

# **Youth, Gender and Citizenship Study: an intergenerational study of education and poverty in Ghana, India, Kenya and Pakistan.**

## **Terms of Reference**

### **1. Research Questions**

The key research questions are:

1. What role does gender play in shaping the relationship between education and social and human development outcomes for young men and women living in poverty?
2. What is the relationship between young men and women's gender identities and their ways of coping with, and attempts to escape, poverty?
3. How could pro-poor development policies engage with the gendering of the poverty cycle?

### **2. Research Objectives**

The objectives of the research are to explore the role of gender identities and gender relations in shaping educational and social and human development outcomes. It is commonly assumed that more education benefits all recipients equally and that the outcomes of education for young men and women are equal or equivalent if given equal education. This project will investigate whether these assumptions hold and if and how gender plays a part in shaping such benefits. It will aim to investigate in depth:

- the social and human development outcomes of (formal and informal) schooling of young women and young men in poor rural and urban communities;
- how young men and women living in poverty construct their gender identities in the context of intergenerational values and community expectations about their future lives;
- how gender relations affect the formal and informal schooling experiences of young men and women and the ways in which such schooling experiences and their outcomes are used to improve livelihoods
- the extent to which the strategies which young people employ to break out of the poverty cycle and the circumstances (material, cultural and otherwise) needed in order to break out of the poverty cycle are differentiated by gender;
- the possible strategies that teachers, government officials, NGOs and other educational stakeholders could develop in order to enhance pro-poor policies which address the differential experiences of young men and women in local communities.

### **3. Capacity Development**

Capacity development is a key component of this project that hopes to work with graduate students, through research training, participation in actual field work and processing of data, as well as helping them building their own research projects within the broader theme of 'Improving the Outcomes of Education for Pro-Poor Development'. At each stage, community capacity building will occur by involving members of the community in discussions about the progress of the research, findings, interpretation of data etc. The staging of these capacity-building workshops will be built into the research design.

#### 4. Suggested Conceptual Frameworks

This project, along with others under the theme of social and human development outcomes could offer an innovative theoretical and methodological approach which gets behind the statistics of enrolment, achievement, and economic/social outcomes. It employs a range of qualitative research methods to elucidate some of the processes and structures which lie behind the statistical evidence provided by the national household survey and the local scoping study. This study aims to uncover the hidden processes, experiences and meanings associated with education and its short and long term impacts on the lives of the young men and women living in poverty.

The study explores the role which gender identities and relations play in shaping the experiences of formal and informal schooling of young adults (aged between 14 and 25) living in poverty contexts (e.g. rural/urban and different religious/ethnic communities) and the various ways in which such schooling impacts on young people, their social, physical and economic wellbeing and their civic capabilities and engagements. It will also explore the ways in which gender identities and gender relations impact on the sorts of strategies for survival and social mobility employed by young men and young women in the community.

This predominantly qualitative study could provide evidence of the similarities and differences between young men and women's perceptions and use of education and the outcomes of their schooling on their lives. Using the voices and lens of both male and female youth and an intergenerational perspective, the project could provide evidence that will complement the two other community studies. The study will elicit the ways in which 'poverty', 'being poor', and 'schooling/education' are constructed discursively by young men and women living in poverty and the ways in which schooling in particular is positioned within, for example, the framework of the everyday lives of men and women in the community and individual and family aspirations for a better or easier life. Through the collection of the histories and testimonies of young women and their mothers and young men and their fathers (or equivalent), the project could uncover how young people living in poverty understand how society works, why poverty exists and their own position and potential for action and change within it.

The project team might wish to work with three interrelated themes. The first theme addresses the inequalities, which are built into educational systems. Pierre Bourdieu's interpretation of the role of education within unequal and hierarchically stratified societies and in relation to specific unequal social relations such as those of social class, ethnicity and gender, suggests *that subjective realisations of objective possibilities* are equally important aspects of the maintenance of such inequalities (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 2004) as the objective realities of income, wealth and opportunity. This set of subjective realisations can involve recognition of structural constraints as well as 'misrecognition' of the role of individual and community action, the role of the state in education. Bourdieu also alerts us to the different forms of social, cultural (scholastic/intellectual), symbolic and economic capital (often acquired through educational qualifications) which can be accumulated and employed to secure social and economic privilege. A lack of such forms of capital (or poor forms of exchange of capital) can explain the perpetuation of social disadvantage. If this approach is adopted then the study could seek to uncover the forms of social/symbolic capital/resources which are or are not available (or differentially available) to young men and women living in poverty (for example in the community, family and through religion) and which forms of capital would help individual progress out of poverty. It could also explore whether and how education itself could provide, more effectively, other valuable resources to each group for poverty alleviation.

