hakuna mshindi kwenye kufanya mapenzi, wote mtafika kilele na inakuwa rahisi kufurahia ngono.''

1. Nukuu hizi mbili zinatueleza nini kuhusu masuala ya tamaa za kimapenzi?
2. Nini maoni yako kuhusiana na msemo wa kwamba unapokuwa peke yako basi vijana wanakuwa hawana nguvu ya kudhibiti matamanio ya kingono kwa mwanaume?
3. Mmezungumzia juu ya kabla ya kufanya ngono, kwamba msichana lazima akubali lakini nini kinaweza kutokea kama msichana au mvulana peke yake ataamua kwamba hataki kufanya ngono? Je wanaweza kumwambia mwenzie juu ya hili? Kama ndio, kivipi?

Kutumia Nukuu tulizonazo jibu maswali yafuatayo[Wasichana wajadili Nukuu za Wavulana, na Wavulana wajadili Nukuu za Wasichana]:

1. Tamaa ni nini ya mtu huyu?
2. Nini kitatokea kama hawatafanikiwa na Tamaa zao?

	2. What will happen if they are unsuccessful in their desires? 3. Can you think of other ways that this person could be seen by others as successful without using sex in this way? 4. [Then ask the opposite sex why these suggestions might be difficult]. Quote for Boys: *"She has already entered the 'age of desire' and needs to look beautiful to others but if you look at her parents they have a responsibility to send her younger siblings to school so normally they won't be able to cater to her needs so she will need a man"* Quote for Girls: *"[Your friends] don't know how much you're hustling to make her look good in front of their eyes. When they know it was you who did the whole work then they will praise you and from there you will start bragging but you know that you are poor and have lots of problems so you have to work hard to provide for her and even when you can't take care of her anymore and you want to dump her because it's too much for you, you will keep providing for her so that she looks good every day and so that your CV will be good to your friends"* Any other questions / comments?	3. Unaweza kufikiria njia nyingine ya mtu huyu aweze kuonekana amefanikiwa na watu wengine bila kutumia ngono katika njia zake za mafanikio? 4. [Kisha <u>Uliza jinsia nyingine, kwanini mapendekezo haya yanaweza kuwa magumu</u>]. Nukuu kwa Wavulana: ''*Msichana tayari ameshaingia kwenye 'umri wa Tamaa' na anahitaji kupendeza mrembo lakini ukiwa watazama wazazi wake wanamajukumu ya kusomesha wadogo zake kwa hiyo hawata weza kutosheleza mahitaji yake sasa atahitaji mwanaume*'' Nukuu kwa Wasichana: ''*[Rafiki zako] Hawajui ni jinsi gani unajituma kumpendezesha mbele ya macho yao. Wakija kufahamu kuwa ni wewe watakusifia sana na kuanzia hapo utaanza kujisifia lakini moyoni unajua kuwa ni masikini na una shida nyingi sanakwahiyo unahitajika kufanya kazi kwa bidii sana ili uweze kumhudumia, hata kama huwezi kumhudumia tena na unataka kumuacha kwa kuwa hali imekuwa ngumu kwako, utalazimika kuendelea kumhudumia ilimradi apende kila siku ili na wewe CV yako iendelee kuwa nzuri kwa marafiki zako*'' Kuna maswali mengine/ Maoni?

