



Mittuniversitetet
MID SWEDEN UNIVERSITY

**BEING YOUNG IN A NEOLIBERAL TIME:
TRANSNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON CHALLENGES
AND POSSIBILITIES FOR RESISTANCE AND SOCIAL
CHANGE**

Eds. Katja Gillander Gådin and Claudia Mitchell

Forum for Gender Studies
Gender Studies at Mid Sweden University, Work in progress 7
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Forum for Gender Studies at Mid Sweden University (FGV) is an interdisciplinary and intercampus platform from which to initiate and co-ordinate gender studies at the university and beyond. This volume is a result of the FGV's mission as a productive research environment, and as central to that mission two international symposia under the umbrella 'Networks for change and wellbeing – International gender and girlhood studies' were held at Mid Sweden University in September and December 2014, along with two text seminars. The theme 'Life course and gendered cultures' is one of three research themes at FGV and has a broad perspective on how lives are shaped by different gendered cultures. The main focus of this theme is on two related areas: young people and sexual violence, and the production of knowledge necessary for resistance and social change. A key part of that work is visible in the essays in this volume.

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We want to state, in accordance with International organizations such as UNAIDS, Family Health International, and others (2008) in their report *Youth Participation Guide – Assessment, Planning and Implementation*, that we not see youth as problems, but as “assets, resources, and competent members of a community” (p.1, Section 1).

Katja Gillander Gådin and Claudia Mitchell

CONTRIBUTORS

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INTRODUCTION CHAPTER

Being young in a neoliberal time: Transnational perspectives on challenges and possibilities for resistance and social change

Claudia Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

Paul Willis, one of the best known and most respected theorists in the area of contemporary youth studies, says, in the preface to a recent publication, *Critical Youth Studies Reader* (Ibrahim and Steinberg, 2014):

“After a generation in educational research besotted with neoliberalism, myopic positivism and self-limiting class practice improvement techniques, at last an international team addresses some of the grand questions again understood through the grain of subordinate experience and cultural form, undertaking theorizing conditioned by an understanding from below dominated positions and their everyday pressures. Big questions, critical perspectives, respect for micro experience, ah the relief!” (xi)

Willis’ perspective, as sweeping as it is, in one sense, highlights the chaotic world within which we need to theorize and study what it means to be young in contemporary times, particularly in relation to such issues as gender, class, geography, access to material resources, and to the material everyday well-being of young people. When studied across different country contexts in both the Global North and Global South, and even within country contexts such as the rural and the urban, and so on, there are likely to be new questions as well as new commonalities, something that we are constantly reminded of in relation to factors of globalization and transnationalism. In spite of what Willis has to say about besottedness in relation to a neoliberal agenda, it is difficult to ignore some of the features of neoliberalism that have an impact on what it means to be young. These features include what might be described as the rules of the market, the de-unionizing of the labour force, a reduction in public or government support for social services such as health and education, the privatization of public enterprise, and the changing notions of individualism, public good, and social responsibility. What do these features of neoliberalism mean for young people, and, in particular, what are some of the features of influence on boys and on girls and for gender relations more

broadly, in Sweden, and globally? What is at stake for young people in relation to their well-being, safety, and security, and, critically, their optimism for the future? What are the challenges and possibilities for resistance and social change? Where and by whom is resistance being taken up? What are the possibilities for social change? What is needed?

We know that the impact of neoliberalism may be experienced differently depending on whether one is growing up and coming of age in a small northern town in Sweden or in a South African township, but often this is more about scale or magnitude than about the phenomenon itself. More than a decade ago I worked with a group of 14 high school students in two townships, Atlantis and Khayalitsha, in Western Cape, South Africa. These young people were what we thought of as the movers and shakers, attached to the Treatment Action Campaign, and to an arts-based HIV and AIDS awareness program in their respective communities. In a documentary movie, *Fire + Hope*, that was produced as part of the project it seemed obvious that this group had a clear vision of what needed to be done. Following this project, which ended in 2004, and at the end of high school for most of the group members, I had the opportunity to engage in what the sociologist Michael Buroway refers to as the reflexive revisit, which, for him, meant going back to the group every year to find out what was happening to and with its members. As I describe in a chapter published elsewhere called *Fire+Hope Up* (with its title borrowed from the well-known *Seven-Up* film series in the UK conceptualized by Michael Apted), I was taken with the troubled times that followed for many of these young people. I have seen moments during these various revisits of the expression of some participants of what we might call a this-is-my-time view, but for others it was clear that there were, and had been, many struggles with various issues ranging from high levels of unemployment (especially for young people), to the extreme challenges of setting up a business, and from a lack of access to basic services such as water and sanitation to high levels of gang violence and sexual abuse (see Mitchell, 2015; Walsh, 2013). As a youth leader commented in one of these revisit-interviews:

“I mean the reality of the matter is that I need money to live on. And activism is not going to give me this. I mean, not now. Like, here we are fighting for the future, but I’m hungry now, I’m starving now. So I kind of needed a solution to that. So I think for me, for me the change started to happen there, is like, now I’m empowered enough, I understand things and I understand, the vigour that I had to change things, that was not going to happen overnight. It was kind of defeating really when you actually see what you have been working hard for. It didn't make any difference. I mean, just a very small difference, but you would have hoped that people would

have understood things the way that you do, and changed things the way you want things to change for all of us. So it's kind of defeating to see, actually, things are getting worse. So all the knowledge, all the education, the workshops, kind of went to waste. It was a drop in the ocean." (cited in Walsh, 2012, p.412)

But if we look to highly industrialized societies we can see similar issues. Michael Corbett's (2007) study, *Learning to Leave: The Irony of Schooling in a Coastal Community* documents the challenges that rural youth in Eastern Canada experience as a result of a shifting agenda of what counts as social capital. Quoting Manuel Castells (2004) Corbett notes:

"The institutions and organizations of civil society that were constructed around the democratic state and around the social contract between capital and labor, have become, by and large, empty shells, decreasingly able to relate to people's lives and values in most societies. It is indeed a tragic irony that when most countries of the world finally fought their way to access these institutions of liberal democracy, these institutions are so distant from the structures and processes that really matter that they appear to most people as a sarcastic grimace on the new face of history. At the turn of the millennium, the king and queen, the state and civil society, are both naked and their children-citizens are wandering around in a variety of foster homes" (2004, 420, cited in Corbett, 268).

Formark and Ohman (2013), in their guest editorial in the special issue of *Girlhood Studies: an Interdisciplinary Journal* on Nordic girlhood talk specifically about the eroding of gender equality and what that means for being girl in neoliberal times. As they write:

"[S]ince the beginning of the 1990s the Nordic model has undergone considerable change that can be understood as an effect of the economic crisis of this particular decade, as a response to increased globalization, and as a result of intensified co-operation within the European Union. This reformation has, for example, meant a privatization of former monopolies along neo-liberal lines of freedom of choice. This has created, in addition, new work-practices in which there are signs that girls and young women are perceived to be the perfect embodiments of the ideal autonomous and ambitious neo-liberal subject (Sjöstedt Landén, 2012). Such developments have happened concurrently with a backlash against feminism, and the growth and subsequent parliamentary successes of social conservative, anti-globalization and xenophobic parties in most Nordic countries". (p.5)

At the same time, and at the risk of appearing to romanticize the notion of young people's resistance, there is a great deal of evidence to support the idea that there is also room for young people to challenge and resist this doom and gloom agenda. The very idea that young people, for example, in rural South Africa are able to talk so eloquently and in such a focused way about what social media and cellphones mean to them suggests that they are not just victims of deception. The sex-for-cellphones discourse, as the girls and young women discuss in the chapter in this volume by MacEntee (see, too, DeMartini and Mitchell in this volume), comes out of the recognition of the pervasiveness of systemic poverty and persistent gender inequalities, but their being able to articulate this is an important point. Speaking of the place of cellphones and social networks in the lives of Nordic young people, Stald (2008) observes that it is important to recognize the significance of control in the hands of the young cellphone owner/user:

"The need to learn how to manage and to develop personal identity and the importance of social networks in this process are strongly facilitated by mobiles; and this makes it possible to talk about 'mobile identity.' The constant negotiation of values and representations and the need to identify with others result in a fluidity of identity which goes beyond the ongoing process of identity formation, to encompass the constant negotiation of norms and values and the processes of reflection that are characteristic of contemporary social life. The constant availability and presence associated with the mobile demonstrate how important it has become in all these arenas, even to those who use it only moderately. The mobile enforces an increasingly intense pace of communication and of intellectual and emotional experience. It, therefore, becomes both the cause and the potential solution to the frustrations of young people regarding the potential management of everyday life. The mobile is an important tool that allows one to be in control—which is an essential ability for adolescents in general—but simultaneously it is becoming more and more important to be able to control the mobile." (p. 25).

Finally, emerging research *with* young people, particularly in relation to HIV and AIDS, sexuality, and gender violence suggests that this work is not just about reframing the researcher-researched relationship so that there is a shifting of power and a reduction of power imbalances, but that learning what can be known about sexuality and youth identity, through knowledge produced by young people, is vital. As the sociologist Ann Oakley (1994) asked more than two decades ago: "What would it really mean to study the world from the standpoint of children both as knowers and as actors?" (p. 23). Building on a youth-as-knowledge-producers framework (see also Lankshear and Knobel, 2011; Mitchell,

2014), we might look to the vast body of knowledge that exists on YouTube and elsewhere within social media that is produced by young people.

ORGANIZING THE CHAPTERS

While the bulk of the chapters in this collection are from Sweden and focus on Swedish youth in neoliberal times, the inclusion of several chapters from South Africa and Canada serve to remind us of both the common spaces, particularly in the context of digital and social media as taken up in two of these chapters, and also the unique spaces afforded by particular approaches to policy and regulation. How young people navigate school and other institutional contexts is a feature of five of the chapters, reminding us that experiences of school are a key feature of youth identity. Five of the chapters refer directly to issues of gender, and peer harassment, and sexual violence, and, as such, highlight the fact that life for young people, especially girls and young women, brings with it fear. But families, too, are seen to be important for either reinforcing or testing out gender regimes.

The book is divided into 10 chapters. Following this Introductory chapter which lays out some of the critical features of being young in a neoliberal time, the book is organized into 3 main parts: Part I: Picturing Change; Part II: Re-thinking issues of gender and class in youth research; and Part III: Methodological opportunities in youth focused research: New agendas for new times.

Our decision to begin the book with a section called “Picturing Change” responds to what we call the new times of youth participation or what Willis (2014) has termed “the grain of subordinate experience and cultural form” (p. xi). Particularly appropriate as the opening chapter of this section is the chapter by Sheila Zimic and Katarina Giritli Nygren, “Collages of ‘The Young Generation’ from the Standpoint of Adolescent Girls.” In essence, as the authors argue, if you want to know what it means to be young, ask young people themselves which is what the authors did. Adolescent girls from Sweden created collages to represent the young generation. As the authors conclude: Often when a generation is being portrayed it is done from a perspective that implies that a generation is a natural entity. In this categorization gender is not even discussed. Certain characteristics are represented as general characteristics of an entire group of people categorized as a specific generation. However, this has different consequences for individuals in relation to other categorizations such as gender. Since categorizations can be understood as the making of boundaries between who is included in a category and who is excluded it should also be understood as excluding possibilities; some identities are

considered to be more possible than others. What is then considered possible for a young girl in contemporary society? What kind of representations of one category of adolescent girls do participants in this study articulate?

Then Katie MacEntee, writing of young people in South Africa in her chapter “Using cellphones to make cellfilms to discuss cellphones: Girls and gender-based violence in and around schools in rural South Africa in the age of AIDS” highlights the significance of technology in the everyday lives of young people as a feature of their identity, but also as something that is associated with transactional sex. Somewhat ironically, as she explores in her close reading of one of the cellfilms, *Easy Come, Easy Go*, produced in a participatory workshop, the very object, the cellphone as a multimodal tool for communication, is also associated with sexual violence and transactional sex. She concludes that education about cellphones needs to be on the curriculum for rural schools in South Africa:

“Doing a textual analysis of the way cellphones are presented in this cellfilm selected for discussion, the research helped delineate the complex influence of cellphones on transactional relationships and the ways in which dominant restrictive gender norms are negotiated by girls in this rural context. The social importance girls associate with cellphones paired with larger infrastructural limitations, for example the inferiority of ICT education in rural areas, can motivate girls to seek out the technology at great risk to their health and wellbeing. Schools are in a difficult position of having to negotiate these risks as well as the potential benefits mobile technology might offer to resource-limited areas”.

Ewa Andersson, in her chapter, “Do It Together! Participatory approaches to addressing gender, class and ethnicity in relation to work practices within music activities in Public Education Associations” highlights the significance of hearing (and seeing) the voices of young people in Sweden in order to understand the problems of access of girls, in particular, to music activities. As Andersson points out, it is essential to discuss the ways in which gender, class, and ethnicity intersect in work practices tied to music activities in public education associations (PEAs) “whose purpose is to engage youth in democratic and creative activities”. She offers an agenda for “research that could contribute to knowledge about how work practice can both include and exclude people within organizations whose focus is to stimulate youth to engage and participate”. In this research agenda she proposes three clear and distinct phases, the first of which would map the music activities of the PEAs so as to identify cases for study. The sampling in the second phase would lead to “a comparison between work practices that result in inclusion compared to

those that result in exclusion” and could include a photovoice activity, while the third would include the presentation of the research results to the PEAs and to the public.

Part II of the book, “Re-thinking issues of gender and class in youth research”, brings together three chapters that explore and interrogate issues of gender in relation to the experiences of young people in Sweden. The section begins with Heléne Zetterström Dahlqvist’s chapter, “Peer Sexual Harassment and Mental Health in School: Does Targeting Individual Resilience Mean that We Are Avoiding Social Change?” She offers a careful examination of mental health and peer harassment, and the competing agendas of individualistic developmentalist analyses as opposed to those that look at the social constructions of gender. Offering chilling statistics that point to the difference between male and female adolescents as far as depressive symptoms are concerned, she notes at the beginning of her chapter that her own previous research ... “has reported that peer sexual harassment victimization may be able to explain 13.6% and 6.5% of the variance in depressive symptoms in a sample of 13-16 year-old Swedish adolescent girls and boys respectively”.

Zetterström Dahlqvist concludes that being young in today’s society should not have to include being sexually harassed by peers in schools especially since this considerably enhances the risk of mental poor health. There are remaining challenges to effecting resistance and social change regarding peer sexual harassment in school which can come about only if we address the direct determinants of the phenomenon at hand and not if we only strengthen individual resilience and stop at merely treating the inflicted wound.

Then Karin Jarnkvist and Katja Gillander Gådin’s chapter, “Exposure to Physical Violence among Senior High School Students: An Analysis of Class and Gender”, demonstrates the ways in which intersectionality operates. Reporting on survey data on students from academic and vocational streams in high school, the authors’ findings show several important relationships. As they observe, [t]he finding that girls in vocational programs and girls who report low personal affluence were more exposed to violence than boys in academic programs and boys who report having as much money as their friends makes the intersection of gender and class visible in a way we not have found in any earlier study. They also found that power is critical to understanding physical violence in relation to social class and gender.

This study shows that young girls in lower social classes are a particularly high risk group if they have both a class marker of a vocational orientation in combination with low personal affluence. A girl in a vocational program is thus not at higher risk of being exposed to physical violence than a girl in an academic program if she does not also have low personal affluence. An understanding of power and how it operates is key to developing a deeper understanding of physical violence in relation to gender and social class.

Lasse Reinikainen and Katja Gillander Gådin's chapter, "Gender equality aspirations among Swedish pupils: A gender and class perspective", offers a perspective that challenges the dominant discourse of Sweden as a gender equal country. As the authors argue: Even though Sweden has a high level of formal gender equality, inequalities still persist. Indeed, Sweden has one of the world's most gender-segregated labor markets; men and women work in different sectors. This segregation is also seen in the education system where boys and girls choose different kinds of education. This indicates, in agreement with Connell (2009) that cultural norms regarding boys and girls, and men and women are rather different in both how they are expected to act and how they understand themselves as gendered subjects. Research on youth and culture clearly shows that both societal structures and cultural structures create different expectations and conditions for boys and girls that affect what they regard as possible and feasible ways of acting, and that also affect their identities and their wishes and expectations. Testing this out, the authors analyze survey data from boys and girls and, in so doing, demonstrate the complexity of persisting inequalities particularly in relation to the intersection of sex, gendered expectations, age, and education and class.

Part III of the book begins with a chapter by Katja Gillander Gådin, Katarina Giritli Nygren, Claudia Mitchell, and Sara Nyhlén, "Studying the Intersections of Rurality, Gender and Violence against Girls and Young Women: An Urgent Matter in both the Global North and the Global South". As the authors point out, such violence is of global concern for society in general as well as for the victims themselves and, for women with children, for them, too. Building on the significance of a place-based consciousness, the chapter explores some of the overlaps between and amongst Sweden, Canada, and South Africa in relation to the occurrence and investigation of sexual violence perpetrated against girls and young women in rural areas. As the authors note, the links between place and sexual violence against girls and women is an understudied area [T]he study of intimate partner violence and other forms of sexual violence in rural settings, in particular, may in fact be a blind spot in

intersectional research. Critically, the chapter calls for an intersectional analysis which does not just see place (rurality) as an add-on but which attempts to understand the intricacy of place, gender, resources, and mobility. The authors conclude that, since “we are all, in one sense, makers of rurality ... we need to undertake a more critical exploration of the power of preconceived notions of the rural.”

Ashley DeMartini and Claudia Mitchell’s chapter, “Methodological considerations in studying youth, gender and social media in neo liberal times”, focuses on young people in rural South Africa who participated in focus groups to discuss their use of their cellphones to access social media platforms. Given the significance of communication in rural contexts, this should be an area of great concern in fields such as education, health, and social development yet it remains seriously understudied. To begin to address this lack, the authors ask: How do young people in rural areas of South Africa speak about cellphones and their use in relation to Social Networking Sites (SNSs)? What place do cellphones occupy in their everyday lives? Given the gendered landscape of the two geographic areas, particularly in the context of high rates of HIV and AIDS for girls and young women, and high rates of gender-based violence nationally, do boys and girls see the cellphone in similar ways? What are the methodological constraints in conducting such work, and what are the methodological opportunities?

As DeMartini and Mitchell found, these young people have a very sophisticated understanding of social media and a well-developed set of the financial literacy skills needed to purchase and manage airtime. At the same time, as their responses to a set of narrative scenarios highlights, the girls, in particular, have to navigate and negotiate a highly problematic set of conditions surrounding issues like acquiring or gaining access to cellphones and airtime, and being harassed by messages sent to them, and to others about them, on their cellphones, as well as the propagation and dissemination of rumours about their sexual availability. As the authors conclude, There is a need for social researchers and those working in digital design, especially that of apps, to work together to think about how cellphones and social media can contribute to addressing the unique features of sexual violence in rural areas.

The final chapter in the book is Maija–Liisa Harju’s “Enchanted Woods and Magical Saunas: Cultivating Finnish-Canadian Identity through Story”. Harju offers a looking-back story of shifting identities, and generationality. She uses the tools of literature and memory-work not only to recount her own story of growing up as a

Finnish Canadian and to examine the critical issues around identity, but also to reflect forward in relation to what she sees as hopeful possibilities for her young daughter, also growing up as Finnish-Canadian but as part of a different consciousness. For Harju, [n]arrative inquiry is not only useful for exploring cultural identity, but also for addressing broader questions about the ways in which one develops a sense of self (e.g. individually, socially, creatively). As she writes: Although I missed out on Moomins in my youth, my daughter can only benefit culturally from having an early introduction to Finnish books. These stories, and her own developing memories of time spent in the enchanted woods and magical bathhouses of Beaver Lake are shaping her childhood, and will undoubtedly deepen her own sense of Finn-ness, whoever she becomes. Harju's comment is a fitting ending to a book that begins with asking young people how they see themselves as part of the young generation.

WHERE NEXT?

Taken as a whole these chapters suggest new directions for participatory work with young people, and new directions for studying technology as both phenomenon and method in conducting research. They also suggest the need for vigilance in ensuring that gender is on the agenda when we are asking questions about what it means to be young in neo-liberal times. At the same time, these chapters should also help us to re-think our own role as social science, health, and education researchers, and encourage us to see that we need to be thinking differently about our own responsibilities in this work. As noted earlier in the chapter, the pervasiveness of peer harassment and sexual violence in the lives of young people is something that also requires vigilance. How are we, as adults, implicated?

In conclusion, I ask us to consider what we can gain by engaging in transnational dialogues. Many of the chapters in this book come out of two text seminars and two one-day symposia on girlhood and gender, held at the Mid Sweden University in September and December, 2014 during which discussions about sexual violence and sexual harassment were prominent. The seminars and symposia brought together research carried out in Sweden, Canada, and South Africa. Some of the participants (both Swedes and visitors) expressed great surprise about the prevalence of sexual violence in Sweden, a reminder of Elina Oinas's comment several years ago that everyone thinks of Nordic girls as "the girls who won the lottery" (2011, n.p.). At the same time, as a Canadian participating in the event, I had to come forward with an account of Canada's shameful treatment of indigenous girls and women. Collectively we struggle with the knowledge that what should be is not always in

place, but collectively and through the writings that we offer here, we see that there are possibilities for resistance and social change, from the questions that get asked, through to the methods that we might use, and finally to the positions for which we can advocate that privileges the knowledge and perspectives held by “those who are young in a neoliberal time”.

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Part I

Picturing change

CHAPTER 1

Collages of “the young generation” from the standpoint of adolescent girls

Sheila Zimic & Katarina Giritli Nygren

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we interrogate and discuss representational collages of the *young generation* made by adolescent girls. The material we present is part of a larger study that explores boys’ and girls’ perspectives with the particular aim of analyzing these collages to see if and how the participants used symbols of internet sites and media platforms, and technological artefacts in representing their own generation (see Zimic, 2014). Because of this very specific focus, much of what was represented by young people in the material we collected was necessarily left out of this analysis. One of the issues we now want to explore is gender—its role and its symbolism in the collages. We think that some awareness of the significance of gender was always evident in the representations of participating girls and boys but in this chapter our focus is on the perspective of adolescent girls only.

Gender is a dynamic construct of social power relationships under specific historical circumstances that shapes people’s lives in fundamental and often contradictory ways, and gives rise as much to conflict as to change (Connell, 2009). Gender permeates other power relationships such as, for example, those connected with generation, ethnicity, and class. When we study the representations of young people we might also be able engage in deconstructing their use of gender symbolism so as to enable us to work towards social change. Here we want to explore what meaning adolescent girls give to being young in contemporary society. In being positioned as young what do they imagine and what do they relate to? The participants’ collages reveal not only how they construct or understand their generational identity but also how they understand their standpoint as adolescent girls in relation to how they choose to represent their generation. We believe that the ways in which adolescent girls choose to represent the *young generation* can tell something about how it is to be a young girl in the neoliberal society of today. The articulations of the popular notion of being your own choices have been understood, in the previous analysis of the empirical material, as expressions of neoliberalism that affect the life of young

people, and not only in a positive way. Being one's own choices is, rather, something the participants perceive as being possible for the *young generation* whether or not choices are really choices or whether they are just presented as being choices. In other words, they cannot not choose (Zimic 2014).

