ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: A MISSING PIECE: EXAMINING TEACHERS'
                            RESPONSES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE
                            IN SCHOOLS IN BURKINA FASO

                            Anne Marie Spear, Doctor of Philosophy, 2019

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Gender inequality leading to gendered violence in schools is a concerning reality worldwide. This study examines gender-based violence (GBV) in an educational context by conducting a vertical comparative case study on gender-based violence at two secondary schools in the central area of Burkina Faso, West Africa. The study sought to understand the multiple influences that guide secondary schoolteachers' responses to GBV and the implementation of existing national policies in combatting the violence in Burkina Faso. Using the feminist poststructuralist framework, the study conducted discourse analysis of policies and explored teachers' discourse of the phenomenon through how teachers' meaning-making of GBV in schools contributes to decisions around addressing the violence. This qualitative research contributes to the on-going discussion of how teachers can be change agents in schools. These findings can help inform teachers' training programs and national policy.

A MISSING PIECE:

EXAMINING TEACHERS' RESPONSES TO GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

IN SCHOOLS IN BURKINA FASO

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to:

Aissata and all the children fighting to hold on to the possibilities promised
from formal education;

Baba and all the children who lost that fight; and

All the adults who stand against violence, inequality, and injustice
despite the personal risks.

"If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor"
Desmond Tutu

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This accomplishment was born from Grace. It was not my doing.

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Commonly Used Abbreviations

Action Sociale	Ministry of Social Action and National Solidarity
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
DPEIEFG	Directorate of Inclusive Education, Girls Education and Gender
CNPVE	Conseil for the Prevention of Violence in Schools
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
FAWE	Forum of African Women Educators
FPDA	Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis
INGOs	International Non-Government Organizations
MENA	Ministry of National Education and Literacy
MPF	Ministry for the Advancement of Women and Gender
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
PNG	National Gender Policy
PSEF	Education and Training Sector Plan
SNAEF	The National Strategy for the Acceleration of Girls' Education
SRGBV	School-Related Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGEI	United Nations Girls' Education Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
USAID	United States' Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1: A Review of the Phenomenon of Gender-Based Violence

Introduction

Global and regional reports such as *A Familiar Face, It's Not Normal,* and

Hidden in Plain Sight continue to bring attention to the many types of gender-based

violence (GBV) that persist in homes, schools, and communities worldwide (Human

Rights Watch, 2018a; UNICEF, 2014, 2017). Transnational agencies, international non-

government organizations (INGOs), national non-government organizations (NGOs)

including community-based organizations (CBOs), and national governments have

sought to highlight and prevent the harmful manifestations of gender inequalities that

contribute to GBV through policies and programs. With increased funding toward

creating safe schools, such policies and programs are aimed at training and working with

teachers, among other initiatives. To gain further understanding of how teachers perceive

the phenomenon of violence, this vertical case study in two secondary schools in Burkina

Faso, West Africa, seeks to examine the multiple influences that guide secondary school

teachers' responses to gendered violence against students and the impact of existing

national policies at the school level in this country. This qualitative research will

contribute to the ongoing discussion of how teachers can be change agents in schools vis-

à-vis GBV.

This chapter provides an overview of the phenomenon of GBV in schools. For

this dissertation I use GBV and gendered violence interchangeably. After providing a

working definition of gendered violence in schools, I review the literature on the forms of

such violence, the spaces in which it occurs, and the consequences of the violence.

Interweaved within this literature review, I introduce the context of the study, gendered violence within secondary schools in Burkina Faso.

The small, landlocked West African country of Burkina Faso has a male-dominated hierarchical society with imbedded gender inequalities that constitute a propitious environment for high levels of GBV. The country has low literacy rates, low educational attainment, especially among girls and women, and fragile economic development due to an impeding security crisis from its borders, a nascent government struggling for legitimacy among the people, and increasing environmental concerns. Almost half of the population lives on less than US$2 a day, and the majority of the poorest are women. Between 2008 and 2012, 29% of the adult population knew how to read and write. The net enrollment ratio (NER) for secondary school was 15.5% of females and 21.4% of males during the same period. Among the adult population, only 0.9% of females had some secondary education, compared to 3.2% of males ("Statistics: Burkina Faso," 2017).

These macro measurements help paint a picture of the current gender and educational inequalities in Burkina Faso. This chapter situates the study by demonstrating the prevalence and manifestation of gendered violence in Burkina Faso. It illustrates the context in which the violence is occurring and the past and current responses of the government. Chapter 2 outlines the framework while Chapter 3 lays out the methodology of study. In considering the context of gendered violence in schools in Burkina Faso, this dissertation uses a vertical case study methodology.   This multi-layered approach provides insight into the discourse around gender policies in schools and the influences, including policy implementation, on teachers' responses to the

gendered violence in schools. Chapters 4 through 7 address the findings of the study, and the final chapter, Chapter 8, discusses the significance of the dissertation's conclusions through applying feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA).

Defining the Phenomenon

The definition of gendered violence has evolved from the recognition of violence in general, to violence against women and children, to GBV against all persons not conforming to societal dictates of prescribed gender norms. Scholars, governments, and international non-government agencies continue to develop definitions of the phenomenon, including the violence that takes place in and around schools.   The United Nations' Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1992 defined GBV specifically as violence against a woman because she is a woman (General Recommendation 19). The United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (Article 1), adopted in 1993, defines GBV "as any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life". The acknowledgment that violence can be motivated by gender allows for policy, advocacy, and appropriately structured programs to address the roots of such discrimination and violence inflicted on women ("UN Women–United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women," 2017).

Nonetheless, the 1993 UN Article 1 definition is limited to a binary concept (man/woman) of gender. Unlike the binary nature of the biological sex of a person at birth, either as male or female (except for persons born intersex), gender is a social

construct of one's identity that does not have distinct dualistic categories but rather a spectrum of masculine and feminine constructs. Furthermore, gender identity is not stagnant nor is the nature of masculine and feminine characteristics universal. Thus, an assumption of two simplified and accepted views of gender as man/woman is incomplete and does not allow for the necessary problematizing and questioning of gender identity and the interplay with power (Butler, 2006). The lack of such analysis limits the ability to contextualize the harms of gender inequalities, including confronting gendered violence (Ifamose, 2016; Jarviluoma, Moisala, & Vilkko, 2003). The limiting language of gender as binary and the consideration of women as the sole victims of such violence are addressed in more recent definitions of gendered violence. For example, UNESCO/UN Women (2016) defines GBV more broadly, by including anyone as potential victims due to "gender discrimination, gender role expectations, and/or gender stereotypes, or based on the differential power status linked to gender" (p 10). Despite a more inclusive definition, international and national policies and programs continue to address the phenomenon based on understandings of the violence more aligned with the older definitions, which will be highlighted throughout this chapter.

Defining Gender

Burkina Faso's National Gender Policy (*Politique Nationale Genre* (PNG) (2009-2019)), developed by the Ministry for the Advancement of Women and Gender (*Ministère de la Promotion de la Femme et du Genre* (MPF)), crafted in 2009, is perhaps the first policy to clearly acknowledge gendered violence in schools. The policy views violence as contributing to low enrollment of girls in formal schooling in the country. The document argues thatSome, "heavy workload for women and girls, forced marriages

and gender stereotypes, rape, sexual harassment, and preference for boys, limit girls' and women's access to educational facilities" (MPF, 2009, p. 14).

The PNG provides a "national understanding of gender":

Gender should be analyzed from the point of view of inequalities and disparities between men and women by examining the different social categories in order to achieve greater social justice and equitable development. Gender, as defined, refers to the social relations between men and women, and the structural differences that characterize them in terms of roles, status, social and cultural functions and attributes, and evolving in time and space. (PNG, 2009, p. 10)

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) defines gender as follows on its website:

 a social and cultural construct, which distinguishes differences in the attributes of men and women, girls and boys, and accordingly refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women. Gender-based roles and other attributes, therefore, change over time and vary with different cultural contexts. The concept of gender includes the expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviors of both women and men (femininity and masculinity). This concept is also useful in analyzing how commonly shared practices legitimize discrepancies between sexes. ("Glossary: A to Z," Retrieved January 2, 2019)

PNG's definition of gender mirrors UNICEF's definition. Both include the fluid social construction of the concept and recognize that it is used to understand inequalities and the different roles and traits assigned to each sex. UN Women, the agency of the

United Nations charged with conducting work on gender issues, offers a similar, but much more thorough definition of gender than UNICEF or PNG. On its website it states,

> Gender refers to the roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a given society at a given time considers appropriate for men and women. In addition to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, gender also refers to the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/ time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context, as are other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis including class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, sexual orientation, age, etc. ("UN Women Training Centre Glossary," Retrieved January 2, 2019)

Establishing an official national definition is helpful both when analyzing implementation and influences of policies and when conducting research around gender issues to develop standardized measurements and responses. It is not surprising that the national definition of gender mirrors transnational organizations' definitions, given the influence that the international development community has among governments when working on gender equality policies.

All three definitions talk about gender as binary, as do the definitions associated with GBV. Absent from the definitions is the understanding that gender and the performance of the various traits and attributes of gender can be viewed on a spectrum. Further, there is no mention of the sharing of gender identity, in that males can display feminine traits and vice versa.

What is "Woman"?

Even within defined gender binaries, what it means to be a woman or man in a specific context is difficult. It is critical to understand how societies construct the concept of a woman due to societies' historical and contemporary application of inferior characteristics and roles on women as means to oppress and control a group of people. As a social construct, aspects of gender are learned, passed on in social and ideological processes and systems, and can vary throughout societies. Gender norms are reproduced through generations but can also be disrupted by societal change. This is seen throughout Africa's history. African women scholars assert that in precolonial African societies, women were defined not by feminine aspects but by roles they played in their communities, a more empowering construct that encouraged more equality between men and women. Women, such as in the Igbo tribe of Nigeria, were involved in public life, including being active in political systems (Edbung, 2016; Ifamose, 2016). Other scholars argue that outside influences (e.g., Arab traders from the East and European colonialism and missionaries) only reinforced existing gender norms and inequalities in West Africa (Harsch, 2017). Yet, all agree that European colonialism forced women out of public spaces, including involvement in education and political life. The definition of women shifted to narrow aspects of feminine traits viewed as inferior to justify exclusion

(Ifamose, 2016). How, and by whom, gender norms was created in West Africa matters today, and when seeking to combat gendered violence, as it helps to understand who is constructing often-oppressive narratives. This dissertation study highlights the power that dominant discourse gives to creating dynamics that contribute to GBV, as well as who controls the construction of the phenomenon itself.

Dealing with the binary.

Despite this dissertation being critical of the binary language and definitions used at all levels of this vertical study, and the assertion that it is important for researchers to recognize nonbinary ways of understanding gender, the concept of nonbinary itself is also foreign to Burkina Faso. In fact, a small, largely liberal (even radical) western circle promotes the use of nonbinary. While I, as a researcher, promote the recognition of nonbinary in order to analyze and more fully understand the phenomenon of GBV in schools, I do not endorse pushing the concept into programs from the outside. This will be further discussed in Chapter 8.

Gendered Lens in Schools

Schools are inherently gendered and violence taking place in schools is often, if not always, gendered (as asserted by Bhana, 2013; Leach & Humphreys, 2007; Moma, 2015). Empirical research (Bhana, 2013; Connell, 2005; Leach, 2008; Moma, 2015) demonstrates the production and reproduction of gender dynamics through the use of violence to construct masculinity and femininity norms within schools in a range of countries, from North America to South Asia to sub-Sahara Africa. For this study, a gendered lens is applied to all violence reported to occur in schools, with the understanding that perhaps not all violence is part of gender discriminations. Therefore,

this study aligns with the notion that any act can be analyzed from a gendered lens because gender, just like other identities and constructs, is always present. However, I do not assert that each act of violence in school is linked to gender discrimination. For example, a verbal argument between a male student and a male teacher can be understood as a demonstration of hierarchal aggressive positioning of what it means to be masculine, and although the act may not be contributing to gender discrimination, within the right context, it could be. The jockeying for power and control could instead be linked to positional authority. However, a similar verbal exchange between a male and a female teacher most likely contributes to elements of gender discrimination. Due to the nature of this study, the analysis of how violent acts contribute to gender discrimination is not conducted, as violence was not observed in the study. However, I draw on previous research that has established components of GBV, such as the gendered nature of corporal punishment.

Defining Gender-Based Violence in Schools

International policy makers and advocates hope the use of a standardized gender-inclusive, internationally-recognized definition will assist in recognizing and combatting the prevalence of violence in school communities throughout the world. In 2008, the United States' Agency for International Development (USAID) developed one of the first working definitions of the newly coined term, school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV). The definition reads:

> School-related gender-based violence results in sexual, physical, or psychological harm to girls and boys. It includes any form of violence or abuse that is based on gendered stereotypes or that targets students on the basis of their sex. The

underlying intent of gender-based violence is to reinforce gender roles and

perpetuate gender inequalities. It includes, but is not limited to: rape, unwanted

sexual touching, unwanted sexual comments, corporal punishment, bullying, and

verbal harassment. Unequal power relations between adults and children and

males and females contribute to gendered violence. Violence can take place in

the school, on school grounds, going to and from school, or in school dormitories

and may be perpetrated by teachers, students, or community members. Both girls

and boys can be victims as well as perpetrators. (Management Systems

International, 2008, p. 1)

As research emerged revealing the prevalence and forms of gendered violence in

schools, Plan International released a report defining SRGBV 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. It also refers to the differences between girls' and boys' experience of

and vulnerabilities to violence." (Greene, Robles, Stout, & Suvilaakso, 2013, p.

5). More recently, UNESCO/UNGEI states, "School-related gender-based violence

(SRGBV) is defined as acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence

occurring in and around schools perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes,

and enforced by unequal power dynamics" (Global Guidance on School-Related Gender-

Based Violence, 2016 p. 20).

The older definitions identify children as possible victims of SRGBV, and the

USAID's definition details the possible types of violence. The longer, more specific

framing of the phenomenon limits the scope of the violence. A more concise, but general

definition of the violence, such as the one developed by UNESCO/UNGEI, captures the broad nature of gendered violence. For example, anyone can be a potential victim, including teachers and administrators. The acknowledgment of threats as SRGBV, as done in the most recent definition, demonstrates a more complete understanding of the manifestations of violence. Finally, the most recent definition clearly identifies the root and harm of SRGBV by explicitly stating the linkage between gendered violence and power. USAIDS' definition limits the understanding of power to authority in the perpetuation the violence. The definition used by Plan International has no mention of power or of inequality.

A limitation with using the term SRGBV to understand gendered violence in Burkina Faso is that the definition is constructed outside of Africa, largely by the Western international development community, but then implied when working in African schools, without much consideration for how gender and GBV are defined and understood in different contexts. Okafor and Murove (2016) articulate the concern by declaring, "One wonders how an African society can progress and establish the liberation of the enslaved others if it adopts the Western feminist agenda which perpetuates antagonism; the fight for self-assertion will never end" (p. 43). They go on to argue that existing African values such as *Ubuntu* are more appropriate to apply to confront gender inequalities. *Ubuntu* is an expression of overall respect for humanity and recognizes our collective oneness, but the authors' point was to draw on indigenous African practices to address issues around men and women (Okafor and Murove, 2016). Further, Connell (2000) and African feminists such as McFadden (2007, 2010) acknowledge, the disruption and influence of postcolonial development on gender norms and dynamics,

such as the introduction of a western dominated prototype of masculinity in postcolonial

Africa. Lugones (2007, 2008) goes further to use the term "gender coloniality" for the

colonial construct of gender. She not only rejects the definition of gender as defined by

the Western world, but also emphasizes that the concept does not apply to the southern

continents.   While definitions such as SRGBV are useful to discuss global trends in a

standardized fashion, these scholars articulate why it is imperative to consider how the

phenomenon is defined, understood, and addressed in context, through the diverse voice

of local actors. Throughout this dissertation, I avoid the use of the term SRGBV, but

rather use the terms gender-based violence and gendered violence in schools, with the

understanding, that different actors in different contexts define such terms differently.

Identity and Gender-Based Violence

To acknowledge that concepts of gender and violence are not universal is the first

step to adequately and hopefully, effectively, combat GBV in schools. Definitions and

discourse develop identities and, as Foucault (1981, 1988) asserts, such discourse creates

power. Specifically I argue that, within a previously colonialized society, it is

particularly important to give attention to how terms have been applied, and by whom, to

understand social construction of identity. Quist (2001) highlights this in West Africa by

examining how colonial influences have disrupted the African identity, including gender

constructs and formation of schooling, which contributes to conflict in societies today.

Within this competition for influence, the African self, including the diverse cultural and

religious beliefs indigenous to West Africa, continue unacknowledged, yet have influence

in communities. Neither the French colonizers nor the Arab traders held much value for

the contribution of the African cultural heritage, schooling, or spiritual beliefss, but

preferred to embed their own identities as well as their own constructs of gender norms in African societies (Ifamose, 2016; Okafor & Murove, 2016). Quist (2001) labels this phenomenon as the "triple cultural heritage" when analyzing the influence of the French Christian missionaries, Islamic Arab traders, and the existing African culture. Education through formal and informal schooling has been a major platform for carrying out this competition of influence between the East and the West (Quist, 2001; Sanneh, 1997). The reproduction of imposed identities occurs within a competitive, often oppressive setting, and creates conflict. The findings in this dissertation highlight how such competition for influence over the construction and narrative of gender identity and roles continues through international development discourse, national policies, and local social construction when addressing GBV in schools (see Chapter 8).

Forms and Prevalence of Gendered Violence

To further define the phenomenon of GBV, this section examines different forms of the violence and their prevalence within Burkina Faso. Gendered violence is a result of gender inequalities and attempts by the dominant group to keep their advantage in place by asserting their power and control. The use of violence is one means of asserting and maintaining existing power dynamics. This section starts off with a discussion of how gender inequalities are represented and is followed by a discussion of different ways GBV is demonstrated.

Gender Inequalities

The conditions throughout Burkina Faso are ripe for gendered violence. Gender inequalities remain disturbingly high across all institutional sectors. According to the new Gender Development Index (GDI), an index measuring life expectancy, average

years of school attainment for youth, mean of adults' education, and GNI per capita

between men and women, Burkina Faso had a .881 female to male ratio in

2014. Moreover, the country is ranked 144 out of 155 countries, with a score of .631, on

the Gender Inequality Index (GII), which measures reproductive health, empowerment,

and economic activity (UNDP, 2016).

Religious identifies and practices, along with ethnicity, may have some

implementations on the rate and forms of gender-based violence. The survey data

collected in Burkina Faso did not disaggregate by religious identity, though Some of the

data highlighted practices unique to certain ethnicities. This study does not include an

analysis of how religious and ethnic identities may have contributed to participants'

responses. It was not explored in the questions or did themes emerge from the data.

