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Beyond the facts:

addressing gender-based violence through comprehensive sexuality education in schools in Ethiopia

Marielle L.J. Le Mat

BEYOND THE FACTS: ADDRESSING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE THROUGH COMPREHENSIVE SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA

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BEYOND THE FACTS: ADDRESSING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE THROUGH COMPREHENSIVE SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS IN ETHIOPIA

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Voor Oma

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSE	Comprehensive Sexuality Education
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAG Ethiopia	Development Assistance Group Ethiopia
DFID	Department for International Development
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
ESA Commitment	East and Southern Africa Commitment [to providing CSE]
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Circumcision
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoE	Government of Ethiopia
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GPI	Gender Parity Index
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HDI	Human Development Index
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
ITGSE	International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer.
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PTSA	Parent-Teacher-Student Association
SRGBV	School-Related Gender-Based Violence
SRH(R)	Sexual and Reproductive Health (and Rights)
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund [formerly United Nations Fund for Population Activities]
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollar
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH

This thesis is the result of PhD research that sought to explore how comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) might contribute to addressing the phenomenon of gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia. This question is taken up out of a concern that gender-based violence in education is an urgent problem; through this study, our understanding about ways to address it could be improved. In particular, this investigation examines how CSE might do so. CSE can be broadly defined as education that equips children and young people with the knowledge, skills, and values that empower them to make informed choices about their health, well-being, sexual and social relationships, and that ensure protection of their rights (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2018a; UNESCO and United Nations [UN] Women, 2016)[1]. In this study, CSE refers both this education as an educational programme and to the policy of providing it. The study focuses on the case of Ethiopia, where gender-based violence in education is prevalent (Bekele, 2012; Know Violence in Childhood, 2017; Parkes, Johnson Ross, Heslop, Westerveld, and Unterhalter, 2017), and CSE is strongly promoted by the international community yet remains highly controversial.

The study focuses on the level of the school, with the aim to engage with the views of young men and young women and their teachers on gender-based violence and CSE. The thesis also seeks to connect these school-level findings to global policy developments. The title of the thesis, 'going beyond the facts', refers to two elements central in this research. The first is that the study employs a qualitative and interpretative approach. As such, it does not aim to give statistical 'facts' about the number of young people who have experienced gender-based violence in schools – that has been done by others (see e.g. Bekele, 2012; Gelaye, Arnold, Williams, Goshu, and Berhane, 2009; Know Violence in Childhood, 2017; Mulugeta, Kassaye, and Berhane, 1998; World Health Organization [WHO], 2005) – but instead aims to disentangle contextual interpretations and dynamics of the problem and how

[1] UNESCO's International Technical Guidelines on Sexuality Education defines CSE as: '[CSE] aims to equip children and young people with knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that will empower them to: realise their health, well-being and dignity; develop respectful social and sexual relationships; consider how their choices affect their own well-being and that of others; and, understand and ensure the protection of their rights throughout their lives.' (UNESCO, 2018a, p.16); Global Guidance on school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) defines CSE as: '[CSE] aims to equip children and young people with the knowledge, skills and values about relationships, gender, sexuality and violence to make informed and healthy choices about their sexual and social relationships' (UNESCO and UN Women, 2016, p.63)

it can be adequately addressed. Second, the title is also a hint at the common rationale with which global actors promote CSE, namely that it is 'fact-based'. The study aims to uncover themes underlying CSE adoption and enactment that affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, which might not be covered in the promotion of fact-based information. In this introductory chapter, I discuss the relevance of and rationale for this study, present its theoretical underpinnings, and provide the contextual and methodological background of the thesis.

1.1 RELEVANCE AND RATIONALE

Gender-based violence in education is a worldwide phenomenon, but has long been silenced, neglected, and, until recently, under-researched. Within international development studies, existing research on gender-based violence in education has focused on the sub-Saharan African region, where the prevalence of gender-based violence in education is thought to be highest. Studies in the region have revealed that, indeed, gender-based violence in education is pervasive, takes various forms such as bullying, corporal punishment, verbal, physical, and sexual violence, and is highly tolerated in schools (Bhana 2012, 2015; Dunne et al, 2016; Leach, Dunne, and Salvi, 2014; Parkes 2015; Mirembe and Davies, 2001). Such violence in education settings can be perpetrated by school management, teachers, and peers, and on the school premises or on the way to or back from school (Leach, 2003; Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Mulugeta, 2016; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016). Gender-based violence in education is a grave concern because it violates human rights (UNESCO and UN Women, 2016); causes physical and psychological problems (Gelaye et al., 2009; WHO, 2002); and entrenches existing inequalities (Parkes, 2015). Moreover, gender-based violence in education hinders young people – particularly those who have fallen victim to or fear violence – from accessing and completing their education (Bott, 2010; Vanner, 2017), and ultimately participating in society. Indeed, gender-based violence in education is not only a health and human rights problem, but an educational problem as well. That is, whereas education is often considered to be a space where young people learn in safety, the toleration and normalisation of gender-based violence in schools proves otherwise. Hence, the educational problem is that teachers, school management, and education sector policies are posed with the challenge of how to set up ways to address gender-based violence. Such challenges not only include the instilling of formal codes of ethics and referral systems, but, importantly, should also concern the development of curricular responses, attention to the 'hidden curriculum' (i.e., what is learned implicitly besides the formal curriculum, in interaction with peers and teachers), and the possibilities for teachers and students of reporting and addressing gender-based violence in ways that ensure confidentiality (see also Parkes, 2015; Bhana, 2012, 2015).

While attention to gender equity in education has grown globally since the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, it was not until a decade later that gender-based violence in education became a policy concern. The concern was prompted by recognition from global (UN-)actors that deeply rooted gender inequalities remain pervasive within educational systems despite near parity in access to education (Leach et al., 2014; Parkes, Heslop, Johnson Ross, Westerveld, and Unterhalter, 2016). As a result, global efforts to address gender-based violence in education have increased, with a number of declarations and commitments (for an overview, see Parkes, Heslop, Johnson Ross, et al., 2016). These commitments, alongside the studies that have revealed the pervasiveness of gender-based violence in education, ignited a breadth of global initiatives that aim to address gender-based violence in education. One such global initiative is CSE, which has gained increasing popularity among the donor community over the past two decades (UNESCO, 2015a). CSE is promoted internationally by UNESCO and UNFPA, and supported by bilateral donors, particularly the Netherlands and Sweden, as these countries are considered to have expertise in developing comprehensive sexuality education curricula. International organisations and bilateral donors promote CSE not only to improve sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) outcomes, including addressing gender-based violence, but also in light of population growth and migration. In global guidelines on CSE, CSE's role is linked to reducing vulnerability to gender-based violence and preventing gender-based violence (UNESCO, 2018a; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016), particularly through the promotion of respectful social and sexual relationships, and encouraging young people's abilities to understand and ensure the protections of their rights. Indeed, scholars have suggested that CSE could play a critical role in addressing gender-based violence (Nahar, van Reeuwijk, and Reis, 2013) and that research should identify how CSE might do so (Parkes et al., 2017).

Global CSE guidelines tend to advocate the universal applicability of the policy (e.g. International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009; see also section 1.2.3). A range of academic scholarship has argued that through global education policy transfers, educational systems across the globe are becoming more and more similar in structure and nature (Dale, 1999; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014; Verger, Novelli, and Altinyelken, 2018). Because this happens in a context where powerful nations are able to exercise influence over others, the assimilation has not gone without critique – educational systems and practices increasingly reflect Eurocentric knowledges while disregarding indigenous systems. Against this backdrop, and in light of the claim to universality of the global CSE policy, the thesis also discusses the question how universally applicable such 'universal' policies are. The case of CSE is particularly interesting because the policy touches on a rather unexplored educational terrain. That is, CSE introduces sexuality as a new educational imperative concerned with health, well-being, and equality outcomes, in addition to educational

outcomes. With a focus on sexual health and well-being, the policy also touches on sets of personal, institutional, and cultural values that might affect policy uptake and enactment.

Despite CSE's growing popularity among the donor community, there is little understanding of how such initiatives, often designed in Europe, might address issues such as gender-based violence in ways that consider gender relations and socio-economic dynamics particular to the school and community where CSE is enacted. Studies that have focused on gender-based violence have noted that the contribution of programmes such as CSE should be further investigated (Parkes et al., 2017). At the same time, the majority of research on CSE has focused on its contribution to improving SRHR outcomes (Kirby, 2008; Haberland, 2015), but has not focused on its relation to addressing gender-based violence. Over recent years, studies have indeed identified the need to scrutinise more closely how CSE can better engage with gender and power relations (see, for instance, Haberland, 2015) – a gap this research aims to respond to. Gender relations might differ across contexts, and the ways in which they are addressed thus ought to be relevant to that particular setting (Connell, 2002; Chilisa, 2005; Tamale, 2011).

Thus, the aim of this thesis is to explore and develop an analysis of how CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia, while considering the multiple contextual dynamics that might affect CSE's enactment. An interdisciplinary perspective is taken, borrowing from gender studies, educational sciences, and international development studies. The study focuses predominantly on the level of schools, while connecting school-level dynamics to an analysis of national and international policies. As such, the thesis contributes to addressing pressing societal concerns of continued perpetration and toleration of gender-based violence in education, and an academic concern of scrutinising how a global policy might resonate and address gender-based violence in adequate ways at the level of the school. Gender-based violence is understood here as an expression of violence based on gender relations, which are embedded in institutional structures (see also section 1.2.1). Consequently, the argument made in this thesis is that in order to understand how globally-promoted initiatives such as CSE can contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education, it is essential to: a) include an analysis of gender relations as central to understanding gender-based violence as well as the ways in which CSE might address it; and b) embed the global policy of CSE within the economic and political context of education and international development. Hence, this thesis takes as its grounding the point that identifying the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence requires analysis of the multiple understandings of CSE and gender-based violence at the school, national, and inter-national levels, and analysis of gender relations across all these levels within a particular context (in this case, Ethiopia).

In light of the above, this thesis addresses the following question, sub-divided into five subsidiary questions:

How do young people, teachers, and stakeholders view CSE's contribution to addressing gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia?

1. *How do students define, experience, and interpret sexual violence in education and how do they think it should be addressed? [Chapter 2]*
2. *How is CSE adopted and reformulated as a national policy? [Chapter 3]*
3. *How do CSE teachers enact CSE in schools in Ethiopia, and what factors inform their enactment? [Chapter 4]*
4. *How do gender and power relations affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, according to students and teachers? [Chapter 5]*
5. *How does culture affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, according to teachers and students? [Chapter 6]*

1.2 THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF THE THESIS

1.2.1 DEFINING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN EDUCATION

In developing a definition of gender-based violence in education, it should first of all be pointed out that gender-based violence is distinct from violence against women. Whereas violence against women connotes violence directed only against women and girls and not against boys, men or Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, or Queer (LGBTQ+) people, gender-based violence in fact captures a wider range of forms of violence, including, for instance, expressions of heteronormativity or girl-on-girl violence (see also Leach and Humphreys, 2007). Using the concept 'gender-based violence' instead of 'violence against women' thus also moves away from the assumption that only girls and women are affected by violence, and that women and girls can only be victims of violence. In addition, assumptions that women are only victims might overlook important dimensions of gender-based violence such as women's abilities to address such violence, or that they might be perpetrators of violence themselves. Hence, employing the concept 'gender-based violence' also allows for capturing the ways in which women and men might reproduce violent gender regimes, or might act against them.

Second, as some authors have observed, gender-based violence has at times been conflated with a narrower understanding of gender-based violence as only sexual violence (Leach et al., 2014; Unterhalter and North, 2017). Sexual violence typically refers to unwanted sexual acts or attempts at sexual acts; gender-based violence includes other forms of violence as well. A definition of gender-based violence thus includes sexual violence, but extends beyond a focus on sexual violence alone. However, it should be noted that even

though gender-based violence also includes sexual violence, sexual violence is not necessarily included in studies on gender-based violence in schools (see also Dunne, Humphreys, and Leach, 2006). This is because sexual violence is often the most hidden and silenced form of violence in schools, and thus difficult to bring to light in research, alongside difficulties related to ethical considerations that might discourage researchers from studying sexual violence. Yet to gain insight into the nature and scope of gender-based violence in schools, and what can be done to address it, research must make efforts to understand experiences and interpretations of sexual violence in schools as well. In this study, therefore, I intentionally include a focus on sexual violence in schools, which helps to uncover institutional structures and gender hierarchies that tolerate sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence (see chapter 2).

Third, gender-based violence in education is situated within larger societal structures and inequalities, including historical, socio-economic and (international) political dynamics. For example, some feminist scholars have highlighted that gender relations in African settings have been largely disrupted by colonialism and imperialism and now resemble the ways in which gender relations are shaped in European societies (Ampofo, Beoku-Betts, Njambi, and Osirim, 2004). This is not to say, however, that before colonisation gender relations were necessarily equal (Assié-Lumumba, 2018). It is important to keep in mind, though, the influence of socio-historical dynamics such as colonisation and imperialism that have forcefully shaped gender regimes, which are now targeted to be 'corrected' again by European policies under the discourse of gender equality and international development, including through education-based policies such as CSE (see also section 1.2.3).

To develop a definition of gender-based violence in education, some studies have distinguished the (inter)personal dimensions of violence from institutional structures (Dunne et al., 2006; Parkes, 2015). (Inter)personal dimensions of gender-based violence are, for example, sexualised encounters between people, whereas institutional structures uphold certain norms or ideologies that might reproduce harmful gender notions. Examples of such institutional structures are abusive regulations in schools, corporal punishment, social norms that condone violence, and inadequate services for protecting, preventing, and responding to violence (Parkes, 2015). Such institutional structures might be shaped by interpersonal interactions, but also reflect wider societal hierarchies and inequalities (Parkes, 2015; Ampofo et al., 2004; Bennett, 2010). Studies have also reported that fear of violence in school is a daily struggle for young men and young women, and affects their sense of freedom (Bhana, 2012; Leach and Humphreys, 2007). Indeed, what is seen, feared, and silenced, creates institutional structures that produce or reproduce gender regimes. In this study, I understand gender relations as underpinning gender-based violence. As Connell (2002) theorised, gender relations make up a 'gender regime' within institutions, in this case educational institutions, which in turn shapes a larger 'gender order' in society, and vice versa

(see also chapter 2). A conceptualisation of gender relations is thus useful, as it allows for connecting (inter)personal dimensions of violence to institutional and societal structures. Gender relations is furthermore a useful approach insofar as it moves away from an understanding of gender as categories of 'men' and 'women', but gives a central place to the patterned relations between and among women and men that make up gender as a social structure (Connell, 2012a). Gender relations theory thus allows exploration of the social practices, including those in and around schools, that are shaped by and re-shape existing gender orders. As such, gender-based violence is thus not merely an unwanted 'act' directed from one person to the other, and gender-based violence in education is thus not a phenomenon that exists in isolation, but they are expressions of existing unequal gender orders used to assert power over others. Importantly, these relations and gender regimes are socially constructed and may therefore change over time or look different depending on the context. Against this backdrop, schools thus act as social sites where gender relations are constructed, violence is perpetrated, or might be addressed (for instance, through educational programmes such as CSE).

In line with the above reflections, I conceptualise gender-based violence in education as any expression of violence based on gender relations that may include sexual, physical, emotional, and symbolic violence, as well as fear of violence, within the context of or related to education settings. Expressions of violence are embedded in complex webs of power relations and institutional structures, which are affected by and might reproduce inequalities. Gender-based violence includes violence between females and males and among females or among males and may intersect with other markers of identity such as socio-economic status, ethnicity, or (dis)ability.

1.2.2 CSE AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

With the growing interest seen from global (UN-)actors over the past two decades, gender-based violence in education has become part of an international development agenda, within which CSE is promoted as one programme that might contribute to addressing it. It is worth noting that while CSE is a policy designed for and enacted within education settings, its origins are in health agendas, specifically SRHR. That is, CSE was initially developed as a response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, particularly in sub-Saharan African countries (UNESCO, 2015a). In recent years, however, CSE has expanded to link to social and gender issues as well, including gender-based violence (as evidenced in the updated UNESCO guidelines, 2018a). Most research on CSE has focused on its positive health outcomes (Haberland, 2015). How CSE might address gender-based violence remains unclear in policy guidelines and is under-researched (see also chapters 3 and 4). One study, focusing on how CSE can prevent violence against women and girls, has shown that CSE can 1) promote gender-equitable attitudes among young people; 2) improve young people's gender relations

and reduce violence against women and girls; 3) transform attitudes in the wider community; and 4) improve reporting and response mechanisms when violence occurs (Holden, Bell, and Schauerhammer, 2015). Yet, the same study notes that, in practice, most CSE programmes are limited in how much they are able to change gender relations to be more equitable (Holden et al., 2015). It should also be noted that this study focused on violence against women and did not include a wider range of forms of gender-based violence such as violence against men and boys or homophobic violence. It remains ambiguous how and to what extent education initiatives might indeed contribute to feminist goals of challenging gender regimes through education, when educational institutions continue to be violent spaces themselves (Dunne et al., 2006; Mirembe and Davies, 2001). Nevertheless, the contributions CSE can make to gender-equitable relations and addressing gender-based violence is an increasingly important rationale with which CSE is promoted internationally (see, e.g., UNESCO and UN Women, 2016).

The fact that CSE ought to pay attention to gender relations (and preferably sexual diversity, see UNESCO, 2018a), is widely accepted among policy proponents (see also Miedema et al., under review). It should be noted, though, that CSE might easily assume an engagement with gender relations just because of CSE's relation to SRHR. However, even though global guidelines on CSE do pay increased attention to the ways in which CSE ought to engage with gender relations, engagement with gender relations is not always present, due to the controversiality and difficulty of discussing gender relations in school settings and in national contexts with diverging policy priorities. Interestingly, the importance of discussing gender relations within CSE is often directly linked to improving health outcomes such as reducing HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unintended pregnancies (Haberland, 2015), reflecting the fact that CSE is largely embedded within a health agenda (see also Lamb, 2013). However, to gain a deeper understanding of how gender-based violence continues to be manifested, tolerated, and normalised in schools, and the ways CSE might address those dynamics, gender-based violence must be understood not only as a health problem, but also as a problem of gender relations (Connell, 2002; Lamb, 2013) and as an educational problem (see also Parkes, 2015). This means that education as a sector, as well as any educational programmes, must make efforts to encourage the necessary skills in teachers and young people to address gender-based violence. In this respect, education might make substantial contributions to feminist agendas, for instance, through raising awareness about social inequalities and ultimately enabling individuals to effect social transformation (Stromquist, 2006). Education that encourages the skills needed to address gender-based violence, which might be CSE, furthermore includes: nurturing critical thinking skills to question and re-negotiate existing gender hierarchies (Bajaj, 2009; Chege, 2007; Connell, 2002; Parkes et al., 2017), reflexive skills to establish (ethically) conscious relationships between themselves and others, and in connection with their cultural, social,

and economic context (Geary, 2007; Ollis, 2014; Lamb, 2013), as well as practical skills to know where to seek help when needed or report cases of violence to the relevant authorities (Holden et al., 2015). As such, education might indeed make important contributions to preventing and addressing gender-based violence, and ultimately to feminist agendas of renegotiating gender hierarchies.

1.2.3 EMBEDDING CSE IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to scrutinise how CSE might be an answer to the educational problem of gender-based violence, CSE should be embedded within the context of education and international development. To do so, it is important first to highlight that education and international development as a field has had a hybrid evolution with a multitude of actors and sectors shaping education policy nationally and globally (see, e.g., Unterhalter, 2015). Indeed, an increasing number of international actors are finding their ways to influencing education policy, for instance, the World Bank, as well as international organisations such as the WHO and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), which have always had a health mandate. Following lines of thought in mainstream international development theories, education has typically been viewed as an impetus to economic growth and modernisation – arguably neglecting the contributions education might make to social change and emancipation. In many low-income or 'developing' settings, education has often been used to promote Western or European values – through colonialism, imperialism, and also through the discourse of international development (Tikly, 2004; Unterhalter, 2015). A growing body of scholarly work has raised similar critical issues about the nature and consequences of CSE as promoted and enacted by Western European development policy (Roodsaz, 2018). Similarly, as Lewis (2002) warned, viewing gender-based violence as merely a development agenda risks simplifying gender relations to points on agendas that are instrumental to economic growth. Indeed, educational initiatives such as CSE are situated within contested terrains. On the one hand, educational initiatives developed in Europe might risk reinforcing imperialist notions (Tikly, 2004), through, for instance, employing discursive rationales of culturalism, which can be counterproductive for emancipation (see chapter 6). At the same time, initiatives such as CSE aim to employ emancipatory approaches to questions related to gender relations and to address gender-based violence within the structural limits of the broader education setting.

A comparative education perspective sheds important light on the socio-economic and political motivations for international education policy transfer and their implications. In view of this perspective, it is important to mention that international organisations promote CSE with a clear rationale that the policy is fact-based and universally applicable (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009; UNESCO, 2018a), and

is rooted in notions of empowerment of young people. The fact-based nature of CSE is particularly emphasised in view of resistance against the policy by opponents who are concerned about the liberal and secular values CSE (implicitly) promotes. 'Facts' refers here to information about the reproductive health system that is based on scientific research. Scholars have argued, however, that the fact-based promotion of CSE implies the neutrality of the rationales for promoting the policy, which they consider is not appropriate, as CSE has clear underpinnings and ideas about what sexual health means for young people (see also Lamb, 2013; Roodsaz, 2018). In addition, global guidance documents argue that these guidelines can be used in many cultures, as the guidelines apply 'universal principles to the varied cultural and social circumstances in which people live' (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009, p.7). Such claims concerning the universality and neutrality of CSE, alongside the framing of CSE as fact-based, secular, and 'progressive', consequently label those who have concerns about the policy as the conservative and traditional 'Other' who ought to fit global (secular) narratives better (Lamb, 2013; Miedema, 2018; Rasmussen, 2012; Roodsaz, 2018). Interestingly, literature has often pointed to 'culture' or 'religion' as factors hindering the adoption and implementation of CSE in certain countries, particularly in the Global South (De Haas, 2017; Huaynoca et al., 2014; Vanwesenbeeck, Westeneng, de Boer, Reinders, and van Zorge, 2016; Vanwesenbeeck, Flink, van Reeuwijk, and Westeneng, 2018; see also Miedema, 2018), because 'traditional' cultural and religious values are seen to be directly opposed to CSE. Whereas in the United States of America (USA), similar conflicts have been witnessed between 'progressive' and 'conservative' groups, these are more often linked to political affiliation – Democratic or Republican values – than to sociocultural or traditional values (see Lamb, 2013). It should also be noted that in the USA, political affiliation can be very interlinked with religion, particularly for evangelical Christians. Against this backdrop, this study considers CSE not merely as a neutral or 'fact-based' initiative to improve global health outcomes but situates the policy within the highly contested field of education and international development – a factor that might affect the adoption and enactment of the policy.

1.3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Questions around gender-based violence in education and how CSE might address this are pertinent in Ethiopia. The country consistently ranks high on prevalence of gender-based violence in schools (physical and sexual), domestic violence, and intimate partner violence (Know Violence in Childhood report, 2017; WHO, 2005). The connection between CSE and gender-based violence in education is an important research gap (Parkes et al., 2017) – a gap this study responds to by exploring the particular contextual dynamics that influence how CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence in schools in Ethiopia. It should be noted here that much of the earlier research on gender-based violence in Ethiopia

has been quantitative (Bekele, 2012; Gelaye et al., 2009; Mulugeta et al., 1998), highlighting the wide prevalence of the problem. This study seeks to complement these data by employing a qualitative approach to untangle the multiple interpretations and contextual dynamics of gender-based violence in education.

To understand the contextual dynamics influencing CSE's contributions to addressing gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia, it is important to highlight some of the socio-historical, economic, and political background of the country (see also Table 1). Ethiopia was never colonised, though there was an Italian occupation in 1935-36. The country was in a state of civil war between 1974-1991, during which the communist group (Derg) that had taken power in 1974 was fought by anti-government rebels. After the Derg was defeated, the first prime minister of the country, Meles Zenawi, took office in 1995. When he died in 2012, he was replaced by Hailemariam Desalegn, who was replaced recently by Dr. Abiy Ahmed in 2018, after protests against the government. Ethiopia has been considered unstable over the past few years, and the government is often accused of authoritarianism (see, e.g., Amnesty International, 2016). Ethiopia is known to be a highly religious country; Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity is the dominant religion, followed by Islam and Catholicism. The number of Pentecostal churches has been on the rise over the last couple of decades, especially in the big cities. Of all African countries, Ethiopia received the most overseas development assistance between 2014 and 2016, which are the latest available figures (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2018). The net overseas development assistance received by Ethiopia made up 8.2% of government net income in 2013. The largest donors are the World Bank, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), the African Development Bank, the Global Fund, and the European Union (EU) (Development Assistance Group [DAG] Ethiopia, 2015). Despite the high donor dependency, Ethiopia's successive national 'Growth and Transformation Plans' (GTPs) express the ambition for Ethiopia to become a middle-income country by 2025. The educational sector plans are consequently largely geared towards utilising education as a vehicle for economic growth. The country has a high population growth rate and migration is an increasingly attractive option for many young Ethiopians – factors that have contributed to the growing importance the international community attaches to SRHR and education agendas in Ethiopia so as to improve young people's well-being, education and employment opportunities within the country.

TABLE 1. OVERVIEW OF COUNTRY BACKGROUND DATA

Official name	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Capital	Addis Ababa
Regions	Afar; Amhara; Benishangul-Gumuz; Gambela; Harari; Oromia; Somali; Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples; Tigray
National language	Amharic
Total population	104,957,438 in 2017; of which 20.31% urban
Population under 14	42,564,262 (40.55% of total population)
Annual population growth rate	2.5% in 2017
Human Development Index[2]	Low: 0.463 (173 of 189 countries)
Gender Inequality Index[3]	Low: 0.502 (121 of 160 countries)
Total net enrolment rate in primary education	Females: 83.25%; males: 89.58%
Total net enrolment rate in lower secondary education	Females: 50.95%; males: 55.34%
Total net enrolment rate in upper secondary education	Females: 24.85%; males: 27.41%
HIV prevalence rate	0.9%
Knowledge about HIV transmission and prevention:	Females: 20%; males: 38%

Data sources: World Bank open data; UNESCO open data; UNDP open data; CSA [Ethiopia] and ICF, 2017.

Legislation in relation to addressing gender-based violence in education has improved over the years; laws prohibit corporal punishment and sexual violence by teachers, including sexual relations between teachers and students, and the government is instilling codes of conduct in schools. However, the implementation and monitoring of these legislative measures remains largely lacking (see also Parkes et al., 2017). In Ethiopia, CSE is highly dependent on donor funding and NGO programmes, as the policy has long been resisted by the national Ministry of Education (MoE)[4] (see also chapter 3). The fact that initiatives such as CSE are highly dependent on donor funding has limited the ways in which the policy

[2] The Human Development Index (HDI) is a measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and have a decent standard of living. A HDI of less than 0.550 stands for low human development, 0.550–0.699 for medium, 0.700–0.799 for high, and 0.800 or greater for very high human development.

[3] Gender Inequality Index (GII) is a measure of gender inequality using three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment, and the labour market. s. It ranges from 0, where women and men fare equally, to 1, where one gender fares as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions.

[4] At the time of this writing, the MoE is, after the change in government, reconsidering CSE as a policy and planning to develop a national CSE curriculum to be embedded within the formal curriculum.

might address gender-based violence, and has been further complicated in Ethiopia in light of the rights-based nature of CSE. The rights-based nature of CSE means that the policy is based on an understanding that people have the right to health, education, information, equality, and non-discrimination. Consequently, CSE also involves raising awareness among young people, encouraging them to recognize their own rights, acknowledge and respect the rights of others, and advocate for those whose rights are violated. Yet, the Ethiopian government has, until very recently, considered 'rights' as a domestic matter and has tried to limit foreign influence on human rights affairs, including CSE. Since the 2009 Charities Proclamation, CSOs and NGOs that receive foreign funding have been restricted in working on advocacy and rights-agendas in Ethiopia, which includes agendas related to gender and ethnic inequalities, advancement of human and democratic rights, and promotion of the efficiency of the justice and law enforcement services. This proclamation was still in effect during fieldwork and analysis for this thesis, but since the start of 2019 there has been discussion of updating the proclamation to allow CSOs and NGOs more space to carry out rights-based activities.

The CSE programme researched in this study is a programme developed by an NGO in Western Europe, which funds an Ethiopian NGO to implement it as an extra-curricular programme. In 16 lessons, each consisting of one to two hours, the programme provides young people with information and skills about taking care of their sexual health and helps them acquire skills to make decisions now and in the future. Students engage with four themes in the programme: self-esteem, social environment, sexual health, and future plans. Through interaction with peers in the classroom, students make themselves familiar with the topics. In the lessons, students also practice skills such as expressing opinions, negotiating in relationships, and 'saying no'. One lesson is fully dedicated to addressing gender-based violence (covered under the theme 'sexual health'), in which attention is paid to, for instance, developing empathetic skills, skills to prevent abuse and to protect themselves and others from violence, skills to report abuse, and attitudes that sex should be consensual and that show respect for the integrity of themselves and others. The programme design is based on student-centred teaching principles and includes participatory teaching methods. It is usually taught by schoolteachers who receive additional training to teach CSE, including on its pedagogy, but teachers are not remunerated for teaching CSE. CSE was initially taught only in English and implemented in secondary schools, but later expanded to upper-primary levels for which the programme was further modified and translated to Amharic. Alongside complete and fact-based information about sexual health, the notion of empowerment is an important component of the CSE programme. The CSE programme designers speak of a 'gender-transformative approach' underpinning the programme, which they have recently defined as an approach that 'actively strives to examine, question, and change rigid gender norms and imbalances of power as a means of achieving SRHR objectives, as well as gender

equality objectives' (Rutgers, 2018, p.8). With this definition, a gender-transformative approach places at the centre the interaction between individual and institutional dynamics of gender relations, and it includes men/boys and LGBTQ+ identities in discussions of gender relations and gender equality (Rutgers, 2018).

1.4 METHODOLOGY

The study employs a qualitative and interpretative approach. It draws on four smaller-scale studies that together resulted in this PhD dissertation – each of these smaller-scale studies is discussed in its own chapter (and the last empirical chapter discusses two of the studies again). An overview of each study's focus and timing is provided in Table 2 below. As can be seen from the overview in Table 2, the four studies are interlinked and follow up on each other. The first study focused on young people's interpretations of sexual and gender-based violence in their school, and how they think it should be addressed. Following on the finding from the first study that young people suggested CSE might address gender-based violence, the second project explored the ways in which CSE might do so at the level of the school, considering the (possibly violent) gender regimes within school institutions. The third and fourth studies subsequently aimed to gain more comprehensive insight into the relations between CSE at the level of the school, the national policy, and the role of teachers in enacting CSE policy in the context of their school. In total, 183 people participated in this study: 89 students, 48 teachers, and 46 stakeholders (for more details, see Table 2, or the methods sections for each specific chapter).

In all of the studies, the methods used were semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and ethnographic note taking. The fourth study also included classroom observations. The analysis draws on fieldwork conducted at one school in Addis Ababa and eight schools in the Oromia region in towns close to Addis Ababa. Because CSE is an extra-curricular programme in Ethiopia, and had only recently been implemented in a limited number of schools when fieldwork started, the study included those schools that had implemented CSE and were willing to participate in the study. Schools were approached by the national NGO first, by whom the researcher was then introduced to the school director, to whom the researcher introduced the study aims and its (independent) nature. All schools were mixed-gender schools and had a diverse student population in terms of ethnic and religious backgrounds, though most students came from lower socio-economic status families. School contexts differed between the urban capital city and the semi-urban and rural towns. It is thus important to note that findings based on the analysis of information from one school cannot necessarily be generalised to apply to other schools. The thesis does also make a comparative effort and identifies important differences and similarities between school settings (see chapters 4 and 6). A detailed description of the methods used,

participant involvement and characteristics, and analysis, is given in the following empirical chapters tailored to the specific research question discussed.

TABLE 2 OVERVIEW OF FIELDWORK AND DATA BY STUDY

Study & Chapter(s)	Fieldwork location; timing	Research questions answered (sub-question #)	Participants[5]
Study 1; Chapters 2 and 6	One school in Addis Abba; April-May 2013	How do students define, experience, and interpret sexual and gender-based violence in education and how do they think it should be addressed? (1) How does culture affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, according to teachers and students? (5)	47 participants (23 males; 24 females | 25 students, 18 teachers; 4 stakeholders)
Study 2; Chapters 5 and 6	Five schools and one out-of-school youth centre in surrounding Addis Ababa (Oromia) region; April-May 2014	How do gender and power relations affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, according to students and teachers? (4) How does culture affect the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, according to teachers and students? (5)	66 participants (32 males; 34 females | 43 students; 19 teachers; 4 stakeholders)
Study 3; Chapter 3	Stakeholder offices in Addis Ababa; November 2016	How is CSE adopted and reformulated as a national policy? (2)	16 participants (10 males; 6 females | all stakeholders)
Study 4; Chapter 4	Four schools in one town in region surrounding Addis Ababa (Oromia); May-July 2017	How do CSE teachers enact CSE in schools in Ethiopia, and what factors inform their enactment? (3)	56 participants (37 males; 19 females | 21 students; 12 teachers; 23 stakeholders)
TOTAL[6]	**9 education centres**		**183 participants (102 males; 81 females | 89 students; 48 teachers; 46 stakeholders)**

[5] In all sub-categories of participants, a gender balance was sought. For clarity of presentation, only overall gender-balance is reported in this Table. Similarly, categories of participants are here summarised as students, teachers and stakeholders. More detailed overviews are presented in subsequent chapters.

[6] One teacher and one stakeholder participated in two studies. They are only calculated once in total. Similarly, one school participated in two studies and is also calculated once in total.

The ontological point of departure for this thesis is the concern that to fully understand how CSE might address gender-based violence in education, research must go beyond a programme evaluation approach to address this question from an interdisciplinary perspective in which ample attention is given to gender relations and the socio-economic and political context of education and international development. Furthermore, the study employs a critical feminist approach (see Connell, 2002; Lather, 1992; Thompson, 2003), meaning that the focus of interest of this study was not merely differences between gender categories; gender is understood as embedded in power relations. In this light, the study thus aimed to untangle structures and inequalities in schools and societies, which in turn affect how and why CSE is enacted the way it is (and possibly vice versa). A feminist approach also includes the rationale of identifying pathways for improving the ways education can address gender-based violence, one of which might be CSE. This rationale is reflected in the research questions and concluding recommendations that devote attention to how gender-based violence might be addressed through CSE or otherwise. As such, this thesis also deals with the concern to put on the agenda the important social and emancipating roles education might play, particularly when it comes to urgent matters such as addressing gender-based violence.

Methodologically, the study places the school, and particularly young people and their teachers, at its centre. That is, the thesis takes as its point of departure the stance that in order to understand how gender-based violence in education might be addressed by initiatives such as CSE, the school context should be of central concern (Allen, 2005; Heslop, Parkes, Januario, and Sabaa, 2017). Therefore, the majority of the data were gathered at school settings, with young people, teachers, and community representatives. Fieldwork was carried out in close collaboration with an Ethiopian NGO that works on CSE, and the SRHR and education sectors more broadly.

Clearly, such a methodological approach cannot be carried out without important ethical considerations related to interaction with (young) participants, as well as how to adequately represent their views (see, e.g., Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010; see also ethical procedure in Appendix II). While arguably it is impossible to resolve the questions around how to accurately represent participants' views here, this study makes an effort to contest oversimplified (and sometimes sensationalised) representation of women in the Global South (see also Fonow and Cook, 2005). It does so by paying attention to the complexities of addressing gender relations in resource-scarce settings and in contexts of high inequalities. In representing participants' views, binary assumptions of women and men as victim/perpetrator are also avoided; instead, analysis and descriptions are focused on understanding the complexities around gender-based violence and the contributions of CSE initiatives. Likewise, the study also contests dichotomous and normative understandings, for instance, of 'modern' and 'traditional', by critically examining their relationship with CSE and

gender-based violence. Furthermore, representations of participants' views and interpretations were cross-checked during interviews, FGDs, and in some cases validation workshops, to be as accurate as possible. Practically, interaction with participants meant, for instance, that extra care had to be taken during interviews and FGDs with young people about sensitive topics – including selection of interview location, ensuring privacy, being sensitive to possible verbal and non-verbal signs of discomfort or stress, as well as ensuring possibilities of after-care if necessary (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, and Robson, 2001; Heslop et al., 2017; Leach, 2006).

Inevitably, with an interpretative research design, one's own positionality influences the reading of the views of participants. That is, my own experiences, personally and professionally, with topics related to gender, sexuality, and education, inform my frame of reference when interpreting other people's experiences and views – possibly leading to overemphasis on some findings, or lack of attention to others. What is more, my positionality relates to my frame of reference concerning not only gender relations and gender-based violence, but also CSE. Rasmussen (2012) pointed out that, for instance, advocates of CSE have often been disingenuous about their own political stance that promotes CSE – meaning that even if CSE is promoted with a rationale that the policy is fact-based, this rationale does not necessarily mean that CSE is a politically neutral policy. To apply this to my own positionality and reflexivity as a researcher, I have found it important, during data analysis, to remain mindful of the multiple interpretations of the nature and goals of CSE (see also Miedema et al., under review), and to avoid assuming participants' stances on topics related to CSE or gender-based violence. I furthermore found it important to explain my role as researcher (and that I do not decide about funding of CSE, nor am a designer of the programme), that I am not 'checking' on anyone's views or implementation success, but that I intended to explore the possibilities and limitations of how CSE might address gender-based violence in the context of the schools where I did research.

My positionality will also have influenced how participants responded to and interpreted my sets of questions, and how they would want to be represented in this study. That is, my status as a relatively young woman, unmarried (at the time), and Western-European, might have led participants to emphasise some of their views over others. For instance, participants might have overemphasised the importance of 'culture' in explaining their interpretations of causes of gender-based violence, as a response to my Western-European frame of reference or assumed association with NGOs or donors. In a similar vein, teachers as well as students sometimes seemed very keen to demonstrate their knowledge of SRHR to me, and male participants in particular wanted to share the ways in which they were attempting to contribute to gender equality. This again might be a reflexive reaction to my perceived positionality – that by virtue of being female and Western-

European, I attach value to gender equality (which indeed I do). At the same time, such responses, possibly coloured by my positionality, might as well reflect how the CSE programme is received and understood: as a Western-European programme that has some difficulty being contextualized. Thus, to ensure the reliability of the data and analysis, the study made use of a variety of data collection methods, triangulated between the different methods used and by comparing responses of various sets of participants, and intensively collaborated with Ethiopian research assistants and Ethiopian experts on the topic to validate findings. Furthermore, where possible a selection of the analysis was performed separately by members of the supervisory team to ensure internal reliability. During interviews and FGDs, participants' views were cross-checked through probing and summarising. Analysis was also geared towards uncovering underlying themes within participants' expressed views (see also Graneheim, Lindgren, and Lundman, 2017).