University Students

Topics	English	Swahili
Msimamo / Social Position	In pairs/groups discuss answers to the following: • What does it mean to have or not to have msimamo? • How does a person get/develop msimamo? • Do you think there are more or less or the same number of Tanzanians with msimamo today compared to the past/older days? Why? From your discussions my impression is that male students expect male university students to have msimamo – what are your thoughts on this? However this was not the case for female university students: "if she is a person that does not have 'msimamo'… she might find herself in bad groups… wasting her life… [and] won't be able to [change after the NGO seminar]" • What do you think about this? • How do you think a university student without msimamo feels when they hear NGO messages about choosing a good and healthy life? • What do you think it would take for more young people to have msimamo?	Katika Makundi, Jadili maswali ya maswali yafuatayo: • Nini maana ya kuwa au kutokuwa na msimamo? • Namna gani mtu anapata msimamo? • Unafikiri watanzania wa kizazi cha sasa ni wengi au wachache wenye msimamo au idadi ni sawa ukilinganisha na watanzania wa kizazi cha nyuma? kwanini? Kutoka kwenye majadiliano yenu mtazamo wangu ni kwamba wanafunzi wa kiume wanatarajia mwanafunzi wa kiume wa chuo ni lazima awe na msimamo – Nini mtazamo wako juu ya hili? Japo kuwa jambo hili ni tofauti na mitazamo ya wanafunzi wasicha na wachuo: ''*Kama ni msichana ambaye hana 'msimamo'...ataweza kujikuta kwenye makundi mabaya....kujipotezea maisha yake...[Na] [hataweza kubadilika hata baada ya Semina za NGO]*'' • Unafikiriaje kuhusu hili? • Nini unahisi kuhusu mwanafunzi wa chuo asiekuwa na msimamo anaposikia ujumbe wa NGO unaohusu kuchagua maisha mazuri na yenye afya? • Unafikiri nini kifanyike ili vijana wengi wawe na msimamo?
Potential sources of support	Split into 3 groups, each having one of these quotes, and discuss answers to the following questions (each group will then share with the rest of the participants who will also be asked if they have anything to add): 1. Do you agree with this statement / is it something that you see in your community?	Jigaweni katika makundi matatu, kila kundi litakuwa na nukuu moja na kasha kutoa majibu kulingana na maswali yafuatayo, (Kila kundi litachangia na washiriki wengine ambao watauuzwa pia kama wanakitu cha kuongezea): 1. Unakubaliana na maelezo haya/ Ni kitu ambacho ubakiona kwenye jamii yako?

2. Has it always been this way or if things were different before, what do you think has caused the change?
3. What do you think needs to happen for young people to be able to get support from these people?

"Many NGO workers, to be perfectly honest… Many of them are selfish. They will stand and say 'I am ready, please follow me and I will help' but it is not true. At the end of the day, you follow them and they tell you to stop wasting their time. And if you go out and tell people that you went to this person and they turned you away, who do you think will believe you?.. And when they do [help you], they won't do it for long… Many of them come here just because they are paid to show up by some organisation. So what they say is not what they do. Some even approach you after the seminar for sex"

"You do not want to find her [your girlfriend] at the Dean's office... Chatting with the Dean... or a teacher... We have teachers here who have relations with their students... We have a girl in our class that rejected a teacher... He told her that she will not pass her exam and she will have to do a supplementary exam... He is mad at her... I can assure you that the girl will fail her exam.. She remained with her stand... She must fail again... Such stunts happen... They can fail both of you… For them [teachers] to get what they want"

"You know, when you have stuff, you always have many friends. But when they see that Rehema's situation has changed, they will start to disassociate themselves from her... People only laugh with you when you are of benefit to them. When you are not, they do not care. Do you know what people look for? They only look for their own wellbeing. Some will

2. Hali imekuwa hivi siku zote au kama hali ingekuwa tofauti kipindi cha nyuma, Je unafikiri nini kimesababisha haya mabadiliko?
3. Unafikiri nini kifanyike ili vijana waweze kupata msaada kutoka kwa watu hawa?

''Wafanya kazi wengi wa NGO, Kusema ukweli...Wengi wao ni wabinafsi. Watasimama na kusema ' Niko tayari, tafadhali nifuateni na nitawasaidia ' lakini sio kweli. Mwisho wa siku, unawafuata na wanakwambia wacheni kupoteza muda wenu. Na kama ukiondoka na kuwa ambia watu kuwa ulienda kwa mtu Fulani lakini wakakutolea nje, Nani unafikiri atakuamini?...Wengi wao huwa wanakuja hapa kwa kuwa huwa wanalipwa kuja kwenye semina na baadhi ya mashirika. Kwa hiyo wanachokisema sio wanachokifanya. Na baadhi yao huwa wanakutongoza ili wafanye ngono na wewe baada ya semina''

''Hutotaka kumkuta mpenzi wako[msichana wako] kwenye ofisi ya Dean anaongea na mwalimu wa nidhamu...au Mwalimu....Tunawalimu hapa ambao wanajihusisha na mahusiano na wanafunzi wao....kuna msichana darasani mwetu ambaye alimkataa mwalimu....akamwambia kuwa hatofaulu mtihani na lazima atafanya supplementary...amechanganyikiwa kabisa juu yake....nakuhakikishia msichana atafeli mtihani...na atafeli tena kama ataendelea na msimamo wake...Mambo kama haya yanatokea sana...na wanaweza kuwafelisha nyie wote...ili mradi tu [walimu]wapate wanachokitaka''