Public schools are not segregated by sex, but the effects of gender inequalities are

evident. Gender parity has not been achieved in primary school enrollment but has vastly

improved with 65% of boys and 61% of girls enrolled (Net Enrollment Rate (NER) 2008-

2012). Once in secondary school, there was a drastic drop in enrollment for both boys,

19%, and girls, 15% (NER, 2008-2012) and 33% of female youth were literate as

opposed to 47% of male youth between 2008-2012 ("Statistics: Burkina Faso," 2017).

As schools reproduce societal norms, gender norms exist in the schools, with male

teachers openly expressing bias in favor of boys, particularly in that they are the "strong"

sex and more intelligent; encouraging girls to be submissive in the back of the class; and

asking girls to do errands for school faculty (author's field observations, 2008-2010;

2016; 2018). Statistics demonstrate that girls are more likely to drop out, repeat a grade,

or fail out, but no statistics have been located on the percentage of dropouts directly linked to gendered violence in schools.

Throughout the country, the deeply ingrained patriarchal structure manifests in many observable practices, such as domination of men in the labor force, politics, and leadership positions. In 2014, female teachers made up 42% of the primary teacher workforce but only 16% of the secondary school teacher workforce ("Secondary Education, Teachers [% female]: Data," 2017). Exact data was not found on the percentage of women working at the administration level in schools, but the percentages are assumed to be even lower.

It is difficult for women to be part of policy making and decision making at both the national and community levels. Largely due to gender quotas implemented in 2006, the required 30% of female candidates ran for office in 2015. However, this quota system is weak in effectively correcting the low percentage of women who are in parliament. As opposed to setting a quota for the number of women to hold position in office, Burkina Faso set a quota for a required 30% of *candidates* to be women. Therefore, while a certain number of women must be on the ballot, there is no requirement for the number of women to actually serve in the government. In 2015, out of the 30% of women who ran for a position, only 0.6% of women were elected into office (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2016).

Women are not only underrepresented at the national level, but also at the local level. During the 1990s, when Burkina Faso was decentralizing and giving more autonomy and responsibility to local communities, schools were asked to set up a Student Parents' Association (*Association des Parents d'Elèves*, (APE)). In alignment with

gender practices, the men took over the APE in each primary and secondary school. The director of a Regional Office for Basic Education and Literacy (*Direction Régionale de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation*, DREBA), Saidou Ouédraogo, decided to work with the women by developing a separate Mothers' Association (*Association des Mères Educatrices*, AME) so that women and mothers in the community could have a space to operate in school communities. Launched in the town of Leo, this initiative was largely successful. In fact, the women went on to create an association to combat GBV in schools (Compaoré, 2006; S. Ouédraogo, personal communication, December 9, 2009). Due to this success, the AME was scaled up nationally, with each primary and secondary school required to have both an APE and an AME. However, the government's method of implementation recreated oppressive gendered norms, making it difficult for women to control the group. In a case study of an AME in the northern region, women were directed by the male director and APE president to perform tasks such as cleaning the classrooms. Moreover, government officials working with AMEs and APEs throughout the country reported the resentment of the men in APEs toward the formation of AMEs, as the men were not consulted or involved in the implementation, as they were in the original model. They consequently chose to block any ability for the women of the AMEs to be independent (Spear, n.d.). The lack of local and national participation in policy making by women illuminates barriers for women's voices to be heard and incorporated into policies. Further, this example highlights the importance of considering societal norms to be successful in fighting those same norms.

Documentation of Gender-Based Violence

In 2017, UNICEF published a global report called *A Familiar Face* documenting the most extensive evidence of violence against children. It illustrates a concerning rate of sexual, physical, and emotional violence taking place in and around schools. The report found bullying to be the most epidemic form of violence, with one in three students between the ages of 13 to 15, experiencing bullying regularly. Millions of students are victims of sexual and physical violence, including corporal punishment (UNICEF, 2017). While both boys and girls are victims of all forms of gendered violence in schools, girls are more likely to experience psychological bullying, cyberbullying, sexual violence, and harassment, while boys are reported to be subject to physical corporal punishment at higher rates (Leach, Dunne & Salvi, 2014; UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

Exact numbers to determine the extent of GBV in schools are difficult to establish due to underreporting, the hidden nature of many manifestations of the violence, and the lack of disaggregated data by sex or location. Certain acts of violence, such as corporal punishment, are reported at a higher rate than more sensitive acts of violence, such as sexual harassment and assault, perhaps because of actual higher prevalence rates or due to the taboo of reporting other types of violence. This creates potential questions around the validity of measurements. Additionally, attention has not been spread evenly through geographical regions. For example, the majority of research into sexual violence in schools has taken place in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in the Southern and Eastern regioNarés, while bullying and homophobic violence has been the focus of study in the Western part of the world (Leach & Sitaram, 2007; UNESCO & UN Women, 2016;

UNICEF, 2014, 2017).   This is not to say that one form or another is more prevalent in one geographical area than another but that the focus of researchers has highlighted certain forms of GBV in different areas of the world.

Measuring and Reporting Gender-Based Violence in Burkina Faso

There has been no comprehensive study on the prevalence of gendered violence in public schools in Burkina Faso. I have seen no evidence of a reporting mechanism that uses an internationally or nationally accepted definition of GBV in schools, so while there is some data about the various manifestations of violence against women (VAW) and GBV in Burkina Faso that confirms the existence, the scale of the phenomenon in the country's schools is inconclusive. Before the government of Burkina Faso and the international community started to acknowledge and combat GBV in schools, they focused on VAW. VAW is widespread in Burkina Faso, as in all countries, despite underreporting of incidences. Most recent official statistics in 2004 showed 47 cases of VAW in Hauts-Bassins, 42 cases in Centre-West, 27 cases in the Sahel and Centre, and 20 cases in the Central Plateau (Zaré, Yaro, & Dan-Koma, 2008). Commonly referred to with the more inclusive term of GBV, the definition of such violence includes forms of sexual, physical, and psychological manifestations of abuse. Reports themselves acknowledges that these numbers are most likely much lower than the actual prevalence rate due to underreporting.

Pregnancy rate among school girls.

In Burkina Faso, it is taboo to discuss sexual relationships (consensual or forced) (Devers, Henry, Hofmann, & Banabdallah, 2012; Diawara, Compaoré, De Cecco, & Rouamba, 2013). However, in recent years, the government and civil society have

acknowledged the problem indirectly, by addressing the high rate of unwanted pregnancies among female pupils, many of whom are not married (Diawara et al., 2013). The incidence of unwanted pregnancies, as visual evidence of sex relations, opens an opportunity to explore by whom and under what circumstances girls are getting pregnant. A survey by Diawara et al. (2013) records 47 incidences of school girls becoming pregnant in two schools in the East region and 25 school girls from three schools in the North region during the 2011-2012 school year. The Directorate of Inclusive Education, Girls' Education and Gender (*Direction de la Promotion de l'Education inclusive, de l'Education des Filles et du Genre* (DPEIEFG), estimates that there was an average of 100 school girls' pregnancies in each of the 13 regions during the 2009-2010 school year. This estimate is closely aligned with data collected by the Regional Directorate of Basic Education and Literacy (*Direction Régionale de l'Enseignement de Base de l'Alphabétisation* (DREBA) in the North. The DREBA reported 227 school girls' pregnancies in 2013-2014, 110 school girls' pregnancies in 2014-2015, and 84 pregnancies in 2015-2016. The decrease in reported pregnancies in the region was explained by the success of awareness trainings. However, on the national level, local media reports that school girls' pregnancies increased in 2016 with approximately 6,000 reported pregnancies nationwide ("Burkina Faso: More than 6,000 Schoolgirl Pregnancies in 2016," 2019).

Of 63 pregnant students participating in a national survey in 2012, seven reported that a teacher impregnated them and five of these reported the father to be a civil servant (which could be a teacher, or an employee in another sector). Twenty-one girls stated a fellow student was responsible. All other girls reported that the father was someone

outside the school community (Diawara et al., 2013). None of the reports disaggregated whether the pregnancies occurred inside or outside of a marriage; however, it is possible that pregnancies that occurred inside a marriage were not reported, as they were not seen as undesirable, even though they are often undesired at the time for the school girl.

Sexual violence.

Sexual violence, abuse, and harassment, all included as GBV, are difficult to define, making it challenging to create effective research methodologies to gain insight about the issue. Although sexual violence is most commonly thought of as rape and forced sexual acts, it also includes humiliations and intimations that are not necessarily physical in nature. Sexual harassment comprises of unwanted comments, gestures, and advances of a sexual nature (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014).

While the prevalence of sexual violence is documented, there is overwhelming acknowledgment of underreporting, and significant obstacles to reporting, including the lack of official reporting mechanisms and victims' fear of reporting the violence. UNICEF estimates that approximately one in 10 girls globally (120 million girls) experience sexual violence in schools (UNICEF, 2014). Plan International estimates, worldwide, 150 million girls and 73 million boys are victims of sexual violence in schools each year (Greene et al., 2013). A survey of male and female youth between the ages of 12 and 17 in eight African countries revealed one in every five respondents were rape survivors (CIET, 2007, cited in Forsyth-Queen, Gonzalez, & Meehan, 2015). The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) reports that two out of five school principals in the region were aware of sexual harassment occurring between pupils in their primary

schools (GMR, UNESCO, & UNGEI, 2015). Of the sexual violence reported in 2011-2012 in South African schools, 40.2% involved children under the age of 12 (Bhana, 2013). Of the girls and young women who reported being raped in South African schools, 32.8% state they were attacked by their teachers (George, 2001). Using a random sample, USAIDs' Safe School Program finds that some form of gendered violence occurred in all of the 40 schools surveyed in Malawi. Perpetrators included male and female teachers and students (DevTech Systems, 2007). A qualitative study in India found that school girls reported boys harassing them in a sexual manner in the classroom and on the way to and from school. This harassment was reported as love notes and teasing, as well as touching and bumping into the girls (Leach & Humphreys, 2007). Girls from marginalized groups (e.g., lower caste or living in poverty) have an even higher risk of being victims of sexual violence (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

Sexual violence occurs in public and private spaces in Burkina Faso. There is a concern about the increased rate of sexual violence perpetrated by boys in the community. Statistics in 2007 demonstrate an increase in reporting of sexual violence against minors, with many of the perpetrators part of the extended family. Gang rape, called "train" or "ship" takes place, often as a way for adolescent boys to lose their virginity (Zaré et al., 2008). There have not been any recent surveys conducted to attempt to measure the rate of sexual violence in or outside of the school environment in the country.

In Burkina Faso, 45% of high schoolers report that teachers approach school girls for sexual favors while 24% of students state they knew of a male teacher who sexually seduced a female student. Teachers and students report that, at times, teachers demand

sexual favors from students, usually girls in return for passing grades. If the girls refuse, the teacher fails them, often risking their ability to pass the grade or even continue with their schooling. This culture of "sexually transmitted grades" (STG) is pervasive (Devers et al., 2012; author's field observations, 2016). A recent report from Human Rights Watch documented similar trends in Senegal. Female students report having relationships with teachers that were a result of coercion (Human Rights Watch, 2018a).

Other forms of gender-based violence.

Physical and verbal GBV, including bullying, contribute to the reproduction of gender constructs and enforce existing discrimination. Research (Aikman & Rao, 2012; Kalu, 2005; Lloyd, 2013; Miske, 2013; Morojele, 2013) found that teachers are more verbally aggressive with girls, often sending the message that they are less intelligent than boys, as well as socializing boys to believe that displaying physical aggression, through fighting and harassing both girls and other boys in school, is an appropriate part of being a boy (Dunne et al., 2006).

Evidence of other forms of gendered violence, such as physical and psychological violence was documented by an independent study on sexual harassment against girls in Burkina Faso. In primary school, 73% of girls surveyed reported physical violence, 84% of the girls reported verbal violence, and 65% of the girls said there was psychological violence occurring in their schools. Half of the primary school faculty confirmed that such violence takes place in schools (Devers et al., 2012).

Bullying.

UNICEF defines bullying as "unpleasant" words or action done to a student by (an)other student(s) (UNICEF, 2017, p.38). Bullying in schools is a problem of epic

proportions in all countries. Bullying is manifested through all forms of GBV: physical, verbal, and psychological. Perpetrated by administrators, teachers, and students, and experienced by both girls and boys, bullying is linked to attempts to construct and demonstrate dominance through a hierarchical masculinity (Mills, 2001). In Botswana, Ghana, and South Africa, 80% of students reported being bullied monthly, with 50% saying they were bullied weekly (Kibriya et al., 2016). While research (Carrera-Fernandez, Lameiras-Fernandez, Rodriguez-Castro, & Vallejo-Medina, 2013; Hussein, 2010) found that girls and boys reported being bullied at comparable rates, the form of bullying varied with girls experiencing psychological bullying more than boys. Males are victims of more physical acts of bullying. Boys are more likely to be perpetrators of bullying.

Homophobic bullying, a type of bullying motivated by real or imagined sexual orientation or identity that is viewed as nonconforming with heteronormative gender norms, is one of the most common forms of bullying worldwide. Over 60% of students who self-identified as lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, or transgender (LGBT) in Chile, Mexico, and Peru, and 55% of LGBT students in Thailand, experienced bullying. In the United Kingdom, more than 90% of secondary school students state that homophobic bullying occurs in their school. In Norway, LGBT students are 50% more likely to be bullied than their peers. LGBT students in New Zealand are more likely than other categories of students to be bullied (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).   Notably, there is an absence of statistics on homophobic violence, including bullying, in sub-Saharan Africa's schools.

Gender identity is not a synonym for sexuality. Sexual identity is interrelated with gender constructs but a person's display of masculine or feminine traits does not

dictate their sexual identity. Nevertheless, because gendered violence encompasses homophobic violence, when analyzing gender, one must be mindful of the various understandings of sexual identity and how those understandings manifest in a particular culture. Bhana's research on gendered violence in South Africa (2013) finds there is a problematic nature of heterosexualizing gender in schools by excluding homophobic violence.

Bullying of any nature is not labelled as bullying but discussed as verbal or physically violence in Burkina Faso, thus it often gets included in physical violence. There are no statistics on bullying nor have any studies been done to examine the phenomenon in the country.

Corporal punishment.

Corporal punishment is a "purposeful and frequent infliction of pain by those in authority in a formal and ritualized way in an institutional setting historically promoted violent masculinities" (Morrell, 2001, p. 140). Greene et al. (2013) estimate up to 80% of students in some countries received corporal punishment while attending school. In West Africa, reports show that 50% of all primary school students endured corporal punishment (Antonowicz, 2010). About half of all students worldwide have no legal protection from corporal punishment in schools (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). In countries, such as South Africa and Burkina Faso, school-based corporal punishment is unlawful but continues (Morrell, 2001).

Girls and boys experience corporal punishment differently, with boys often being exposed to more frequent and violent physical corporal punishment, seemingly as part of indoctrination into masculinity (Humphreys, 2008). Studies (Dunne et al., 2006;

Humphreys, 2008; Morrell, 2001) conclude that corporal punishment reinforces negative gender norms by giving students messages that aggression is masculine and passivity is appropriate for girls and women. This is seen in the acceptance and willingness of boys to challenge such punishments and girls to avoid and act frightened. Morrell (2001) surveyed school children in South Africa and found that while there has been a decrease in corporal punishment since it became unlawful, it continues. Interestingly, girls from a prominent white, girls' school reported no change because they had never been subjected to corporal punishment, suggesting that the practice of applying physical corporal punishment is aligned with race and socio-economic class as well as gender. This trend is seen in the United States as well where boys from lower socio-economic classes are subject to strict punishments (Morrell, 2001).

Psychological violence.

Psychological violence, as part of GBV, is defined in Burkina Faso as violence that berates a person's mental wellbeing. Verbal abuse, such as insults, is included in the definition, along with other types of violence against women and men. Other examples of this violence are isolation, neglect, or discrimination due to one's gender or gender performance. This type of violence is commonplace in Burkina Faso, with girls and women most frequently the victims. Men are free to insult and humiliate women in society. Married women do not have much protection against husbands, who are often the sole household providers, if the husband refuses to care for one or more of his wives and her/their children. Women are run out of homes and villages if they fail to follow gender norms, for example if they get pregnant outside of marriage or if they are older

women living alone without a husband or children. Often girls and women do not have the ability to speak out against psychological abuse (Zaré et al., 2008).

Forced and early marriage.

Forced and early marriage in Burkina Faso is commonplace, despite its illegality. Burkina Faso does allow girls to be married before their 18th birthdays, if approved by courts which often rules in favor of the parents' wishes, but often girls are married against their will at an even earlier age without legal consent. The Ministry of Social Action and National Solidarity, referred as Action Sociale recorded 6,325 girls and 860 boys who were forced to marry between 2009 and 2013, averaging about 1000 children a year. International figures estimate that one out of two girls (52%) in Burkina Faso will be married before the age of 18 (Population Council & UNFPA, 2016). In the Sahel region, 51% of girls between the ages of 15–17 are already married (Amnesty International, 2016) with a rate of 86% of child marriage (under the age of 18). The East region has the second highest prevalence at 76% ("Burkina Faso—Child Marriage Around The World," 2017). There may be several reasons for disparity between the government and international statistics. Methodological reasons may contribute to the explanation, such as how forced marriage is defined and how the data were collected. Due to the international pressure to decrease the practice, there is also an incentive for the government to report lower numbers of forced marriage. Disrupting the practice is difficult due to the deeply entrenched cultural and social norms of the practice throughout society. Often forced and/or early marriage occurs as a response to economic poverty as well as gender discrimination. Often, parents fear that their daughters will get pregnant before marriage, thus they prefer to marry them sooner.

The Ministry of National Education and Literacy (*Ministère de l'Education Nationale et de l'Alphabétisation*, (MENA) acknowledges forced marriage as a form of gendered violence and a great barrier to girls' education. Nevertheless, there is currently no national school program to educate and raise awareness against forced and early marriage. The government adopted the National Strategy for the Prevention and Elimination of Child Marriage 2016-2025 (*Plan d'Actions Operationnel Triennal de la Strategie Nationale de Prevention et d'Elimination du Mariage d'Enfants au Burkina Faso*), aimed at a 20% reduction of child marriage by 2025 (Amnesty International, 2016). In Burkina Faso, married girls and girls with children are legally allowed to continue schooling. This does occur when the husband or family gives permission and there is childcare at home for young children. Teachers have reported intervening on behalf of a female student to advocate for delaying marriage arranged by the parents (author's field observations, 2008-2010, 2016, 2018).

This section demonstrates the prevalence of different forms of GBV throughout Burkina Faso. Despite policies and laws forbidding forms of such violence, research, including national surveys, confirms the audacious continuation of physical and sexual violence against women. These acts are commonplace throughout different public and private spaces, but increased attention is being given to gendered violence in and around school communities. Forms of the violence can be intertwined. For example, if a girl resists a sexual advance from a boy/man, he may become physically violent toward her or another, to exert his masculinity (Moma, 2015). Morrell (2001) concludes, "For a female to refuse to have sex is to call into question the male's masculinity and when this

happens, violence frequently results" (p. 155). Though this dissertation reviews categories of GBV separately, they should not be seen as separate from each other.