1.5 THESIS STRUCTURE

The thesis is built up by following the subsidiary research questions presented in section 1.1; each empirical chapter (i.e. chapters two to six) answers one of the subsidiary research questions. Chapter two presents and compares how young men and young women define and interpret sexual and gender-based violence in one school setting in Addis Ababa. Chapter two also discusses, among other matters, how young men and young women recommend CSE as a promising initiative to address gender-based violence at the school level. Following from that recommendation, the remainder of the thesis focuses on the ways in which CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education.

To start with a deeper exploration of how CSE might address gender-based violence, chapters three and four focus on the reformulation and re-contextualization of the policy at the national and school level in Ethiopia. These chapters thus particularly engage with the rationale of the thesis that to understand the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education, the policy must be embedded within the socio-economic dynamics of international education policy transfer. Chapter three discusses how CSE is taken up at the national policy level as a possible initiative to address gender-based violence in education, and puts forward possible reasons for its adoption, reformulation, and resistance. From chapter four onwards, the thesis re-centres around the interactions at the level of the school. Chapter four presents an analysis of how CSE teachers act as mediators between the global and national policy on providing CSE, vis-à-vis their own and community interpretations of the policy, and priorities at school. The chapter highlights the multiple school-level, personal, and socio-economic factors that inform how teachers re-contextualize CSE policy in their school, and, at times, how the policy re-shapes the roles of the CSE teachers within and beyond their schools.

The remaining empirical chapters of the thesis present students' and teachers' accounts of the narratives that are presented within CSE classrooms. Here, particular attention is paid to gender relations within the classroom and school settings. Chapter five discusses how gender and power relations within schools affect the ways in which CSE might influence how CSE is taught and how it can contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education. The sixth chapter entails an exploration of how 'culture', a recurring theme throughout all empirical chapters, is conceptualised and discussed within the CSE classroom. The chapter proposes alternative conceptions of the connection between culture and CSE, and between culture and gender-based violence. Finally, these and other ending reflections are presented in the concluding chapter, which includes reflections on the empirical findings and the theoretical and methodological approaches used, as well as recommendations for future research, policy, and practice.

CHAPTER 2. YOUNG PEOPLE'S VIEWS ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN ONE SCHOOL IN ADDIS ABABA

This chapter is a pre-print version of: Le Mat, M.L.J. (2016). 'Sexual violence is not good for our country's development': Students' interpretations of sexual violence in a secondary school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. *Gender and Education, 28* (4), 562-580. The Version of Record of this manuscript has been published on 28 January 2016 and is available in Gender and Education by Taylor and Francis. DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2015.1134768.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence taking place in schools is recognized as one of the major challenges regarding promoting SRHR (Wood, Maforah, and Jewkes, 1998; WHO, 2002). It is a worldwide phenomenon, yet with the HIV/AIDS pandemic it has gained increased attention in sub-Saharan African contexts (Leach, 2003; Leach and Humphreys, 2007). This is because sexual violence plays a crucial role in the spread of HIV/AIDS, increasing the likelihood of infections and spread of the virus through unsafe contact with multiple partners. For women in particular, one reason why the chance of infections is higher (alongside a higher biological susceptibility of women to HIV than men (Glynn et al., 2001)), is because they often have limited agency in deciding about condom use, particularly in the cases involving sexual violence (Mane and Aggleton, 2001; Wood et al., 1998; WHO, 2002). Now, in a time with increasing attention being paid to the effectiveness of sexuality education, its relation to addressing sexual violence can no longer be ignored. Moreover, sexual violence can lead to devastating physical and psychological consequences such as unwanted pregnancies, STIs, fear, low self-esteem, and depression, often resulting in early drop out from schooling (Bott, 2010; Gelaye et al., 2009; Gossaye et al., 2003). Nevertheless, in many schools situated in sub-Saharan African contexts, sexual violence seems to be highly normalised and tolerated (Dunne et al., 2006; Leach, 2003; Leach and Humphreys, 2007; Mirembe and Davies, 2001).

This article discusses research that aimed to gain more insight into sexual violence taking place in schools, by studying a secondary school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Schools constitute places where, ideally, young people learn in a safe environment. On top of that, schools are increasingly regarded as important sites to promote SRHR among adolescents by means of sexuality education. Ironically, the toleration of sexual violence in these supposedly safe sites which are supportive of SRHR promotion can be unsettling in terms of gender identities (Leach, 2003; Mirembe and Davies, 2001), leading to confusion for young people about, for instance, what it means to be a man or a woman (Epstein and Johnson, 1998;

Stromquist and Fischman, 2009). In order to enhance our understanding about the context and manifestations of sexual violence, it is crucial to investigate views of those who experience, witness, and/or perpetuate sexual violence in and around secondary schools, namely young women and young men.

This article looks at how young women and young men define, experience, and interpret sexual violence in schools, and considers their perspectives on how it should be addressed in formal educational settings. It reveals how the views of young men and young women are strikingly different from each other. Generally, young men's views tended to be pragmatic and instrumental, as opposed to young women's highly personal and emotional encounters with sexual violence. The divergence in views held by most young women and young men can lead to large misunderstandings between them, allowing space for continued toleration of sexual violence. The article suggests that sexual violence can be effectively addressed through CSE programmes, but in order to be successful, these programmes should firstly take into account the varying needs and interpretations of sexual violence of young people (in line with Allen, 2005). Secondly, they should be supported by broader school policy and inclusion of community members. Reasoning from a relational approach to gender (Connell, 2002), schools can address sexual violence as sites where current (patriarchal) power relations are questioned and transformed, hostile and misogynistic emotional relations are condemned, and symbolic relations reflect gender equality norms. However, despite such opportunities for a school to challenge and change the current gender order (i.e. the structure of gender relations in a given society at a given time), the perspectives of students illustrate how schools mirror and reproduce the inequalities and patriarchal structures present in Ethiopian society.

2.2 GENDER, SEXUAL VIOLENCE, AND SCHOOLING

2.2.1 DEFINING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Definitions of sexual violence vary widely among researchers, professionals, and organisations. Because of this, it is difficult to estimate the prevalence of the problem. Secondly, due to the sensitivity of the topic, exact incidence numbers are hard to determine. However, for Ethiopia, the WHO estimates that 59% of all women have experienced sexual violence in their lifetime (WHO, 2005). The WHO defines sexual violence as:

> *any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.* (WHO, 2011, cited in WHO, 2014, p. 2)

What is essential in defining sexual violence is the imbalance of power in gendered relations that is at the core of sexual violence (Leach and Humphreys, 2007). One of the causes of this can be found in the patriarchal history and structures of Ethiopian society and sub-Saharan African societies more broadly, that favour male dominance and male sexual entitlement (Jewkes, Sen, and Garcia-Moreno, 2002). Not surprisingly, most violence is thus directed against girls (Jewkes et al., 2002; WHO, 2002, 2011, 2014). Schools are a very particular site in society where this is expressed, and consequently, young schoolgirls are vulnerable to discrimination and violence (Leach, 2003; Leach and Humphreys, 2007).

What is also important to recognize is that regarding gender, a binary view of women only as victims and men as perpetrators of sexual violence should be avoided. In schools, for instance, other manifestations of sexual violence, such as homophobic or girl-on-girl violence, confirm that sexual violence is not only performed by boys against girls. These other forms of violence in gendered relations cannot be ignored (Leach and Humphreys, 2007).

2.2.2 A RELATIONAL THEORY OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

In illustrating how social institutions reflect a 'gender order' Connell (2002) employs a relational theory and distinguishes between: 1) Power relations; 2) Production relations; 3) Emotional relations; and 4) Symbolic relations, to provide a framework for gender analysis. In short, power relations refer to structures in society that could be patriarchal; they reflect male dominance by means of the overall subordination of women. Production relations refer to the presence (or absence) of a gendered division of labour. The third dimension of emotional relations could refer to sexual and non-sexual emotional attachments to others. Symbolic relations signify meanings and symbols, such as language, that express gender attributes. These types of relations, and the way they are constantly re-negotiated, for instance in a school, constitute a gender regime that is part of a larger gender order in society.

Schools, analysed according to this framework, are firstly sites where power relations are being constructed, acted upon, and played out. Common features of this form are power relations between teachers and students, and within peer group cultures (Mirembe and Davies, 2001; Leach, 2003). Such power relations could, on the one hand, reflect the patriarchal structure of society, socialising young people according to the traditional norms of society about what it means to be a boy or a girl (Epstein and Johnson, 1998; Stromquist and Fischman, 2009). On the other hand, education can also be a means of contesting existing power relations, in this case questioning the power differences based on gender. In fact, this article will show how CSE has the potential to inspire students to act against gender injustices they witness or experience. The article also points to how, at the same time, the implementation of CSE can limit a deep questioning of current gender regimes.

Secondly, schools are sites where work-based and production relations are reinforced or transformed through, for instance, a division of labour between male and female students, or purposely changing traditional divisions of labour. Thirdly, emotional relations are formed in schools, through interaction with peers and teachers, which shapes emotions about oneself, and one's sexuality. Gender violence in this case, reflects hostile relations and notions towards a certain gender category, and can reflect for instance feelings of misogyny or homophobia (Connell, 2002). The CSE programme that runs in a school could be seen as part of the re-negotiation of emotional relations, by paying attention to sexual development and identity, and the promotion of self-determination in decisions about students' own (sexual) choices. Lastly, symbolic relations of society are reflected in schools, in for example dress codes (e.g. rules about the length of the skirt) or language used towards or about young women or young men.

2.2.3 CAUSES, CONSEQUENCES AND CONTEXTS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Young women can suffer from sexual violence from both their teachers and their peers. In authoritarian school cultures characteristic of African societies, teachers cannot be questioned by their pupils, even if their behaviour is abusive (Leach, 2003). In fact, sexual violence can be a punishment for something the student has done wrong (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, and Rose-Junius, 2005). Accounts of sexual violence directed by (mostly male) teachers to their (female) students, have been observed in the form of forced sex (rape), or manipulation for sex through students' marks (e.g. teachers give their students a low mark, and tell them they can 'solve' this problem by sleeping with them) (Omaar and de Waal, 1994; Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). These examples illustrate power dynamics and a patriarchal societal structure as observed in schools (Connell, 2002).

Secondly, the peer group culture influences the socialisation process of young women and young men. In schools in Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Ghana, young women were expected to be obedient to the aggressive behaviour of young men (Leach, 2003). Again, this illustrates the patriarchal notion that young women should be submissive to the more powerful position of their male peers. As a result, many young women experience fear (Bhana, 2012), and have limited agency in making choices concerning sexual intercourse, and with that, protecting themselves from possible STIs and unwanted pregnancies (Wood et al., 1998). This might also apply to gendered roles within transactional sexual relationships (sex in exchange for money or valuables) among youth, but also between young people and teachers (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Maganja, Maman, Groues, and Mkwambo, 2007; Nyanzi, Pool, and Kinsman, 2001). Another example of the segregated experiences and expectations of young women and young men is how, in Ethiopia, young men are generally expected to have sexual knowledge and be sexually active, whereas for Ethiopian young women this

would be regarded as shameful, and many women stay silent about their sexual experiences for religious, social and cultural reasons (Kebede, Hilden, and Middelthon, 2014).

2.2.4 ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

Schools are often seen as a crucial site to educate and address societal problems such as sexual violence, for instance through CSE or respectful relationships education, but this claim is contentious (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Jewkes et al., 2002; Ollis, 2014). Braeken and Cardinal (2008) argue that CSE should include a strong gender perspective, and should promote knowledge, skills, and judgement-free education. This way, young people are given the possibility for critical inquiry, which is crucial for thinking about sexuality, and sexual violence (Bajaj, 2009). However, firstly it can be questioned to what extent the implementation of such programmes is in line with its comprehensive design. Of use here is the framework developed by Miedema, Maxwell, and Aggleton (2011) which provides three categories for conceptualising sexuality education: scientifically informed, rights informed, and moralistically informed approaches. The differences in these approaches are crucial as they bring to light underlying assumptions of the programmes, facilitators, and its intended outcomes, for example: is sexuality education aimed at changing risky behaviours; enabling young people to know and think about their rights; or instilling certain (conservative) moral values? Secondly, from a 'developmentalist' approach, the focus of many programmes is on improving health outcomes (e.g. increased condom use, decrease in STIs or maternal morbidity), which, in turn, is seen as leading to 'modernisation' (Lewis, 2002). As I argue below, this view is expressed by some students as well, and in effect reduces sexuality education to a means for economic development. Such an approach also fails to fully recognize the social structural factors that contribute to sexual violence (Ampofo et al., 2004, Miedema et al., 2011).

Secondly, whether CSE programmes are actually very helpful in acknowledging sexual violence can also be questioned, given the sexually charged environment in schools and society (Leach, 2003). It is not surprising that schools, as institutions that reflect society's regimes, experience cultural and social constraints on the successful implementation of CSE programmes (Iyer and Aggleton, 2013), and these affect how sexual violence is addressed by teachers and students. Therefore, this requires a whole school process, one that pays attention to formal and informal structures in the school, and involves not only students and teachers, but also parents and the community (Meyer, 2008). This means that power relations should not only be addressed and re-negotiated within the classroom or school system, but also at broader support levels as well as the level of formal governance (Connell, 2002).

Lastly, it is crucial to include and respond to the opinions and lived experiences of young people in the design of educational programmes such as CSE or respectful

relationships education (Allen, 2005; Ollis, 2014), including topics on sexual violence. Further, including young men is a less common approach in addressing gender equality and sexual violence, yet it is crucial to include their views and voices in investigating these matters (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Varga, 2001). Listening to their perspectives, and especially when contrasted to those of young women, is vital for understanding the phenomenon of sexual violence, and informing policy and practice directed to addressing it.

2.3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This article concerns sexual violence in a secondary school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Because of the difficulty and sensitivity of the topic, there has been little research on sexual violence in Ethiopia (Gossaye et al., 2003). However, what is known about sexual violence, is that Ethiopia's rate of intimate partner violence is one of the highest among countries included in the WHO Multi Country Study of Violence Against Women (WHO, 2005). Results from community-based studies indicate that 50% to 60% of Ethiopian women experience gender-based violence in their lifetime (Deyessa, Kassaye, Demeke, and Taffa, 1998; Gossaye et al., 2003; Yigzaw, Yibrie, and Kebede, 2004). These indications reflect norms and structures in society, which are reproduced by socialisation and gendered relations in schools, as I show below.

There is also serious concern about the high rates of sexual violence among secondary school students. One dissertation study on sexual violence in secondary schools in the East of Ethiopia, reported that 70% of the young men and 68% of the young women had respectively offended and become a victim of sexual violence (measured along a continuum from intimidation to sexual force) (Bekele, 2012). Regarding sexual force, 38% of the men reported to be an offender, and 25% of the young women to be a victim of forced sexual intercourse (Bekele, 2012). In another Ethiopian study among 1401 female high school students in Addis Ababa and Western Shoa, 74% had reported sexual harassment, with consequences such as physical problems, unwanted pregnancies, social isolation, fear, phobia, hopelessness, and suicide attempt (Mulugeta et al., 1998). It has also been shown that students who have experienced sexual violence are more likely to show symptoms of depression (Gelaye et al., 2009). Yet, in Ethiopian society these matters are rarely brought to justice, due in large part to the shame and taboo attached to talking about rape or sexual harassment, and because of weaknesses in the law enforcement system (Gossaye et al., 2003). This shows how structures in society constrain how or whether sexual violence can be addressed; and it also points to how young women's well-being in particular can be negatively affected by school cultures that reinforce gender norms.

The school that is the focus of this study, is situated in Merkato (Africa's biggest market) area, known to be one of the poorer areas of the capital city. It is a government school with a population of 2,136 students (52% female), from mostly low-income migrant

and merchant families. At the time of fieldwork, the school had run a CSE programme for five months. The programme, on paper (classroom practice might diverge from the original design of the programme), had a CSE framework (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008); it aimed to empower young people to make their own decisions by giving fact-based information about sexuality, and to open up discussion around sensitive and taboo topics. Topics discussed include body change, gender relations, sexual intercourse and decision making. One of the 16 lessons covered information about sexual and gender-based violence. The sessions took place in mixed-sex classes and aimed to promote a positive view on sexuality. Eighty students joined this extra-curricular programme at the time of fieldwork.

2.4 METHODS

The results presented in this article are based on a study involving 29 interviews and four FGDs with teachers, students, and SRH professionals in Addis Ababa. The study aimed to explore how they define, experience, and interpret sexual violence in secondary schools in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and from their perspectives, how sexual violence can be addressed effectively in formal educational settings. Fourteen young women and 11 young men participated, of which five young women and five young men expressed their views in FGDs, and interviews were conducted with nine young women and six young men. All young people (aged 14 – 18) were in grades nine and 10, in the same secondary school in the centre of Addis Ababa. By hearing and contrasting their views, voice was given to these young people, which, I argue, is essential in sexuality research as it gives insight to their experiences that would otherwise not have been revealed (see e.g. Ollis, 2014).

Interviews and FGDs were held in English in a semi-structured, in-depth fashion. Open-ended questions were used, asking, for instance 'how would you define sexual violence?' or 'in your opinion, what are the causes of sexual violence in school?' It was ensured that all participants were involved on a voluntary basis and that they understood they could leave or withdraw at any time, and that all information was confidential.

A quiet classroom was chosen, so that no one could overhear the conversation, since it was important that participants felt free to share and did not fear being overheard by others (Bloor et al., 2001; Brady, 2005). While similar questions were asked in the FGDs and interviews, in the FGDs there was a stronger emphasis on finding consensus about, for example, definitions of sexual violence or its causes. Significantly, interactions between the participants in FGDs shed light on various interpretations of sexual violence; the negotiations between participants revealed important insights into their frameworks of interpretation and proved valuable in building the overall analysis of students' views.

A pre-defined coding scheme was developed in order to analyse how participants define, experience, interpret sexual violence and how it should be addressed as respective constructs. After this initial coding phase, 'open coding' was used to develop more detailed

insights. Construct-specific displays were then developed to organise the data and get a full view of its contents (Miles and Huberman, 1994). For instance, one display compared the responses of young men and young women about their definitions of sexual violence. With regard to gender, data analysis was done against a constructivist framework that does not treat gender as static, but as a constructed notion through interaction. This is reflected by the focus on individuals' experiences and definitions that construct their interpretations of sexual violence. At the same time, however, data analysis contrasted the views of young women and young men, which revealed crucial differences in interpretations between them.

As with any study, there were some limitations. Firstly, the majority of students found it challenging to express their ideas in English, which sometimes led to confusion. Secondly, as a relatively small number of people participated in the research, and as it is based in a specific place, generalisations cannot be made based on this study alone. Nevertheless, the aim of this study was not to generalise or to be representative, but to gain in-depth insights and more understanding about different views of sexual violence in and around school.

2.5 FINDINGS

2.5.1 DEFINING SEXUAL VIOLENCE

In line with definitions from WHO (2002), young men and young women defined sexual violence as a sexual act or attempt directed against someone else (mostly young women) without their consent. Young men and young women used words such as 'inferiority' and 'superiority', typically reflecting young women's submissiveness and male dominance, to describe how they would define sexual violence. All young men and young women placed this in a framework of gender norms: gender inequality was at the heart of sexual violence, and their cultural heritage of gender unequal norms and practices was mentioned as part and context of sexual violence. In stating this, they implicitly referred to the current gender order in their society (Connell, 2002). Most students added the need to re-negotiate this order through schooling.

There were striking differences in the ways young women and young men elaborated on their definitions. Four of the 11 young men named examples of sexual violence such as hitting, insulting, unwanted touches and forced sex. The other young men could not think of any examples of sexual violence, and repeatedly said that sexual violence is a 'misunderstanding' and 'bad habit' of their society, seemingly recapitulating what they had learned in class. Young women, however, clearly spoke from their experience and were often highly emotional in talking about sexual violence. They also mentioned insults, unwanted comments, touches and forced sex as manifestations of sexual violence, adding that fear of violence also played a major part in their lives, clearly confirming that fear is an essential part of defining sexual violence. This is in line with earlier research of Leach and Humphreys

(2007) who included fear in their definition of sexual violence, and Bhana (2012) who revealed how fear of violence was a daily struggle affecting a sense of freedom for young women in South Africa. Finally, young women mentioned their 'diminished psychology' (feeling less worthy, and capable, than young men) as another influential aspect of sexual violence, something not mentioned at all by young men. It thus seems that young men's knowledge and definitions of sexual violence are often more abstract, distant, and pragmatic compared to the emotional definitions of young women affected by fear and experience.

Without a doubt, sexual violence was seen as a bad thing by both young women and young men, as they started off the interviews. What is interesting though, is that sexual intercourse itself was also viewed as bad by some young men and young women. One young man even classified sexual intercourse as sexual violence, because 'it is not safe for high school students', his discursive motive being the risk of STIs or unwanted pregnancies, which would pose educational and future economic limitations for them. These lines of thought likely reflected lessons, advice, and general opinions circulating at home and the wider society about sexual intercourse. As shown in other investigations, pre-marital sexual intercourse is often considered to be immoral, and accordingly, CSE lessons in schools have typically been shaped along abstinence-only approaches (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Miedema et al., 2011; Oshi, Nakalema, and Oshi, 2005). Despite its comprehensive framework on paper, it seems likely, from what students reflected, that classroom implementation of the CSE programme in the school also promoted abstinence practices and negatively judged sexual activity for high school students. These messages were clearly reflected in the views of young men and young women on sexuality and sexual violence.

2.5.2 Experiences in and around school

Before describing and reflecting upon how young men and young women experienced sexual violence, it should be noted that most young men and young women emphasised that the prevalence of sexual violence is decreasing in their country, particularly in Addis Ababa, as opposed to the rural sites of Ethiopia. The reason for this, they pointed out, is that people are better educated nowadays, by which they have the awareness that sexual violence is a bad habit of their society and should be stopped. According to students in this school in Addis Ababa, the gender order in Ethiopia is changing with modernisation and education, and this is happening in the capital city more rapidly than in the rural areas of the country. This might be explained by the influence of international NGOs working in, for example, health and/or women's rights. According to students, schooling has thus helped in challenging patriarchal structures and power relations in society, supporting the more general argument that the gender order is a historical product, and subject to change (Connell, 2002). However hopeful this idea and tendency is, the stories of many young women and some young men in this study rather reveal that sexual violence is still highly present in the daily lives of many.

Young women experienced sexual violence in school from both male students and male teachers. All young women had stories to share about this. Firstly, young women experienced sexual violence from young men when they commented on how young women looked, or touched young women without their permission. One young woman shared that young men in her class touched her and that this made her feel tense. With regard to their relationships with young men, young women experienced young men to be forceful and aggressive. Moreover, young women found it difficult to negotiate relationships and sex. In discussing some young men's persistent behaviour when asking for sex, one young woman explained:

> *If one boy loves any girl, he pleases them [referring to insisting on having sex]. He really really pleases them. So, she can't stop him. (…) He doesn't stop. To stop him, it's difficult. For her, it's difficult. So, if one boy pleased her or anything, or do anything for her, she can advise him, but she can't stop this.* [Addis Ababa, School1, Student19, female, FGD]

With regard to their teachers, young women reported feeling discriminated in class when teachers did not listen to them but did listen to their classmates who were young men. In addition, young women shared that especially during gym class, teachers watched and commented on the young women's clothes and looks, which made them shy and uncomfortable. More worryingly, young women feared and experienced sexual corruption; manipulation for sex by teachers through marks. The examples related to this illustrate how power relations between teachers and female students were played out in school, and how young women had difficulty opposing this gender regime (Connell, 2002). Previous research has shown that teachers can indeed be perpetrators of sexual violence by 'sexual corruption' through marks (Omaar and de Waal, 1994; Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002). Although it is thought to be a phenomenon typical at university, this research shows that young women in secondary school also experience this:

> *(…) sometimes when students get a mark, low mark, mark decrease. Then, the teachers speak about sexual intercourse (…). The students are very afraid. When the marks are zero, or incomplete, the students are very angry. Yes, therefore, the teachers ask the students for sexual intercourse. (…) When my friend, she got a small mark. In maths. In this time, the teacher asked my friend to get in sexual intercourse.* [Addis Ababa, School1, Student6, female]

Not only did young women experience forms of sexual violence from boys and teachers, toleration of it was another alarming factor that left room for sexual violence to continue and be resistant to change. Young women themselves also experienced barriers to address injustices. For instance, the young woman who shared her story about her maths teacher was

disappointed by the management of the school who could not do anything because the sexual intercourse did not actually take place, revealing how indeed teachers and school management, who were in a dominant power position, obstructed the issue from being properly addressed. As shockingly, young women themselves also seemed to tolerate or accept a 'girls-as-victims' view of sexual violence, by stating they have to accept whatever happens to them:

> *We (girls) will get difficulties from students, from boys. Or from male teachers. (…) But, if we think that, we are learning for knowledge, we have to accept whatever it is that happens to us. So, there are difficult things for females, more than for males. But we have to know that if we get trouble, doesn't matter, we'll get a better life if we are trying to know or if we are trying to get the knowledge that we want.* [Addis Ababa, School1, Student19, female, FGD]

In reference to Connell's (2002) relational theory of gender, the above examples illustrate struggles within emotional and power relations. The young women strongly emphasised the role of fear in their emotional attachments towards peers, teachers, and disappointment in their learning opportunities and relations with school management. At the same time, power relations between the young women and young men, teachers, and school management (negatively) influenced this fear, disappointment, and hope for actual change. The example of how young women were not listened to in class (but young men were), and how some young women concluded that they have to tolerate oppression in the form of sexual violence for a better life afterwards, shows the dominant power positions teachers and male students have in relation to these young women.

What is surprising given the stories and experiences of the young women, however, is that most young men were convinced that sexual violence does not happen in their school. Apart from gender inequalities that might occur at the homes of the students, most young men could not think of any examples in school that related to sexual violence. Their argument was based on the fact that they were educated, plus there was a 'school rule' (codes of ethics) stating young men and young women are equal in the school, as well as a new constitution which states that everybody is equal in the society too. Therefore, according to them, the prevalence of sexual violence was low, and sexual violence could not happen in their school. Contrary to the young women, these young men did not seem to be aware of the imbalance in emotional relations, or their dominant power positions that these young women were negatively affected by.

Interestingly, there were three young men who held different views. Some of them expressed anger and frustration about their (indirect) experiences with sexual violence. One boy, for instance, had heard from one of his female friends with whom he attends CSE class, that a teacher had tried to manipulate her through her marks for sexual intercourse. After

hearing this story, the young man got very angry, visibly sympathised with the girl, and went to the school board to do something about this. He added that in his opinion, the school should do much more to address the issue and prevent sexual violence from happening. It seems that by sharing experiences with his friend, this young man came to understand more about the emotional turbulence young women went through because of (fearing) sexual violence. The emotional attachment to his friend's well-being made him actively re-negotiate gender patterns within the school.

The two other young men described their observations of how young men in school tried to influence and manipulate young women to have sex with them, explaining that 'when boys want something, they make sure they get it'. This observation is interesting, as these young men clearly reflected on ideologies of male sexual entitlement and saw this as an explanation of violent behaviour. They seemed to be aware of the dominant power positions some young men made use of. So, despite their raised awareness through education, and accordingly the idea that the prevalence of sexual violence is decreasing in Addis Ababa and schools, the behaviour of young men in school nevertheless reflected what is considered a 'misunderstanding' in society. This contradiction is interesting and raises questions about what it means to be aware of sexual violence, and how this does or does not translate into different behaviour or reflections. To be precise, applying these findings to Connell's (2002) framework, it seems that the two young men who pointed out this notion were aware of emotional and power relations in the school that resulted in different experiences for young women than young men, whereas the majority of the young men were mainly concerned with the legalistic and pragmatic results of gender equality on paper and in relation to academic performance in school and labour market divisions later on in life. Consequently, it seems essential to have critical reflection skills to develop a thorough understanding of sexual violence, its manifestations, causes, and consequences.

2.5.3 CAUSES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

When it concerned causes of sexual violence, all young women and young men referred to the influence of society's beliefs about the roles of men and women, and saw this as the major explanatory factor of sexual violence, recognizing that patriarchal power structures in society were reflected in their school (Connell, 2002). In addition, explanations were given for why young men and teachers showed such behaviour, and some mentioned the role of fear, and the taboo of talking about sexuality.

First, in explaining why young men violate young women, the reasoning was very simple: it was considered 'bad behaviour' of young men, or that they had not understood teaching about gender equality, which was why they performed such actions. Young women explained that young men were aggressive, forceful, and wanted to prove their powers. One young man had indeed observed this behaviour:

> *In school, some boys have bad behaviour. Boys, you know, as high school students, boys want different things. We want to have a girlfriend. And they decide something for the girls. (…) If she is not decide to do sex, boys push it.* [Addis Ababa, School1, Student5, male]

When turning to explanations for sexual violence between teachers and students, however, these situations were often viewed from a completely different angle. In particular regarding sexual corruption, teachers' relationships with young women were interpreted as a love relationship; the teacher must like the girl, which is why he wants to start a relationship with her (this was brought up by several young men). One young woman explained that the teacher must be lonely, and therefore tries to convince a young woman to sleep with him. From another perspective, some (young men) would say it is the young woman who wants something from the teacher (such as books or money). This qualified as bad behaviour of the girl and was critically judged by these students. In contrast to these interpretations, young women feared teachers and felt unable to say no to their advances.

Not only does this illustrate how, in terms of power relations within Connell's framework (2002), the behaviour and intentions of men and boys were not questioned and instead were tolerated by means of blaming and subordination of young women. It also reveals how this painful contradiction in views reflects a massive misunderstanding or divergence between young men and young women. In fact, it is due to different experiences and socialisation processes that young men and young women have such contrasting interpretations of the causes of sexual violence. What is interesting, however, is that students obviously learned about gender equality in school, and some even considered themselves as responsible enough to pass on 'the awareness'. However, at the same time they reinforced existing power relations by not critically questioning the behaviour of offenders, who were typically in a dominant position, but rather shaming the young women. Linking this to the students' education, and more specifically the CSE programme in school, a worrying observation is that one of the powerful lessons seems to be what is silenced and what is not explicitly questioned, i.e. the behaviour and authority of the 'dominant'. This again can contribute to the continuing tolerance of sexual violence between teachers and students.

Lastly, the taboo of talking about sexuality was brought up as another cause for the high level of tolerance of sexual violence. By not learning or speaking about sexuality, young people experienced a lot of room for misinterpretations of messages they received from media, their peers, and their homes. Young women shared, for instance, how their parents told them not to speak about their experiences when they tried to bring up the topic. This discouraged them from bringing to justice cases of violence, as they learned to associate it with shame. The school programme also gave them limited information about bringing to

justice cases of sexual violence: it focused its attention on prevention but gave little to no information about what steps to take in case of violence.

2.5.4 CONSEQUENCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

When asked about the consequences of sexual violence, young women elaborated on the deep emotional turbulence they suffered because of a range of forms of sexual violence. Not surprisingly, sexual violence in the form of rape or forced sex is traumatic, and can lead to devastating consequences such as depression, isolation, and low self-esteem (Bott, 2010; Gelaye et al., 2009; Gossaye et al., 2003). Young women also reported that sexual/gender-based violence in terms of unwanted comments, touches, or manipulation makes them fearful and tense. In some instances, it led them to taking a detour from school to home, confirming again that fear plays a major role with regard to sexual violence (Bhana, 2012); not only in defining sexual violence, but also in its emotional, psychological and relational consequences. Moreover, these severe emotional consequences can lead to young women skipping classes, not paying attention in school, and their lower academic performance (Dunne et al., 2005). Indeed, one young woman mentioned how she skipped classes of one teacher because she felt tense in his classes. Although not mentioned by these participants, sexual violence, and the fear thereof, is thus bound to have long-term implications for the emotional well-being and academic performance of its survivors. It also negatively affects the achievement of gender equality within and through education (Subrahmanian, 2005) as the emotional impact of sexual violence is shown to affect young women's academic performance. This can lead to underperformance and school dropout, which, in turn, serves to reinforce the current gender order in society in which men hold the more powerful positions (Connell, 2002).

Young men, on the other hand, had a completely different perspective on the consequences of sexual violence. Interestingly, their views were not fully in line with their own definitions: although they defined sexual violence as a range of unwanted sexual acts that can vary from unwanted comments to forced sex, the consequences they mentioned only applied to the latter. To be precise, they mentioned possible physical health consequences of sexual violence such as STIs, HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancies, and unsafe abortions. Some added that these can lead to shame, stigma, and school dropout. However, they did not mention any consequences of other forms of sexual violence, such as teasing, insults, and unwanted touches or kisses.

What is interesting is that young men also mentioned that their country's development was affected by sexual violence. By doing this, it again seemed that young men repeated the knowledge they had learned in classes of gender inequality. Their line of reasoning was that when women are discriminated against this leads to a gendered division of labour and poor economic participation of women. Similarly, when young women are

victims of sexual violence and have to drop out of school as a result of, for example, pregnancy, this would negatively affect the country's development. Young men saw this as a key reason for why sexual violence is bad. Their approach to sexual violence, and its relation to the importance of CSE, thus seemed mostly pragmatic and focused on the results for equal production relations (Connell, 2002), which again is completely different from the highly emotional views expressed by young women. The lack of reflection of young men on the emotional consequences for women and girls, and an emphasis on the productive (labour) aspects of a gender order in society, testifies to the huge differences in understanding sexual violence.

2.5.5 ADDRESSING SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN SCHOOL

Despite the enormous differences between young men and young women in views on definitions, experiences, and interpretations of sexual violence, their views were surprisingly similar with regard to addressing sexual violence in formal education. First, young women and men expressed a great need to be able to talk about sexuality, without taboo or judgement. They put forward that discussions in the classroom and co-curricular clubs are the best means for them to share thoughts and learn about sexuality related topics, including sexual violence. In line with the work of Allen (2005), it is not surprising that when hearing young people's views, their ideas of what is effective might diverge from what adults and programme designers conceptualise as effective or appropriate. Crucially, students emphasised that during class discussions, their views should be accepted and taken seriously. However, teachers often found it difficult to teach about sexuality in ways that differed from their own social and cultural ideas (in line with findings from Iyer & Aggleton, 2013; Oshi et al., 2005). Students recognized this, yet also saw the need to break such taboos and speak freely in class.

One regularly recurring topic concerns the conflicting messages in society about modern and traditional values, and gender relations associated with these. These messages were sometimes a strong judgement of sexual activity, accompanied by a judgement of modernity. To illustrate, some students and teachers judged modernity to be a cause of sexual violence as watching films, pornographic films in particular, and going to *khat* (a local drug) houses was bad for young men, as 'it makes us want to have sex' (and at the same time, this comment rests on the assumption that girls do not go there in the first place). Some young women commented on influences such as modern hairstyles and bracelets, because they could give the wrong messages to young men. At the same time, other students and teachers felt there needed to be more tolerance of such instances of modernity, as well as greater acceptance of young people's desires for these things. For some teachers, it was essential that students learnt how to deal with these influences through their sexuality education, and importantly, a need for awareness that wearing make-up and bracelets does

not equal interest in sex. These are examples of symbolic relations within the gender regime, with porn videos and stimulants being concerns for young men and their sexualised nature, and beauty products associated with young women and seduction. This illustrates again the segregated relations and attributions between young men and young women, which could be seen as a possible explanation for their completely different experiences and interpretations of gender relations and sexual violence. However, for the purpose of addressing sexual violence in schools, it is questionable to what extent addressing these symbolic relations (and in the opinion of some, causes for sexual violence) are sufficient to also pay attention to the more dominant and pressing matters of unequal emotional relations and power relations in school.

A second important finding around discussions in CSE is that students had learned that young men and young women can be friends in a 'brotherly and sisterly' manner. This made them more open to interactions with each other, which is normally quite uncommon in Ethiopian schools where students prefer same-sex friends (Rose and Tembon, 1999). This could reduce the differences in gender socialisation processes, by having shared experiences and interpretations of what happens around them. It also has the potential for transforming emotional relations (Connell, 2002) between the two sexes, and fostering more respectful ones. An example of this is the young man who stood up for his female friend when he heard that the teacher was trying to talk her into unwanted sexual intercourse.

In discussions, young women reflected that young men should be taught to be less aggressive, and that teachers should pay more attention to giving young women self-confidence. One young man believed that all students should be taught about causes and consequences of sexual violence. Most other young men rather shared the opinion, together with many of the young women, that it is the society that needs to be educated too; awareness raising programmes should not only reach students, but also families and communities, who function in the same patriarchal power structures and gender order in society.

With regard to the school level, both young men and young women expressed their disappointment in the school management for not properly addressing sexual violence and found it should be a higher priority in school-wide policy and more strictly regulated. The two young men who went to the school administration office to express their anger about instances of sexual violence which they had witnessed, were left disappointed and angry about the lack of action from the school board. The young woman who shared how her maths teacher tried to corrupt her friend for sex through her marks was also left powerless when she received the news that the school board could not do anything about the situation as the sexual intercourse had not actually happened, and she was deeply affected by this approach. These students found that the school board could and should act much more strongly against such injustices.

Not only these students who directly experienced lack of action, but most students actually expressed the need for a code of ethics in the school. In their opinion, this should forbid relationships between teachers and students, and there should be a policy for punishing perpetrators of sexual violence, whether they are students or teachers. Moreover, as some students added, the school board should contact the parents of offenders, and cooperate more closely with communities and other NGOs to address problems in the school. In other words, a comprehensive approach needs to be adopted in the implementation of CSE, and in the whole school and surrounding society.

2.6 CONCLUSION

2.6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

As illustrated by the discussions on the definitions, experiences, interpretations, the views held about sexual violence can be remarkably different among and between young men and young women in secondary school. Generally, young men's views were rather pragmatic, as opposed to the highly emotional, and perhaps more realistic stories of young women. Interestingly, though, young men who had a more critical view, had often heard stories from their female friends, or had observed instances of sexual/gender-based violence; they tended to show more personal responses to the topic than their male peers, who were usually quite distant from the topic in their descriptions.

The most striking differences can be summarised as follows: first, young women included fear as an essential dimension of defining sexual violence, whereas young men did not mention that. Second, almost all young women recognized the influence of sexual violence in their daily lives. On the contrary, most young men seemed to live in the illusion (or at least presented themselves to do so) that there is no sexual violence in their school, thanks to education on this topic and gender equality. In terms of causes, young men typically viewed sexual relationships between teachers and young women as a romantic or transactional relationship, whereas young women again emphasised fear of teachers. It is important to note, though, that two young men held a different view on this. They recognized the unjust treatment by a teacher and its effect on their female peer, and they attempted to take action against the teacher. The close relationship between these young men and their female peers, however, seems uncommon in their school and for Ethiopian adolescents in general (Rose and Tembon, 1999). The contribution that sexuality education can have to fostering friendly and supportive relationships between both sexes should not go unacknowledged. Lastly, both young women and young men recognized the impact of taboos in speaking about sexuality as an explanation for confusion. With regard to consequences, young men typically mentioned dangerous physical consequences as a result of rape (e.g. HIV/AIDS, or unwanted pregnancy), where young women emphasised their

psychological and emotional experiences, which could also be the result of seemingly more 'minor' manifestations of sexual violence such as unwanted comments or touching. Ironically, this can lead to drop out and lower academic performances (Dunne et al., 2005), in the very institutions where they should be in a safe environment, learn about sexual health, and have equal opportunities to young men within and through education (Subrahmanian, 2005). Equally worrying is the messages they learn, through such experiences, about what it means to be a girl or a boy (Epstein and Johnson, 1998; Stromquist and Fischman, 2009). Moreover, the school as a site where gender norms can be questioned and transformed, is experienced by students to be a place where relational gender regimes obstruct this role (Connell, 2002).