The specific aim of this chapter is to explore the possibility of attaining a deeper understanding of young girls' constructions of meaning regarding their generational identity by using collage as a visual participatory method. We believe the use of collage to be helpful in an open research approach in which the aim is to explore how participants conceive of their own generation. This method engages participants in creative processes and opens up the possibility for more inclusive research that would reveal more complex images of what it means to be young in contemporary society. Participatory visual methods strive to accomplish a mutual understanding between researcher and research participants by involving participants in creating some or all of the empirical material. The aim of working with respondent-generated data is to shift towards more collaborative and participative modes of research. In their most sophisticated (and rare) form, participative methods almost dissolve the distinction between researchers and non-researchers. However, as Prosser and Loxley (2008) emphasize:

The way images are generated and the way images are read shift during the research process and [...] empirical researchers involved with human subjects are powerful and make key decisions throughout a study that impact on the quality of data generated. No matter how empowering or inclusive researchers are, the primary agency and responsibility for the conduct of a study remains with them. (p. 18)

Drawing on the knowledge produced by feminist scholars, we think it is important to view the world from different standpoints. Social groups, such as adolescent girls, for example, are positioned within social structures in such a way that they experience the world differently from the way other social groups do, like, for example, young boys, thus occupying what Harding (2004) and others refer to as standpoints. Therefore, working from the standpoint of adolescent girls allows us to explore traditional (and constructed) dichotomies like that between young girls and old women, for instance, by placing us on both sides at once. Another reason for the specific feminist standpoint is our position as women in academic practice. One ideal in research practice is to take into account all empirically relevant variables. Since humans exist within the empirical world, and girls as a group live different lives from those of boys and men, their lives are a valuable starting point for scientific

research. For us, this also means that we need to find a balance between working on girls and theorising gender or, in other words, we need to combine an institutional perspective and a self-reflexive one (see Giritli Nygren & Schmauch, 2012). We argue that it is possible to read the visual from both perspectives. This means that we do not use the collages as evidence of what it is really like to be young but, rather, as a way of creating an opportunity for participants, in this case adolescent girls, to reflect on their signifying practices and communicate their tacit knowledge. In this sense, collage should be understood as a method of creating mutual knowledge, because, in this process, both participants and researchers create knowledge of a *young generation*. We use the collages to illuminate different representations of the *young generation* and also to challenge, from the standpoint of adolescent girls, the taken-for-granted ideas about a *young generation* in society.

Capturing adolescent girls' standpoints through collage creating activities

Collage can be used to explore young participants' understanding of a phenomenon or their relationship to something, as well as to explore abstract ideas and even sensitive topics. Collage has been used, for instance, to gain insight into young people's knowledge about HIV and AIDS (Norris, Thembinkosi, Rorke, Goba, & Mitchell 2007). Another example is the use of collage to gain knowledge about young migrants' relationship with the media (Block et al., 2005) and yet another was the use of this method to explore young people's conception of self-identity (Awan, 2007). However, one cannot say that there is one general analytical approach according to which collages can be interpreted and combined with other methods. In this chapter, collages are combined with interviews, similar to the method of the participatory photo interview (Kolb, 2008). The visual material (collages) in this study is participant-created but the material that the participants used to construct their collages came mostly from magazines provided to the participants by the original researcher. Accordingly, this part of the research process resembles the photo-elicitation technique—getting participants to respond to existing photos—with its aim of triggering their reflective thinking (Harper, 2002).

The reason for this choice of method was inspired by a theoretical understanding of social identity as an ongoing, dialectical process between external and internal processes (Jenkins, 2004). This dialectical process cannot be separated from discourse, since the idea of a possible future limits the outcomes of possible identities (Howarth, Norval, & Stavrakakis 2000). In relation to this study, this means that the girl participants were involved in practices in which they produced images on their own by moving the external media-produced images into a new

context—one in which they could apply new meanings to the already existing images.

The primary material used was a variety of magazines, and, in most cases, the participants were able to use the Internet and print out material from it for their collages. They were provided with 20 different magazines on themes such as lifestyle, sports, fashion, human rights, technology, academic professions, travel, and celebrities. Using the material, the participants' created collages as something that could be interpreted or read, according to the prompt, as *representations of their generation*.

Participatory visual methods are concerned with the practice of the construction of meaning. Participants are seen as active producers of meaning and it is their signifying practices that are studied (Zimic, 2015). Involving participants in creative processes through which they have the opportunity to reflect on what meaning they put into abstract ideas enables them to express meanings that might be difficult to verbalize in a traditional interview situation (see, for example, Gauntlett, 2007).

METHODS

The collages that present the standpoint of adolescent girls in this chapter were produced by 5 groups of girls in an average-sized town in Sweden. Altogether, 15 girls, aged 13-17 participated in the study during the spring of 2012. The size of the groups varied from pairs to 4 participants, and the study was conducted in schools, and in a youth center. The collage-creating activity was introduced by a brief presentation pointing out that while there is a great deal of categorizing of young people in contemporary society very seldom do young people themselves have an opportunity to describe how they might represent their own age group. Following this, the participants were asked to help work against these categorizations by making collages about their own age group. The participants were asked to pretend they were creating collages as documentation for future researchers—collages that would offer information on what it was like to be young in 2012.

We believe that participants, in making their collages in groups, make sense of the visual material collectively rather than individually. They negotiate what to include, how to compose the collage, where to place different images, for instance, which topics they want to visualize, and what message they want to convey. In other words, they participate in a meaning-making process in which, following Kolb (2008), they actively reflect on the research question which is to describe their

generation. In this way, an abstract idea such as *generational identity* is communicated at a more concrete and tangible level; the participants create their collage in order to represent their generation and make the content understandable to an audience. Since a collage can be interpreted as a piece of art that can express different layers of meaning, it can be both complex and concrete at the same time. In a collage, the complexities can be visualized as different elements which can be combined and placed side by side (Zimic, 2015).

READING COLLAGES

We read the collages as adolescent girls' stories about their generation, each as a kind of visual narration, and analyzed them through the lens of narrative analysis (Riessman, 2008). Such an analysis is useful in exploring aspects of the construction of social identity, an argument that is supported by Riessman who points out that social identities are constructed as stories. Similar to verbalized or textual narrations, the collages were created with an audience in mind and with some idea of how the content was to be structured. Narrative analysis asks questions such as:

- How is the story told?
- Why is it told?
- What is the purpose?
- What does the story want to achieve?
- Who is it narrated for?
- What is taken for granted?
- Are there any inconsistencies or contradictions?"

These are the questions we tried to keep in mind when we were analyzing the collages but they are also translated into questions related to the composition of the symbols in the collage (Célé, 2006):

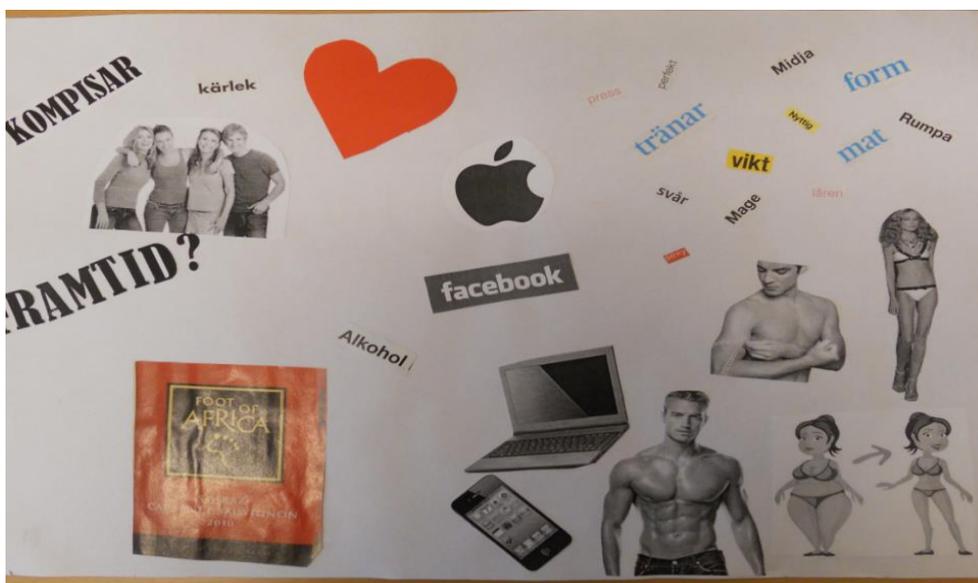
- What is in the foreground?
- What stands out?
- How are the symbols distributed or grouped together?

When symbols are grouped together, what is the message they aim to mediate?

- How are these symbols related to gender?

Asking these questions, we would argue, makes it possible to read the collages. It is important to note here that in all the collages representations of bodies—visual and verbal—can be seen.

In Collage 1 (see below), the elements that can be read as belonging to the same topic are clustered in a delimited area. Technological artefacts are grouped together with the logos of Apple and Facebook being located near images of an iPhone and a computer. Of more significance to this analysis, however, words that translate as “sexy”; “fat”; “perfect”; “waist”; “acne”; and “shape”, all of which could be interpreted as elements of the topic *looks/external appearance* are placed close to images of male and female bodies or body parts on the right-hand side of the collage. A thin female body is presented in opposition to a muscular male body in their both being positioned in the lower right quadrant of the collage. This quadrant of Collage 1 focuses on the body and on *making the body*. We see a picture of a girl with a curvaceous body and, next to this, a picture of the same girl with a much thinner body. Linking these is an arrow pointing away from the curvaceous girl towards the thinner one.



Collage 1

When the girls talked with each other during their making of the collages they indicated that they perceived these stereotypically perfect bodies as meeting society’s general ideals regarding shape and size. The bodies represented in the collages are all clearly indicative of the gendered reality in which the participants are situated. This is clear from their choice of stylized images that meet existing gender imperatives. Their choice of words, “work out”; “weight”; and “shape”, also

reflects these imperatives in messages of active strategies or words that refer to different ways of manipulating the body.

Ambjörnsson (2007) points out that manipulating the body to have it appear as stereotypically feminine seems to be related to what might be called *doing feminine gender* as both an act of inclusion into the homosocial context, in this case female, and an act of difference-making between femininity and masculinity as well as between different forms of femininities, for example in relation to class. The focus on the body and the acts of creating and/or manipulating bodies also relate to what Butler (2004) observes as the connection between the fantasy of creating perfect bodies and the required gendered performance of such bodies. In the collages gender becomes a matter of bodily style and performance, making certain normative links between gender and a particular bodily shape. Plastic surgery is offered as a strategy to correct bodies and faces in pursuit of the ideal that is supposedly the same for everyone and yet, paradoxically, highly competitive. The availability and normalization of plastic surgery is articulated by participants in Collage 2.



Collage 2

In the bottom right section of this collage, above pictures of lips before and after plastic surgery, is text that translates as: "How should one look to fit in among us?" Below the *after* pictures is an image of a thumb—Facebook's *like* symbol. Towards the left side of the same collage, there is an advertisement for plastic surgery. Alongside the images and messages about looks, there is a message about sexual performance anxiety: the word Prestationsångest is superimposed on a picture of three girls, all apparently drunk, dressed as Playboy Bunnies, with one man. In this collage, beside the ad for plastic surgery and pictures of lips there is a picture of Dita von Teese, famous for her retro fashion style and for having been on the cover of *Playboy* four times. At the bottom of the collage is a text that translates as: "Fuck it, I'm the best."

All these images are mixed up with those of technological artefacts (a computer and a smart phone) and social media—Facebook and YouTube— icons. We think that their appearance together with the images described above indicates that the attempt to perform or embody the norms associated with being positioned as a girl seem to be interwoven with, and enhanced by social media. Our interpretation is that the participants are voicing society's general belief that one should change in order to fit in and that changing one's looks is something to be proud of, something one should show to others on social media platforms. It seems that changing one's style or looks and appearing interesting or daring is an important, and even expected, element in using social media.

The participants talked a great deal about Facebook, saying things like: "It is big" and "There is almost no one who does not use it" to describe their relationship with this particular social networking site. They also used expressions such as "addiction," and "like a drug", and said that they felt "obliged" to use Facebook. In the concrete situation of imagining a generational identity, the participants point to the significance of the broad concepts of information technology and social media.



Collage 3

In the collage above a similar way of relating images of people to technological artefacts is evident. The participants included several photos of young people and patched them together as if to indicate that these belong together. We interpret these as photos taken at parties because there is a picture of alcohol bottles to the left of the cluster. Just above the photos, a text, placed as a heading, translates into: "Do you dare?" and "Dry." The latter, in this context, seems to mean "boring". We interpret the photos of young people at parties together with the question "Do you dare?" as conveying the message that parties, involving the drinking of alcoholic beverages, is given considerable importance in young people's representation of their generation. Parties, drinking, and drunkenness seem to be associated with "daring" and those who do not drink are considered "boring". In Collage 3, a cluster of party images is placed alongside the iconic symbol for the Facebook mobile application. On the left side of the cluster is an image of a small bird that is Twitter's symbol, the YouTube logotype, and the symbol for Instagram. What do these technology symbols mean in relation to the cluster of pictures of young people at parties? Our interpretation is in accordance with that of Turkle (2011) that the young participants feel a constant pressure to appear what is known as cool in social media (see Zimic, 2014; 2015).

Furthermore, according to other feminist researchers like Ambjörnsson (2007), the aspect of social media being a public space to interact does have an effect on how

girls act, how they express themselves, what topics they talk about, and how much initiative they feel they are allowed to take. In other words, feminine gender performances are related to what kind of identities are considered possible and which are considered less possible. From the perspective of girls, the message in Collage 3 seems, among other things, to be saying that using social media is related to showing that one dares to drink alcohol and appear cool at parties, and that appearing cool is related to experimenting with sexual activities. The experimenting with sexual activities, however, according to the collages, is within the norm of heterosexuality. This is clear in the use of exaggeratedly masculinized and feminized images.

Thus the sexual experimentation seems to be restricted to certain contexts, certain conditions (when one is affected by alcohol) and perhaps to certain acts and with certain people. The word “daring” can thus be interpreted as daring to take the risk, not to pass as what counts as normal. If you appear too normal you risk being considered boring (Ambjörnsson, 2007). The performance to be or become a successful individual, a successful girl, where the making of the feminine body is given a privileged position must be interpreted in relation to how far a young girl can manipulate her body before she no longer passes as a normal girl.



Collage 4

We also read the image in Collage 4 with the text beneath it that translates to “Adolescent girls like boys with good looking bodies”, and other images of male bodies (see for example. in Collage 5. “Älskar killen” (Loves the boy) as articulations related to the heterosexual norm.

The participants’ representations need also to be interpreted and understood from the perspective of “mastering the discourse” (Ambjörnsson, 2007, p. 177). In the search for “the perfect body” as the translated text in Collage 5 illustrates, “Girls want to look their best”, which can be interpreted as girls wanting to look perfect (or flawless). Another example of the gendering of so-called perfect looks are the images of makeup (see Collages 3, 4, and 5) that indicate the need to make the body look feminine. See, too, the L’Oreal slogan “Become extreme – it’s not every day” in Collage 5.



Collage 5

There are also many ambivalent messages in the collages; contradictory statements are placed next to each other, particularly statements referring to self-confidence and anxiety. The text in Collage 5 that translates to “We think about everything” is, for example, placed beside statements like those that translate to “Many are caught by peer pressure” and “bad ideas”. The text at the top of Collage 3 that means “smart, good looking, sexy and always stand-by” is followed by a longer message saying that it is not enough to be just a musician any longer, you also have to be a model,

actor, politician, and writer. The text ends with a question asking who can bear to be all that.

Some of the participants talked about the pressure they feel when it comes to constantly being updated on everything that is going on; being expected to do everything there is to do while always having high expectations, as well as always having to become their dreams. This way of reasoning, together with the ambivalent messages in the collages can be interpreted as articulations of the idea that girls in contemporary society are expected to choose and to make informed (and gendered) choices. The idea of individualism and being free to choose seems to be related closely to not missing out on anything. Instead of having free choice the participants articulate that they feel obliged and pressured to be a certain way and to do certain things; in a sense, they feel constrained. They have to make certain very specific choices in order to gain status in society in general or in just their social group of friends.

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we have explored the representations of the *young generation* from the standpoint of adolescent girls. Often when a generation is being portrayed it is done from a perspective that implies that a generation is a natural entity. In this categorization gender is not even discussed. Certain characteristics are represented as general characteristics of an entire group of people categorized as a specific generation. However, this has different consequences for individuals in relation to other categorizations such as gender. Since categorizations can be understood as the making of boundaries between who is included in a category and who is excluded it should also be understood as excluding possibilities; some identities are considered to be more possible than others. What is then considered possible for a young girl in contemporary society? What kind of representations of one category of adolescent girls do participants in this study articulate?

We have discussed some of the articulations and representations of adolescent girls such as the practices of (re)making the female body; the notion of heterosexuality as the norm; the need to be updated/informed; the pressure to perform well (with performance anxiety as a consequence of not doing so); and being expected to actively choose, for example, a lifestyle. In the collage activity interviews, the participants expressed how difficult, if not impossible, it is to live up to all the expectations of being a girl. They articulate this impossibility in terms of the contradictions between the different images of how they should behave. For

instance, they say that they are expected to care about their looks but not try too hard, because that would indicate that they are superficial. As Ambjörnsson (2007) discusses, a norm can be understood as something that cannot exist on its own, but only in relation to its considered opposite. This means that there is no fixed point of reference and no stability in the meaning of being what counts as a normal girl. Participants' images of what it means to be a normal girl can be understood as "fetishes" (p.28) that they desired but seldom felt they succeeded in embodying.

Through the process of creating the collages about the *young generation* the participants were reflecting on what it means to be positioned as a young girl. Some participants explicitly emphasized that their collages come from a "girl perspective". The reflective process did not just involve the participants in thinking about what it means to be a young girl but also in questioning the representations that they chose to use. This opens up the possibility of deconstructing the notion of what a *young generation* actually is as well as the taken-for-granted practices of doing gender i.e. how femininity is done. The collage as method makes it possible to create mutual knowledge about the *young generation* from girls' perspectives.

We have seen what the participants chose to articulate and what they wanted to problematize. This provided a foundation to reflect upon what kind of norms are related to female gender practices. These choices also say something about contemporary threat of everything being made public (on social media) intensifies society and the boundaries to which girls constantly have to relate, in this case those imposed by a neo-liberal discourse and the idea of free individual choice. In such a discourse some kinds of girl identities are made more possible such as, for instance, a high performing, informed, and updated girl who is heterosexual and is constantly involved in making her body appear feminine through different types of practices (fashion, make up, and even plastic surgery). The idea that the choices are what defines an individual induces performance anxiety about making the right choices and performing well while the striving to do it all right since everything is open to the public eye and, therefore, can be judged.

In summary, participatory visual methodologies can be used to create a space for participants to create their own discourse as a balance to discourses created by others who categorize them.

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CHAPTER 2

Using cellphones to make cellfilms about cellphones: Girls, transactional sex, and gender-based violence in and around schools in rural South Africa

Katie MacEntee

INTRODUCTION

Schooling is a basic human right and should work as a protective factor against violence towards, and the oppression of girls (UNICEF, 2014). Yet, in a national study of South African learners, almost a quarter of the female students reported exposure to violence at school and over 7% of female learners reported being sexually assaulted at school (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). School-based gender-based violence (GBV) is defined as “acts of sexual, physical or psychological violence inflicted on children in and around schools because of stereotypes and roles or norms attributed to or expected of them because of their sex or gendered identity” (Greene, Robles, Stout & Suvilaakso, 2013: 7). Boys and girls can experience GBV, but “boundaries between coercive and consensual sex are often blurred by economic, social and/or cultural constraints which afford limited life choices, for girls in particular” (Leach, Dunne, Salve, 2014: 3). School-based GBV is often perpetrated by male teachers or peers (Greene et al., 2013) and inhibits girls’ educational success. It also contributes to various long-term health concerns including unplanned pregnancies, exposure to STIs and HIV (George, & Finberg, 2001). The Department of Basic Education (DBE) and the South African Council of Educators (SACE) have issued guidelines and policies for teachers and staff to reduce violence and sexual harassment in schools (DBE, 2008; SACE, 2011). However, preventative measures seem to have had limited success. It is estimated that only 40% of sexual assaults in schools are reported (Burton & Leoschut, 2013). In earlier studies, it was found that many schools fail to address girls’ reports of violence (Prinsloo, 2006) and girls who speak out risk further harassment or violence (George & Finberg, 2001). More recently, several gaps in accountability have been identified. These include inconsistencies between national policies, poor implementation of policies in schools, as well as multiple or duplicative disciplinary processes at the school level that make reporting experiences of violence arduous

and, at times, re-victimizing for girls (University of Witwatersrand School of Law & Cornell Law School, 2014). These are all contributing to a general sense of disorganization and, overall, to poor responses to grievous human rights violations.

One key aspect of this issue is related to transactional sex and sexual coercion, and the way cellphones are regarded as a form of currency. As Aker and Mbiti (2010) observe, cellphones are used widely throughout South Africa. Sugar Daddies, or men in age-disparate relationships with girls, often offer cellphones (along with other commodities such as clothing) to coerce girls into having unprotected sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008). These sexual transactions are not commercial-based (i.e. prostitution) and differ from immediacy-motivating survival sex (e.g. exchanging sex for shelter or food), although girls and women may discuss the everyday material items exchanged through transactional relationships using a language of necessity (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Tensions between love and materiality in relation to gender and race in post-apartheid South Africa are distinct (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). Girls can be active sexual agents in transactional, age-disparate relationships, especially in the initial choice in, and number of, partners (Heslop & Banda, 2013). In urban South Africa, the term provider love (Hunter, 2010) describes a combination of romantic love and physical attraction based in traditional practices such as *lobola* (the brideprice traditionally paid by a prospective husband to his prospective wife's family), which obscure modern gender-based financial/labor inequalities. There is a normalization of the materiality of everyday sex for many South African women (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003, Jewkes et al., 2012) and seeking or having Sugar Daddies can be discussed in positive terms amongst some communities of young women (Bhana & Pattman, 2011).

With growing consensus on the ways in which cellphones and transactional sex contribute to GBV, there is still limited understanding of girls' interpretations of cellphones in relation to GBV. At the same time, cellphones offer possibilities for intervening in the high levels of GBV in South Africa. For example, global media attention was given to a cellphone video recorded by a student in Mpumalanga of a male teacher beating a female student (*Mail & Guardian*, 23 August 2012). *HollaBack!*, an international movement against street harassment, developed a free mobile application that interactively maps experiences of GBV in multiple urban areas across the country (<http://southafrica.ihollaback.org/about-us/>). Academic research has described the cellphone as a ubiquitous and indigenous form of digital technology in South Africa and is considering ways of integrating the technology into community-based interventions to address HIV education (Mitchell & De

Lange, 2013). While these initiatives seem promising, there is limited understanding of how girls, themselves, use and understand cellphones in and around schools.

RESEARCH QUESTION

This chapter considers work with high school youth in rural KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, who made cellfilms—participatory video made with cellphones—to explore the relationships between cellphones and GBV. Specifically, this research asks, “How might the representations of cellphones in cellfilms made by girls inform the current understanding of GBV in and around rural schools?”

Theoretical framework

Mitchell (2010) advances the idea of a new materialism in socio-visual research that involves textual analyses of material culture. As she goes on to write in a later publication, this work fosters the possibility of theorizing “abstract concepts in a grounded manner” (2011: 35). A socio-semiotic “mapping” (Riggins, 1994: 109) of objects interrogates the denotative meanings (what the object is) in relation to its connotative meanings (how the object is understood and the meanings imbued in the object by the people who use/interact with it. As Tao and Mitchell observe, “as texts give meaning, they also acquire meaning” (2013: 175). Cultural artifacts have personal and relational meanings and “carry with them an autobiographical narrative” (Mitchell, 2011: 50) that can provide nuance and complexity when combined with traditional qualitative methods. Working within this framework, I consider the cellphone a cultural artifact, and a critical entry point from which to consider girls’ understandings of GBV in and around rural South African schools.

Following Stuart, Raht & Smith (2011), the research incorporates participatory arts-based methodologies as a way of involving participants in the production of knowledge. This methodology aims to be participant-centered and encourages personal and social reflection in order to learn about participants’ perspectives while at the same time avoiding the need for explicit disclosures about potentially traumatic experiences. Riggins (1994) and Mitchell (2011) discuss the importance of working with the visual when one is considering what objects reveal about people and societies. Cellfilm method draws primarily on participatory video method (Milne, Mitchell, & De Lange, 2012) combining cellphone video technology with participant-led video production. Cellphones are widely accessible in South Africa and phones with Internet access and file-sharing capabilities facilitate the dissemination of participants’ work from cellphone to cellphone, over social media

and at “big screen” events to stimulate community dialogue (see Dockney, Tomaselli & Hart, 2010; MacEntee & Mandrona, in press).