Spaces Where Gender-Based Violence Occurs

Global reports (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; UNESCO & UN Women, 2016) clearly demonstrate that gendered violence is happening to millions of schoolchildren in classrooms throughout the world, though it does not manifest identically in each geographical region. Unsupervised areas, such as latrines, the route to and from school, and playgrounds, prove to be more vulnerable to incidents of gendered violence (Moma, 2015; Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; Leach & Sitaram, 2007).

Qualitative studies such as Bhana's (2005) and Moma's (2015) explored playgrounds as spaces where gender identities develop or are shaped, often through aggression and passivity. These studies observed how boys established their masculinity through physical and sexual aggression toward girls. In turn, girls learned how to avoid becoming victims or at least to minimize the violence done toward them, by submitting, if they could not avoid, rather than challenging such masculine demonstrations (Moma, 2015). Rural and urban girls in southern India identified that they felt less safe around the entrance of school grounds where male shop owners and sellers are located as well as on their way to and from school. Urban girls reported avoiding buses and public transportation while rural girls made efforts to walk in groups on isolated paths. Girls in rural outdoor classrooms felt uncomfortable being exposed to men around the school because if a girl caught a man's eye, he would often follow her home, harassing her in some form along the way (Leach & Sitaram, 2007).

Scope of Problem: Consequences of Gender-Based Violence

One of the consequences of GBV in schools is the perpetuation of inequalities exhibited through reinforced gender norms, roles, and dynamics. Patriarchal systems and structures are reinforced through violence and the consequences of violence. The negative health, psychological, educational, and financial repercussions of the violence exasperate inequalities and make it more difficult for institutions and individuals to correct gender inequalities.

There is an absence of quantitative data documenting the exact consequences and costs of GBV in Burkina Faso, but government reports cite educational, health, psychological, and societal risks as a result of GBV in schools. Victims of gendered violence in schools are reported to have higher rates of absenteeism and are more likely to drop out of school. Government reports find high rates of unwanted pregnancies, which are often attributed to sexual violence, and express concern for increased sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS due to sexual violence. A national report on violence in schools suggests, without reporting specific evidence, that school children experiencing gendered violence in schools have higher rates of depression, anxiety, and other psychological issues that disturb their schooling (Diawara et al., 2013; MESS, 2012).

Health Risks

Gendered violence in schools creates public health risks, particularly with respect to HIV/AIDS (Bhana, 2013). Women and girls make up 60% of those living with HIV/AIDs in sub-Saharan Africa. This statistic is linked to the inability to negotiate sexual relationships with men (Muhanguzi, 2011). In addition, sexual violence can result

in unwanted pregnancies, STDs, and increased risky sexual behavior (UNESCO & UN
Women, 2016). There is evidence of increased anxiety, depression, anger, and low self-
esteem that can lead to suicide, self-harm, and other disorders resulting from all forms of
GBV in schools, particularly chronic violence. Those experiencing GBV in schools can
experience loss in memory and symptoms of post-traumatic stress symptoms (Leach,
Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

Educational Achievement

Research (Kibriya et al., 2016; Muhanguzi, 2011; Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013;
UNESCO & UN Women, 2016) demonstrates that students experiencing violence in
schools are more likely to perform poorly in school. Already, gender discrimination and
bias negatively affect girls' academic achievement, particularly throughout sub-Saharan
Africa (Dunne et al., 2005). Health problems and trauma responses, described in the
previous section, decrease students' ability to focus and academically perform in
classrooms. For example, students in South Africa who are victims of violence in
schools reported feeling depressed, loss of concentration, lost time in class, and thus
performing worse academically (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). The report *Global Guidance
on School-Related Gender-Based Violence* (2016) cites lack of concentration and
inability to study resulting in poor grades as well as poor attendance and dropping out of
school as consequences of gendered violence. In Uganda, girls spoke of changing
schools because of harassment as well as skipping school (Muhanguzi, 2011). In a
quantitative analysis using data from the Progress in International Reading Literacy
Study (PIRLS) and Trends in Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) in Botswana,
Ghana, and South Africa, Kibriya et al. (2016) found a negative relationship between

bullying and academic performance, though it is not clear if there is causation or in what direction. However, students who experienced bullying also performed lower than students who did not report being bullied.

However, despite the accepted notion that gendered violence in schools has negative consequences on students' academic performance, there is no conclusive evidence. Prinsloo (2006) finds no relationship between sexual violence and educational achievement (based on test scores and literacy) in South Africa. Girls appeared to be performing equal to boys on test scores and youth literacy rates in South Africa in both primary and secondary schools. Kibriya et al. (2016) acknowledge other influential factors on students' academic performance, such as sex, age, location, parents' education experience, and quality of schooling. Thus, it is difficult to draw a direct relationship between GBV occurring in schools and academic performance. Nevertheless, the documented damaging effects of being a victim of such violence are clear and can be linked to increased obstacles to academic learning.

Financial Costs

Costs resulting from gendered violence in schools are high for the state, school, and individual. There is no clear way to determine the exact cost, but USAID reports an estimated US$17 billion loss for low and middle income countries due to GBV-related costs (USAID, 2015). UNICEF found that in the United States, US$14 billion is spent on treatment, prosecution, and loss of income due to violence against children annually. Schools in Brazil lose an estimated US$1 million per year (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Victims of gendered violence in educational settings are burdened with

costs of medical and psychological treatment and care, loss of income and schooling, and costs associated with prosecution, if applicable (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014).

According to the previous sections, the consequences ofgendered violence in schools throughout Burkina Faso are likely extensive and diverse. For a low-resource country, preventing the violence is less costly than continuing to absorb the harm, often at a higher cost to individual victims, their family and community. The government has been committed to increasing academic achievement, lowering preventable health concerns, and increasing the quality of life for women and girls since the 1990s with the help of Education For All (EFA) and other initiatives. Addressing gendered violence in schools is one way to demonstrate this commitment in practical terms. Additional research will help guide the government and other stakeholders in developing clarity in how to most effectively work to end GBV in schools.

Contributing Factors of Gender-Based Violence in Schools

Contributing factors such as poverty, poor school systems, taboos surrounding sex, and the stigma around reporting make it difficult to prevent and combat gendered violence. Though not the root cause (for framing of the root cause, hegemonic masculinity, see Chapter 2) of the violence, these factors, if not addressed, continue to allow an environment unprotected from gendered violence with absence of justice for victims (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

Structural and Institutional Poverty

Poverty, at both systemic and individual levels, contributes to the scale of the violence. Poverty is linked to GBV (Mirsky, 2003, cited in Management Systems International, 2008). In a culture where basic needs are not being met, it is

understandable that the public-school system is severely underfunded resulting in poor school infrastructure, untrained teachers, and lack of resources, which often limits access to education and the ability for the state to provide safe learning conditions for students. Girls living in poverty are particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation in exchange for access to material and financial gains, including school fees and classroom materials such as books and uniforms (UNICEF, 2017).

Absence of or weak laws, enforcement, and protection.

Lack of legislation, institutionalized patriarchy, conflict, corruption, unstable government, and weak institutions contribute to gendered violence and make it difficult to prevent and prosecute, leaving victims and witnesses unprotected (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Despite an increase of national policies in many countries, there continues to be little attention to the gender dynamics perpetuating the violence (Parkes, Heslop, Johnson Ross, Westerveld, & Unterhalter, 2016). Students in countries with inadequate or unenforced laws and policies are more vulnerable to violence, and this is particularly the case for marginalized groups. Additionally, there is likely to be a lack of official reporting mechanisms and little coordination between local, national, and nongovernmental agencies, if there are programs present to address the violence (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014).

Under-resourced school systems.

There are multiple layers to the contributing factors of poor school systems. Without proper budgeting and resources, it is difficult for school systems to enforce existing policies, manage reliable recording mechanisms, provide, or access support services to victims (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014).

Additionally, a lack of school infrastructure creates unsafe environments and facilitates the occurrence of gendered violence. The lack of or poorly maintained latrines force students to be in unsupervised areas. The lack of a wall or barrier around the school property makes regulation of who is entering and exiting the school area difficult. Overcrowded schools make violence easier and more difficult to witness and stop. Leach & Sitaram (2007) found that poor school facilities lend opportunities for harassment of school girls in India, such as being visible to men in outside classrooms or being crammed into overcrowded classes.

Many schools worldwide lack adequate resources, personnel, and training to implement procedures, class management systems, and policies that help create order in the school and classrooms. South African students identify school violence (not necessarily identified by students as gendered in nature) due to a lack of student discipline, crime in the surrounding community, and general "intolerance" within the school (Ncontsa & Shumba, 2013). Massart (2007, cited in Management Systems International, 2008) found that underpaid teachers in West Africa compensate for low pay by obtaining free labor for household chores and sexual favors from school girls.

Family Poverty

Research (Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006) establishes links between living in poverty and increased likelihood of being a victim of violence. Consequences of poverty, such as a lack of access to resources, lack of awareness of rights, low social status leading to marginalization, and food insecurity, make children, including those who attend school, more vulnerable to violence. Poor households are more likely to have limited capacities to know of or acknowledge the occurrence of gendered violence as well as to

be able to protect and respond once they become aware of the occurrence. Children of lower economic status have less protection when abuse or addiction is present in the home (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

Poverty leads to violence as a learned behavior. "Children learn that might is right" (Bhana, 2005, p. 100) when fighting for scarce resources in school such as food, water, a seat in an overcrowded classroom, school supplies, and other material resources. With women and children most likely to receive the brunt of such aggressive behavior when vying for resources, gender inequalities are manifested and continued. An example of this is when a girl has a snack and a bigger, stronger boy bullies her physically and steals the snack, as observed in a South Africa school playground (Bhana, 2005).

Silence and Stigma

A victim's complicity, resulting from reinforced gender norms, can continue and contribute to violence. Girls are taught to be silent or find passive "solutions" once they become victims of violence. It is common for a girl to drop out of school rather than report violence. Gendered violence is "allowed" to persist when "Girls being 'quiet' can be mistaken for the girls' complicity and makes it easy for boys to see it as legitimate to use... violence." (Moma, 2015, p. 46).

Devers et al.'s (2012) study of GBV in West Africa's schools identifies four obstacles that may inhibit survivors from reporting violence: lack of knowledge of rights, ineffective judicial system, absence of support services, and stigma. Factors such as community stigmatizing victims and fear of retaliation encourages a culture of silence around GBV in schools (Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; Pinheiro, 2006; Porter, 2015). Threats and further violence can be a result of breaking these norms. Female teachers,

often the ones pressured to respond and protect students from violence, are even more at risk, due to their vulnerability (Bhana, 2015; Porter, 2015; Stromquist et al., 2013).

      Teachers' (in)abilities to be change agents.

      With the narrative that teaching is a moral profession as a career of service, comes the assumption that teachers can and should serve as the first line of defense to prevent and eliminate injustices and discriminations (Fullan, 1993). There are difficulties for teachers to serve as changes agents including but not limited to their ability to communicate needs, access the resources needed to facilitate changes, as well as to be willing and able to absorb the consequences of asking for change (Hill, 1971).

      Theorists, such as Freire and Giroux, position teachers as change agents, capable of raising consciousness to address social issues (Freire, 1970, 2005; Giroux, 2003). Nevertheless, studies (Bhana, 2015; Cardozo, 2014; Gardinier, 2012; Stromquist et al., 2013) in a range of developing countries, from South Africa, to Bolivia, to Albania, demonstrate a dualist competitive reality between serving as agents of reproduction versus agents of change. Qualitative analysis of teachers' discourse in South Africa showed how the teachers mirrored society's homophobic attitudes in their classrooms (Bhana, 2012). It is well known that teachers perpetuate gendered violence in schools (Devers et al., 2012; Humphreys, 2008; UNICEF, 2017) but there is limited research on how teachers act as change agents in confronting GBV in schools.

      The INGO and national NGO communities traditionally use teachers as change agents to address social issues. INGOs, such as PLAN International and the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) have developed training programs for teachers to assist the government in reducing GBV in schools. The potential success of this

approach when addressing gendered violence is complicated by the fact that teachers live and operate within societal gender norms. As one theory of development, the diversity development discourse approach demonstrates, people do act and respond to inequalities, though often in different ways than outside development projects, demonstrating the individual agency discussed within the framework for this study (Rogers, 2004). An example of this is seen in a group of secondary school teachers in a southern town in Burkina Faso who organized and created a local association, t he Association for the Promotion of Women and Girls' Education (*L'Association pour la Promotion de l'Éducation des Filles et des Femmes* (APEFF). The APEFF has teamed up with theU.S. Peace Corps and FAWE to raise awareness around the issues through trainings and community activities (Spear, 2018). However, the women mostly support victims and potential victims within the community through informal ways, with the social norms of their society, such as not reporting the perpetrator to the police but rather working with community officials to hold them accountable through informal means (author's field observations, 2016; 2018).

As with other differences seen along social class lines discussed earlier, the responses to gendered violence can manifest differently among different social classes. Teachers in Burkina Faso are considered middle class as civil servants, despite their low salary. This may be why there has been organizations among female teachers an urban area, such as the APEFF, rather than among community women in the rural areas of the country.

International Policy Response

Starting in 1960 with the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education, the international community has demonstrated some commitment to securing a safe education for all children. Treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), along with international declarations for free and safe schooling, as well as some indirect language in the 2015-2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), are important tools in recognizing the phenomenon of GBV in schools at a global level. The international community historically has been able to shame and pressure governments into addressing human rights issues within their borders through such treaties and agreements. However, there is an obvious limit to these documents, in that they are not law binding, thus not enforceable, and do not directly protect individuals.

International Responses to Gendered Violence in Burkina Faso's Schools

Key actors, such as the government, international organizations, and civil society create programs, policies, and other responses to address violence against women, girls' education, and most recently, GBV in the school environment. The government acknowledges the work of the nongovernment sector, which often takes the lead in advocacy and programming. The government accepts this power dynamic in terms of economics: the government does not have the money to attend fully to such matters, but the international community does and therefore should be proactive in implementing programmatic responses. The same organizations assist in developing and advocating for stronger policies.

Historically, the main INGOsworking to improve women's rights in Burkina Faso are Plan International Burkina, Catholic Relief Service, Oxfam (now merged with IBIS Burkina), Amnesty International, OCADES, and World Relief. Many nongovernmental, international, and community-based organizations have implemented programs to fight against GBV. These programs emphasize training teachers, such as the U.S. Peace Corps' Student Friendly Schools and USAID's Doorways program. Plan International and the FAWE have programs that use a holistic model to create safe spaces within school communities by improvng school infrastructure, teacher training, and girls' clubs. Additionally, international agencies such as the United Nations, World Health Organization (WHO), and the World Bank continue to consult the government, influence policies, and oversee programs aimed at achieving international development goals, including those related to reducing and eliminating GBV (Zaré et al., 2008).

Governmental Response to International Initiatives

Burkina Faso has made efforts to implement laws and policies to protect children from violence. The CEDAW, CRC, the Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), all contain articles that protect women and children against violence, discrimination, and gender inequalities, as well as children's right to safe schooling. By ratifying these treaties, Burkina Faso has signaled its cooperation with the international community's call for protection against gendered violence in schools (Beninger, 2013; Devers et al., 2012).

For the past decade, the international development community has encouraged national governments to implement policies and teacher training to prevent and protect

against GBV in schools. This encouragement led the Government of Burkina Faso to work with INGOs, national NGOs, and CBOs to address gender-related violence. Policies were written around the rights of women and children while the government established agencies addressing gendered violence. National teacher unions work with the government to create standards of conduct for teachers, including conduct which addressing forms of GBV in school. In addition to working with the government, the unions also take the lead in protesting government action, often through organized national teacher strikes. There have been teacher strikes to defend teachers accused of sexual GBV but, while organized by local teachers who are part of unions, an union official stated that national unions are not part of such protests. Additionally, the unions have representatives on the Disciplinary Council of the MENA and may have some influence on teachers' solidarity, which was found to contribute to teachers' unwillingness to report GBV (Spear, under review).

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the global concern around GBV in schools with a particular focus on the documented prevalence in Burkina Faso. With major international organizations such as UNICEF and INGOs such as Plan International issuing comprehensive reports and calls to action, a commitment toward addressing GBV in schools is stronger than ever. Using international development benchmarks, such as the Sustainable Development Goals, the international community is working with governments to establish research, policies, and programming to provide safer school environments.

An international working definition for GBV has emerged over the past decades. Categorizing violence allows a more measurable means for observing the violence, conducting research, and developing interventions. Nevertheless, as demonstrated in this chapter, defining concepts of gender and GBV is not universal. Gendered violence does not manifest within neat boxes but is rather a fluid combination of violent expressions as means to continue established power dynamics among men and women. Occurrences of gendered violence reinforce gender inequalities throughout society and within schools. The literature presentshow history, discourse, hegemonic influences, and constructed identities influence how the phenomenonis understood at both the global and local levels. Such tension, and recognition that discourse, meanings, and definitions are not universally held make this dissertation relevant, particularly in light of the lack of research capturing how teachers define GBV and the concepts that are explicitly linked to the violence, such as gender and power.

Within the highly unequal Burkinabè society, there is a documented prevalence of forms of gendered violence in and around schools, in addition to the current responses to combat such violence. The established patriarchal and hierarchical structureseen within society, allows a fertile environment for GBV to occur. As seen throughout the world, studies establish a concerning trend of sexual violence in schools, with male teachers being categorized as potential predators. Research captures the abuse of power used by someteachers to coerce school girls into sexual relationships. While physical and verbal violence are documented and acknowledged in Burkina Faso's schools, bullying is not directly addressed, whereas it isa major focus in North America and Western Europe.

Reports and country assessments on violence against women and GBV in schools, largely between 2008-2012, offered evidence of a governmental commitment to address and take accountability for gendered violence in schools. The presence of many of the factors known to contribute to GBV, such as poverty and weak policies, and a deep stigma around sex, make Burkina Faso's schools primed for GBV, and without intervention, the prevalence will continue.

Notably, there have been no recent reports following up on the nature of the phenomenon since the reports published between 2008-2012, despite continued INGO and NGO support for programs aimed at creating safer school environments, thus it is unclear if the interventions have led to lower prevalence.   Despite the increase in programs and policies addressing violence against women, challenges remain as to how to effectively address GBV in Burkina Faso. The mentioned INGO and NGO programs and government strategies incorporate teacher training to combat the violence; therefore, this study aims to build on the research examined in this chapter to generate a better understanding of how teachers can or cannot serve as change agents. The next chapter outlines the research questions and the framework used to conduct this vertical case study.