''Unajua, unapokuwa na vitu, siku zote unakuwa na marafiki wengi. Lakini wakiona kwamba hali ya Rehema imebadilika, wataanza

	blame her and say that they 'warned her' while it may be that those same people are the ones that led her that way"	*kujiondoa kutoka kwake....Siku zote watu watacheka na wewe, kama ukiwa unawafaidisha. Ukiwa haunafaida kwao hawakujali. Unajua watu wanataka nini? Wanataka mafanikio yao tu. Baadhi watamlaumu na kusema 'walisha muonya' wakati kuna uwezekano hao hao ndio waliomshawishi kufanya mambo hayo''*
Desire and Consent	Many people when I tell them about my research say to me that the problem with today's youth is 'tamaa' [desire]. • What do you think they mean by tamaa? • Do you agree and think that tamaa is more of a problem now than before? If yes, why? Read aloud these two quotes: *"Juma entered into a relationship before getting the education... Now that he has it... He might consider it as useless. He is controlled by his emotions and his emotions will get him back to having unprotected sex like he was doing before. Even me, I do not want to have a scenario where sex is available but I do not have condoms with me"* *"Boys can trick a girl into being alone and because she is already there and they're just two in the room and the man has already prepared himself, he will make sure sex happens so even if they do it, it might not be by the will of both of them and Rehema might not be happy about it but she will just have to do. Although if she is prepared and comfortablethey will sit,he will move closer to her. They will start talking. He will say things like 'Rehema, I have loved you for a very long time, I want to marry you'… things like that. He will touch her, they will start slowly and get closer… you know… He will do the*	Watu wengi nikiwaambia kuhusu utafiti wangu, wananiambia kuwa tatizo kubwa la vijana wa leo ni 'Tamaa' • Unafikiri wana maanisha nini wanaposema Tamaa? • Je, unakubaliana na swala hili kuwa Tamaa ni tatizo siku hizi kuliko kipindi cha nyuma? Kama ndio, kwanini? Soma kwa Sauti hizi Nukuu mbili: *''Juma ameingia kwenye mahusiano ya kimapenzi kabla ya kupata elimu ya mahusiano....Sasa ameshapata elimu hiyo....anaweza kuichukulia kama haina faida. Anaongozwa na hisia zake na hizo hisia zinaweza mpelekea kufanya ngono bila kinga kama alivyokuwa akifanya hapo awali. Hata mimi, siwezi kujitengenezea mazingira ambayo ninaweza kufanya ngono wakati sina kondomu''* *''Wavulana wanaweza kumshawishi msichana ili wawe peke yao na kwa kuwa msichana atakuwa tayari ndani ya chumba wakati huo mvulana atakuwa ameshajitayarisha kingono, kwa hiyo mvulana atahakikisha lazima wafanye ngono, kwa hiyo hata wakifanya haitakuwa kwa hiari ya wote wawili, na Rehema hatafurahia ngono lakini itambidi afanye hivyo hivyo. Na hata kama atakuwa amejiandaa atakaa, na mvulana atajisogeza karibu yake. Wata anza kuongea na atasema maneno mazuri kama 'Rehema nimekuwa nakupenda kwa muda mrefu, nataka nikuoe'.....mambo kama hayo. Ataanza kumshika shika, wataanza taratibu na watazidi kusogeleana...unajua...atafanya vitu ambavyo vitamfanya Rehema*

things that will make her want to do it and then she can try and show the styles that she learned from the videos on the internet"

1. What do these two quotes tell us about sexual desire?
2. What are your thoughts on this idea that once alone young people are powerless to male sexual desire?
3. You all talked about how before sex, that a girl must agree but what would happen if once alone a girl or boy decided that they didn't want to have sex? Could they communicate this to the other person? If so, how?

For the given quotes answer the following questions [girls discuss the boy's quote, and boys discuss the girl's quote]:

1. What is this person's desire?
2. What will happen if they are unsuccessful in their desires?
3. Can you think of other ways that this person could be seen by others as successful without using sex in this way?
4. [Then ask the opposite sex why these suggestions might be difficult].