With respect to how to address sexual violence in school, young men's and young women's views were strikingly similar: they need to learn and talk about sexuality and the formation of their own identities in an environment free from taboo and judgement (in line with Allen, 2005). This applies to the attitude of both teachers and students. One notable point is that despite their desire for not feeling negatively judged because of their views, some students themselves reflected moralistically informed notions that blamed young people who are involved in so-called 'modern' lifestyles. The underlying values resonating in these opinions might thus reflect the clashing and contradictory messages that young people are given to make sense of the present, often leading to confusion. In fact, the perceived influences of 'modernity' (a term used by participants, typically referring to the desire of living a 'Western' lifestyle, moving away from traditional Ethiopian values), and not knowing how to interpret various contradictory messages about gender and sexuality was seen to lead to increased misunderstandings of sexuality. The influence of modernity thus not only applies to transactional sexual relationships (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003), but to general understanding and confusion about sexuality, which should be further investigated.

2.6.2 IS SEXUALITY EDUCATION THE ANSWER?

The fact that young men and young women generally put forward views that were completely different, suggests that there are major mismatches in understandings about the form and effects of sexual violence and this can again lead to continued tolerance of the phenomenon. However, critical reflection among some students as a result of CSE proved to be crucial in formulating more informed ideas about sexual violence in school. Based on findings from this study, it is therefore recommended that schools adopt a comprehensive approach to sexuality education, with the needs of young people central in the design and implementation of the programme (Allen, 2005). Alongside this, students recommend and urge schools to commit to a code of ethics, and the International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education (UNESCO, 2009) is relevant here, in particular with reference to safe schools and zero tolerance for relationships between teachers and students.

Yet, implementing CSE in a way that questions the current gender order (Connell, 2002) seemed a challenge for this school. In fact, with students repeating factual knowledge about the dangerous aspects of sexual intercourse, the implementation of the programme seemed to have taken a 'developmentalist' approach to health, emphasising why for example, gender equality is important for the country, while failing to recognize the completely different experiences, emotional relations, and socialisation processes young men and young women experience. Sexual violence was also placed in line by many male students with such a developmentalist framework, making pragmatic interpretations, limited to production relations, and leaving fear, tensions, and emotional relations, including consequences of depression and low self-esteem, unrecognized. A more rights informed and comprehensive implementation could stimulate critical reflection and questioning of current norms and structures in society (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Connell, 2002; Miedema et al., 2011), and go beyond a liberal framework for addressing gender inequality and sexual violence (Ampofo et al., 2004). The question remains though, how to develop adequate CSE programmes that are responsive to students' needs (Allen, 2005; Ollis, 2014) as well as culturally appropriate to unpack and challenge existing gender regimes (Connell, 2002).

The findings from this study underline the importance of continuing to address the highly sensitive and controversial topic of sexual violence. Sexual violence should be placed in the context of gender relations (Connell, 2002; Leach and Humphreys, 2007); students supported the view that the current gender order in their society is a result of a patriarchal history that can potentially be changed through education. Yet, despite considerable efforts, sexual violence seems to be highly tolerated in schools (Mirembe and Davies, 2001) and the gender regime in the site of research seemed limited in its support of questioning gender relations beyond a liberal notion of production relations and gender equal laws and governance. The contradictory messages of schools as a promotor of sexual health, but at the same time tolerating sexual violence, need immediate action, as well as structural attention through, for instance, the implementation of comprehensive CSE, sensitive to students' needs, and responsive to gender relations.

CHAPTER 3. THE ADOPTION AND REFORMULATION OF CSE POLICY IN ETHIOPIA

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, CSE has become a well-established global policy. Global guidance documents broadly define CSE as education that equips children and young people with the knowledge, skills, and values that empower them to make informed choices about their health, well-being, sexual and social relationships, and ensures protection of their rights (UNESCO, 2018a; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016). UNESCO's global review on CSE highlights that almost 80 per cent of the countries in their assessment have policies or strategies that support CSE (UNESCO, 2015a). All countries in Eastern and Southern Africa now report to have a policy to promote life skills-based HIV education for young people (which can be CSE or similar), although the full operationalisation of these strategies and policies remains a challenge for many countries (UNESCO, 2015a).

The rise of CSE should be seen in light of growing international attention towards preventing HIV/AIDS (UNESCO, 2009), and more recently the increase in global declarations and commitments to address gender-based violence (for an overview, see Parkes, Heslop, Johnson Ross, et al., 2016). Research in sub-Saharan African countries has revealed that gender-based violence is prevalent in schools, and takes up various forms such as bullying, corporal punishment, and verbal, physical, and sexual abuse (Bhana, 2012; Dunne et al., 2006; Leach et al., 2014; Parkes, 2015). Gender-based violence may include sexual, physical, emotional, and symbolic violence, and is embedded in complex webs of power relations and institutional structures that both reproduce, and are affected by, inequalities (Dunne et al., 2006; Parkes, 2015). Gender relations are understood as sets of social relations between and among men and women that are multidimensional and part of a larger social (gender) structure in society (Connell, 2012a). Gender relations are not static, and can be contested and re-negotiated at intrapersonal, institutional, and societal levels. The increasing focus on gender-based violence in education policies is especially important because education can make substantial contributions to addressing gender-based violence

by raising critical consciousness through pedagogy and curricula, and by educating young people about justice and equity (Chege, 2007; Connell, 2012b; Parkes et al., 2017).

CSE is thus increasingly promoted as an educational programme that can address gender-based violence. However, only few studies have investigated the contribution CSE can make to this. One such study, focusing on how CSE can prevent violence against women and girls, finds that CSE can 1) promote gender equitable attitudes among young people; 2) improve young people's gender relations and reduce violence against women and girls; 3) transform attitudes in the wider community; and 4) improve reporting and response mechanisms when violence occurs (Holden et al., 2015). However, in practice, most CSE programmes are limited in the extent to which they are able to change gender relations to be more equitable (Holden et al., 2015). In addition, there is limited research on how CSE can prevent other forms of gender-based violence such as violence against men and boys. Nevertheless, the shift in attention towards gender-based violence is evident in the 2018 International Technical Guidelines on Sexuality Education, compared to the first version from 2009, which predominately focused on using CSE as a strategy to prevent HIV/AIDS. UNESCO's global review on CSE (2015a) reiterates that discussing gender relations is a core component of CSE programmes and that, ideally, acceptance of sexual diversity should also be discussed in CSE. The review recognizes that there is a 'lack of appropriate attention to gender' in the enactment of CSE, but nevertheless, it remains globally recommended due to its potential to include social and gender-related topics.

Despite growing international promotion of CSE, research on policy developments with regards to CSE, especially on its adoption at national levels, remains scarce. This is surprising given recent global controversies around CSE[7], which may affect the processes of policy adoption (see also 3.2 Theoretical Background). The limited studies that are available in this field, address the concerns of CSE adoption in light of opposition. These studies are often supported by bilateral donors or international organisations (e.g. Chau, Seck, Chandra-Mouli, and Svanemyr, 2016; Huaynoca, Chandra-Mouli, Yaqub Jr., and Denno, 2014; Panchaud et al., 2018). Opponents' concerns about CSE are often framed as conservative and religiously informed (see also Roodsaz, 2018). From this perspective it is especially striking that CSE has been increasingly adopted in highly religious contexts such as Ethiopia. Ethiopia is also a late adopter of CSE: To illustrate, Nigeria has had a clear nation-wide policy on CSE since 2002 (Huaynoca, et al., 2014) and Kenya started a sexuality education programme in 1998, which was expanded and supported by national policies three years later (UNESCO, 2014). China, Lebanon and Vietnam were also already implementing and scaling up sexuality education programmes in 2008 (UNESCO, 2009). In Ethiopia, it was not until

[7] CSE has been criticised for promoting open discussions about sensitive issues such as masturbation and homosexuality and blamed for 'sexualising' young people.

2009 that sexuality education was suggested as a strategy for HIV/AIDS prevention (MoE, 2009), and it is only in the latest Ministry of Health (MoH) adolescent youth health strategy that *comprehensive* sexuality education is mentioned (MoH, 2016b). Ethiopia is thus an interesting context to scrutinise what mechanisms and rationales have led to the (late) adoption of CSE as a national policy. Hence, in this paper we address the following questions:

1) To what extent and why is CSE adopted as a national policy in Ethiopia?
2) Which international and national actors have been influential in CSE policy adoption processes?
3) Through which mechanisms of education policy transfer has Ethiopia adopted CSE?
4) How is CSE reformulated as policy at the national level in Ethiopia?

To answer these questions, we draw on qualitative interviews with key CSE policy stakeholders in Ethiopia, as well as a policy document analysis. At the theoretical level, we make use of education policy transfer mechanisms as identified by Dale (1999) and Steiner-Khamsi (2006; 2014), and apply a gender analysis by focusing on conceptualisations of gender relations in the adoption and reformulation of CSE policies (Connell, 2012a; Unterhalter and North, 2017), as discussed in the next section.

3.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.2.1 ADOPTION MECHANISMS AND POLICY NETWORKS

Despite the availability of global guidelines on CSE, exactly how these directions have been adopted in national policies remains largely unexplored. Dale (1999) describes five mechanisms of external effects on national education policies: *harmonisation*, *dissemination*, *standardisation*, *installing interdependence*, and *imposition*. *Harmonisation* refers to processes where national policy making capacities are combined at regional level through collective agreement (for instance in European Union policy making). Harmonisation mechanisms are initiated collectively by multi-national members and are focused at regional level policies. *Dissemination* mechanisms are initiated by supranational/international organisations who employ an agenda setting strategy to convince national bodies to adopt a policy. This can include making publications and technical guidelines available, organising conferences around specific themes, and initiating knowledge platforms/working groups. *Standardisation* mechanisms are also initiated by supranational/international organisations; however, the aim of standardisation is to develop international norms that countries subscribe to, in order to create common norms and standards across the world (e.g. commitments to Education for All). *Installing interdependence* refers to processes driven by concerns about issues that extend

beyond the scope of a nation state, such as climate change. Its main concern is centred on the particular issue, more than the adoption of a particular policy, and often operates bottom-up. Finally, *imposition* mechanisms compel recipient countries adopt particular policies by making them compulsory. Imposition processes are typically initiated by bilateral donors or supranational organisations and are focused on explicitly requesting adoption of specific policy goals, most typically through aid conditionalities.

These different policy adoption mechanisms may operate simultaneously and dynamically, and actors involved in national policy processes may have diverging interests. It is also increasingly difficult to separate the 'local' from the 'national' and 'global', as all social relations and networks crosscut these boundaries (Ball, 2016). Networking spaces where a variety of 'global', 'national' and 'local' policy actors come together can help advance certain policies. Such networking spaces can contribute to multiple actors creating a unified discursive logic to advance a policy and may also open possibilities for new policy actors to enter education policy spaces (Ball, 2016). At the same time, national policies are increasingly contingent on global policy processes and susceptible to dominant discourses in education policy, which are often put forward by powerful international actors (Rivzi and Lingard, 2009). Hence, it is important to scrutinise how and by whom the problems are constructed (Rizvi and Lingard, 2009). Indeed, sometimes global policies may not be relevant to national or local realities. For example, Fetene and Dimitriadis (2010) argue that some HIV/AIDS policies in Ethiopia have failed to include young people's experiences, and therefore do not adequately identify and respond to the most important issues for youth. It is furthermore important to keep in mind that political and economic incentives might influence policy adoption (Steiner-Khamsi, 2006): when donor financing is available for a specific global policy, receiving countries are interested in policy take-up. Hence, understanding the contextual specificities and the relations among policy actors is key to analysing how certain policies are adopted, resisted, and/or re-formulated (Ball, 2016; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014; Altinyelken, 2011a).

3.2.2 REFORMULATION

Policy reformulation and resistance may occur when a global policy is adopted at a national level. Proposed policies may be reformulated to better reflect the most pressing concerns and interests in a particular context (see e.g. Sun Kim, 2017; Altinyelken, 2011a). To resist policies, critics often (over)emphasise contextual differences, for instance differences in education systems (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014), as well as raising questions of appropriateness and feasibility (Ringeling, 2005). In the case of CSE, reasons often cited for the resistance or reformulation of the policy are socio-cultural or religious. In Uganda, for instance, sexuality education curricula have been tailored to fit religious affiliations of schools (De Haas, 2017), and in Nigeria some schools and community members resist the implementation of CSE due

to socio-cultural and religious values, despite its inclusion in national policies (Huaynoca et al., 2014). A study in Senegal highlights that members of Ministries of Education (MoEs) and Ministries of Health (MoHs) are more constrained by religious influence than Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) (Crossouard, Dunne, and Durrani, 2017), as NGOs are more likely to reflect global or donor discourses.

One reason for resisting CSE, which has been observed across several countries, relates to CSE's attention to sexual diversity, and discussion of non-marital sexual relationships and sexual pleasure. In the USA, conservative groups, and opponents of CSE, have raised concerns that CSE could encourage acceptance of sexual and gender diversity and promote promiscuity (Family Watch International, 2018; stopcse.org). This is despite research showing the positive health outcomes of CSE including delay in sexual onset (Kirby, 2008). Outside the USA, studies have similarly described opposition to CSE as being rooted in religious social-cultural norms (Huaynoca et al., 2014; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). Such resistance to CSE can be expressed by parents and communities, as well as by federal and state education authorities, school administrators, and teachers (Huaynoca et al., 2014). From this perspective, a recent study concluded that important 'levers' for a favourable policy environment are government willingness to adhere to international commitments in support of CSE and NGOs' willingness to promote CSE in the face of opposition (Panchaud et al., 2018). In such discussions, CSE is typically framed as a 'global', progressive, and secular policy (also observed by Roodsaz, 2018), while resistance to CSE is considered a result of 'local' traditional or religious values. Interestingly, however, Weiss and Bosia (2013) argue such resistance against policies associated with sexual diversity is not merely the result of a religious beliefs or 'traditional' values, as some literature suggests, but can be seen as a form of 'political homophobia'. Such political homophobia may be employed by states to resist Western agendas and simultaneously seek ways to exercise control (Weiss and Bosia, 2013). Hence, the construction of CSE as a 'progressive' global policy, resisted by 'conservative' and 'religious' actors, can be seen as an expression of political agendas. Furthermore, such framing of the modern progressive versus the traditional conservative produces a binary that results in transnational and local processes of 'Othering' and might not be helpful in formulating policy priorities that are contextually pertinent (Grewal and Kaplan, 2001; Roodsaz, 2018).

Against this backdrop, it is important to note that CSE has been defined differently by several actors (Hague, Miedema, and Le Mat, 2018), which may explain some of the variation in how the aims of CSE are understood, and how they are adopted, resisted, and/or reformulated by different parties. Gaining conceptual clarity is essential in understanding the adoption and reformulation of global policies at the national level, particularly in the case of gender-related policies (Connell, 2012a; Unterhalter and North, 2017). Unterhalter and North (2017) argue that policy research has often overlooked the

possible variation in what is meant conceptually with specific policy ideas, and the influence of key people therein. Their research in Kenya and South Africa highlights, for instance, that in gender and education policy enactments, policy makers held conflicting interpretations of what gender equality in education means and should achieve. These conflicting interpretations resulted in narrow conceptions of gender in education policies, which limited opportunities for organisations to put forward arguments for gender equality that went beyond indicators of gender parity (Unterhalter and North, 2017; see also Silova and Abdushukurova, 2009). Studies specifically on gender-based violence have also established that policies should move away from narrow conceptions of gender-based violence as sexual violence, and instead link gender-based violence to issues of corporal punishment, bullying, and re-admission for young mothers (Chege, 2007; Leach et al, 2014). To address this, Connell (2012a) suggests that gender policies should place the relations between and among women and men at their core. Such a relational framework moves away from a categorical gender approach, where policy is written for specific genders (mostly 'men' and 'women'), and instead focuses on gendered dynamics in institutions and practices. Connell (2012a) also highlights that global gender theory should be mindful of how 'gender' has been historically constructed from a Eurocentric point of view, with assumptions that similar notions of gender apply to contexts outside of Europe. This legacy remains today, where many policies reflect Eurocentric or Western ideals. Furthermore, Parkes (2016) concludes, based on an analysis of policy enactment on school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV), that policy enactment is not only a matter of overcoming practical challenges; 'It is about reflecting on our deeply held beliefs and practices, through which we knowingly and unknowingly collude with gender-based violence' (p. 103). Thus, policy adoption and reformulation require creating dialogues between actors and institutions at various levels to gain conceptual clarity, while challenging gender and power relations (Unterhalter and North, 2017; Connell, 2012a).

3.3 Contextual Background

Over the past years, Ethiopia has made progress in reaching gender parity in primary and secondary schools. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) is 0,91 for primary and 0,96 for secondary schools according to the latest statistics from 2015 – meaning that only slightly more boys than girls are enrolled in schools (UNESCO, 2018b). At the same time, gender equality in access to tertiary education and health services remains an important issue on the agenda for the Ethiopian government. Gender-based violence is also mentioned within this agenda and CSE is one of the (non-formal education) programmes that is implemented in Ethiopia to improve young people's knowledge on their SRH and to promote gender equitable relations (MoE, 2016; MoH, 2016b). It is important to understand policy adoption processes in Ethiopia, including those surrounding CSE and gender-based violence, in the context of high poverty and inequality levels, strong religious values, and donor dependency.

Ethiopia had a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of United States Dollar (USD) 47.6 billion in 2013 (World Bank Data, 2018). The net overseas development assistance received by Ethiopia made up 8.2% of government net income in the same year. The largest donors are the World Bank, USAID, DFID, the African Development Bank, the Global Fund, and the European Union (DAG Ethiopia, 2015).

Ethiopia is signatory of what is commonly known as the 'ESA Commitment 2013', a commitment signed by Eastern and Southern African Ministries of Education and Health affirming their political will to ensure access to CSE. Ethiopia has also ratified international human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and has adopted the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC). However, despite these measures, gender-based violence prevalence remains high: 26.3% of women older than 15 and 12.9% of adolescent girls (aged 15-19) have experienced intimate partner violence. Indeed, Ethiopia is among the 20 countries with the highest levels of gender-based violence, according to a study of 168 countries (Know Violence in Childhood report, 2017). Other studies indicate 68% of young women in secondary schools in East Ethiopia have experienced sexual violence (Bekele, 2012), 41% of girls marry under 18 (UNFPA, 2012), 74% of women have undergone female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) (United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF], 2013), and women are faced with higher rates of domestic violence, and fewer work opportunities compared to men (United Nationals Human Settlements Programme [UN-HABITAT], 2008).

Importantly, Ethiopia's 2009 Charities Proclamation has restricted organisations that are supported by foreign funds from working on human rights and advocacy. This has affected SRH as well as education initiatives in Ethiopia, where rights-agendas remain implicit (because of this, the final 'R' for 'rights' in SRHR is omitted in the Ethiopian SRH agenda). This was still the case during fieldwork for this study (November 2016), but recently there has been discussion of updating the proclamation to allow NGOs to carry out rights-based work.

At the time of data collection, the country had been affected by several protests and riots instigated by economic and political inequalities, leading the government to announce a 'state of emergency'. Many of the interview participants were concerned that gender-based violence prevalence would increase under these circumstances. In areas affected by protests, schools were temporarily closed and CSE programmes were put on hold during the state of emergency.

3.4 METHODS

To analyse how CSE is adopted in Ethiopia, we draw on content analysis of 23 policy documents and interviews with 16 stakeholders held in November 2016. Our content

analysis was geared towards identifying manifest content of the policy texts and interview transcripts, followed by an exploration of underlying and recurring themes (following Graneheim et al., 2017). That is, in the initial stages of data analysis, explicit descriptions of policy adoption and transfer mechanisms, i.e. manifest content, were identified in policy texts and interview transcripts. Following these concrete descriptions, underlying and recurring themes were uncovered (e.g. debates around cultural differences, see findings section 3.5) that allowed to interpret and explain the policy adoption and reformulation process and its implications. At the time of data collection, the Government of Ethiopia (GoE) had recently updated their four-year policy frameworks, and therefore the document analysis focused on the most recent policy frameworks available. This included policy documents from Ethiopia's national government and ministries, international organisation guidelines and bilateral policy documents. The inclusion criteria for documents were that they concerned CSE or gender-based violence in education and were not dated before 2004. For national policies in Ethiopia, at least the most recent (covering 2016-2020) health-sector and education-sector policies were included for analysis, as well as the overarching 'Growth and Transformation Plan II' (GTP II) to contextualize findings, even if they did not explicitly mention CSE or gender-based violence in education. Almost all documents were publicly available; some were shared in draft form and in confidence by stakeholders.

Stakeholder interviews included questions on the development of these policies and strategies. The stakeholders who participated in this study were all Ethiopian nationals and were affiliated with Ethiopian and International NGOs, Universities, the MoH, or Bilateral or International Organisations (for a detailed overview, see Table 3). All participants saw value in CSE and advocated for the adoption of CSE as a national policy, although a small number expressed some reservations regarding national ownership and local priorities. Stakeholders were approached via the professional network of the first author, who collaborated with a local NGO for this study. Inclusion criteria for stakeholders were that they are professionals who work on CSE, gender-based violence, education and/or SRH in Ethiopia. To make sure no important stakeholders were excluded, other participants were approached through snowballing, whereby some interview participants linked the researcher to other relevant stakeholders that met the inclusion criteria. In selecting stakeholders, the researcher aimed to have a balanced representation of organisational affiliations and gender; this balance was monitored and ensured as much as possible during data collection through purposive sampling. Anonymity and full confidentiality were ensured prior to interviews, and for this reason, organisational affiliation of the participants is not revealed in this article. Interviews with stakeholders were conducted in English and audio recorded with permission. Ten interviews were held individually, and three sessions included two participants. Most interviews were held in participants' own offices, and some in nearby cafés based on participants' preference. Stakeholder interviews were geared towards

identifying how CSE and gender-based violence is understood conceptually, how CSE as a global policy is adopted and re-formulated and understanding possible important moments of acceptance of and resistance to CSE in the Ethiopian context.

TABLE 3. OVERVIEW OF INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

Affiliation	Interview participants
National CSO/NGO	7 (all male)
International NGO	2 (both female)
University staff	2 (1 male, 1 female)
International Organisation	3 (2 males, 1 female)
Bilateral organisation	1 (female)
Ministry of Health	1 (female)
Total	16 (10 males; 6 females)

The procedure for data analysis followed a constant comparison analysis approach (Leech and Onwuegbuzi, 2007; Miles and Huberman, 1994). First, an initial coding scheme was developed based on our theoretical framework and research questions. Codes included: policy transfer mechanisms; key actors in policy adoption process; conceptualising CSE; conceptualising gender-based violence; and re-formulation of CSE policy. These codes and sub-codes were developed based on the theoretical framework; for instance, the code 'policy transfer mechanisms' was sub-divided in the five policy transfer mechanisms identified by Dale (1999). The use of these five different mechanisms enabled an analysis of how participants explained CSE was adopted and reformulated as a national policy, and what its implications were. During analysis, this coding scheme was further developed. For instance, the code 'networking mechanisms' was developed as an additional policy transfer mechanism sub-code based on the responses of the participants. In addition, when it became apparent that very little information could be found on conceptualisations of gender-based violence in national policies, additional codes were developed that would gather information on how 'gender' is understood within key policy documents. Coding and analysis identified the most important mechanisms of policy adoption, and recurring themes relevant to understanding policy adoption and reformulation in this context. Both interviews and key policy documents were analysed systematically by the first author using these codes in Atlas.ti, and the analysis of selected codes was performed by the second author and then discussed to ensure internal coherence and consistency.

3.5 FINDINGS

3.5.1 CSE IN ETHIOPIA: ACTORS AND ADOPTION

CSE was pioneered in Western Europe, particularly by Sweden, Norway, and the Netherlands (UNESCO 2018a). Because of its positive health outcomes, CSE was taken up as a global policy by international organisations such as UNESCO, and the UNFPA, which are now guiding actors on CSE. This is reflected at the national level in Ethiopia; interview participants considered UNFPA, UNESCO and International Planned Parenthood Federation the most influential actors in policy processes, supported by European bilateral partners, particularly Sweden and the Netherlands.

Many national and international NGOs working on CSE are supported by these international and bilateral organisations. There are numerous national NGOs in Ethiopia[8], including in the education and SRH sectors. Most of these NGOs are largely, if not fully, dependent on external finance from international and bilateral actors. Many NGO-staff emphasised it was important for NGOs to collaborate in order to influence national policies. However, collaboration is difficult in practice as there is increasing competition among Ethiopian NGOs to gain funds due to donors' financing systems. According to some participants, this competition raises concerns over transparency; with NGOs becoming less transparent about the successes and challenges of their projects out of fear of losing funds. This, in turn, limits shared learning and dissemination efforts. Interview participants from NGOs agreed that donor partners should be more transparent about the basis on which funding is allocated to projects, in order to improve coordination. Furthermore, due to the dependency on foreign funds, donor agendas are reflected more strongly than local priorities in the work of NGOs (Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash, 2015; Stone, 2004). This makes their involvement in policy adoption processes more contentious due to fears of imposing or advocating for imported agendas (Crossouard et al., 2017; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014).

At the national government level, the most important actors in adopting CSE are the MoE and the MoH. A list of the current most relevant policy documents per Ministry is provided in Table 4 below. A representative from the MoH emphasised that Ethiopia was among the first in the region to develop a strategy specific to young people's SRH (2006-2015) (MoH, 2006), even though CSE was not mentioned in that strategy. The strategy is now updated to a national adolescent and youth health strategy (2016-2020) (MoH, 2016b), which CSE is included in. In this latest MoH-strategy, CSE is seen as a means to promote SRH, including to increase understanding of the causes of gender-based violence and

[8] In 2009, there were 2275 local NGOs and 266 International NGOs registered in the country. After the adoption of the 'CSO proclamation 2010', this number dropped with 45% to 1701 local NGOs and 262 International NGOs (Dupuy, Ron, and Prakash, 2015).

develop attitudes to alleviate it. In MoE-policies, however, the inclusion of CSE remains limited to 'sexuality and life skills education', omitting the 'comprehensive' element; much to the frustration of the participants who strongly advocated for CSE. According to these participants, the MoE believes that the existing curriculum already includes all of the essential information about SRH, making CSE unnecessary. Within existing MoE policies, sexuality education is seen as a means to prevent HIV/AIDS and increase knowledge about SRH but is not linked to addressing or preventing gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is predominantly mentioned as barrier to educational access, positive health outcomes, and development processes, and not as a violation of human rights (also noted by Parkes et al., 2017).

TABLE 4. OVERVIEW OF POLICIES AND MINISTRIES RELEVANT TO ADOPTING CSE POLICY

Name of the policy	Mentioning of CSE	Responsible Ministry
Growth Transformation Plan II (GTP II) (2016-2020)	No	Overarching policy framework of the Government of Ethiopia
Health Sector Transformation Plan V (HSTP V) (2016-2020)	No	Ministry of Health
National Adolescent and Youth Health Strategy (2016-2020)	CSE to promote SRH, incl. to develop attitudes against gender-based violence	
Education Sector Development Plan V (ESDP V) (2016-2020)	Sexuality and life skill education to prevent HIV/AIDS and increase knowledge about SRH	Ministry of Education
The Education Sector Policy and Strategy on HIV/AIDS (2009)	Sexuality education to prevent HIV/AIDS	

The participants all emphasised that MoE and other federal level institutions are the most important actors in adopting CSE as a national policy, especially to integrate it into the formal education system. However, this is also where advocates of CSE encountered most challenges in the adoption process. Participants noted the large differences between the two Ministries in terms of their commitment to CSE:

> *Sometimes it feels like we are working in two different countries. MoH is so progressive and open about so many issues. Even in the current adolescent and youth [health] strategy that we are developing, CSE is clearly indicated that it should be promoted among school- and out-of-school youth. But MoE is very closed about it.* [International Organisation, Female, 10]

As this quote illustrates, national policy adoption is a dynamic process where multiple actors can have diverging interests (as observed by others as well: Rivzi and Lingard, 2009; Ball, 2016). In addition, the quote articulates the opposing views of 'progressive' and 'open' proponents (MoH) of the policy, vis-à-vis the 'closed' opponents (MoE). National actors who support CSE framed the MoE as the conservative 'Other' outside the 'progressive' network, who should be convinced of the benefits of the policy (see also Roodsaz, 2018) – a binary that can also be observed in global discussions about CSE. The difference between the approach of the MoE and the MoH is striking, and similar findings have been reported in studies in Ghana and Kenya where the MoE was more reluctant than the MoH to adopt CSE (Panchaud et al., 2018). One explanation of this difference might be that the discursive logic (following Ball, 2016) that promotes CSE based on health incentives is embraced by the MoH but might appeal less to the MoE, whose agenda is predominantly concerned with educational outcomes. Consequently, CSE continues to remain mostly dependent on NGO-led extra-curricular activities, despite the uptake of CSE in MoH-policy and support of sexuality and life skills education in MoE-policies.

Finally, it is significant to note that, overall, interview participants saw little problem with policy texts in themselves but stressed that the enactment of policies is problematic due to limited capacity and personal or political will (in line with Parkes, 2016). Participants considered that problems in enactment were first of all due to the hierarchical nature of how institutions are organised:

> *In an African context, including Ethiopia, a person is like an institution. This means, if someone, leave alone the minister, a strong director says 'no', everybody says 'no'. In other contexts, if people disagree, they might argue. This is why I say here, a person is an institution. Because if the minister says no – there is no point in arguing. The ministry also says no. Or it could be any other institution. And I think they should be separated. (…) My view as a person and my institution view may be different.* [International Organisation, Male, 6]

The participant quoted above argued that despite individual opinions and concerns, institutions should be able to accept the positive outcomes of CSE as a national policy. However, some participants were more critical about this, and highlighted that a sense of commitment at the personal level influences the policy adoption and implementation, especially in policies related to gender justice:

> *There are also attitudinal challenges. The policy is there, for instance my boss has a policy [about gender equality in the workplace], but if he thinks I cannot perform well because I'm just a woman he can easily kick me out. Despite of the policy. So those things are the challenges. It's all about the character, individual level behavioural change is the challenge.* [University, Female, 2]

Several of the female interview participants who worked on advancing CSE policies discussed personally experiencing discrimination, including by experts who are responsible for addressing gender discrimination and violence in schools – both male and female. These female participants attributed their lack of influence in the policy process and the discrimination they faced partly to the controversial nature of CSE, but also to their status as (young, unmarried) women. Thus, adopting CSE as a national policy does not merely mean ensuring that it is mentioned in policy text, but also requires the continuous challenging of hierarchical social and gender regimes at all levels of the policy adoption process (Connell, 2012a; Parkes, 2016).

3.5.2 MECHANISMS OF CSE POLICY TRANSFER

Efforts for the adoption of CSE at the national level in Ethiopia have been particularly made through *dissemination* mechanisms; including networking, organising trainings, and participation in national steering groups on CSE. Participants highlighted that they set agendas and use research findings to make a case for CSE, specifically emphasising the health benefits to young people. The research findings they use include Ethiopian research, but due to limited capacity of Ethiopian universities, NGOs often draw on research in the region funded by international donors. However, even though many participants believed dissemination of research evidence on CSE could lead to the adoption of the policy, they found that some evidence remained ignored by the MoE, due to the challenge of limited research budgets, and the disconnect between academia and policy making.

Related to dissemination mechanisms, international organisations appeared to promote policy adoption through facilitating networking between different actors operating at various levels, including federal levels, district offices and schools (c.f. Stone, 2004). Even though such networking and coordination was challenging at times, most participants considered this approach the most promising:

> *This is a time when all actors need to come together and act as one. So that we can get the desirable change that we are aspiring to. All those actors need to come together, need to lobby, advocate, on behalf of implementing those policies and laws that are existing.* [International NGO, Female, 11]

Networking also took place in the form of task forces and CSE steering groups (as recommended by CSE global guidance documents). For instance, task forces on CSE were set up in Ethiopia (mostly by international organisations), with participants from international organisations, universities, bilateral organisations, and NGOs. These task forces typically disseminate evidence, share knowledge among members, and use this to advocate

for CSE in national ministries. They also seek multi-sectoral collaboration and support for CSE, in order to harmonise efforts within national policy adoption processes and synchronise the national policies of different ministries. As such, the task forces and networking spaces are used to create a unified discursive logic about the benefits of CSE in the country (following Ball, 2016), and allow new education policy actors, such as the MoH , UNFPA, and NGOs, to enter the debate. Some participants highlighted that the inclusion of young people and university staff should be better facilitated and institutionalised in these groups. They believed this would strengthen the ownership and development of policies and strategies based on young people's views and Ethiopian universities' evidence base. Youth participation was emphasised especially in reference to recent protests, where it were mainly young people who joined and voiced their socio-economic concerns. In the opinion of several stakeholders, this is evidence that policies should be more inclusive and responsive to youth priorities.

Harmonisation is another transfer mechanism through which the adoption of CSE has been advanced*;* referring to the fact that the MoH and the MoE are signatories of the Eastern and Southern African CSE commitment in 2013. In this commitment, ministries affirm their political will to ensure access to CSE, and to provide CSE in schools using international standards. Several actors viewed this as an important entry point to hold the ministries accountable. However, being a signatory to such a collective agreement highlighting the importance of CSE is not sufficient:

> *But after that [signing of the commitment], what it means is not clear… We are really asking the MoH to refer to this document. If the MoH really accepts it, there is no way the MoE can reject [CSE] anymore.* [International Organisation, Male, 6]

> *Thanks to the signing of agreement of the CSE commitment in South Africa where 22-23 countries signed that commitment… The government intends to meet it. But unfortunately, the MoE didn't go far on the improvement itself.* [International Organisation Male, 8]

Indeed, for most interview participants, their main concern remained focused on whether and to what extent the MoE will embrace CSE as a national policy.

While the strategies used by several actors in Ethiopia to advocate for CSE as a national policy are in line with harmonisation, dissemination and networking mechanisms, the same processes remained contentious. In fact, some participants considered CSE agendas a form of *imposition*, and were concerned it does not respond to young people's priorities:

> *[Donors] come with agendas but it may not merge in here. They came from abroad. We really need to have our own agendas, from their local environment. But most of the time the agendas are imported. That's a challenge because it might not resonate with the young people here.* [National NGO, Male, 4]

Another participant also suggested that CSE is based on the concerns of the Western institutions and is not reflective of the Ethiopian national context:

> *Now, looking into gender, SRHR, where did it come from? Does this come from a minister, an NGO, UN? Which institution has brought it in? And under circumstances where you have such knowledge and experiences coming from somebody else, from somewhere else, then it's an imposition. You are lobbying government persons and asking for it to be accepted. So, then it's not yours but somebody else's. (…) When we talk about CSE, it was brought in and then there was reaction, and then you start negotiating. It's not something that has come around [meaning it is not something that has been initiated locally].* [University, Male, 13]

Participants argued that the fact that national ownership of CSE was weak in Ethiopia would have negative implications for implementation processes at various levels as well as for the sustainability of the policy. It was highlighted that this form of imposition is a result of the fact that international organisations have the funding and therefore the power to influence the government in specific ways:

> *Other actors, like the UN ones, are influential because they have money. I mean, that's the reality. It's a black and white truth. They have the money and therefore can direct the government in a certain way.* [International NGO, Female, 2]

Nevertheless, other participants suggested that even if the government is susceptible to foreign influence because of donor dependency, it remains a very strong government. If ministries are not convinced about the importance of a policy, they would therefore be likely to reject it, irrespective of where the policy has come from. Within this context, stakeholders from bilateral and international organisations mentioned that they ensure that their strategies align with, and support, government policy. As such, organisations working on CSE in Ethiopia design their projects to be 'culturally relevant' and 'legally sound', as requested by the government (see below).

3.5.3 Reformulation of CSE

To understand reformulation of CSE policy at the national level in Ethiopia it is important to note that conceptualisations of CSE in the MoH and MoE-policies are predominantly

focused on the instrumental use of CSE: CSE ought to deliver information about adolescent SRH, which should lead to positive health-outcomes. However, CSE is rarely linked to addressing gender-based violence in Ethiopian policies (whereas, in some other country contexts, gender-based violence seemed to be the main reason for adopting CSE, see Panchaud et al., 2018). In fact, concerns with gender more broadly do not go beyond access to health and education services. Gender is mostly referred to in terms of gender differences; the adolescent youth health strategy (MoH, 2016b) states that approaches need to be adequate for both gender categories, and the MoE (2016) policy states sexual and life skills education needs to 'address the needs of both males and females'. Within a policy framework that is largely based upon a categorical understanding of gender (following Connell, 2012a), CSE is reformulated to fit gender parity and equal health outcomes goals. Moreover, these policy goals are part of a wider developmental agenda that emphasises participation in, and access to, economic welfare and development as a policy priority for women, children, and youth (GoE, 2016). Within this context, CSE is thus reformulated as a programme contributing to socio-economic development through better health outcomes, a logic that is also reflected at the school-level (see e.g. Le Mat, 2016; Schaapveld, 2013).

Reformulation of CSE was furthermore influenced by what some interview participants referred to as the lack of legitimacy of national NGOs in advancing certain agendas relevant to CSE (specifically on human rights, sexual diversity, and gender equality)[9,10]. Many national NGOs who used foreign funding had reformulated their activities and agendas to reflect a development instead of a rights-based agenda (see also Dupuy et al., 2015). In the case of CSE, NGOs and other actors reformulated their CSE policy to reflect a health- and development goal, rather than the advancement of rights and promotion of gender equality[11]. Interview participants from NGOs as well as other affiliations highlighted that they re-named their organisation, project proposals, and goals in order to reflect government policy. Yet, in day-to-day practice NGOs found some space to

[9] Referring to the Proclamation No. 621/2009, national charities and societies (including NGOs and CSOs) that receive more than 90% of their funding from abroad are limited in working on: the advancement of human and democratic rights (Art.14, j); the promotion of equality of nations, nationalities and peoples and that of gender and religion (Art.14,k); the promotion of the rights of the disabled and children's rights (Art.14,l) the promotion of conflict resolution or reconciliation (Art.14,m); and the promotion of the efficiency of the justice and law enforcement services (Art.14,n).

[10] At time of writing this paper, there is discussion of updating the proclamation and allowing NGOs to work from rights-based perspectives. This was not yet the case however at time of data collection and analysis – hence this paper reports on the situation under the Proclamation No. 621/2009.