CHAPTER 2: Research Questions and Framework

There are gaps in the research that informs policy and programming around gender-based violence (GBV) in schools.   Despite the role of teachers as potential change agents, there is limited research examining teachers' relationships with gendered violence in schools, with much of the research focusing on the prevalence rate among school children and the consequences they suffer from the violence (Human Rights Watch, 2018a; Fiona Leach et al., 2014; Theirworld, 2018). Acknowledging the missing scholarly research on teachers' relationships with GBV in schools, this study examined how policies addressed GBV in secondary schools as well as how teachers understood and used gender and school policies to respond to the violence. To look at the phenomenon of gendered violence in schools, I asked: (1) To what extent do government policies define and address GBV in schools and include mechanisms to hold secondary schools accountable in Burkina Faso? (2) Given that such policies exist, how effective are the mechanisms and procedures for implementation and enforcement at a regional and school level? (3) How do the secondary school teachers understand and define the existing violence? (4) What factors, such as policy implementation and the social construction of the phenomenon, contribute to teachers' decisions on how to address GBV?

These research questions examined the phenomenon of gendered violence in schools through policies discourse, constructed at the national level with international partnerships to be implemented through the regional level to the school level. I examined the historical, social, and economic influences on teachers that shape their understanding of gender and violence and how they addressed the phenomenon, as well as how policies

influence their behaviors. The historical and social dimensions along with the multiple levels of analysis of this vertical case study attempt to provide insight into teachers' relationships with gendered violence occurring in schools as well as how, if at all, policies constrained or enabled teachers' actions against this violence.

With the first research question (see Chapter 4) I looked at how national policies define and construct gender and violence with a review of the mechanisms of relevant national laws and policies that enforce laws combatting forms of GBV. To address the second research question (see Chapter 5), I explored the procedures of policy implementation, as well as how policy makers' discourse aligned with the established laws and policies. Next, I explored teachers' understandings of the concepts around the phenomenon of GBV in schools (see Chapter 6). With the final question (see Chapter 7) I compared teachers' approaches to combatting GBV in schools and assessed how national policies were enforced at the school level. An understanding of the mechanisms and procedures for policy implementation, as well as the influence of other factors in teachers' inaction to address forms of GBV assisted in assessing my final question. It was useful to explore what factors influenced teachers as well as whether they took actual action in combatting the violence. Teachers' motivations provided insight into the reasons teachers took passive, active, or no actions around issues of GBV and gender inequality in their schools, in general. Factors that influenced teachers' behaviors can provide explanations for what allows or prevents teachers from being proactive in addressing GBV in schools and from following policies or procedures created to provide a safe school environment. Further, lack of understanding of how teachers defined GBV

and the motivation for how they chose to address it, if at all, makes it difficult to write strong policies that consider obstacles faced by teachers in the school context.

Significance of the Study

Research (Bhana, 2015; Porter, 2015; Stromquist et al., 2013) acknowledges that the continuation of gendered inequality creates an obstacle for female and male teachers to respond against gendered violence in schools. Thus, the very dynamics that allow gendered violence to occur inhibit adequate protection against it. Often, "school practices reflect local challenges and attitudes to a great extent. Teachers' influence on their students is grounded in the gendered power dynamics and prevalent sexual norms of broader society" (Porter, 2015, p. 282).

Teachers' realities in sub-Saharan Africa make safe, active response to GBV difficult at best and unsafe at worse. Teachers, particularly in rural areas, are outsiders and not integrated into the community. They have some dependence on the community for housing, access to resources, and social protection. Thus, teachers have limited protection when they choose to expose gendered violence, particularly if the community does not condone their actions. Female teachers, often the ones pressured to respond and protect students from gendered violence in schools, are even more at risk, due to their vulnerability from a gender perspective (Stromquist et al., 2013).

Despite this, research in other parts of sub-Sahara Africa (Bhana, 2015; Porter, 2015) finds that some female teachers do act as "protectors" for school children against GBV occurring in schools. In South Africa, for example, Bhana (2015) reports that female teachers actively respond against GBV by providing informal social protection through developing trusting relationships and leading life skills groups with school girls.

In both structured and unstructured responses, teachers provide a safe space for students to talk about their fears and experiences, acting as trusted confidantes. Porter (2015) finds that Ugandan female teachers employ informal and formal methods of protection for children against gendered violence. These examples demonstrate how female teachers work in informal, private ways to support the victims (or potential victims) after the violence has occurred. Further, in Burkina Faso, there are cases where teachers have combatted the phenomenon in public, through formal responses, such as the women who created the association APEFF (see Chapter 1). While doing this work, the women have received threats against their lives (Spear, 2018).

There is a clear dynamics of silence despite the teachers working to protect and support children. In these examples, female teachers did not report incidences of GBV in schools to authorities. They only discussed particular cases with the parents of the victim. Bhana (2015) uses Foucault's understanding of power and policing to explain this trend, stating

> silencing operates through their knowledge of and vulnerability to violence. Whilst adult teachers have the power and knowledge to support social protection, the reality for teachers is that they are themselves caught up in the matrix of poor policing, poor services and lack of support for child protection and in a context of high levels of violence which leaves them as majority female teachers vulnerable to victimization in the township (Bhana, 2005). The violent masculinity rooted that predisposes girls' risk to sexual violence in the township, also creates risk for adult female teachers. (Bhana, 2015, p. 266)

My study built on previous research in several ways. First, this study looked at male and female teachers within two schools. This provided insight into the differences in teachers' responses, their ability to respond, and motives for responding, if at all, to gendered violence. Studies (Devers, Henry, Hofmann, & Banabdallah, 2012; Diawara, Compaore, De Cecco, & Rouamba, 2013; Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014; Zaré, Yaro, & Dan-Koma, 2008) document that male teachers can be perpetrators of gendered violence but I have found no scholarly examination into how male non-perpetrators address the violence in schools or support victims. Secondly, I looked at the influence of top-down policies on schools and teachers' behaviors. This component examined the effectiveness of existing policies in supporting teachers' responses to gendered violence in schools. Thirdly, I looked at teachers'responses to GBV in schools in light of historical and contextual factors, as well as factors influenced by policies. This distinction may help provide understandings of what teachers are able and willing to do in addressing the violence, and the impact of policy implementation at the school level.

This study hopes to provide the government of Burkina Faso and organizations working in the country with additional insight into teachers' behaviors and positionality regarding GBV in schools. It provides feedback on how current policies address elements of the violence in secondary schools and the extent to which implementation is occurring at the regional and local levels. Constructing further understanding of teachers' behaviors, the findings of this study can be useful in informing teacher professional development and trainings by the government and organizations. A study of this nature can provide a baseline for teachers' understandings of the issue, as well as

identify obstacles from teachers' perspective. Finally, this study builds off previous research in Southern and East Africa, allowing for a regional comparison.

Theoretical Frameworks: Masculine Hegemony and Feminist Poststructuralism

Two theories frame this dissertation: masculine hegemony and feminist poststructuralism. The findings in Chapters 4-7 are framed through a hegemonic order of masculinity that is dictated and enforced through discourse and violence. The same hegemonic power also frames how I understand the relationship between the international development organizations toward postcolonial countries, such as Burkina Faso. In Chapter 8, I draw on feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis to discuss the significance of the findings of this vertical case study. This theoretical lens is helpful to add a way toviewthe meaning of the discourse presented in the study. This section presents how I, as the researcher, understand how hegemonic masculinity is continued through violence and gender norms following an explanation of feminist poststructuralism, and how it is applied to this dissertation study. One of the characteristics of feminist poststructuralism is self-reflexivity. This practice acknowledges that each person, including the researcher, comes with a set of assumptions that influence how he or she examines a phenomenon. To be a transparent researcher, I discuss in the next subsection how I view the construction of gender norms through an implicit discourse rooted in hegemonic masculinity.

Framing Gender and Violence

My view of the production and reinforcement of gender inequalities aligns with the work of Connells, Mills and others who examine how dominance and power are enacted through violence. This section provides a framework of the relationship between

violence and gender. The majority of research and literature generated in the fields of gender studies around concepts of feminism, (white) masculinity, and GBV comes from western, white scholars and practitioners, often framed within a heteronormative lens (Connell, 2014). This generates contradictory conclusions regarding these categories. For example, Ernest Harsch (2017), while he does not focus on gender in his recent book on Burkina Faso's history of revolution, passively reiterates the western scholars' conclusion that women, inWest Africa, were a historically homogeneous group of victims that have no voice. In direct contradiction, African feminists, such as Ifamose (2016) and Okafor & Murove (2016), argue that West African women held diverse roles and were seen as a heterogeneous group, an analysis much different than the colonial and post/neocolonial narrative. Lugones (2007, 2008) asserts that gender, itself, is a colonial invention and is not appropriate to apply to societies in the global South. Connell allows for the possibility that a combination of northern and southern thought around gender may be most useful; however, she acknowledges that all theorists, including feminism poststructuralists, are trained in the West (Connell, 2014). Further, there has been a historical, and current, practice of painting a stereotype of the violent black man in general, and the false label of the "salvage" African black man, in particularly. When addressing the violence that produces and continues hegemonic masculinity, I speak in a global sense, though as acknowledged above, much of the literature explores *white* hegemonic masculinity. In no way, do I intent to reinforce negative stereotypes of men from sub-Sahara Africa. I consider these points as valid and concerning, when reviewing the literature on gender and violence.

Schools operate within societal norms, often reproducing and reinforcing power dynamics that exist in the larger community (Carnoy & Levin, 1985). Such reproduction of gender dynamics is evident in schools as hegemonic masculinity drives social constructs of gender, including the understanding that to be male and powerful is to be controlling, aggressive, and violent (Connell, 2005; Mills, 2001; Segal, 2008). The use of violence in schools contributes to and perpetuates the existing masculine dominance, acting as a mirror of school systems and surrounding communities (Bhana, 2013; Connell, 2005; Morrell, 2001).

The manifestation of violence as a means to continue the established order of male privilege and control plays out in many forms and spaces, by diverse groups. Males and females of all ages use violence to establish identity and power (Segal, 2008). Increasingly, various authors (Bhana, 2013; Mills, 2001; Moma, 2015) are examining the phenomenon of gendered violence in schools and theoretical discussions (Connell, 2005; Segal, 2008) that complicate and problematize the constructed nature of masculinity as privileged and femininity as subordinate. However, there is not much evidence that such discussions influence governments and the development community when planning interventions and responses to GBV (Spear & da Costa, 2018). Governments and organizations at all levels were built, structured, and continue to exist in a male hegemonic world; so it is necessary to frame any analysis of the response to violence to take into account how policy makers understand constructs of gender and violence.

With the above points in mind, I draw on Connell's analysis of hegemonic masculinity to understand the complexities of constructs and hierarchies of gender and violence that legitimize norms that are held up by institutions, and actors inside these

institutions, such as schools (Confortini, 2006; Connell, 2005). The use of violence is a

major method of construction of power and gender hierarchy (Jewkes, Flood, & Lang,

2015). Scholars (Bhana, 2013; Connell, 2005; Jewkes et al., 2015; Moma, 2015) link

manifestations of gender constructs in schools to violence throughout

society. Worldwide, schools contribute to the construction of the spectrums of masculine

and feminine norms among those exposed to the systematic norms. All societies have

different gender norms and dynamics, but no society has obtained equality among men

and women's gender identities. However, girls and boys are both authors to, victims of,

and complicit in GBV through the application of these masculine constructs. Constructed

through a lens of aggressive masculine privilege and power, gender identity then

becomes about access to power and that power is won and demonstrated through

violence. Thus, gendered violence is a natural way of inflicting and determining power

(Connell, 2005; Mills, 2001). As gender is often understood through body, the body is

seen and used as a tool of giving and submitting to power (Moma, 2015).

Gender identity and norms.

There is no one formation of gender but rather multiple constructs. Nevertheless,

there are norms of masculinity and femininity (of varying traits in different cultures) that

are most acceptable in which children are indoctrinated from birth. Identities of

masculinity and femininity are socially and culturally constructed to position certain

individuals and groups with power and privilege. A general understanding of desired

masculinity is to be aggressive and dominant. Passive femininity rewards and allows

such masculinity to be built. Within these binary gender constructs hierarchies exist

(Bhana, 2005; Connell, 2005; Mills, 2001). Mills (2001) observed male-on-male

violence as an attempt to establish where boys and men are on the hierarchical masculine scale. This perpetuates gendered violence as boys vie for the top position. Bhana (2005) describes the stronger, bigger boys as "warriors" who exclude and bully "soft" boys, who do not display the same type of masculinity. She observes the use of groups and space as protection from the "warriors." While boys are taught that to be masculine is to be aggressive, strong, and in control, girls are taught to be complimentary to that masculinity by creating a space for it through passivity, silence, and submission (Bhana, 2005; Dunne, Humphreys, & Leach, 2006; Leach, Dunne, & Salvi, 2014). Moma (2015) finds girls viewing themselves as soft, weak, and "knowing their positions" when interacting with boys on the school playground. However, school girls also engage in physical violence with other girls and boys, in demonstration of power and control through a masculine aggression. Leach & Humphreys (2007) observed girls using physical and verbal aggression as a means of protection and securing resources, such as food. McCullough's (2017) work in a U.S. middle school demonstrates how girls use toughness and aggression to fend off unwanted sexual advances. Thus, masculine aggression is drawn on to gain safety and security, even by school girls. While girls can also display aggression, this is seen as in direct conflict with feminine norms and continues to be seen as masculine, creating problems for females who display should behavior. The consequences for girls and women who break norms of femininity in a heteronormative construct (as well as for boys and men who do not act out heteronormative masculinity) are often increased risk of violence, rejection, and social pressure to conform and perform (Butler, 2006; Connell, 2005). This research demonstrates a need for scholars to consider gender performance, and challenge binary

barriers to further understand how gender identities are used to gain power and/or protection from violent expression of dominance.

In general, despite some contextual variation, school and community tell boys to be violent and aggressive to prove they are masculine. Thus, boys and men are taught to be violent. For a boy not to demonstrate masculinity is to be rejected by the dominant group, which leaves him vulnerable and seen as weak, susceptible to becoming a victim of violence. In turn, girls learn, from explicit and implicit messages and their own experiences, to be gracious in order not to threaten a boy or man's masculine powers. This submissiveness feeds the constructs of both femininity and masculinity and contributes to the increased patriarchal dominance.

Gender norms around sex.

Sexual dominance is significant to masculinity and is played out by boys and men as they are taught "that their masculinity entails sexual control of heterosexual interactions, locating desire as a male emotion and choice of partners at will as a masculine prerogative" (Muhanguzi, 2011, p. 716). Boys build and maintain their identity as a "man" by sexually dominating girls, acting aggressively, and with force. It is seen as a boy fulfilling his male role. There is little research exploring construed masculinity and homosexuality (or anything outside of the heteronormative constructs) in African schools, particularly outside of South Africa. One study (Msibi, 2012) that examined homophobia in one South African school found that verbal abuse, lack of acceptance, and fear of, and realized, physical and sexual violence by teachers and peers were experienced by students perceived as challenging heterosexual norms.

Heterosexual masculinity maintains power and demands conformity through intimidation and fear toward men/boys and women/girls (Msibi, 2012)

Girls are often experimental objects for boys' sexuality as boys learn this prescribed role from the media, pornography, society, family, schools, and their fathers. Girls are caught in a double standard. If they reject a boy, they are risking additional harm, yet to accept a boy's sexual advances is to go against femininity constructs of being prudish and not being interested in sex (Moma, 2015; Muhanguzi, 2011). Part of this trap is the perception of the power of feminine sexuality to seduce and play on a man's weakness. Girls are often blamed for using this "power" by wearing revealing outfits, and approaching men in a flirtatious fashion, and propositioning men in exchange for material resources. Thus, when a boy/man acts in a sexually violent manner, he cannot be blamed (Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamira, Lemani, & Machakanja, 2003). Passive, subordinate femininity is reinforced through this narrative, as to advise girls to dress and act modest and meek to avoid aggressive sexual advances. Interestingly, McCullough (2017) observes girls in a U.S. school fending off boys' sexual advances through demonstrating masculine force and "acting tough," demonstrating agency among girls' responses to sexual harassment. No research on the repercussions girls/women may or do incur for violating prescribed femininity in West African classrooms was located, though the above research from South Africa shows that such aggression leads to further violence toward the girl/woman. Little research has been done onthe feminine constructs that play out alongside heterosexual masculinity (Fahlberg & Pepper, 2016).

Feminist Poststructuralism

Feminist poststructuralism provides space for critiquing the influences on the construction of knowledge, meaning, and identity around the phenomenon of gendered violence in schools (Beasley, 1999; Butler, 2006; Davies, 2000; Davies & Davies, 2007; St.Pierre & Pillow, 2000). Despite declining the label, Michel Foucault is largely considered to be the first philosopher/scholar to articulate the tenants of post-structuralism. He redefined power construction by asserting that language and discourse create social norms and power rather than discourse resulting from power. Foucault understood power as producing truth as a strategy of the powerful to keep control. Poststructuralism, as a response to structuralism, shifts focus from structures and institutions but turns toward the individual (or subject) (Peters & Burbules, 2004). Foucault challenged structuralists' notions by reframing power as productive, within the individual rather than as a fixed force within societal structures (Beasley, 1999).   While postmodernism is credited with challenging the thought of universal truth, poststructuralism distinguishes itself by examining how meaning is produced and ever changing by language. Within this framework, discourse, defined as explanations based in stories meant to construct norms and negotiate meaning for the purpose of gaining or retaining power, creates the subject rather than vice versa (Baxter, 2003). Further, poststructuralism views discourse as constructing the experience. This assumption that experience is not fixed in time but created through the language of the story told highlights three important characteristics of poststructuralism: (1) discourse is the "site" of the construction of reality, (2) since discourse changes, even as one person recounts an experience from one day to the next, there is no fixed truth, and (3) this fluidity allows

for individual agency within the constructed power dynamics. Thus, poststructuralism differs from critical theories which view power as fixed, binary categories of the oppressed and oppressors, of which the oppressed has little ability to access agency (Baxter, 2003; Beasley, 1999; Peters & Burbules, 2004).

Judith Butler applies a feminist lens to these features of poststructuralism. Foucault never addressed power in relations to gender, nor did he challenge notions or categories of the social construction of man and woman. Butler brings this into focus by asserting that there is no clear, fixed category of women but rather a discourse that has constructed a (false) truth of what is woman. In addition to building on Foucault, Butler challenges notions of feminism, which first appeared in the 1890s as a means to bring forward women's contributions as well as to analyze their marginalization in society. The narrative of modern feminism is often one that reinforces the critical power binaries of powerful male and powerless female, as a universal truth. This position is created through a discourse that women are all the same, with identical experiences, thus stripping away space for individual agency as well as intersections of negotiating power through changing discourse. Feminist poststructuralism seeks to challenge the notion that "women" is a single category but rather gender is something that is acted out, not what a subject *is* (Beasley, 1999; Butler, 2006). Further, this theoretical framework interrogates woman and the social construction of femininity as the "other" or complement to man or masculine norms. Rather, it seeks to explore how a subject "performs" gender to negotiate, construct, and/or resist prescribed categories (Baxter, 2003). Feminist poststructuralism allows us to dismantle dominant hegemonic discourse and diffuse power created from binary categories (such as man/women; heterosexual/homosexual;

oppressor/oppressed) by analyzing multiple truths and agency that uncovers a sovereign subject (Peters & Burbules, 2004).