Research context

I observed, in the participants’ rural high school, large classes, poor infrastructure, and inadequate resources. The school is in the process of upgrading its facilities but the school district offers limited future job opportunities, and it experiences high unemployment and a great deal of out-migration for work opportunities (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Some research participants described living with extended family members and some recounted losing loved ones to AIDS. Previous research in KwaZulu Natal indicates that over one-third of all women have experienced GBV (Musariri, Nyambo & Machisa, 2014) and it has the highest HIV rates in South Africa (UNAIDS, 2013). In this rural area, girls (15-25 years) are eight times more likely than their male peers to be diagnosed with HIV and this discrepancy is attributed in part to girls’ exposure to violence and sexual coercion (Karim et al., 2014).

METHODOLOGY

I facilitated a cellphilm workshopⁱ (5 meetings of approximately 3 hours each) with a group of 11 youth (8 girls and 3 boys, aged between 13 and 20 years). The majority of the participants were Zulu and spoke English as a second language. Participation was voluntary and direct experience of GBV was not required. The cellphilm-making process followed the method described by Mitchell, De Lange, and Moletsane (2015) and Mitchell and De Lange (2013). The participants were presented with the prompt: *Telling stories about cellphones and sex in and around schools*. The participants interpreted this prompt on their own, developed a story, filmed a video in a group, using project cellphones, and screened the cellphilm to the workshop group. Following the screening of the 11 cellphilms we discussed issues that were raised in them, including: cellphones; sexuality; gender; GBV; and HIV and AIDS. Data consists of the cellphilms; a photographic record of the research process; audio-recorded focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews; and my fieldnotes.

Analysing the data

In accordance with Fiske (1987) and Mitchell (2011), I consider the wide range of qualitative data as three distinct yet interrelated texts: the primary text (the cellphilm); producer texts (documents describing the production process); and audience texts (what people said about the production). The primary text for this chapter is a cellphilm made by an 18 year-old, grade 12 female participant. I

conducted a close-reading of the cellphilm based on a verbatim transcript of what was said in the video alongside written descriptions of the scenes. Producer texts include the photos, interview transcripts, and my fieldnotes. The audience texts are the transcripts of the participant group members discussing each other's cellphilms. The varied data texts allow for many opportunities to member-check during the data collection process as well as to contribute to the overall trustworthiness of the qualitative analysis as advocated by Gubrium & Harper (2013) and Butler-Kisber (2010).

Beginning with the primary texts, I reviewed the ways in which cellphones are referred to in the cellphilms. This process identified areas for further investigation, including: the importance of cellphones in girls' lives; how cellphones can aid in finding a potential sugar daddy; using cellphones to diverge from traditional gender roles; and using cellphones to trick or blame victims of GBV. I compared these themes with those in the producer and audience texts with the intention of filling out descriptions with the participants' interpretations. This process identified various tensions and contradictions between the girls' general understandings of cellphone use in relation to GBV on the one hand, and cellphone use and perceptions of GBV specifically in their own lives on the other.

Easy Comes, Easy Goes

The cellphilm, *Easy Comes, Easy Goes* by Zinhleⁱⁱ is approximately 6 minutes in length—the longest cellphilm made during the workshop. The filming took place in an unused classroom and involved 4 members of the participant group as actors (3 girls and 1 boy). Zinhle did the filming, directing, and voice-over work. Like 7 of the 8 cellphilms made by the female participants in the workshop, *Easy Comes, Easy Goes* revolves around the way cellphones are related to girls' experiences and vulnerabilities to GBV. The opening scene introduces the lead character, a female teenager living in a rural area. The girl sits alone in a chair looking contemplative while the voice-over explains that the girl is desperate for a smartphone like those her friends own but her parents cannot afford to buy her one. The girl decides to approach her friends for advice on the matter. Her friends encourage the girl to be a "gold digger" and to attract a "hot" "sugar daddy" to buy her a phone. The following day, as we hear in the voice-over, the girl prepares herself to go to town. Waiting by the side of the road, a "rich man" offers the girl a lift. In town, the man buys the girl many things, including the cellphone "of her dreams." During the shopping spree, the girl and the man are described by the voice-over as having begun to date. On the drive home the man reveals that he expects sex in exchange for all the gifts. The girl is shocked, and resists by informing the man that she is a

virgin. The man insists by reminding her of the many gifts he bought her, and the girl “has no choice” but to agree. Over the next months the girl becomes very ill and when she attends a health clinic she finds out that she is HIV-positive. Through the voice-over we learn that the girl’s health continues to deteriorate. The closing scene focuses on the girl lying dead in a coffin with her friends singing funeral songs and crying over her.

Themes and issues

In this section I consider the ways in which cellphones are represented and used in the primary text *Easy Comes, Easy Goes*, alongside the ways in which the girls discussed cellphones in the research transcripts (producer and audience texts).

It is of great importance for girls to be able to bring a cellphone to school. Depicting girls who “so much miss the smartphone that [her] friends are using” (*Easy Comes, Easy Goes*), the girls employed a needs-based vocabulary in reference to cellphones similar to that described in previous research on transactional relationships (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). The participants explained that not having a cellphone at school makes a learner open to judgments from other learners: “They are going to think funny things about her.” This risk of judgment by peers and the relative ease with which the girl in the cellphilm finds a man to buy her a cellphone can contribute to a normalization of transactional relationships in this context. A normalized discourse is evident in the cellphilm when female friends (FF1 and FF2) encourage the girl to pursue a transactional relationship.

FF1: You know where to get a smart phone? Tell her, tell her.

FF2: Easy! What you need to get a cellphone is a man.

A smartphone, in this context, is an important communication device as well as a gateway to the mobile Internet. Girls use their phones to stay in contact with family, some of whom might be employed far away. Information and communication technology (ICT) integration into schools across South Africa has focused on urban schools and rural ICT integration is marred by infrastructural problems (Dzansi & Amedzo, 2014). Operating on an extensive wireless network, the mobile Internet overcomes resource and access challenges in schools and permits access to a wide array of online resources, educational information, and future job opportunities (Gitau & Marsden, 2010). When one is considering the sexual coercion and transactional relationships depicted in *Easy Comes, Easy Goes*, it is tempting to focus on the ways in which cellphone technology is a corruptive influence in girls’ lives.

The school, looking to avoid the distracting and possibly coercive use of cellphones in and around the school area, has banned learners from bringing their cellphones to school. Arguably, however, this ban also limits the productive use of cellphones.

Girls use their cellphones to explore and engage in heterosexual relationships in ways that are both exploitative and empowering. The girls discussed the way social media applications on cellphones are used to look at pictures and chat with men. This discussion contributes to previous research that observed women in transactional relationships discussing “a dearth of suitable men in their communities” (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003: 223). Cellphones were described by participants as increasing girls’ access to potential partners beyond the limits of their immediate community. The transactional nature of these potential relationships is discussed in terms of commodity exchange but also in relation to different levels of physical attraction and sexual desire. In the cellphilm the girls’ conversation moves back and forth between the transactional (“a gold digger” “a rich man”) and the sexual (“a hunk”). Later in the video, before the girl is raped, the man and the girl are described as “dating” and they kiss each other. These depictions echo the young women in Hunter’s (2010) research who ascribe romantic aspects to transactional relationships. The workshop participants were attracted to “swagger” and the nuances behind their discernment of desirable men was tied to the man’s financial stability, modern clothes, and his physical attractiveness. They were unwilling to compromise these aspects of attraction and desire for gains from a wealthier, more generous man who did not fulfill their physical requirements.

This active selection of men mediated through cellphones reinforces certain male gender norms while also opposing some female ones. Public displays of heterosexuality and men pursuing many women constitute a traditional understanding of Zulu masculinity; traditional Zulu femininity, in turn, is displayed through passivity, remaining chaste, and attracting a strong, dominant man (Jewkes et al. 2011). The participants were keenly aware of the sexual freedoms their male peers enjoy compared to the restrictions placed on girls’ sexualities.

Thobeka: It is not normal for a girl to call a guy. Yes it happens, but it’s not very normal.

Londeka: It’s rare.

Thobeka: It’s very rude. It would be very rude.

Describing cultural rules that inhibit girls from contacting guys, the girls naturalize men's dominant behaviors as being "what guys do ... 'cause the rules for him aren't as harsh as the rules for the girls." Later in the conversation, however, female participants described diverging from these traditional norms. Participants discussed the ways in which girls might use cellphones to initiate sexual encounters with men: "Maybe she is the one who calls him. Maybe he was called by his girlfriend." While participants were judgmental of girls who did this, cellphones are a tool for girls to circumnavigate traditional gender norms and initiate contact with a sexual partner. As Bhana and Anderson argue, "[W]ithin constraints young women are active makers of their sexual worlds. Their expressions of sexual agency, however, are framed under circumstances that are restrictive and premised on unequal gender power" (2013: 551).

Easy Comes, Easy Goes, on its own, highlights girls' vulnerabilities in relation to transactional relationships and GBV. This risk is presented, in part, in the girl's naïveté of the transactional nature of the relationship and her shock at discovering that the man was demanding sex: "How! Sex? But I'm a virgin!" The participants in the focus groups explained that the coercive nature of these relationships develops over time—"they don't say it straight to your face"—resulting in some girls feeling that "they have no choice." However, considering the focus group discussion complicates this perspective, as the girls who instigate transactional relationships using their cellphones were described as being judged as tacitly complicit or to blame in their own coercion. Participants talked about how girls use social media to out and publicly shame girls' secret relationships with teachers. Participants explained, "She could have reported it to the police" and "She can do the right thing." Thus, the responsibility to "do the right thing" relies on girls taking action as victims. No participants talked about men taking responsibility for not raping. This discussion resonates with Jewkes et al. (2005) who describe, in contexts of normalized child rape, how girls and their mothers are held accountable for GBV whereas men's actions are often excused. These examples show how girls, perhaps more than boys and men, stand to be held responsible for the ways in which cellphones are used in relation to sex. Girls using cellphones to mutually monitor their intimate relationships is particularly salient if it encourages girls to meet age-disparate partners in secret, thus exposing them to greater risk of GBV, or if it inhibits girls from reporting experiences of violence.

CONCLUSION

The criticality of using cellphones to discuss cellphones is, perhaps, most aptly presented in the funeral scene in the conclusion of Zinhle's cellphilm that reminds us of the ongoing need to engage girls in the responses to GBV. As one of the female participants observed after watching this cellphilm: "For me it was interesting because we were watching things that we as young teenagers go through every day in schools." Doing a textual analysis of the way cellphones are presented in this cellphilm selected for discussion, the research helped delineate the complex influence of cellphones on transactional relationships and the ways in which dominant restrictive gender norms are negotiated by girls in this rural context. The social importance girls associate with cellphones paired with larger infrastructural limitations, for example the inferiority of ICT education in rural areas, can motivate girls to seek out the technology at great risk to their health and wellbeing. Schools are in a difficult position of having to negotiate these risks as well as the potential benefits mobile technology might offer to resource-limited areas. Perhaps the most compelling evidence emerging from this project is the potential for cellphilm method to support schools developing girls-centered responses to transactional, coercive relationships in and around rural schools as well as in their central involvement in developing institutional policy on cellphones at schools.

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CHAPTER 3

Do it together! Participatory approaches, including photovoice, to addressing gender, class and ethnicity in relation to work practices within music activities in public education associations

Ewa Andersson

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to address the need for a discussion about gender, class, and ethnicity in relation to work practices within music activities in public education associations (PEAs) and, also, to discuss the possibilities of contributing to the knowledge produced within these associations through action-based research activities. The article builds on thoughts about work practices within organizations whose purpose is to engage youth in democratic and creative activities; it brings together an interest in music production; in places of creative practice; in work practices; and in youth. First, I will address the need for research in this area through a discussion of the function of the PEAs and their relationship to music production in Sweden, especially as situated in a neo-liberal context. Second, I will show how questions of gender, class, and ethnicity are important in relation to these associations and their practices, and last, I will suggest, in a discussion of both theoretical frameworks and research methods, how one could further this research. In doing this, I will map out an agenda for research that could contribute to knowledge about how work practice can both include and exclude people within organizations whose focus is to stimulate youth to engage and participate.

The increasing heterogeneity of Swedish society, in running parallel to a change in the funding of public organizations, means that new demands will be made of most organizations and functions within our civil society. A PEAs is an example of an institution that plays a part in the heterogeneous society, but does so with limited resources. I argue that these associations are of certain interest in that they play an important role in public education and democratization.

Music activities are especially important since they are significant to both the overall organization of public education as well as to developments within the Swedish music scene. PEAs can be said to be important actors both nationally and

internationally within music production in Sweden; many successful bands, for example, Mando Diao, Sahara Hotnights, and Adam Tensta, have started their careers with the music activities of PEAs.

Culture, and especially music, is the basis of a large number of the activities of PEAs. During 2012, 61% of the study circles in public education had a focus on art, music, and media with most of the participants being located in music circles (Folkbildningsrådet, 2012). The PEAs play an important part because of their educational purpose: they get people to play music, to study theater and so on, and to learn together but they also strive to enable youth to develop an interest in some sort of cultural life and to participate in it. This comes out of the belief that participation is democracy in practice (Folkbildningsförbundet, 2012). For many young people, the PEAs function as a first step to working with music. In some places in Sweden it can be the only way into music since the communal finances of music education within schools has decreased. This all means that the PEAs now play a bigger part in music education than they have before (Eklund & Gillback, 2013; SR P1, 2008, s. 1).

One articulated goal that PEAs need to achieve is the engagement of people from all groups within a society. Many people do participate in the music activities organized by the PEAs, but this does not mean that the participants are diverse. Of the 400 000 people who participated in music circles during 2012, few can be described as other than white male—a homogenous and homosocial group of participating individuals. For example, 90% of those who participated in circles that focused on improvised music were male. This implies that an organization that is supposed to be open and welcoming appears to exclude certain individuals, such as women (Ekelund, 2011; Folkbildningsrådet, 2012).

One explanation of these excluding practices could be that the music activities within PEAs are a part of a cultural field that, along with other cultural fields, is surrounded by discursive practices, connected to notions about, for example, gender and genre (Andersson, 2013a, 2013b) that prescribe a right and a wrong way to do things. The cultural field of music is often described being more appropriate for males than for females. Analysis of music often has its starting point in the notion that music is created and presented by men (Leonard, 2007), while many genres are described as homosocial environments in which a certain kind of masculinity and taste is produced and reproduced (Andersson, 2013a; Bannister, 2006; Kruse, 2003).

In a consideration of these issues it becomes relevant to ask whether actors in the PEA institutions can adapt their work practices to deal with the problems that these associations are about to face. If the PEAs become more important when it comes to providing music education, the organizations will have to meet different target groups. Added to this, it is essential that all groups and individuals in society should feel welcome at the music activities managed by these associations. In other words, how can PEA create an organization that stimulates participation characterized by inclusion?

I want, now, to discuss how ideas about music are entangled with notions of intersectionality, and how these entanglements have been proven to affect the work practices of organizations working with music.

IDEAS ABOUT MUSIC AND NOTIONS OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Connected to my interest in work practices among public education association institutions is the understanding that these work practices are related to ideas about the kind of music being produced, as well as notions of intersectionality, more specifically, gender, class, ethnicity, and place. We do know something about the gender specifics of these music activities but other power structures are less well researched, which is one of the reasons why I want to make this call for further research.

Previous studies of the music activities within public education have indicated that those working in this area lack awareness of the problems related to gender; the tendency is to see girls practicing music as a deviant group, while boys doing so are seen to fall within the norm (Brustad, 2008; Ekelund, 2011; Forsberg, 2007; Lundin, 2010). This is made visible through the language that is used by and in the associations, using traditional masculine ways of describing how and what to play, talking about music as a “hard” practice or differentiating between rockbands or “girlbands”, as well as through the different arrangements that are being marketed. Even when the PEAs, conscious of the problem, try to work in a gender-aware way, the same kind of norms might be, and often are, reproduced. Projects that are especially aimed towards girls serve as a useful example here: on the one hand, they create an environment in which girls are allowed to take part without having to compete with boys. On the other, however, these projects can, and do, contribute to the notion that girls are not good enough to participate on the same terms as the boys and this then consolidates the norm that favours males in the associations (see Brustad, 2008; Ekelund, 2011; Forsberg, 2007; Lundin, 2010).

There is at least an awareness of these problematics of gender and this has been made visible through evaluations, student essays, and projects such as Nätverket 50/50 of which many of the PEAs are members (Nätverket 50/50, u.å.). The associations, however, are still trying to find the right practices to solve these problems. There also seems to be a lack of knowledge when it comes to other principles of inclusion and exclusion, such as class, ethnicity, and place, and there are not that many signs that the associations are aware that all these principles are entangled with one another. This lack of understanding is further motivation for a study that combines the problematics of gender with those of class, ethnicity, and place.

To allow us to examine these principles of inclusion and exclusion more closely, I suggest a combination of theories in a bringing together of cultural fields and intersectional theory. Such a combination has consequences for how a study of this kind should be designed. To adopt an intersectional perspective in this sense means that I see gender, class, ethnicity, and place as being closely connected, and that these forms of stratification need to be analysed in relation to one another. Field theory, as well as the process-related intersectional analysis and theory that I want to use, can be described as relational models of what is being studied: both perspectives aim at studying how material and cultural relations of power are structuring our society within different social context (see Bourdieu, 1993; (Choo & Ferree, 2010).

The music activities within the PEAs are taking place within a cultural field that is situated outside of, though in close connection with, mass production. Such cultural fields have been shown to often organize their practices on the basis of Do-It-Yourself (DIY); the actors should cooperate with other actors who have what are thought to be the *right* values and characteristics, or, in other words, those who have access to a certain kind of capital that is considered to be valuable within that cultural field. The establishment of what is considered valuable capital is a process that takes place among the different actors within the field, and the process is closely connected to power; it is about who has which position and, therefore, the required resources (see Andersson, 2013a; (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993, 1994)).

To presume a relational perspective also means that I talk about doing something; a work practice in itself can be gendered or racialized (see Yual-Davis, 2006). This means that the practice is doing gender or race at the same time as it is performing work. For example, we know from previous studies that work practices within cultural fields are closely connected to authenticity discourses that are, in a sense,

shared notions about what is considered the right and the wrong way to do things. These discourses are themselves connected to thoughts about being true to one's subculture, and are also connected to notions about gender, ethnicity, and place (see Andersson 2013a; Andersson 2013b; Andersson & Giritli-Nygren 2012; Arvidsson 2007; (Andersson, 2013a, 2013b; Andersson & Giritli-Nygren, 2012; Arvidsson, 2007; McLeod, 1999; Thornton, 1995). To be able to study this interconnection we need to identify the dimensions that are connected to the work practices of the PEAs. This means that the study has to be designed so as to be able to represent different actors from different positions within the associations, identify how resources are valued, and connect this to the ongoing doing. For example, being aware that for a music genre to be prioritized within a PEA means that there are notions of authenticity built into this genre, which in themselves can exclude individuals who are not considered authentic. The social interaction between the actors within the organization, and the language the actors use also contribute to an understanding of how resources are being valued. The interaction makes visible who takes place, but also says something about who does not take place.

Using a process oriented model has an effect on the methodological choices of how to design appropriate research, such as using comparable data, to study different contexts and to try to capture the individual's possibilities of acting as well as the enabling or forced powers within the structures of practice (Choo & Ferree 2010).

THE NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH: TOWARDS AN AGENDA FOR RESEARCHING INCLUSION WITHIN PEA THROUGH ACTION BASED RESEARCH

Following from the discussions above, I now want to begin to frame ways of analyzing work practices in the PEAs using an intersectional perspective. I argue that the specific questions of interest that could be researched could include the following.

1. Which practices are used by the actors within the PEAs? This includes the study of how work practices are formulated strategically, as well as how these strategies are translated into practice.
2. How can work practice be understood in terms of inclusion and exclusion?

As an overarching question, we might ask about the ways in which qualitative research would be particularly useful, consider which qualitative techniques might be used, and explore how the work might include tools and methods such as document studies, interviews, observations, and visual methodologies such as

photovoice in order to create an extensive view of the PEAs, their actors, and their work practices. Within the PEAs, we find actors such as managers, administrators, and participators (the young people who are participating in their activities). I consider all these actors to be participators and organizers of the music activities within the PEAs, though the different actors are active at different levels of the organization. Managers, sometimes together with the administrators, have a responsibility for the strategic development within the PEAs. The administrators are responsible for the day-to-day work, which is also true of the participating youth who construct the meaning of the music activities while being active at fulfilling the strategic goals of the PEAs. By gathering data from all these actors, it would be possible to answer the questions of how work practices are formed strategically, how they are translated into practice, and whether they function as inclusive or exclusive.

In conducting such research, it is vital to consider how the work might take place across various phases. The first phase, for example, might consist of some type of mapping of the music activities of the PEAs. Such mapping could contribute to the building of a network with the actors of the PEAs, as well as contributing to identifying activities that could be studied as cases. During this phase, one might also conduct document studies as well as interviews with managers and administrators of the music activities of the PEAs.

Moving on to a second phase would mean going more deeply into some of the interesting cases. These cases could be chosen on the basis of various characteristics; these might include, for example, projects that can be considered successful in creating diversity among their participators, as well as PEA projects specifically aimed at girls and other marginalized groups. Since we already know, through reports and statements from the PEAs, that the participants in the music activities are often limited to certain groups of individuals—often young, white, middle-class men—such activities would also be included in the sample. This sampling enables a comparison between work practices that result in inclusion compared to those that result in exclusion. Also, the geographical context of cases would be included in the sampling; the place of each case is important because we know that actors relate to the work practices of cultural production in different ways depending on where these practices take place (Andersson, 2013; Andersson & Giritli-Nygren, 2012). The second phase could include interviews with local managers and administrators of the chosen cases, a photovoice study with participant youth in these cases, and observations of the activities taking place in each. Photovoice, as a visual method,

could be particularly valuable in research that focuses on gender and other intersectional perspectives. Visual methods could help to find things that are hidden, especially in relation to hierarchies of power in studies of otherwise invisible and marginalized groups and phenomena. The visual method of photovoice is used to make visible what is otherwise taken for granted, while simultaneously empowering the participants (see Rose 2007). Through photovoice, participants could use cameras to document their activities. How the photographs are understood by their photographers can later be discussed using text-based comments as well as interviews in which the photos are used as a starting point. Through combining interviews, observations, and photovoice, it would be possible to make work practices in the organization of the PEAs visible from several different perspectives.

A third phase could include presenting the results to the PEAs, the public, and the academic world. This could be done in different ways and in different environments. For example, the results could be presented during workshops conducted in the PEAs, and through presenting the photovoice artifacts as an exhibition combined with further discussions.

CONCLUSION

Using these theoretical starting points and these methodological choices, it is likely that we will be able to acquire knowledge about PEA work practices in relation to inclusion and exclusion as well as arriving at a scientific envisioning of the work environment within a field important for music production in Sweden, an area that has been neglected in cultural sociological research in this country compared with other countries such as the UK and the USA. The case of the PEAs is of special interest since the activities within the associations are publicly funded and therefore should be of interest to our society regarding questions of democratization and participation.

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Part II

**Re-thinking issues of gender and class
in youth research**

CHAPTER 4

Peer sexual harassment and mental health in school: Does targeting individual resilience mean that we are avoiding social change?

Heléne Zetterström Dahlqvist

INTRODUCTION

Adverse mental health in adolescence is a major public health issue in most Western countries including Sweden, with increasing rates in the last decades (Hagquist, 2010; Petersen et al., 2010; Sweeting, Young, & West, 2009). The amount of evidence of difference in the prevalence of poor mental health between boys and girls is vast, with the majority of previous research reporting greater proportions of girls with different types of adverse mental health (Ellen Li, DiGiuseppe, & Froh, 2006; Sawyer, Pfeiffer, & Spence, 2009; Zetterström Dahlqvist, Landstedt, & Gillander Gådin, 2012). While many different explanations for adverse mental health in adolescence as well as the differences between boys and girls have been suggested, I will focus in this chapter on one possible explanation—sexual harassment victimization.