[11] In light of Proclamation Art.14 j), k), and l).

include gender equality agendas in, for instance, trainings, task forces, and partnering with local and district level government actors.

Nevertheless, reformulation of CSE should be understood in light of resistance at federal as well as local levels. As Steiner-Khamsi (2014) theorises, resistance of emerging policies also goes hand in hand with emphasising differences. In the case of CSE in Ethiopia, cultural and religious differences are emphasised:

> *But from federal level there is so much resistance. That's the difference we see in Ethiopia. Some of the CSE [initiatives] are really successful and working and accepted by the woreda [district] level officials. But then at the federal level… (…) the argument they give is that it's already there and they don't want too much Western influence and the LGTBI come into picture obviously. So, they don't want to hear about it. "It's not our culture, it's illegal, it's Western and doesn't go with our culture" etc.* [Bilateral Organisation, Female, 3]

> *[CSE] is sensitive against a very sensitive society where orthodox Christianity and Muslim traditions are so strong. There are misunderstandings. All our [organisation's] documents state that CSE should be age-appropriate, culturally sound, and content-relevant. But there is always a hesitation because of the area of sexual orientation. That area has been twisted, misunderstood, and misinterpreted by so many actors as [CSE] has been taken as a culture to promote homosexuality.* [International Organisation, Male, 6]

Indeed, issues of sexual diversity, often referred to as an issue of 'cultural relevance', seem most pressing for the adoption of CSE as national education policy. Interestingly, participants reported that most resistance is met at federal level, whereas *woreda* (district) level government offices are often favourable towards adopting CSE. The above quotes also illustrate how CSE has become conflated with programmes promoting sexual diversity. Indeed, the mentioning of sexual diversity in the global CSE policy might trigger political resistance to the policy, as part of an agenda to counter Western imposition and exercise control (following Weiss and Bosia, 2013). Arguably, opponents of the policy may overemphasise the 'cultural differences' related to homosexuality in order to reject the policy, at the cost of creating opportunities for a dialogue on what policy priorities should be and how CSE may respond to this. Interestingly, global guidelines legitimise such cultural difference arguments by emphasising the 'progressive' and 'scientific' norms of the policy, which these documents contrast to resistance from 'traditional' actors – depoliticising any other agendas for resistance.

Within this context, some interview participants suggested re-naming CSE to, for instance, 'life skills' education; a name that would take away some of its controversy in order to avoid resistance and increase the likelihood of CSE being adopted as national education

policy. For interview participants, the controversy of CSE also almost solely concerned issues of sexual diversity. One participant therefore considered not mentioning diversity at all, if that would allow the remaining of the CSE curriculum to be integrated into the formal curriculum:

> *The international community accepts [homosexuality] as a right, but the Ethiopian government has criminalised it. The Europeans expect something different than the Ethiopian government. You better leave these kinds of things and focus on other parts of CSE. Otherwise, a single word may spoil it.* [International Organisation, Male, 8]

Others were more hesitant about removing homosexuality from the curriculum or the 'comprehensive' from the name 'CSE'. They considered it essential to convince all actors about the importance of including information about sexual diversity in the curriculum and believed that re-naming the educational programme would not avoid this controversy. There is therefore continued dialogue to define, conceptualise and contextualize CSE. This is heavily influenced by debates among influential actors about national ownership and the politics of diversity and engages little with young men and young women's own priorities. In the meantime, the implementation of CSE programmes remains largely NGO-initiated, limited in scope and often dependent on short-term donor funding.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This paper presented how and why CSE is adopted in Ethiopia. Our analysis has revealed that CSE is a largely donor-driven agenda in Ethiopia and is rarely mentioned in national policies. Importantly, by including a conceptual analysis of adoption and reformulation of CSE policy, the paper identifies that national policies on CSE restrict their aims to promoting health and development outcomes. This neglects the ways CSE could address gender-based violence in schools and bypasses priorities voiced by young men and young women.

International actors such as UNESCO and UNFPA have advanced CSE as a global policy, with the potential to address gender-based violence. Dissemination in global guidance documents, regional harmonisation, and national networking strategies have been most influential in the policy adoption of CSE at the national level in Ethiopia, in particular the MoH's adolescent and youth health policy. However, dissemination and harmonisation strategies are at times considered as an imposition in a context where CSE is so donor-driven (Dale, 1999; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014).

It is for similar reasons that CSE is resisted, with an emphasis on cultural, religious, and legal differences, particularly in reference to sexual diversity. This is not unique to Ethiopia (see De Haas, 2017; Huaynoca et al., 2014; Crossouard et al., 2017). Participants

highlighted that arguments of cultural and religious difference were particularly advanced by the MoE at federal level, revealing a discrepancy with what they considered a more progressive MoH and offices at district and local levels. This inconsistency confirms again that policy adoption processes are diverse and can be contested within nation-states (c.f. Stone, 2004). It also reflects a wider tendency of MoEs being more likely to reject CSE than MoHs (c.f. Panchaud et al., 2018). One explanation for this might be that the policy networks that create a 'unified discursive logic' (following Ball, 2016) on the benefits of CSE advance a logic based on health outcomes that might be more appealing to the MoH than the MoE; the latter being more concerned with educational outcomes. Rejection of policies related to sexual diversity might furthermore emerge from a political agenda to reject Western imposition and exercise domestic control (Weiss and Bosia, 2013). However, such 'political homophobia' (Weiss & Bosia, 2013), might be concealed in an argument of 'cultural difference'. This 'cultural difference' argument is made possible by the global framing of CSE as a 'progressive' policy resisted by the traditional 'Other', at the cost of focusing on the policy priorities that CSE might be able to address (see also Grewal and Kaplan, 2001; Roodsaz, 2018).

The fact that gender-based violence in education needs to be addressed in Ethiopia is undeniable (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018). However, uptake of CSE in national policies in Ethiopia in its current form reflect the health-based SRHR agenda CSE originally emerged from, and discussion of gender relations seems to remain an 'add on' rather than a core component of the policy. In fact, CSE as a policy in Ethiopia is typically conflated with a programme to promote sexual diversity or narrowed down to merely increase knowledge about reproductive health. Wider application of addressing gender-based violence through CSE remains absent, possibly limiting its emancipatory potential in terms of contextualized engagement with gender and power relations and addressing gender-based violence. Without doubt, a legal and policy environment where work on gender equality, children's and human rights are limited to developmental goals, leaves little space for educational programmes to address the root causes of gender-based violence. This is especially unfortunate because education can make substantial contributions to addressing gender-based violence through critical consciousness raising in curriculum and pedagogy and educating youth about justice and equity (Chege, 2007; Connell, 2012b; Parkes et al., 2017). Hence, ways need to be found to advance an emancipatory educational agenda that can include CSE, in order to better address gender-based violence in education. Interestingly, a key concern in gender-based violence policy research has been failures in translating policies from national to local levels. In Ethiopia, the opposite seems to be the case; our findings indicated that youth groups and NGOs are seeking ways for their agendas to be taken up by national policies, despite the restrictive legislative context. Recent discussion about updating the 2009 Charities

Proclamation to allow NGOs to work from rights-based agendas might thus be a step in a positive direction.

Gaining conceptual clarity (Connell, 2012a; Unterhalter and North, 2017) may lead to more coherent and harmonised policy adoption processes. However, definitional clarity provided in global guideline documents (see UNESCO, 2018a; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016) does not necessarily mean agendas are understood in similar ways, responsive to local (young people's) priorities (Fetene and Dimitriadis, 2010; Steiner-Khamsi, 2014) or adopted with similar rationales. Indeed, to resist imposition of foreign policies, much debate in Ethiopia concerns the defining, naming, and re-formulation of CSE in order to align with national agendas. Importantly, it is in moments of resistance that the debates around CSE as a national policy have increased, which may possibly open up ways to include discussions about gender, gender relations and gender-based violence. In fact, it is through networking strategies that NGOs, universities, youth groups, and other partner organisations increasingly collaborate in the form of steering groups. This has resulted in strengthened capacity to advance concerns that would formally go beyond the scope of their mandate. In this way, concerns about what 'comprehensive' means or ought to mean may provide the necessary space for multiple actors to come together and identify which problems need to be addressed and how the policy responds to that (Steiner-Khamsi, 2014). Importantly, such spaces should not only focus on questions of CSE adoption and reformulation alone, but especially concern addressing the priorities of those CSE is designed for: young men and young women. This can only be done by including their participation in debates, and future efforts must pay attention to how young men and young women can be systematically and significantly included in steering groups and platforms at governmental levels.

CHAPTER 4. CSE TEACHERS' ENACTMENT AND RE-CONTEXTUALIZATION OF CSE POLICY IN SCHOOLS

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

Research over the past decade has highlighted the deeply rooted gender inequalities that persist within education systems, despite near gender-parity in enrolment rates (Leach et al., 2014; Parkes, Heslop, Johnson Ross, et al., 2016). Studies in sub-Saharan Africa, for example, have revealed that gender-based violence is prevalent in schools, taking various forms such as bullying, corporal punishment, and verbal, physical, and sexual violence (Bhana, 2012; Leach et al., 2014; Parkes, 2016). CSE is regarded as an important means to promote young people's SRHR, a goal that is generally seen as including addressing gender-based violence and enhancing gender relations more broadly. Despite controversies surrounding CSE in many parts around the world (Miedema et al., under review), the subject is increasingly being integrated into national curricula (UNESCO, 2015a), or taught in extra-curricular classes, as is the case in Ethiopia.

At the level of the school, CSE teachers play crucial roles in enacting CSE policy. Research has shown that teachers, and particularly sexuality education teachers, are an important source of SRHR-related knowledge, including on gender equality (Clarke, 2008; Ollis, 2014). However, studies also point out that while teachers can play critical roles in transforming gender relations, they can often also do more harm than good by reinforcing gender regimes and/or perpetuating sexual and gender-based violence themselves (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Clarke, 2008; Parkes, 2016). CSE teachers have also been considered a barrier to successful CSE implementation because they teach sexuality education in ways that differed from programme designers' intentions (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). However, few studies have focused on teachers' perspectives and reasons for adapting CSE.

Therefore, in this paper, we aim to improve understanding of the ways in which teachers enact and re-contextualize CSE policy, and their reasons for doing so. Focusing on

teacher enactment includes attention to conceptual interpretations of the policy, which, in the case of CSE, also relates to issues of the controversial nature of the policy and teachers' views on its appropriateness. We focus on the dynamic interplay between teachers' beliefs and practices, and their understandings of the CSE-related policy and programmes, taking into account the school and wider socio-economic context (Ball, Maguire, and Braun, 2012; Altinyelken, 2011b; Heslop et al., 2017). We focus on CSE teachers, students and community members' views as to how they view CSE policy and CSE teachers' responsibilities in addressing sexual and gender-based violence. This paper engages with the following questions:

1) How do CSE teachers, students, and community members view the roles and responsibilities of CSE teachers to address gender-based violence?
2) How do CSE teachers enact these roles and responsibilities?
3) What factors shape teacher enactment of CSE policy?

The engagement with these questions responds to an empirical gap in current literature concerning CSE teachers and specifically how they seek to address sexual and gender-based violence and why (see e.g. Bhana, 2012; Parkes, 2016). Additionally, the paper contributes to ongoing debates about teachers' positions in policy directions on gender-based violence in education.

4.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

4.2.1 CSE TEACHERS

CSE is defined as education that equips children and young people with knowledge, skills, and values empowering them to realise and make informed choices about their health, well-being, sexual and social relationships, and protection of violence and their rights (UNESCO, 2018a). CSE is a global policy, particularly promoted by UNESCO, the Netherlands, and Sweden. Over the past decade, national governments have increasingly adopted CSE – all countries in East and Southern Africa included in UNESCO's review having taken up CSE or programmes similar to CSE in their national policies (UNESCO, 2015a). However, the integration of CSE features in national curricula and policies does not always mean it is delivered as intended at the level of schools (UNESCO, 2015a). Teachers have key mediating roles in this regard, but only few studies have tried to understand teachers' views on, and factors affecting their enactment of, CSE in schools. Studies that are available, have been carried out with a focus on implementation (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016), or discuss only on a selected number of factors that might influence teacher enactment, most notably 'culture' (Browes, 2015; De Haas and Hutter, 2018). Hence, with this paper, we aim to move

beyond an implementation focus by analysing how teachers shape and re-contextualize CSE policy at school level and include a broad range of factors that might influence such enactment.

Various international organisations have developed global guidelines for CSE teachers, with a view to – in the case of UNESCO (2015b), for example – 'equip teachers with the basic knowledge and skills necessary to deliver effective sexuality education in the classroom' (p.12). The document lists core competencies for CSE teachers, and offers a detailed outline of essential vocabulary, content knowledge and examples of learning activities to be used by CSE teachers. In a similar vein, the '*It's All One'* guidelines (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009) are designed to enable educators to address individual and social factors affecting young people's SRH. The *It's All One* guidelines provide teaching tips and detail examples of activities CSE teachers can organise. Additionally, both sets of guidelines for teachers (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009; UNESCO, 2015b) provide definitions of terms such as gender roles, gender norms, gender identity and gender-based violence. Actual directions on *how* teachers can address gender-based violence remain vague, however. For example, the '*It's All One'* guidelines speak of teachers providing a safe learning environment and offering the possibility of referring students to appropriate sources of (additional) support in their sections on gender and violence (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009). In a section on gender, the UNESCO guidelines include reflection exercises for teachers, for instance, on how gender norms influence their teaching. However, in the same section the guidelines urge teachers to teach 'sexuality education free from gender biases' because this 'is critical so as not to inadvertently reinforce harmful gender norms' (UNESCO, 2015b, p.211). Just how such gender bias-free teaching is to be done is not expanded on and thus remains open for interpretation. The guidelines also state that CSE can prevent gender-based violence, but do not provide any detail as to what CSE teachers' roles are in doing so.

Interestingly, UNESCO guidelines mention the imperative to create 'local' support for the global CSE policy. The guidelines emphasise the importance of attention to cultural relevance in creating such local support: 'The Guidance stresses the need to engage and build support among the custodians of culture in a given community, in order to adapt the content to the local cultural context' (UNESCOa, 2018, p. 84). The *It's All One* guidelines also emphasise cultural dynamics, but state that the guidelines can be 'used in many cultures. It applies universal principles to the varied cultural and social circumstances in which people live' (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009, p.7). Scholars have argued that CSE is typically framed as a 'global' and culturally progressive policy by international organisations, while resistance to CSE is considered a result of 'local' and culturally traditional values (Roodsaz, 2018). Such framing of the modern progressive versus

the traditional conservative produces a binary that results in processes of 'Othering' and might obstruct identifying policy priorities that are contextually pertinent (Le Mat, Altinyelken, Bos, and Volman, 2019; Miedema, 2018; Roodsaz, 2018).

Against this backdrop, CSE teachers have often been criticised or seen as an obstacle to CSE enactment because they modify CSE content when teaching, skip, or shorten certain lessons. Teachers have also been criticised for their lack of flexibility and confidence in facilitating participatory teaching styles (Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). In explaining these challenges, research has tended to focus on teachers' own beliefs and how dominant views in the broader community influence teacher enactment of CSE (Ahmed, Flisher, Mathews, Mukoma, and Jansen, 2009; DePalma and Francis, 2014; Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma, and Klepp, 2009; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). For instance, studies conducted in South Africa and Uganda indicate that teachers were proponents of abstinence, as a result struggled to teach young people about condom use (Ahmed et al., 2009; De Haas and Hutter, 2018). Other research with teachers in South Africa revealed that they claimed scientific neutrality in their teaching to avoid 'cultural conflicts' (Helleve et al., 2009; see also DePalma and Francis, 2014). In Nigeria, teachers reported to be reluctant to teach sex education because of socio-cultural and religious factors, lack of teacher training in delivery of sex education, and poor motivation (Oshi et al., 2005). However, not only teachers' own beliefs influence their teaching of sexuality education, but socio-economic environment, school environment, and available materials also affect enactment (Ahmed et al., 2009). Furthermore, studies on teachers' roles in addressing gender-based violence highlight that while teachers expressed strong (negative) feelings about instances of gender-based violence, they did not intervene because of (institutionalised) culture of silence on the matter and, indeed, lack of school management or community support (Bhana, 2015; Meyer, 2008).

4.2.2 TEACHER ENACTMENT AND POLICY RE-CONTEXTUALIZATION

Global education policies have often been found to be re-contextualized at school level to fit local interpretations of global policy priorities, and to respond to certain social, economic and political realities or concerns (Altinyelken, 2011a; Verger et al., 2018). Central to understanding re-contextualization of global policies at school, is teacher enactment. Enactment refers to the dynamic ways policies are made and remade at school. The notion of 'enactment' highlights the interactive nature of policy re-contextualization, which is affected by conceptual interpretations of the policy, the importance attached to it, contextual priorities, and how the policy is used, and negotiated (Ball et al., 2012; Parkes, 2016). In a similar vein, Unterhalter and North (2017) speak of the 'middle space' between policy and its realisation, that is, the institutions, intentions, opportunities, relationships, and enactments that each shape policy directions differently. These relationships and interactions give meaning to and (re-)contextualize policy text and concepts and may be situated within as well as beyond the

school context. Against this backdrop, we understand teacher enactment of CSE, and teachers' possible modification of, and/or resistance to, CSE, as a reaction to, and an interaction with, policy ideas advocated by international organisations.

Studies of global education policy re-contextualization have revealed that multiple factors affect enactment at school level. These factors can include school history, location, performance, and its population largely influence how a policy change is interpreted and taken up (Ball et al., 2012). Feasibility of effecting a policy change also varies per teacher, and is influenced by, among other factors, how teachers interpret the policy change (Rogan 2007), and the extent to which they relate to it. For example, where some teachers may act as advocates and entrepreneurs to successfully make the policy change work, others may act as critics depending on their own position, beliefs, and interpretation of the policy (Ball et al., 2012; Altinyelken, 2011b). Furthermore, teachers' positions and roles in enacting the policy may also be affected by their relationships and status within the school and community (Barrett, 2005; Unterhalter and North, 2017). For instance, teachers in Tanzania spoke of seeing their roles as much more than being a schoolteacher alone, instead referring to notions of honour and responsibility towards their communities (Barrett, 2005). The notion of honour and responsibility also meant though, that these teachers were highly vulnerable to criticism voiced by the community. Finally, teacher relationships within the school and community can be influenced by gender and power hierarchies (Connell, 2012a; Unterhalter and North, 2017), especially in the case of enacting controversial policies related to gender and sexuality, such as CSE (Humphreys, 2013; Vanner, 2017).

In trying to understand CSE teachers' enactment, it is important to highlight teachers' changing roles under new global policies. Over the past decades, teachers' roles have become increasingly technocratic, and the status of the teacher profession has lowered significantly in sub-Saharan Africa (Assié-Lumumba, 2012). The influence of the international development actors in schools has also had its effect on teachers. For instance, Pot (2018) describes how teachers in Malawi act as 'development brokers', advocating messages from NGOs to wider communities. Pot (2018) revealed that selected teachers became important resources for NGOs and enjoyed a relatively higher social status in their communities due to their affiliation to international organisations. At the same time, such association with development or the 'cosmopolitan' may also lead teachers to feel alienated from their communities (Barrett, 2005). Such dynamics may thus affect policy enactment – possibly leading to more responsibilities, accountability, or vulnerability of teachers. In the case of CSE, the dynamics of emerging global CSE policies and its adoption in Ethiopia, combined with the influence of (international) NGOs, may thus influence the ways in which teachers' roles and responsibilities are enacted and perceived by themselves, their students, community, NGOs and national policy.

4.3 CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The gender gap in enrolment rates in primary and secondary schools is closing in Ethiopia (GPI was 0.90 and 0.91 respectively in 2017 (MoE, 2017); in the region of study, Oromia, the Index was 0.87 and 0.81 respectively). At the same time, the share of female teachers in schools was only 37% for primary schools and 15% for secondary schools in 2013 (UN Women, 2014). While policies pay increasing attention to young women's retention in schools, and attracting female teachers, gender inequalities remain, including gender-based violence (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Parkes et al., 2017).

Both the MoH and MoE of Ethiopia have signed the regional Ministerial Commitment on CSE and SRH services for adolescents and young people in Eastern and Southern African in South Africa in 2013, committing to provide CSE to all youth and adolescents. That CSE may also contribute to positive gender relations, and as such address gender-based violence, is considered an important benefit of the programme according to the MoH policy, and CSE is included in Ethiopia's National Adolescent and Youth Health Strategy (2016-2020) (MoH). The national MoE promotes 'life skills and sex education' – though omitting the 'comprehensive' central to CSE programmes. It is important to note here that CSE is highly controversial in Ethiopia. The policy has been strongly resisted by some national actors for concerns related to cultural appropriateness – which seemed to mainly refer to the mentioning of homosexuality (see Le Mat et al., 2019). Indeed, the appropriateness of the policy in the Ethiopian context is a topic of debate, and international promotion of CSE is often seen as an imposition of Western values (Le Mat et al., 2019; see also Roodsaz, 2018). Part of the controversy is also related to the fact that CSE is taught in mixed-sex classrooms where sexuality is discussed not necessarily within the context of marriage. These concerns regarding CSE also became apparent during the present study. With this context in mind, CSE teachers are thus the central enactors of a highly controversial policy, and understanding their views and ways of re-contextualizing the policy sheds light on a) the perceived appropriateness of the policy, and b) cultural, socio-economic, and political dynamics that need to be considered in promoting and evaluating CSE. CSE programmes are extra-curricular school activities in Ethiopia, largely supported by (international) NGOs, bilateral donors, and international organisations. Notably, NGOs did not have the mandate to work on rights-based agendas in Ethiopia at the time of fieldwork (as stated in the NGO Proclamation 2009, which is currently being revised). Hence until now CSE has been embedded in an 'SRH' agenda in Ethiopia, where the final 'R' that stands for 'rights' is omitted from the global 'SRHR' agenda.

Over the past decade, national teacher training programmes in Ethiopia have been shortened, and increasingly criticised for poor quality, technocratic and managerial approaches to the teacher profession (Dahlström and Lemma, 2008; Tessema, 2007). At the

same time, teachers are increasingly held to account to communities. Parent-teacher-student associations, for example, may operate as platform for social control of teachers by the community, and vice versa (Mitchell, 2017). In communities, health extension workers serve as a governmental structure where households are monitored for health practices – a structure that was reportedly designed as a means to achieve 'community empowerment', but scholars have drawn attention to their possible use in terms of surveillance (Maes, Closser, Vorel, and Tesfaye, 2015).

The CSE programme that this study engages with is designed to provide young people with information and skills deemed necessary to take care of their sexual health during 16 lessons of approximately two hours (though observations revealed that lessons took no longer than one hour). One lesson is fully dedicated to the topic gender-based violence. The programme is designed in Europe and contextualized by an Ethiopian NGO to the national socio-cultural and legal context. CSE programme developers conceive the role of teachers to 'facilitate' the programme, and not deeply engage with the content. School teachers receive an initial six to seven-day training from the implementing NGO about SRH, gender equality, and participatory teaching methods before they start teaching the programme. CSE teachers receive a three-day refresher training at least once after they have started teaching CSE. Throughout interviews, teachers expressed this refresher was a vital element to successfully teaching CSE and indicated their desire for more follow-up training to better enable them to deal with challenges in teaching CSE. CSE teachers were not remunerated for facilitating the programme.

The town where this study took place is situated in Oromia region close to a main road connecting the town to the capital city Addis Ababa and hosts many high school students from neighbouring smaller villages. Over the recent years, growing unrest in Oromia region has affected the town where many are unemployed, especially youth. This unrest has also affected the CSE programme, as teachers mentioned they had to pause the programme for a certain period time, at some point even fearing the programme would completely discontinue.

4.4 METHODS

Between May and July 2017, semi-structured interviews and FGDs were conducted in combination with non-participant observation of CSE classes in four schools in and around one provincial town that all provided CSE. Interviews were held with CSE teachers, school directors, members of parent-teacher-student associations (PTSAs), and parents. Interviews and FGDs were conducted in Afaan Oromo or Amharic, depending on the preference of participants, and were voice recorded with participants permission. To stimulate discussion, a variety of interactive exercises were done during FGDs. FGDs were held with CSE students, CSE teachers, community leaders, and local government representatives. Separate

FGDs were conducted with young women and young men. All interviews and FGDs were transcribed and translated into English. Non-participatory classroom observations of CSE lessons were conducted once in all four schools that were part of this study, to embed and triangulate findings from interviews and FGDs. Notes of classroom observations were taken by the observant and translated to English. Classroom observations were particularly geared to identifying recurring roles of teachers, and aspects of CSE that they emphasised during lessons.

In total, 56 participants took part in this study. The participants included 12 teachers, five PTSA-members, six parents, four directors, 21 young people (three FGDs, 14-18 years), four community leaders, and four local government representatives (see Table 5 below). Participants were selected based on key characteristics such as teaching/participating in CSE and their gender, and also their time availability and interest to participate in the study. At the start of each interview, FGD, and observation session, participants were informed about the nature and purpose of the research, guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality in research data management and outputs, and informed of their rights to stop, refuse, or withdraw from participation. Only after it was clear participants understood this and gave consent, data collection proceeded.

Content analysis of the transcribed interviews and FGDs, and notes of the classroom observations was done in a systematic matter based on a pre-defined code list using Atlas.ti. Pre-defined codes included 'conceptualising CSE', 'conceptualising gender-based violence', 'roles and responsibilities of CSE teachers', 'occasions where teachers address gender-based violence', and 'gender specific actions/language used'. During analysis, further codes where developed where relevant to allow new themes to occur. For instance, preliminary analysis showed that when speaking of CSE, gender-based violence, and teachers' responsibilities, participants emphasised the notion of 'speaking openly about sexuality'. 'Speaking openly about sexuality' was therefore developed as an additional code to further scrutinise how this affected teacher enactment of CSE. Finally, summaries of codes were systematically analysed and compared between categories of participants and schools to identify similarities or differences, and the factors that helped explain similarities and differences. Analysis was thus geared towards identifying recurring themes that were central to teacher enactment of CSE. Initial findings of this study were validated with a selection of participants in a workshop in Ethiopia in December 2017, which confirmed and sharpened the findings of the study.

TABLE 5. OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS

	School1	School2	School3	School4	Community	N=56 (19 female, 37 male)
Young men			7 males (1 FGD)	8 males (1 FGD)		15 males
Young women			6 females (1 FGD)			6 females
CSE teachers[12]	2	4	2	4 (1 FGD)		12 (4 females, 8 males)
Director[13]	1	1	1	1		4 (1 female, 3 males)
PTSA-members	2 males	1 male		1 male 1 female		5 (1 female, 4 males)
Parent(s)	1 female 1 male	1 female 1 male	2 females			6 (4 females, 2 males)
Community leaders					4 male (1 FGD)	4 males
Local government representatives					3 female 1 male (1 FGD)	4 (3 females, 1 male)

4.5. FINDINGS

4.5.1 TEACHER ENACTMENT OF CSE

We now turn to a discussion of how CSE teachers, students, and community members view the roles and responsibilities of CSE teachers to address gender-based violence, and how CSE teachers enact these roles and responsibilities. Before discussing how participants viewed teachers' main roles as enactors, however, it is first important to highlight how participants conceptualised CSE. Interestingly, almost all participants spoke favourably of CSE, despite its controversy in the community and country. Participants found CSE important in light of a perceived lack of knowledge about SRH, peer pressure and young

[12] Gender of CSE teachers per school has been removed in overview to ensure confidentiality.

[13] Gender of directors per school has been removed in overview to ensure confidentiality.

people's lack of discipline, lack of educational opportunities for young women, and poverty. Against this backdrop, when asked how they would define CSE, participants stressed the importance of increased knowledge about SRH, and especially 'scientific' knowledge. Additionally, participants described the programme as 'life-saving' in that it protected students from negative SRH outcomes, such as STIs and unplanned pregnancy. They further emphasised that the participatory teaching and learning methods that characterised the programme helped students to focus, ensuring students became more 'disciplined' ultimately leading to better education outcomes. CSE teachers thus emphasised the protective elements and positive health and education outcomes of the initiative (see also Miedema et al., 2017).

4.5.1.1 TEACHERS AS ADVISERS

When asked about perceptions regarding the roles and responsibilities of CSE teachers, young people, their parents, community members and teachers primarily highlighted the importance of teachers as advisors. CSE, these participants explained, served as an entry point for teachers to encourage students to become citizens who show 'good moral behaviour'. The advising roles of CSE teachers also included that participants expected CSE teachers to encourage young people to focus on their education and abstain from sex and romantic relationships, while providing SRH knowledge. As young women indicated during an FGD:

> *Interviewer: What is the role of teachers in solving the above-mentioned challenges [SRH challenges faced by young men and women in the community]? How can they help you all?*
> *Participant12: If a boy falls in love, the teacher should advise him that it is wrong timing.*
> *Participant13: The teacher has to teach the community about female genital mutilation as it is harmful traditional practice.*
> *Participant9: If a girl runs away with a boy, teachers should advise her and interfere to bring her back to school.* [Town1, School3, Student12,13,9, female, FGD]

Young men similarly responded that they viewed the main responsibilities of teachers in terms of advising students about 'good' behaviour and 'appropriate' future choices. Observation in classrooms confirmed these findings – CSE teachers offering students concrete advice about 'good behaviour' and staying on 'the right track'. Emphasis on encouraging 'good behaviour' was also revealed by drawings put up on classroom walls, which depicted students showing 'bad behaviour' (for example, watching films) and 'good behaviour' (studying together), and displayed the often recurring quote 'I can, but I won't, I decide'. In many cases, these advices translated to recommendations to abstain from sex. In so doing, CSE teachers emphasised the benefits to health and education outcomes of that advice. Teachers' strong emphasis on abstinence might be seen as in conflict with the

'comprehensive' nature of CSE (see Miedema et al., under review). However, teachers in fact prioritised this advice as a form of re-contextualization – based on their interpretations of the objectives of the policies as well as the identified priorities that CSE is used for, that is, saving lives and creating good moral citizens.

4.5.1.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Participants often emphasised the socio-cultural roles and responsibilities of CSE teachers. Interestingly, students, teachers, and community members suggested that CSE teachers should be 'free from culture'. This seemed to refer to the ability to speak openly about sexuality, without the influence of 'tradition':

> *Young man: The good [CSE] teacher should be free from cultural view; he should normally teach his students based on science (…)*
> *Interviewer: What does it mean, being free from culture?*
> *Young man: It is to say a teacher of sexuality education should be free from shyness and so on.* [Town1, School4, Student, male, FGD)
> *I think this problem [to not speak openly about reproductive health] … culture, the society's culture. This [CSE programme] is a rich mission to minimise this.* [Town1, School4, Teacher11, male, FGD)

These quotes thus reveal that CSE teachers were typically seen playing important roles as to 'correct' or 'minimise' a culture of silence and shame. Ethiopian culture as such was associated with silence about sexuality and reproductive health issues, and sex as shameful. Interestingly, seen in light of the narratives of global guidelines on CSE, which construct CSE as a global and progressive policy possibly unsupported by communities for cultural reasons, participants adopted similar language and positioned teachers as possible mediators between the 'global progressive' and their 'local culture' (see also Roodsaz, 2018). Parents, teachers, and students advocated for an open culture in which body parts are named and mentioned, and students are encouraged to speak confidently about body change and reproductive health. They believed this openness would lead to better health and education outcomes. Importance of speaking openly about sexuality also reflected in CSE classrooms, where posters made by students decorated classroom walls. Posters included drawings of body change, the difference between male and female body parts, written advice about health and safety, and in some cases displays of various contraceptive methods. In addition, classroom observations revealed that CSE teachers explicitly encouraged students to speak and participate and repeated that 'nature is not shame'. In interviews, some teachers emphasised that CSE is different from other classes, and that the CSE classroom is a designated space to openly speak about sexuality.

4.5.1.3 PAYING 'SPECIAL ATTENTION TO GIRLS'

It is worth noting that teachers and parents stated that CSE teachers should pay 'special attention to girls'. Yet, it was not always clear what this meant or should look like in practice, neither from our participants' perspectives, nor from the training or guidelines CSE teachers had received. Hence, giving 'special attention to girls' could mean a range of things in practice, yet primarily seemed to mean teachers advised young women in particular not to enter into sexual relationships. One teacher who felt personally changed by the training he received for teaching CSE, challenged existing preconceptions about female menstruation in his class:

> *When we see menstruation "Xurii laguu" [literally translated: dirty blood] it is not dirty as it its name indicates. Period is a clean blood that symbolises that the girl is healthy. So, girls should not be intimidated during their period. You have to be proud.* [Town1, Observation in School3]

At the same time, in another school in a similar lesson on body change and menstruation, teachers emphasised the importance of female hygiene in ways that could be read as potentially entrenching shame. In an FGD with these teachers, they emphasised that the school was facing female drop out due to lack of sanitary pads and washing facilities for young women in the school. Both the school director and PTSA-members confirmed that female drop out due to menstruation is a problem the school faces and mentioned that the school runs a second girls' club to encourage menstrual hygiene. In their study on the relation between schooling and menstruation in the same region, Sommer and colleagues (2015) highlighted the belief among girls that bathing during menstruation exacerbates the menstrual flow. Girls explained that, for this reason, they bathed less to stem the flow (Sommer et al., 2015). This contextual detail is crucial when interpreting the following – seemingly insensitive – remarks made by another (male) CSE teacher:

> *We don't have to feel shy when we mention vagina or penis just like nose and eye. All are parts of our body. Above all, our body should be taken care of. Sanitation is important. Especially girls, you have to WASH [with emphasis] your vagina. You have to wash! During menstrual season sanitation is very important for girls. Vagina is very sensitive to sanitation.* [Town1, Observation in School4]

Many young women were visibly uncomfortable when the teacher instructed them thus, averting their eyes to the ground and clasping their hands to their mouths. This reaction stands in stark contrast with the classroom observation of the earlier described scenario in school3, where young women and young men continued to ask questions about male and female body change and sexual development. However, the logic of the teacher in school4

may have been influenced by the problem the school is facing with female dropout due to menstruation and the simultaneous menstrual hygiene programme (taught by the same teachers). Moreover, while seeming quite insensitive, the instruction may have been an attempt to address the belief among many young women about flows and washing (discussed above). These examples thus reveal the interactive nature of policy enactment, influenced by personal motivations, interpretations of giving 'special attention to girls' (or arguably, UNESCO's (2015b) urge for gender bias-free teaching), as well as school context (see also next section).

Finally, teachers' roles of creating an environment to speak openly about sexuality also extended to the wider community. A recurring theme throughout the interviews was the importance of the parent's day event that teachers organised after each CSE lesson sequence. Teachers and students used this day to generate discussion in the community about SRH, presenting student-made posters that highlighted what students have learned in CSE and verbal student testimonies how it changed their behaviour for the better. Indeed, it helped parents to better understand the contents of CSE and accept the programme. One parent who at first was sceptical about CSE reported that taking part in the parent day led to a change of mind:

> *Interviewer: What is the bad thing (…) that you were afraid of?*
> *Parent: For example, boys and girls study together [in CSE] and when they are told about the issues apart from the academic issues, we thought they would go astray as some of the lessons are sexuality related.*
> *Interviewer: So, what changed your mind?*
> *Parent: I heard about the programme in the exhibition event of students at parent gathering at the end of the academic year and understood it well. (…) There were topics related with abduction and HIV/AIDS prevention as well as sexual abuses in the exhibition by the students.* [Town1, School2, Parent4, female]

Hence, teachers' roles and enactment extend beyond the CSE classroom and even beyond the school, where they act as advocates for CSE and SRH more broadly in their communities.

4.5.1.4 Addressing gender-based violence

In an FGD with young women, participants suggested that CSE teachers should take action in case violence occurred:

> Participant8: *If a girl is abducted, teachers should interfere and bring the guy to the legal system.* [Town1, School3, Student8, female, FGD]

Teachers indeed recalled occasions where they interfered when there were signs of early marriage or abduction:

> *As the member of the community also, teachers play role in making people aware on what is good and what is wrong. And again, if there are problems with students, we support them as much as we can, for example, like early marriage, abduction, etc., by communicating with polices on conditions that students reported to us.* [Town1, School2, Teacher5, Male]

Students and teachers considered CSE teachers to be key players in resolving such family disputes, because of their knowledge of SRH as well as their closeness to students due to the participatory teaching methods of CSE. This also extended to the expectation of teachers to act as contact point for poor and orphaned youth as to find ways for these young people to be able to access education if their own funds did not meet the demands.

One teacher felt particularly passionate about addressing gender-based violence in schools and saw CSE as a means to do that, because of her own experiences with abuse of teachers as a female student. She described sharing her experiences with her students so as to warn them not to let other teachers abuse them, and appreciated the practical advice included in CSE curriculum, such as carrying perfume to spray in the eyes of a potential attacker. However, participants discussed gender-based violence typically as something 'outside' the education system, i.e. in families and communities, and thus intervention within the school compounds remained limited (as reported in other studies as well, see e.g. Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018).

Students and teachers mentioned that an open environment in CSE classrooms helped students to report cases of abuse to teachers. Participants found it particularly important that CSE teachers encourage young women to speak openly about sexuality, and to request her rights:

> *It is the teacher's role to create awareness (…) the teachers should work on the SRH club [CSE] to create knowledge and behavioural change among boys and girls. Especially they need to focus on the girls. Ever since a girl is 15, she starts to get the question for sexual intercourse. She needs the knowledge and skill to think about HIV, about her life priorities.* [Town1, Community leaders, Participant4, male, FGD]

Participants thus saw important networking roles for CSE teachers who could intervene in case of gender-based violence by reaching out to PTSAs, local NGOs, and relevant local government bodies. However, some teachers reported that the community blamed them for interfering in family affairs. Indeed, it remained unclear to what extent in practice CSE

teacher intervention was likely or how safe it might be for teachers to intervene, which may be limited due to low teacher status, limited support from school management (see Vanner, 2017), or in a context of high social control (Bhana, 2015; Maes et al., 2017; Mitchell, 2017).

4.5.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING TEACHER ENACTMENT

To understand the variation in teacher enactment, we now turn to a discussion of the factors that influenced CSE teacher enactment. We differentiate between individual (personal) (section 5.2.1), school context (section 5.2.2), socio-economic (section 5.2.3) influence on CSE enactment, and the influence of relations with the community (section 5.2.4).

4.5.2.1 INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

According to participants, individual factors that influence teachers' enactment depended on a large extent on the level of self-confidence and knowledge about SRH teachers have in teaching CSE. Teachers indicated it took courage to teach about CSE given its controversial nature within the community, combined with other favourable personal characteristics. In the words of one parent:

> *I don't believe that any teacher can teach sexuality education. SRH by itself is very sensitive issue that needs special attention; so, it needs special training, special knowledge which is directly related to SRH and it must be integrated with personal characteristics of the teacher. If the teacher behaves in a bad way and talk about reproductive health, nobody can accept them because students see his or her action. It needs a good character in the school and in their personal life out of the school and the teacher should be a role model for his students.* [Town1, School1, Parent1, Male]

Indeed, teachers felt it was important to be a role model to their students and the wider community, not in the least because they also faced resistance from them. Indeed, some teachers feared the community would hold them accountable for lack of behavioural change of CSE students, experienced being called bad names, and feared social exclusion. One local government participant stressed exclusion was particularly the case for female CSE teachers, but most male and female teachers who were asked about gender differences instead highlighted that having self-confidence and good behaviour were more important characteristics to be accepted as a CSE teacher.