Secondly, the *Youth, Gender and Citizenship Study* offers an excellent opportunity to explore the ways in which gender identities and gender relations mediate the importance and impact of schooling on male and female futures. Young people construct their gender identities in the context of a range of age, ethnic and other social relations, sites, spaces, and practices. If the analysis moves away from studies of sex stereotyping and discrimination towards a more active concept of gender identity construction, it can then offer insights about the ways in which gender identities work within each

national cultural context and in relation to social class and ethnicity. On the one hand, particular gender constructions which shape schooling can restrict personal outcomes, particularly for marginalised and vulnerable groups (c.f. Francis and Skelton, 2001). On the other hand, the performance of particular gender identities can involve the rejection of or resistance to schooling by some youth and be associated with the violence and harassment (Butler, 2004; Pattman & Chege, 2003; Chege 2001). At other times, such gender identity work can represent a celebration of traditional gender forms (e.g. machismo) as a means of sustaining self esteem. Poststructuralist analysis of youth identities highlights the multi-faceted, complex and fluid nature of responses to education which needs to be taken into account in the analysis of educational outcomes (e.g. Skeggs, 2005, Arnot and Mac an Ghaill, 2006). The differential experiences and performance of young men and women in schooling impinges on their long term identification of themselves both as male and female and as learners and these, combined, can shape their prospects of escaping poverty.

Thirdly, the project could aim to develop a conceptual framework which will extend the analysis of poverty and education within development contexts by considering the ways in which education prepares young male and female citizens to participate in society. This suggests that individual advancement of the poor through basic and secondary schooling, whilst valuable, does not constitute sufficient conditions for social progress in relation to poverty alleviation. The treatment of young men and women in school, in the community and in the context of aid and self- help programmes can impact positively, but also negatively on their confidence to act, their understanding of their own agency and their levels of participation in transformative actions. As a result, although education can help both young men and women develop their capabilities, it does not necessarily encourage democratic participatory citizenship required for the levels and types of collective action to reduce poverty. Gender and ethnic inequalities in relation to civic participation and decision making can play an important, if not central, part in the continuation of poverty. Strategies to promote greater equality in social relations however can contribute to the alleviation of household and community poverty. This project could draw upon the theoretical work around contemporary conceptualisations of citizenship, agency and empowerment in relation to young men and women.

The aim of the qualitative study which builds upon a quantitative basis is (a) to offer new insights into the reasons for statistical inequalities in educational outcomes and the lack of progress in reducing poverty by extending schooling and (b) to advance theoretically, methodological and strategically our understanding of the role which education can play in the alleviation of poverty.

## **5. The Ethics of Research**

The research team needs to employ the insights of other projects and teams in relation to the ethics and nature of researching the poor (see the draft Discussion Papers that deal with ethical issues). In the process of generating data, the researchers shall, as much as possible, encourage and help research subjects occupy the centre stage as a way of acknowledging their rights to participate as subjects. This way, the poor shall direct the researchers through their life experiences with an assurance of inbuilt ownership of the process. Community workshops will be held to alert members of the community to the aims, progress and issues raised in the research. These will need to be organised by and through the community in ways that facilitate dialogue with researchers.

As an inter-generational study, there will be sensitive issues in terms of matching young people with their parents (or parental figures) of both sexes, matching daughters and their mothers as well as sons with their fathers (other matching variations may be decided on site). There will also be ethical issues in relation to investigating the experiences of those with HIV/AIDS and with disabilities. All members of the research team will need to be trained in the ethos and practice of the project in advance of fieldwork as well as alerted to particular sensitivities and dangers which may arise in community based and gender focused research. Male and female researchers will need to be employed for single sex settings and elements of the project.