As a phenomenon, sexual harassment victimization in school may be understood from different perspectives, two of which I will discuss in this chapter. Peer sexual harassment is common in schools with a prevalence of about 80% in some studies (AAUW, 2001), although a more commonly reported prevalence is 30-50% of students being victimized (Gillander Gådin & Hammarström, 2005; Gruber & Fineran, 2007; Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011c; Witkowska & Menckel, 2005; Zetterström Dahlqvist et al., 2012). The connection between sexual harassment victimization and adverse mental health such as depressive symptoms (Bucchianeri, Eisenberg, Wall, Piran, & Neumark-Sztainer, 2014; Gruber & Fineran, 2007, 2008), trauma symptoms (Gruber & Fineran, 2008), and psychological distress (Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011a) have been well established scientifically. However, some researchers have reported adverse mental health outcomes for girls only (Fineran & Bolen, 2006; Gillander Gådin & Hammarström, 2005; Zetterström Dahlqvist et al., 2012) and for homosexual boys (Kosciw, Greytak, Diaz, & Bartkiewicz, 2010). Furthermore, previous research (Zetterström Dahlqvist et al., 2012) has reported that

peer sexual harassment victimization may be able to explain 13.6% and 6.5% of the variance in depressive symptoms in a sample of 13-16 year-old Swedish adolescent girls and boys respectively.

THE AIM AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CHAPTER

In this chapter, I make an argument for a perspective that seems useful to contributing to a deepened understanding of peer sexual harassment in school as a phenomenon closely associated with poor mental health in adolescents. First, however, I discuss what sexual harassment may be considered to be as well as its associations with poor mental health outcomes. Next, in addition to a developmental perspective I discuss how a gender perspective can contribute to deepening the understanding of sexual harassment as a phenomenon. In doing so, my point of departure is that a developmental perspective may be necessary to understand the issue at hand, but I will try to make an argument as to why it is not enough. I do not delve into the vast theoretical literature in developmental psychology since this is beyond the scope of this chapter. Instead, I draw on Pepler, Craig, Connolly, Yuile, McMaster and Jiang (2006) and their work on bullying (including sexual harassment) in discussing sexual harassment from a developmental point of view. When I am discussing sexual harassment from a gender perspective I draw mainly on the argument of feminist theoretician, Conroy (2013), as an additional framework for understanding peer sexual harassment as something more than just an issue of pubertal timing or psychological development in adolescence. I then go on to discuss different approaches to the issue of how to prevent sexual harassment in schools as well as how to address poor mental health, especially amongst female students. Finally, I discuss the ethical implications of individual strategies rather than structural/environmental ones to address these issues.

Sexual harassment and poor mental health

Considered a form of gender-based violence (Stein, 1995, 1999), sexual harassment is commonly defined as unwelcome or unwanted attention of a sexual type that may take visual, verbal, or physical forms (AAUW, 2001). Previous research suggests that there are differences between boys and girls in relation to what types of sexual harassment they experience, with more girls reporting unwanted sexual jokes, comments, or gestures; being shown sexy or sexual images that they did not want to see; being touched in an unwelcome sexual way; being physically intimidated in a sexual manner; and being forced to do something sexual. Boys however, are more likely to be called homophobic names (Hill & Kearl, 2011). As inferred in the introductory section of this chapter, victimized (heterosexual) boys do not report

poor mental health to the same degree as girls and homosexual boys (Fineran & Bolen, 2006; Gillander Gådin & Hammarström, 2005; Kosciw et al., 2010; Zetterström Dahlqvist et al., 2012). Hypothetically, differences regarding what form of sexual harassment girls and boys encounter may help to explain the divergence in poor mental health outcomes related to sexual harassment that has been reported between girls and boys. For instance, Zetterstrom Dahlqvist and colleagues (2012) report the same prevalence of sexual harassment victimization (more than one form of harassment on more than one occasion) between 13-16 year-old girls and boys in a medium sized municipality in the Northern part of Sweden. However, boys did not have a statistically significant increased odds ratio of reporting depressive symptoms while the odds ratio for girls was increased by five and a half times (Zetterström Dahlqvist et al., 2012). The authors do not report what different forms of sexual harassment these respondents had been victims of, but considering what other researchers (Hill & Kearn, 2011) have reported, it is plausible that differences in forms of sexual harassment between boys and girls may be found in Sweden as well, and indeed, Witkowska and Eliasson (Witkowska, 2005) have showed that Swedish boys report different forms of sexual harassment compared to their female peers. Nevertheless, to understand why girls and boys are victims of different types of sexual harassment and how to understand sexual harassment as a phenomenon, I will go on to discuss two approaches that are different in their theoretical basis but not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Developmental and/or gender perspective

Sexual harassment has been theorized from a developmental perspective, suggesting that sexual harassment may be a result of pubertal timing, and moving from single-sex peer networks to interactions with the opposite sex for which some (especially male) students have not been sufficiently prepared (Goldstein, Malanchuk, Davis-Kean, & Eccles, 2007; McMaster, Connolly, Pepler, & Craig, 2002; J. L. Petersen & Hyde, 2009). Pepler and colleagues (2006) report that in North America, peer sexual harassment is a form of aggression that increases from elementary school and peaks in Grade 10, after which the prevalence rates level out. Theorizing from a bio-psycho-social perspective, these authors argue that sexual harassment is used to gain power and control in peer and dating relationships.

While a developmental psychological perspective has value in its own right, expanding on the line of reasoning of Pepler and colleagues (2006) Conroy has pointed out the limitations of a developmental perspective when it comes to understanding differences in how sexual harassment is associated with mental health between adolescent girls and boys. Conroy (2013) argues that a gender

perspective on sexual harassment behaviour can expand the understanding of the differences in the development of adverse mental health among boys and girls. A feminist theoretical framework suggests that understanding adolescent sexual harassment as a sociocultural construction of gender and sexuality (Conroy, 2013; Gruber & Fineran, 2007) would contribute to the study of sexual harassment in three ways: (a) sexual harassment as a tool for policing gender conformity, (b) sexual harassment as a tool for policing (hetero)sexuality, and (c) sexual harassment as an assertion of male dominance. Understanding sexual harassment in these three ways demonstrates how sexual harassment serves to reproduce socially constructed and privileged notions of heterosexual masculinity and femininity (Conroy, 2013). This perspective may also add some additional light on the fact that victimized (heterosexual) boys do not report poor mental health to the same degree as girls and homosexual boys as reported by Kosciw and colleagues (2010). Also, understanding sexual harassment in this way may highlight how gendered power relations become embodied and therefore inevitably affects people's health as suggested by, for example, Connell (2012).

Preventing sexual harassment

In order to prevent adverse mental health in adolescents and especially in girls, one fruitful approach would be to address issues of peer sexual harassment in school. If understood within a feminist theoretical framework, that would imply addressing issues of male dominance, power relations, and heteronormativity (Fineran & Bennett, 1999). Several ideas of primary, secondary, and tertiary preventive efforts to address sexual harassment as such has been suggested (Conroy, 2013; Keddie, 2009). Ideally, sexual harassment should be prevented before it occurs by addressing issues of gender and power relations as well as implementing boy- and hetero-friendly remedies for inequitable gender relations, and, by so doing, transforming the male dominance that contributes to these behaviours (Keddie, 2009). A secondary preventive approach includes targeting at-risk students—victims as well as perpetrators. Conroy (2013) gives an example of how a situation in which a student makes a comment of a sexist nature in a class discussion would implicate that student as one who should be counselled into being involved in some sort of intervention. It might also include referring a victim of sexual harassment to appropriate school resources for support, if needed. Tertiary prevention is related to serious acts of sexual harassment. Writing from an American perspective, Conroy (2013) suggests that disciplinary measures such as suspension or expulsion should be employed. However, from a Swedish perspective, these measures are not feasible and overstep school mandates. Instead, in Sweden, according to Swedish law, every

school has the responsibility to prevent any type of harassment including sexual harassment, and, if harassment occurs and becomes known about by a faculty member, the school must have an action plan on how to address this issue (Diskrimineringsombudsmannen, 2012). If any one school fails to have such an action plan, it is possible to press charges against the school itself, but the school cannot suspend or expel a student for harassing another student.

Preventing poor mental health outcomes

There are many different approaches to preventing poor mental health in adolescents. In the following section, I focus on two possible perspectives. The first approach includes a health promotion strategy targeting the issue from a structural level. In this context the term structural refers to the ways that the determinants of (ill) health are being dealt with, not the health outcome as such in each individual. Next, an opposite and quite common approach is discussed, namely strengthening individual resilience. In particular, I will describe one specific example of such an approach.

A public health perspective

From a public health perspective, the promotion of mental health is a core issue. A health promotion perspective may be feasible and, in this context, the concept of supporting environments for health as proposed by several international conferences on health promotion and further developed in the *Sundsvall Handbook – “We can do it!”* (Haglund, Pettersson, Finer, & Tillgren, 1992) could be useful. In this context, developing a supportive environment for health includes following Keddie’s (2009) suggestions regarding primary prevention measures. These include addressing issues of gender and power relations and boy- and hetero-friendly remedies of inequitable gender relations, and thus transforming the male dominance that contributes to these behaviours. A corner-stone in health promotion work is to promote equity as an important determinant of health, in this case gender equity. The World Health Organization (WHO, 1986) defines health promotion thus:

Health promotion represents a comprehensive social and political process. It not only embraces actions directed at strengthening the skills and capabilities of individuals, but also actions directed towards changing social, environmental, and economic conditions so as to alleviate their impact on public and individual health. Health promotion is the process of enabling people to take control over the determinants of their health and thereby improve their health. (p. 1)

Implications for health promotion work regarding the issues discussed here would be that measures to promote adolescents' mental health must target the health determinant that will actually bring about gender equality in health— gendered power relations and the doing of gender—because this is closely related to sexual harassment which is, in turn, as we have seen, closely related to poor mental health outcomes.

Cognitive-behavioural interventions

However, in the public health discourse of health promotion there is also the idea based on the notion of “...social development through providing information, education for health, and enhancing life skills” (WHO, 1986, p. 2). In the last three decades, a common preventive approach has been school-based psychoeducational cognitive-behavioural interventions to teach cognitive-behavioural coping strategies to “immunize” against for example depression and/or anxiety (see e.g. Clarke & Lewinsohn, 2010). There is contradictive evidence of the effectiveness of primary prevention cognitive-behavioral interventions in school settings where some studies have been able to show effect while others have failed to do so (Merry, McDowell, Hetrick, Bir, & Muller, 2011; Sawyer et al., 2010; Spence & Shortt, 2007) with only a few having been reported to be have been effective in preventing depression and/or anxiety (Garmy, Jakobsson, Steen Carlsson, Berg, & Clausson, 2014; Gillham et al., 2012; Gillham et al., 2007; McCarty, Violette, Duong, Cruz, & McCauley, 2013; Pössel, Martin, Garber, & Hautzinger, 2013).

In Sweden, a version of a psychoeducational cognitive-behavioural intervention, the American Adolescent Coping with Depression Course (Clarke, Lewinsohn, & Hops, 2000) has been adopted and widely used throughout the country. It is called “Depression In Swedish Adolescents–DISA” and was developed by Clarke and colleagues together with researchers at Karolinska Institutet (2000). It has been used both as a universal intervention for both sexes (Treutiger & Lindgren, 2013) but more commonly as a selective intervention only for girls since female sex is considered a risk factor for depression (Clarke & Lewinsohn, 2010) . However, scientific evaluation of the effectiveness of DISA in a Swedish context is limited and, to my knowledge, there is only one study addressing this issue (Garmy et al., 2014). Garmy et al. reported improvement in depression symptoms over a 4- and 12-month period in girls but only at 4-months follow up in boys. However, the study had no control group and much more research is needed in order to be able to conclude anything about the effectiveness of the program.

The theoretical basis of DISA is the multifactorial model presented by Lewinsohn and colleagues (1985), which states that depression is the result of a combination of multiple risk factors: negative thought patterns, stressful events, and predisposed risk factors (being female, previous episodes of depression, and depressed parents). High self-esteem, good self-efficacy, and a high prevalence of pleasant events and activities are thought to be protective factors. The developers (Clarke & Lewinsohn, 2010) argue that even with other risk factors present, the intervention is based upon the assumption that when individuals learn new cognitive coping strategies and when their repertoire of available cognitive methods and strategies to cope with difficult situations is fostered, it will immunize them, as it were, against developing future depression (Clarke & Lewinsohn, 2010).

The program's main objective is for young people to learn how to control irrational and negative cognitions, and it includes a conflict-resolution component wherein communication and problem solving skills are learned (Clarke & Lewinsohn, 2010). Encouraging girls to increase pleasant events in their lives is also an important component.

The DISA program is led by a trained facilitator, usually a teacher or school counsellor, is manual-based with ten group sessions of one and a half hours each over ten weeks, and may be delivered within school hours or as an extracurricular activity. The first session gives a general introduction to DISA. In line with being a psychoeducational intervention, the following two sessions consist of an overview of depressive symptoms and their connection to stressful events. The focus of sessions four to six is to learn cognitive skills to identify and cope with irrational or negative self-perceptions and thought patterns. The remaining sessions focus on communication skills to improve social relations, and on general problem-solving skills. In addition to the sessions, homework assignments are included as part of the training.

How does the issue of sexual harassment fit in with the context of cognitive behavioural interventions? DISA and other similar cognitive-behavioural interventions were not designed to address sexual harassment in particular see e.g. Clarke et al., 2010; Merry et al., 2011; Pössel et al., 2013). However, previous research on how adolescents cope with sexual harassment and bullying (deLara, 2008) has shown that one strategy for dealing with these issues is cognitive in nature. deLara (2008, p. 84) reports that in her study of American high school students, the

informants used strategies such as 'taking it' and that they also developed a philosophical stance. By using the coping strategy of 'taking it' they first had to interpret the behaviour of their peers as 'just teasing' or mean-spirited. In the latter case they believed that they had to take it and just walk away. The students further indicated that the ability to refrain from retaliation made them 'the bigger person' as a cognitive mechanism of positive thinking. Also, the students believed that being able to 'take it' was a sign of good mental health and that they did not want to be perceived as odd or perhaps even mentally ill (deLara, 2008).

Another coping strategy was to develop a philosophy about sexual harassment and bullying. The students said that bullying and sexual harassment were inevitable in High School and that it was important to 'get objective and rational' so that they could understand somebody's behaviour as the function of a bad mood or of insecurity. (Indeed, the normative nature of sexual harassment in teenagers has been supported by other studies (AAUW, 2001; Fineran & Bennett, 1999)). deLara (2008) concludes that since belonging is so important in adolescence the students were willing to put up with sexual harassment and bullying in order not to be excluded from peer groups. She also concludes that cognitive-behavioural programs to strengthen individual resilience are implicated as a result of these findings but stresses the importance of employing means of reducing sexual harassment and bullying in school in a systematic way.

CONCLUSION

In light of what is known about the psychosocial school environment such as sexual harassment and its associations with poor mental health, I would argue that while strengthening individual resilience may be advisable, it would be unethical to refrain from addressing school environmental issues in these cases. Given the inconsistent body of evidence regarding the effects of different cognitive-behavioural interventions in school, we do not know for sure if these types of interventions are effective in preventing mental ill health. Also, these cognitive-behavioural interventions fail to put adolescents and adolescents' lives into a gendered context and also fail to decrease the mental health gap between boys and girls. Even if we knew for sure that these forms of interventions could be effective in preventing, for example, depression, targeting individual resilience by teaching students how to better deal with perpetrators without addressing the existing problems of peer sexual harassment in school would further reproduce the belief that it is inevitable that one must encounter sexual harassment in high school. This would therefore perpetuate a normalization process (Hlavka, 2014) and contribute

to a resistance to social change initiatives aimed at changing existing power relations. Instead, normalization processes ought to be challenged in order to truly address the problem of sexual harassment so as to achieve social change regarding power relations and gender as well as dismantling male dominance. However, one must not forget that the gendered power relations as played out in school are merely a reflection of gendered power relations in society as a whole (Connell, 1987). Nevertheless, as discussed here, and as reported by Zetterström Dahlqvist et al. (2012), if we were to view peer sexual harassment as a result of gendered power relations and male dominance, and as a determinant of poor mental health in teenagers, it is likely that we would be able to reduce a considerable proportion of school-produced poor mental health in our young people as well. To my knowledge, there are no intervention studies that have addressed sexual harassment issues so as to prevent poor mental health in adolescents.

To conclude, being young in today's society should not have to include being sexually harassed by peers in schools especially since this considerably enhances the risk of mental poor health. There are remaining challenges to effecting resistance and social change regarding peer sexual harassment in school which can come about only if we address the direct determinants of the phenomenon at hand and not if we only strengthen individual resilience and stop at merely treating the inflicted wound.

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CHAPTER 5

Exposure to physical violence among senior high school students: An analysis of class and gender

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INTRODUCTION

Although physical violence among adolescents has been recognized as a severe problem at the individual as well as the societal level there is still a need for more research (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2013; Gottzén, 2014). This is particularly so in the context of gender and class. Previous research shows that boys are more exposed to physical violence than are girls; that adolescents from families with a low socio-economic standard are more exposed than others; and that boys are more often exposed to violence in public places while girls are more exposed in their home environment (Brå, 2013a; Brå, 2013b). However, there is a lack of complex analysis in which, for example socio-economic factors and gender perspectives are integrated (SOU 2014:6), and that look at how exposure to violence differs within groups of girls and boys, respectively, in relation to socio economic factors, and at how the exposure in these groups relates to other categories. By using an intersectional perspective, the present study addresses this gap in the existing research on experiences of physical violence among adolescents. The point of departure is that the risk of being exposed to physical violence differs depending on structural, institutional, and individual circumstances within which young people live.

Exposure to physical violence among adolescents

Girls and boys are exposed to various forms of violence, including sexual harassment, sexual violence, physical violence, and psychological violence. Physical violence is the focus of this study. While bullying and physical violence among children and adolescents in school generally has been recognized in several studies (see, for example, Skolverket, 2011; Brå, 2013b), studies that use a gender and class perspective are rare in Sweden (Gottzén, 2014).

Gender and physical violence

According to the national school study of crimes, The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå, 2013b), a study that is carried out every second year among

pupils in the ninth grade, 24% of the boys and 18% of the girls were exposed to physical violence during 2011. The place in which the violence occurred differed between boys and girls with a higher percentage of boys stating that the violence took place in the school or on the school playground. The girls were more often exposed to violence in their own home or in someone else's home (Brå, 2013b). Studies of victim-perpetrator relationships of physical violence among boys and girls in senior high school show that boys are mainly attacked by other males (predominantly unknown to them), whereas girls report to a higher degree that the perpetrator is a partner, a parent, or another female (Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011). When girls are exposed to violence in school, the perpetrator is often a boy but can also be another girl or a group of girls (Estrada, 1999). A Swedish study of gender and violent crimes, which compares the structure of the registered violence against girls and boys respectively, shows that violent crime against girls and boys is characterized by sexual homogeneity; in other words, it is carried out by a perpetrator of the same sex. This finding is seen to be an indicator of the fact that reported violent crime primarily takes place between persons of the same sex. According to Pettersson (2002) girls primarily attempt to assert superiority over other girls, and boys over other boys. However, this is not supported by studies using self reports of physical violence which conclude that even if girls are victims of other girls to a higher degree than boys are of other boys, they are still more victimized by boys than by girls (Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011).

Young men are over represented, both as victims and as perpetrators when it comes to physical violence but the prevalence decreases with age (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2013; Ulmanen, 2014). Violence among boys is seen, on a general level, as morally problematic, but also as something relatively acceptable (Gottzén, 2014). Violence is seen as a part of the construction of a dominant form of masculinity, sometimes referred to as hegemonic, or as playing a role in the ordering of boys and the maintaining of hierarchies; this ordering and hierarchizing is true of girls, too (Connell, 2005). Young people talk about violence among boys as wrong but not as strange or controversial in the way that violence among girls is perceived to be. Boys are also expected to fight back when they are exposed to violence, but girls are not. To fight back is seen as something natural when it comes to boys but unnatural for girls. Violence among boys might also be a way to show off in front of girls, a way to be seen as big and strong, and as *real* men (Uhnöo, 2011).

Whilst the use of violence can often lead to higher masculine status, exposure to violence might lead to the opposite result. Boys who are exposed to physical violence

deal with the dilemma by appearing to minimize the fact that they are hurt, and they describe the violence they have been exposed to as a different kind of violence from what they see to be normal violence (Gottzén, 2014). But previous research on masculinity also points to changes in the masculinity norm; today, boys are more often encouraged to value intimacy and inclusiveness (Jarnkvist, 2011).

There is relatively little research on young women's exposure to physical violence even though they also are at risk, albeit less so than boys. GLBTQ-identified persons, women who engage in substance abuse, women with reduced mobility, and women with foreign background are other groups who are at high risk of violence. In studies of high risk groups, the complexity of violence becomes more apparent, and shows the need for intersectional analysis. Lesbian women are, for example, more exposed to violence in public places than heterosexual boys are, according to a Norwegian survey (Ulstein & Moseng, 2007). These results problematize the image of young men being the group that is most exposed to violence in public places.

Social background and physical violence

Social background is an important factor for the risk of being exposed to violence (Brå, 2013b; SOU, 2014; Folkhälsoinstitutet, 2013; Fernbrant, 2013). In a school survey of crime among grade 9 students, factors such as a parent's occupation, housing, family structure, and foreign background were studied (Brå, 2013b). Twice as many adolescents with one or two unemployed parents expressed that they had been exposed to more serious violence in comparison with adolescents whose parents were both employed. This translates into 8% and 4%, respectively. Adolescents from single parent families and those with a foreign background are also more exposed to serious violence compared with two-parent families and those having a Swedish background (Brå, 2013b). Previous research shows that people with low social status are more exposed to violence than people with high social status, but also that the higher the inequality in relation to income in a society, the more violent the society is (Wilkinson 1999). This is explained as being a result of weaker social relations in general in more hierarchical societies (Wilkinson 2004).

An intersectional approach

We use an intersectional approach in this study, focusing on the intertwined aspects of gender and class in relation to physical violence. By using an intersectional approach it is possible to acknowledge how experiences of violence are shaped by the complex interplay between gender and class in relation to power. Here, gender is defined as both personal subjectivity and as a fundamental organizational

principle in society (Connell, 2009). Gender is (re)constructed by the ways individuals perform, or do gender in social practice. Complex social and cultural norms of femininity and masculinity as well as social and institutional structures shape the process (Connell, 2009). Girls and boys negotiate dominant (or hegemonic) discourses of femininity and masculinity in their doing of gender (Connell, 2005). The way in which the middle class is doing gender becomes the normative form of femininity and masculinity. In this way gender is related to social class (Skeggs, 1997; Ambjörnsson, 2004; Jarnkvist, 2011; Connell 2005). Education, work, and economic standards are example of socio-economic factors that might be used as indicators of different social classes. Studies using education as an indicator of class show that the way in which girls in academic programs do gender becomes normative for girls in all programs. Girls in academic programs are in this way in a more privileged position compared to girls in vocational programs (Skeggs, 1997; Ambjörnsson, 2004). Structures of class and gender intersect on different levels and create complex systems of power. Individual practices lead to normalization and marginalization on different levels (Skeggs, 1997; Ambjörnsson 2004; Jarnkvist, 2011; Connell 2005).

The studies referred to above show that the prevalence of physical violence is reported either as differences between boys and girls or differences in the prevalence of certain socio-economic factors among adolescents regardless of gender. There is thus a need to analyze the ways in which class and gender intersect. There is also a shortage of studies of older adolescents since most of them are conducted among pupils in junior high who are about 15 years old.

AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this study was to use an intersectional approach to understand how gender and class are related to the exposure to physical violence of senior high school students in Sweden. Specific research questions are: 1) How are reported experiences of physical violence patterned by gender and class? 2) How can an intersectional approach contribute to the understanding of gender and class patterns of physical violence and threats among adolescents in senior high schools in Sweden?