Noteworthy were the scarce references by teachers to religion or their own beliefs influencing the way they teach CSE. That said, teachers did allude to 'culture', typically highlighting that the training they have received for teaching CSE has shifted their views as to what they considered 'appropriate' SRH-related content for young people. In light of their changed views on 'culture', CSE teachers positioned themselves as CSE advocates, acting as 'cultural' or 'development brokers' in schools and the community (see also Pot, 2018):

> *First of all, the training changed my behaviour, before that I have no confidence to discuss about this issue, because of the culture I came through. But now I discuss freely with my children and I teach my neighbours about discussing freely with young children about sexuality issues, and I see the change.* [Town1, School2, Teacher4, female]

While teachers positioned themselves as 'culturally progressive', which in the main referred to speaking openly about sexuality (c.f. Roodsaz, 2018), teachers felt this did not have to alter their advice to students to abstain – an advice that aligns best with their most CSE teachers' own beliefs and understanding of their roles and responsibilities to guide young people on 'the right track'. As one teacher summarised in the validation workshop:

> *As [teachers] we believe that giving a free choice to these very young children is dangerous. SRH is sensitive issue that determines the future life of the youth. So, as a teacher, we need to show them the right way. Just discussing the options and leaving the choice to them is dangerous because they are kids who do not know what is right and wrong.* [Validation workshop, Teacher]

Crucial to teacher individual factors that influence their enactment of CSE, were their motivations to teach the programme. When asked why they decided to teach CSE, almost all CSE teachers reported that the school board selected them to teach the programme. Reasons for selection often were English level (the CSE curriculum is in English), knowledge of biology, and having good rapport with young people. Interestingly, almost all teachers said to feel committed to teaching CSE once they were selected for it, particularly in view of their opportunities to 'save lives' of young people, and create good citizens (see also Maes et al., 2015).

4.5.2.2 SCHOOL CONTEXT

At the level of school context, CSE teachers highlighted that their enactment of CSE is largely influenced by the support of school management, or the lack thereof, and other available structures within the schools. Some teachers complained that the school management dedicated their resources to regular classes (as to prioritise results on national exams) thereby ignoring CSE, which affected CSE teachers' motivation for the programme and means to teach CSE:

> *According to me, the main problem is that the school administration lacks interest to facilitate [CSE] like that of regular programs. They have no interest to facilitate these issues.* [Town1, School4, Teacher11, male, FGD]

In the same school, the school director reported that the reason for the school to start with the CSE programme in the school is because they were offered computers in exchange (in this school, part of the CSE curriculum was computer-based):

> *Interviewer: Why was the school interested to adopt the program?*
> *Director: It was the support of [the NGO] to introduce technology like computer use, and Internet to the students to enable them to reach the world.* [Town1, School4, Director)

The director also reported that the school lacked further resources to facilitate the programme to the extent they wished to do.

In schools where supportive structures such as health facilities, guidance and counselling, school psychologist, or school rules and regulations against gender-based violence were absent, CSE teachers seemed to act as the main focal points in the schools for dealing with cases of gender-based violence. In one school, an additional programme was available to promote menstrual hygiene. Interestingly, this additional programme has possibly influenced CSE teachers in adopting a focus on menstrual hygiene in lessons, which translated in what could be understood as reproduction of certain gendered prejudices (see section 4.5.1.3). Observations in schoolyards also witnessed prevalence of corporal punishment in at least two of the four schools. While no teachers mentioned corporal punishment as an issue affecting their own enactment of CSE, it is likely to influence the overall strategy of the school and ways young people learn about violence, potentially dismissing what they learned in CSE. Teachers had witnessed NGO-initiated extra-curricular programmes phased out after a certain period of time in other schools, which led to a suspicion and lack of interest of CSE teachers if the programme would not be mainstreamed into the regular curriculum, and they expressed concerns about the sustainability of the programme.

4.5.2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Poverty was a main concern for the majority of the schools' population. The influence of this socio-economic environment on teacher enactment of CSE particularly translated to economic and supportive roles of CSE teachers, who were usually considered closer to their students than regular class teachers. Potentially, CSE teachers' association with NGOs and foreign aid also led to an increase of seeking financial support with them. CSE teachers expressed concern that poor economic status increased the vulnerability of young women to transactional sex and young men to exploitation – however, they were limited in providing the economic assistance these students needed. Participants particularly highlighted that the poorest students often were not able to attend extra-curricular classes due to their necessity to work outside of school hours. Some suggested CSE should be integrated in the standard

curriculum so as to reach the entire student population. When CSE teachers were asked about challenges they encountered in teaching CSE, the lack of material resources and economic challenges of the school population were the most cited issues. This was also confirmed by school directors:

> *Yet, we lack resources to run this programme. So, to solve this we had to contact the NGO. (…) we want to continue this programme in the future; we will sacrifice any kind of resource and time we have to invest in this programme. The reason is that new topics that are not incorporated in the curriculum, are provided through this programme.* [Town1, School1, Director)

4.5.2.4 RELATIONS WITH THE COMMUNITY

Almost all participants referred to community resistance and suspicion against the idea of providing education that discusses intimate issues of sexuality. Particularly parents of CSE students were afraid that the school and the foreign NGO providing CSE were encouraging young people to start (sexual) relationships:

> *[When volunteers and the local NGO] offered training, the team had equal number of female and male members; and [they] selected 50 male and 50 female students. Unknowingly, [the local community] perceived [the training activity] as couple making; the members of parent-teacher-student associations also didn't like the pairing. As the education was about sexuality, it didn't promote a good spirit among the local community.* [Town1, School4, PTSA-member4, male]

Teachers' challenges in dealing with resistance largely related to their professional status. Some teachers indicated that students or parents did not always accept teachers' authority, and CSE teachers were vulnerable to accusations of teaching immoral lessons. One local government representative observed:

> *In [School3] when the teacher mentioned SRH topics like body parts, safe sex, STI, menstruation… the students were gossiping that their teacher is teaching them "balege" [out of the norm, rude] lesson. The students didn't like it at all. Then the teacher and even the advisory committee heard about it. But the teacher was strong enough to win this by himself. He explained that this is an important lesson that can improve the students' attitude and behaviour. Now the students like the CSE. The teacher's role in creating better understanding towards openness is very important.* [D23, Local government representative, female, FGD]

As the extract above illustrates, 'gossip' was experienced as a potential threat to the success of CSE initiatives. Participants spoke of the need for CSE teachers to be self-confident and 'courageous' in the face of student (and broader community) resistance. In fact, some

teachers evaluated themselves as 'good' CSE teachers if they were able to teach the curriculum as it was set out, despite community resistance or influence of individual beliefs and style. The emphasis placed on dealing with resistance reveals that teaching CSE was not simply a matter of implementation or facilitation, but a continuous negotiation between individuals' beliefs, community, curriculum, and socio-economic and political context. Furthermore, the fact that teaching CSE was not remunerated made it a significant time investment for teachers.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Analysis of teacher enactment of CSE policy in schools revealed that teachers did not merely 'facilitate' the CSE programmes in schools but took up a range of additional roles and responsibilities in their schools and communities. These roles ranged from advising, to networking and advocating for CSE. Except for one, most CSE teachers did not mention addressing gender-based violence as a priority or role to take up unless prompted. Most references to CSE teachers' ways to address gender-based violence related to the family or community of the school population (as also noted in Uganda by De Haas and Hutter, 2018). CSE teachers and their students regarded it to be the CSE teacher's responsibility to intervene in cases of early marriage or abduction, even if their space to do so was limited because of ambivalent relations with the community (see also Maes et al., 2015) and limited supportive structures (Bhana, 2015; Vanner, 2017).

Focusing on teacher enactment and aiming to capture the multiple dynamics that shape and re-contextualize CSE policy at the level of the school, revealed that enactment of CSE was not influenced by teacher beliefs or cultural context alone, but was the outcome of a continuous mediation between curriculum text, community and school context, and socio-economic concerns. CSE teachers operated in a context where school management priorities centred around regular (examined) curriculum (see also Vanner, 2018), school population struggled making ends meet, and teacher professional status was weakening. In view of these socio-economic dynamics, the fact that CSE teachers did not receive remuneration for their additional efforts was a source of exhaustion and challenge to teach CSE in a way that satisfied them. Teachers' associations to NGOs also increased their economic supportive roles towards their students. Such socio-economic dynamics of CSE enactment are overlooked in current CSE policy guidelines, which emphasise cultural factors instead.

Nevertheless, teachers did have to navigate sensitive terrain of cultural values conflicting with those in the community. In fact, not only did teachers re-contextualize CSE to fit what they identified as local priorities, but in turn, CSE policies also appeared to mould teachers into taking up advocacy roles. Particularly teachers' strategies to overcome community resistance were important for understanding the dynamics of policy enactment processes at schools. Resistance was often related to the idea of speaking about sexuality in

mixed-sex classrooms to unmarried young people. However, when advocating for the programme, teachers emphasised the benefits of CSE such as increased self-confidence, encouragement of friendly non-sexual relationships between young men and women, and improved knowledge and ability to talk about sexual health. In addition, teachers' focus on health and educational outcomes, drawing on notions of child protection, 'good morals' (see also Miedema et al., 2011), and mitigation of more controversial idea of 'sexuality' education, appears to be a direct response to the priorities teachers identified in the community, and their tailoring of contents to community values and national policy priorities. Teachers presented these strategies as ways to advocate for CSE, even if their strategies can be considered counter-productive to the comprehensive nature of CSE. Teachers thus made CSE more acceptable at community and local government level. Teachers' efforts to increase acceptability of CSE should be seen with a view to 'saving lives' and creating model citizens – a language more widely reflected in Ethiopia's policy enactments (Maes et al., 2015).

As authors such as Haberland (2015) have observed, while global guidelines give direction in terms of content knowledge, the ways teachers should deal with gender relations and address gender-based violence remains open to interpretation (see also Miedema et al., under review). It was exactly in these areas where teachers' own interpretations of the policy, their personal experiences, and school context, affected the emphases they applied in their CSE classes: some teachers took CSE as an opportunity to give practical advice to young women on how to avoid sexual abuse, some actively challenged gendered prejudices around menarche, whereas others seemed to entrench these. Strikingly, teachers hardly reflected on how their own positions affected their enactment of CSE, but rather emphasised the importance of teaching the curriculum according to provided guidelines. As confirmed in other studies, teacher reflexivity and positionality are factors possibly affecting teacher enactment of policies aimed at addressing gender-based violence and areas to be further explored (Ollis, 2014; Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018). However, such reflexivity is unlikely to be sufficient to address gender-based violence in and of itself, but needs to be supported by wider school, community, and legal structures (Bhana, 2015).

Hence, as became clear in this study, there is no unidirectional way of implementing a new policy, but enactment is an ongoing process of reflection, interpretation, and mediation in which teachers play central roles. Future education policies and programmes should thus pay attention to strengthening the positions of teacher, and reflexivity in teacher professional development. Such attention should have particular application to teachers' roles in addressing gender-based violence, as this remains a vague if not neglected agenda in schools, education policies and programmes. Finally, teachers are important resources in understanding the dynamics that define and re-contextualize CSE policy in schools and communities, where they are often faced with multiple demands particularly in view of

material scarcity. Local, national, and international actors should make efforts to include teachers' views, concerns, and daily realities, in the development of education agendas.

CHAPTER 5. (S)EXCLUSION IN THE CSE CLASSROOM: YOUNG PEOPLE ON GENDER AND POWER RELATIONS

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

Sexuality education for young people is gaining increasing attention in the field of education and international development. In recent years, strong debate has taken place about what and how to teach young people about sexual and personal development, and what goals it should achieve (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Jones, 2011; Lesko, 2010; Miedema et al., 2011). However, the views of young people themselves are not always included in these discussions (Allen 2007; 2011; Jones 2011), and critical discussion of gender and power relations in sexuality education is not self-evident (Rogow and Haberland, 2005). In line with the need for better representation of young people's views in the sexuality education debate, and the relevance of these needs to programme development, this study engages with young people's views about a CSE programme in the Oromia region of Ethiopia. The programme aimed to contribute to sexual health of young people by providing them the knowledge and skills to make informed decisions. The objective of this paper is to reveal how asking young people about their needs with respect to sexuality, and their experiences of a sexuality programme in school, can shed light on gendered practices and practices of exclusion. Findings argue for closer engagement with the role of gender, power and culture in interpreting and providing sexuality education.

5.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

5.2.1 SEXUALITY EDUCATION: DEBATES AND DISCOURSES

In the context of increasing debate about sexuality education, what it should teach and to whom, several approaches can be distinguished (Jones, 2011; Lesko, 2010; Miedema et al., 2011). Most prominent is the debate between abstinence-only sexuality education, that is often viewed in opposition to more comprehensive forms of provision (see for example Lesko, 2010). Abstinence-only sexuality education could be classified as the most

conservative type of sexuality education (Jones, 2011), often promoting fear-instilled abstinence of sexual intercourse until marriage. It is often justified by traditional, religious or moral values, although the (sexual/reproductive) health benefits of complete abstinence may also be used as a rationale for discouraging pre-marital sexual intercourse. CSE, in contrast, is often linked with the promotion of positive ideas towards sexuality, attention to diversity, and a clearly defined gender sensitive approach that includes discussions of power (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). As such, CSE is gaining increasing popularity among a variety of actors in the field of international development and is argued to be the most effective way to address SRHR in school (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008). However, as recent attacks on CSE by more conservative actors show, this consensus is by no means universal (see for example Family Watch International, 2016).

Aiming to better understand debate about the provision of sexuality education to young unmarried people, which is not uncontentious in any given society, Miedema (2013) distinguishes three approaches that identify the motivations of the providers of sexuality education – morality- health- and rights-based approaches to sexuality education – conceptualising education as a means to instil certain moral values, provide scientific information, or encourage the right to self-determination respectively (see also Miedema et al., 2011). Additionally, the centrality of developing respectful relationships and associated emotional development and life skills has gained increasing attention in the growing literature on sexuality and relationships education (Rogow and Haberland, 2005) and respectful relationships education (Ollis, 2014). These programmes may contribute to tackling gender-based violence, and transforming gender unequal norms through schooling (Ollis, 2014). Finally, critical discussions of gender and power, and the need to integrate this into education programmes that teach about sexuality is receiving growing support. In fact, to successfully promote gender equality in schools, a feminist approach to research and interventions needs to be taken which is more closely linked to social studies, in which questioning gender and power relations are more central (Rogow and Haberland, 2005).

The programme of study in Ethiopia is an extra-curricular programme implemented in selected schools with support of a national and an international NGO. It defines itself as a rights-based CSE programme; it pays explicit attention to love, friendship and relationships, and gender-based violence in Ethiopia. It seeks to operate with aspects of health-, rights- and morality-based approaches to sexuality education (see also Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Miedema et al., 2011). It is a computer-based programme, in which students interactively study the material, and teachers act as a facilitator of education.

5.2.2 LIVED REALITIES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

To complement debates and discourses about what sexuality education should teach and how, it is essential to embrace the view of young people themselves (Allen, 2011). It is worth

asking to what extent students experience school sexuality education programmes as supportive of developing values and attitudes about their personal and sexual development. In fact, not doing so, and only focusing on for instance health outcomes and behaviour change, fails to recognize young people as sexual beings, and arguably as meaningful citizens with social, economic or political agency (Allen, 2005; Braeken and Cardinal, 2008; Ingham, 2005; Jones, 2010; Rijsdijk et al., 2013). Jones (2010) argues that inherent to various orientations towards sexuality education is the attempt to 'save' (assumedly innocent and asexual) children from sexuality problems through education. However, she claims, sexuality education should respond more adequately to the 'actual child', which is why there is a need to listen to young people's voices in this respect. Moreover, including the voices of young people who receive the education can lead to unexpected and refreshing insights, which evaluative measures defined exclusively by adults tend to overlook (Allen, 2005; Bayer, Cabrera, Gilman, Hindin, and Tsui, 2010).

The lived realities of young people may often be contrary to what is taught in sexuality education. Studies have revealed that young people often evaluate their sexuality education as too 'scientific', neglecting emotional and relational aspects of sexuality, and detailed real-life sexual knowledge (Allen, 2005). Sexuality education often fails to address young people's lived experiences, is largely prescriptive, and sometimes even contradictory (Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011). Furthermore, sexuality education is often strongly feminised, focusing on young women's sexuality problems at the expense of young men's interests, needs and experiences.

5.2.3 GENDER, POWER AND SEXUALITY EDUCATION

A relational approach to gender understands gender as a social structure and explores the practices that are shaped by it (Connell, 2002; 2011). It considers multiple dimensions, levels, and types of relationships as core to gender relations: power, economics, emotional relations, and symbolic relations. Schools, in such a framework, are sites where these types of relations are constantly re-negotiated, transformed, or reinforced, for instance in the sexuality education classroom.

CSE is often seen as an opportunity to address and transform gender inequalities. It has been shown to question existing gender relations and encourage more respectful relationships between young women and young men in Ethiopia (Le Mat, 2016). However, at the same time in this and other contexts, the sexuality education classroom can be site of conflicting messages around gender relations, resulting in confusion, fear or cynicism, and reinforcing gender unequal regimes in school and societies (Le Mat, 2016; Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011). Critical thinking skills, encouraged by discussions of gender and power (Bajaj, 2009; Rogow and Haberland, 2005; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016), have been revealed to be vital for more gender equal practices and relations in schools. This needs to be

accompanied by adequate (implementation of) curricula, teaching practices, respectful peer relationships (Allen, 2005; Haste, 2013; Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011), and wider school policies and environments.

Studies focused on implementation and practice of sexuality education have revealed that sexuality education is often more female-focused (Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011), and tends to problematise young men's sexuality (Haste, 2013). More specifically, curricula tend to send protective messages to young women, and do not recognize the different cultural scripts young men use (Allen, 2005; Haste, 2013; Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011). This is reflected in, for example, the information sources young men and young women use, (Haste, 2013; Measor, 2004), and in gendered curricula and interactions in school where female students tend to be seen as in need of protective messages, whereas young men are expected to be sexually active (Measor, 2004; Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011; Rijsdijk et al., 2013). By not recognizing this in the curriculum, sexuality education might risk reproducing the same gender stereotypes, rather than addressing them.

Because of the above, it is questionable to what extent the implementation of CSE programmes can support the critical discussion of gender and power. By using the framework of Miedema (2011), this paper analyses the various rationalisations of teachers how and why to teach sensitive issues in the CSE classroom. The paper engages with tensions that arise with the emphasis of any programmes to improve health outcomes (e.g. increased condom use, decrease in STIs or maternal morbidity), which carry a risk that sexuality education may become little more than another 'developmentalist' instrument (Lewis, 2002; Chilisa, 2005) – a means for economic development rather than a liberating force for empowerment and enjoyment of sexual and reproductive rights.

5.3 METHODS

Data in this paper derive from interviews and FGDs with students and their teachers in these settings where the sexuality education programme was implemented. In total, 66 participants are included in analysis.

Three upper-primary schools (grades seven and eight), two secondary schools (grades nine and 10) and one out of school youth centre were included. All education centres were located in Oromia region in Ethiopia, but in four different towns. At the time of the data collection (April 2014), the schools and out of school youth centre have been running the programme as a pilot for one to three years. Interpreters knowledgeable about the context and fluent in Afaan Oromo and Amharic translated during some of the FGDs and interviews, and in some cases, helped with the interpretation of findings.

Five FGDs served as the main source for understanding the experiences of students. Focus groups consisted of five to seven members, of which two were same-gender, and three were mixed-gender in composition. Exercises were designed in order to encourage

active discussion. Following the FGDs, individual interviews were held with 15 students 16 teachers, and three teachers who were also parents in all the schools.

Both FGDs and interviews were conducted in an informal and confidential manner, and anonymity and voluntary participation were assured. In order to contextualize the discussions and interviews, additional interviews, and conversations in which ethnographic notes were taken, were held with SRH professionals in national and regional offices of the local implementing NGO. So long as participants felt comfortable about it, FGDs and interviews were recorded and transcribed, with findings being complemented by ethnographic field notes.

Content analysis of the transcriptions and/or ethnographic notes from FGDs and interviews provided insight into how and to what extent students and teachers experienced the sexuality education programme as achieving its aim of assisting young people in their personal and sexual development. The views of participants were compared and contrasted, based on role position and gender, to gain insight into experiences with the programme, and possibly different interpretations of students' needs with respect to personal and sexual development.

5.4 FINDINGS

Teachers and young people's accounts with regard to young people's needs and questions about sexuality, and experiences of CSE initiatives in school, revealed gendered practices and practices of exclusion in three important ways. These gendered and exclusionary practices relate to selection of participants, gendered perspectives of the needs of young men and young women, and a lack of discussion about topics relevant to young people's interests, emotions, and relationships. Engagement with young people's voices makes a case for a wider recognition of the central role of gender, emotions, and relations in approaches to sexuality education.

5.4.1 SELECTION MECHANISMS

Unequal access to the CSE programme forms the first and most obvious form of gender bias. Many participants felt gender parity in the classroom should be a starting point for a more equitable form of sexuality education. Yet, the extra-curricular programme had no clear guidelines about who could participate and what type of student has priority. The lack of guidelines meant that some schools had developed their own guidelines, some schools indeed aimed to ensure gender parity. Other schools went by a 'first come, first serve' basis, or had developed more detailed criteria based selection of participants on the basis of young people's overall school performance, with a focus on English language skills, perceived behaviour as well as perceived availability of time. For instance, while some schools aimed to have a representation of students classified in 'poor', 'average' and 'good' performing

students in the CSE programme, others included only those students that were considered to perform well in school, as they were considered to be deserving of participation in extra-curricular programmes. Particularly students who performed well in English were selected given the programme was taught in English[14]. In practice, this meant that young women, students with low grades, or those with low socio-economic status were often excluded from the programme. The programme thereby, unintentionally, reproduced existing segregation in society.

Being selected to take part in the CSE programme was regarded as an achievement, producing an advantageous position for CSE students within the school. Particularly gifted young people may at times gain access to international networks through the programme, which further reproduced privilege. At the same time, access to the CSE programme was limited for more disadvantaged students who would benefit as much from it. For instance, one young woman observed that it is often young women from lower-class backgrounds who have the most questions about sexuality given their mothers were less likely to speak to them about it. However, because these young women often were not considered to belong to the category of 'well-performing' students, they tended not to be considered for participation in the programme.

In line with these observations, students and teachers considered young women in particular to need support to attend the CSE programme. In one school, for instance, only three out of the 40 enrolled CSE-students were female. One of these three young women observed that young women in her school needed encouragement to take part in the programme. Additionally, she felt that at least one female teacher should be assigned to teach CSE:

> *I think it's best for a girl if there's another woman as a teacher, for us, to be more free. (…) there are some students who feel nervous when they want to explain their idea for [male] teachers, but if there is another [female] teacher I think it's the best. (…) For example, when [girls get their menstruation] for the first time, maybe they feel nervous, but [when] there is a female teacher, maybe they can explain themselves to that teacher freely, because she's female, just like that girl.* [Town3, School2, Student23, female]

[14] English is the medium of instruction in secondary schools in Ethiopia. In the case of this programme the use of English also reflects the transnational relations that are attached to it: the curriculum was developed by a Netherlands-based NGO and was designed to be used in several countries. However, linguistic norm-setting of donors may exclude or ignore local or contextual meanings expressed in other languages and enforce having to conform to the 'international' norm of using English to privilege Western knowledge on sexual health (see also Chilisa, 2005).

Importantly, most CSE teachers were not selected (or: assigned) for the position based on interest, but rather on subject background, language skills and time availability. Some teachers mentioned that indeed they were not initially motivated to teach the programme, which might have affected classroom interactions.

5.4.2 GENDERED PRACTICES AND INTERPRETATIONS

In addition to the challenges in accessing CSE, gender biases in the information communicated within the CSE classroom caused further forms of exclusion. Because of gendered interpretations of what young women's and young men's needs were, the CSE programme did not always appropriately respond to young people's needs. Furthermore, the gender biased information communicated through the lessons reaffirmed a gender order through messages and interactions in the classroom.

5.4.2.1 GENDERED INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NEEDS OF YOUNG WOMEN AND YOUNG MEN

First of all, the language used in relation to young men and young women is a powerful illustration of how young people's perceived needs were fundamentally gendered. In several schools that were part of the study, teachers and students alike considered young women learning the necessary skills 'to protect themselves' ought to be a main focus of their sexuality education. Young women, participants appeared to assume, needed to be given the tools and information to protect themselves from sexual advances in view of the dangers of STIs and HIV/AIDS, unwanted pregnancy, and the importance of preserving their virginity. Teachers, for instance, warned young women against the dangers of falling pregnant or losing their virginity before they were married. During an FGD with young people, participants confirmed that lessons around pregnancy and virginity were mostly geared towards advising young women how to protect themselves from shameful consequences of premarital sexual intercourse, rather than discussing intimate and sexual relationships in a broader sense: *'when we talk about virginity, most of the time, even in the programme, it's more focused on girls (…) [not everything] is clear for us.'* [Town1, School1, Student, male, FGD].

Furthermore, it was considered important for young women to learn how to protect themselves from violence from men and boys: *'[Teachers] give an advice related to love, so how she can defend herself from boys, how she can defend the boys using justice system, and also they [refer her to a] club called guidance and counselling for girls'* [Town2, School1, Student11, female]. In another FGD, young women brought up the lack of space to discuss 'premarital sex', fearing judgement and being regarded as indecent. As a consequence, CSE messages directed at young women were geared towards protection, limiting young women's space to explore issues of, for instance, desire as active sexual being (Allen, 2007). Consequently, teachers and

students argued that if young women can manage to protect themselves from these dangers, and focus on their education, they will be able to participate in the labour market and be of importance to their family, community, and country. Thus, young women's sexuality tended to be reduced to something that should be protected, and if protected well, instrumentalised to serve economic interests.

In relation to young men, fewer concerns were raised as to how they ought to protect themselves except with regard to STIs and HIV/AIDS. During an FGD with young men, they repeatedly referred to needing to learn 'how to control themselves'. Young women and teachers similarly referred to 'control' as a critical skill that young men needed to master, illustrating the expectation that young men are naturally predisposed to have strong sexual urges:

> *If he has a problem for example if he loves someone and if the girls do not permit to be with him, he may use different forces. So [teachers] can advise him not to do that, to control himself, and to control his feelings.* [Town2, School1, Student11, female].

Teachers advised young men to at least control themselves until they have finished their high school education, as being sexually active was considered to distract students from successfully taking their exams. Teachers, and young men alike, reasoned that, if young men have finished their education, they will have the basic means to participate in the labour market and be able to take care of their future family. However, the assumption that young men are 'naturally' sexually aggressive arguably might limit them in their personal, relational, and sexual development. Because young men were expected to be knowledgeable about sexuality, their questions, concerns, and ideas concerning sexuality received little attention (as is shown in other contexts as well, see for instance Muhanguzi and Ninsiima, 2011). The dichotomous understanding of young women's and young men's needs reproduced stereotypical assumptions about their sexuality and did not question gendered assumptions or address power dynamics.

Contrary to the above assumptions of young women in need to 'protect themselves' and young men to 'control themselves', their actual interests did not seem to revolve around practical advice on how to best do this. Rather, young men and young women were interested in information about sexual intercourse and romantic relationships. However, their means of expressing this interest differed. One teacher observed that young women became quieter when the topic of sexual intercourse was addressed, whereas young men became more enthusiastic:

> *…the females are not this much eager to ask, because they are afraid. Boys are asking more. They get some information on sexual acts, in the sexuality part, it talks about oral sex, masturbation…*

[boys ask:] "what does it mean? Is there such like of act?" Just they are too much eager to know. [Town2, School1, Teacher5, male]

In interviews, young men indeed expressed an interest in having 'full information' about sex and sexuality, which goes beyond information about acts and practice, but also related to emotional and relational matters of how to know when is the right time and how to be able to make their girlfriends happy. However, some teachers again problematised this type of behaviour of young men, complaining that they did not sit still and talked too much during the lessons. Young women on the other hand, were viewed to be mostly well-behaved and did not disturb the class to the same extent. However, this asserts an assumption of innocence that is further reinforced by silence around the topic; young women rather avoided explicit reference to sexuality to avoid being considered rude or judged (see also Lucas, 2001; Mulumebet, 2006; in Kebede, Hilden and Middelthon, 2014). As young women in an FGD pointed out, they feared learning and speaking about *'premarital sex'*, because *'they are judging. When we talk about sexual intercourse [people would say] "oh she's not good girl". They're judging you'* [Town4, School1, Student, female, FGD]. It is in these interactions that young men's sexuality becomes further problematised and young women's expected lack of interest in sexual intercourse (they were assumed to be more interested in topics such as virginity, pregnancy, and body change) was reinforced. These interactions affirm stereotypes, silences, and a gender order in which there is little space for young women's sexuality and desire.

5.4.2.2 Gendered practices in school: exclusion and gender-based violence

In addition to the gendered identification of what assumed needs of young men versus those of young women were, the toleration of gender-based violence in schools formed another way of gender-based exclusion. Ironically, while students learned about what gender equality means in CSE, their actual experiences in school were far from the ideal picture that was communicated. Gender-based violence could be expressed in the form of power relations, a division of labour in the school (e.g. young women have to clean the compound), the perpetuation and tolerance of sexual violence, and symbolic violence in terms of, for instance, misogynistic language used in school (see also Connell, 2002; Le Mat, 2016). It is important to note that sexual violence may also be perpetuated by teachers; previous research has discussed the severe implications and contradictory messages that affect students, especially young women, as a result of sexual violence in schools that also promote CSE (Le Mat, 2016).

However, it is not only in the perpetuation of sexual and gender-based violence, that contradictory practices such as those described above play out. Regarding the lessons that

are designed to critically address notions of gender and power, one young woman described how different values were reflected in reality:

> *There is a problem even at the teachers. Because they teach us even about HIV (…) they see like, all of HIV-infection comes from girls. They think like that. And when we learn, even they break our morals, and we feel angry because of that. Because they tell us that all of the problems come from girls.* [Town3, School2, Student22, female]

This comment reveals how teachers reinforced gender discrimination through their teaching, which paradoxically took place in CSE. Clearly, it was emotionally disturbing to the girl, likely affecting her attachment to the subject, teacher, and possibly schooling in a broader sense.

5.4.3 EXCLUDING SEX FROM SEXUALITY EDUCATION

Finally, exclusion of classroom discussion of the topic of sex itself and the (cultural) meanings attached to it, illustrated the lack of attention for young people's concerns with regard to (their) sexuality. Many young people expressed an interest in knowing more about 'premarital sex' or a positive view on sex and desire and emphasised how related relational and emotional aspects such as friendships and romance were important to them. However, many teachers seemed to neglect or reduce these topics to something that is confined to marriage, and not relevant to young unmarried school-going people.

In facilitating CSE, teaching about taboos and sensitive issues is inevitable. However, for various reasons teachers taking part in the study reportedly struggled to engage with what were seen as highly controversial topics (see also Ingham and Mayhew, 2006; Iyer and Aggleton, 2013; Oshi et al., 2005). Some teachers indicated they felt so uncomfortable to speak openly about pre-marital sex or homosexuality, that they skipped lessons on these sensitive topics all together. Other teachers who did mention these topics in their lessons, seemed to refer to different rationalisations for teaching about these culturally not easily acceptable matters (Schaapveld, 2013; see also Miedema et al., 2011). When it concerned sexual intercourse, most teachers reasoned from a health-based and moralistic perspective in justifying what is taught, or not taught, about it. For instance, by emphasising the 'dangers' of sexual intercourse, the curriculum is used in such a way that it promotes abstinence or delay, rather than, for instance, safe sex. Similarly, teachers emphasised in interviews the importance of teaching that 'sex is not the same as sexuality'. In this lesson, students learned about different levels of intimacy, and listed items ranging between hugging, kissing, and touching to sexual intercourse. Many teachers took this as an opportunity to tell students that sexual intercourse is not necessary, adding that it is also not appropriate at this age, and that they can be intimate with their boyfriends or girlfriends in a different, less dangerous

way. Consequently, the emphasis on the dangers of sex was sometimes reflected in students' statements in interviews:

> *Sex first is dangerous, second it is very important. It's dangerous because if we have sex it might give HIV/AIDS or diseases. Sex is important for having a child or for marriage. At the right time. If it is after a marriage, it is very important. But before a marriage it is different, and it is not important.* [Town3, School1, Student, male, FGD]

Teachers typically used phrases such as 'respect their sexuality' to indicate how and why young people should abstain; because sex is dangerous, and because education needs to be prioritised at their age. For teachers, the perception that sexual relations ought to be reserved for marriage justified teaching about a taboo topic such as this from a moralistic perspective, because they regarded it as their moral duty to give young people the 'right' information as a preparation for their future family lives (Miedema et al., 2011). Other teachers justified their lessons on highly sensitive topics based on a health-based point of view; these teachers considered it important to warn students for the dangers of sex, as infections with STIs might problematise their education. Teachers' interpretations of what adequate CSE entailed thus differed from that of the programme designers, who emphasised rights-based rationales. For example, one of the final lessons of the programme encourages students to set goals for the future and to make future plans. In practice, this was often interpreted and communicated as 'focus on your education, and not on sex, to have a bright future', or, in other words, used as an opportunity to again relay messages as to delaying sexual debut. Teachers regarded schooling as critical to prepare students for the labour market and securing their means to attain a bright future. CSE was thus often used to promote abstinence in an effort to decrease the risk that young people would become sexually active and be distracted from completing their education.

Teachers' rationales and justifications for their lessons on sensitive issues stood in stark contrast with the interests and needs of those students who felt it might be the right time for sex and had been in romantic relationships for a while and had pressing questions. For these students, important information was left out, and they did not receive answers to the questions they were concerned about. For instance, one student shared in an interview that details concerning contraceptives had been left out from the lessons, and referred to the teacher's information as 'controlled': *'For example if you take different medicines for contraceptives, (…) our teachers tell us what is this, but the teachers information is just controlled you know. It may not go further.'* [Town2, School1, Student11, female]. The programme thus did not always give young people the information they needed to make well-informed decisions about issues such as contraceptive methods. Moreover, young people were concerned with emotional and relational dimensions of sexual intercourse, which were discussed to a limited extent due to

the emphasis on dangers and abstinence. These conflicting foci between the aims of teachers and the questions of students created a disconnect between the programme and the students.

As a consequence, students reported they did not feel taken seriously. However, from many teachers' points of view, the best advice to give to young people is to delay sexual initiation, and they regarded it as their (moral) duty as educators to teach accordingly. This sense of responsibility teachers felt thus further complicated informing young unmarried people about sexual relationships. Explanations for this can be found in health-, moral-, or rights-based discourses (see also Miedema et al., 2011), that are used as rationalisations for modification of the (intended) curriculum and make it appropriate according to teachers' own interpretations. Yet, discussion of sexual relationships and expressing desire are essential in addressing gender and power in the sexuality education classroom. Not meeting students' needs and questions about sexuality misrecognized the needs of young people who, as a result, dropped out of the lessons, searched for answers in alternative (and often less reliable) sources, and, at times, left CSE with a sense of frustration and alienation due to the normative messages that were conveyed. Furthermore, these normative messages reinforced prevailing patriarchal norms in schools by generally neglecting questions of sexuality outside of heterosexual marital relationships and teaching that sex, especially for young women, is shameful.

5.5 CONCLUSION

To conclude, this paper has identified three mechanisms through which gender, power, and sex influence exclusionary practices in this study sample. The first relates to selection of students and teachers: female students need more affirmative action and a safer classroom environment, and more female teachers should be attracted to facilitating CSE. Secondly, gendered assumptions about young men's and women's needs resulted into conveying partial information and reproduced stereotypes in the school. Thirdly, discussion of sexual relationships and desire were essential in discussing gender and power in the sexuality education classroom yet tended to be avoided by teachers who shifted emphasis to morality or health-informed advices to delay sexual debut. Gender and power seemed to be mentioned superficially and its meaning communicated as factual knowledge, rather than as a starting point to question the current gender order in school. With regard to CSE's potential to renegotiate or transform gender relations in societies, it would thus be important to move beyond just 'including gender and power' in the sexuality education curriculum, and instead to make this a central discussion that connects to relations in schools, families, culture and society (Connell, 2002; Harrison and Hillier, 1999).

The paper has also shown how the CSE programme is implemented differently when contextualized or modified by teachers' interpretations on what is important to teach to students, as well as by persisting structural gender and power relations. The discrepancy

between the design of the programme as comprehensive and rights-based education on the one hand, and the discourses used to negotiate actual content of messages communicated in the classroom, illustrate an adapted interpretation of what sexuality education should teach. A more relational, perhaps participatory approach including young people as well as teachers in the design and implementation of the programme could better bridge these various interpretations of what sexuality education should promote and entail. Furthermore, it would be important to gain further insight in what entails and defines a *comprehensive* form of sexuality education. This applies not only to the views of students, teachers, and NGOs in Ethiopia and transnationally, but it is important to theoretically better understand what concepts exactly are underpinning CSE. In this regard, the findings of this study point towards the importance of addressing gender and power structures at the school level, and arguably broader society.

Finally, the contradictions between young people's interest in knowing more about premarital romantic relationships, sexual intercourse, and related emotional attachments, versus the cultural inappropriateness of such messages, illustrate overall confusion around the introduction of CSE. In line with the above, it is thus not only important theoretically to better understand the underpinnings of CSE, but also how this may differ between contexts. Furthermore, methodologically it is important to pay more explicit attention to cultural meanings of issues such as marriage, virginity, or premarital relationships. Often times, sexuality education tends to take a 'developmentalist' approach, instrumentalising sexual health and gender equality to a means for economic growth (Cornwall, 2003; Lewis, 2002). The fact that this translation in the sexuality education classroom results into a more restrictive message than intended, points to a need to better understand, adapt to and recognize cultural interpretations of what education means (Chilisa, 2005) and what values ought to be promoted through education, particularly sexuality education.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSING CULTURE AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN CSE

This chapter is a pre-print version of: Le Mat, M.L.J., Kosar-Altinyelken, H, Bos, H.M.W., & Volman, M.L.L. (2019). Discussing culture and gender-based violence in comprehensive sexuality education in Ethiopia. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *65*, 207-215. The Version of Record of this manuscript has been published on 22 September 2018 and is available in International Journal of Educational Development by Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.08.004

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Tensions that arise with increasing educational initiatives and research on sexuality are being increasingly reported. Development and modernisation are on the one hand celebrated characteristics by young people, inspiring an ideal of free and liberal sexual practices; yet at the same time are viewed to be at odds with a traditional cultural identity (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Parkes, Heslop, Januario, et al., 2016; Lalor, 2004; Spronk, 2009). For instance, Lalor (2004) argues that in sub-Saharan Africa, there is widespread (though contested) belief that modernisation has led to a dramatic increase in child sexual abuse; and Leclerc-Madlala (2004) reveals how ideals of modernity and cosmopolitanism are believed to lead to transactional sex in South Africa. Spronk (2009) also describes how for young urban professionals in Nairobi, sexuality is centrally placed in their positioning as modern subjects. However, for them, 'proper morality' is strongly connected to cultural heritage and notions of 'Africanness'. Without doubt, development efforts, including educational programmes for the promotion of sexual health affect notions of culture, modernity, and tradition, as well as what is 'proper' (see e.g. Bhana, 2015; Chilisa, 2005; Heslop, Parkes, Januario, Sabaa, Oando, and Hess, 2015).