## 6. Research Design

For the purposes of this study, relationships between education and social and human development outcomes will be considered in the following three sets of dimensions (see Figure 1 below):

- *Agency and Empowerment*: What concepts of masculinity and femininity are employed by youth living in poverty? How far does schooling create concepts of gender which help young people become involve in making decisions about their own lives and become involve in the decisions which affect their communities? Has formal or informal schooling offered young men and women their confidence to act and the opportunity and capability to become active citizens?
- *Livelihood*: how far does formal and informal schooling help young men and women gain an economic livelihood – through learning outcomes and skill training, by acquiring the necessary motivation and skill training, or by having the level of enterprise necessary to find a way out of poverty? To what extent can informal and formal schooling help young people break through sex segregated labour markets?
- *Self-protection and security*: how far does formal and informal schooling help individuals living in poverty protect themselves from and overcoming challenges related to general health, sexuality and reproductive health including HIV and AIDS as well as prevalent violence in the country?

The *Youth, Gender and Citizenship Study* can address these three elements by exploring the role of gender identities and relations within each dimension. The data collected in relation to these three dimensions would be triangulated to help build a comprehensive analysis of the perceptual and actual outcomes of education for young people living in poverty and the ways in which, as gendered and sexual beings, they negotiate their futures

## 7. Research Sample

As this project has adopted a cross-generational approach it is important to try to capture interviews with young people and their mother and fathers, or mother and father figure. The study aims to link the lives and educational outcomes of daughters and their mothers (or mother figures) and sons to their fathers (or father figures) in order to explore the gendering of the poverty cycle and the gender effects on educational outcomes. These pairings would be at the core of the study. In each case, their mothers and fathers (or equivalent) would need to be identified, although there is a case for including orphans and migrant children in the sample.

This goal however may be difficult to achieve. If the mother does not live in the same community as her married daughter, then this may involve travelling to the mother's home to obtain an interview. This element would need to be costed in, and worked through over time. The sample should include some young people who are not married, and also some young people who may not have living mothers or fathers. We would expect to be able to discuss the particular constellation of the sample with partner countries at the training workshop. If possible we need to find some common elements in the sample frame if the cross national comparisons are to work.

The study will aim to recruit 20 young men and 20 young women aged between 14 and 18/19 years old in a rural community and a further 20 young men and 20 young women in an urban community who were living in poverty. Ideally this sample should illustrate the range of formal educational levels (exit points) and include those with no formal schooling or only informal schooling.

The project relies upon the preliminary investigation of the two communities through **the Community Scoping Exercise** and the collection of data about **Narratives of Success**. The information collected locally will allow for the identification of the sample for this study. We will also be in a stronger position to understand the history of educational provision in the community, its use by community members and how the outcomes of education were experienced, challenged or changed.

At some points it might be considered valuable to involve mothers or fathers in law or grand parents. An agreement by the family/household to participate will be needed for the study to be successful.

## **8. Research Levels and Methods**

### **Stage 1: Gender Divisions, Relations and Values**

This stage of research involves exploring the gender division of labour, gender relations and gender values and identities within the young person's family/household. The aim will be to explore through participant observation, interviews and activities what gender patterns have shaped the lives and aspirations and educational experiences of young people in the sample.

1. Participant Observation: gender household profiles
2. Parental Life Line and Life History Interviews
3. Informal discussions with other members of the family/household.

#### *Participant Observation: gendered household profiles*

The aim of participant observation is to construct a gender profile of the young people's household. This will involve observing and recording male and female tasks, decisions, relational worlds, relationships, building a picture of gender worlds within the household. How poverty affects male and female worlds and values and expectations of adult male and female lives.

#### *Parental Life Line Activity and Life History*

Life line activities will be used as a precursor to life history interviews with mother and father figures to explore the concept of notions of masculinity and femininity that operate within the young person's home. Each parent figure will be asked to identify key events in their lives, their schooling, and work/family lives.

The life history interviews with mothers and fathers will ask them to recollect what it meant to struggle with poverty and how that struggle has shaped their perceptions about the role of education as the route for exiting poverty. The life history interviews will attempt to tap the parents' experiences of education, their aspirations for their male and female children, and the possibilities they see in breaking the poverty cycle. One element of this might be a discussion of how traditional and modern cultures are affecting femininity and masculinity in the community, and the educational experiences of daughters and sons. Another element will be to explore the link between education and their wellbeing and livelihood, whether and how schooling changed their lives, and whether in their view any particular educational reforms which might, in their view, restrict rather than promote greater well being for their children.