While this study is not one that serves to deconstruct socially constructed categories of gender, it does recognize that gender is constructed through discourse and a fluid performance.   As the framework of this study, feminist poststructuralism views an individual as a "subject" who is able to make choices within a masculine hegemony (constructed and reconstructed through dominant discourse) and be contradictory in this agency as their truth is not fixed. It is useful to apply this lens when examining teachers' understandings and responses to GBV giving the researcher the ability to examine the deeper complexities of the ways in which individuals interact with the construction of GBV. Had a critical lens been used, as it so often is, to a study of this nature, the pockets of resistance, the appearance of constant contradiction, would be missed or ignored. If the analysis were to be limited to the helpful contribution of a social constructionist such as Connell, the fluidity of discourse, and therefore power, might be overlooked. Instead, feminism poststructuralism allows this study to "focus on challenging the neutrality of universal principles" of how GBV is understood and how power is created through interpretation of meaning (Beasley, 1999, p. 102). The vertical nature of this study is particularly useful in analyzing discourse around the phenomenon at multiple levels through different acts such as: international development influence, national policymaking, regional implementation, and teachers' decisions. Further, this framework enables analysis that challenges the dominant notion that masculine hegemony is a binary production of power but pushes to recognize intersectionalities of power (Beasley, 1999; Peters & Burbules, 2004). For example, teachers may use discourse that gives them

power in one space and then speak in a contradictory manner that strips them of power.

Finally, feminist poststructuralist lens, through the assumption of fluidity, breaks out of

definition boundaries and "truth," which is helpful in exploring a person's understanding

of GBV. In applying this lens, this study offers a more nuanced analysis of multiple

discourses defining and responding to GBV.

To engage in applying the framework, feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis

(FPDA) was used in this study (Baxter, 2003; 2008). The FPDA approach, as outlined by

Baxter (2003), is used to "examine the ways in which speakers negotiate their identities,

relationships, and positions in the world according to the ways in which they are *multiply*

located by different discourses" (p. 10). Baxter (2003) continues, "The quest of FPDA is

not only to identify the ways in which power constantly shifts between different speakers,

but also to open up spaces for those female voices which have been systematically

marginalized or silenced." (p. 10)

My choice to use feminist poststructuralism is three-fold. First, this is an

appropriate lens to examine the applied definitions of GBV in schools, as well as the

influential factors around policy construction. Feminist poststructuralism focuses on the

power in discourse through a gendered lens. By doing this, feminist poststructuralism

allows for subjects to get out of the box of constructed gender norms and as Foucault

argued, resist power internally and through individual agency (Beasley, 1999). Secondly,

the frame's evaluation of discourse and how it is used to construct and deconstruct

knowledge allows for an examination of power from a different angle. Lather (1993)

demonstrates the value of using what she refers to as "antifoundationalist" frameworks,

such as poststructuralism, in her work in interrogating U.S. education policies. In

producing valid knowledge through research, "It is not a matter of looking harder or more closely, but of seeing what frames our seeing - spaces of constructed visibility and incitements to see which constitute power/knowledge." (Lather, 1993, p. 675). Finally, for this study, feminist poststructuralism positions the female teacher in the front and center of the conversation of combating GBV in schools. The focus on the female voice in this study allows marginalized voices to be heard. While other frameworks also allow for the (re)positioning of traditionally marginalized groups, I draw on several elements unique to feminist poststructuralism in this study including the interpretation of experience, language, agency, and gender categories. At the end of this Chapter, I outline the ways in which my methodology aligns with a feminist poststructuralism frame.

Experience.

According to the feminist poststructuralist frame, experience is not a fixed truth, but a changing "fiction" created by discourse. Experience changes in the moment and one's retelling of an experience will change at each retelling. Research depends on the retelling of experience, often taken as truth, to construct knowledge. The concept of experience as fiction can complicate the ability to construct understandings, but it can also allow for a clear, modest acceptance of the change of knowledge. Davies & Davies (2007) state, "No matter how "reliable" the "informant"—how honest and committed to the research endeavor she or he might be—there is always a sense in which both the researcher and the research participant are "being had"—in which they are made captive to the story line, the expression, the images, the metaphors, the emotions that rise up in the telling, in the writing, and in the listening" (p. 1141). Feminist poststructuralism sees the individual, referred to as a subject, as full of contradictions and inconsistent. While

other feminist theories honor and give power to the individual woman's experience, theories such as liberal and Marxist feminist lens position women as a fixed category, examining gender through a dualist lens of man/woman, with the women being constructed as the opposite of man (Beasley, 1999). Feminist poststructuralism sees this as incomplete, and views gender as performed, fluid, and unique to each subject, despite the social construction of gender identities (Gavey, 1989; Weedon, 1987). Analyzing experience as created by each subject through changing discourse allows for a deeper analysis of how subjects hold power in defining their own gender as well as when they seek to negotiate power by performing within the gender norms of their society. Davies & Davies (2008) conclude, "This openness to and awareness of movement, rather than fixity, potentially brings with it an openness to difference, to movement, to new ways of thinking" (p. 1157).

Language as discourse.

For feminist poststructuralists, language, as with experience, is never fixed but gives fluid meaning and identity. Meaning is constructed and changed with discourse narratives, thus to challenge language is to challenge oppressive truth and allow for subjects to position themselves to gain power. This reinforces the importance of the construction and use of language applied to understand and define the phenomenon of gendered violence in schools. Discourse analysis aligns with feminist poststructuralism as a tool to dissect and interrogate the subjectivity and power of language (Baxter, 2003). Discourse creates norms and influences society, using language as a means of power and control (Weedon, 1987). Gavey (1989) explains, "The dominant discourses appear "natural," denying their own partiality and gaining their authority by appealing to

common sense. These discourses, which support and perpetuate existing power relations, tend to constitute the subjectivity of most people most of the time (in a given place and time). So, for example, systems of meaning such as feminism are currently limited in their power because they are marginalized and unavailable as yet as subject positions to many women" (p. 464).

Choice.

Feminist poststructuralism recognizes that women have choice as autonomous subjects despite layers of oppression. True to its form, feminist poststructuralism does not attest that choice is stagnant or conscious or even rational. Women's choices are often influenced by oppressive narratives through social construction of what it is to be a man (masculine) and a woman (feminine), which limits self-determination and should not be seen as a true from of choice, but feminist poststructuralism asserts that a subject has an ever changing choice to comply with or resist social influences of womanhood and perhaps will do both at the same time (Davies, 2000; Davies & Davies, 2007; Gavey, 1989).

Categories of gender.

The feminist poststructuralist framework enjoys disabling gender categories as a means to disrupting socially constructed, often oppressive, meaning and discourses. Feminist poststructuralists view categories as problematic at best, and mostly as fallacy. Linking to previous concepts of experience of a subject, we can see how categories can distort analysis, and even subjects' reporting during research. Davies and Davies (2007) recounts that, "The interviewees' accounts are seen to result from and to be a manifestation of the category of which they are members. That is, they talk the way they

do because they are X, and we understand X as a category because this is how people we classify as being in that category speak: a closed circuit that cannot be broken" (p. 1144). Thus, organizing people and their identity based on categories limits our ability to explore the subject as well as the nature of the phenomena being studied.

Judith Butler made feminist poststructuralism famous by challenging the binaries of gender. In her book, *Gender Trouble,* she asserts, "the insistence upon the coherence and unity of the category of women has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social, and political intersections in which the concrete array of "women" are constructed." (Butler, 2006, p. 19). Following the principles of poststructuralism, Butler proposes gender as subjective, fragmented, and fluid. In similar ways, Connell challenges and breaks down fixed categories of masculinity (see Connell, 2016; 2005). Mehta & Bondi (1999) remind us,

> There is no singular femininity or masculinity to identify with; rather there are a variety of femininities and masculinities, which are discursively and practically reproduced and maintained. This conception of gendered subjectivity posits a subject constrained by discourse but also capable of mobilizing discourse creatively." (p. 69)

This captures the elements of feminist poststructuralism that I have highlighted in this section, giving room for subjectivity agency. In looking beyond easily understood themes and categories, we are able to see reality as it is, messy and ever changing. Yet, as I discuss Western hegemonic tendencies of applying foreign concepts, causing disruption to localized movements used to dismantle oppression, as cited African feminism scholars, I apply one in this study. Feminist poststructuralism, constructed

outside of Burkina Faso, does allow for fluid understanding but also asserts concepts such as the nonbinary that is not organic to Burkina Faso. I attempt to deal with this contradiction in Chapter 8. Further, I use binary terminology for gender throughout this study, as it is the way that participants view gender identities.

Applying appropriate methodology.

By using this framework, I was able to delve deeper into how gender and violence are understood at micro, meso, and macro levels (see Figure 1 in Chapter 3). I looked at how the multiple constructs of meaning influence policy construction and implementation of policies have contributed to teachers' responses in addition to other contextual constraints. The challenge in applying a feminist poststructuralist framework is being able to analysis the multiple truths and discourses. To do this successfully, I applied a methodology used to capture and honor the complexity of the subjectivity (see Chapter 3, Study Design).

There are several ways in which my methodology facilitates this lens. I conducted feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA), using policy discourse, discourse within interview and focus groups transcripts. I adopted Bakhtin's (1981) concept of "heteroglossia" as described in Baxter (2003). Heteroglossia in feminist poststructuralism brings the often-silenced women's voice to the center of the analysis (Baxter, 2003). Further, the very basis of this study was to bring out teachers' voices by learning how they understand and respond to GBV in schools. In general, when looking at policy implementation and systematic responses within school systems, teachers as a whole were traditionally left out of the process and silenced. However, when looking directly at acts of GBV in schools, particularly sexual GBV, male teachers shifted from

the unseen to the power group, while female teachers often remained silenced, perhaps by choice. This framework aims to examine the multiplicity of discourse among power groups and traditionally oppressed voices. I employed techniques such as peer debriefing to fully explore meanings and reflectivity within experience and language. Through a vertical case study, I analyzed how those in power, such as the international community, control language and knowledge as well as how meaning can be changed through interpretation, such as when teachers challenge discourses around violence due to local social norms.

My aim in using feminist poststructuralism for this study is to contribute greater insight into how policy design and implementation can be constructed in a manner that is accessible and understood by the school community. Interrogation of experience, discourse, agency, and limitation of categories can advance policy makers' understandings of procedures appropriate to reduce, if not eliminate, GBV in schools.

Conclusion

This chapter outlines the four research questions that guided this doctoral research. Thesequestions allow for a multifaceted design that permitsa thorough examination of the response to GBV, driven by national strategies and policies from the top and teachers' responses at the school level. With the prevalence of all forms of GBV documented to be present in schools, this study further explores how the phenomenon is constructed and analyzes what influences the response at various levels of government. The study pays particular attention to two elements within the construction of response: policy implementation and teachers' positioning toward the violence. Policies and laws are pivotal in addressing social ills and providing systems and mechanisms to confront

deviant behavior that has been normalized by the dominant group within society. The study focuses on teachers in particular because they are on the front lines and have potential to disrupting GBV in schools. However, the limited research examining how teachers combat the violence demonstrates that social norms and gender power inequalities limit teachers' choice and ability to get involved in the enforcement of policies.

Feminist poststructuralism frames this study to further the understanding and analysis of the multiple motivations and influences, derived from the use of discourse, to draw conclusions around the factors that lead teachers to make decisions around addressing GBV. Contributions from Foucault, Butler, and Baxter shape how power is examined in this study. Understanding discourse as a way of constructing power, the study explores how the expressions of experience, language, agency, and gender categories contribute to meaning of policy language and teachers' realities. Additionally, as explained in this chapter, my research lens draws on Connell and Bhana, among others, to frame the relationship between violence and gender, through the constructed lens of masculine hegemony. When analyzing historical and social influences, it is imperative to consider the various interpretations, as well as recognize the power of binary hegemonic discourse, as pointed out in the discussion of the colonial discourse around traditional gender norms. Previous research on GBV in schools and gender construction is helpful in considering masculine norms, heteronormative constructs, and how power plays out through violence. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used to conduct the study, including a review the study design, data collection, and approach to analysis.

CHAPTER 3: A Vertical Qualitative Case Study

This study uses Bartlett and Vavrus' (2017) case study approach to effectively examine the vertical flow of policies related to gendered violence in schools. It compares the influence of discourse at all levels, within the consideration of the historical and social roots of gender and violence in Burkina Faso, in an effort to better understand the current constructs of gender-based violence (GBV) in schools. Qualitative research offers insights and calls for examination of social phenomena through in-depth, complex description, and analysis. This type of research also lends space for researchers to consider and analyze the constructions of concepts, such as violence and context, through data collection methods, such as interviews, focus groups, and observations. These methods allow researchers to explore nuances of issues and the interplay of systems, power, and privileges. Using these qualitative methods, it is possible to analyze the interactions and relationships between human actors and nonhuman features of the situation (individuals, groups, policies, and/or systems) that quantitative methodologies are unable to address (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Creswell, 2009).

Creswell (2007) defines a case study as both a methodology and a product of inquiry. Traditionally, case studies have had a clear definition of the boundaries of the case and utilize data collection methods (observations, interviews, focus groups, etc.) that allow for a phenomenon to be examined within a particular setting (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017; Creswell, 2007). Recent studies have gone beyond a traditional case study by incorporating horizontal, vertical, and transversal (to be understood as historical: the effects of history transverses through the horizontal and vertical) analyses of a phenomenon that is used as the case, rather than a setting. Bellino's (2015) case study of

curriculum reforms draws on the history of a brutal civil war and national policies to understand the reforms in multiple Guatemalan schools. The three-prong approach of the case allows for a deeper analysis than a traditional case study. For example, neglecting to incorporate the history of the country would have prevented Bellino from developing insight into the effects of the violent past and from examining the difference between rural and urban application of the reforms.

Despite the limited number of qualitative studies examining the phenomenon of GBV in schools, several case studies have been conducted and offer understandings of the manifestations of GBV in different school spaces and how the phenomenon is shaped, influenced, and preventable in different settings. School ethnographic case studies (de Lange et al., 2012; Leach & Sitaram, 2007; Swain, 1998) allow scholars to explore how GBV manifests in the complex systems of an institutions. Leach and Sitaram (2007) used a horizontal comparison of two schools as cases in South India to explore how school infrastructure interplays with gendered violence. Moma's (2015) study examined GBV in South Africa by observing students in the playground of a school. As opposed to observing gendered violence throughout the entire school, she chose to observe how the violence manifested as children (re)produce gender norms in interaction during play in the school playgrounds.

However, to my knowledge, no one has used a multi-layered case study to examine GBV in schools with a feminist poststructuralist lens. Drawing on Bartlett's and Vavrus' (2017) approach, my study used a combination of horizontal, vertical, and transversal comparisons (see Figure 1). Given that gender and violence are fluid and manifest differently in different societies, a transversal analysis helps establish how and

why they present the way they do in Burkina Faso's society. I explored the transversal influenceson policies and discourse to understand the phenomenon. The construction of policies and relationships between the different actors in the study has been shaped through historical context. For example, to understand the national government's relationship with the international community in working to address GBV, it is useful to consider colonialism and other outside influences on policies.

I employed a vertical analysis of policies by tracing the connection between the national policies to combat GBV in schools at the transnational and national (macro) level, through the regional (meso) level and how those policies are implemented at individual secondary schools (micro) level. In Figure 1, the boxes of varying shades of gray denote the influence of each actor. Influence flows multi-directionally. The horizontal comparison, occurring at each level, is shown in Figure 1. Comparison was conducted at all levels such as, but not limited to, exploring differences between two urban secondary schools, methods of policy implementation, and discourse among different levels. By incorporating these three approaches together, I established a more complete analysis of the responses to GBV and gained insight into how the different actors understand gendered violence.

Study Design

To start the study, I traced the connection between and meanings of the international and national policies to combat GBV in schools at the macro level, and how those policies are sent through the regional government (the meso level) to be implemented at individual secondary schools (the micro level). I employed qualitative

data methods for both phases. I lived in Burkina Faso for the two-month duration of the study.
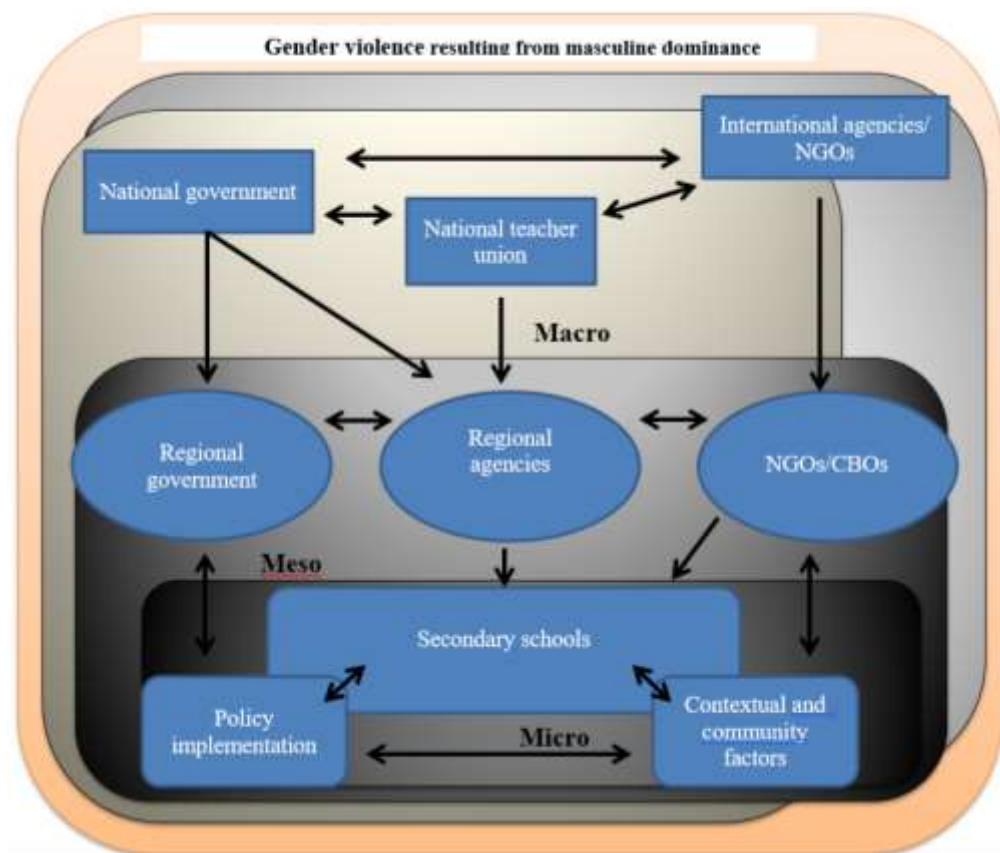
Figure 1. Comparative case study of GBV in schools.