METHODS

The analysis of the data draws on an intercategory approach, which aims to explore complexities of intersectionality in quantitative data (McCall, 2005). Category-based research has been criticized for contributing to inequalities by

homogenizing and simplifying the material. Nevertheless, it is a tool for systematically comparing groups from the perspective of intersectionality, and, in this way, it makes the complexity of the material visible (McCall, 2005).

Data collection and sample

The study was based on a questionnaire distributed to all students in second grade in the public senior high schools in Jämtland/Östersund. The students came from Östersund and other places in the county of Jämtland, but lived in Östersund if they came from rural areas. The study population was comprised of 644 students (336 boys, 308 girls) who were about 17 to 18 years of age. The response rate was 84%. The questionnaires were answered during school hours in the classrooms and distributed by a research assistant who made sure that all the students could complete the questionnaire in private.

The study was approved by the regional ethical committee in Umeå as being in accordance with ethical standards.

Measures

Physical violence

The prevalence of physical violence was determined by responses to the question: "Have you been experiencing physical violence from another person during the last six months?" and had the answer alternatives "yes, several times"; "yes, a few times"; "yes, once"; and "no, never". If a pupil reported having experienced violence at least once he or she was regarded as having experienced violence.

Indicators of social class

Educational orientation (the educational program that a student takes—academic or vocational) and relative personal affluence were used as indicators of social class. Educational orientation and family affluence have been shown to be a valid proxy for social class among adolescents in previous studies (Hagqvist, 2000; Zetterström Dahlqvist, Landstedt, & Gillander Gådin 2012).

Both academic and vocational programs last for three years, but even if so-called academic programs are more theoretical and have a more pronounced trajectory towards higher education, students at the vocational programs can choose extracurricular subjects and thus have that higher education opportunity as well. Personal affluence was measured by asking whether the respondents had had enough money to do the same things as their friends had over the last three months.

The answer alternatives “never”, “seldom” and “sometimes” were scored as low personal affluence and the alternatives “always” and “often” as high personal affluence.

Data analysis

Comparisons between boys and girls were conducted with chi-square analysis. A p-value < 0.05 was considered statistically significant. A logistic regression analysis was conducted to analyze the association between physical violence and the indicators for social class. A confidence interval of 95% for odds ratio was used.

RESULTS

In this study 2 out of 3 girls (66 percent) attended an academic program compared to about half of the boys (52 percent, $p=0.001$). A third of both boys and girls reported not having as much money as their friends (32.1% and 29.3% respectively, $p = ns$). In total, boys were exposed to almost twice as much physical violence compared with girls (see Table 1). The table also shows how the exposure to violence differs between and among the groups of boys and girls in relation to social background. Boys and girls in vocational programs and those who expressed that they have less money than their friends were more exposed than girls and boys in academic programs and those who said they have as much money as their friends. About one third of the boys and one fifth of the girls in vocational programs have been exposed to physical violence during the last half year. Boys and girls in academic programs were about half as exposed to physical violence compared with boys and girls in vocational programs.

Table 1. Distribution of physical violence in vocational and academic programs over the last six months, percent. P-values from chi square tests.

| | Physical violence | | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|-------|---------------------|
| | Boys | | Girls | | p_{gender} |
| | % | p | % | p | |
| Vocational | 30.0 | | 20.4 | | |
| Academic | 13.7 | <0.001 | 9.0 | 0.005 | <0.001 |
| Not money as friends | 32.4 | | 20.2 | | |
| Money as friends | 16.3 | 0.001 | 9.8 | 0.014 | <0.001 |
| Total | 21.5 | | 12.8 | | 0.004 |

A comparison between different groups of boys and girls makes it clear that girls in vocational programs and girls with less money than their friends were more exposed to physical violence than boys in academic programs and boys with high personal affluence, respectively. About every fifth girl in vocational programs and 13.7% of the boys in academic programs were exposed to violence during the last half year. The corresponding figures for girls with low personal affluence and boys with high personal affluence were 20.2% and 16.3%, respectively.

Table 1. Odd ratios (OR) and a 95 % confidence interval (CI) for reporting physical violence associated with different combinations of programs and personal affluence.

| | Physical violence | | | |
|--|-------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| | Boys | | Girls | |
| | OR | CI | OR | CI |
| 1) High personal affluence and academic program (reference) | 1 | | 1 | |
| 2) High personal affluence and vocational program | 4.0 | 1.9-8.3 | 1.2 | 0.5-3.2 |
| 3) Low personal affluence and academic program | 5.2 | 2.1-13.1 | 0.9 | 0.3-2.8 |
| 4) Low personal affluence and vocational program | 4.6 | 2.2-9.7 | 5.3 | 2.2-12.3 |

Table 2 shows the odds for reporting physical violence for boys and girls in different combinations of high/low personal affluence and academic/vocational programs. For boys there were significantly increased odds for all combinations in relation to the reference category, i.e. to having high affluence and having an academic orientation. For girls, the combination of having low personal affluence at the same time as a vocational orientation was the only situation which increased the risk for violence in relation to the reference category.

DISCUSSION

The results show that an intersectional approach gives a slightly different pattern compared with statistics which do not take both gender and class into account in the same analyses. Although adolescents with a low socio-economic standard form a

high risk group when it comes to exposure to physical violence, which is in accordance with previous research (Brå, 2013b), it also shows that general conclusions of boys being exposed to physical violence is not valid in all contexts. The use of an intercategory intersectional approach made complexities in gender and class patterning visible since girls in vocational programs were more exposed to violence than boys in academic programs.

The findings show that students in vocational programs and students who reported low personal affluence were more exposed to physical violence than pupils in academic programs, and pupils who reported that they have high personal affluence. The class pattern confirms prior evidence that exposure to violence is related to class (Brå, 2013b; SOU, 2014). The general gender pattern, that boys were more exposed to physical violence than girls, also confirms prior studies (Brå, 2013b; Brå, 2013a; SOU, 2014). The finding that girls in vocational programs and girls who report low personal affluence were more exposed to violence than boys in academic programs and boys who report having as much money as their friends makes the intersection of gender and class visible in a way we not have found in any earlier study.

Previous studies show that young girls in general are at high risk of being exposed to violence. This study shows that young girls in lower social classes are a particularly high risk group if they have both a class marker of a vocational orientation in combination with low personal affluence. A girl in a vocational program is thus not at higher risk of being exposed to physical violence than a girl in an academic program if she does not also have low personal affluence. An understanding of power and how it operates is key to developing a deeper understanding of physical violence in relation to gender and social class. On a structural level, girls in low social classes experience less power than any other group in the study, because of their sex and class (Skeggs 1997, Ambjörnsson 2004). From this perspective they find themselves in similar circumstances as do other high risk groups (such as GBLQT-persons, women with substance abuse, women with reduced mobility, and women with a foreign background) on a structural level.

For boys, all other combinations other than having both an academic orientation and high personal affluence increased the risk of physical violence. It seems as if the boys in this group were somewhat protected from experiencing violence. This might be an effect of the power relations within the boys' group where high status boys have

a structurally dominant position in relation to the other boys, and thus are less exposed to violence from other boys (Connell, 2005; Wilkinson, 1999).

It is probable that the different groups' experiences of violence differ in many ways. To get a deeper understanding of the power structures in relation to physical violence of both boys and girl in high risk groups we need to know more about the context in which the violence occurs, such as the place in which it happens, who the perpetrator was, whether the victim was only a victim or also a perpetrator, and so forth.

There is also a need for qualitative studies of young women's experiences of violence—studies that take structural as well as institutional and individual circumstances into consideration. Previous qualitative research on young men and violence makes visible the importance of norms, especially norms of masculinity (see, for example, Gottzén 2014). There is a need for more knowledge of how norms related to, for example, age, gender, sex, class, religion, and sexual orientation affect the situation in which violence happens; the victim's interpretation of the violence and their response when they are exposed to violence; and their experience of seeking help from their social surroundings. This study points to the importance of making the intersection of different social structures visible in studies of violence in order to know more about the complexity of violence—knowledge that is needed in order to address the critical problem of violence amongst and against young people in society.

Methodological considerations

Since the study is cross-sectional it is not possible to define the direction of the association between violence and socio-economic position. However, it is unlikely that exposure to violence in the last six months has affected young people's choices of educational orientation or their personal affluence. Earlier studies have shown that educational orientation can be used as a proxy for social class in order to roughly categorize the position of the young people according to their own situation, instead of relying solely on the class categorization of their parents (Hagqvist, 2000; Zetterström Dahlqvist, Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011), but this study shows that the way in which we measure social class among young people has to be refined because the different combinations of the two ways to measure it in this study gave different results.

CONCLUSION

The study contributes to the visibility of the complexity of young people's exposure to physical violence by showing that girls in lower social classes—girls in vocational programs with low personal affluence—were more exposed to physical violence than boys in higher social classes—boys in academic programs with high personal affluence. The results problematize the image of young men as the group that is most exposed to violence since some boys seemed to have an exceptionally low risk of physical violence, while some girls seemed to have a particularly high risk. The intersectional approach to the analyses makes the complexity of the exposure to physical violence visible. The results show that there is a need for more research on youth violence that uses an intersectional approach.

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CHAPTER 6

Gender equality aspirations among Swedish pupils – a gender and class perspective

Lasse Reinikainen & Katja Gillander Gådin

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality is an important aspect of people's everyday lives, in both the public and the private sphere. Gender equality means that men and women have the same rights and possibilities within a society, and in relation to other people; it does away with discrimination based on sex and/or gender. The attainment of gender equality is a global issue and the United Nations (UN) *Gender Inequality Index* points out that "[t]he disadvantages facing women and girls are a major source of inequality" (United Nations Development Program (UNDP), 2014, n.p.). It also states that gender inequality continues to be a major barrier to human development, and, in order to work with these issues, the UN and other organizations try to measure gender (in)equality in different ways. The UN publishes the *Gender Inequality Index* while the World Economic Forum publishes the *Global Gender Gap Report*. In these reports the Nordic countries' scores are high in comparison with those of other countries. But, even though the Nordic countries are considered, by most accounts, to be the most gender equal countries in the world, inequalities still persist within them.

One explanation for the prominent position of the Nordic countries is that they are all well developed welfare states in which it has been possible to implement gender equality policies in many different areas ranging from the labor market, to education, to family policy. Sweden has had very explicit gender equality policies in place since the 1970s that encourage women's participation in the labor market through the expansion of public childcare, as well as men's involvement in family and household chores through targeted parental leave for fathers (Lundqvist, 2011; Nyberg, 2012). There has been broad political consensus in the government as well as a strong public discourse, and great support for gender equality policies among citizens in Sweden. Gender equality policies are also integrated into the official youth policies as well as into the Swedish school curriculum. This means that school is a central institutionalized normative arena in which gender is, at least in part,

created and maintained along with gender (in)equality (The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, 2013).

When it comes to how this legislation and awareness translate into everyday practices, research shows that young Swedish couples are more in favor of the egalitarian sharing of housework than, for example, their Norwegian counterparts, and they also seem to apply this ideal in reality to a greater extent (Bernhardt, Noack, & Hovde Lyngstad, 2008). As these authors highlight, this is probably because of Sweden's longer history of gender equality norms, which are more institutionalized in public policies. Other studies show that young couples without children have a high level of equal sharing of housework, but also that this changes when children join the family (Ahrne & Roman, 1997). Today, in some respects, females are outperforming males; for example, in countries belonging to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), girls are out-performing boys educationally at the 15-year-old level and at university (Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). This is also true for Sweden (Statistics Sweden, 2014), but at the higher level of the educational system the unevenness is more a matter of numbers than of achievement. At the doctorate level there are still more men than women although this balance is evening out. We see the same disproportion in the numbers of lecturers and professors. Junior lecturers show an even balance between the sexes, but there is an uneven distribution among senior lecturers and professors (SCB, 2014). However, even though girls do well in school, they have more often problems with stress and mental health than do boys (Carlerby, 2012; Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2012). There is also evidence that the social landscape for girls and boys is different in that girls are also more often subjected to sexual harassment (Zetterström Dahlqvist, Landstedt, & Gillander Gådin, 2012).

Socialization, norms and values

Even though Sweden has a high level of formal gender equality, inequalities still persist. Indeed, Sweden has one of the world's most gender-segregated labor markets; men and women work in different sectors. This segregation is also seen in the education system where boys and girls choose different kinds of education. This indicates, in agreement with Connell (2009) that cultural norms regarding boys and girls, and men and women are rather different in both how they are expected to act and how they understand themselves as gendered subjects. Research on youth and culture clearly shows that both societal structures and cultural structures create different expectations and conditions for boys and girls that affect what they regard

as possible and feasible ways of acting, and that also affect their identities and their wishes and expectations.

Children's socialization into society results in their conforming to the way society is organized and also to the norms and values regarding gender. We use the term socialization in a sociological rather than a purely psychological sense. Even though early primary socialization may take place within a family (Grusec & Hastings, 2008), later socialization consists of many different processes and includes family, peers, culture, media, and the social organization of gender and labor (Leaper & Friedman, 2008). Rather than seeing socialization as a one-way influence of society's shaping of individuals to conform with the group, we see socialization as a dynamic process in which individuals are active agents who navigate their way through social structures, norms, and values. Following Connell (2009) and Jenkins (2004), we see this as a lifelong process rather than something that happens during childhood. Gender relations are a specific form of social structure in which human bodies are simultaneously objects of and agents in social practices, as Connell (2009) puts it. The conditions and expectations that individuals meet in everyday life are negotiated and transformed within different contexts and on the basis of different individual experiences. In many ways, these individual experiences are gendered. Even though contemporary western society cannot be characterized purely as a patriarchy, we are "trapped inside a legacy whose core is patriarchal" (Johnson, 2014, p.5). In a patriarchal culture masculinity is regarded as being superior to femininity in a variety of ways, and in many different aspects of social life. Societal structures and processes place men into different positions from those into which women are placed, and this lays the foundation for our understanding of the world into which we are socialized.

Contradictory ideals and norms

Even though there is a high level of formal gender equality in Sweden there are still forms of informal inequality. This leads to a contradictory situation in which there is a strong public discourse on gender equality on the one hand, and simultaneous unequal practices and norms on the other. Some of these unequal practices are clearly visible in the division of paid work, as noted above, and also in unpaid work, especially in the division of household chores. For example, an overwhelming amount of Swedish and international research on these matters shows that women are still doing, by far, most of the household chores and that women have the main responsibility of providing care for children and elders (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000, 2012; Craig & Mullan, 2010; Evertsson, 2014). Interestingly, studies

show that adults have positive attitudes towards gender equality at home and that it is something the majority strives for (Ahrne & Roman, 1997; Evertsson, 2006), but that the actual division of household chores still remains unequal. This is not just a concern for the women who do the unpaid work (or for their male partners) but it also constitutes the social reality that children experience as they are growing up as gendered individuals (Evertsson, 2006).

Some Swedish research on young people's attitudes to gender equality show that children's attitudes correspond to those of the same-sex parent. Girls and mothers are more positive about gender equality at home than are boys and fathers (Evertsson, 2001; The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, 2013). Other research shows that girls' attitudes are influenced by their mothers' level of education while boys are more influenced by their parents' actual division of household chores (Lahne & Wenne, 2012). However, a comprehensive contradictory study based on the Swedish Level-of-living Survey (LNU)ⁱⁱⁱ found no clear relationship between parents' actual division of labor or parents' attitude towards gender equality in the home on the one hand, and children's attitudes towards gender equality on the other. This study also showed that those parents who act in gender atypical ways also have children who perform gender atypical tasks at home (Evertsson, 2006). This implies both that there is a degree of family influence, and that there are capacities for changing the typical gendered practices relating to housework.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Thus, given that Sweden is often described as the most gender-equal country in the world, how young Swedish people see gender equality and their thoughts about the future is especially interesting. The overall aim of this study is to explore gender equality aspirations among young adolescents. Specific questions include the following.

- 1) Do boys and girls think that gender equality is an important goal in society in general?
- 2) How do boys and girls think about their future domestic division of labor in terms of gender equality?
- 3) Are aspirations for future domestic division of labor related to class and gender?

METHODS

This study draws on data from a research project conducted in a county in the northern part of Sweden between 2009 and 2012. The data was collected in a survey that was mainly about issues related to health and the psychosocial school environment, but it also included some questions concerning gender equality (Gillander Gådin 2011).

Data collection and sample

The present study is based on a questionnaire distributed to all students in grade 7-9 in the 9 public schools in Östersund, and 1 independent school (out of 4) in 2012. Östersund is the only town in the county and the municipality was inhabited by about 60 000 people at the time of the study. The study population was comprised of 1060 pupils (490 boys and 569 girls) who were about 12 to 16 years of age. The response rate was 74.1%. The pupils received the questionnaires via their school e-mail addresses and answered the questionnaires during school hours. An adult was present in order to reply to any queries and to make sure that the pupils answered the questions individually and in private.

Measures

Importance of gender equality

The question regarding the importance of gender equality in society was introduced with a definition: "Gender equality means that women and men have the same rights, obligations and possibilities in society", followed by the question "*Do you think gender equality is an important goal?*" The five answers possible were: Yes, very important; Yes, quite important; Neither important nor unimportant; No, Not so important; and No, not important at all. The first two alternatives were defined as having a high degree of importance.

Future domestic division of labor

The pupils' aspirations for the division of domestic labor in the future was measured by the following question: "When you grow up and perhaps have a family of your own, who do you think will do most of the household chores (e.g. cleaning, dishes, cooking, laundry)? The available answers were: 1) I will do the most; 2) We will share equally; 3) I will do the least.

Indicators of social class

The pupils in grade 9 also answered a question on their planned choice for educational orientation (academic or vocational), which was used as an indicator of

social class. Educational orientation has been shown to be a valid proxy for social class among adolescents in previous studies (see Hagqvist, 2000).

The students first answered a question about whether they planned to continue to upper secondary school after their 9 compulsory years. (In total, 369 students answered "yes" to that question). They could then choose between 23 different programs, including one "other" which they specified themselves. We then divided these into vocational and academic programs depending on the degree of theoretical content.

Data analysis

Comparisons between boys and girls were conducted with chi-square analysis. A p-value < 0.05 was considered statistically significant.

The study was approved by the regional ethical committee in Umeå as being in accordance with ethical standards.

RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the distribution of boys and girls who think that gender equality is an important goal in society. Even if the majority of the students thought that gender equality is an important goal in society, more girls compared with boys reported this. There is a trend, although not significant, that boys thought gender equality less important the older they got, while it was the opposite for the girls.

As Figure 1 shows, there was a high percentage of both boys and girls who thought gender equality in society is an important goal although there is a difference between boys and girls. Close to 80% of the boys and 90% of the girls thought that gender equality is an important goal ($p < 0.001$).

Figure 2 shows how boys responded to the question of who they think will do most of the household chores when they are adults and have a family of their own.

The majority of the boys thought that they would share housework equally as adults. However, the older the boys were the higher the proportion who thought they would do fewer household chores when they grow up. In grade 9 more than every fifth boy thought so.

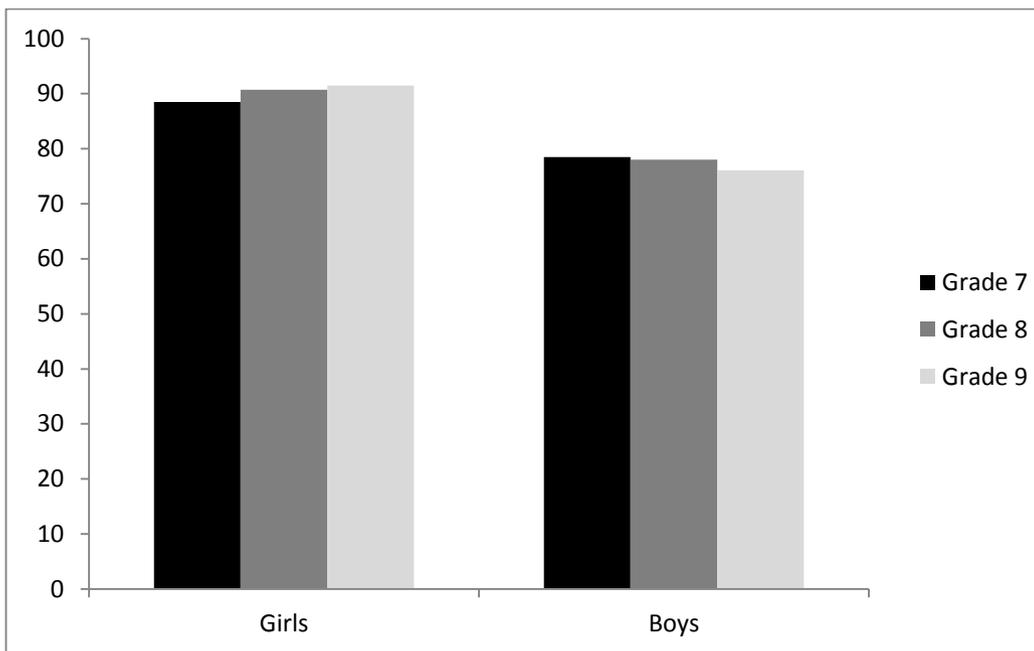


Figure 1. Distribution of boys and girls who thought that gender equality in society is a very important or quite important goal in society, percent.

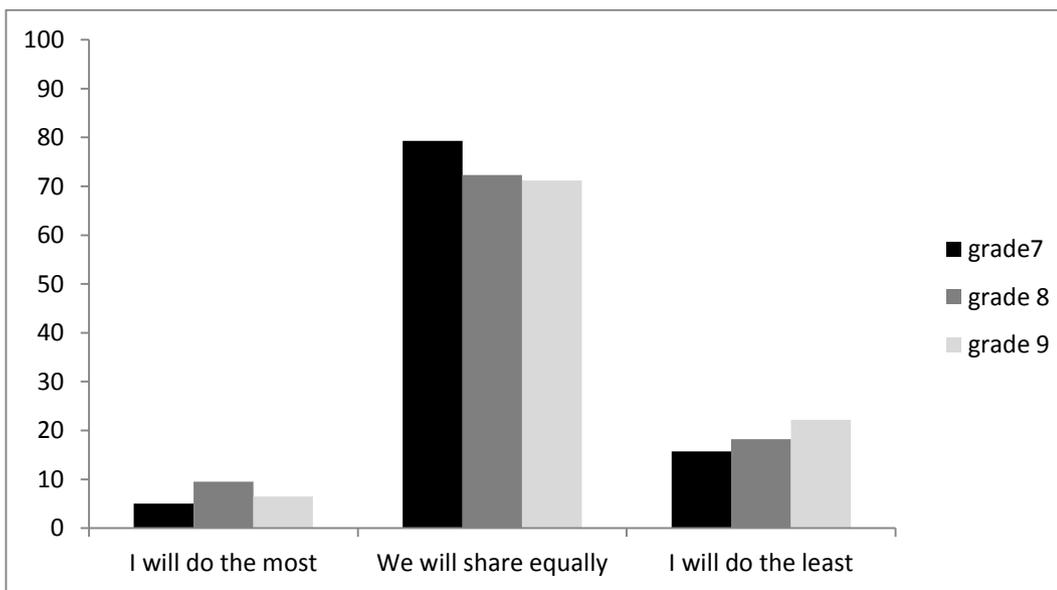


Figure 2. The distribution of boys who reported how they think they will share household chores in the future, percent.

When girls answered the same question a higher proportion answered that they believed that they would do most of the household chores when they grow up compared with the boys, although this decreased by age.