Quote for boys: *"Rehema wants to look good like her colleagues so that she remains on the same 'level' with them. Her friends must show her ways that they use to have all those*

atake kufanya na hapo Rehema ataanza kujaribu kuonesha ufundi wake ambao amupata kutoka kwenye Video za inteneti''

1. Nukuu hizi mbili zinatueleza nini kuhusu masuala ya tamaa za kimapenzi?
2. Nini maoni yako kuhusiana na msemo wa kwamba unapokuwa peke yako basi vijana wanakuwa hawana nguvu ya kudhibiti matamanio ya kingono kwa mwanaume?
3. Mmezungumzia juu ya kabla ya kufanya ngono, kwamba msichana lazima akubali lakini nini kinaweza kutokea kama msichana au mvulana peke yake ataamua kwamba hataki kufanya ngono? Je wanaweza kumwambia mwenzie juu ya hili? Kama ndio, kivipi?

Kutumia Nukuu tulizonazo jibu maswali yafuatayo [Wasichana wajadili Nukuu za Wavulana, na Wavulana wajadili Nukuu za Wasichana]:
1. Tamaa ni nini ya mtu huyu?
2. Nini kitatokea kama hawatafanikiwa na Tamaa zao?
3. Unaweza kufikiria njia nyingine ya mtu huyu aweze kuonekana amefanikiwa na watu wengine bila kutumia ngono katika njia zake za mafanikio?
4. [Kisha Uliza jinsia nyingine, kwanini mapendekezo haya yanaweza kuwa magumu].

Nukuu kwa wavuluna: *''Rehema anataka kupendezaa kama rafiki zake ili aweze kufanana nao. Rafiki zake lazima wamuoneshe njia mabazo wamefanya ili kupata vitu ambavyo wanavyo. Na mara nyingi vyuoni, wasichana wanamahusiano na walimu, watu wazee ili tu ili mtu waweze kupata vitu amabavyo rafiki zao wanavyo. Na hapo*

things that they have. And so many times, in Universities, people must have sexual relations with teachers, they find older people to have sexual relations with just so that they are able to afford those things that their friends have. And then she will develop some status and start to think, 'How can I look for a job with my status? I cannot begin to wear my old clothes, people will think that I come from a village, can I really do that?' So she must sell herself so that she has quick money to maintain her status. She wants people to see her as the same Rehema…. Eee!"

Quote for girls: *"When Juma comes to University, he wants to compete with other boys in spending money on girls so that no one will look down on him. If he has sex with two or three women in a week he will be seen as an expert and if he offers money and buys a girl beers and sodas she will believe that she is with a good man. But he doesn't even know the background of the boys that he is competing with. Some people get more money from their families on top of their loan. So he will end up in debt and end up signing dodgy contracts, stealing, getting loans"*

Any other questions / comments?

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ataanza kupata umaarufu, na ahapo ataanza kuwaza kwanini nitafute kazi kwa hadhi yangu hii? Siwezi kuanza kufanya kazi na kuvaa nguo zangu za kizamani, watu wataanza kunifikiria kuwa nimetoka kijijini, kweli nifanye hivyo? Hapo lazima atajiuza ili aweze kupata pesa za haraka haraka ili kuweza kuhifadhi hadhi yake. Anataka watu wamuone akiwa kwenye hadhi yake ile ile....Eee!''

Nukuu kwa Wasichana: *''Wakati Juma amekuja chuo, alitaka kushindana na wavulana wengine kwenye matumizi ya pesa kwa wasichana ili asidharaulike. Kama atafanya ngono na wasichana wawili au watatu kwa wiki ataonekana kama mtaalamu, na kama atawapa pesa na kuwanunulia bia au soda lazima msichana ataamini kuwa yupo na mtu mzuri. Lakini Juma hajui hata historia ya hao wavulana wengine wanakotoka na hali zao za kiuchumi. Baadhi ya watu huwa wanapewa pesa na familia zao na hapo hapo wanamkopo wa bodi. Kwa hiyo ataishia kwenye madeni na kusainishwa mikatabamibovu, kuiba na kuendelea kuishi kwa kukopa''*

Kuna maswali mengine/ Maoni?

Appendix 3: Data Analysis Documents

A: Curricula Analysis Schematic

[Next page].