Before starting my research, I secured official permission from the Government of Burkina Faso and secured approval from the University of Maryland Internal Review Board (IRB) committees for the protection of human subjects.

A qualitative approach was critical for this study because in-depth data collection is needed to examine its multiple dimensions, including: effects of the phenomenon (i.e., GBV in schools), teachers' responses to such violence, and effects of policies on how GBV is addressed at the school level. The study addressed a sensitive issue that is discussed indirectly or not at all and is difficult to observe. My knowledge of the culture

and language assisted in developing rapport with the study participants, thus making two months an appropriate length for the study.

Phase One

In July and August of 2018, I conducted interviews at two secondary schools in a regional city in the center of Burkina Faso, with 19 secondary school teachers (11 male teachers and eight female teachers) and seven school administrators. I also conducted four teacher focus groups. Additionally, I met with and interviewed four regional government officials from three different ministries that work in collaboration to implement policies and trainings in schools. Union representatives at the regional and local levels and community organizations were not interviewed due to their unavailablility during the data collection phase. However, any negative implications were mitigated since these individuals and organizations work directly with the national level where I was able to obtain relevant information. Through the interviews and focus groups I explored the extent of the effectiveness of the implementation of national policies at the school level and how teachers' responses to GBV in schools align with any policies that have been implemented.

One-on-one interviews with teachers and school administration provided insight into how individual school actors understood, experienced, and responded to forms of GBV in schools. I asked participants open-ended questions structured to gain insight into their understandings of gendered violence in schools, the implications of any explicit or implicit gender bias toward students, and any efforts the teachers took to prevent violence. To add to the interpretative nature of feminist poststructuralism, I used focus groups to aid the process of meaning making of the phenomenon and to allow for

reflection on my interpretations of participants' meaning and experience of the policies. I held focus groups with teachers to observe how groups discussed concerns around violence, violence as gendered, and responses to such violence. Focus group discussions demonstrated how individuals are willing to discuss the phenomenon with peers as well as how groups understand any policies addressing the issue. Focus groups were not used to introduce or investigate new issues but rather to document the collective understanding of GBV as well as what the group was comfortable discussing around the issue. This diversity of qualitative methods of individual interviews and focus groups, with different school actors and document analysis allowed me to triangulate the data and assess the validity and reliability of data.

Phase Two

Upon returning from the regional city, I continued my research in the capital city, home of governmental and INGO country offices. During this time I interviewed policy makers and those who influence policies, including government officials, union officials, and nongovernmental workers. Government officials within the MENA contributed insight into what policies have been created to address issues around gendered violence in schools. Further, I explored their own understanding of gendered violence in schools and dynamics around policy implementation. These officials provided insight into the official governmental response and position around the phenomena. Development workers employed at international organizations (e.g., UNICEF) as well as I/NGOs, including Plan International, and other local CBOs, work directly with MENA officials in drafting policies. This set of actors provided insight into the international communities' influence on policies and discourse around GBV as well as any difference in

understanding of and approaches for responding to GBV in schools. The teacher unions in Burkina Faso have a strong presence and heavy influence on teachers throughout the country. The MENA is often in negotiations with the unions. Thus, by interviewing a union official, I got an understanding of their terminology and discourse around GBV, and the extent to which they support existing policies to address the violence in schools. These interviews with MENA, INGO, NGO, and CBO representatives, led to insight into how the national policy influencers define gendered dynamics in schools which contributes to the understanding of how policies and national offices and organizations support local schools and teachers to combat gendered violence.

I conducted interviews with seven governmental officials, three representatives in I/NGOs working on initiatives addressing GBV in schools and one national union representative. I gained access to interviewees through contacts I made while conducting preliminary research on the subject in the summer of 2016. While the majority of participants at the national level were identified by their positions and work in addressing GBV in schools, the remaining interviewees were identified through snowball sampling. At times, a participant would recommend contacting another official who worked specifically on the issue. The government officials were from different departments in three different ministries that worked on combatting gender violence in schools (see Figure 2 in Chapter 5). With this number of participants, I achieved saturation in data collection. While there are many more officials working on this issue, I interviewed key high-ranking personnel that provided comprehensive information and insight needed for the vertical component of this study. The three NGO workers were chosen based on the current work their organization is conducting around GBV specifically in schools. While

many other NGOs exist in the country and do work around gender and violence, they are

not currently implementing programs in schools on GBV. I chose to interview a

representative from the most active teacher's union, of which the majority of teacher

participants were members.   During the interviews, I examined: (1) how the government,

NGOs, and the teacher union define GBV; (2) their view on policies and procedures

implemented that support teachers in addressing violence (3) the evidence that the

stakeholders used to measure their success in addressing GBV in schools; (4) the extent

to which agencies coordinated their efforts around policy making and enforcement; and

(5) strategies designed for implementation at the school level.

I used feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA), as illustrated by

Baxter (2008), to study any existing policies and their implementation as a way to

evaluate differing ways compliance is understood at different levels by multiple actors.

This approach allowed me to study the influence and interconnectedness of the involved

actors while considering relations of power (refer to Figure 1).

Regional Selection

The research sites during Phase One were two urban secondary schools in a

regional city in the center of Burkina Faso. I selected the region because it provided a

typical sample by meeting the following criteria.

Criterion 1: The region had a documented occurrence of GBV in schools.
Studies (Devers et al., 2012; Diawara et al., 2013; Zaré et al., 2008) have documented a

presence of GBV, in general,and GBV in secondary schools, in particular, throughout

Burkina Faso. Therefore, any region qualifies for this criterion but the chosen region was

appropriate because it is typical of other regions. Surveys have demonstrated prevalence

of GBV in the region's schools, but rates were not as extreme as in the Sahel region nor is there documentation of unique cultural practices such as wife kidnapping among the Gourmanche in the East (Zaré et al., 2008). The center of the country, well diverse in ethnicities, is home to a majority of Mossi and is reflective of the country's demographics. The advantage of having a more typical region as a research site is to avoid any atypical or unusual manifestations of the phenomenon.

Criterion 2: There was an active civil society. The region had active community organizations and strong teacher union activity like someSome other regions but in some regards unique in this sense. The presence of an active civil society allowed me to observe to what extent teachers and regional organizations engage and interact in addressing issues around GBV, and what impacts active organization has on building trust between schools and communities to respond to the violence. This criterion assures that action is possible. An alternative location, in an area without active civil society, may risk being an anomaly, thus not an appropriate case study for a study of this nature. To ensure a good site to conduct the study, this criterion was put in place.

Criterion 3: The researcher has familiarity with and knowledge about the region. As with many countries in Africa, Burkina Faso has many ethnic groups with distinct languages and cultures. I lived in the Mossi-dominated northern region of the country for two years, I speak their language (Mooré), and I am familiar with their culture . The center regions are predominantly Mossi. My knowledge of and familiarity with this ethnic group assisted me in creating relationships, building trust, and gaining an understanding of cultural nuances to help develop a more insightful analysis.

It was also helpful to conduct research in this region as the Mossi ethnic group makes up approximately 50% of the population within Burkina Faso. The groups' chief, Mogho Naaba, remains an influential figure in Burkina Faso's political and cultural life. People, regardless of ethnicity, often speak Moore. The culture of the Mossi permeates throughout the country. Therefore, selecting a region that has a large Mossi population mirrors the demographic characteristic of the country, as well as aligning with the general culture. This allowed for the study of the phenomenon within the common context of the country and within a culture and language familiar to me.

Criterion 4: The region met security considerations. Security considerations were important in studying a sensitive issue in the context of formal schooling in Burkina Faso, where the researcher was integrated and fully visible in the community. Criteria for safety and security considerations were: (1) a region outside of the areas where there have been attacks on teachers working in the formal school system, (2) away from borders to minimize any future changes in security—the border areas and town with roads to the north, west, and east borders are most at risk, and (3) a region that was open to an outsider researcher and that granted permission for this study.

In conclusion, the chosen region is a typical region of Burkina Faso in terms of demographics and of the documented phenomenon of GBV. Additionally, it was not any more conservative or unique than other parts of Burkina Faso. There were regional offices, organizations, and resources in the area. Finally, the region, typical of the center of the country, outside of the capital, Ouagadougou, met security criteria since it is located outside of any insecure areas. There have been no known attacks against teachers

or schools, thus there was no reason to believe that there was a heightened risk with an American researcher present.

School Selection

Two secondary schools in the selected regional city of Burkina Faso were the focus of Phase One of my study, selected based on criteria listed below. To ensure that the manifestations of GBV and/or the responses of teachers at a particular school were not an anomaly, I studied two schools. Including two schools in the study allowed for a potential comparison of how the phenomenon manifests. Any more than two school sites would not have given me sufficient time to conduct quality research in the allotted amount of time.

The following were the main criteria for selecting schools.

Criterion 1: The schools should be public, secondary schools. To ensure a typical sample, the schools selected are public secondary schools, as they are expected to implement policies enacted by the MENA. This study focused on secondary schools due to the more pronounced nature and forms of GBV documented in secondary schools and the adolescent age of the students. This study hoped to produce findings applicable to government teacher training programs and to help inform how to support teachers being placed in the public school system.

Criterion 2: The schools' size (10 or more teachers) provided an adequate sample. In order to collect a sufficient amount of data on teachers' responses to GBV in schools, I needed a saturated sample of teachers to interview. Therefore, it was necessary that the chosen schools were large enough to have 10 or more full-time teachers, with at least four women teachers in each school.

Criterion 3: Permission to conduct the study was given by the school administration. As with any study, it is imperative to be granted access to a field site by the various gatekeepers. For this research to be successful, it was important to have the support and signed consent of the school administration, after receiving national and regional permission. While school administrators would comply with a regional "request" to host a foreign researcher, an unsupportive administration could have created barriers during the field research. Therefore, I chose schools that had administrations that were open and willing to have an outside researcher. I insured this by using a local research assistant, who assisted in the organization of the study and conduct in school visits, and I met with the school administration on site prior to the final selection of schools to discuss the study's objectives. While these preliminary steps could not guarantee safeguard from uncooperative administration, initial interactions at an individual school gave insight into any power dynamics at play. As in any context, several passive nuances indicated sincere interest and cooperation in Burkina Faso such as availability for a meeting, timely responses, absences of brazen requests, and/or willingness to offer information or resources.

School Sites Descriptions

The two secondary schools that participated in this study fit the above criteria. School One is a large urban school, located in the middle of the selected regional city. As one of the two main large public schools in the city, School One had a total of 59 male teachers and 32 female teachers to teach the 2112 (1216 male and 896 female) students during the 2017-2018 school year. Four school counselors were present during the academic year. The location of School One is significant because it is in the middle of an

urban city, with no means to regulate the traffic in and out of the school. Many unregulated bars surround the school and are frequented by students and teachers. School One is an older, established school, that gets many resources from the MENA and NGOs in the area. My research assistant approached the principal about participating in this study given the size of the school as well as the positive reputation of the principal.

School Two differs from School One in size and location. School Two is a new school, locatedoutside the main regional city. Many of the students come from nearby villages. The school has two buildings in an open field and employs 35 male teachers and 10 female teachers. In the 2017-2018 school year, 386 girls and 405 boys attended the school. There is one school counselor at the school for all 791 students. Additionally, as a new, smaller school on the outskirts of town, School Two does not get the resources or attention offered to School One. It was suggested to my research assistant to approach the principal due to his reputation in the city as being kind and open.

Research Assistance

In order to identify potential schools and teachers at the end of the school year, I hired a local college student who had experience working with NGOs to assist with organizing the study. Prior to my arrival in July, the assistant obtained permission from both School One and School Two and got the contacts of five female and five male teachers (though two female teachers were not available, and an additional male teacher volunteered for the study) from both schools who were willing to participate in the study. Throughout the data collection, the assistant arranged meeting times and locations with each teacher participant via phone. However, the assistant was not present during interviews or focus groups.

Audio recordings of all interviews and focus groups were transcribed. The French transcripts were translated into English. A team of four local translators were employed to assist with the transcribing and translatinginterviews and focus groups. Each individual received instructions and signed a confidential agreement. None of the translators had personal or professional relationships with the participants and all were located in Ouagadougou. In order to validate the quality of translation, I randomly selected seven transcripts and checked the quality and accuracy of the English translation. Once high levels of accuracy and consistency were established, the English translated transcripts were used for data analysis.

My Positionality

For qualitative research, the researcher is referred to as the primary instrument. Since this methodology is concerned with exploring the process of a phenomenon, the lens of the researcher is critical in determining how a study is designed and how data are collected and analyzed. An individual researcher can minimize the impact of his/her subjectivity and bias by framing a study in a theory, using multiple data collection methods, and employing analysis tools such as peer review and triangulation. However, it is not possible to eliminate subjective interpretation; therefore, qualitative researchers seek to be aware and acknowledge their bias and how their own experiences and identity apply meaning and understanding to any observations (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2011).

My Research Orientation

My positionality is framed by my philosophical and epistemological beliefs. As a qualitative research, I align with an interpretive understanding of knowledge as opposed to a fixed, positivist perspective. An interpretivist view maintains that there is no single

truth but rather that knowledge is socially constructed, thus always changing, with different understandings of one's experience. This belief guided me to seek multiple ways of collecting and observing how different individuals engaged in action and developed meaning through their own interpretation of an event or phenomenon.

With the understanding of multiple realities, I believe individuals' realities are constructed within frames of power. I align with the critical epistemology belief, which acknowledges the influence of power and challenges power constructs (Merriam, 2009). The participants of this study were, in a global sense, a marginalized, vulnerable group. The subject I explored, gendered violence in schools, is taboo in Burkina Faso and the victims of such violence are often stigmatized. Participants of the study did not have equal political, social, or cultural power or privilege. Encouraged by Bettez (2015), I do not limit my beliefs to one perspective. Instead, I combine my critical interpretive lens with a feminist poststructural perspective, the framework for this study. The poststructural orientation disrupts socially accepted categories and problematizes norms (Merriam, 2009). My research is mostly influenced by the feminist poststructuralist view that language gives meaning and, thus, redefining words can shift power, meaning, and, ultimately, reality. What I take from this approach is the importance of applied meaning to terms in understanding phenomena. In my study, I explore participants' language around gender and violence and how they understand the phenomenon of gendered violence. For instance, love relationships between teachers and students, or sex that was not overtly resisted, may not be seen by many as violence. The meaning of consent and how it is communicated needs to be explored as silence was often taken as consent. While I do not recognize gender as binary, many in Burkina Faso may not differentiate

gender from biological sex, thus I used the binary throughout this study. I avoid applying certain meaning to gender and violence, particularly the definitions recognized by transnational organizations. Understanding how teachers defined gendered violence can help gain insight into their responses and any disconnection from top-down approaches to combating the violence.

Bettez (2015), as well as feminist poststructuralist theorists such as Baxter (2003; 2008), discussed the critical importance of the practice of self-reflection as a researcher, including both self-identity and experience. In the next section, I discuss ways that my positionality both benefited this study and served as a potential source of bias.

My Relationship with Burkina Faso

In my professional and personal experiences in Burkina Faso I have held many roles, among them volunteer, researcher, friend, and member of a family. I have spent a considerable amount of time in the country. I was introduced to Burkina Faso as a Peace Corps Volunteer for two years (2008-2010) in a rural village where I conducted research for my master's degree in international studies. During this time, I lived with a local family where I was accepted as an (outsider) family member and worked in the local primary and secondary school. Tagging along with the women, students, and children, as well as professional colleagues, I gained insight into daily life in a Mossi village. I spoke the language, Mooré, and had access to private and public spaces. I developed trusted relationships and learned how gender contributes to family and school dynamics. I have continued my relationships with friends and colleagues in Burkina Faso. Upon returning to the United States, I lived with a Burkinabé. I continued to gain intimate insight into the culture through that relationship. In the summers of 2015 and 2016, as part of a

doctoral student research project, I conducted a pilot survey to assist in designing this study. I have cultivated a rich understanding of the culture through professional experience and personal relationships. My understanding and knowledge of the country's history and culture appeared to put teachers at ease during interviews. At times during data collection I was surprised at the level of disclosure participants offered. Throughout interviews, when referring to social practices or historical events, participants would acknowledge my existing knowledge due to my time and relationships in the country. This helped me conduct research on GBV in schools by having "inside" knowledge of the manifestations of GBV and an understanding of cultural considerations of how to approach relationships and sensitive issues, which appeared to allow for trust to form with participants. Nevertheless, despite being integrated into a community, several families, and a culture, I respect the limits of my position as a white American highly educated woman.

My Identity as an Outsider

As an American in particular, and a foreigner in general, I have economic power, a political safety net, and social and cultural capital that, while perhaps not fully understood by many people in Burkina Faso, is respected and privileged. This was beneficial at times when I needed to gain access to information and persons with positional power. My identity as a white foreigner, however, always kept me on the "outside." I believe there will always be cultural nuances that I miss or misinterpret and information that is not shared with me or is misrepresented to fit my understanding.

As an American woman, I was often treated as a third gender in Burkina Faso, with more power than a local woman but still not as privileged as a man. While I

experienced discrimination as a woman, as I would in any context, I was able to access spaces dominated by men and could vie for power using my privilege as a white American.

As much as positionality is about my identity, it is also about how I am perceived by others. Being conscious of this, I humbly integrated into the school community and community at large by aligning with local customs in dress, behavior, and attitudes. I engaged in practices such as greeting everyone, offering food and drink, being open, and visiting families during holidays and crises, all of which are signs of respect and kindness in Burkina Faso. I was aware of and avoided behavior that created distrust such as staying to myself and, as a woman, being out with men at night.

Along with the self-reflection and a consciousness of the effect of my presence at research sites, I was aware of my behavior at all times. The nature of my study in a small city in a host country resulted in a fishbowl scenario in which I was watched when conducting any activity in public. Thus, my attitude and relationship with the community at large affected my research.

Yin (2011) advises qualitative researchers to be our "authentic self" during data collection as well as being transparent about our role as researcher (Yin, 2011, p. 118). In considering my position as researcher I acknowledged, to the best of my ability, the epistemological lens and bias I brought into the field. I used an inductive stance upon entering the research site. An inductive approach limits the influence of assumptions and previously constructed knowledge, thereby helping an outsider inquirer be more receptive to how the study participants construct the phenomenon. My knowledge of previous research on gendered violence was helpful in developing this study and was a valuable

resource on which draw at times during the study and analysis, but that same knowledge also had the potential to interfere with my initial interpretations while conducting field work.

Data Collection Methods

This section outlines the data collection methods I employed for the study. A vertical case study design required multiple methods of collecting information from a variety of sources to answer my research questions. The use of multiple data sources to measure a phenomenon allowed for corroboration of information, as well as reflected the diversity of experiences and views, that builds validity of the research findings (Yin, 2009).