Over the past two decades, research has paid growing attention to culture in relation to education programmes on sexuality and gender-based violence. Some of this research has been inspired by concerns that cultural barriers, mostly referring to tradition, negatively affect the promotion of SRHR (see e.g. Chandra-Mouli, Lane, and Wong, 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). At the same time, post-colonial and feminist theorists have pointed out that conceptualising culture as a barrier to sexual health offers narrow and simplified views of postcolonial and developing contexts (Chilisa, 2005; Khau, 2012; Mohanty, 1991; Tamale, 2011). Sexual health research has been little considerate of contextual interpretations of what sexual health means (Chilisa, 2005), and lacks a socio-

historical approach to gender and sexuality issues in sub-Saharan African societies (Tamale, 2011). They argue that the 'modern' seems to be indicative of the types of knowledges, understandings, and information as developed in the West, and dominate interpretations of what 'awareness' or 'sexual knowledge' should entail. In similar vein, several studies have highlighted how 'culture' is often looked at to explain high prevalence of gender-based violence (Bhana, 2015; Kedir and Admasachew, 2010; Meyer, 2008). However, little is known about how those directly involved with gender-based violence in education, i.e. teachers and students, view the relationship between culture and gender-based violence, and what an educational response should look like.

Against this backdrop, this study examines how students and teachers interpret the relations between culture, gender-based violence, and how CSE should discuss culture in relation to gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia. Some have examined how educational programmes such as CSE include discussions on culture (see e.g. Browes, 2015; Geary, 2007, Mukoro, 2017), but not in relation to gender-based violence. Therefore, to address this gap in research, the study draws on interview and FGD data collected in two separate fieldwork trips to Ethiopia in schools with CSE programmes, where in both cases participants strikingly often referred to 'culture' as explanatory factor for gender-based violence. It is revealed how notions of culture and desired cultural change are highly gendered and influenced by notions of what is 'modern', affecting the vulnerability of young women as well as the effectiveness of CSE to address gender-based violence. The paper specifically addresses the implications for sexuality education programmes as to successfully address gender-based violence while paying attention to culture.

6.2 CULTURE AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

In light of growing attention for SRHR, gender-based violence is receiving increasing consideration internationally. In trying to explain high prevalence of gender-based violence, Kedir and Admasachew (2010) reveal how their sample of gender experts typically 'blame' culture for persisting intimate partner violence in Ethiopia. The authors highlight culture is often used as an excuse not to intervene or to remain silent about violent behaviour, even if participants think this is not a legitimate excuse (see also Bhana, 2015; Meyer, 2008). Arguably, 'culture-blaming' reflects a narrative adopted by the general population including young people, parents, and teachers, though with different interpretations of the legitimacy of its explanation for violence. For instance, teachers in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, use culture for legitimising gender-based violence – referring to the dominant position of men according to Zulu culture and in fact, expressing discontent about increased attention to women's rights that may threaten their superior positions as men (Bhana, de Lange, and Mitchell, 2009). For some teachers, their attachment to traditional culture is a form of

nostalgia that is threatened by more modern values of in this case gender equality and women's rights (DePalma and Francis, 2014).

The distinction between traditional and modern values has become a common conceptualisation of debates about the relationship between culture, cultural change, and gender-based violence, as comes forward from the analysis in this paper as well. However, research has shown that this dichotomy is more complex. For instance, young women position themselves *between* notions of tradition and modernity in relation to their sexual relationships, rather than on the one side or the other, and their positioning may vary on context and time (Parkes, Heslop, Januario et al., 2016). Furthermore, the common belief that modernity leads to a decrease in gender-based violence has been contested (see Parkes, Heslop, Januario et al., 2016). In fact, much of the literature concludes that structural factors affecting gender-based violence, such as social, political and economic inequalities, are typically overlooked or simplified by static notions of culture, modernity, or tradition (Bhana et al., 2009; Kedir and Admasachew, 2010; Shih, Worth, Travaglia, and Kelly-Hanku, 2017).

Patriarchy is central in understanding the linkages between culture and gender-based violence (Winter, Thompson, and Jeffreys, 2002). Explaining gender-based violence ought to include a discussion of the imbalance of power in gendered relations (Leach and Humphreys 2007), often supported by patriarchal structures in societies that favour male dominance and male sexual entitlement. Indeed, since in patriarchal societies, men have mostly controlled powerful positions, cultures may have likewise been shaped and influenced by men more dominantly than women. However, the fact that cultures have been shaped in social and historical processes, also means they can be re-imagined and re-defined (Connell, 2002; 2012a). In line with concerns that static representations of culture may disregard complexities of contemporary communities (Parkes, Heslop, Januario et al. 2016; Shih et al. 2017; Spronk 2009), this study engages with culture as a fluid, socially constructed notion, that may vary dependent on context and time. Culture is not understood as uniform across a country or stable over time, but as continuously in interaction and relation with people and other cultures. Likewise, 'modernity' or 'tradition' do not refer to uniform entities but to socially constructed concepts that interact with each other and their wider social, economic, and political contexts. Within the thematic scope of this study, modernity is understood as economic and social development achieved by means of formal education and economic activity, reflected in individuals' lifestyles, beliefs, and practices. Tradition refers to long-established customs or beliefs that have been passed on from the one generation to the next, often based on religious beliefs, indigenous knowledge, or customary law and practice.

Finally, gender relations and their implications for SRHR likewise interact with notions of culture. For instance, ideals of female purity and decency are part of the belief systems supporting the practice of FGM/C among African migrants in Europe (Alhassan, Barrett, Brown, and Kwah, 2016), where the practice served as an act of affirming a

particular (African) cultural identity. In another study in South Africa, virginity was likewise associated to decency and morally good behaviour of women, which was not expected for men (Harrison, 2008). A focus on virginity testing seemed to revive with 'neo-traditionalist and cultural' approaches to HIV prevention (Harrison, 2008), indicating the close interlinkages between culture, sexual health, and gender relations. Such gendered ideals of decency are reinforced in schools as well. For instance, a study in Kenya, Ghana, and Mozambique reveals that discourses in schools, families and religious institutions emphasising female chastity may lead to sexual coercion (Heslop et al., 2015). Likewise, Dunne (2007) highlights that schools are gendered institutions where young men and women are socialised through gendered violence. In light of the interactions between gender and culture, this paper analyses how notions of decency, referring to practices that show morality and respectability, most typically by emphasising the importance of female virginity and sexual abstinence and innocence, underpin (cultural) values and practices that form root causes of gender-based violence. In fact, it will be argued that addressing and questioning ideals of decency in CSE could be an important entry point to addressing gender-based violence.

6.3 THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN CSE

CSE has been one of the many types of programmes that are implemented in developing contexts for young people to become better knowledgeable of SRHR. CSE is premised on ideals of young people's agency, self-determination, and right to make informed decisions (Hague et al., 2018). Among positive health outcomes reported to result from CSE are delayed age of first sexual experience and increase in condom use (Kirby, 2008). It has also been argued that CSE takes a comprehensive stance on wider societal issues such as 'harmful traditional practices', gender-based violence, and addresses issues of gender and sexual diversity (Braeken and Cardinal, 2008). As such, CSE has the potential to also shape attitudes and values related to these issues, and to develop skills that go beyond maintaining one's health. Non-health outcomes that may result from CSE include better learning, less violence, greater respect, understanding, and improved gender relations (UNESCO, 2018a).

While some of these positive outcomes have clearly been shown in research, the contested nature of CSE in relation to culture has been less scrutinised. In sexual health programmes, 'culture' often tends to be understood as a threat to successfully implementing comprehensive programmes (Chandra-Mouli et al., 2015; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016). This barrier is mostly associated with persisting forms of gender inequality, and prevalence of 'harmful traditional practices'. However, research has shown that a focus on culture in SRHR educational programmes wrongly assume a narrow causal pathway between culture and behaviour (Geary, 2007; Shih et al., 2017). Re-instilling 'good' cultural practices does not address root causes of problems leading to HIV, which are more deeply embedded in social

and economic structures (Shih et al., 2017). In line with post-colonial critiques, education programmes that conceptualise culture merely as barrier or cause for certain behaviours, are thus at risk of adopting a 'developmentalist' approach (Lewis, 2002) to sexuality education where the 'modern' is indicative of the types of knowledges of what SRHR should entail .

It has also been argued that educational programmes could use culture as an entry point to nurture responsible, ethical, and healthy behaviour (Geary, 2007). In such fashion, education plays a pivotal role in establishing a critical relationship between individuals and their cultural, social, and economic context (Geary, 2007; Parkes, Heslop, Januario et al, 2016), and, we argue, in examining gender relations within that cultural, social and economic context. In the same vein, Mukoro (2017) proposes that a 'culturally sensitive sexuality education' should instead of trying to 'resolve' issues of cultural diversity in sexuality education, sensitise and expose students to conflicting values, rather than obscure clashes. A mono-cultural sexuality education in which contents, approach, and expected outcomes are defined by a single sexual culture risks obscuring cultural differences and alienating students who identify with different sexual cultures or ideals (Mukoro, 2017). In what follows, this paper will bring further nuance to debates about the linkages between culture, CSE, and gender-based violence by unpacking how teachers and students interpret culture as a cause for gender-based violence and analysing how CSE can include discussions on this.

6.4 Contextual Background

Education is considered an important means of addressing gender inequalities in Ethiopia. According to UNESCO statistics, Ethiopian primary and secondary schools have nearly achieved gender parity (GPI being 0.91 and 0.96 respectively), yet gender parity in tertiary education is lagging behind (GPI 0.48) according to the latest statistics of 2015 (UNESCO, 2018b). Many girls face child marriages (41% marry under 18 according to UNFPA, 2012), FGM/C (74% according to UNICEF, 2013), domestic violence, and fewer work opportunities than men (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Teenage pregnancies are a growing concern, with 10% pregnancies between 15-19 year averagely in the country (CSA and ICF, 2017). Gender inequality and highly patriarchal structures in Ethiopian society are among the root causes of unmet SRHR needs (Pankhurst, 2014). Among the major problems facing young women in the areas of study, as came forward through the data as well, were prostitution, often resulting from migration, job seeking, and economic challenges (Van Blerk, 2008), and family pressure (Hoot, Tadesse, and Abdella, 2006; Van Blerk, 2008; WHO, 2002).

Reliable statistical data on prevalence of gender-based violence in schools are difficult to retrieve, and Ethiopia is no exception. Numbers that do give an indication about the scope of the problem are not always consistent. For instance, Ethiopia's prevalence rate of intimate partner violence is one of the highest among countries included in the WHO Multi Country Study of Violence Against Women, and 71% of ever-partnered women (15+ years

old) reported to have experienced physical or sexual violence (WHO, 2005). Likewise, one doctoral study on sexual violence in secondary schools in the East of Ethiopia, reports that 70% of the young men and 68% of the young women had respectively offended or become a victim of sexual violence (Bekele, 2012). A more recent study on violence against children however reports that in Ethiopia, 26.3% of women older than 15 have experienced intimate partner violence, and, relying on national survey data, 12.9% of adolescent girls (aged 15-19) have experienced sexual violence (Know Violence in Childhood, 2017). What should be noted is that the numbers of adolescent girls who have experienced sexual violence are among the top 20 highest percentages of the total of 168 countries included in this overview. So even if these percentages suggest a dramatic decrease of violence over time – they remain relatively high compared to other countries. At the same time, these statistics indicate the need to triangulate several data sets for more reliable statistical information on prevalence.

SRH for young people is a policy priority for Ethiopia – and many actors are involved as part of a development agenda. CSE is one of the many types of programmes that are implemented in Ethiopia for young people to become better knowledgeable and aware of their SRH, widely supported by UN-agencies, European governments, and numerous Ethiopian NGOs, CSOs and Charities Organisations. Ethiopia's 2009 Charities Proclamation though, has restricted organisations supported by foreign funds in working on rights and advocacy. SRH education and programmes in Ethiopia are thus in the main focused on promoting health, in which rights are implicit, omitting the final R for 'rights' from SRHR.

The CSE programme in this study is a computer-based programme developed in the Netherlands and further specified in Ethiopia to make the programme context-specific (e.g. a lesson on 'harmful traditional practices' was added and language on rights was adapted). The programme aims to empower young people to make their own decisions by giving factual information about sexuality. It finds its roots in gender and rights-based approaches, in line with international guidance documents such as the 'It's All One' curriculum (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2009), and the International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education (ITGSE) (UNESCO, 2018a). It is an extra-curricular programme that consists of 16 lessons, one focusing on gender-based violence. The sessions take place in mixed-sex classes, and in each school a small sub-selection of students participate in the programme depending on their interest, availability, and in some schools, overall performance. In the schools of study, the programme is offered to students between grade seven and ten.

The CSE programme was selected as a case study when it was in the first phase of piloting and implementation in Ethiopian schools, coordinated by the Ethiopian partner NGO that also helped facilitate this research. Within this context, the CSE programme was seen as a promising initiative that could address gender-based violence and broader gender

and sexual health concerns. However, at national level there was no discussion of integrating the programme into the formal curriculum. Teachers struggled with implementing the programme within the given allocated time frameworks and expressed need for additional training. Furthermore, young people at times felt the programme communicated gender-biased messages and was not always inclusive of all diversities of young people's needs and realties (Le Mat, 2017). Despite these challenges, young people and teachers who had participated in/facilitated the CSE programme, were overall positive about its approach; it not only led to better knowledge about gender equality and SRH, but was also considered to decrease gendered bullying, improve social skills such as empathy, and enhance learning outcomes. As such, many teachers, students, and NGO stakeholders recommended the programme expands in reach, if not fully integrated into the national curriculum.

6.5 METHODS

This paper draws on data from two consecutive fieldwork trips to Ethiopia, which investigated how CSE can address gender-based violence in education. The first fieldwork trip (April-May 2013) engaged with teachers and students in one school in Addis Ababa, and the second (April-May 2014) in schools in Oromia region. In total, the paper makes use of data gathered in six schools and one out of school youth centre[15]. All education centres provided the same extra-curricular CSE programme, which was implemented by an Ethiopian NGO, in collaboration with Dutch expert organisations on SRHR. Five schools and the out of school youth centre were located in towns in Oromia region (Southwest Shewa Zone). The sixth school was located in Addis Ababa, in the merchant centre of the city, where many migrants from rural areas of the country reside. The schools in Oromia were located in towns with between 10.000 and 40.000 inhabitants. The schools hosted students from the town as well as surrounding villages as the schools were close to main roads. This location made the schools also accessible for NGOs to collaborate for education programmes such as CSE. In all school contexts, poverty is one of the major concerns for students' families.

In total, 57 interviews and nine FGDs were held with 68 students and 37 teachers (see Table 6 for an overview), as those directly concerned with the CSE programme and addressing gender-based violence in education. Students were between 14 and 20 years old and were in grade seven to grade ten (with the exception of students in the out-of-school youth centre). Teachers in Oromia region were all CSE teachers, and in Addis Ababa a broader selection of teachers was included, in addition to all CSE teachers in the school. When possible, interviews were held in English but sometimes an interpreter was used to

[15] The out of school youth centre is referred to as 'school' in the results section, for anonymity reasons

translate the interviews or FGDs. Interviews were held mostly individually, but when students preferred, they were conducted as duo- or group-interviews with their close friends. Interviews took between 30-40 minutes. FGDs lasted one to one and a half hour and consisted of between three to six participants. FGDs were conducted according to age group: students and teachers were not mixed. Seven FGDs with students were held in six of the seven education centres. One of the students' FGDs were mixed-sex, and six single-sex. The two FGDs with teachers were held in the school in Addis Ababa.

TABLE 6. NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN INTERVIEWS AND FGDS

	Addis Ababa		Oromia region (combined)[16]			Total (N=105)
	Interviews	**FGDs**	**Interviews**	**FGDs**		
Young women	9	5 (1 FGD)	8	11 (2 FGDs)	5 (1 Mixed FGD: 1 female, 4 males)	34
Young men	6	5 (1 FGD)	7	12 (2 FGDs)		34
Female teachers	6	3 (1 FGD)	10	/		19
Male teachers	6	5 (1 FGD)	9	/		18[17]
Total	27	18	34	28		105[18]

Schools and the out-of-school-youth centre were purposively selected by the researcher in collaboration with the Ethiopian partner NGO. Selection was based on presence of the CSE programme in the school and availability and interest to participate from school (or youth centre) management and CSE teachers. All participants were approached in person for participation. Student participants were first approached by their CSE teacher who is usually known to be a trusted teacher in the school. Even though the CSE teacher was informed about the aims to include a sample of students with diverse background, there may be a bias in information due to the teachers' selection as well as student self-selection. Interviews and FGDs with students and teachers were held in the CSE classroom, which was considered to be the space were students and teachers would feel

[16] While the issues at stake in each school and each town may differ contextually, for clarity of data presentation, interviews in all towns in Oromia region are combined in this Table.

[17] The total is not be the cumulative of all numbers in the row, because two participants participated in both an interview and an FGD. They are not counted twice in this cell.

[18] The total is not be the cumulative of all numbers in the column, because two participants participated in both an interview and an FGD. They are not counted twice in this cell.

most comfortable to speak freely and in privacy. In addition to FGDs and interviews, ethnographic notes were taken, and conversations were held with Ethiopian SRH experts and Dutch nationals working on SRH in Ethiopia to further contextualize emerging findings.

Interview and FGD design and conduction were developed by the first author of this paper and further validated in collaboration with the Ethiopian partner NGO. Topics during interviews and FGDs were causes of gender-based violence, how CSE should address these causes, its relevance in doing so, and its challenges. Before starting the interview or FGD, anonymity and confidentiality was assured, and participants' verbal consent was asked for their participation in this research. The participants' permission was asked to record the conversations and they were free to switch off the recorder in case they felt uncomfortable or to withdraw from the study. All data were stored anonymously in a protected off-line drive. Ethical procedure was approved by the Authors' University ethics board.

Recordings of the interviews and FGDs were transcribed and coded in two analytical phases. A pre-defined code list was developed based on literature review and used for the first coding phase. The list included codes such as *causes of gender-based violence*, *addressing gender-based violence*, *challenges in addressing gender-based violence,* and *relevance of CSE*. Initial analysis found that 'culture' was often mentioned in all of these code categories. The second step in the analysis therefore involved to unpack further how culture was conceptualised in relation to gender-based violence and CSE, and to expand the code list. All excerpts that were coded as *culture* were listed and further coded and organised manually to unravel recurring categories of analysis and linkages between concepts. The analysis process was geared towards identifying common interpretations of culture as a cause for gender-based violence and how this is addressed in CSE. Hence, the paper focuses on presenting commonly shared interpretations but, when relevant, differences between categories of participants are highlighted.

6.6 FINDINGS

6.6.1 INTERPRETATIONS OF CULTURE AS A CAUSE FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

6.6.1.1 MODERNITY, TRADITION, 'GOOD' AND 'BAD' CULTURE

Students and teachers typically referred to culture as one of the main causes of gender-based violence. In what follows, our analysis highlights how elements of traditional as well as modern cultures are associated to causing gender-based violence. For instance, modern culture was thought of as a result of globalisation and influences from abroad, which inspires young people to follow overly sexualised ideals portrayed in popular media. Participants stated this could possibly lead to sexual coercion and other forms of gender-based violence.

Traditional culture was thought to lead to gender-based violence and gender inequality more broadly by valuing men more than women:

> *[Gender inequality] is there because of, first it's a traditional culture. This is the main cause, [in] all traditional cultures. Because of in the past, there is a misunderstanding that is the inferiority and superiority of males and females. That way is the females only working in house and [giving birth to] the babies. That is the only works of the girls. That is the traditional culture.* [Addis Ababa, school1, Student4, male]

Participants discussed that such traditional culture lead to inequalities in gender roles, limited opportunities for women, and caused misogynist language and sexual coercion.

In order to better understand the linkages between culture and gender-based violence, it is first important to analyse more closely what participants meant by 'modern' and 'traditional' cultures. Modern culture typically referred to economic and social development, exposure to and interaction with the 'globalised' world (i.e. films, foods, and people from other (developed) countries), wealth, being educated, liberal values about women's roles in society, and gender equality. Traditional culture on the other hand referred to folkloric Ethiopian dancing and music, traditional (Ethiopian) clothing, eating together, respecting parents and elders, taboos around sexuality, practicing religion, 'harmful traditional practices' such as FGM/C, abduction, and child marriage, and gender inequality more broadly.

Interestingly, students and teachers typically divided their culture into a 'bad' and 'good' binary. They considered education essential to become knowledgeable about this:

> *Now, I understand more about my culture, that there are bad cultures that bring bad influence, and good ones that need to be appreciated. I protect myself from bad cultures.* [Town1, School1, Student4, female, FGD]

Some students, mostly in the school in Addis Ababa, added that the 'bad' culture was changing as Ethiopia is moving on towards a developed country, but that the inheritance of this 'bad' culture remained visible in gender discrimination or harassments in school, sports classes, and poor academic performance of young women. They thought these forms of inequalities to be more prevalent in the (less-developed) rural areas than in urban Addis Ababa, even though young women in the school in Addis Ababa experienced gender discrimination and violence (Le Mat, 2016).

In the context of sexual and gender relations, both traditional and modern cultures were thought to have 'bad' and 'good' sides (for an analytical summary, see Figure 1). The 'good' sides of modernity related to exposure to international interactions, new (scientific)

knowledges, access to education and increased attention for women's rights. 'Bad' sides of modernity were associated with overly liberal standards about sexual activity, pre-marital sex, young women's clothing, divorce, prostitution, and sexually explicit media. For traditional culture, 'good' sides were folkloric Ethiopian dancing and music, eating together, and practicing religion. In participants' views, religion was separated from 'bad' traditions such as FGM/C. This reflects that FGM/C in Ethiopia is mostly seen as a traditional practice, and not necessarily religious, even though in some regions of the country religious leaders do strongly support the practice (Pankhurst, 2014; Østebø and Østebø, 2014). 'Bad' traditional culture furthermore referred to 'harmful traditional practices' such as abduction and child marriage, being ashamed to speak about sexuality, young women being disadvantaged in society, including in education, and gender inequality more broadly.

	'Bad' Culture	**'Good' Culture**
Modernity	Overly liberal standards about e.g. sexual activity and young women's clothing; Pre-marital sex; Divorce; Prostitution; Sexually explicit media.	Economic and social development; Exposure to and interaction with the outside world; Access to scientific knowledge; Openness to speak about sexuality; Being educated; Women's rights; Women's participation in labour market; Gender equality.
Tradition	Male superiority; Few education/employment opportunities for women; 'Harmful traditional practices', e.g. FGM/C and child marriage; Shame around sexuality; Gender inequality.	Folkloric Ethiopian dancing and music; Traditional (Ethiopian) clothing; Eating together; Respecting parents and elders; Practicing religion (Christianity, Islam).

FIGURE 1. ANALYTICAL SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' COMMON CONCEPTUALISATIONS OF 'GOOD' AND 'BAD' MODERN AND TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN ETHIOPIA

It should be noted that, contrary to an understanding of culture as fluid, socially constructed in a particular context and time, participants often expressed fixed ideas about what is 'traditional', 'modern', 'good' or 'bad'. This would suggest there is very little interaction between 'traditional' or 'modern' values for instance, and that these are static notions. In fact, as will be revealed throughout the remaining of this paper, categorical understandings of culture were predominant in ideas about how gender-based violence should be addressed, including in the CSE programme.

6.6.1.2 GENDER EQUALITY AS A REFLECTION OF MODERNITY?

Gender equality was at the core of understandings of teachers and young people about the role of culture in addressing gender-based violence and promoting social and economic development more broadly. The majority of the participants agreed to the idea of promoting gender equality in their society. Some teachers and students held the opinion that promoting gender equality is not necessary anymore as the country had already developed the adequate non-discriminatory legal frameworks. However, the fact that participants agreed with the idea of gender equality, did not always mean their acts were in line with these ideals, as revealed in other studies in the same schools (Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018; Le Mat, 2016; 2017)

Analysis of the various FGDs reveals agreement among participants that gender equality was defined as: being able to do the same things (for young women as compared to young men), walking, talking and dressing freely without having to worry about other people's comments, sharing burdens in household tasks, and getting the same opportunities to and within education and the labour market. Interestingly, gender equality was often immediately related to notions of culture, tradition, and modernity. For instance, in an FGD, female teachers mentioned how symbolic meanings in their society, such as *elilta* (a form of ululation to express happiness), illustrated how girls and boys were treated and valued differently right from their day of birth:

> *Teacher7: For instance, during the birth time, in the culture, (…) the backward society thinks that whenever a man is born, [one has to] do elilta more than six times. When it is a woman (…)*
> *Teacher8: (…) When a woman [gives birth to] a baby boy, the time of elilta is seven times. But when [she gives birth to a] girl, the elilta is only five times.* [Addis Ababa, school1, FGD, Teachers7,8, female]

Clearly, not only the notion of (traditional) culture is relevant here, but by referring to 'backward society', these teachers demonstrated, in line with other interviews (see section 4.2.2), how gender inequality is associated with the uneducated segments of society and lack of development, as opposed to the urban 'modern'.

As much as modernity seemed to be conflated with development and 'good' cultures that provide the same opportunities to women as to men, modernity was equally associated with threats. These threats mainly concerned Ethiopian culture and identity, but interestingly were also considered to pose limitations to addressing gender-based violence. One teacher observed:

> *[Young people] see different kinds of films, different kinds of programmes from outside [our country], they know more about different kinds of things. (…) But sometimes globalisation it has*

own negative impact. First, it pushes our culture sometimes, in some ways. So that culture, that's why they do different kinds of sexual violence. They get these things from globalisation. [Addis Ababa, School1, FGD, Teacher8, female]

Globalisation, in this case referring to exposure to foreign (sexually explicit) films and music, was seen as a factor that influences and inspires young people to become sexually active at a younger age, for young men to have many girlfriends at the same time, and for young women to make use of their sexuality to live a more 'cosmopolitan' lifestyle in the form of transactional sex. This is reflective of tensions highlighted in other studies as well – where modernisation is on the one hand celebrated by young people, inspiring an ideal of free and liberal sexual practices; yet at the same time viewed to be at odds with a traditional cultural identity (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Parkes, Heslop, Januario et al., 2016; Lalor, 2004; Spronk, 2009). Our following findings furthermore reveal that interpretations of the link of modernity and sexuality were highly gendered, where especially young women were more vulnerable to negative prejudices.

While these issues came up in all schools, sex as a 'pursuit of modernity' (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003) emerged in particular in the urban school setting in Addis Ababa, where notions of modernity and globalisation were associated to attracting young women to sex work and transactional sex. For instance, when discussing the meaning of gender equality and the causes of gender-based violence during interviews and FGDs with teachers, many teachers immediately emphasised that in the vicinity of the school (*sabategna*, *piaza*, and the regional bus station *autobistera*) prostitution was highly prevalent. According to teachers, this in turn had its effects on behaviour of their students, in particular female students:

Our students are the neighbour of those prostitutes, so they can observe a lot of different things while those prostitutes are acting towards individuals to get money. So, they keep this in mind, they come to school, they act like those prostitutes. [Addis Ababa, School1, teacher17, male]

I don't think that money is the only thing to get them into. They take it as a modernisation. When they are participating in such activities, they feel they are modern, they are trendy, [like] their peers, their friends, and they behave in a wrong way. Naturally, they are not like that. But they are exposed to the time, the time is automatically changing. They are exposed to pornography, they are exposed to foreign films, movies. [Addis Ababa, School1, Teacher2, male, FGD]

The interpretations of why their students would 'act like prostitutes' was diverse among teachers. In an FGD with female teachers, the issue was approached with a lot of emotion and sympathy, and explanations included poverty, sex for survival (see also Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Heslop et al., 2015), family background, vulnerability to peer pressure, and being

forced into (abusive) sexual relationships. For many male teachers and SRH experts, however, prostitution was clearly motivated by ideals of modernity, yet they added that this is not the students' 'natural' behaviour (see also Altinyelken and Le Mat, 2018).

It is striking to see how 'bad' influence of modernity affected understandings of young women's freedoms and sexual relationships more than young men's. This extended to ideas of young women's dress and style. Teachers and students had observed how some young women in the school changed their looks. They typically associated young women showing more skin in the ways they dress, wearing jewellery, artificial ('European') hair, and make-up, with the desire to be modern. Some argued that the clothing, hair style or make-up of some female students were 'too inviting', by which they were to be held responsible for any sexualised acts they 'call upon themselves'. These sexualised acts extended to teacher-student relationships. Many students and teachers shared how they knew of or were personally approached by either a teacher or a student, for sex in exchange for books, money, or good grades (see also Le Mat, 2016). In some cases, this led to school drop out of female students if she was approached by a teacher who expected her to be interested in grades or books in exchange for sex against her will. Hence it is ironic that modernity, associated with gender equality and completing education, in this case, through very sexualised encounters and expectations, was equally considered to lead young women to drop out of their education or severely limit their engagement with learning.

6.6.2 Promoting 'good modernity' in CSE

Participants saw education, and especially CSE as an opportunity to change understandings of gender roles and relations that pose limitations to young women, and as such as a means to achieve development. It was considered essential for students to get 'the right knowledge' about gender and sexual health. This notion of 'right' information generally referred to modern scientific, factual information, as opposed to traditional 'myths' present in Ethiopian society. In the CSE programme, 'myths' refer to beliefs that preserve practices such as FGM/C, child marriage and virginity-testing. These practices or beliefs are rooted in patriarchal traditions that consider such traditions essential to instil good moral behaviour and obedience in young women. By providing factual information, the CSE programme aims to discourage these traditional practices or contest 'myths' by emphasising the dangers to young women's health and futures of these beliefs and practices. Teachers and students expected that providing scientific information would lead young people and communities to make right decisions (i.e. abstinence-until-marriage; girl participation in school and labour market), which in turn would lead to future family wealth or broader country development. The following sections present illustrations of how educating young people about 'facts' and 'myths' were thought to address cultural causes of gender-based violence, reflecting on the limitations of this approach; and highlight the underpinning ideals of decency that were

prominent in conceptualisations of 'good' and 'bad' cultures, yet prescribed certain restrictive behaviours to young women that were reinforced in CSE lessons. It will reveal how root causes of gender-based violence cannot be addressed by contesting culture alone, and underlying assumptions about gender relations and decency need to be better dealt with.

6.6.2.1 MYTHS, FACTS, AND GOING 'THE RIGHT WAY'

Opposing traditional 'myths' with the right information was considered important especially in the towns in Oromia region, where teachers and students expressed discrepancy between the messages that are present in the community and what is learned in the CSE classroom. For instance, one belief held is that young women who have developed big breasts have had sexual intercourse, which is considered shameful outside marriage suggesting indecency, and often a trigger for bullying. By opposing this 'myth' with scientific 'facts', students learned to see this from another perspective, in this case decreasing gendered bullying. This aspect of the programme was appreciated especially by young women, as it relieved them from certain speculative prejudices such as the relation between breast-size and virginity. At the same time however, values underlying female virginity and sexual innocence were not questioned, supporting ideals of female chastity.

Changing 'traditional' notions and providing new perspectives to cultural beliefs also led to increased confusion and tensions. This was particularly the case with teaching about virginity. CSE taught the fact that both girls and boys can be virgins, as it means not having had sexual intercourse, and that virginity cannot be tested. Teachers felt challenged in fully explaining this:

> *Virginity is confusion for them, they know a different thing previously. The information [that virginity cannot be tested] is confusing and a surprise to them. (…) our culture… it takes time to change their minds. Because they believe that virginity is for only for girls. So, it takes time to convince, for teachers it's difficult.* [Town4, School2, Teacher2, female]

First, because of these conflicting messages, teachers expressed a need for more evidence and information on virginity. Second, this 'factual' information was not discussed in light of underlying values in society, where virginity is associated with virtues of decency, moral behaviour, and being respectful towards elders. This discrepancy between the 'factual' information and the generally accepted underlying implications in society led to confusion for students. Students reported not to understand the definition of virginity and male students reported an overemphasis on young women's virginity, lack of guidance and clarity on what virginity means for men and on how men can lose their virginity. This thus indicates that the scientific information in the CSE programme was not sufficient; students wanted to discuss the implications and meanings of virginity in relation to their identity as young

women or young men. Furthermore, the scientific discussion of the definition of virginity might not necessarily disrupt ideals of decency and female sexual innocence, reinforcing restrictive notions of 'proper' female behaviour.

In the school in Addis Ababa, teachers and students felt that education, including CSE, should be better tailored towards the specific realities and experiences of young people in their school environments – particularly issues that were associated with globalisation and cultural change. This included discussing the influence of pornography, Western media, the prevalence of prostitution, and symbolic meanings of how to dress and when/what kind of sexual relationships are appropriate (it should be noted that these questions were also relevant in Oromia region, yet les emphasised). In an FGD, teachers concluded that their teaching should include more emphasis on nurturing individual responsibility and consciousness:

> *Teacher5: We cannot stop the effect of globalisation. Nobody can stop it. We cannot stop [students] watch these unnecessary things. (…) We can, for example, in our school we block the pornographic parts, we block Facebook and some, we have internet connection here. We only have Google for some useful information. But we cannot stop it completely. The very thing is, the very serious thing is, to limit them, to block them. Not to go to these areas. Or, we have to allow them to watch, but consciously.*
> *Teacher2: We have to do that side by side. We need to teach them not to do that, and also, we need to avoid the accessibility of these bad things. For example, pornography is accessible in every small shop.*
> *Teacher1: We may block Facebook or pornographies, but they may get at the website using different links. We can't stop by this matter. We [should] teach them to go in the right way. The option is up to them. This is the responsibility what they are expected to grow.* [Addis Ababa, School1, Teachers1,2,5, male, FGD]

As becomes evident from the above quote, teachers not always felt clear or well prepared as to what their roles are in addressing 'bad' influences in the classroom. Much attention was focussed on instilling morals of responsibility and decency, contributing to students going in 'the right way' and becoming 'good' Ethiopian citizens, a discourse that was reflected in all schools in the study. However, teaching about cultural change remained pragmatic instruction, meaning methodically replacing 'bad' with 'good' cultures, and 'myths' with 'facts'. Such pragmatism contained little reflection about expressions and positions of power underlying inequalities and vulnerabilities, which could help in re-imagining gender and power orders in a society (Connell, 2002; 2012a).

6.6.2.2 BEYOND SCIENCE: SHAME, SILENCE, AND DECENCY

In addition to the ways the CSE programme aims to promote 'good' cultures by providing scientific information and instilling good moral behaviour, the programme encourages openness to speak about sexuality, which was also viewed as an indicator of a positive, modern culture. Interestingly, teachers and students constructed values of openness and self-confidence in speaking about personal matters as markers of class and development, which, in their understanding, reflected values of modern European societies. The fact that the CSE programme was developed in Western Europe possibly may have strengthened this perception (see also Tamale, 2011). In contrast, in the reflections of students and teachers, shame and silence were typically seen as a sign of 'underdevelopment', 'bad' traditional culture or for 'those of the countryside'. For example, in an interview with two students who talked about their female peers who come from remote villages in the countryside, they hinted at the impression that especially lower classes viewed sexuality-related issues as shameful, yet education has taught them the 'right' knowledge and skills to openly discuss sexuality-related matters:

> *Student3: It's very difficult, because, if [girls from the countryside go] to their mother, the parents think the menstruation [is] shameful, so I don't think they discuss.*
> *Student2: Yeah, they don't [talk about it], even your best friend does not want to share [her questions with] you, because she thinks it's very shameful. (…) They will hate themselves about this. Some, as I say, from hundred girls, maybe one can tell you about her life-experience, about menstruation and also about another thing, but they don't feel free as it is, they don't have the confidence to talk about it.* [Town3, School2, Students 2,3, female]

This quote illustrates that on the one hand, in line with what other studies found (Bhana et al., 2009; Parkes et al., 2013; Shih et al., 2017), structural factors such as social and economic status, in addition to culture and gender relations, influence understandings of sexuality and means to maintain sexual health. On the other hand, these young women highlighted a general tendency of attributing causes for inequalities to uneducated segments of society, most typically from the countryside. Interestingly, analysis also showed that students and teachers from the school in Addis Ababa perceived those outside of Addis Ababa as less educated and less knowledgeable about gender equality, similar to how participants in these rural towns in turn perceived their peers from the more remote areas or lower classes. As such, 'openness' to speak about sexuality became a marker of modernity and development, rather than a reflection of underpinning values in society related to decency, which particularly affected young women.

Nevertheless, shame to speak about sexuality affected young women in both rural and urban areas, albeit in different ways. Teachers in towns in Oromia articulated that

students needed to be educated with scientific knowledge because of their assumed innocence and lack of knowledge about sexuality, due to shame. In contrast, teachers in Addis Ababa held the opinion that students 'already know everything' about sexuality, due to the high prevalence of prostitution around the school (even though shame was also seen to affect women's abilities to speak out about gender-based violence). Young women in Addis Ababa were also thought to have higher levels of responsibility to protect themselves from violence because they had access to information and education about gender equality. In relation to teacher-student sexual relationships, one teacher commented:

> *And even the characteristic of the females themselves, from the culture also: they are too shy, and they are too afraid to defend themselves if they are asked in such a way. They don't have the intention to report the issue to the concerned body also. (…) Also, there are co-curricular activities [such as CSE that works on gender issues], but not all girls are participating. Most of the girls are not interested to act here. So, that also brought misunderstanding, or it affected them not to defend themselves when they are [faced with] such kind of silly [advances from male teachers].* [Addis Ababa, School1, Teacher3, male, FGD]

Interpreting these notions of shame, silence, and decency in relation to gender-based violence, it thus seems that young women have to carefully balance between 'modern' identities of speaking openly about sexuality, reporting harassment, being self-confident and participating in CSE, while keeping up ideals of decency that do not speak about, 'invite', or pursue sexual relationships. Ideals of decency are thus not only underlying causes of gender-based violence (Alhassan et al., 2016; Heslop et al., 2015), but our data furthermore revealed the complexities of simultaneously maintaining and challenging such ideals, particularly of female chastity, in a context of cultural change.