It will be important to establish if, for example, parents who have only a primary school education do integrate the knowledge learned into their behaviour and to their social and value systems in order to transform their own lives and that of their children. Do such parents, for example, seek similar or different avenues of success for their daughters and sons? In addition, the study shall endeavour to find out the type of education that parents think is adequate and relevant in empowering women to stand up for their basic rights as social, economic and familial agents of change as well as enabling men to support human rights and gender equality, develop their capabilities as workers, fathers and husbands who work alongside women.

#### *Informal Discussions*

It will be valuable to hold informal discussions with grandparents, mother /father in law, siblings about male and female roles, poverty effects, schooling and value, outcomes, capabilities, transfer and conversion into economic benefits.

## **Stage 2: Young Citizens**

This stage focuses on young person's schooling, educational outcomes and social and human development outcomes. Three elements:

1. Life-Line Activity and Life History
2. Life in the Community: photography and informal conversations
3. Individual Youth Interview

### *Life Line Activity and Life History*

This activity could be designed to enable the young women and the young men in the study to record key moments of departure, events and junctures in their lives when decisions they made seem to have affected their lives or are likely to affect their lives in the future with regard to poverty and education. Researchers would need to assist non-literate subjects in recording their lifeline activities (tape recording or in literary form). The young people would participate in tape-recorded discussions regarding their lifeline entries.

The aim of the line activity is to ask young people to narrate their lives, indicating where, when and how formal and informal schooling has been part of their lives, significant moments and phases and future aspirations. Young people will be assisted in filling in the life line by the researcher and then interviewed about it.

### *Life in the Community: photographs and informal conversations*

One option is to ask young people themselves to observe and record the key features of their community. This will offer insights into the male and female worlds in a poor community and the roles which men and women play. These methods will be used to capture the 'unspoken' data as well as enhance triangulation of what is seen with what is said. Young people would need to be trained to conduct photography of thematic settings within their own youth and gendered cultures to demonstrate, in their own terms, how they spend their time at home and in the community (or elsewhere). Discussion about these trigger photographs and observations can lead to profitable exchanges in recorded debriefing informal conversations

### *Individual Youth Interviews*

The interviews will cover five themes:

1. They will explore the ways in which young people living in particular communities construct notions of masculinity and femininity and how these notions have shaped their lives. They will be asked to discuss what they see as the core community expectations in relation to gender identities and performance in the home, work force and social relations. The interviews will explore how gender shapes their understanding of their everyday duties and future prospects.
2. We want to ask young men and women about their experiences of formal and informal schooling, memories of schooldays, peer group cultures and the knowledge and capabilities which they associate with their schooling. These interviews will also examine how daughters and sons from poor families relate the knowledge learned in school with their everyday struggles to get out of poverty. What are the educational values of parents and how do young men and women negotiate such values and goals?. How do those young people negotiate their current position so as to move towards a better life in the future?
3. We need to explore how the young people perceive gender and sexuality in terms of division of labour and how such divisions influence educational outcomes of the daughters *vis-à-vis* the sons. For example, have gendered practices changed across the two generations? Also, how do the mothers and fathers perceive the role of fertility as it affects the educational careers of girls compared with those boys and how have the young people responded to such expectations? How do they negotiate transitions to adulthood and maximising socio-cultural, economic and political benefits? To what extent have young people employed their school knowledge to protect themselves from early marriage, childbearing, disease and HIV/AIDS?

4. The study will complement the study of economic patterns of employment and non-employment in the community by considering the ways in which young men and women are prepared for paid work, their expectations, experiences, training opportunities and pathways into work. The qualitative approach will throw light on how such decisions are made by young men and young women and the extent to which schooling contributes to an entrepreneurial approach and the confidence to act. How much schooling is understood by youth to be necessary to escape the poverty trap?
5. Finally we will want to ask what types of education do the young women and men think is empowering for gender equitable society. How confident are young men and women living in poverty that they can break out of the poverty cycle and do they have the confidence to use education to do so? What actions make a difference? How much can they gain control over the decisions that affect their lives and become active in the community?

### **Level 3: Community Workshops**

This level of data collection involves feeding back data from youth and their parents to the community level for interpretation. *Community workshops* would be a valuable way to consolidate ownership of the project by involving community members and families to talk about the goals of the project, its methods, its conduct, the interpretation of the data and the possible outcomes of the research. These could be designed by Theme 1 team as a whole, bringing together the themes of disability, fertility and marriage and citizenship.