Focus Levels	THE SELF			RELATIONAL			STRUCTURAL/SOCIAL		
	Positive Recognitions in Identities			Battles Against Powerlessness			Making a Better World		
Curricula	Universal	Adapted	Local	Universal	Adapted	Local	Universal	Adapted	Local
Themata	Independence – Dependence as Truth	Independence – Dependence as Truth	Independent — Dependence as Responsibility	Child – Adult & [Implicit] Discipline – Ignorance	Child – Adult & Discipline – Ignorance	Discipline – Ignorance	Action – Inaction	Happiness – Harm	Health – Harm
Themes	- Positive self thinks as an individual – makes standout contributions / doesn't conform. - Positive self stands up and influences others / makes changes.	- Taking pride in uniqueness – doesn't conform / compare / adjust to others. - Independence is a natural part of growing into an adult. - Good relationships with others are enabled *through* independence.	- Types of people – assertive people are strong in relationships; aggressive people stand out too much. - Importance of having positive / functional positions in / relationships with the community.	- Control/power comes with maturity. - Assertiveness in communication = a source of power. - Good relationships are rooted in autonomous rights not obligations or for strategic means.	- Human rights enable autonomy in relationships. - Tensions over controlling oneself and others. - Tensions in communication & strategies to overcome them.	- Life skills enable control over self and so also over others. - Control in communication = civility and support.	- The need for activism. - Relationships as spaces for individualised activism against repressive cultures/ societies.	- Rights as a communicative force against injustice. - Dangerous environments.	- Youth need to not buy-in to unjust cultures and people. - Risks [in life].
Codes									

Identity / Positive Self	Relationships & Communication with Others	Choices and Control	Desire and Love	Sexualised Interactions	Consent	Gender Relations	Social Influences on / Contexts to Relationships
UC: Being heard; Influencing others; Pride in being unique. AC: Rights = individuality; Pride in being unique; Adolescence = transition into independence; Adult resistance to youth transitions; independence = responsibility to others. LC: Importance of having a position on issues; Need to control emotions; Importance of position in the community.	UC: Adults need to support youth; Importance of honest, open communication with partner; Trust = good relationship; Youth need to identify trustworthy support; Communication skills through education; Importance of friends. AC: Communication with parents; Importance of honest, open communication; Trust = good relationships; Youth need to seek out trustworthy support; Importance of friendships and belonging; Adults need to trust, guide and support youth; Comm. skills through education. LC: Honest communication = good people and good life; Comm. skills through education.	UC: Individualised control over others; Knowledge of rights = power and responsible choices; Barriers to / tensions over control; Maturity enables responsible choices. AC: Individualised control over relationships; Men must control themselves; Education = responsible choices; Knowledge of rights = power and choice; Good decisions are values-based; Adolescence as a period of power transitions. LC: Disempowered youth; Controlling emotions = good relationships; Change is difficult; Making own choices = responsibility.	UC: Facts on desire .v. love; Culture as a barrier to love; Diverse desires; Good desires = communication. AC: Defining love; Loving oneself = others will; Love is easy/natural/guaranteed; Desire is controllable; Focussing desires on the future; Desires dangerous for youth; Desire as different from sex; African desires as dangerous. LC: Love oneself = others will.	UC: Facts on sex; Sex = natural; Good/ responsible sex = trust, pleasure & respect; Pressures surrounding sex; Sexual relations as a rights issue. AC: Myths on sex; Sex should be responsible – respect for each's wishes/ rights. LC: N/A.	UC: Enabled through rights; Is a continuum; A rational choice; Dangerous people and situations. AC: Enabled through rights; Dangerous people and situations; Debated if youth can consent. LC: Enabled through rights; Rape	UC: Progressive global community .v. local backwards traditions; Local gender norms as dangerous; Universal gender dynamics. AC: Community views on gender are unsupportive; Comm. gender views as dangerous; Local legal barriers; Universal gender dynamics. LC: Gender inequality = dangerous; Gender roles as idealised self; Gender differences; Ill intent behind local gender views; Local gender views are ignorant/ uncivilized.	UC: Cultures differ; Local culture as harmful youth need to resist; Other disabling influences (e.g. poverty, the law, media, religion, [lack of] education). Enabling influences (e.g. advocacy groups, state responsibility, religious orgs.); Justice = fairness/freedom. AC: Cultures differ; Culture as a support structure; Culture as harmful – youth need to resist; Poverty; Risky people; Education as an enabling influence; Importance of youth participation. LC: Cultures differ; Culture as a support structure; Local culture as harmful – youth must resist; Poverty/poor health; Peer educators as enablers of change; Community resistant to change.