These notions of shame and decency should be interpreted within a context where CSE often discouraged and dismissed pre-marital sex as amoral and rude behaviour, particularly for young women (see Le Mat, 2017). Consequently, being a 'good student' implied avoiding impressions of sexual desire, especially for young women as discourses of female chastity were articulated by dismissing discourses of female sexual desire (see also Heslop et al., 2015). As a consequence, young women were not always able to share their concerns or questions in CSE due to fear for bullying and community judgement to be regarded as rude (see also Kebede et al., 2014; Le Mat, 2017). This extended to not reporting cases of gender-based violence, of which students in both urban Addis Ababa and towns in Oromia region said it would be shameful. This suggests that promotion of gender equality in CSE needs to go beyond categorical understandings of tradition/modernity that do not address deeper underlying causes of gender-based violence, but should also disrupt ideals of

decency. Unavoidably, this entails discussions of the role of patriarchy and power relations in society that have shaped and uphold ideals of female chastity.

Finally, while much of the controversial nature of CSE was justified by claiming the scientific nature of the knowledge in the programme and the focus on instilling values of decency and responsibility, it are particularly the social, emotional, and non-scientific elements that are less emphasised but create tensions that cannot be ignored, such as the implications of new definitions of virginity on being a 'good' man or woman. In other words, the 'modern' or 'scientific' knowledge take a form of being static truths opposed to traditional 'myths' that need to be tackled, which would open up the road to modernity and development. However, these messages tend to bypass the social and cultural meanings behind traditional and modern knowledges and behaviours. Furthermore, while messages of gender equality are integrated and underpinning the programme, these conflict with social conceptions of female chastity that inform values attached to 'traditional values' related to virginity, pre-marital sex, and speaking about sexuality. These conflicts are not always addressed or re-negotiated due to a focus on 'scientific' knowledge instead of encouraging dialogue on cultural meanings, changes, and gender relations. Hence, in recognizing the fluid nature of culture, it is important for CSE to encourage dialogue between multiple (scientific, traditional, and gendered) meanings of sexuality and relationships, moving away from a mono-cultural sexuality education (see Mukoro, 2017).

6.7 Conclusion

This paper engaged with the views of students and teachers on the relation between gender-based violence and culture, and the role of CSE in addressing culture as a cause for gender-based violence. Our analysis has found that teachers and students conceive of the relation between culture and gender-based violence along two axes: modernity and tradition; and 'good' and 'bad' culture. Participants viewed both modernity and tradition to have elements of 'good' and 'bad' culture, and typically considered gender-based violence could be addressed by opposing and replacing 'bad' traditions with 'good' modern cultures. In contrast to literature that discusses tradition to be a form of nostalgia among teachers (DePalma and Francis, 2014), in our sample expressions of unequal gender relations considered traditional were dismissed as backward, harmful towards young women, and limiting the social and economic development of the country.

Pragmatism of methodically replacing 'bad' traditions with 'good' modern culture was clearly reflected in the CSE programme that opposed traditional community 'myths' with modern scientific facts. As such, CSE made meaning of culture as binaries of modernity/tradition and 'good'/'bad' culture, treating culture as static entities and 'good' modernity as a neutral developmental goal. This not only misrepresents the complexity of contemporary communities (Parkes, Heslop, Januario, et al., 2016), but also perpetuates

inequalities. For instance, those who are educated positioned themselves as such by labelling uneducated segments of society, or those living in rural areas and of lower socio-economic status as 'backward'. Hence, the association of 'modern' culture with development and being educated, can act as dividing mechanism to distance the urban from the rural, or the poor from the middle-class, whereas gender-based violence exists within and beyond socio-economic structures. Furthermore, the extra-curricular programme thus strengthens imperialist notions that 'bad' traditions can be addressed with development (Chilisa, 2005; Tamale, 2011). At the same time, participants typically projected causes for gender-based violence as something 'outside' of themselves or 'other' (e.g. the less educated, the 'bad' other person, culture, or country). This included practices considered 'bad' modernity, such as transactional sex, revealing the tension between CSE's promotion of modern culture as neutral developmental goal, yet understanding elements of this same culture as a cause to gender-based violence.

Within these categorical understandings of 'good, 'bad' and 'modern' and 'traditional' culture, notions of female decency rooted in patriarchy were rarely discussed. Ideals of female decency were re-emphasised in promoting 'good' modernity yet posed limitations to young women's emancipation and to addressing gender-based violence. For instance, bullying, fear of judgement and lack of discussions around different meanings of virginity, pre-marital sex, and female sexual freedoms more generally, limit young women in their expressions of desire (or discontent) and force them into a framework of decency. Those young women who do cross this line are perceived as wanting to pursue modernity, taking cosmopolitanism too far, or as 'overacting prostitutes'. Thus, opposing the 'bad' to the 'good' in educational programmes does not encourage the necessary critical thinking skills, levels of self-reflection, and ethical responsibilities to address root causes of violence and inequalities (see also Geary, 2007; Parkes, Heslop, Januario, et al., 2016). Moreover, static representations of culture and backwardness risk essentialising gender inequalities as (traditional) culture and as such CSE risks perpetuating 'developmentalist' approaches to education that assumes modern knowledges to be neutral means to address SRHR and gender inequalities. Therefore, CSE urgently ought to make efforts to better engage with socio-cultural, economic, and gendered meanings behind for instance virginity, premarital sex, transactional sexual relationships and sex work, avoiding binary understandings of 'modernity' and 'tradition'. This should include discussions of gender relations, patriarchy, and questioning ideals of decency underpinning practices that perpetuate gender-based violence could be an important entry point.

Culture is thus not so much a 'factor' that can hamper or strengthen the delivery of CSE, but rather a changing reality that needs to be integrated and addressed in teaching on sexuality and gender relations. Without doubt, this goes beyond the curriculum and teacher training of CSE alone but extends to the wider school and education system. At national

level, this thus means there are important gains to be made in addressing gender-based violence in education, including in the formal curriculum, broader school management, and national teacher training. Education policies should encourage integration of discussions of cultural change and gender relations into all these elements of training and education management. While the findings of this study are specific to the Ethiopian context, they may extend to other countries in sub-Sahara Africa, as other research suggest similar relations between culture, gender relations, and CSE (e.g. Bhana, 2015; Parkes, Heslop, Januario, et al., 2016). Likewise, at the international level, critical efforts are needed to re-think how 'culture' can be discussed in educational programmes and trainings addressing gender-based violence. Findings of this study suggest entry points can be to question ideals of decency underpinning gender-based violence, and to encourage establishing a critical relationship between individuals and their cultural context. Global guidance documents such as UNTESCO's technical guidance on sexuality education (2018a) can play important roles in advancing how culture can be addressed in educational programmes such as CSE.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding chapter, I will bring together the main empirical findings of this research, to discuss CSE's contribution to addressing gender-based violence in education. In so doing, I will reflect on the theoretical and methodological approaches used in this study and implications for future research, policy, and practice. I start this concluding chapter with a summary of the main findings, followed by a discussion that connects the findings and highlights the elements of the study that have been particularly insightful. Based upon these reflections, I present recommendations for policy and practice as well as future research, and end with a final selection of overall concluding remarks.

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This thesis has sought to answer the question: How do young people, teachers, and stakeholders view CSE's contribution to addressing gender-based violence in schools in Ethiopia? The thesis took as a starting point that in order to gain insight into this question, it is necessary to a) include an analysis of gender relations as central to understanding gender-based violence as well as the ways in which CSE might address it; and b) embed the global policy on CSE within the economic and political context of education and international development. Furthermore, this thesis has explicitly focused on the views and experiences of young men, young women, and their teachers, as they directly engage with CSE at the level of the school.

The second chapter of this thesis analysed how young men and young women define, experience, and interpret sexual and gender-based violence in education and how they think it should be addressed. The chapter conceptualised a relational approach to gender-based violence, untangling the interplay of power, labour, emotional and symbolic relations. It revealed the large discrepancy in views between young men and young women: the former viewed sexual violence largely as detrimental to economic and developmental outcomes; the latter embedded gender-based violence in a context of emotional and symbolic relations, that were accompanied by fear, emotional distress, and triggered self-exclusion. Furthermore, school was a site where sexual health was promoted, yet sexual violence remained highly tolerated. While young men and young women found that CSE created more understanding between them through promoting 'friendly' cross-sex relationships, the analysis also highlighted that critical thinking efforts with regards to sexual violence and all its relational dimensions needed to be strengthened and institutionalised throughout the school.

Chapter three focused on the question how and why Ethiopia has adopted and reformulated CSE within national policy frameworks. The chapter highlighted the particular political and economic dynamics underpinning policy reformulation and revealed that CSE is largely a donor-driven policy in Ethiopia. CSE was advanced through harmonisation

(creating and promoting a unified Eastern and Southern African policy on CSE) and dissemination (promoting the policy through sharing positive outcomes and creating a CSE-network) mechanisms, typically initiated by UN-organisations and bilateral donors. However, some actors highlighted that the policy and such transfer mechanisms were at times viewed as an imposition. In particular, opponents of the policy were seen to advance a 'cultural difference' argument, emphasising cultural differences between the European designers of CSE policy and programmes, and the Ethiopian beneficiaries. Consequently, CSE was reformulated to fit developmental, health and economic, outcomes, reflecting Ethiopia's national policy priorities, – at the expense of a policy responsive to gender relations. NGOs in this context had little space to exercise influential power in light of the 2009 proclamation and had to restrict their focus in CSE programming to promoting health outcomes only (de-emphasising aspects related to gender relations and rights). As such, the reformulated policy did not always reflect the interests of those it concerns, namely, young men and young women, particularly their interests pertaining to gender-based violence, as this was scarcely linked to CSE in policy adoption. That is, in policy text, CSE was strongly related to improving knowledge on SRH, whereas young people felt they received enough technical knowledge but needed more guidance on social, gender, and relational aspects of sexuality (see chapters 2 and 5).

The fourth chapter presented an analysis of CSE teachers' enactments of the policy at the school level and identified factors that affected their enactments. The chapter revealed that CSE teachers were more than merely 'facilitators' of a programme, as they were conceptualised by programme designers. Instead, they acted as important mediators between school, community, and students' families. CSE teachers identified that the comprehensive underpinnings of CSE often contradicted values or ideas in their communities about what sexuality education should entail. Yet, they attached importance to teaching CSE according to its guidelines and curriculum. As such, the CSE policy shaped teachers to be *voluntary advocates*, who had to maintain a careful balance between advocacy for and re-contextualization of CSE. In this light, teachers emphasised health and educational outcomes over other components within CSE. Therefore, addressing gender-based violence was secondary in the enactment of the CSE curriculum, and CSE teachers rarely raised addressing gender-based violence in education as a priority. The lack of attention to gender-based violence was partly due to the controversial nature of the topic, especially when concerning school settings. In addition, many teachers felt unprepared and unable to follow up on instances of gender-based violence, fearing resistance from school management and community if they interfered with what are commonly considered family matters. A focus on teacher enactment also revealed that due to the affiliation with NGOs and foreign aid, teachers enjoyed a higher social status within the community, but also, because of teachers' presumed access to foreign funds, teachers experienced higher responsibility for attending to

students' (economic) needs – needs teachers and schools could not always fulfil. Teachers were not remunerated for teaching CSE and the school's scarcity of resources also affected CSE teachers' enactments, in that they were unable to teach CSE in a way that satisfied them. Hence, teachers' enactments of CSE are affected by socio-economic as well as cultural factors.

Chapter five then focused on how, according to teachers and students, gender and power relations affected the ways in which CSE might address gender-based violence in education. The paper identified three mechanisms that negatively affected promoting positive gender relations, and ultimately addressing gender-based violence in the CSE classroom, which were: 1) selection to participate in the programme (young women, particularly those from poorer households, had fewer possibilities for participation due to their family responsibilities; school policies did not always ensure a gender balance); 2) gendered interpretations of young people's needs and gendered practices in the school (for instance, despite instruction in CSE on gender equality, young women experienced discrimination in school, and sometimes also within CSE); 3) restrictive discussions on topics that young men and young women thought would be relevant to them, such as love, relationships and sexual intercourse. As a consequence, important information was withheld from young people, and some aspects of the programme (abstinence) were overemphasised at the expense of others (e.g. safe sex, respectful relationships). Because of this, only superficial aspects of gender relations and gender-based violence were addressed in CSE. Hence, in order for CSE to better contribute to addressing gender-based violence and creating positive gender relations, engagement with gender and power relations within CSE policy adoption and teacher training should be of central concern. Engagement with gender and power relations should include discussions that connect to relationships in schools, families, culture and society.

The final empirical chapter analysed how 'culture', a recurring theme throughout all findings, was conceptualised and discussed within the CSE classroom. As became evident from the chapters on policy adoption and reformulation, and teacher enactment of CSE, 'cultural difference' is often referred to as an argument for resisting, modifying, or advocating for CSE. In light of that finding, the chapter zoomed in on the question: According to teachers and students, how does culture affect the ways in which CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education? Contrary to theoretical understandings of culture as fluid and multi-dimensional, teachers and students conceived of culture along two axes: modern/traditional and good/bad. Participants viewed both modernity and tradition to have elements of 'good' and 'bad' culture, and typically considered that CSE addressed gender-based violence by pragmatically instructing young people to reject 'bad' traditions (e.g., early marriage) and replace them with 'good' modern cultures (e.g., openly speaking about reproductive health). Such instruction included

debunking 'myths' with 'facts'. Within these categorical understandings of culture, notions of patriarchy or ideals of female decency underpinning unequal gender relations were rarely discussed and posed limitations to young women's emancipation and to addressing gender-based violence. Moreover, static representations of culture seemed to discuss gender inequalities as (traditional) culture, and as such, CSE risked instilling imperialist notions that 'bad' traditions can be addressed with development (promoted by the Global North). In addition, instructing students to replace 'bad' traditions with 'good' modern culture also did not encourage critical thinking skills or personal reflection on how one might produce or reproduce a certain culture. Culture is thus not merely a 'factor' that can hamper or strengthen the delivery of CSE, but rather a changing reality that needs to be integrated and addressed in teaching on sexuality and gender relations. Therefore, in recognizing the fluid nature of culture and its influence on gender relations and notions of sexuality education, it is important for CSE, in policy and in practice, to find ways to deal with and encourage dialogue on different sets of value systems that affect notions around gender and sexuality.

Thus, coming back to the question how CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence, this thesis has revealed that CSE has created opportunities to talk about gender relations in new ways in education, yet at the same time, risks perpetuating gender inequalities and violent gender orders in practice. On the positive side, young people reported being more self-confident and able to speak up for themselves, and engaging more in mixed-gender activities without assuming sexualised interactions or facing violent encounters based on their gender. These positive results are quite remarkable given the narrow scope for CSE within national education policies in Ethiopia (see section 7.2). Furthermore, in a society where reportedly only 20% of women and 38% of men have comprehensive knowledge of HIV transmission and prevention (Demographic Health Survey [DHS], 2017), the information presented in CSE is without doubt an important benefit of the programme. Young men and young women particularly voiced the view that CSE teachers who were able to connect to students' views and experiences and treated all students equally were central to improving gender relations in their schools. Yet, global guidelines, the national policy environment, and institutional support at schools appeared to be insufficient to support CSE teachers in including relational elements of sexuality and gender in their CSE lessons. Teaching on gender-based violence seemed to be in the main geared towards pragmatic instruction without attention to the social hierarchies that sustain and silence gender-based violence. Notably, gender-based violence was typically presented as something outside of oneself and particularly something that happens outside of the school, among the 'uneducated' and 'undeveloped' segments of the society (see chapter 6). In this way, CSE in practice seemed to present development and modernity as solutions to gender-based violence; simplifying gender relations and their embedded socio-economic complexities to a matter of being 'aware'. Within schools, CSE in its current form thus risks

reproducing hierarchies between the Global North and Global South through 'developmentalist' language (see also Lewis, 2002; Roodsaz, 2018; Tikly, 2004). Furthermore, by employing discursive rationales of being 'pragmatic' and focusing on factual information, CSE might miss the opportunity to add to feminist agendas of emancipation and social transformation, which would require a deeper engagement with structural relations (Connell, 2002; Ampofo et al., 2004). Nevertheless, the policy has made important steps by bringing to the agenda the importance of SRHR for young people worldwide, and over the past two decades, has made significant progress in increasing its attention to gender and power relations, which could ultimately improve CSE's contribution to addressing gender-based violence (see also Haberland, 2015; UNESCO, 2018a). This study has revealed that such attention to gender and power relations in CSE should concentrate more on emotional and symbolic relations than it currently does in Ethiopia. Importantly, gender relations might differ between contexts. Hence, ways need to be sought to contextualize the global CSE policy to the national political and socio-economic context, as well as to the context of the school, while considering and institutionalising participation of young women and men and their teachers in doing so.

7.2 DISCUSSION

In this discussion, I connect the main findings of this study, and highlight the elements that have been particularly insightful. Without doubt, gender-based violence is a prevalent and urgent problem in schools in Ethiopia (Bekele, 2012; Mulugeta, 2016; Parkes et al., 2017). The qualitative and interpretative approach taken in this thesis has offered important complementary insights into the nature, scope, and possible ways of addressing gender-based violence in education in Ethiopia. This qualitative approach has specifically advanced our understandings of the interpretations of gender-based violence by young men and young women themselves, and makes the methodological and empirical case that in order to assess how a policy might adequately address gender-based violence, one must include the (possibly multiple) perspectives of those whom it concerns, in this case young men and young women. The interdisciplinary nature of the study has also proven fruitful for improving frameworks used to scrutinise the multiple factors that affect gender-based violence in education. That is, gender-based violence in education is not a problem of the education sector alone and cannot be fully comprehended without drawing on gender theories or addressed without understanding its socio-political dynamics.

As this study has traced CSE's contribution to addressing gender-based violence both at the national policy level as well as at the level of schools, the factors that have re-shaped the policy have become evident. The analysis drew on data gathered in nine educational institutions; one in the urban capital city and the others in semi-urban and rural towns. It is important to note that analysis of the data from one school cannot necessarily be generalised

to apply to other schools – a characteristic of most qualitative research. While some may consider this a limitation of the research, the methodological approach in fact strengthened the finding that one policy might be enacted differently across all school settings (see e.g. chapter 4). Nevertheless, a number of factors that informed the enactment of the policy were similar across school sites, and included: the diverging interpretations of CSE and rationales for promoting the policy; the political and socio-economic context in which the policy is adopted and enacted; the ambiguous positions teachers have in advocating for and re-contextualizing the policy; and silences around controversial topics such as gender-based violence. As a result, the policy has been confined in Ethiopia to promoting health and development outcomes. To illustrate, at the national level policy debates around whether or not to adopt the policy were structured around concerns with donors imposing the policy and issues of cultural difference (see chapter 3). Consequently, CSE aims and scope have been narrowed down to being an instrument to improve health, economic, and development outcomes based on promoting factual knowledge about SRH − at the expense of addressing the symbolic and emotional dimensions of gender-based violence. The narrowing down of the aims of CSE to being instrumental to development outcomes was also reflected in schools, where teachers, in particular, have ambiguous positions in enacting the policy, which limited CSE teachers to address gender-based violence. Furthermore, when educational institutions are highly sexualised and violent spaces themselves, CSE teachers' abilities to address gender-based violence remain very marginal when limited to the space of a non-formal educational initiative alone.

Connecting together the empirical findings of this study with the theoretical approach based on gender relations, it seems that CSE in its current form in Ethiopia is addressing only the 'tip of the iceberg'. That is to say, the fact-based information that CSE provides on SRH is emphasised to promote the policy, and only some attention is paid to encouraging gender equality. Within the policy context of Ethiopia, the attention to gender equality is viewed in light of equal labour relations, instrumental to economic growth and development outcomes. As such, other gender relations underlying gender-based violence, namely power, emotional, and symbolic relations (Connell, 2002; chapter 2), receive less attention. Indeed, these elements were largely ignored in national policy debates that focused on cultural differences and in which CSE was strongly resisted by influential actors. Consequently, CSE teachers reported that it was difficult for them to discuss controversial topics such as gender-based violence and expressed a need for more training and support. The updated global guidelines on CSE (UNESCO, 2018a), which have a strengthened focus on gender relations underpinning promotion of SRHR compared to the previous version, should thus further engage with the question how to support CSE teachers in various environments to address the multiple forms of gender-based violence. It is important to note here, that this study has highlighted the reformulation and re-contextualization of the global policy only in Ethiopia;

the same global policy might be enacted differently in other contexts. For instance, in schools in Peru and Guatemala, CSE seemed to be more strongly geared towards addressing gender-based violence (see Panchaud et al., 2018), contrary to countries in Africa, including Kenya, Ghana (Panchaud et al., 2018), Senegal (Crossouard et al., 2017), and Ethiopia. Arguably, these differences can only be explained by understanding the socio-political and historical dynamics of policy adoption and enactment.

7.2.1 Learning from the Ethiopian experience

Drawing on the case of Ethiopia has particularly helped to advance our understanding of the politics and economics of policy transfer in the case of a highly donor-dependent, yet often uncompromising national policy setting. The donor-driven nature of CSE in Ethiopia has added to the controversy of the agenda in the country out of a concern regarding resisting Western imposition; this possibly explains why Ethiopia was a late adopter of the policy. The case of Ethiopia has also shown that when gender-based violence in education is mainly conceptualised at national level as a barrier to using education as a vehicle of economic growth, initiatives to address gender-based violence are at risk of being reduced to 'developmentalist' agendas that are more concerned about economic growth than equality and social justice (see section 7.2.2 and Lewis, 2002; also observed by Østebø and Haukanes, 2016). Indeed, policy concerns in relation to gender equality seem to be mainly an add-on to other more prominent (economic) policy objectives – a finding that in other contexts, such as in Uganda, has been linked to donor-driven policy making (see, e.g., Datzberger and Le Mat, 2018).

The case of Ethiopia has also provided rich insights into how an originally rights-based policy was re-contextualized in a setting where NGOs, who are among the main implementers of the policy, were, until recently, restricted from working with rights-based agendas. What has been particularly interesting was that despite formal restrictions against NGOs' work on agendas related to rights, they managed to join discussion about the adoption and formulation of CSE through networking strategies with international organisations and bilateral donors (see chapter 3). While international organisations have more of a mandate in Ethiopia to promote the policy for national adoption than NGOs, NGOs established ways to voice a similar discursive policy logic from below (i.e., within schools and communities) in favour of CSE. As such, NGOs have adopted the same language as international organisations and bilateral donors (see also Østebø and Haukanes, 2016) – a language similarly adopted by CSE teachers. As such, NGOs and to some extent CSE teachers are connected to the new global actors that shape education policies, and arguably, as actors that influence change in gender orders informed by transnational interactions (Connell, 2002). That is, through NGO policy and discourse, development aid and policy transfer, gender issues are regulated and possibly become more and more similar

across the globe; this consequently might inspire resistance, in light of concerns about Western imposition alongside wishes to exercise control over national agendas and identities. The role of national NGOs has thus become increasingly important and contentious in advancing global agendas related to gender equality and gender-based violence, while the scope and ways in which NGOs are able to enact their agendas are very particular to national (legislative) contexts. Hence, not only should the global CSE policy be contextualized to national political and socio-cultural settings, such contextualization should also consider the space and means of NGOs to do so, as main actors in shaping the national policy and programmes.

Including the realities at the school-level in the analysis revealed that CSE is re-contextualized in schools largely in view of socio-economic concerns and education agendas that are considered more pressing than CSE – factors affecting the enactment of CSE that until now have mostly gone unrecognized (see e.g. Huaynoca et al., 2014; Panchaud et al., 2018; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016, 2018). One important factor that informed re-contextualization was that the priority of the school management was to improve educational outcomes. A study in Kenya similarly highlighted that in competitive educational settings, school managements tend to be more interested in exam outcomes than in addressing the root causes of gender-based violence (Vanner, 2017). Indeed, the national policy on CSE and on gender-based violence more broadly is focused on eliminating gender-based violence as a barrier to education in Ethiopia, but does not address the emotional and symbolic elements of gender-based violence, which are detrimental to the well-being of young women and young men (chapters 2 and 5). This analysis has thus highlighted that while the aims of a global policy might resonate with the views, experiences, and identified priorities of young men and young women, and their teachers, the various national and school-level policy priorities are important factors that re-shape the initiative. Furthermore, as this study and other studies have shown and continue to highlight, gender-based violence is highly prevalent in schools, but is one of the most silenced and neglected educational problems today, which makes it even more difficult to address (through CSE or other policies).

7.2.2 BEYOND THE FACTS: LOGICS OF CULTURALISM AND DEVELOPMENTALISM

This research has considered CSE as not merely a neutral or fact-based initiative to improve global health outcomes but has situated the policy in the highly contested terrains of education and international development. This approach has revealed how issues of culturalism and developmentalism affect the ways in which CSE might contribute to addressing gender-based violence. That is, through logics of culturalism and developmentalism, gender-based violence often tended to be discussed and narrowed down to a harmful cultural tradition by teachers and policy makers, to be solved by development,

modernity, and education, including CSE (see chapter 6). In the following, I discuss the implications of these framings and why they are problematic. The culturalist critique does not mean, however, that culture plays no role in the ways in which CSE can contribute to addressing gender-based violence; in fact, this thesis has revealed the importance of clarifying conceptually what is meant by 'culture', and has argued that in order to address the root causes of gender-based violence, it is necessary to move away from ambiguous terms such as 'culture' to explain violence or to resist policies. Instead, it is necessary to discuss the gender relations and socio-political factors that underlie violence and resistance to policies that aim to address violence.

Culturalist and developmentalist framings of CSE are problematic because first of all they depoliticise CSE as a policy, and resistance against it. As the introductory chapter already highlighted, debates around CSE have often discussed the secular and progressive underpinnings of the policy, which are reasons for resistance by conservative or religious actors. Consequently, several authors have highlighted concerns that those who have reservations about the policy are labelled as the conservative and traditional 'Other' who ought to better fit global (secular) narratives (Lamb, 2013; Miedema, 2018; Rasmussen, 2012; Roodsaz, 2018). In a similar vein, this thesis has revealed that a 'cultural difference' argument was particularly employed to resist the policy. 'Cultural difference' seemed to mainly refer to concerns about the mentioning of homosexuality in CSE. Rejection of policies related to sexual diversity in African countries might emerge from a political agenda to reject Western imposition and exercise domestic control (Wieringa and Sívori, 2013; Weiss and Bosia, 2013). In fact, it is with a similar rationale that religious actors such as the Catholic church, which have a growing influence in African countries, employ resistance to 'secular' and 'liberal' gender ideologies as a means to situate themselves as an 'authentic' African voice that resists imposition of Western gender ideologies (Bracke and Paternotte, 2016). It is ironic that churches frame resistance to Western gender ideologies as 'African authenticity', considering the fact that they are often funded by European and American religious institutions and have been instrumental in colonialism and imperialism. Nevertheless, the influence of churches, and the transnational funding mechanisms involved in funding churches, should not be underestimated (Kaoma, 2013; Bracke and Paternotte, 2016).

The arguments for resisting the gender ideologies underpinning emancipation are voiced as a matter of 'cultural difference' or 'religious identity', and thus conceal political homophobia or other moral and political agendas. An additional consequence is that sexuality becomes a strategic focus of post-colonial and authoritarian regimes, where in particular, homosexuality is condemned as 'un-African' and female submissiveness is celebrated (Ndijo, 2013; Wieringa and Sívori, 2013). As such, it becomes evident that resistance to CSE policy is not merely a concern with cultural relevance or appropriateness, but also enables the social control of sexualities, detrimental to the emancipation of women

and LGBTQ+ people. Ironically, depoliticised arguments of 'cultural difference' are made possible by the global framing of CSE as a 'progressive' policy resisted by the traditional 'Other', which diverts attention away from political (and arguably, patriarchal) ideologies that inspire resistance to policies related to sexual and gender justice. However, when the well-being of young men and young women is positioned centrally, as was done in this research, it is worth noting that young women in particular, but also young men, were vocal about the importance they attached to talking about gender relations and equality. Hence, from this perspective, promoting gender equality is not an 'imported' or 'Western' gender ideology, but expresses an evident desire for respect and equality that is a major concern for young people in Ethiopia.

Secondly, as the empirical chapters have shown, framing focused on cultural differences is visible not only in the policy adoption process in Ethiopia but also in its enactment in schools: an overemphasis on modern and traditional cultures produced an additional binary based on dividing society into 'educated' and 'developed' versus 'uneducated' and 'undeveloped' segments. It is with such binary framings in mind, that young people were pragmatically instructed to replace 'bad traditions' with 'good modernity', so that they, as educated and developed young people, could make contributions to the development of their own society (see chapters 5 and 6). Through such framings, CSE in practice contributed to shaping particular notions of 'good' African/Ethiopian citizenship through the promotion of certain types of sexualities, while rejecting others, especially those labelled as 'bad modernity' (see also Masvawure, 2013; Ndijo, 2013). Such pragmatic instruction in CSE classrooms also risks reinforcing the notion that gender equality agendas are ideals that come with (Western-inspired) modernity, and may not recognize variations and inequalities within societies or inspire students to develop personal connections to the topics addressed, such as culture and gender-based violence. Interestingly, when unpacking what participants meant by 'culture', most of its elements were related to gender and power relations. Gender and power relations should thus be discussed more centrally within CSE classrooms and teacher guidelines, to facilitate a more precise discussion of the root causes of gender-based violence and to avoid the risks of culturalism outlined above. Indeed, this thesis has highlighted the importance of CSE going 'beyond the facts' to strengthen elements such as critical thinking skills and reflexivity within CSE policy guidelines and in practice. Instead of 'Othering' oneself and one's own culture, these elements might, in fact, inspire ways to act and organise for social transformation.

Finally, socio-cultural factors do affect the ways in which CSE is enacted in schools in Ethiopia (see chapter 4; Browes, 2015; Huaynoca et al., 2014; Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2016, 2018), albeit in more complex ways than culturalist or developmentalist frames of thought would suggest. This study has particularly highlighted the unique and courageous roles CSE teachers take up in translating and re-contextualizing CSE initiatives; CSE teachers navigate

very sensitive terrains of socio-cultural contexts and gender ideologies, within contexts of high social control. CSE teachers' innovative ways of re-contextualizing and making the CSE initiative appropriate to the school's socio-cultural setting thus deserve recognition, and could be a useful potential source of knowledge when trying to understand the multiple dynamics at the level of the school and community that affect what CSE looks like in practice. At the same time, this navigation remained a challenging and sometimes tiring task for teachers, especially considering that they were not remunerated for teaching CSE. Moreover, utilizing CSE for the promotion of positive gender relations was interpreted in varying (and sometimes counter-productive) ways by teachers. Hence, teachers' positions and abilities to do so should be strengthened through CSE initiatives as well as other means.

7.2.3 GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE: AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

This thesis has conceptualised gender-based violence in education as an educational problem in the sense that the toleration and normalisation of gender-based violence in education is not only detrimental to the well-being of young women and young men in schools, but also poses challenges to teachers, school management, and the education sector. These challenges include the question how to adequately address gender-based violence not only in terms of instilling formal codes of ethics and referral systems, but also with regards to curricular responses including the 'hidden curriculum', and teachers' and students' possibilities of reporting and addressing it (see also Parkes, 2015; Bhana, 2012, 2015).

In order to improve such a sector-wide response to gender-based violence in education, it is essential to develop a clear contextualized educational understanding of the problem based on gender relations. As Unterhalter and North (2017) revealed, conceptual understandings travel and change between policy makers, and in the case of gender, often narrow down. For example, notions of gender equality are often measured using the much narrower indicators of gender parity in schooling, and notions of gender-based violence remain focused on interpersonal acts and relations, ignoring institutional dynamics that contribute to violence. Indeed, in Ethiopia, attention to gender-based violence remains on the system level (for instance, instilling codes of conduct or a gender focal person – see also Parkes et al., 2017), but neglects the crucial contributions education could make through relational and reflexive attention to gender-based violence.

Hence, this thesis has identified that the educational logic underpinning CSE needs to be further developed and specified, as CSE was typically promoted with a health-outcomes rationale in Ethiopia. Interestingly, CSE was particularly resisted by several education actors, including the MoE and school management. The fact that the MoE tended to resist the policy is not unique to Ethiopia – similar opposition from MoEs was reported in Ghana and Kenya (Panchaud et al., 2018). In this thesis, I suggest that the reason why CSE might be less appealing to education actors might be related to the emphasis on health outcomes in

the global promotion of the policy, whereas MoEs are more concerned with educational outcomes[19]. Educational outcomes are not (yet) part of the discursive policy logic in (inter)national policy discussions, although CSE teachers did see the benefits of CSE in improved educational outcomes of CSE students. At the same time, such outcomes-oriented logic risks overlooking the essential elements of critical thinking skills and reflexivity in teaching and learning about gender-based violence. In this respect, the theoretical lens of gender relations is a useful approach to identify the multifaceted gender relations that shape and (re)produce violence, within educational institutions as well. That is, instead of understanding gender equality in terms of gender 'parity' alone, a relational approach focuses instead on the social relations that construct, challenge, or reproduce gender orders. As such, the relational approach might invite discussion of societal structures underpinning gender-based violence and vulnerability to violence (see also Ampofo et al., 2004). This is useful in discussing gender-based violence in education, because it does not treat gender-based violence merely as a barrier to education or an unwanted or pathological 'act' with negative consequences, but allows the connection of such micro-level 'acts' to larger gender regimes and institutions. Education that addresses gender-based violence must thus connect to these larger institutional and relational elements of fear, violence, and silence. To achieve such education, conceptual understandings of the roles of education thus must also go beyond instrumental and developmentalist approaches to education (see, e.g., Lewis, 2002; Tikly, 2004; Unterhalter, 2015), but rather engage with the emancipating potential an education that inspires critical examination of social inequalities and organisation for social change.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the above concluding reflections, in this section I present the recommendations for future research, policy, and practice. I start with suggestions for policy and practice, followed by a discussion of future research directions based on this study.

7.3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY AND PRACTICE

CSE is only one component within a wider education sector (see also Vanwesenbeeck et al., 2018). This means that to address gender-based violence in education, not only CSE, but also the wider education sector must take steps that go beyond improving legislative frameworks, important as these are. For instance, national teacher training should be strengthened to develop the necessary skills in teachers to encourage critical thinking and

[19] It is worth noting, however, that at the time of writing this concluding chapter, the MoE in Ethiopia has announced the aim to develop a CSE curriculum to be integrated into the formal education curriculum. The GoE has furthermore announced its intention to update the 2009 CSO proclamation to open up space for CSOs and NGOs to work on rights-based agendas.

reflexivity in young people about gender relations, gender-based violence and social change. It also means that educators must be trained in recognizing gender-based violence, and that there must be ways for young people to be able to report it, and for school management to take action against it. Such responses should be supported by appropriate policy logics and frameworks, as well as a favourable school climate.

In view of arguments based on cultural differences, the binaries enabled by global CSE policy that classify proponents of the policy as progressive, secular, and developed, and opponents as traditional, religious, and underdeveloped have proven unhelpful in developing a policy dialogue on how CSE might enable education that addresses issues such as gender-based violence. Indeed, policy dialogue should rather focus on how to employ those elements of CSE or similar policies that might address the multiple components of gender-based violence in education. Similarly, existing global policies should provide clearer contextual guidelines for teachers on how to engage with the sensitive terrains of gender relations in a variety of cultural and socio-economic settings.

Symbolic, power, and emotional relations are central elements of gender-based violence in education that must be addressed alongside its detrimental effects on health, educational outcomes, and economic relations. CSE, with its strong fact-based rationale, might miss important opportunities to engage with these relational dynamics, and risks neglecting an engagement with other elements central to addressing gender-based violence. To engage with these dynamics, features of other policies such as gender-transformative approaches, respectful relationships, and social studies approaches to sexuality and relationships education (see Ollis, 2014; Rogow and Haberland, 2005; Rutgers, 2018) might offer useful elements for CSE programme developers in addressing gender-based violence more carefully in CSE programmes.

Finally, this thesis has argued that to understand gender-based violence in education settings and the ways in which initiatives such as CSE might address it, it is essential to engage with the views of young women, young men, and their teachers. The study has also recommended not only to do this in research, but also to consider these perspectives in policy making and developing programmatic responses to gender-based violence. Furthermore, ways need to be sought to develop policies and programmatic responses that address problems that are typically silenced. Here, the relational approach might provide a conceptual tool to highlight the multiple dynamics of gender-based violence, including dynamics that often go unrecognized.

7.3.2 Recommendations for future research

An important issue that this thesis has highlighted is the essential roles teachers might take up in addressing gender-based violence in education, but gender-based violence cannot be addressed by CSE teachers alone; while CSE teachers typically took up roles as advocates for

equal gender relations and at times successfully inspired young people to renegotiate gender regimes, other school teachers (and sometimes CSE teachers as well) were reported to send contradictory messages and entrench gender inequalities (see chapters 2 and 5). Hence, future research should explore how CSE training can encourage teachers' supportive and emancipating roles, and how, for instance, national teacher training might include attention to gender-based violence in education.

A second central study finding is that the relational and reflexive elements of teaching about gender relations and gender-based violence were largely lacking in the enactments and conceptualisations of CSE in Ethiopia. What this study explored to a lesser extent though, is how such relational and reflexive elements might feature in curriculum and pedagogy. However, findings of this study indicated that student-centred pedagogy is fruitful in encouraging self-confidence and that the gender-transformative underpinnings to the curriculum and pedagogy are important elements in (re-)negotiating gender relations. One recommendation for future research is thus to explore how CSE curriculum and pedagogy might be linked to engaging with young people's relational and reflexive understandings of gender-based violence in education. Arguably, this might not be a question for CSE alone, but could apply to a larger range of educational initiatives and education policies that aim to address gender-based violence.

Third, the case of Ethiopia has provided interesting insights into the socio-economic and political aspects of the adoption and reformulation of and resistance against CSE, particularly in light of the fact that NGOs were limited in working on rights-based policies. With the current developments in the country, in which the CSE proclamation is being updated, and the MoE has expressed interest in developing a national CSE curriculum, future research should scrutinise how such a (possibly more favourable) changing political environment might affect the reformulation of CSE policy and the priorities it might address. This transition period might thus be an ideal time to explore how these changes in the political environment affect the adoption and reformulation of CSE at the national level, and consequently its re-contextualization in schools. Indeed, according to participants, the MoE typically resisted CSE out of a concern regarding 'Western imposition', particularly related to promoting values around LGBTQ+ rights. However, other participants also suggested that resistance to CSE is related to gender ideologies of (male) policy makers and powerful actors who are not interested in promoting gender equality. Future research might thus explore whether and how the transitions within the government affect how concepts that initially triggered resistance might be differently interpreted and taken up in policies. Similarly, comparative studies could provide useful insights into the factors that inform policy adoption and enactment differently in various contexts.

Future research should also pay attention to how, alongside political developments, religious institutions are part of the reformulation and re-contextualization of CSE in

Ethiopia – an issue that has not yet been explored. Indeed, the influence of religious institutions is particularly important in light of the growing influence of transnational church organisations in African countries that actively resist policies related to gender and sexual emancipation and claim to do this out of a concern to preserve 'authentic' Africanness (Kaoma, 2013; Bracke and Paternotte, 2016). Studies should also further explore the implications of such logics of 'authentic' Africanness with which CSE is resisted for the types of sexual citizenships that are promoted at the level of the school and within CSE classrooms (see e.g. Kaoma, 2013; Masvawure, 2013; Ndijo, 2013).