Interviews with Policy Makers

I conducted one-on-one interviews with national and regional government officials, UNICEF staff, INGO workers, local NGO workers, union administrators, and others involved in policy making or development programming on projects addressing gendered violence in schools. I used purposive sampling and when appropriate purposeful snowball sampling to identify participants. A focus interview is a semi-structured interview that takes place a set time, usually between one to two hours (Yin, 2009). This interview approach helped me gain insight into influences on policy and programming. Additionally, I probed to understand the interviewees' understandings of gender violence in schools and the motivation for the policies and/or programs. I used a set of mostly open-ended questions to guide me in each interview (see Appendix A). These questions allowed me to collect information on interviewees' perspectives of the phenomenon and the role of their agency in addressing GBV in schools. For this study, it

was important to construct an understanding of how individuals at each level understood the concepts of gender and violence, and their beliefs about the root causes and manifestations of GBV. Information from these interviews contributed to an understanding of current policies and programs, and how familiar officials are with current policies. The information will be used as part of the vertical analysis of this study.

I contacted potential interviewees through email or phone, depending on the contact available to me, to explain the purpose of the study and request a 60-90 minute in-person interview at a location of their choosing. Location was important to consider in this study, since I would be asking questions around a sensitive topic. All of the participants chose their office location for the interview. I provided a consent form at the beginning of each interview. I obtained permission to audio record each interview so that I could produce a transcript for analysis. I offered the opportunity for each interviewee to review the transcription to clarify, add, or delete any information collected in the interview as part of a member check. All participants declined but requested a copy of the findings. All participants have been given a pseudonym and identities and interview data are kept confidential

Document Collection

For the vertical and transversal approaches to this study, I collected documents including, but not limited to, past and current policies; programmatic reports; and national, regional, and school reports dealing with gendered violence in schools. In dealing with the varied definitions of gendered violence in schools, I examined what is identified at each level. The literature review in Chapter 1 covers how international development and scholarly understanding of GBV in schools and national policies and

laws offer insight into the official understanding of GBV in Burkina Faso's schools.   In addition, a review of the archives provides insight into the construction of gendered violence in Burkina Faso. For example, I reviewed President Thomas Sankara's speeches on women, which references the history of women's roles in Burkina Faso that have had great influence on the population, and local media reports on incidences around gendered violence in schools in the past three years. I located documents through a variety of means and places, among them internet, books, ministries' departments, organizations, local universities, schools, and more.

Documents and archives were useful for corroborating with field data and added depth to data analysis. It can be difficult to verify information in many documents as facts and the influence of such information on the phenomenon. I judged the legitimacy of the documents by noting the merits of the source and the methods through which each was produced, among other considerations such as triangulation (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009).   I used documents and archives to add to my understanding of how society, particularly the official national structures, constructed the issues. For the vertical policy analysis on GBV for this study, I drew from policies that had clear elements of accountability that can be implemented at a local school level.

Teacher Interviews

I conducted individual, semi-structured interviews with teachers.   As previously mentioned, the interviews provided insight into how participants verbalize their interpretations of issues. Through each roughly one-hour interview, I collected often unobservable information from participants, such as past experiences, opinions, and

interpretation of GBV in general and at the school. Data from interviews were corroborated with focus groups.

A purposive sample of the 19 teachers (11 men and 8 women) from the two secondary schools allowed for saturation, though with a feminist framework, it would have been desirable to have more female voices. I used the following criteria in selecting teachers for individual interviews: (1) the teacher had to be a full-time classroom teacher at the school, and (2) the teacher had to be willing to participate in the interview. Additionally, I interviewed teachers that had a range of experience, education, and subjects taught. This variety allowed for some exploration of how personal interpretations are affected by certain characteristics and experience. During the interview, I explored teachers' beliefs and interpretations of GBV in schools, their responses to gendered violence, and their knowledge and interpretations of policies (see Appendix A for questions).

My research assistant, a recent college graduate who assisted with organization of the study but not in the data collection itself, had identified the two schools, and met with the principals, who signed consent forms and gave a list of five women and five male teachers who, to their knowledge would be in town over the summer break and willing to participant in the study. Upon arriving in the regional city in July 2018, I met with the principals of the two public schools that met the criteria. During a brief meeting, I introduced myself and the study, got formal consent again, and arranged a time to interview them. My assistant scheduled interviews with the listed teachers at their respective schools during the last two weeks of July. Before conducting any interviews, I conducted two pilot interviews, not used in the study, to test the questions and wording of

the questions. Minor tweaks were made to the semi-structured interview guide. All of the

male teachers from the two schools recommended by the principal consented for an

interview. One additional male teacher, who was on the school premises, volunteered to

participate in the study. After several cancellations by three of the women teachers from

the larger school, the principal called them to ask if they were available. They arranged

to be interviewed the following day. At the smaller school, with only 10 female teachers

at the school, only three of them were available and willing to be interviewed. Two

others were travelling for the summer break and one declined to participate. I was unable

to contact the remaining four women.

The semi-structured interviews took place in a private classroom that is neither

visible nor audible to the public in one of the two participating schools, based on the

choice of the participant. Interviews were conducted in French. I audio recorded all of

interviews with the permission of each participant. The audio recordings were

transcribed and translated into English. The interviewees were given the opportunity to

read over their transcript and provide any comments or clarification. No participant took

up this offer but several asked to have access to the findings of the study, which will be

provided to them at the completion of this dissertation.

Teacher Focus Groups

Focus groups were also used to collect data. They provide insight into how an

issue is constructed in a social setting and facilitate discussion among peers, which may

allow for further understanding of how GBV is comprehended and how groups respond

to the phenomenon. Data gathered from focus groups contribute to the triangulation of

data analysis (Merriam, 2009).

Following the individual interviews, with the help of my assistant, I organized three teacher focus groups: two male teacher focus groups, with a total of four men in each group, and one mixed focus group with two women teachers and one male teacher. Despite several attempts to organize two women teacher focus groups, several women were unavailable or did not show up at the allotted time and I was only able to have a paired interview with two female teachers. All focus group participants had sat for an interview, including a teacher who participated in a pilot interview. The different formation of different focus groups allowed for insight into how men and women discuss the phenomenon separately as well as together. This offered insight into power dynamics that affect how teachers respond to issues around GBV. Teachers from the two schools were mixed together in order to observe whether the discourse changed or varied as the teachers discussed the phenomenon as a group, though this was not anticipated due to the limited differences observed during the individual interviews. Each focus group, lasting approximately 90 minutes, created conversations around participants' beliefs about gender, violence, GBV, and how teachers respond to the phenomenon (see Appendix A). The all-male and mixed focus groups took place in a private classroom at School One and the women met with me in a private administration office at School Two. I provided a consent form that explained the purpose of the focus groups to each participant. Each focus group was audio recorded with the permission of all participants, conducted in French, transcribed into French, and translated in English.

Data Collection for Analysis

This dissertation study used three qualitative methods of data collection during the two phases: individual interviews, focus groups, and document analysis. My findings

drew from the data that I collected from the combined methods during the duration of the study. Using diverse types of data collection methods increased the trustworthiness of this study, as described in the next section.

Data Analysis

In order to insure I was conducting high-quality analysis, I continually checked my data for trustworthiness and checked my bias and any potential for assumptions and misinterpretations by conducting peer reviews and triangulation.   Once data collection was completed, I engaged in the five steps of data analysis suggested by Yin (2011): (1) compiling the data, (2) breaking down the information into codes and themes, (3) reorganizing the data based on the new grouping to start to address research questions, (4) creating meanings of the data, and (5) drawing conclusions. I used, NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software, to compile and organize my data during this process. During the analysis process, I engaged in feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA), and coding of data to answer the research questions.

Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA)

FPDA is an exercise used to evaluate discourse in reports, policies, interview transcripts, and other written documents. This type of discourse analysis is useful for this study to examine how constructs of gender and violence in policies and national documents influence social dynamics around GBV and how teachers respond to the violence. FPDA differs from discourse analysis approaches such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) by moving away from binary analysis of power but rather views oppression and power as multifaceted, and shifting (Baxter, 2008). Baxter (2008) expands the purpose of FPDA by stating

it suggests that the ceaseless interaction of competing discourses means that speakers will continuously fluctuate between subject positions on a matrix of powerfulness and powerlessness. This shift can happen across a range of different speech events, within a single speech context, or literally within a few moments of interaction. It can even happen simultaneously; for example, being powerful or powerless in different ways at the same moment in time. (p. 246)

I built on Baxter's (2008; 2008a) approach to "diachronic" and "synchronic" discourse analysis to conduct FPDA in my study. In the FPDA of policies and written reports over time (diachronic analysis) and with the synchronic discourse of interview and focus groups transcripts, I plotted three categories of discourse: influential, combination, and conflict. I viewed influential discourse as discourse that appears to have a vertical influential pattern, such as policy language drawn from transnational agendas and teachers' languages influenced by policies. Comparing discourse in interview transcripts assisted in this analysis. Combination discourse analysis approach was a vertical and horizontal comparison of how multiple subjects' discourses interconnect and overlap, whereas I plotted conflicting discourse in the conflict discourse category. This three-prong approach to FPDA allowed for interrogation of discourse across multiple documents, groups, and individuals, as well as accounting for intersections of power along with further insight into the phenomenon.

Compiling and Organizing Data

The first step of my analysis process was to compile and organize my inventory of data, which included policies and documents, transcripts and memos of interviews, field notes, and transcripts of focus groups.

Coding.

I used two levels of coding to analyze the data. The first level, often referred to as *in vivo*, guided me in deconstructing my data. I used the research questions, framework, and my field experience to guide the construction of these initial descriptive and deductive codes. I developed codes around the discourse and construct of gender and violence, manifestations of GBV in schools, contextual influences on teachers' responses to GBV, policy implementation, and policy discourse. This step assisted me in organizing and becoming familiar with the data (Yin, 2011). For the second step of level one coding, I used codes that emerged from the data. I relied on an inductive approach to remain open to emerging themes and concepts while using my research questions and theoretical framework to guide the exercise. After the second round of coding, I refined my codebook. The codebook consisted of the list of codes and brief descriptions. The codebook served as a living document throughout the analysis process, which was regularly added to and revised based on the data. Throughout the process of coding the data, I referred to my theoretical framework and literature review to assist with defining codes and analyzing the data. The purpose of level one analysis was to answer the research questions and explore new insight into the phenomenon of GBV in schools, particularly at the teachers' level.

Level two analysis applied FPDA through connotation textual analysis, as Baxter (2003; 2008) outlines, to explore the influences of different discourses. This level of analysis allowed for a deeper, more nuanced interpretation of the discourses that influenced and perhaps, conflicted with the understanding of and responses to gendered violence in schools. Level two analysis was applied to the findings of level one analysis,

drawing on the methodology of FPDA to identify discourses; give voice to the "hidden"

actors and teachers, particularly women teachers, in this study; and explore the

contradiction and agency displayed by subjects. During this level of coding I plotted the

influential, combination, and conflictual plots of discourse.

The analysis process was completed once I thoroughly examined the data, reached

saturation, and drew insightful interpretations. I concluded this process by describing the

findings and their significance. I discuss the study's contribution to the literature and any

possible practical applications in the concluding chapter. Throughout the literature

review and findings, elements of GBV in schools in Burkina Faso are discussed along

with interpretations of causes drawn from the data. Since this is not within the scope of

this study, I will not be comparing the phenomenon in Burkina Faso to how it appears in

other contexts. However, much about the gendered violence in schools is observed

globally, including the lack of policy enforcement, reporting, or teacher's perception's

and behaviors in addressing GBV in schools. There is much about this phenomenon and

the barriers to combatting it that are universal.

A note about verb tenses through write-up of findings: past tenses are used to

refer to the information given to me during the data collection stage, which is in the past

and therefore has the potential to be different today. Elements, such as policies or

ministry structures and objectives, that remain true today as they did when the

information was gathered, is written in the present tense.

Trustworthiness

Rigor in qualitative research is often measured by the extent to which a study

upholds standards of credibility (internal validity), consistency (reliability), and

transferability (external validity) (Merriam, 2009). Taken together, these standards contribute to trustworthiness. In this section, I outline the methods I applied to uphold the trustworthiness of my study.

To establish credibility and consistency within my study, I relied on several strategies: triangulation, peer review, consideration of my positionality, audit trail, and thick description. I did not attempt to make my study design transferable due to the unique consideration for influences of the historical and social context on the phenomenon; nevertheless, I use thick descriptions to assist readers in determining possible transferability. In order to challenge my interpretations and assumed categories of analysis, peer debriefing was critical, as demonstrated in Catherine Woodbrooks' (1991) dissertation on African-Americans experience in higher education. Using feminist poststructuralism to frame her research, she relied on this technique to call into question her own bias constructions of the participants themselves and their language and meaning of their own experiences (Lather, 1993).

Triangulation

Triangulation is the process of using data obtained from multiple data collection methods to corroborate findings (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). I used FPDA, interviews, and focus groups to explore my research questions. As described in the previous section, I drew from all data collected through these different methods to analyze and explore emerging themes.

Peer Review

Peer review is the process of discussing the data collection methods, analysis process, and interpretations with colleagues for feedback and suggestions (Merriam,

2009). This strategy was incorporated throughout my dissertation process. During my time in the field, I talked and discussed initial data collection and analysis with colleagues, including a professor from the Nobert Zongo University, staff at Plan International, local CBO workers, former U.S. Peace Corps employees, teachers, and others who are familiar with the phenomenon in the country. During the data analysis phrase, I continued to consult with these colleagues by discussing the emerging themes of the data. Three colleagues in particular reviewed transcripts after signing confidentiality clauses and checked my interpretation of themes and findings.

Consideration of Researcher's Positionality

Peer review assisted me in being reflective of my positionality in the field. As discussed in a previous section, to support trustworthiness of a qualitative study, the researcher engages in the exercise of being aware of her/his own bias, assumptions, and identity in order to be aware of what he or she brings to the study. This awareness lends insight into how the researcher interprets data and affects the research site, as well as how the participants in the field site relate to the researcher. Throughout the study, I continued to be self-reflective in order to check my own bias and subjectivity by following my study design and using ethical qualitative practices.

Audit Trail

As an additional strategy to ensure consistency, I used multiple methods to build an audit trail. An audit trail is a path of the researcher's work that someone could follow in order to understand how the researcher developed his/her findings (Merriam, 2009). Along with a clear study design, I concisely recorded notes from all data methods including memos, transcripts, and document analysis. My analysis process included a

codebook, emerging themes, and other notes that demonstrate how I arrived at interpretations. Finally, this chapter outlines each step of the study.

Thick Description

Thick description is when the researcher gives detailed descriptions about various aspects of the study, including, but not limited to, the context, participants, data collection methods, and detailed evidence of interpretations and conclusions (Merriam, 2009).   I provided detailed descriptions throughout my study of the setting, participants, and discourse around the phenomenon, as well as my analysis and interpretations.

These five strategies created credibility and consistency, allowing for strong trustworthiness throughout the study while helping to make this study a high quality qualitative research.

Limitations

As with any study design, there are limitations to my dissertation study. I designed this research as a vertical case study to best explore the phenomenon of GBV in schools. In general, findings from case studies should not be applied to other cases without further investigation. This study is not intended to be used for broad generalization; however, the insights gained from itcan be a useful comparison or consideration along with other research on the subject.

I acknowledge that there are limitations whenever a researcher investigates a sensitive issue. Many factors may have influenced how participants shared information about GBV, including considerations for safety, trauma, and fear, as well as the general sigma around the issue. I have paid considerable attention to these concerns, in particular to the safety of the participants and myself. There may have been silence around some

occurrence of the phenomenon. I designed this study in attempts to compensate for the silence and hidden aspects of GBV through a multidimensional approach and the use of several data collection methods.

As in the majority of qualitative studies, I was the primary research instrument for data collection and analysis. As a trained researcher, I employed protocols to limit the influence of any bias and subjectivity analysis of data and the interpretation of the findings. However, it is not possible to become completely neutral and objective. The French language was used during data collection. Since French is not my mother-tongue and I lack fluency, language barriers may have interfered with data collection and analysis. To minimize the risk of misinterpreting, interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed to enable me to review words and phrases and double check any meaning to avoid applying my own assumptions. Since language is important to the feminist poststructuralist lens of this study, I made use of peer debriefs. During the study, I continued to strengthen my language skills. Another limitation may have been the amount of time I allotted to conducting data collection, as the length of time for my research was determined by funding sources. Finally, the lack of random sampling of teachers created the risk not getting a representative sampling of teachers and, as a result, not getting an accurate representation of the views on GBV in schools. The number of teachers interviewed, along with triangulation and comparison of data with previous studies allowed for mitigationof this risk.

Conclusion

This chapter details the study design of this case study, which examined gendered violence in schools using a multidimensional approach. The study's qualitative

methodology was appropriate giventhe aim to explore the phenomenon in depth. The vertical nature of the design followed the implementation of policy from top down to the school level. The comparison between male and female teachers, as well as the exploration of the differences between the two schools, further enhanced the ability to examine aspects of the phenomenon, including any differences in response. Incorporating Bartlett and Vavrus' (2017) case study design allowed for consideration of Burkina Faso's recent history that has been influential in every part of society.

The chapter laid out, step by step, the two phases of the data collection that was conducted in the summer of 2018. Criteria for site and school selection were reviewed along with the description of the two secondary schools selected for the study. In this section, I reviewed the types of participants involved in the study and the purposes of their involvement. The researcher's positionality was discussed at length because of the importance it had in the study design. In addition, this was a way to be transparent about my relationship to the country, and how I was likely perceived by participants. In efforts to continue with transparency, and continue to build an audit trail, the remainder of this chapter offered the details of the interview and focus group methods and the steps of data analysis taken to arrive at the findings of the research. The methods of trustworthiness and study design limitations were offered to conclude the chapter in order to demonstrate the soundness of this dissertation.

Chapters 4 through 7 present the findings of the study. Each chapter reviews the emergent themes for a single question. Therefore, the next chapter, Chapter 4, addresses the first research question of the study.

CHAPTER 4: A Review of Governmental Laws and Policies

To effectively deal with ending any forms of violence, clear national laws must not only exist but must be framed in language that reflects the reality on the ground and accurately addresses the phenomenon, including definitions, along with procedures for application. This chapter outlines the national laws and policies that address gender-based violence (GBV). The understanding of the existing laws as well as the embedded mechanisms for accountability at all levels allowed for a deeper understanding of the alignment with the construction, implementation, and enforcement of policies to what teacher participants reported was happening within their school to address gendered violence in schools.

A review of policies and laws (see Table 1) was timely given thechanges to government and legislation that Burkina Faso has undergone since the 2014 revolution. On October 31, 2014, a popular movement made up of coalitions from civil society, opposition political parties, and student groups forced the resignation of the President of 27 years, Blaise Compaoré, before he could make changes to the Constitution that would allow him to stay in power. After President Compaoré resigned, the coalitions worked with the parliament to establish a one-year transitional government until Presidential elections took place at the end of 2015. The legislative arm, National Transitional Counsil (Conseil National de la Transition (CNT)) approved 110 laws during its one-year tenure, almost twice as many as any recent legislative session in the country (Harsch, 2017). The CNT addressed issues around gender equality including approving the Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims, known as Law 61 (*Loi N 061-2015 / CNT Portant Prevention,*

Repression et Reparation des Violences à l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes). The current presidency of Roch Marc Christian Kaboré, who was democratically elected in December 2015, has continued to strengthen laws and policies around gender violence in schools. An example of this is the new Criminal Code (*Code Pénal*), approved in May 2018, that includes Article 233-14, which makes it illegal for any educational staff to have sexual relations with an underage student.