B: Themata and Semantic Barriers/Promoters Analysis of the Three CSE Curricula

THEMATA	SEMANTIC BARRIERS/PROMOTERS		
	UNIVERAL CURR.	**ADAPTED CURR.**	**LOCAL CURR.**
THE SELF – Positive Recognition in Identities Strategy			
Independence—Dependence [as Truth]	*Rigid Opposition* (human rights .v. social norms)		
	Undermining the Motive of social norms. *Stigma* against people who do not stand-up to social norms.	*Separation* as a <u>promoter</u> with rep. that youth should not contradict adults. *Prohibited Thoughts* against opposing or preventing youth independence.	
Independence—Dependence [as Responsibility]			*Stigma* against people who are irresponsible. *Bracketing* against some responsibilities.
THE RELATIONAL – Battles Against Powerlessness in Relationships Strategy			
Discipline—Ignorance		*Stigma* against uneducated and ignorant people. *Rigid Opposition* (relationship knowledge as fact). *Prohibited Thoughts* against people not using the relationship 'facts'.	*Stigma* against those who lack self-control. *Rigid Opposition* (formal ed. .v. cultured community). *Prohibited Thoughts* against educated people not being responsible in relationships.
Child—Adult	*Rigid Opposition* (good .v. bad relationships). *Stigma* against youth as not capable or people unable to communicate desires in relationships.	*Stigma* against youth who do not 'get out' of transactional relationships; and adults who do not know the relationship 'facts'. *Prohibited Thoughts* against transactional relationships.	

		Rigid Opposition (human rights & self-control as truth).	
THE STRUCTURAL – Creating a 'Better' World Strategy			
Action—Inaction	*Rigid Opposition* (human rights .v. culture). *Stigma* against 'cultured' people, represented as ignorant & those who do not act against it. *Undermining the Motive* of culture. *Bracketing* of culture.		
Health/Happiness—Harm		*Separation* as a <u>promoter</u> with cultural representations of society & *Undermining the Motive* of cultures as unrealistic/outdated. *Rigid Opposition* (Global/ human rights as fact .v. the local). *Stigma* against 'cultured' people as uneducated.	*Rigid Opposition* (Community perspective as not truthful). *Prohibited Thoughts* against harmful cultural practices. *Stigma* against people who do/believe unhealthy or harmful things. *Undermining the Motive* of harmful cultural beliefs.

C: Themata and Semantic Barriers/Promoters Analysis of the Youth FGDs

THEMATA	SEMANTIC BARRIERS/PROMOTERS			
	URBAN-POOR		UNIVERSITY STUDENTS	
	Y. WOMEN	Y. MEN	Y. WOMEN	Y. MEN
STRUCTURAL – Deprivation and Privilege				
Us—Them [NGOs]	Separation as a promoter with the NGO.		Bracketing against the NGO.	
	Stigmatisation-of-Self against NGOs	Stigmatisation-of-Self & Bracketing against NGO/European relationships		
Us—Them [The Global]	Exaltation as a promoter with the global .v. Prohibited Thoughts against the global		Exaltation as a promoter with the global .v. Stigma against the global.	
Insecurity— [Conditional] Security	Stigma against young women who use NGO knowledge.	Prohibited Thoughts against NGO knowledge i.e. love.	Bracketing against NGO knowledge and (democratic) social mobility through education for women.	
	Undermining the Motive of NGOs [yet more ambivalence for young men].			
THE SELF – Interdependencies Under Threat and Social Exclusions				
Fixity—Change	Rigid Opposition between own culture and formal schooling and Stigmatisation-of-Self.			
	Separation as a barrier against NGO change.	Stigmatisation-of-Self against NGO change.		[Uni PEs] Stigma against 'bad' people.
	Prohibited Thoughts against (pre-marital) sexualised Self.			
New—Old				[Some y. men] Stigma against 'uncivilised' new male identities.
THE RELATIONAL – About Survival Not Power				
Independence ['Msimamo']— Dependence ['Tamaa'] in 'The Games'	Prohibited Thoughts & Stigmatisation-of-Self against (NGO knowledge) 'love' in relationships.			
	Stigmatisation-of-Self against (NGO knowledge) on independence in relationships Stigma against 'bad' (i.e. sexual) people			
			Bracketing & Prohibited Thoughts of independence	

			from 'the games'.	
Agreements— Betrayals in 'Tamaa'	[Hegemonic Representation of powerlessness in sex]			Stigmatisation-of-Self against NGO representations of controlling emotions.