Methodologically, this thesis has made the case that in order to fully grasp how CSE might address gender-based violence, it is essential to include the views of young men and young women as well as their teachers. This methodological approach has brought to light important comparative and interpretative analyses (see, e.g., chapter 2). The methodology required a highly reflexive approach by the researcher in terms of positionality implications, and consideration of the ethical implications of engaging with young people on sensitive topics (see introduction section 1.4; Bloor, et al., 2001; Heslop et al., 2017; Leach, 2006). In addition, participants' interpretations of gender-based violence remained largely focused on violence against girls and women, and future research should make efforts to understand how notions of masculinity shape gender orders and violence in schools. Furthermore, asking participants about their views and interpretations might limit the findings to representing the views and interpretations of participants at that moment in time – a longer term and ethnographic approach might give more comprehensive insight into, for instance, the processes of policy reformulation and re-contextualization. Research should also continue to make theoretical and interdisciplinary efforts to improve understandings of how to talk and write about gender-based violence in educational settings, and the particularities of it in (post-colonial) sub-Saharan African contexts where much research and policy has been inspired by developmentalism. In addition, future research on gender-based violence should pay attention to developing institutional knowledge on appropriate methodological approaches, their limitations, and associated ethical considerations, and should contribute to developing institutional and collaborative means to increase social impact.

7.4 OVERALL CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has been one step in the direction of understanding the complexities of gender-based violence in education and how policies might adequately address it. The study has revealed that in order to address the complexities of gender-based violence at the level of the school and the individual, the institutions and policies that direct and shape this action must be taken into account. Controversial policies such as CSE that relate to personal beliefs and value systems are particularly prone to reformulation and re-contextualization. Because of this, certain elements of the controversial policy that are considered to share more common

ground, such as the importance of improving health outcomes, are emphasised more in the global promotion of the policy than those pertaining to politicised issues such as promoting equality and diversity. CSE continues to be strongly resisted by opponents in Ethiopia out of a concern for maintaining an 'Ethiopian' national identity and rejecting 'Western' imposition of secular values – values particularly pertaining to the freedoms and emancipation of women and LGBTQ+ people. The notion of maintaining an 'Ethiopian' national identity might sound attractive to policy makers and beneficiaries in the country. However, this is certainly not the case when this notion is invoked when dismissing policies that could contribute to addressing gender-based violence in education, or gender inequalities more broadly. Young people, as well as some of their teachers and other stakeholders, have been vocal in this study that the lack of action against gender-based violence in all its forms, alienates, frustrates, and instils fear, which is detrimental to students' well-being and social development. From this perspective, students' well-being might thus be an important entry point through which policy debates could re-consider elements of CSE that might address gender-based violence. Such a response needs to go 'beyond the facts' in the sense that gender-based violence is far more than a barrier to educational outcomes or economic development; addressing gender-based violence entails challenging current gender orders so as to inspire young men and young women to become critical thinkers who can organise for social change and justice.

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APPENDICES

I. NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING [DUTCH SUMMARY]

Seksuele voorlichting en gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs in Ethiopië.

Inleiding

In deze studie is onderzocht hoe *comprehensive sexuality education* (CSE) kan bijdragen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs in Ethiopië. Gendergerelateerd geweld is een groot probleem op scholen wereldwijd, maar er is weinig bekend over hoe dit het beste aangekaart kan worden in het onderwijs. Met gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs wordt bedoeld: elke uiting van geweld die gebaseerd is op gender relaties, inclusief seksueel, fysiek, emotioneel en symbolisch geweld, alsmede angst voor geweld, binnen of gerelateerd aan onderwijsomgevingen. Zulke vormen van geweld zijn uitingen van complexe systemen van machtsrelaties en institutionele structuren, die worden beïnvloed door ongelijkheden en diezelfde ongelijkheden kunnen reproduceren. Een van de belangrijkste recente beleidsprioriteiten om gendergerelateerd geweld aan te pakken is CSE. CSE focust op het bevorderen van kennis, vaardigheden, en waarden, waarmee kinderen en jongeren beter geïnformeerde keuzes kunnen maken over hun gezondheid, welzijn, seksuele en sociale relaties, en kunnen opkomen voor hun rechten (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2018a; UNESCO and United Nations [UN] Women, 2016). Er is echter weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de relatie tussen CSE en het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs. Dit onderzoek voorziet in die leemte en bestudeert de bijdrage van CSE aan het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld op scholen in Ethiopië. Het onderzoek focust op de ervaringen met CSE van jongeren en docenten op scholen, en verbindt die ervaringen aan nationale en internationale beleidsontwikkelingen. Ethiopië is een interessante casus voor dit onderzoek, omdat het een van de landen is waar gendergerelateerd geweld het meest lijkt voor te komen (Know Violence in Childhood report, 2017), en waar CSE sterk gepromoot wordt door internationale organisaties en bilaterale donoren. Tegelijkertijd is CSE controversieel in Ethiopië, wat belangrijke inzichten kan geven in contextuele factoren die beïnvloeden hoe CSE kan bijdragen aan het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs.

De hoofdvraag van dit onderzoek is: ***hoe zien jongeren, docenten, en stakeholders de bijdrage van CSE aan het aanpakkenn van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs in Ethiopië?*** De studie heeft vijf deelvragen, en elke deelvraag wordt beantwoord in een apart hoofdstuk:

1. *Hoe definiëren, ervaren, en interpreteren middelbare scholieren gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs en hoe denken zij dat het aangepakt moet worden?*
2. *Hoe is CSE geadopteerd en geherformuleerd als een nationaal beleid in Ethiopië?*
3. *Hoe geven CSE-docenten vorm aan het CSE-beleid op scholen in Ethiopië en welke factoren beïnvloeden hun uitvoering?*
4. *Hoe hebben gender- en machtsrelaties invloed op de manieren waarop CSE gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs kan aanpakken, volgens scholieren en docenten?*
5. *Hoe is cultuur van invloed op de manier waarop CSE gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs kan aanpakken, volgens scholieren en docenten?*

Om antwoord te geven op bovenstaande onderzoeksvragen wordt in dit onderzoek gebruik gemaakt van de gender relaties theorie (Connell, 2002; 2012a). De gender relaties theorie stelt dat gender analyse niet alleen betrekking heeft op het vergelijken van mannen en vrouwen, maar ook gaat over de patronen in relaties tussen mannen en vrouwen. De patronen in gender relaties vormen een sociale structuur op scholen en in de maatschappij, en andersom beïnvloedt een sociale structuur ook weer de relaties tussen mensen. Het is belangrijk om die structuur, en de patronen die die structuur vormen, te begrijpen om de onderliggende oorzaken van gendergerelateerd geweld aan de orde te kunnen stellen. Daarnaast gebruikt dit onderzoek theorieën uit de vergelijkende onderwijswetenschappen (*comparative education studies*) om vragen met betrekking tot de adoptie en uitvoering van CSE-beleid in te bedden in het bredere academische veld rond onderwijs en internationale ontwikkeling. Er zijn namelijk veel economische en politieke factoren die invloed hebben op beleid in onderwijs en internationale ontwikkeling. Met het gebruik van theorieën uit de vergelijkende onderwijswetenschappen draagt dit onderzoek dus niet alleen bij aan het begrijpen van de bijdrage van CSE aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs, maar ook aan bredere vragen over factoren die de adoptie en uitvoering van dit beleid beïnvloeden.

Dit onderzoek is uitgevoerd met kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethoden. De belangrijkste methoden voor dataverzameling waren semigestructureerde interviews, focus-groep-discussies (FGDs) en etnografische notities. Daarnaast zijn in vier scholen observaties uitgevoerd. In totaal hebben 183 participanten meegedaan aan dit onderzoek, waarvan 89 leerlingen (14-20 jaar oud), 48 docenten, en 46 stakeholders zoals beleidsmedewerkers en coördinatoren van CSE-implementatie in Ethiopië. Negen scholen hebben meegedaan, waarvan één school in de hoofdstad Addis Ababa, de andere acht in omliggende dorpen. Dataverzameling in Ethiopië is uitgevoerd met de hulp van een Ethiopische non-

gouvernementele organisatie (NGO), die expertise heeft op het gebied van CSE en de onderwijssector in het algemeen. In dit onderzoek is bewust gekozen voor een focus op de visies en ervaringen van scholieren en docenten, omdat zij direct betrokken zijn bij de uitvoering van het beleid op scholen, en dus ervaring hebben met de bijdragen doe het beleid kan leveren aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld.

Het CSE-programma dat is bestudeerd in dit onderzoek is ontwikkeld door een NGO in West-Europa. Het wordt geïmplementeerd door een Ethiopische partner-NGO. Het programma bestaat uit 16 lessen, waarvan er één specifiek gaat over gendergerelateerd geweld. De lessen zijn gebouwd op vier thema's: zelfvertrouwen, sociale omgeving, seksuele gezondheid, en toekomstplannen. De lessen hebben een interactieve insteek; studenten leren door participatie en het oefenen van nieuwe vaardigheden (bijv. oefenen met 'nee' zeggen). De lessen zijn extra-curriculair, dat wil zeggen dat ze na schooltijd worden gegeven en geen onderdeel zijn van het standaard curriculum. Docenten die CSE geven krijgen een aparte training, zowel inhoudelijk als didactisch. Docenten krijgen niet betaald om de lessen te geven. CSE werd in eerste instantie alleen gegeven op middelbare scholen in Ethiopië, maar werd later uitgebreid naar de bovenbouw van de basisschool, die ook zijn meegenomen in dit onderzoek (hoofdstukken 3,4 en 5.

Resultaten

Onderzoeksvraag 1: Hoe definiëren, ervaren, en interpreteren middelbare scholieren gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs en hoe denken zij dat het aangepakt moet worden?

In hoofdstuk twee werd een relationele benadering van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs gebruikt om te onderzoeken hoe scholieren gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs definiëren, ervaren en interpreteren, en hoe zij denken dat het aangepakt moet worden. De gender relaties benadering onderscheidt werk-, machts-, emotionele, en symbolische relaties. De analyse toonde een groot verschil aan tussen de ervaringen en interpretaties van mannelijke en vrouwelijke scholieren. Mannelijke scholieren hadden het vooral over gendergerelateerd geweld in de context van werkrelaties en economische ontwikkelingsuitkomsten, zij benadrukten bijvoorbeeld dat vrouwen tegenwoordig ook konden werken en zo konden bijdragen aan de economische ontwikkeling van hun land. Vrouwelijke scholieren benadrukten echter de emotionele en symbolische elementen van gendergerelateerd geweld, die gepaard gingen met angst en/of emotionele stress wat zelfuitsluiting veroorzaakte. Verder liet de analyse zien dat hoewel school een plek is waar seksuele gezondheid wordt gepromoot, seksueel (en gendergerelateerd) geweld tegelijkertijd getolereerd wordt door medescholieren, docenten en schoolbestuur. Scholieren rapporteerden dat CSE meer begrip bevorderde tussen jongens en meisjes, met name door middel van het promoten van 'vriendschappelijke' mixed-gender relaties. De analyse

suggereert ook dat aandacht voor kritisch nadenken over seksueel geweld en andere gender relaties versterkt en geïnstitutionaliseerd moet worden in de hele school.

Onderzoeksvraag 2: Hoe is CSE geadopteerd en geherformuleerd als een nationaal beleid in Ethiopië?

CSE is een sterk donorgestuurd beleid in Ethiopië. Dat wil zeggen dat internationale organisaties en bilaterale donoren het sterk promoten bij nationale overheidsinstanties door middel van disseminatie (het delen van positieve uitkomsten van het beleid) en harmonisatie (het creëren en bevorderen van een eenduidig beleid in heel sub-Sahara Afrika). Op basis van stakeholder-interviews en documentenanalyse blijkt echter dat zulke manieren om beleid te promoten door nationale actoren vaak gezien worden als het opleggen van CSE. Opponenten van het CSE-beleid benadrukten daarbij vooral de culturele verschillen tussen de Europese donoren en de ontwikkelaars van CSE enerzijds en de Ethiopische populatie anderzijds. Mede hierdoor werd CSE in het nationale beleid in Ethiopië geherformuleerd, als een aanpak die moet bijdragen aan gezondheids-, economische-, en ontwikkelingsdoelen ten koste van de mogelijkheden van CSE om een bijdrage te leveren aan het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld. NGO's hebben weinig ruimte om macht uit te oefenen in het proces van beleid maken vanwege de wettelijke context in Ethiopië waarin NGO's zich niet mogen bezighouden met het bevorderen van rechten, inclusief gendergerelateerde vraagstukken. Als gevolg van deze factoren is het geherformuleerde beleid niet volledig in lijn met de behoeften van de doelgroep, i.e. jonge mannen en vrouwen (zie hoofdstukken 2 en 5). Dit heeft met name betrekken op het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld door middel van CSE. Jongeren gaven aan dit belangrijk te vinden, maar gendergerelateerd geweld wordt nauwelijks gekoppeld aan CSE in het nationale beleid in Ethiopië.

Onderzoeksvraag 3: Hoe geven CSE-docenten vorm aan het CSE-beleid op scholen in Ethiopië en welke factoren beïnvloeden hun uitvoering?

Een focus op de ervaringen van docenten liet zien hoe zij het CSE-beleid vormgeven op scholen en met welke factoren zij te maken krijgen die hun uitvoering beïnvloeden. Hoewel de ontwikkelaars van CSE-leraren zien als degenen die CSE 'faciliteren' in het onderwijs, liet de analyse zien dat leraren veel meer doen dan slechts faciliteren. Ze nemen namelijk belangrijke taken op zich als bemiddelaar tussen school, gemeenschap en de families van studenten. Leraren benadrukten dat het CSE-curriculum vaak waarden promoot die conflicterend lijken te zijn met de waarden van de gemeenschap en de familie van studenten. Tegelijkertijd vonden docenten het belangrijk om CSE te blijven geven zoals voorgeschreven is in de richtlijnen en het curriculum. Zo vormt het CSE-beleid de docenten als 'vrijwillige *advocates*'; Docenten zijn belangrijke voorvechters voor CSE binnen hun scholen en gemeenschappen, maar moeten een precaire balans bewaren tussen het promoten van CSE

en CSE acceptabel houden voor de gemeenschap. Dit doen ze vaak door de controversiële componenten van CSE aan te passen. Zodoende benadrukken CSE-docenten de positieve gezondheids- en onderwijsuitkomsten waar CSE toe leidt meer dan andere componenten van CSE die controversiëler zijn. Mede hierdoor verdwijnt het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld naar de achtergrond, en CSE-docenten noemen gendergerelateerd geweld nauwelijks als prioriteit. Verder bleek ook dat CSE-docenten, waarschijnlijk door hun connecties met NGO's, vaak aanspreekpunt zijn om in economische behoeften van de schoolpopulatie te voorzien – wat niet altijd lukt. Docenten worden niet betaald om CSE te geven en de schaarste van de faciliteiten en materialen op scholen heeft een negatieve invloed op de uitvoering van CSE. De manier waarop CSE-docenten het beleid vormgeven wordt dus niet alleen beïnvloed door culturele factoren, maar ook door socio-economische factoren.

Onderzoeksvraag 4: Hoe zien scholieren en docenten dat gender- en machtsrelaties invloed hebben op de manieren waarop CSE gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs kan aanpakken?

Gender- en machtsrelaties hebben invloed op de manier waarop CSE gendergerelateerd geweld kan agenderen in het onderwijs. Content analyse van interviews met scholieren en docenten liet zien dat er drie mechanismen zijn die een negatieve invloed hebben op het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld en het bevorderen van positieve gender relaties. Deze mechanismen waren: 1) selectie om mee te mogen doen met CSE; 2) gender stereotype benadering van jonge mannen en jonge vrouwen; en 3) niet behandelen van onderwerpen die belangrijk zijn voor jonge mannen en jonge vrouwen, zoals liefde, relaties en seks. De analyse liet zien dat mannelijke en vrouwelijke scholieren veel waarde hechten aan gender, emoties en relaties. Door de bovengenoemde uitsluitingsmechanismen wordt relevante informatie soms echter niet gegeven aan jongeren. Sommige aspecten van het programma (bijv. seksuele onthouding) worden meer benadrukt ten koste van andere (bijv. veilige seks en relaties). Hierdoor worden slechts de oppervlakkige aspecten van gender relaties en gendergerelateerd geweld aan de orde gesteld in CSE. Gender- en machtsrelaties zouden dus een centralere plek in moeten nemen in het geven van CSE en het opleiden van CSE-docenten, zodat CSE beter kan bijdragen aan het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld en aan het creëren van positieve gender relaties. Gender- en machtsrelaties hebben hierbij niet alleen betrekking op de relaties tussen mannelijke en vrouwelijke scholieren, maar ook op die tussen docenten, schoolbestuur, families, cultuur en maatschappij.

Onderzoeksvraag 5: Hoe interpreteren docenten en scholieren dat cultuur van invloed is op de manier waarop CSE gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs kan aanpakken?

Een thema dat terugkwam binnen alle onderzoeksvragen was cultuur. Culturele verschillen waren vaak een reden voor weerstand tegen CSE, de herformulering ervan of de aanpassing van CSE in de uitvoering. Dit hoofdstuk presenteert een analyse van interviews met leerlingen en docenten over hun interpretaties van de invloed van cultuur, en hoe cultuur invloed heeft op de manier waarop CSE kan bijdragen aan het aanpakken van gendergerelateerd geweld. Veel theoretische benaderingen zien cultuur als fluïde en multidimensionaal. Docenten en scholieren hadden het echter over cultuur als iets wat in twee dimensies in te delen is: modern/traditioneel, en goed/slecht. Participanten waren van mening dat zowel moderne als traditionele culturen 'goede' en 'slechte' elementen hadden. Ze vonden over het algemeen dat CSE kan bijdragen aan het aan de orde stellen van gendergerelateerd geweld door scholieren te instrueren 'slechte' tradities af te wijzen (bijv. vroege huwelijken) en in plaats daarvan 'goede' moderne culturen aan te nemen (bijv. openlijk praten over reproductieve gezondheid). Door cultuur in dit soort categorische begrippen te vatten, worden ideeën omtrent het patriarchaat of idealen met betrekking tot vrouwelijke kuisheid, die ten grondslag liggen aan gender ongelijkheid en gendergerelateerd geweld, bijna nooit besproken. Dit beperkt de emancipatie van jonge vrouwen. Bovendien werden op deze manier genderongelijkheden gezien als iets puur (traditioneel-) cultureels, terwijl het vooral gaat om gender relaties. Op die manier loopt CSE het risico om imperialistische ideeën te bevestigen die ervan uitgaan dat 'slechte tradities' gecorrigeerd kunnen worden met 'ontwikkeling' (zoals gepromoot door Europa/Verenigde Staten). Daarnaast bevordert zo'n pragmatische aanbeveling om 'slechte' tradities met 'goede' moderne cultuur te vervangen ook niet de kritische denkvaardigheden die nodig zijn om te reflecteren op hoe iemand zelf een bepaalde cultuur kan bevorderen (of betwisten). Cultuur is dus niet slechts een factor die de uitvoering van CSE beïnvloedt maar een steeds veranderende realiteit die geïntegreerd zou moeten worden in CSE-lessen. Daarom is het belangrijk voor CSE om, in zowel beleid als in de uitvoering daarvan, manieren te vinden om de dialoog aan te gaan en om te gaan met verschillende waardesystemen die invloed hebben op ideeën omtrent gender en seksualiteit.

Conclusie

Terugkomend op de hoofdvraag hoe CSE kan bijdragen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs, heeft dit onderzoek laten zien dat CSE mogelijkheden heeft gecreëerd om in het onderwijs op nieuwe manieren over gender relaties te praten. Tegelijkertijd blijft het risico bestaan dat bepaalde ongelijkheden en vormen van geweld aanhouden. De positieve bijdrage van CSE blijkt uit het feit dat jongeren zeggen dat ze meer zelfvertrouwen hebben opgebouwd, beter voor zichzelf kunnen opkomen, vaker vriendschappen aangaan of activiteiten ondernemen met klasgenoten van het andere geslacht zonder geseksualiseerde aannames en minder vaak geconfronteerd worden met geweld op

basis van hun geslacht. Scholieren benadrukketen daarbij dat ze het vooral belangrijk vinden dat CSE-docenten zich kunnen inleven in de belevingswereld van jongeren en dat ze alle leerlingen gelijk behandelen. De manier waarop CSE heeft kunnen bijdragen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld zijn opmerkelijk gezien de beperkte ruimte die CSE in Ethiopië krijgt binnen het nationale beleid en de restricties voor NGO's om CSE uit te voeren. Bovendien is de feitelijke informatie die gedeeld wordt binnen CSE zonder twijfel een belangrijke bijdrage aan een maatschappij waar bijvoorbeeld slechts 20% van de vrouwen en 38% van de mannen gedegen kennis hebben van HIV-overdracht en preventie (DHS, 2017).

Tegelijkertijd lijken de internationale richtlijnen, het nationale beleid en de institutionele steun op scholen onvoldoende support te bieden aan CSE-docenten om relationele elementen van seksualiteit en gender mee te nemen in hun CSE-lessen. Lessen over gendergerelateerd geweld lijken met name te focussen op pragmatische richtlijnen bijvoorbeeld, zonder aandacht te besteden aan onderliggende oorzaken zoals sociale hiërarchieën. Opvallend is dat gendergerelateerd geweld vooral gezien wordt als iets dat zich buiten de school en ver van de persoon zelf afspeelt; het wordt gepresenteerd als een probleem onder de 'slecht opgeleiden' en 'onderontwikkelde' delen van de maatschappij. In het verlengde hiervan suggereert CSE in de praktijk vooral ontwikkeling en moderniteit als oplossing voor gendergerelateerd geweld. Als gevolg daarvan wordt de complexiteit van gendergerelateerd geweld (dat zich op verschillende manieren uit in sociale hierarchieën en machtsverhoudingen) versimpeld en wordt 'bewust' zijn van gendergerelateerd geweld gepresenteerd als sleuteloplossing. Door ontwikkelingshulp als oplossing te presenteren voor gendergerelateerd geweld, lijkt CSE in de huidige praktijk zowel een hiërarchie te reproduceren tussen 'ontwikkelde' en 'onderonwikkelde' klassen als (op wereldniveau) tussen het 'Noorden' en het 'Zuiden' (zie ook Lewis, 2002; Roodsaz, 2018; Tikly, 2004). Bovendien lijkt CSE belangrijke kansen te missen om bij te dragen aan emancipatie en sociale verandering, doordat het weinig aandacht heeft voor gender- en machtsstructuren en zich vooral focust op het delen van feitelijke informatie.

Desalniettemin zijn er (mede) dankzij CSE in Ethiopië belangrijke stappen gezet om seksuele gezondheid en gendergerelateerd geweld hoger op de agenda te zetten. De laatste twee decennia heeft CSE op internationaal beleidsniveau meer aandacht besteed aan het tegengaan van gendergerelateerd geweld. Ook gender- en machtsrelaties worden daarbij genoemd (zie bijv. UNESCO, 2018). Deze studie heeft laten zien dat die aandacht voor gender- en machtsrelaties meer zou moeten gaan over emotionele en symbolische relaties dan nu het geval is in Ethiopië. Het is belangrijk om daarbij te beseffen dat de manier waarop zulke gender relaties vorm krijgen kan verschillen tussen contexten. Daarom moet het internationale CSE-beleid ruimte geven om CSE aan te passen afhankelijk van de sociale

en economische context van een land of school. Daarbij moet ook meer aandacht zijn voor het in kaart brengen van genderstructuren binnen de klas en de school.

Tot slot heeft dit proefschrift inzichten geboden in manieren waarop CSE wordt gepromoot, geadopteerd en geherformuleerd als nationaal beleid, en hoe het uitgevoerd werd op scholen. Het onderzoek focuste daarbij op de vraag in hoeverre CSE kan bijdragen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs. Gendergerelateerd geweld in het onderwijs is een complex probleem en kan alleen volledig begrepen worden door gebruik te maken van interdisciplinaire benaderingen. In dit onderzoek is daarom gebruik gemaakt van onderwijskundige theorieën in combinatie met gender relaties theorie en is ook de invloed van sociaal-politieke factoren onderzocht. Deze interdisciplinaire opzet heeft er onder meer tot inzicht geleid in de vele factoren die invloed hebben op de bijdrage van CSE in het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld, zoals: uiteenlopende interpretaties van de doelen en rationale van CSE; de politieke en socio-economische context waarin het beleid wordt geadopteerd en uitgevoerd; de ambigue posities waar docenten mee te maken krijgen als ze pleiten voor CSE en CSE aanpassen; en de stilte over controversiële onderwerpen zoals gendergerelateerd geweld. Deze factoren hebben ertoe geleid dat het CSE-beleid in Ethiopië zich alleen richt op het verbeteren van gezondheids- en onderwijsresultaten. Onderwerpen zoals machtsrelaties, emotionele en symbolische elementen van gendergerelateerd geweld zijn daarmee naar de achtergrond verdwenen. Het onderzoek heeft bewust gebruik gemaakt van kwalitatieve methoden, wat tot beter inzicht heeft geleid in de ervaringen en interpretaties met betrekking tot CSE en gendergerelateerd geweld van met name jongeren zelf. Een belangrijk inzicht is hierbij dat jongeren het juist belangrijk vinden om meer te praten over gender- en machtsrelaties en de symbolische en emotionele kanten van gendergerelateerd geweld, terwijl die juist naar de achtergrond zijn verdwenen in het CSE-beleid in Ethiopië. Dit onderzoek liet zo zien dat het, om substantieel bij te dragen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld, essentieel is om de ervaringen en inzichten van jonge mannen en jonge vrouwen centraal te stellen. Ook de visies van leraren zijn belangrijk, aangezien zij direct te maken hebben met de diverse en soms tegenstrijdige verwachtingen van CSE, hun school, leerlingen en de gemeenschap. Jongeren en docenten hebben zich in deze studie sterk uitgesproken dat gebrek aan actie tegen gendergerelateerd geweld – in welke vorm dan ook – leidt tot uitsluiting, frustratie, en angst. Dit is slecht voor het welzijn van scholieren en ook voor de sociale ontwikkeling van Ethiopië. Gezien vanuit dit perspectief is het welzijn van scholieren wellicht een aanknopingspunt om CSE in de huidige beleidsdebatten in Ethiopië te koppelen aan het agenderen van gendergerelateerd geweld. CSE-beleid moet verder gaan dan alleen het promoten van feitelijke kennis over seksuele en reproductieve gezondheid, zoals wereldwijd het geval is. Het zou juist ook moeten gaan over de meer complexe oorzaken van gendergerelateerd geweld zoals gender- en machtsrelaties. Alleen door die oorzaken te bespreken en huidige sociale hiërarchieën aan de orde te stellen

kan onderwijs jongeren inspireren om kritische denkers te worden die zelf kunnen bijdragen aan sociale verandering en rechtvaardigheid.

II. COPY OF SUBMISSION TO ETHICAL REVIEW BOARD

General

Responsible researcher: Prof. Dr. Monique L.L. Volman

Who conducts the research: Marielle L.J. Le Mat (MSc), PhD Candidate

Research Location: Schools in Addis Ababa and surrounding towns in Oromia region, Ethiopia

Project description:

With this application we would like to request a statement from the AISSR Ethics Committee that the here described PhD project has been carried out according to AISSR's ethical guidelines. Over the past five years, the PhD Candidate has conducted four small-scale research projects on gender-based violence and sexuality education in Ethiopia. Having published two academic articles already and collected all data, the department of Child Development and Education decided to finance this PhD study with an additional two years to work on this full-time. In order to pursue this PhD degree, the candidate requires ethical approval, which was not the case for the smaller projects conducted previously. It is thus within that context, that we are now seeking a statement of ethical scientific research in order to be able to pursue this PhD completion.

The research is interdisciplinary drawing on fields in Educational sciences, International Development Studies, and Gender Studies. The main research question is how comprehensive sexuality education can address gender-based violence in schools in Ethiopia. The study engages with this question from a critical feminist approach, understanding gender relations as socially and historically constructed, and employs a qualitative interpretative research design. The researcher has interviewed and conducted focus group discussions (FGDs) with students, teachers, and stakeholders, adding up to a total of 183 participants. The PhD study engages with the following topics (reflecting the proposed outline of the manuscript):

- Young people's perspectives on gender-based violence in school
- The potential and limitations of CSE in addressing gender-based violence
- Discussing 'culture' in relation to gender-based violence in CSE
- Emerging roles of CSE teachers
- Analysis of education and health policies

Expected duration of the project:

Data were collected between April 2013 – May 2017 in several small-scale projects, now to be combined for PhD completion by December 2019. The projects the PhD study builds on, are: 1. Research Master thesis on gender-based violence in school in Ethiopia (two months fieldwork in April - May 2013); 2. Follow up study on comprehensive sexuality education in Ethiopia (four weeks fieldwork in April - May 2014); 3. Second follow up study on policies on sexuality education in Ethiopia (two weeks fieldwork in November 2016); 4. Case study on the role of teachers in giving sexuality education in Ethiopia (two weeks fieldwork in May 2017).

Expected number of participants: 183

The project is comparable with the following submitted project: N/A

Ethics questions

1. Recruitment

The majority of participants are teachers, students, and out of school youth. In addition, the sample of participants consists of key individuals at national and local ministries, other relevant international and national civil society organisations, and individuals in school management. Key individuals (or: stakeholders) working on education, gender, and sexuality in Ethiopia were approached via e-mail and/or telephone to participate in individual interviews. Contact details for all these individuals were obtained through partner NGO and earlier established contacts of the researcher.

For the school-based data collection, schools and institutes/projects were purposively selected by the researcher in collaboration with partner NGO. Selection was based on presence of the CSE programme in the school and availability and interest to participate from school management and key teachers. In addition to school-based data collection, the study also involved one out-of-school youth centre for which the project manager was approached for cooperation by the partner NGO. For school-based and the out-of-school youth centre, all participants were approached in person for participation.

The ages of youth participants ranged between 14-20. Appropriate age for participation was defined in discussion with partner NGO and does not contradict Ethiopia's National Research Ethics Review Guidelines, which sets a minimum of 12 years old. In order to create a safe environment for young women and young men, most FGDs were held in single sex set up. One FGD was held in mixed-sex set-up and the researcher and interpreter in that occasion kept particular eye on comfort and well-being of all student participants. Interviews were held mostly on individual basis. When youth indicated they

wanted to participate but preferred to be interviewed together with their friend, the interview was held as a duo-interview.

At first contact, the research was explained in detail to all participants. It was emphasised that there is no obligation for the individual or their institute to participate in the research. It was also made clear that there is no intention of the researcher to disturb ongoing school activity, and that the research is by no means an evaluation of the school, company, or individual's performance. The voluntary nature of the research was explained, and it was made clear that there was no monetary reward for participation. This did not seem to affect participants' willingness to speak to the researcher in an interview or FGD, as most participants considered the topic important or were generally willing to speak to the researcher. The researcher did offer drinks and snacks during FGDs. At start of each interview or FGD a time indication of duration was given by the researcher, and availability of participants was confirmed or the interview/FGD was re-scheduled. All participants will be informed prior to the start of an interview or group discussion that they are free to stop the interview or leave the discussion at any time.

2. Concerns of others

Gender-based violence as a sexual and reproductive health concern is an issue high on the agenda of Ethiopian government. Schools are seen as sites to promote gender equality and sexual health. As such, there were no major concerns with the research topic as it can be seen as supportive to government policy. However, gender-based violence is at the same time a highly sensitive and controversial issue, especially school-related gender-based violence. Therefore, particular care was taken in approaching and addressing these topics with school management and individual participants, reiterating that the research is no evaluation of school's or individual's performance, and stressing the importance of anonymity and confidentiality.

To address possible concerns of individuals, in each interview or FGD participants were invited to share any concerns or questions beforehand. By the end of the session, participants were asked again if they had additional ideas, concerns, or questions they wanted to raise. This way, participants were given space and opportunity to share possible issues about the research affecting their interests.

Given the highly sensitive topic, gender-based violence, the researcher took precautionary measures before, during and after data collection. For instance, the researcher looked out for participants' well-being during interviews, and after-care possibilities were put in place in case necessary.

3. Harmful research: no

4. Informed consent

Given the increasingly tense socio-political context that is directly affecting many of the participants in this research, as well as the sensitive topic of the research project, critical consideration was given to obtaining informed consent. The first deliberation considered the act of signing a consent form. In a context where education is highly political and admission to for instance higher education institutions often goes hand in hand with (forced) subscribing to the ruling political party (Molla, 2018), the signing of a consent form may cause discomfort, anxiety or suspicion that is rather to be avoided in this research. Due to the sensitive nature of the research topic, i.e. gender-based violence and sexuality education, receiving consent from a parent may be problematic for various reasons (see also Fisher, Arbeit, Dumont, Macapagal and Mustanski, 2016; Leach, 2006; Mustanski, 2011). In this regard the Ethiopia National Research Ethics Review Guideline states: 'In research related to sensitive topics like drug use and abuse, sexuality, reproduction, STIs, where obtaining consent from a parent, next-of-kin, or guardian is challenging and may be problematic to the minor because of the nature of the research, assent with waiver of consent may be applicable.' (Ethiopia National Research Ethics Review Guideline 2014, p 56). In this case, the societal relevance of this research was considered more important than seeking parental consent. As such, verbal consent of participants was sought at the start of each interview and FGD. All participants were also asked verbal consent to voice record the interview/FGD at the start of the session. If they did not agree to voice recording or wanted to switch off the voice recording during the interview/FGD, notes were taken. Participants were shown how to switch off the voice recorder so they would be able to do that themselves.

5. Vulnerability

In engaging with young people in resource-poor settings, particular attention was paid to not harming any of the participants. This entailed for instance developing interview and FGD guidelines that were mindful of possible sensitivities, for which the guidelines were shared with the partner NGO for their feedback. It also meant not raising false expectations about the outcomes of the research; the research listed the envisioned outputs of the research as well as their limitations. Most crucially, participants' willingness to participate was always checked before the start of the interview, because especially young people may be vulnerable for feeling pressured to participate.

6. Anonymity

Participants were informed about anonymity and confidentiality standards in the study. This means that in transcripts uploaded to the UvA data management system, all data overviews, and all outputs, no names of participants will appear, and no traceable information is written. The name of the schools will also remain anonymous, as well as for the name of the towns where the schools are located in the case of smaller towns where schools could be easily identifiable (the exception is Addis Ababa). Names of schools and important markers of

identity of key participants such as age, gender, and affiliation, will remain known only to the researcher for analysis purposes. Key stakeholders and their organisation affiliations will not be referred to directly, but a generic name is given for their position and affiliation (e.g. SRH expert at international organisation). This was also communicated to all participants. This is sufficient information for the research in question, as what is being analysed is the practice and people's interpretations of gender-based violence and the roles of sexuality education, and not so much the influence of participants' background characteristics.

Nevertheless, in the direct environment of participants, full anonymity could not be guaranteed due to the fact that they were interviewed in a school, office, or public environment, most of the time by reference of a teacher or partner NGO. Similarly, full confidentiality could not be guaranteed in the case of FGDs, given that these includes several participating members. Therefore, at the start of each FGD, participants were encouraged to keep the contributions to the discussion of their fellow participants confidential, though the researcher could not influence if this was acted upon.

7. Impact research

Being sensitive and not harming participants meant, in addition to ensuring their voluntary participation, that an eye was kept on possible emotional distress during the interview and FGD. If the researcher noticed signs of distress or discomfort, the interview or FGD was paused and the researcher inquired if the participant was still willing and comfortable enough to participate, wanted to pause their participation, or completely withdraw from participation. When necessary, the researcher could make use of referral to the partner NGO in case issues came up that needed attention that went beyond the capacity of the researcher, or when aftercare was needed. Participants were given contact details for possible follow-up.

8. Negative consequences

After-care possibilities were arranged for research participants in case issues came up that led to for instance emotional distress. The researcher took the lead in speaking to research assistants about their emotional well-being before and after interviews. Even though research assistants were familiar with the topic and contexts, the researcher considered it to be important to allow space for possible emotional support. Critical eye was also kept on working hours: research assistants were never requested to work more than 6 hours per day on interviewing/translating, and the lead researcher provided lunch and refreshments during breaks for the research assistants.

Travelling to Ethiopia for research about sexuality required attention to safety of the researcher, as the country has experienced an increase in clashes and political violence, including in the regions of study. Therefore, to protect the researchers' (and participants') safety, all travel plans were communicated with the partner NGO, and their advice and guidance was followed with regards to travel advice and security issues, even when this

meant cancelling trips for data collection. In addition, the researcher followed the advice of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and registered all travels on the online portal of the Ministry.

9. Data privacy

The researcher has not kept confidential data on her personal laptop or USB device, which are vulnerable to theft, for any longer than is absolutely necessary. All audio data were transcribed as soon as possible, in order to keep anonymised files only on devices that are worked with on a regular basis. In these anonymised files, no names or affiliations occur of the participants, but an overview of the school names will remain with the researcher only and stored with the audio files on an encrypted USB device. Anonymised transcripts will be stored on the Data Management Depository of the Research Institute of Child Development and Education (UvA) in due course.

10. Publication ethics

Considerations regarding outputs and dissemination are twofold: the first relates to the ethics of writing about and representation of the study participants; the second to the importance of generating outputs relevant to e.g. policy makers and practitioners, given the topic and nature of the project. First, in line with concerns raised by African feminist scholars, post-colonial writers, and Southern theories (see e.g. Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010; Mohanty, 2003; Spivak, 1988), I find it important to pay attention to the representation of participants' views in academic and other outputs. Apart from being anonymous in all outputs, participants' views and interpretations were cross-checked during interviews, FGDs, and in some cases feedback workshops to be as adequate as possible. Second, directly related to highly sensitive topic of the study that requires action and attention, I attach great importance to the dissemination of findings as to increase capabilities of involved stakeholders to address issues of gender-based violence in and through education. Working closely with an NGO in Ethiopia that works in education and on SRH as stable and involved research partner, my intention is to report back findings in the form of a presentation and policy brief to them. In addition, time and funding permitting, I intend to develop a wider presentation of findings that could inform a broader group of stakeholders in Ethiopia and implementing partners internationally.

2018-03-05 Project submitted for ERB review

2018-03-16 Project approved

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III. CONTRIBUTIONS OF AUTHORS

Chapter 2

Based on: Le Mat, M.L.J. (2016). 'Sexual violence is not good for our country's development': Students' interpretations of sexual violence in a secondary school in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. *Gender and Education*, *28*(4), 562-580. DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2015.1134768.

Marielle L.J. Le Mat: conceptualisation, analysis, investigation, methodology, administration, writing: original draft and editing.

Chapter 3

Based on: Le Mat, M.L.J., Kosar-Altinyelken, H., Bos, H.M.W., & Volman, M.L.L. (2019). Mechanisms of adopting and reformulating comprehensive sexuality education policy in Ethiopia. *Journal of Education Policy*. DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2019.1618918.

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Chapter 4

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Chapter 5

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Marielle L.J. Le Mat: conceptualisation, analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, administration, writing: original draft and editing.

Chapter 6

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