The aim of the workshops for the *Youth, Gender and Citizenship* project would be to help build in an interactive process of emergent knowledge within and across generations and separately with the men and women in the community. The focus would be on the past, current and possible future links between education and poverty as well as the link with private and public benefits.

Pro-poor policy approaches could be identified which would address the gender differences within the community. It is hoped that this way, an alternative view of the relationship between poverty and educational outcomes and new strategies to redirect this relationship towards pro-poor pathways will emerge which will address both male and female needs. All materials developed out of these workshops in the long term could be made relevant for use by teacher educators, teachers, and policy makers, educators and other education stakeholders.

Three types of community workshops could be valuable for this gender study which could run concurrently.

1. Youth Workshops
2. Mother and Father Workshops
3. Stakeholder Workshops

***Youth Workshops*** Trigger materials derived from preliminary findings based on memory work, interviews and photography, as well as media images of successful men and women, and modern cultural images of masculinity and femininity could be used to generate discussion around gender, education and poverty. These would be single sex workshops in order to facilitate inter-gender discussions and greater understanding of male and female worlds. Proceedings of these discussions shall be recorded for further analysis and reporting.

***Mother and Father Workshops*** The parents of the young people could be asked to participate in reflective action-oriented single sex workshops organised around themes emerging from the preliminary findings and from the young people's workshops, organised as 'case studies' and focusing on gender, poverty and education. Workshop proceedings could be recorded for further analysis and reporting.

***Stakeholder Workshops*** This phase could comprise workshops within the study communities in which young people, parents, community leaders, NGO officials in the area, teachers and other identified educational stakeholders will participate. The aim here would be to discuss openly the research findings and in particular the focus group data from single sex groups of young people and

single sex group with their parents. From these workshops, contextualised and comprehensive culturally-based outlooks of poverty and strategic thinking might be encouraged and proceedings recorded for further analysis and reporting.

## **9. Data Analysis**

Data from household surveys and situational analysis will offer important information about gender patterns in relation to education levels, outcomes, fertility, civic engagement and resources.

Data from the *Youth, Gender and Citizenship Study* could be analysed qualitatively, progressively and reflexively. Following Brown and Gilligan's (1993) *Listening Guide*, there could be a number of 'readings' of each body of data using first a grounded approach to 'hear' the stories of the poor, the language with which they speak about poverty, 'success', schooling etc. (e.g factual readings, relational worlds, 'I' centred accounts and emotional readings). Gender differences could well be an important element in these discursive framings. Other readings could involve the use of an appropriate textual analysis package that would help categorise the identified themes, collate them accordingly and generate the required reports for further reflection and analysis.

*Life History and Memory work data:* The diaries containing memory data could need to be transformed into text files and a database created using qualitative software. Based on the same principle of coding interviews, the memory data could be coded and organized using the node system. Themes that complement spoken data would be captured in the form of memos that shall be used to link the memory data with that from interviews for finer complementary analysis.

The other level of analyzing the memory work data comprises the engagement of volunteer female and male youth participants who could reveal their diary identity and allow the contents to be used to do group analysis of their memories with peers and the researchers. This could generate further data that would yield itself for further analysis. The ensuing findings could help to ascertain the extent to which particular memories of, for example, schooling, family life, youth cultures, gender relations, the role of the educational project and poverty, tend to resonate within and across the genders and across the research sites.

*Photographic data:* The photographers (young women and men in the study) could participate in group analyses of their individual sets of photographs. They could also participate in organizing the photographs into thematic categories that the researcher could then use to do further analysis that would link this data with the other types of data. The researchers could then proceed to do further analysis to enhance the photo-data and link it up with the other types of data, including the interview, discussion, and memory work. Text data emanating from this analysis could also be organised further using a qualitative software programme for ease in referencing.