D: Communicative Activity Type (CAT) Analysis Summary

Processes of Engagement	CAT: Framing Dimensions	Internal Interactional Accomplishments	Socio-Cultural Ecology	Representative Examples / Quotes	The Local-Global (incl. insights frm Chapters 4+5)
Mabadiliko Change Mechanisms	Liaising Community Sensitisation & Recruitment (n=2): Face-to-face. Task = mobilisation.	Public 'Festival' Event (n=1) = - Mass-communication of personal stories to highlight benefits of programme. - Formal (ceremonial and use of sound equipment) despite personal nature of stories – youth speakers nervous. House-to-House (n=1) = - Dominance (yet also necessity) of the govt. official. - Informal: variations in how Mabadiliko is presented tailored to each person. Both largely non-reciprocal (although phone numbers collected from house-to-house visits).	- Difficulty of accessing girls in the community – can't just rely on public notification. - The need for 'evidence' on Mabadiliko's impact that will persuade community members. - Social hierarchies = PEs not listened to .v. ambivalent relationships with local adults and support services owing to PE access to NGO power. - Youth vulnerabilities in these liaising relationships and mobilising activities.	- Beneficiary girls and PEs tell their personal change stories on a microphone. - *"nobody would listen to me if I were alone"* - Govt. rep dominating the talk and misrepresenting Mabadiliko [uncorrected]. - *"it's hard to get help… they want money because they know you get things [from the NGO]."* - *"hard to know if they are really being harassed."*	- 'Global' neglect of poverty re: rolling basis for recruitment & 'support' from adults requiring payment. - 'Global' neglect of culture 'clashes' in assumption that PE change stories will inspire others+ afford them power in the community. - Non-recognition of PEs overlooked.
	Pedagogy (n=11): Face-to-face. Task = knowledge transfer.	Curriculum used (n=5) = - PE reads out loud (although not always correct / too literal and skip sections). - Formal (curriculum as an enforcer of authority and so limits a challenging of PE knowledge – language used – 'students' encouraged to take notes). Curriculum not used (n=6) =	- Formal education CAT drawn on i.e. pervasive reps of pedagogy as didactic learning by rote and teacher-student power relations. - PEs who didn't use the curriculum all had 2+ years experience.	- The 'act' of being a teacher – PE identity protection. - *"Don't just say yes in agreement, I expect you to write down.."* - *"I don't use the curriculum because it's too big" / "I don't understand the guidance"*	- PE years of experience situate their perceived power over 'global' knowledge i.e. the curriculum. - L-G knowledge encounter outcome dependent on PE

		- PE reframes curriculum knowledge. - Informal (language used - about persuasion – eye contact, laughter, connecting to 'real life'). All didactic / mainly non-reciprocal i.e. responses structured around confirming have understood – often met with silence – initiatives on new topics very rare/contained.	- Swahili terms for gender and biological sex are similar = confusion. - Influence of other/ contradictory knowledges e.g. the Catholic church. - PE stress about using the curriculum and avoidance of difficult topics (social knowledge or contraceptives).	- Gender stereotypes being read out like fact. - Calendar contraceptive method taught (x3) even though not in the curr. - *"I'm supposed to know more than my students so I haven't taught it"*	perceived agency & interpretation, also influenced by their own strategized struggles for recognition as PEs. - Muddled reps of social knowldge in LC = muddled PEs.
	<u>'Safe Spaces' & Peer-to-Peer Collaborations</u> (n=0)	N/A	- Social hierarchies = local adult disapprovals of safe spaces. - Adversarial relationships between girls and PEs (power & money). - Big promises and small results of group enterprises = high dropouts	- Govt rep stealing the key / *"parents forbid their girls to come."* - *"they see me getting money when they get nothing."* - *"their families depend on them… the money they get from this is very small"*	- 'Global' neglect of precarity i.e. assumption that 'safe' silo spaces can be created, and that peer-to-peer collaborations will happen within them.
Evidence	<u>Reporting</u> (n=12): Task = knowledge creation / translation of practice.	- PEs positioned as translators of practice. - Inconsistencies and gaps in reporting – different interpretations of report templates. - Authority of artifacts = literal and mechanistic interpretations of what counts as evidence. - [Non-reciprocal] Reporting artifacts structure knowledge creation –	- Templates aligned to outcome indicators rather than programme activities = translation needed. - Need knowledge of indicator 'logic' for translating practice. - Many PEs not formally trained owing to high dropouts and donor rigidity in funding (are trained by their peers).	- Differences in calculating totals and no reporting on high dropouts of attending OSGs. - *"My report doesn't show my full experience and work that I do"* - *"why isn't that in your report?"* - *"we don't have the resources to collect*	- 'Global' non-recognition of the complexities of quantifiably translating practice - 'Global' non-recognition of precarity & by association PEs. - Inauthentic comm. of 'global' =