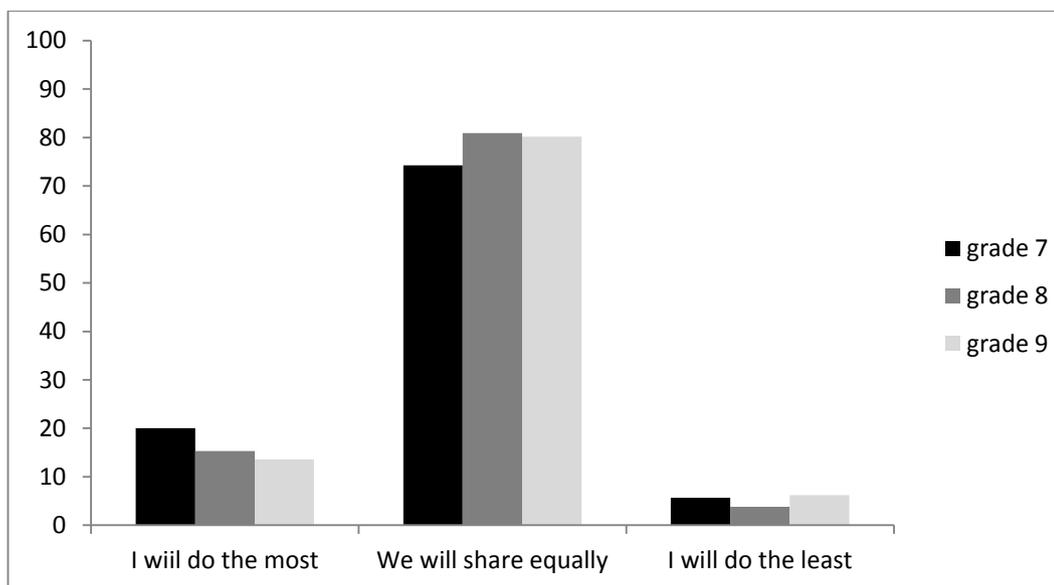


Figure 3. The distribution of girls who reported how they think they will share household chores in the future, percent.

Figure 3 shows that a majority (75 – 80 percent) of the girls thought they would share equally. Among those who did not think they would share equally there were more girls who think they will do the most housework. In seventh grade every fifth girl thought she would do most, but this decreases the older they get. Very few of the girls think they will do fewer of the household chores.

Figure 4 shows that girls in grade 9 who think they will choose an academic program also think that they will share household chores equally to a higher degree than girls who think they will choose a vocational program. This is true also for the boys, even if the difference between boys with different educational aspirations is less apparent. Girls with vocational aspirations, who do not think that they will share housework equally when they grow up, think to a higher degree that they will do most housework. For the boys it is the other way around; boys with vocational

aspirations, who do not think they will share equally in the future, to a high degree thought that they would do the least.

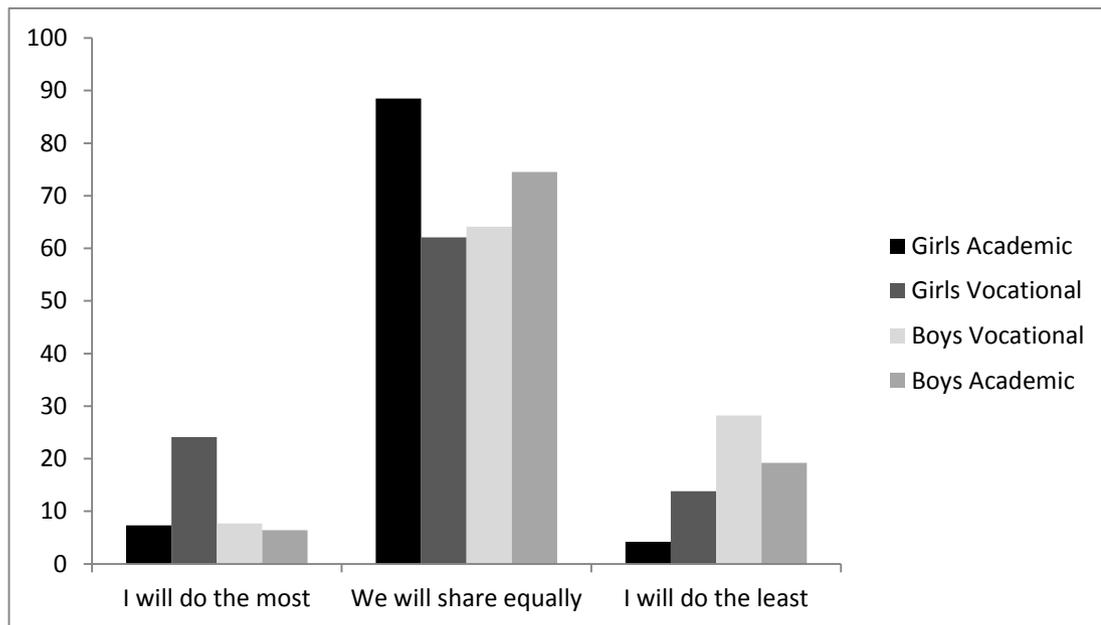


Figure 4. Distribution of girls and boys in grade 9 and their future aspirations for vocational and academic programs in relation to their expectations of their future share of household chores, percent.

DISCUSSION

The results in this study are in line with similar national and international studies on youth and gender equality. From a gender equality perspective these results are encouraging since the majority of the pupils, both boys and girls, think that gender equality is an important issue, and most of them believe that they will share housework equally in a future family. But, at the same time, we see that those who answered that they would not share housework equally show very typical patterns of gender difference. Girls think they will do more housework while boys think they will do less. While this can be discouraging, it is still closer to the actual division of housework among adults rather than to the ideal of equal sharing.

These results become even more interesting when we study these answers in relation to the choice of educational programs that reveal both class and gender differences.

The results shown in Figure 1 show that most boys and girls think that gender equality is an important issue. Girls think it is more important the older they are, while boys think it is less important the older they are. This is consistent with other studies such as the one carried out by the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society which found that girls and women are generally more positive about gender equality than boys and men (The Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, 2013). One way of understanding this is that the older the girls get, the more aware they become of how much their gendered position in society affects their lives. This issue might also be raised when it is time to start thinking of future careers and the choice of educational program. At the same time, the older they get the more they think about how their future lives in a family will look, and as they grow aware of the supposedly normal way of organizing everyday family life they might resist that particular future prospect. Influences of the family are, of course, important at this stage, but so, too, are influences of peers and friends. Also the official discourses on gender and men's and women's positions in society affect boys' and girls' anticipations and ideas of what is possible and desirable for them. In this sense both positive and negative experiences can prompt girls to become aware of issues regarding gender equality.

For boys, the very same societal backdrop could imply that they will not be responsible for housework and childcare, which makes the question of gender equality less important for them. Their future lives might seem a whole lot easier since there seem to be no disadvantages to being a man. It is clear, though, that the majority of the boys think that gender equality is important and that boys are also affected by current societal discourses on equality in general and gender equality in particular. Studies on children and the actual doing of housework show that girls do more traditional housework than boys, and that when boys participate in housework they do more outdoor work (Evertsson, 2001, 2006; Faluso, Lloyd, & Padiglione, 2007), which means that boys and girls are socialized in different ways at an early stage. But this does not mean that family influence is the only or main influence since other research shows that there is no clear relation between parents' actual division of housework or attitudes towards gender equality and children's attitudes to gender equality (Evertsson, 2006). This indicates that other social and structural influences are stronger than family influences.

The results show that a majority of boys and girls think that they will share housework equally. We also see that the older the boys are the fewer of them think

they will share, which is consistent with the discussion above. But for those that do not think that they will share equally there were more boys who think that they will do least in the household compared to those who think they will do most. When girls answered the question there were some interesting differences. Also, among the girls the majority believe that they would share and the older the girls were, the more they thought they would share housework. This is the opposite of the results of the boys' answers, and this is also true for the answer regarding those that did not think that they would share. A higher proportion of the girls think they will do most but this decreased by age. Still, there were more girls who think they will do most compared with those who think they will do least. This pattern is consistent with the actual division of housework among Swedish adults and children's participation in housework at home. Despite the strong discourse on gender equality we see some typical gender patterns in these results since both boys and girls think that girls will do most housework. Since these views are concordant with the different norms and expectations placed on boys and girls, this indicates that some inequality will persist.

All this becomes even more interesting when we break down the results and look at the question of sharing from a class perspective. As mentioned earlier, educational orientation (academic or vocational) here is an indicator of social class. Class is an important factor for future prospects of life in terms of the economy, health, and equality (Crompton, 2008; Evertsson, 2006; Oskarson, Bengtsson, & Berglund, 2010). Academic programs often lead to higher studies and higher education is associated with more positive attitudes toward gender equality (Lahne & Wenne, 2012).

The most surprising result is in regard to the distribution among those who answered that they will share housework. The greatest difference is found between the two groups of girls (academic vs vocational) rather than between girls and boys or within the group of boys. One out of four girls of that last group (vocational) thought they will do most housework and a correlative result among boys is that among those who have chosen vocational programs, more than one out of four thought they will do least. There are also class differences among boys; a larger proportion of those who have chosen an academic program think they will share than those who have chosen a vocational program. Girls who choose vocational programs run the risk of having low paid and high strain jobs in the future to a greater degree than girls in academic or theoretical programs, which increases the risk of negative health outcomes as adults (Elo, 2009; Kjellsson, 2014). Hence girls, as opposed to boys, have to tackle the double burden of paid labor and domestic

work which further increases the risk of future health problems. These results clearly indicate that class is an important factor in the study of gender equality.

Methodological considerations

For these girls and boys, the questions relating to their future aspirations for how household chores should be shared, and their aspirations for educational programs are hypothetical and it is thus impossible to predict their actual division of labor in the future. The answer to the question of how they think they will share housework in the future can be interpreted in several ways. The answers could be understood as how they actually think things *will* be, but they could also be a component of how they would *like* things to be or how they think they *should* be. A question is whether the answers are a sign of their gender ideology or of something else. Considering that they also answered the question of how important gender equality is, it is possible that they had that question in mind while answering the question about sharing.

Also, even if the program the students choose in the future is a proxy for social class educational aspirations in grade 9 this is less stable a proxy since not all students have enough credits to enter the programs they apply for. It is also possible for students to change programs after a year, but even if few students do that it means that we could obtain more valid data in relation to class if we ask the same question in year two of senior high school.

CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the introduction, Sweden is considered to be one of the most gender-equal countries in the world. Gender equality has been a political goal for several decades and gender policy is integrated in many different spheres of public life (i.e. the labor market and school curricula) and of private life (i.e. parental leave with a portion reserved for each parent). This has resulted in a strong public discourse on gender and gender equality which permeates Swedish society, and is therefore a part of the everyday life of young adolescents. But, at the same time, inequality persists in a very explicit way concerning the distribution of money and housework between men and women. As children grow up and become aware of the current discourses on equality they also see the gendered practices carried out in their homes as well as in society in general, where women do most of the household chores and a far greater proportion of child care. It is in this landscape of contradictory influences that young people navigate between official discourses, everyday practices, and current norms and values regarding femininity and masculinity.

These affect boys' and girls' perceptions and expectations, and, as this study has shown, there is a pronounced class aspect to this. Future studies should include an intersectional perspective in order to understand more of the intersections between gender and class.

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Part III

Methodological opportunities in youth focused research: new agendas for new times

CHAPTER 7

Studying the intersections of rurality, gender and violence against girls and young women: An urgent matter in both the Global North and the Global South

*Katja Gillander Gådin, Katarina Giritli Nygren, Claudia Mitchell & Sara Nyhlén
(alphabetical order)*

INTRODUCTION

Violence against girls and women is a global problem, not only for the victim herself, but also for society in general (Garcia-Moreno, 2002). In the case of women with children, violence is also a problem for these children. A multi-country study on violence against women in 15 sites and 10 different countries, mainly low-income, shows that there are wide variations in prevalence between and among settings (World Health Organization, 2005). The differences were not only between countries but also between rural and urban areas within a country, with overall levels of violence against women consistently higher in rural than in urban settings. This means that we need to take space and place into account in studies of violence against girls and women. To date, the links between place and sexual violence against girls and women is an understudied area. Indeed, as Sandberg (2013) notes, the study of intimate partner violence and other forms of sexual violence in rural settings, in particular, may in fact be a blind spot in intersectional research. She calls for a consideration of how place may intersect with such constructs as class, ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality. To this list we would add age, with the idea that addressing violence against girls and young women is a particularly critical concern in relation to ensuring safety and security for a new generation.

The urban condition and life in the city as studied in relation to migration, housing, social supports, and violence itself (including sexual violence) is typically taken up in research that ranges from a focus on townships and informal settlements in the Global South through to the study of urban sites in the Global North. However, while the trend for people to live in urban spaces is increasing, this does not mean that there are no social issues that need to be addressed in rural settings; in the context of declining resources and state provisioning, rural life presents its own challenges. There is also a discursive construction of the rural areas that is

characterized by higher rates of sick leave, higher unemployment, and the migration of young people away from the area. Added to this is the perception that rurality does not contribute to the economic development of the country (Nyhlén, 2013, Eriksson, 2008). This way of describing the rural can be regarded as an act of othering in that it positions rurality as the other in relation to the urban/center. In this way center and periphery are somehow interdependently constructed. Urbanization itself is built on the premise that resources are taken from the periphery and used in the center (Andersson, Ek & Molina 2008).

We stress the importance of asking questions about what it means to study rurality and about how we can create research that goes beyond images of a declining rurality, not forgetting in this process, to ask questions about how rurality is gendered. The purpose, then, of this chapter is to address the necessity of understanding violence against young girls and women by theorizing the relationships between and among place, gender, and violence, particularly in relation to rurality. We do this by first contextualizing our arguments, focusing on three country contexts—Canada, South Africa, and Sweden. We then address three particularly important areas: (1) place-based gender and ethnic regimes, (2) rural vulnerabilities, and (3) local policy enactment.

CONTEXTUALISING OUR ARGUMENTS: CANADA, SOUTH AFRICA AND SWEDEN

To illustrate our arguments we have chosen to use examples from three countries where we have experience of having done research: South Africa, Canada and Sweden. We recognize that there will be critical intersections in these three country contexts as well as important differences that will serve the purpose of contextualizing our argument. All three countries offer interestingly compelling scenarios that allow us to deepen our understanding of gender and rurality. Although definitions of rurality differ, both within countries (depending on the purpose of the study), and between countries, we know that approximately 25% of the Swedish population is defined as living in rural areas and about 2% as living in remote rural areas (Glesbygdsverket, 2008). Currently, approximately 38% of the population of South Africa lives in rural settings (South Africa Info, 2013) where poverty, geographic isolation, and legal and cultural frameworks, including traditional leadership, intersect to regulate the lives of girls and women. Close to 20% of Canadians live in rural areas (Stats Canada, 2011), although certain parts of the country, such as the Atlantic region, are primarily rural with well over half the population living in rural areas or on farms.

The situation of girls and young women in rural contexts in Canada

In Canada, certain populations such as aboriginal girls and young women are more likely to live in rural or remote areas, and, as various studies have highlighted, are particularly at risk of experiencing violence (Collins, 2002). Faced with a history of colonization and intergenerational trauma, Indigenous girls and young women have become much more susceptible to sexual violence and abuse (Farley et al., 2005; GAF, 2009; GAF, 2012; Sethi, 2007). Some of the health issues are based on the devaluation of Aboriginal girls and young women into merely sexual and reproductive beings with its related sexual abuse, and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). According to Varcoe and Dick (2008), the lack of work opportunities and the limited resources available in their rural locations may force Aboriginal girls and young women to remain in abusive relationships and succumb to unwanted and unprotected sex for economic security. While violence is not limited to rural communities in Canada, such settings affect the choices and increase the vulnerability of girls and young women.

The situation of girls and young women in rural contexts in South Africa

South Africa has one of the highest rates of sexual assault in the world, and while absolute numbers are unreliable because of under-reporting, adolescent girls between the ages of 12 and 17 are particularly at risk. There is a consistent (and unrelenting) possibility of sexual violence that runs counter to girls' safety and security in schools and communities, and to their reproductive health, particularly in the context of HIV and AIDS (Moletsane, Mitchell & Lewin, 2010). Moletsane (2011) highlights the idea that "so-called cultural practices" (p. 89), particularly in relation to performing sexualities, typically intersect in ways that place girls at the bottom of the social scale as far as having control over their bodies is concerned and this is further complicated by the high and gendered incidence of HIV and AIDS in this country.

The situation of girls and young women in rural contexts in Sweden

One of the high profile issues in rural areas in Sweden is the out-migration of young people, and particularly young women (Englén & Hatt, 2000). One of several explanations for this migration relates to traditional gender structures and cultures (Svensson, 2006; Forsberg, 2013). Violence against women is a widespread problem in Sweden in spite of its being known as one of the most gender equal societies in the world, and, in some settings, it is even increasing (Hausmann, Tyson & Zahidi, 2009). Ceccato and Dolmen (2011) point out that there has been an increase in

violence against women between 1996 and 2007 in rural Sweden and this could be one of the reasons why young women migrate. Another study showed that 17% of students in high school in a rural county in Northern Sweden reported a lifetime experience of sexual assault, and almost half of them had experienced sexual harassment during the twelve months preceding the study (Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2011). Another study of pupils in grade 7 to 9 in a town in Northern Sweden showed that more than half of the girls had experienced sexual harassment during the six months prior to the study (Zetterström Dahlqvist, Landstedt & Gillander Gådin, 2012). Both these studies included students from rural and semi-rural areas.

Against this background we want to develop and apply a critical vocabulary in writing about gendered violence in relation to place and space without producing stigmatized categories of women and place. At the same time we also realize the difficulties in accomplishing this when we are focusing on structural inequalities and gender-based regimes. In so doing we might also be contributing to the creation of categories that may, ultimately, be difficult to dissolve.

PLACE BASED GENDER AND ETHNIC REGIMES

Clearly, we need theoretical frameworks to explore the similarities and overlaps, as well as the differences, in these three countries. Various researchers have studied the ways in which different regimes of power structure place (see McDowell, 1999; Katz, 2007; Pruitt, 2008). This means that understandings of femininity and masculinity as well as accessible gender scripts are spatially embedded. When gender and space meet, a gendered spatial expression emerges (see Little & Morris, 2005). We think that exploring the ways in which this spatial expression intersects with violence could be fruitful in our pursuit of understanding how to prevent violence. In studying the lives of girls and young women in rural contexts, we are beginning to see an emerging body of international work like, for example Driscoll's (2014) *The Australian Country Girl: History, Image, Experience* which seeks to put rurality, and especially place and space, on the map, as it were, of girlhood studies. Across disciplines like education and health, there is also an emerging body of work that makes place and space more explicit. Much of this work has focused on methodologies in relation to addressing gender-based violence and poverty as key drivers of HIV infection (see for example De Lange & Mitchell, 2014; Mitchell, Pascarella, De Lange & Stuart, 2010). Also, in South Africa there is an emerging community discourse focusing on rurality that seeks to develop a more generative (rather than deficit) approach to looking at rural spaces (Balfour, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2008). A key aspect of this work is to study the ways in which a place-

based consciousness could become central to the theorizing we are seeking to establish, with its rich possibilities for considering what this might mean in relation to violence against girls and young women.

In the existing literature, partner violence is often discussed as part of specific rural gender relations (e.g. Carrington & Scott, 2008; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2009). We see that a layer of complexity is added to the realities of immigrant and refugee girls and young women living in rural settings (GAF, Glass & Tunstall, 2013; Jiwani, 2005; Sandler, 2009). The girls in Jiwani's (2005) study spoke about their experiences being part of a culture that has been constructed as exotic, where "the 'exotic Other' is sexually available to the dominant culture" (p. 860). Such stereotypes make racialized girls and young women more vulnerable to sexual harassment and sexual assault. Jiwani (2005) warns that the sexualization of immigrant and refugee girls and young women by the dominant culture can lead them to trust white males since they are seen to be providers of resources. This can lead to violence and rape. Moreover, as Beshiri, He & Statistics Canada (2009) point out, since there are fewer immigrant families in rural areas, girls and young women have fewer peers with whom to share their cultural background and may thus experience greater isolation and ostracism. According to Jiwani (2005), this lack of networking is a key risk factor for violence among girls and young women and may lead to an internalization of the violence they experience. To bring local geographies and place into feminist analyses of gender-based violence and harassment means that we also have to consider how places are linked to structures of power like, for example, the relationship between center and periphery, and the socio-economic disadvantages of many rural communities (see, also, Sandberg, 2013).

VULNERABILITIES IN RURAL SETTINGS

While violence is not limited to rural communities, such settings affect the choices available to them and, therefore, the vulnerability of girls and young women. Living in a rural area means dealing with additional barriers for girls and young women since they must travel long distances but lack transportation, and therefore have access to fewer support systems. In addition to all this, they experience more isolation and have fewer shelter services (GAF, Glass & Tunstall 2013; Justice Canada, 2000). Sandler's (2009) study shows that youth in rural communities have fewer physical spaces in which to gather and thus tend to hang out in marginal, isolated places. Because of the physical isolation of the social spaces in which they can hang out, girls and young women are further vulnerable to experiencing violence. Several specific problems related to rurality in international studies as

noted above (isolation, few shelter service and support systems, and the need to travel long distances,) are similar in the case of Sweden.

Motsemme (2007) comments on the effects of the physical uprooting that characterizes the lives of rural and township girls in South Africa and notes that “uprootedness as a form of physical and spiritual violence is an aspect which surprisingly continues to receive scant attention in South African social studies” (p. 373). Promising, too, is Kuokkanen’s (2014) work in comparing gendered violence in indigenous communities in Canada and Sweden.

Clearly, there is a need to develop methods to counteract violence against girls and young women. Local and global contextual factors that affect the level of violence are, for example, population shifts that affect the number of acquaintances a person has; a change in the age composition of a population that results in the presence of a higher proportion of young men; and an increase in alcohol consumption by members of a population (Ceccato & Dolmen 2011).

LOCAL POLICY ENACTMENT

That there is evidence of high frequencies of violence in these three different countries suggests that there is a need to understand more about the relationships between and among, on the one hand, legal acts, policies and governance, and, on the other, possibilities for social change in relation to violence. We therefore want to suggest that the local policy enactment of initiatives to prevent violence against women be analysed. Cross-country comparisons could, for example, shed light on the extent to which rurality, culture, and context affect the kind and level of violence perpetuated against women and girls; on the selection of preventative measures; and on how violence against women and girls is talked about and acted upon. We could also consider some of the socio-historical contexts that might account for critical concerns. For example, in comparing the shared colonial histories of Canada and South Africa, we might see violence as a colonial legacy (Mitchell & Moletsane, 2015) with implications for policy. Specifically, then, we suggest that comparisons between and among different institutional practices would be highly beneficial and productive.

Our point of departure is that that institutional enactment is not an automatic, given response to an objective reality; it is also affected by the way the people involved perceive and define the situation at hand. As Fischer, Gerald & Miller (2007) suggest, frames organize attention and bias in the ways in which actors understand a

problem; how they choose to act upon it; and how they view themselves and their role in the process. Frames and self-understanding also affect power relations between and among positions and forms of knowledge since certain implicit assumptions are often transformed into what is seen to be a kind of institutional common sense (see Bacchi, 1999). Translated to the case of acts concerning violence against women, it is possible to see everyday policy-making as a process of institutional sense-making, activated when politicians and public officers attempt to find meaning in what their organizations have done or should do. Institutional frames, as an organizational understanding, should therefore be seen as key to understanding why policies are enacted in a local context in a particular way

To understand the relationships between and among policy documents, institutional interpretation, and local policy actors we also think that it is important to remember that policy actors are positioned differently and take up different positions in relation to policy (see for example Ball, Maguire, Braun & Hoskins, 2011). Therefore, in order to unpack the process of policy enactment, we want to take into account the ways in which different sorts of roles and organizational positions are embedded in the process. This implies that the manner in which policy enactors understand their community (its potential and limitations) is important given how they make sense of national policies in their local context. As such, everyday policymakers are seen as situated actors and as being institutionally embedded in different settings. This understanding is attainable using the proposed theoretical framework, and, as such, can be used as a set of sensitizing concepts to guide the analysis. In doing this we are interested in analyzing how socially constructed arguments about place, especially rurality, and gendered violence guide the perceived action space for policy alternatives.