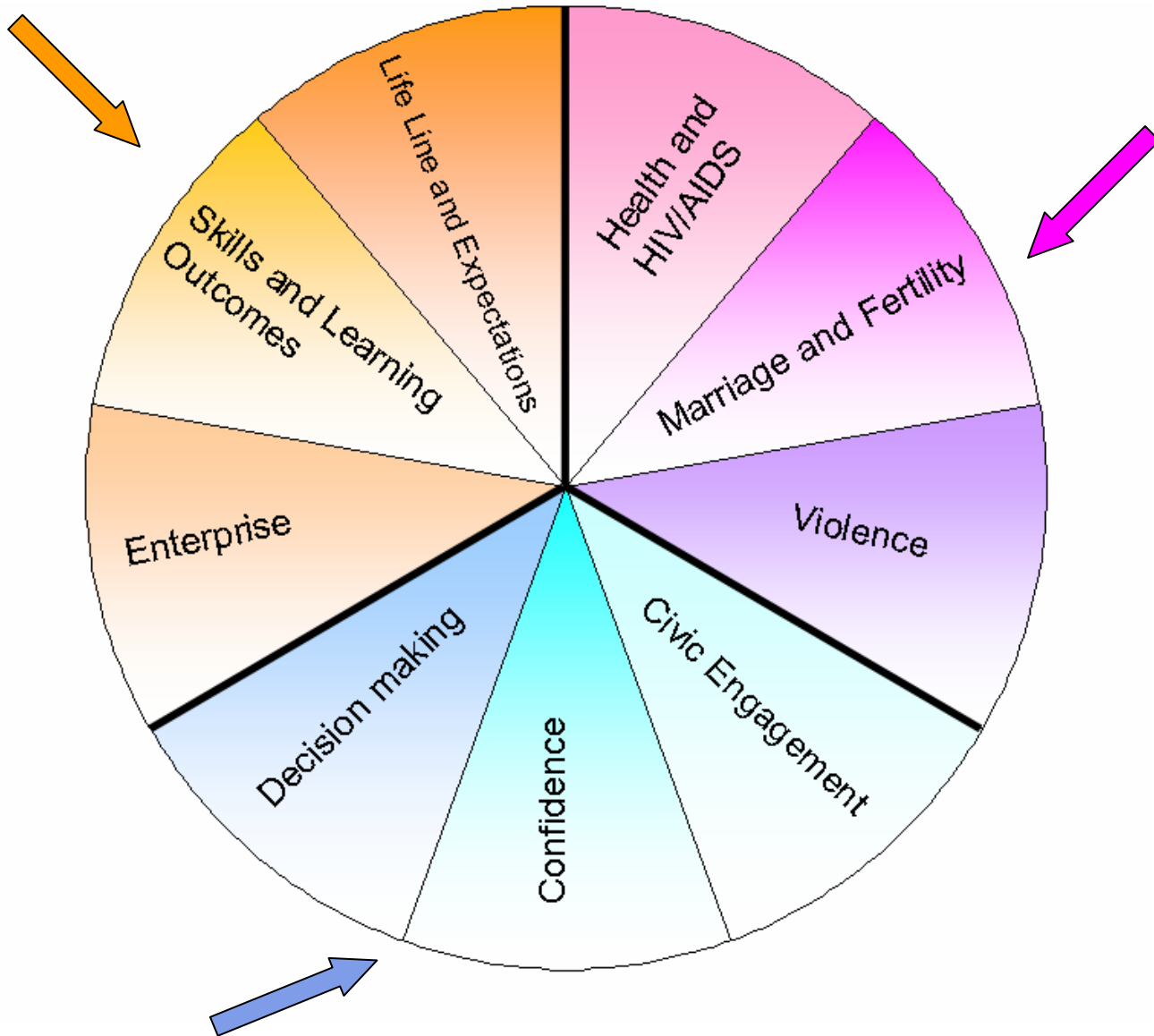
*Non-participant observation, and video recorded data:* Analysis of this data type could be used to complement the spoken data as well as generate triangulated insights regarding claims made in interviews or in documents. Ideas from recorded observations and video recordings could be recorded as memos that help to link with interview and memory work data.

Eventually, all the different types of data could be interconnected and further analysed iteratively to yield answers to the research questions raised in this project and reveal the social complexities involved in the link between education and poverty for practical and policy response.

Figure 1

**LIVELIHOOD**

**SELF PROTECTION AND SECURITY**



**AGENCY AND EMPOWERMENT**

**Figure 2:**

**Youth, Gender and Citizenship Study**

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
<p><b>Gender Divisions, Relations and Values in the community</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participant Observations, Gender Household Profiles</li> <li>• Parental Life Line and Life History</li> <li>• Informal discussions</li> </ul>	<p><b>Youth Study</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Life Line Activity and Life History</li> <li>• Life in the community: photography and informal conversations</li> <li>• Individual youth interviews</li> </ul>	<p><b>Community workshops</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth workshops</li> <li>• Mother and Father workshops</li> <li>• Stakeholder workshops</li> </ul>