		Mabadiliko staff also non-responsive to PE issues with the reporting artifacts.	- Lack of organisational control over design of reporting artifacts.	*information other than what the donor requires".*	pervasive distorted bidirectional perspective-taking.
	Accountable presentatn. of Mab. to others (n=14): Task = org. use of evidence.	- Normative [formal] presentations = artifact-based (indicator) evidence. - In Swahili have a fluid mixing of the normative and more descriptive forms of evidence – no attention given to contradictions.	- Collective awareness that 'bad' results might stop funding = unspoken agreements in not documenting issues. - Indicator-focussed evals = neglect of the unexpected.	- Evaluator ignoring what was informally discussed in the car. - No formal reporting on the contradictions exposed at the promotional event.	- 'Global' non-recog of precarity = org. defs of success must also ignore it. - Evidence systems = a barrier between the local & global.
'Invisible' Labour	Evals with stakeholders (n=3): Task = collect comm. views on implementn.	- Formal group discussions with stakeholders (e.g. parents, govt officials). - [Older] Stakeholders dominate dialogue, expressing discontent – staff take notes = low reciprocity / new initiatives which becomes pervasive through these views being absent from the report to donors.	- View the donor as not wanting/ needing to know issues outside their 'donor' scope / Staff awareness that 'bad' results might stop funding = omit stakeholder views from the report to the donor. - Donor distrust of Mabadiliko.	- *"challenges that should be addressed to donors is if the budget is low"* - *"there was a disconnect between the reality on the ground and what we were reading in the reports"*	- Staff 'wiping out' of (local) precarity for the global feeds donor *and* local community distrust of the NGO, further solidifying barriers to communication.
	In-person 'Monitoring' of PEs (n=6): Task = ensure expected results will be achieved.	- (Imagined) donor positioned as a threat. - Switching staff positions in dialogue. - Male staff (n=2) – didactic guidance on how to perform for the donor. - Female staff (n=4) – also less hierarchical, higher turn-feedback interactions+ challenging of knowledge.	- CAT 5 (above) & donor distrust as well as endline eval. = greater pressure. - Gendered tensions i.e. OSGs more comfortable with female staff. - Creation of collective awareness that 'bad' results might stop funding (donor = threat).	- *"it's like a witch-hunt"* - *"we need to work hard to prepare you for the donor visit"* - OSGs and PEs debating consent and desire.	- 'Global' non-recognition of change *potentials*. - 'Global'/NGO non-recognition of how local cultures are embodied and shape implementation interactions.

	Organising work (n=8): Task = planning.	- Telephone = adversarial .v. Face-to-face = more trusting talk about problems in planning related to poor communication. - Very informal.	- Distrust in communication = last minute visits e.g. starts at donors and trickles down… PEs kept waiting / summoned last-minute.	- *"[the staff] call me at 10pm to tell me I have to be at a meeting with them 9am next day"*	- Global non-recognition of precarity& difficult relationshps = high work demands, transactional support expectatns & staff/PE burnout/ blame. - 'Global'/NGO non-recognition of PE social positioning/poverty
	Welfare support to PEs (n=8): Task = pastoral care	- All informal (and in some cases private – so not seen as 'work'). - Importance of reciprocity emphasised so support is conditional. - Distrust from broken promises.	- Staff sympathetic but also prone to burnout – ambivalence in relationships with adults. - Some PEs not able to be reciprocal in relationships.	- *"have to split my personality with them"* - *"their promises are empty"* - *"Many of the PEs are similar to the girls they work with"*	