To study how decisions are implemented and legitimized is not to simplify but, rather, to demonstrate the complexity involved in acknowledging stakeholders' conflicting interpretations, and also to understand the need to be sensitive to the rich, detailed, and idiographic meanings that participants assign to them (see also Shore, Wright & Però, 2011). We argue that when we emphasize policy enactment it is a way of understanding policy-making as a process of organizational interpretations and translations by diverse policy actors rather than a way of viewing policies as being simply implemented. The enactment of current policy-making allows us to say that local municipalities generate their own policies regarding violence against women when they translate and embed aspects of national policy-making into their own cultures and working practices (see Ball, 1997,

2008). Taking place into account in policy enactment helps us to understand why policy preventing violence against women is enacted in different ways.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

While we are aware that in the (research) process of producing rurality we are all, in one sense, makers of rurality, and as such we need to undertake a more critical exploration of the power of preconceived notions of the rural. At the same time, it is important to highlight the silences and to ask what is missing in the framing of rurality. From the studies that do exist across the three countries, it is clear that violence against girls and young women in rural contexts is a critical issue but there is to date a paucity of knowledge about this phenomenon. It is this lack of knowledge about violence against girls and young women in relation to place and space (especially rural places and spaces); the lack of comparable figures for these three different countries; and the need for more nuanced theoretical underpinnings that suggest the urgency of embarking upon future research initiatives that allow us to look within and across country contexts. There is as well, a crucial need to develop interventions, especially those that start with girls and young women themselves, in order to counteract violent structures. As MacEntee (this volume) argues, participatory visual work is particularly promising for engaging girls and young women in leading the agenda on how the issues could be studied.

In this chapter we have addressed the necessity of understanding violence against young girls and women by theorizing the relationships between and among place, gender, and violence, particularly in relation to rurality. We argue that in putting space and place on the map in studies about violence against girls and young women, we add a layer of complexity to the understanding of their living conditions. We depart from the notion that place-based gender and ethnic regimes simply add on to the knowledge of how places are linked to structural powers. Rather, we see this work as deepening an understanding of the complexity of vulnerabilities more broadly. Such understandings have clear implications for both policy and practice.

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CHAPTER 8

Methodological and other Considerations in Studying Youth, Gender, and Social Media in Neoliberal Times

Ashley DeMartini & Claudia Mitchell

INTRODUCTION

As various studies attest, mobile-based communication has changed how we interact socially, often reshaping our conceptions of space and time (Thulin & Vilhelmson, 2010; Schroeder, 2010; Ling & Campbell, 2010). This is particularly the case for young people. Young peoples' attachment to their cellphones and to being connected contributes to contemporary youth identity, social learning, and the dynamic cultures emerging from hyper-connected lives (boyd, 2014; Stald, 2009). Gender is a critical feature; research indicates that there are significant differences in mobile use between adolescent boys and girls. For example, in 2009, the Parent-Teen Cell Phone Survey collected data from 800 participants across the United States. One finding showed that 84% of girls have personal in-depth text discussions while only 64% of boys engaged in similar communication (Lenhart, Ling, Campbell, & Purcell, 2010). Campbell and Park (2014) analyzed the same data set to discuss the phenomenon of adolescent sexting. They noted that mobile communication facilitates a teen's sense of autonomy, which provides a space to explore issues related to sex and sexuality.

There are also some obvious features of mobile culture that are linked to the idea of transnational flow, with the Arab Spring movement in Egypt offering a dramatic instance of this. At the same, as the South African media theorist Hermann Wasserman (2011) points out, digital and social media may have quite different meanings in the Global South compared to the Global North and even within the Global South there can be many different meanings. South Africa itself offers a particularly compelling case because of its digital divide (as a result of race, class, and geography), and, at the same time, its status in relation to digital access more broadly. According to a recent UNICEF study conducted by Beger, Sinha, and Pawelczyk (2012), South Africa leads in digital content creation, social networking, and microblogging on the African continent. The rapid growth of ICTs has enabled many urban and rural South Africans to connect and share through mobile and

computer Internet connectivity, with 66% of South Africans—rural and urban combined—preferring mobile over computer-based connectivity possibly because of its significantly lower costs (Beger et al., 2012). Critical to this chapter, the UNICEF study notes that 72% of South Africa’s young people aged 15-24 either own or have access to a cellphone. In this context there is an urgent need to study how young people are already using digital technologies, especially mobile technology. What does it mean to grow up with access to mobile technology? Although cellphone use has received some attention in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly through De Buijin, Nyamnjoh and Brinkman’s (2009) *Mobile phones the new talking drums of everyday Africa*, along with Powell’s (2012) *Me and my cell phone and other essays on technology in everyday life*, to date, this area of research remains understudied in South Africa. We highlight here a few studies that have been carried out over the past several years concerning how South Africans use cellphones and social media. Many of these studies focus on urban populations. Donner and Gitau (2009), for example, conducted a qualitative study on the use of mobile Internet among members of low-income urban communities. Their aim was to understand how these mobile users made sense of their technology and personalised their devices to fit their lives. Their data draws from two sets of interviews with a total of 39 participants. A key finding of their work noted how the high costs of PC-based Internet connectivity created conditions for the low-cost mobile-based Internet to take off in South Africa, inevitably changing the norms of social interaction. A useful example of this is the *please call me* beep. Donner and Gitau (2009) provide a comprehensive summary of the research conducted between 2007 and 2009 by Chigona, Beukes, Vally and Tanner (2009a), Chigona, Chigona, Ngqokelela and Mpofo (2009b), and Bosch (2009).

Concerned with the extent to which mobile technology might alleviate social exclusion in South Africa, Chigona et al. (2009a) conducted semi-structured interviews with nine participants with low-income occupations in Cape Town who currently use mobile technology. The authors define exclusion along economic, political, and social lines. Citing a 2003 study, the authors note that only 2% of black, Coloured, and Indian households had access to computers as opposed to 46% of white households. This statistical disparity remains relatively consistent with the findings of the Beger et al. (2012) study, which reported that income for white South Africans was almost 450% more than the average income of a black South African, and 400% more than the average income for South Africans who identify as Coloured. The extent to which mobile technology could alleviate social exclusion is limited, Chigona et al. (2009a) surmise, particularly with regard to economic and

political exclusion. However, they noted that their findings also showed that the use of instant messaging apps strengthens social ties.

The second study led by Chigona et al. (2009b) is a qualitative study examining both newly matriculated South African university students' views and their parents' views of the mobile-based social media and instant messaging app, MXit. The participants varied in ethnicity and were of both sexes. In total, Chigona and colleagues conducted in-depth interviews with 12 MXit users and 9 parents. Their research found that MXit was not only a significant part of the undergraduates' lives, but also that these young people demonstrated both a dependency on, and a commitment to, their MXit networks. This latter finding echoes Powell's (2012) observation of the "techno-social tethering" (p. 1) occurring between an individual and his or her cellphone—the relationship a person develops with his or her device as a result of the constant access to communication, mobility, and personalisation that the cellphone affords.

Platforms such as MXit encourage this kind of tethering because of the immediate connectivity they offer to large networks in South Africa. Furthermore, Chigona et al. (2009b), suggest that the perception of risks and benefits as well as the significance accorded to each varies between and among MXit users and non-users. Social media sites offer a communication and play space for young people whose mobility might otherwise be limited because of parental concern for their safety (Bosch, 2011). This is particularly so for young girls, Bosch argues, who may find opportunities through social media to explore their emerging notions of femininity and sexuality within a space they control. Such spaces become "the scene for new discursive conceptualizations of gender and sexuality" (p. 84). These online and offline spaces do not exist independently of one another; each influences the other.

Bosch (2009) also conducted a study with university students and course lecturers in Cape Town, employing the methods of virtual ethnography and interviews. The preliminary research examined the benefits of using social media sites, such as Facebook, in the teaching and learning process. Bosch interviewed 50 undergraduate students and 5 Course Lecturers. In light of social media's potential in the university classroom, structural and educational challenges facing ICT integration such as access to, and the attainment of, basic digital literacy remain. Despite this nuanced consideration, Bosch uses the long-problematized terms *Net Geners* and *Digital Natives*, which have been critiqued for their oversimplification of the relationship of

young people (especially those born after 1980) to technology (Brown & Czerniewicz 2010; Thomas, 2011).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Critically absent from the studies noted above is a consideration of rurality, and the access to social media that rural young people have, and their use of it.

How do young people in rural areas of South Africa speak about cellphones and their use in relation to Social Networking Sites (SNSs)? What place do cellphones occupy in their everyday lives? Given the gendered landscape of the two geographic areas, particularly in the context of high rates of HIV and AIDS for girls and young women, and high rates of gender-based violence nationally, do boys and girls see the cellphone in similar ways? What are the methodological constraints in conducting such work, and what are the methodological opportunities?

METHODS

Participants

The data for this chapter comes from a small-scale pilot study conducted in 2013 with 50 grade 9 students (30 girls and 20 boys) aged 14-18. The study involved three schools: one semi-rural school located in the Eastern Cape near Port Elizabeth, and two rural secondary schools located in Vulindlela district in KwaZulu-Natal.

Method

The data set for the work includes a pen and paper survey filled out by the 50 participants, along with transcripts from focus groups. This survey focused on the learners' use of cellphones and social media. Questions on the survey included:

Do you ever get airtime given to you?

Who are your top contacts?

What applications do you have on your phone?

Its questions touched on cellphone ownership, purchasing airtime, preferred applications, the use of a phone's video and photo capabilities (of what or whom they take pictures and videos), as well as some of the emotional experiences around texting. The survey aimed to capture a sense of how South African rural adolescents related to, and used, their cellphones in their daily lives.

The focus groups were based on the comments of boys and girls in single sex groupings responding orally to a set of narrative scenarios or hypothetical situations about cellphone use in relation to sexuality, transactional sex, and sexting. While

these hypothetical situations varied slightly for the male and female participants, the scenarios were meant to get at such issues as the kind of social relationships that form around cellphones and social media networks, the risks and benefits of social media, and how young people understand cellphones and social media as connecting them to their networks, particularly in relation to expressing and exploring ideas about being an adolescent female or male.

Example of a scenario for boys:

Your friend Lucky has been spending some time with Ntombe. One day at break Lucky calls you over to look at his phone. When you join him, Lucky shows you pictures of Ntombe with no clothes on. Lucky offers to forward you these photos.

Example of a scenario for girls:

Your best friend, Philile, and another female classmate, Cebisile, have a big argument. That day Cebisile sees on Facebook someone posted some very mean statements about her on her wall. The comments on her wall begin to multiply with people saying she'll have sex with anyone who wants it.

Overall, we wanted a sense of how these students navigated social media, the role cellphones played in their participation of social media, and the knowledge they possessed in terms of navigating this digital terrain.

FINDINGS

In this section we consider some of the key themes emerging from our two data sets. In Table 1, for example, we offer a sampling of the survey data.

Of note, we found that girls from both Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal worried more about having enough airtime than did boys, although this was more pronounced in KwaZulu-Natal. Also, girls generally reported receiving more airtime from others than did boys. There was a notable difference between the provinces with regard to sending and receiving hurtful texts, specifically amongst the girls. While girls from Eastern Cape reported few incidents, the majority of girls from Kwa Zulu Natal indicated they had been involved in some kind of situation in which hurtful texts had been exchanged. To understand some of these patterns, further research is required, although these findings complement existing scholarship that shows girls are more deeply enmeshed in SNSs (Lenhart et al., 2010). At the same time, the differences between the girls in the rural area and girls in the semi-rural area suggest that place, especially a rural one, can also be a factor.

With the focus groups, we examined more deeply some of the themes that emerged in the survey through the scenarios, particularly in relation to cellphones and access to SNSs. Three themes that seemed particularly key, at least in terms of demonstrating the ways that boys and girls might use cellphones differently, relate to (1) fostering and maintaining social capital on SNSs; (2) the fact that social relationships on SNSs have consequences both off-and-online; and (3) male and female financial literacy.

Table 1. Sampling of the survey data.

| | No. of participants | Do you ever get enough airtime given to you? | | Do you worry about not having enough airtime? | | Have you ever felt hurt by a text message you received? | | Have you ever sent a mean text message to somebody? | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|----|---|----|---|----|---|----|
| | | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| <u>Eastern Cape: semi-urban</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Girls | 13 | 11 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 11 | 2 | 11 |
| Boys | 10 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 7 | 0 | 10 |
| <u>Kwa Zulu Natal: Rural</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| Girls | 17 | 16 | 1 | 16 | 1 | 15 | 2 | 11 | 6 |
| Boys | 10 | 10 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 5 |

Fostering and maintaining social capital on Social Networking Sites

We noted how participants talked about their cellphones primarily in relation to access to SNSs (see Table 2). This figured predominantly in how both girls and boys discussed their social relationships. Bosch (2009) notes that users on SNSs form and maintain social capital through an ongoing negotiation between their online identity and relationships to other users. Chigano et al., (2009b) suggest that SNSs for girls are spaces in which to reinforce friendships whereas for boys they are spaces in which to flirt with girls and possibly make new friends. With these insights in mind, we observed how the concept of social capital provided a backdrop for the participants' interactions. In so doing, we identified connecting, visibility and recognition, flirting, and safety concerns as functions of maintaining and fostering participants' social capital. It is worth noting that safety concerns figured more prominently in the girls' focus groups than the boys'. Boys often discussed such

concerns in relation to the well-being and safety of girls. This might be because of several different factors: the girls are aware of the gendered risks they face while participating on SNSs; they are repeating societal narratives of moral panic fuelled by news media and non-users (see Chigano et al., 2009b); and the scenarios we presented to the boys shaped their responses. As MacEntee (this volume) notes, in much of the research so far on girls and gender-based violence there is little understanding of how they manage their cellphones. Further research is clearly required in this area—a gap that we hope to address in future work.

Tables 2 and 3, listed below, provide a series of participant excerpts we believe captured the functions of maintaining and fostering social capital. The two tables are organized along single-sex groupings. When examined in comparison to each other, the differences between girls’ and boys’ use of SNSs become quite notable.

Table 2: Girls

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Connecting | <p>“Maybe her friends all have a cellphone, she’s the only one who doesn’t have a cellphone. She doesn’t want to be left out.”</p> <p>“I’m on MixIt always, always, always...”</p> |
| Visibility and recognition | <p>“Everyone looks and be online, sees it and reads it.”</p> <p>“Mxit updates a status about you.”</p> |
| Flirting | <p>“They send you pics... to see if you wanna meet with them...”</p> <p>“If you don’t want to, don’t carry on chatting with them”</p> <p>“We went through the social network, it’s called FlirtNet, me and my cousin were looking for men to contact”</p> |
| Safety concerns | <p>“Stalking... if you get the wrong number, and they keep on phoning, phoning, phoning...”</p> <p>“Maybe on MXit he might write to you to meet you, but he has no profile pic... and maybe’s he an old, married man...”[participants laugh]</p> <p>“Some parents don’t like social networks because they think that on Mxit or Skype you can chat with a stranger, he’ll say, “let’s meet,” you go in town, maybe this person does trafficking, hell take you and never come back, kidnap, take you to Asia, such countries, do slavery..”</p> <p>“Maybe you met a guy, who approached you on Mxit or Facebook, maybe you got into a restaurant or club, then he drugged your drink... and everything was easy on him to do anything he pleases with your body.”</p> |

Table 3: Boys

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Connecting | <p>"I can search whatever name I want, and I can send a message to whoever I want..."</p> <p>"Because when you do not have a cellphone, can you find a way to connect with your girlfriend or boyfriend?"</p> |
| Visibility and recognition | <p>"They say that you're not more advanced than us, you're not connected, like if you don't have airtime, no one will talk to you..." [If you don't have a modern cellphone]</p> <p>"There's plenty of people... like girls... who like BBM... those messages... they don't want it to look cheap... because they are expensive... some of them say, "don't look at me if you can't afford me" [some participants laugh]</p> |
| Flirting | <p>"I use my cellphone a lot when I try and go for a girl..."</p> <p>"Someone can get a wonderful message... like, "morning baby," "I miss you," "I hope you have a beautiful day just like you my beautiful rose"</p> <p>"Because I bought you a cellphone or I tell you that I love you, send you love pictures and messages, everything that shows that I love you..."</p> <p>"If you buy a girl airtime, everyday she'll be your girlfriend, but as long as you provide airtime, but when you have stop, you'll never have a girlfriend..."</p> |
| Safety concerns | <p>"When Lucky puts Ntombi's pictures into the internet, everyone can see, her brother, her sister, Ntombi can get in trouble..."</p> <p>"And the girl will be embarrassed, ashamed, maybe kill herself to solve this issue."</p> <p>"They saw her naked and try to take advantage of her..."</p> |

On-and-offline consequences of relationships on SNSs

When it came to the on-and-offline consequences of SNS relationships, we noted a significant difference in the way the girls and boys discussed conflict and its consequences. Even though the scenarios were different, there was enough similarity to draw some comparisons. For example, in relation to conflict and hurtful comments made on SNSs, the girls' focus groups highlighted that it would mostly revolve around a boy, a girl's reputation, morals, and promiscuity. The boys discussed these issues in terms of competition—getting their own naked pictures of

a girl to show off to their friends, for example. Some commented that posting photos of naked girls online was in itself a source of conflict, and others noted how the girl would probably be teased at school about events that transpired online.

In relation to consequences, the girls offered many different scenarios, from meeting up with a boy or a man and realising that he does not look the same as the picture he posted, to enduring the fallout after rumours about them and their sexual behaviours start circulating. Both girls' focus groups discussed how, in light of such rumours, they would need to prove their integrity by undergoing virginity testing.

Table 4: Girls

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Conflict and comments (online to offline and vice versa)</p> | <p>"It's always about boys in this instance... How many times she's had sex with different people..."</p> <p>"So comments like, 'He doesn't love you, he just wants to have sex, he doesn't care about you, he's using you,' such things."</p> <p>"That she doesn't behave... She doesn't have morals... stuff like that"</p> <p>"Some people can join in. If they don't like you, they can join in and make comments about you."</p> <p>"Ahh, boys. Some would want to play it up and say that "I slept with her, she slept with me" so they look cool in front of their friends."</p> <p>"Some might deny it for her, say "it's unlike her."</p> <p>"If you didn't know about it, you'd be the laughing stock at school. "There she is..." and then they laugh."</p> |
| <p>Reflections about online/offline conflict</p> | <p>"Maybe she will feel guilty if she was just saying the rumors..."</p> <p>"It's something she wanted to do to ruin her reputation"</p> <p>"Even if she does apologize, it won't last forever..."</p> |
| <p>Consequences</p> | <p>"I just showed him my profile pic, and then he sent me, and he was like really cute... and when the dude comes, he's like short like me."</p> <p>"Maybe the parents wouldn't understand... maybe they'd think she was sleeping around because they didn't understand it was rumors"</p> <p>"If the lady who does the virgin testing finds out you are not virgin, they will beat you up..."</p> |

Table 5: Boys

| | |
|--|---|
| Conflict (from online to offline and vice versa) | <p>“And some bad people, boys, will take the photos and put them on social networks...”</p> <p>“You’re now going to prove him wrong, you’re just going to go kiss a girl, take some pics, then you going to show lucky, ‘Look, I also...”</p> <p>“Because every time you meet her you laugh, tease her, talk something terrible, and she’ll be depressed and she will feel ashamed”</p> |
| Reflections on conflict | <p>“I’d tell him to erase those pics...”</p> <p>“The mother will have trouble with Lucky, and the father will say, “leave him, he is just a boy”</p> <p>“They’d call you a real man... some fathers are like, “now, you’re not my boy, you’re a man” [on being caught with naked photos of girls]</p> |
| Consequences | <p>“His parents, they can take away the cell phone... if he buys another, they take again to teach him a lesson...”</p> <p>“Shout at her... say you have to go away from my home...” [what the boys imagine could happen to Ntombi]</p> <p>“Boys are clever than girls, they’re too quick to lie... They will never, ever believe Ntombi”</p> |

Depending on the results, parents, community, and peers would then be able to decide if the rumours were true or not. As for the boys, their perception of consequences was notably less serious. They suggested that the boy might lose his phone for having these pictures, but on several occasions, both boys’ groups said that their fathers, uncles, and/or peers would congratulate them for being men.

Table 4 and 5 represent key points as to how the participants understand and respond to on-and-offline consequences of SNSs.

Male and female financial literacy in relation to SNSs

Similar to the consumer trends in cellphone use identified in the Beger et al. (2012) study, the participants indicated that they opted for the SNS choices that were the cheapest. MXit often came up in conversation as the best option. The survey data also confirmed this, with 11 participants indicating that they use the *please call me* beep. The members of both the boys’ and girls’ groups saved their weekly pocket

money to purchase airtime. They demonstrated a pragmatic understanding of budgeting and making smart financial choices in order to stretch their money as far as possible. Some of the boys talked about wanting to get a weekend job at a local mechanics shop, but none of the participants at the time of the interview indicated that she or he had a job. The girls' groups did not discuss employment but this perhaps reflects the absence of paid work available for girls when they are not at school and, possibly, the demands of unpaid work such as domestic chores and looking after younger siblings.

In the final two Tables listed below, the excerpts show how both girls and boys make informed choices about cellphone use based on their financial capabilities as adolescents.

Table 6: Girls

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Informed and calculated consumer decisions</p> | <p>"I send text during the week, but on the weekends, because there are discounts, I call somebody." "Only text messages, because calls are much more expensive." "I send a 'please call me'" [all participants begin to laugh] "When we come to school we carry our money for break and lunch, so use some for airtime."</p> |
|---|--|

Table 7: Boys

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>Informed and calculated consumer decisions</p> | <p>"I usually use my pocket money." [to purchase airtime] "If you don't have airtime, you can use stuff like Facebook, Mixtit, What's App, stuff like that..." "Depends on how much the Internet costs... If MixIt costs lower money than Facebook or Facebook makes it easier to connect... things like that... [On choosing social networks]"</p> |
|---|---|

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The comments of the participants above point to some of the ways in which boys and girls experience social networking sites through their cellphones. What is obvious from the above data and existing literature is that cellphones and social media play a central role in the lives of many young people, and these rural youths

are no exception. This is so much so that adolescents will go to great lengths to acquire cellphones and airtime in order to get connected to SNSs, which, as we see with the girls, can place them in compromising positions. The extent and depth to which girls and boys experience these needs have been touched upon in responses to the various scenarios designed for the study. However, since the scenarios were not the same for both boys and girls, there is some limitation as to how much we can say about the data. Even though we identified differences in the way girls and boys experienced conflict and hurtful comments online, our overall design and findings would have been more substantial had we given all four groups the same scenarios. In addition, many of the participants remarked that the characters in the scenarios (eg. Lucky and Ntombi) were too young. They said it would be more realistic had we made them older. Although the scenarios listed above did not specify age, participants indicated that, for them, these scenarios applied to older adolescents of 16 and above. However, all four groups confirmed that the scenarios were realistic and events like those portrayed in the scenarios did occur around and in their school communities.

Notwithstanding these methodological challenges, we want to highlight the significance of having the opportunity to talk with young people about their everyday uses of cellphones and their access to SNSs. On the one hand we were struck by the openness of the participants and their keen awareness of the ways in which their own social capital was mediated by and through their cellphones. In some ways, it is as though these focus group interviews were windows into a world of commodification and exchange that match up with the concerns of young people in both the Global North and the Global South. On the other hand, the world of local exchange, and what many young people have to navigate and negotiate in relation to cellphone use in access to SNSs is chilling. This is further corroborated in the cellphilms produced by youth in the same schools that MacEntee (this volume) writes about. Some recent studies have begun to look at how teachers in rural areas of KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape are using cellphones. This work has explored participatory work with teachers as producers of cellphilms about key issues in their own teaching (see, for example, Mitchell & De Lange, 2013). A critical issue in these studies is the fact that the cellphones are often banned in schools despite their potential as an important teaching resource. Part of the reason for this ban might be related to the fact that cellphones have come to be associated with transactional sex as one of the 4 Cs (cash, car, clothes and cellphone) for which such sex is exchanged. Discussion of sex and sexuality is culturally taboo in this society in general so linking

such discussion to cellphone use is even more problematic; the possible spaces in which pedagogical discussions could take place are closed off.

Beger et al's (2012) study, referred to earlier in the chapter, focuses on digital safety and citizenship, with the authors suggesting that "[t]he South African government and private sector are involved in promoting ICT development and monitoring safety online. With a rapidly growing number of ICT users, many of who have never before been connected to the digital world, there is an urgent need for well-crafted legislations and programmes in ICT development and education." (p. 3)

As we read back through the focus group transcripts, it seems that a concern with "well-crafted legislation and programmes in ICT development and education" may be premature or unnecessary, and that youth are already very knowledgeable about SNSs and also highly aware of the social meaning of access. At the risk of falling into a type of cyber optimism or what Wasserman (2011) refers to as the need to avoid a "naïve celebration of resistance" (p. 10) in relation to popular culture in South Africa, we have a sense that many young people in rural areas have figured out the technology and its uses. What they have not been able to figure out is how to navigate safely in a social context in which rurality, poverty, and patriarchy intersect. This is a very different issue from "well-crafted legislation", we would argue. In conclusion, then, and given that this collection is about work in progress on being young in neo-liberal times, we acknowledge that there is a critical need to ask questions about legislation that would begin to alleviate some of the social and economic issues that place young people, especially girls and young women, in precarious situations in the first place. At the same time, as Hart and Mitchell (in press) highlight, there is also a need for social researchers and those working in digital design, especially that of apps, to work together to think about how cellphones and social media can contribute to addressing the unique features of sexual violence in rural areas. These are the issues that we see as vital to a digital futures framework for studying social networks with young people in rural South Africa.

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CHAPTER 9

Enchanted woods and magical saunas: Cultivating Finnish-Canadian identity through stories

Marja-Liisa Harju

NIMEÄMINEN (NAMING)

When you are a child with a name like mine growing up in the 1970s and 80s in a suburb of southern Ontario, Canada, you're going to suffer a little. Most of the girls around me were named Tina, Lisa, Michelle, Laura, Jennifer, and Elizabeth, and I recall wailing to my mother at bath time one night, "Why didn't you just call me Tiffany?" So began the process of growing into my name, which has become an important cultural marker for me. Actually, I am a true Canadian—a mix of many heritages: Irish, French Canadian, Italian and Finnish—but being Canadian is an amorphous thing. Andrew Cohen (2008) suggests that "[t]he Canadian Identity, as it has come to be known, is as elusive as the Sasquatch and Ogopogo" (p. 3) and a child cannot really build a sense of self out of an enigma. Being given a Finnish name seems to have determined my privileging Finn-ness in my cultural heritage, perhaps because my name is my first identifier and because feeling 'Finn' keeps me connected to memories of space, place, and family that are significant to me.

What does it mean to be a Canadian Finn? I am sure it is quite unrelated to being a Finnish Finn, seasoned with new landscapes, experiences, and the romanticization of all the best parts of culture. Like many Finnish Canadians most of my relatives (originally from Saarijärvi and Kauhava) have never set foot in Finland, but still *feel* Finn—an affiliation rooted in language, food, family, sauna, music, nature (e.g. woodlands and lakes; the summer cottage), and cultural activities (Jurva, 2008). You cannot find much information about being Finnish Canadian in literature either—few novels and little scholarship addresses this group (see Lindström, 1988; Tapper & Saarinen, 1998). As a teenager, I recall being completely surprised by Michael Ondaatje's (1987) description of early immigrant Finn loggers in his Canadian classic *In the Skin of a Lion*.

The ice shone with light. It seemed for a moment that he had stumbled on a coven, or one of those strange druidic rituals [...] But even to the boy of eleven, deep in the woods after midnight, this was obviously benign. Something joyous. A gift. There were about ten men skating, part of a game. One chased the others and as soon as someone was touched he became the chaser. Each man held in one hand a sheaf of cattails and the tops of these were on fire. [...] They raced, swerved, fell and rolled on to the ice to avoid each other but never let go of the rushes. When they collided sparks fell onto the ice and onto their dark clothes. This is what caused the howls of laughter [...] The boy knew they were the loggers from the camp. He longed to hold their hands and skate [...] But on this night he did not trust either himself or these strangers of another language enough to step forward and join them. (p. 21–22)

When I read this description, I felt that Ondaatje had captured something that spoke directly to my own experiences with family in the north: he recognized Finns as a people of the woods and made this seem a mystical thing. His inclusion made me feel significant—as if my family were an important part of the collective cultural history that makes up the Canadian mosaic. This fragment made me want to find other stories that reflected my feeling of ‘Finn-ness’ back to me, and made me want to write some myself.

In this chapter, I try to articulate how I have cultivated Finnish identity through story engagement and autobiographical writing. I do this kind of work to better understand links between child and adulthood and to highlight the significance of literature (particularly young people’s texts) and storytelling to identity development. In my self-study practice (see also Harju, 2010; 2012) I engage, following Connelly and Clendenin (1990), in narrative inquiry by reflecting on my reading responses and making meaning from my “lived through experience” of story (Rosenblatt, 1938/1995, p. 33). Narrative inquiry is not only useful for exploring cultural identity, but also for addressing broader questions about the ways in which one develops a sense of self (e.g. individually, socially, creatively).

I use memory work methods (Harju 2012; Mackey, 2010) in this chapter^{iv} to chart my Finnish-Canadian “storied formation” or the sense of cultural identity that I have created “through deposits of stories heard, read and experienced, and memories of those stories” (Strong-Wilson, 2006, p. 3). In this way, I build a literary portrait from memories of significant reading experiences and reading relationships. While this

research illustrates my particular storying of cultural identity through response to literature, researchers and educators in youth studies may also find ways to connect young people with their own cultural heritages here.^v

SUOMI TARINOITA (FINNISH STORIES)—OR, THE LACK THEREOF

I did not have access to Finnish children's books in my childhood or those that were Finn-themed, but it is unlikely that there were any English translations to be had at the time anyway. Today there are still very few children's books translated from Finnish to English,^{vi} except for those of the Finno-Swedish author, Tove Jansson, whose work has recently become more widely available in North America.

My earliest Finnish story was a lullaby. I recall a rare occasion when my Mummu, my Finnish grandmother, was visiting our house. She sang me to sleep as we rocked in a rocking chair in my darkening bedroom.

Kukkuu, kukkuu, kaukana kukkuu

Kukkuu, kukkuu, kaukana kukkuu,
Saimaan rannalla ruikuttaa.
Ei ole ruuhta rannalla,
joka minun kultaani kannattaa.

Cuckoo, cuckoo, far away cuckoo

Cuckoo, cuckoo, far away cuckoo,
From Lake Saima's shore, a cry.
There is no rowboat with which my dear darling can come to me nigh.^{vii}

The Finnish verse and melancholic melody are always accompanied by a tactile sense memory of being held by my Mummu, cheek to cheek. This recollection reflects an early literacy space that Maria Tatar (2009) calls "the contact zone," (pp. 3-4) a sphere of intimacy that intergenerational readers create together when they share stories. Margaret Mackey (2011) details the "emotional significance of [such] literacy encounters" (p. 73), and suggests that this sense of closeness is cultivated, in particular, in bedtime story-sharing in childhood. For me, this memory stands as the strongest connector I have to both my Finnish grandmother and to Finnish culture, and demonstrates how the experience of identifying through story is not only individual but communal.

Other early literacy experiences with Nordic texts were visual. In my childhood, I delighted in the Finnish and Swedish folktale traditions my northern kin celebrated. Posters of fairies, trolls, and goblins (e.g. prints of the Swedish artist John Bauer's work) decorated the walls of their bedrooms and were reflected in their own art-making. These images were wonderful and terrible—their child-hungry goblins often featured in my nightmares, and chased me through the woods when I traveled between my relatives' houses. My older cousins were particularly enamored with the Tolkien books (1937; 1954–1955) and themes of fairy, fantasy, and horror colored their illustrations, painting, and film-making. These tales of faerie and fantasy, in connection with my own experiences playing in the forests of northern Ontario, were essential to my developing sense of self. As is the case for many readers, fantastical narratives have followed me throughout my life, shaping many of my ideas in childhood and continuing to inform my adult conceptions of the world (see, for example, Bettelheim, 1975/1989; Zipes, 1999). One theme in particular, that of the enchanted wood, has always resonated in my storying of Finn identity.

LUMOTUT METSÄT (ENCHANTED WOODS)

[F]airy land arouses a longing for [the child] knows not what. It stirs and troubles him (to his life-long enrichment) with the dim sense of something beyond his reach and, far from dulling or emptying the actual world, gives it a new dimension of depth. He does not despise real woods because he has read of enchanted woods: the reading makes all woods a little enchanted. This is a special kind of longing. (Lewis, 2002, p. 29)

I maintain a special kind of longing for forests that informs both my reading interests and my narrative writing. I suspect this is because I intrinsically tie the enchanted woods of myth and fairy tale to my experiences in the Canadian north. When I was a child, my parents would pack us all into the car, in summer and winter, to make the five-hour journey to see our relatives in Beaver Lake, an early (1907) Finnish settlement of the Sudbury area (Tapper & Saarinen, 1998). The landscape there is heavily forested and characterized by red rocks, black lakes, and white birch trees. My cousins, siblings, and I spent almost all our time outside, playing games of hide and seek and “sardines,”^{viii} until we were called in for dinner or could no longer see each other in the darkening woods.

In many ways, the day to day experiences in the north were imbued with the green,

enchanted by the romance of the “light pastoral” (Natov, 2003, p. 91) tradition so common in children’s stories. My memories are of lazy summer days, *kissan päivät* (cat’s days) my aunt called them, characterized by blazing heat, blue skies, sparkling lakes, sweet wild raspberries, and the smell of pine on sun-dappled forest paths. And yet, the nights carried a particular kind of terror, when the gloom of the “dark pastoral” (p. 119) threatened.

The dark pastoral depicts the nightmare world of childhood. It is, essentially, the other side of the green world, and as natural in its shadows as is the light and sun of the pastoral In the literature of childhood, we find the dark pastoral most frequently imagined as a primeval forest. In Grimm’s “Hansel and Gretel”, for example, the forest is marked by its density; there are no paths and there are wild beasts. (p. 119)

“Hansel and Gretel” (Grimm & Grimm, (1884/ 2009) was one of my favorite fairytales as a child, because I *knew* that candy-coated cottage in the forest. In the north, I had to travel a darkened path from the Little House (as it was called) where we stayed to get to my aunt and uncle’s Hansel and Gretel house, deep in the woods. Their home was a typical Scandinavian cottage colored with red iron paint, white window panes and cheerful flower boxes. In the following narrative piece (an excerpt from my graduate memoir in 2003 exploring Finn identity), I detail a particular memory of Christmas at their house.

Memoir Excerpt 1: Joulupukki

I had just about given up on Santa. Really, I’d had it. For ages my friends at school had been telling me it was all a ruse, but I wouldn’t quite give in. When I demanded, “Is Santa Claus a real person?” my mother reverted to Catholic dogma suggesting, “He’s more like the Holy Spirit, he sweeps into the house with goodwill and cheer.” I was on the edge of belief.

This particular year, we were spending Christmas in Beaver Lake, and staying at the ‘Little House’—a small, three room (plus sauna) bachelor pad that had been built for my father when he returned from university. On Christmas Eve, my brothers, sister and I took off through the woods for my aunt and uncle’s house ahead of my parents. When we left the Little House, there were no holiday trimmings to be seen.

Everyone came to Fred and Greta’s house for dinner on Christmas Eve. There were aunts and uncles and cousins and wives of cousins and so forth. We had a fabulous dinner of duck à l’orange and my aunt’s famous ‘princess cake’, a Swedish layer cake with jam filling, covered by green marzipan and little marzipan ducks. The

adults had coffee and the kids snuck chocolates from the Christmas tree. At about ten o'clock, we heard the sound of bells outside, echoing in the woods. The adults shouted and all the kids poured out of the woodwork to press up against the window.

"Hei! Joulupukki!!" Greta yelled, and everyone gasped. Out in the snow, a man dressed in red with a long cap and white beard was slipping through the trees. He held a lantern aloft. 'Joulupukki!' we cried, diving for hats and boots. As he and the light quickly began to disappear into the woods, we took off in hot pursuit...but he was nowhere to be found.

On the way home, there were red ribbons marking the forest path. When we got inside the Little House we found it transformed: There were presents everywhere, and lights and treats. Joulupukki had come; he hadn't missed us. Surely this was proof that he existed, I saw him with my own eyes! Maybe it was easier to believe because this was no strip-mall Santa...Finnish Santas flew through the trees.

While the light pastoral of childhood dominates here, in the elements that dazzle (the lights, the trees, the bells, the mystery, the treats), the dark pastoral also encroaches on this memory for me. Although my aunt and uncle's fairy tale cottage did not house a hungry witch, it held many other horrors: my cousin maintained an eclectic collection of horror films, horror magazines (e.g. Fangoria), macabre puppets, and other terrifying bric-a-brac in his bedroom. While I would take part in trading tales of terror with him and my brothers in the safety of the house, I always had to run the length of the pitchy forest path to get back to the Little House. I would later find this experience echoed in Moomintroll's adventures, when I first encountered Tove Jansson's work.

Quick Moomintroll, it's nearly night.
Run home while there's a bit of light.
Don't hang around in woods like these.
Strange creatures lurk between the trees. [...]

(1952/2009, pp.1-2)

In the tradition of children's literature, Jansson's stories notably balance both the light and dark pastoral of the enchanted wood, recognizing children's knowledge of, and experience with, life's darker themes (Harju, 2009; Westin, 2007/ 2014).

As an adult, it is Jansson's crossover books (Harju, 2009) that have most influenced my feeling of Finn-ness, even though scholars do not often agree on there being anything inherently Finnish about her work. Some see Finnishness in her use of

landscape (e.g. the Gulf of Finland), descriptions of time spent at summer cottages, and the reflection of Finnish qualities, such as *talvisodan henki* (national unity) and *sisu* (fortitude)^{ix} (McLoughlin & Brock, 2007). When I read Jansson's work, I connect to her physical and metaphysical geography. Her descriptions of Finnish woodlands and lakes remind me of northern Ontario, and her stories reflect many themes that Canadian Finns identify with the Finnish temperament: maintaining *sisu*, understanding the self in nature; connecting food and family; taking pleasure both in company and solitude; and managing the shadows of anxiety and depression (Jurva, 2008).

Today, when my husband, daughter and I make our yearly pilgrimage to Beaver Lake to see family and spend time at our 'camp,' a small cabin on the lake where my cousins live, my experiences are infused with details from Jansson's stories: I am Moominmamma when I sweep out the camp, heat the woodstove and haul wash water; I echo the wanderer Snufkin when I stamp in search of adventure through the sunlit brush. My greatest wish is to build a Moomin bathing hut jutting out into the lake, one that contains as much mystery and magic as the one in *Moominland Midwinter* (1957/1992). Though it seems a great cliché, it is the bathing hut, or sauna, that lies at the heart of my feeling of Finn identity.

MAAGINEN SAUNA (MAGICAL SAUNA)

Aini Rajanen (1981) calls sauna "an inseparable element in the formation of the Finnish character" (p. 123) and Canadian Finns certainly identify Finn-ness in this tradition (Jurva, 2008). I was indoctrinated into sauna at a very young age, and similarly baptised, my daughter at the age of six months in the sauna at our summer camp. In this second memoir excerpt, I return to my aunt and uncle's house to link sauna-taking with the sharing of mythical and tall tales.

Memoir Excerpt 2: Sauna 1

We step out into the night, watching for ice on the porch steps. Through a circle cast by the house light we tramp, under the birdfeeder and into the woods. Tree boughs bend, heavy with snow.

Aunt Greta flicks on the flashlight. Jen carries a large wooden bucket of water from the house and I bury my face in a pile of warm towels. I wear borrowed boots. The snow is thigh high on each side of the path.

The woods creak in the cold. Around the bend a warm light beams through the trees. We crunch our way up to a little wooden house. The sauna is a slow fire in the middle of the woods.

Inside we shed our skins: boots, clothes, underclothes. My sister laughs at how white my bum is. She says it shines like the moon. We wrap towels around our waists and disappear into a suddenly summery room—the heat is dry. We dip the ladle into the bucket, sweep water over the stones and listen to the steam sigh.

Jen ties up my hair with an elastic band. We sit and sweat as the fire crackles and the stones spit. My aunt sings 'Tiptoe through the Tulips.' I strum a phantom ukulele and hum. Jen twists her arms up to air her armpits, like the painted Balinese dancers in our hallway at home. I draw pictures in the steam on the window and Greta tells us tales of Swedish goblins and the adventures of her cat, Mikas.

As our bodies become soft and spongy, we scrape each other with the loofa. Jen draws circles on my back. When our skin shines clean under the lamplight, we bundle up all the heat and scurry back to the house.

Sauna can be a mystical experience as a private and peaceful ritual, or a shared event that encourages connections among participants. I have always found it easier to broach difficult subjects with my father in the sauna because there is a feeling of ease and safety inherent there. Sauna can also foster camaraderie in another way—through the initiation of friendly competitions. It is common for participants to develop a foolish feeling of pride, for example, at how long they can withstand the steam before pushing wide the door to pitch themselves into the cool embrace of a lake or snow bank.

While such feats of endurance commonly occurred in my childhood among my cousins and siblings, as an adult I took part in a sauna competition in the strangest place—an academic conference in Finland. In the early part of the symposium, a Swedish colleague and I were exchanging tales of stalwart sauna-ing prompted by our identification with Mikael Niemi's story in *Popular Music in Vittula* (2003), "Where two pig-headed families are joined by marriage, on which occasion muscles bulge and a sauna is taken" (p. 107).

And so the grim final round was underway. This would be the ultimate test of strength for the two families. [...] The first batch of the finalists staggered down and fell on the floor panting. Grandad threw a bucket of cold water over them. The steam was whipping everyone's back, burning their lungs. Another one gave up. The others sat there like tree stumps, eyes glazed over.

Somebody started swaying, nearly fell and was helped down. More steam, more pain. Suddenly Einari shuddered and toppled stiffly toward Ismo, who also fell. They collapsed like slaughtered beasts, thudded down onto the lower bench, and stayed lying down, arms round each other.

'A draw!' shouted somebody.

Only now did I slither out of my dark corner on the upper bench, looking like a skinned rabbit. Everybody stared in amazement. Without a word I raised my fist in a victory salute. As their applause and cheering rose to the soot-caked ceiling, I fell to my knees on the floor and vomited. (p. 125)

Both the Swede and I raised our fists in delight as we shared this story moment over our beers. We were greatly satisfied that it was the youngest participant (the novel's protagonist) who triumphed. Later, a similar competition (though without such high stakes) took place when I shared a sauna at the hotel with colleagues at the end of a long day. As I fled the inferno, unable to endure the heat for a moment longer, a Finnish peer crowed, "The Canadian Finn has left the sauna!" I still maintain it as a triumph—I was on the top bench after all, where the punishment is most severe, and it was my greater suffering that prompted this departure.

Niemi's sauna story was widely circulated among my Finnish relatives when I sent them a copy one Christmas. I also gave the novel to my father, and this book-sharing was far more successful than my attempts to get him to read the Moomin books. He said he was better able to relate to Niemi's novel because it was in the style of a memoir, and he made many cultural associations between their upbringings. Sharing Niemi's stories with my father allowed us to have a rare and meaningful discussion about the ways that Finnish stories reminded us of family, and made us 'feel Finn'.

STORYING CULTURAL IDENTITY

What resonates most in these narrative pieces for me is the way that I story Finness through nature. It is perplexing that, although I spend most of my time as a city rather than a country mouse, I feel most at home in the forest in Beaver Lake. Maslow (1971) identifies this "thrilling to nature [...] as a kind of self-recognition or self-experience, a way of being oneself and fully functional, a way of being at home, a kind of biological authenticity" (p. 333). Perhaps it is genetic, a part of my Finnish inheritance as a people of the woods, but when I am away from the north I am compelled to return to those woodlands through stories. In winter, I like to think of our little camp as the Moominhouse, blanketed by snow. I imagine myself a

Moomin, deep in a hibernation sleep with a belly full of pine needles, waiting for the spring thaw (Jansson, 1992/1957). By returning to real and imagined forests through reading and writing, I use them, following Goodenough (2003), as a known, safe space through which I can continue to explore questions about my identity.

I am well aware that the sense of Finn identity I narrate here is highly romanticized. I think that is because I need it to be since the enchanted wood of my childhood has become a little less enchanted these days. My familial landscape is changed by family disagreements, illnesses, death, and time; only the forest feels the same. I still remember my childhood there as being magical, and I still 'feel Finn' when I sit in the sauna with my cousins.

A storied sense of 'Finn-ness' is something that I am now passing on to my daughter, Tuuli, too. We have also given her a Finnish moniker, albeit one that is easier to pronounce. Her name ties her to the Finnish literary traditions of myth (of Tuulikki, the Finnish goddess of the woods), and Tove Jansson (whose life partner was Tuulikki Pietela). She even came into the world through Moominvalley, as it were, experiencing her first cold winter night both in Jansson's story world and the real one.

...they said come in for a check. So I did and they wanted to watch you for two hours, so I listened to the sound of your heartbeat on the machine for the first time, and counted your movements, and read Moominland Midwinter. All was quiet and sleepy, and there was a blue moon outside the window. I made it to the part where Squirrel is frozen by the Lady of the Cold, and they said I should stick around and call your Papa, because you seemed ready to go soon enough.... (Personal Journal, December 29, 2009)

Although I missed out on Moomins in my youth, my daughter can only benefit culturally from having an early introduction to Finnish books. Sale (1984) and Strong-Wilson (2006) suggest that engaging with the dominant texts that inform the knowledge, culture, and identity of a community strengthens one's sense of cultural literary inheritance.^x These stories, and my daughter's own developing memories of time spent in the enchanted woods and magical saunas of Beaver Lake are shaping her childhood, and will undoubtedly deepen her own sense of Finn-ness, whoever she becomes.

Examining the particular ways that readers build a sense of self through literary

engagement can further our understanding of identity, and highlight the significance of stories and storytelling. Although the narratives in this chapter are necessarily specific to my experience creating a sense of cultural identity in my youth and adulthood, the method of memory work is not: it is an evocative and powerful tool, and can be applied in many contexts in new youth studies to address the multiple ways (e.g. through individual, social, gendered identities) that young people story their lives.

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NOTES CHAPTER 2

ⁱ I facilitated the cellphilm workshops during a 3-month internship at the Center for Visual Methodologies for Social Change, at the University of KwaZulu Natal. Ethical clearance was obtained through UKZN. The Social Science and Humanities Council of Canada (SSHRC) funded the project.

ⁱⁱ The participants chose not to use pseudonyms.

Note

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.sofi.su.se/english/2.17851/research/three-research-departments/lnu-level-of-living/the-swedish-level-of-living-survey-lnu-1.65112>

NOTES CHAPTER 9

^{iv} This work is part of a larger research project investigating diasporic identity and Canadian and Nordic children's literature.

^v While my narrative pieces were written in a traditional narrative format for a private audience (demonstrating the particular literacy practices of my youth), I point researchers towards the increasingly digital and public ways with which young people are choosing to story their identities (e.g. through texts, blogs, and platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram).

^{vi} Some notable contemporary English language Finn-authored or Finn themed picture books include Riita Jalonen's *Tundra Mouse Mountain* (2006), Jean Pendziwol's *Marja's Skis* (2007), and Kirsti Makinen's *The Kalevala* (2009).

^{vii} Translation: <http://fingelska.com/kukkuu-kukkuu-kaukana-kukkuu/> Listen at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=46_OWwAZq8o

^{viii} In the childhood game of "sardines" one person is given a count of ten to hide, then all the other players must search for him or her. When a player finds the hiding place, he or she must pack into it with the others (like a tin of sardines) until only one player is left. The 'last person standing' loses the game.

^{ix} *Sisu* is a concept that is very difficult to translate, but is essential to Finnish identity (Rajanen, 1981); it is "a compound of bravado and bravery, of ferocity and tenacity, of the ability to keep fighting after most people would have quit, and to fight with the will to win. The Finns translate *sisu* as "the Finnish spirit" but it is a much more gutful word than that" ("Northern Theatre", 1940, n.p.).

×Also, see Kelen & Sundmark (2013) for related discussions of children’s literature as a “key instrument of culture” (p. 4) and force of change that can shape children’s ideas of nationhood, and a nation’s ideas about childhood.