This chapter examines the implications of Article 233-14 of the Criminal Code, as well as how the combination of laws and policies protects and combats GBV in schools. I answer the following question: To what extent do government policies define and address GBV and include mechanisms to hold schools accountable in Burkina Faso? The first section reviews how four laws (the Education Law, Law 61, Law 81, and the Criminal Code) define and combat GBV in schools. Following a description of the laws, I outline two national policies (The National Policy on Gender and The Educational Plan 2017-2030) addressing GBV in schools along with an implementation document outlining the strategy to support girls' education (The National Strategy for the Acceleration of Girls' Education [*Stratégie Nationale d'Accélération de l'Éducation des Filles* (SNAEF)] 2012-2021). The third section discusses policies at the local school level. Finally, I conclude the chapter with a discussion on the extent to which the outlined policies create potential for prevention of gendered violence and prosecution of individuals that violate the stated laws.

Government Laws Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Schools

Four codes of laws (Education Law and The Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims, referred to as

Table 1. List of Laws and Policies Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Schools

	Title	Year Implemented	Period for Implementation	Authored by	Implementation Guidelines
National Laws					
	Education Law (Loi N° 013-2007 / AN Portant Loi d'orientation de l'Education)	2007	N/A	National Assembly	Under the Ministry of Education
	Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims (Loi N 061-2015 / CNT *Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violences a l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes)* Referred to as Law 61	2015	N/A	National Transitional Council (CNT)	Under the Ministry of Promotion of Women
	Law for General Status of the State Public Service (*Loi N 081-2015/CNT Portant Statut General de la Fonction Publique d'Etat*) **Referred to as Law 81**	2015	N/A	National Transitional Council	
	Criminal Code (Code Pénal)	2018	N/A	National Assembly	Under the Department of Justice
National Polices					
	National Gender Policy 2009-2019 (Politque Nationale Genre, (PNG) (2009-2019)	2009	2009-2019	Ministry of Advancement for Women	Under the Ministry of Advancement for Women
	Education Plan: PSEF 2017-2030 (*Programme Sectoriel de l'Education et de la Formation (PSEF)*	2017	2017-2030	Ministry of Education	National Strategy for the Advancement of Girls' Education (SNAEF, 2011-2020)
	Interior Regulation (for local schools) (Règlement Intérieur)	2014	N/A	Ministry of Education	Under the Ministry of Education

Law 61, the Criminal Code, and The Law for General Status of the State Public Service, known as Law 81,) contain articles that protect individuals from violence, and especially violence against women in both public and private settings. The Education Law (*Loi N° 013-2007 / AN Portant Loi d'orientation de l'Education)*, passed in 2007, includes 66 articles. The first part of the law covers definitions of the different types of schooling in the country and general principles of the law, such as free public education and the objectives of the educational system. The second section lays out the education structure, and the last section contains articles for evaluating the education system.

Law 61, passed in 2015 by the National Transitional Council, is made up of 56 articles. Chapter 1 of the law includes four articles that outline the objective of the law. Definitions of terms are included in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 addresses prevention of violence against women and girls. Chapter 4 focuses on the enforcement of the outlined articles and includes sanctions to be applied. Chapter 5 reviews the creation of special structures to address violence against women and girls, and Chapter 6 addressing the structures of protection for those assisting victims of violence.

The 2018 Criminal Code, with 307 pages including over 800 articles, is far more advanced and thorough than the previous 1996 Criminal Code, which included 550 articles. As is the nature of a Criminal Code, the code covers all areas, ranging from corruption to protections of minors, to constitutional protections, to laws in conducting business.

The Law for General Status of the State Public Service (*Loi N 081-2015/CNT Portant Statut General de la Fonction Publique d'Etat*), known as Law 81, outlines in 213 articles the rights, qualifications, regulations, awards and sanctions for public

employees. In this law, Section 7 addresses the disciplinary actions to which a civil servant is subject if they are sent to stand before a disciplinary Council for a violation (Law for General Status of the State Public Service [*Loi N 081-2015/CNT Portant Statut General de la Fonction Publique d'Etat, 2015]).*

Defining Gender-Based Violence in Schools

The Education Law provides no definition of violence and nowhere in the document is violence disaggregated as in the other two laws (Law 61 and the Criminal Code) Though not offering definitions around violence, the Education Law does mention gender equality in schooling. In Article 15, the law describes one of the goals of education in the country is to "reduce inequalities of all kind" while Article 21 asserts that formal education is to prepare children, ages 6-16, to practice gender equality. The Criminal Code does not mention gender equality explicitly, but Article 322-2 protects against all forms of discrimination. Law 61 was passed with the purpose of addressing equality between men and women, thus the document provides clear support for gender equality.

Law 61 incorporates protections and rights to victims of all forms of violence against women in Burkina Faso. Article 2 lists such violence as "physical, verbal, psychological, sexual, economical, patriarchal, and cultural." Article 5 in Chapter 2, titled "Definitions and Terms," goes on to define the listed forms of violence. Sexual violence is defined as "any sexual attack committed with violence, constraint, or threat on a woman or a girl." This definition does not include separate definitions for consent, how consent is represented, or the possible coercive nature of obtaining consent for a sexual relationship. This is particularly important in a school setting where there is an

imbalance of power and a potential for a lack of protection and oversight. The definition

of verbal violence and psychological violence, referred as moral violence in the

document, is "any behavior, purpose and attitude that affects the personality of the

woman or girl, affecting her image, self-esteem and internal balance."(Law for

Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring

for Victims [*Loi 061-2015 Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violence a

l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes],* 2015, Article 5*)* The

definition does not explicitly state verbal violence, though it could be included as moral

violence.

Chapter 3 of the Criminal Code includes articles protecting women and girls

against violence in public and private life, thus outlawing the occurrence of violence in

school communities. Article 513-1 states, "any act of violence directed against females,

and causing or potentially causing physical, sexual, psychological, moral, economic and

cultural harm or suffering to women and girls, including the threat of such acts, whether

in public life or in private life" are illegal (Criminal Code [*Loi N°025-2018/An Portant

Code Penal*], 2018 Article 513-1). The clause provides definitions of the categories of

violence, aligning almost word for word with the definitions provided in Law 61. Article

513-5 of the Criminal Code lists eight forms of violence that "constitutes as moral and

physiological violence" (Criminal Code [*Loi N°025-2018/An PortantCode Penal*], 2018

Article 513-5). The first two parts of the definition include forms of verbal violence

while the third includes coercion and manipulations as means of obtaining sex

Notably, there is an absence of laws protecting victims of homophobia violence.

There was no mention of rights and protections for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual,

Transgender, Queer (LGBTQ) communities or any reference to the term gender as anything other than the binary categories of men and women in any law. The Criminal Code uses the term sex to denote male and female. When talking of sexual violence, there was inclusion of "either sex," protecting boys and men against sexual violence as well as women.

Articles addressing issues around GBV.

Addressing GBV in school, Article 47 of the Education Law states, "Any form of violence against anyone is formally forbidden in educational settings and will be punished in accordance with the law," but does not define violence nor does it mention GBV in particular. The law does state that all school communities are accountable to the law outlined in the Criminal Code.

Chapter 4 in Law 61 discusses the sanctions to be issued to any perpetrator of violence against women and girls. Article 9 states that for sexual torture the criminal could receive between 2-5 years in jail with the same fine as the fine for forced marriage. To engage in sexual slavery could result in 2-5 years in jail with a slightly higher fine to pay, according to Article 10. In Article 14, a rape conviction can result in 5-10 years in prison. However, in the Criminal Code, anyone who is found guilty of "rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, or all other forms of sexual violence" faces up to 11-13 years in prison with a fine from 1 million up to 10 million CFA (US$1725- $17,241). The prison time is increased in the Criminal Code with all sexual crimes combined under one sanction. Sexual harassment is defined in Article 11 of Law 61 as in Article 533-9 in the Criminal Code as "the use of any form of serious pressure, for the real or apparent purpose of obtaining an act of a sexual nature."

Once again, the sanctions in the Criminal Code are harsher, with an imprisonment of one to three years with a larger range of a possible fine, while the older law states a perpetrator could be imprisoned for three months to a year with a fine around 300,000 CFA to 500,000 CFA (equivalent to US$518-$860)(Criminal Code [*Loi N°025-2018/An Portant Code Penal], 2018*).

The new Criminal Code is much more specific, including an entire section on violence against women and girls. The most significant item in fighting GBV in schools is Article 533-14, which explicitly states that it is illegal for any educational personnel to have sexual relations with a "minor student, apprentice or trainee of either sex." (Criminal Code [Loi N°025-2018/An Portant Code Penal], 2018) According to the code, a minor is any person under the age of 18. If convicted for this crime, a person could spend between five to 10 years in prison with their professional education license revoked for no more than five years. If pregnancy is a result of the sexual relations, the penalty increases to between seven to 10 years with a larger fine. Forced marriage is also illegal under Article 513-2 as in Article 6 of Law 61. Both laws list the same penalty: six months to five years in jail and a fine of between 500,000 CFA – 1 million CFA (equivalent to US$860- $1725).

None of these laws explicitly outlaws corporal punishment, though they all make physical violence illegal. A decree passed in 2008 made beating, hitting, whipping, and other forms of physical contact illegal in primary schools and there have been convictions.. A 2018 draft of a child protection law, not yet adopted at this writing, forbids corporal punishment in secondary schools ("Corporal punishment of children in Burkina Faso," 2018).

Protection when reporting GBV.

An important inclusion in the Criminal Code, Law 61, and Law 81 is articles drawn to protect witnesses, victims, and those who report criminals to the authorities. In the Criminal Code, Article 335-9 states, "any person who uses physical or mental violence, revenge, intimidation or threat in any form whatsoever, against the person of witnesses, experts, whistleblowers or victims or their parents or others who are close to them" will receive between six months and up to five years in jail. Article 521-2 states that anyone who threatens or intimidates individuals reporting a crime risks up to three years in jail*(Criminal Code [Loi N°025-2018/An Portant Code Penal]*, 2018). Article 19 in Law 61 protects those who report GBV from retaliation (Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims [*Loi 061-2015 Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violence a l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes*], 2015)

Law 81 states in Article 42 that civil servants are required to apply punitive sanctions to employees under them if a violation becomes known. Article 46 excuses any "obligation of professional discretion" so that public employees may claim "denunciation, according to the prescriptions of the criminal legislation of the crimes or delicts of which the civil servant became aware" (Law for General Status of the State Public Service [*Loi N 081-2015/CNT Portant Statut General de la Fonction Publique d'Etat*], 2015)

Law 61 goes further by stating in Article 17 that all persons with knowledge of violence against women and girls can inform "the authorities through a report or denunciation. The authorities are obliged to follow up on the said referrals" (Law for

Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims [*Loi 061-2015 Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violence a l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes*], 2015). The next article, Article 18 states "Any person who, on the occasion of the performance of his duties, has knowledge of a case of violence against a woman or a girl is to report it to the competent authorities." While this law specifies that workers are to report GBV, the language creates some loopholes such as the lack of clarity of what constitutes "the occasion of the performance of his [or her] duties." For example, in the school environment, if a teacher learns of violence through rumors during recess, is this defined as when they are performing their duties? Also, the term "knowledge" could be interpreted as needing "proof" and may allow educators to avoid reporting violence of which they have become aware through word of mouth. Further, the language of "competent authorities" leaves it to the discretion of the witness to decide who is a "competent" authority. Does reporting to the school principal count as the "competent authorities?" If the authority is the principal, what is considered "following up" on the reported violence? This is important, as I will show in the following chapters where I present evidence of incidences of violence staying within schools resulting in a lack of accountability and law enforcement.

Units for accountability and enforcement.

Chapter 5 of Law 61establishes a special police and gendarmerie unit to deal with cases of GBV in order, "to welcome and listen to women and girls who are victims of violence or threatened with violence; to conduct rapid examination required by the circumstances; to summon and hear the accused; to travel to the scene, make findings

and, if necessary, intervene to put an end to violence in the process of committing acts; to proceed to the arrest of the accused if necessary" (Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims [*Loi 061-2015 Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violence a l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes*], 2015, Article 39). Further, the law dictates that there be social services for female victims of gendered violence. Article 81 in Law 81, states, "the disciplinary council has advisory jurisdiction over disciplinary sanctions for professional misconduct." The Human Resources department of the MENA sends reported cases to the Disciplinary Council to address accordingly. The Disciplinary Council draws on Law 81 to frame its authorization and operation. Chapter 1 of section seven of Law 81 outlines the disciplinary code that a public civil servant is subjected if accuses of violating the civil servant code or any other law, such as the Criminal Code. The law does not mention or forbid GBV or violence, other than physical violence. Article 158 lists physical violence as one of the violations that is defined as third degree violations, the most serious infractions (The Law for General Status of the State Public Service [*Loi N 081-2015/CNT Portant Statut General de la Fonction Publique d'Etat], 2015).*

Government Policies Addressing Gender-Based Violence

The most recent government educational plan, "Education and Training Sector Plan(PSEF) 2017-2030" *(Programme de Sectoriel de l'Education et de la Formation 2017-2030 [PSEF])* builds off another recent education plan created in 2012 (*Programme de Développement de l'Education de Base [PDDEB] 2012-2021).* Though the two documents are similar, the PSEF is more thorough and well received by civil society

sector, which felt they had limited input into the PDDEB. The, SNAEF is mentioned in the PSEF as the implementation plan for addressing gender inequality in schools, the focus of this study. The PSEF goes on to list six specific methods to support girls' education including clubs to support young wives and mothers in schools, providing safe housing to girls, and creating a mechanism to identify vulnerable girls. In addition, as part of the action strategy for increased school infrastructure such as separate latrines, the PSEF states the need for "The establishment of a national system for the collection and dissemination of data on pregnancies in school" (Ministry of National Education and Literacy, 2017, p. 34). There has been particular focus on early pregnancies, particularly blamed as an obstacle for girls completing their schooling. This issue is important and one of rightful concern in Burkina Faso due to the high rates of pregnancies in schools. Nevertheless, pregnancies can be an indication of GBV in general, and particularly speak to the inequality between men and women. Young mothers' situations potentially highlighting issues of consent and power dynamic, since mothers are limited in their ability to complete their education and find employment, often due to their family's or husbands' expectations of them staying at home to mind the children.

Encouragingly, the PSEF calls directly for the training of school personnel and teachers on gender pedagogy and GBV in schools as well as for evaluations to follow such trainings to understand their impact. This is the first and only time that there is direct reference to GBV violence in schools in the document. In addressing how the above actions and trainings should be implemented, the document only states who will be included in the trainings, "girls and boys in school, teachers, pedagogical supervisors, parents of pupils, deconcentrated structures of the Ministries in charge of education, of

health, of women, of solidarity and family, NGOs, social partners and CSOs involved in

girls' education, and sexual health and reproduction" (Ministry of National Education and

Literacy, 2017 p. 35). Thiscalls for the "decentralized structures of different Ministries,"

implying that the regional offices are tasked with the responsibility to provide oversight

in implementing polices.

The SNAEF is an implementation strategy that accompanies the PSEF (though

developed along with the educational plan [*PDDEB*] 2012-2021 and then attached to the

PSEF*)* and is also useful in gaining insight into measures taken by the government to

implement policies. The purpose for this strategy paper is to outline an implementation

plan to increase girls' education, including an evaluation mechanism, with a proposed

financing plan. Strategy seven in the SNAEF outlines a "Development of actions to

combat violence against girls in families and schools at the educational level"

(Government of Burkina Faso, 2012. p. 54) Under this strategy, the government called

for a 25% reduction of GBV in schools in Burkina Faso by 2016 and a 50% reduction by

2021, presumably using the 20 cases from the 2011 - 2012 school year of reported

incidences of sexual violence included in the document as a baseline measurement

(Government of Burkina Faso, 2012). Some of the suggested actions to attain these

objectives include a database to measure violence against girls in schools, a biannual

national workshop and action plan to address the violence against girls, the creation of

official mechanisms to address the silence around violence, and trainings for educators to

develop community structures to prevent violence (See Table 2 for the complete list of

objectives). The action plan, and overall document, serves as a mandate and guide to

Table 2. Implementation Plan to Combat Violence Against Girls

Strategy Seven of SNAEF: *"Development of actions to combat violence against girls in families and schools at the educational level"*				
Objective	**Actions**	**Responsible Unit**	**Strategy**	**Evidence of implementation**
Reduce the number of cases of violence against girls by 25% in 2016

Reduce the number of cases of violence against girls by 50% in 2021 | the inventory and creation of a directory of the different forms of violence against girls and women and their frequency | DPEF DPEIEFG* | Data collection and analysis | Policy makers and NGOs report this is in progress. Neither evidence nor details have been provided. |
	the training of parents in parenting education focused on the Integrated Development of Early Childhood (DIPE)	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Training workshop	Participants report training with parents occurs with NGO programming.
	the organization of a national reflection workshop on violence against girls in schools	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG CNPVE*	Exchange workshops	Participants reported this was completed.
	the development and implementation of an Integrated Communication Plan on Family and School Violence against Girls	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Provision of services, establishment of relay stations, use of community radios, theatrical groups, etc.	Use of radio, media and groups have been reported by study participants. No evidence of a plan
	review of the legislative and regulatory texts for a better treatment of cases of violence against girls and women	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Advocacy with policy makers	Documents and interviews reference that this exercise has been complete.
	the establishment of a systematic denunciation mechanism for	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Creation of systems	No evidence of a system or mechanism

	cases of violence to break the silence			
	the inclusion in the school curricula of education content for the safeguarding and construction of peace	DGRIEF DGIFPE	Revision of curricula	Reported to be completed
	the design and implementation of a national action plan to combat violence against girls	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Elaboration of the action plan. Capacity building of actor.	No evidence of a national plan, but the existence of a plan has been referenced in interviews.
	the creation of a psychological, physiological and educational support system for child victims of violence	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Creation of social Councils	No evidence of social Councils or support systems
	training of education actors and community structures on the prevention of violence against girls in schools and families	DPEPE DPEF DPEIEFG	Training workshops	Policy makers and NGOs report trainings and programs
	the generalization of the sexual education and violence prevention program in schools	DPEIEFG DEMPC DPEPE DPEF	Teaching module in schools	Policy makers and NGOs report trainings and programs in schools. No evidence of a systematic, coordinated response or written curricula/plan.

*At the secondary school level. *Source:* SNAEF, 2012

hold the units accountable for the implementation of the action items laid out in the

strategy.

The bold targets in this document are commendable. However, with the lack of reliable data on GBV in schools from which to start, it is difficult to measure whether or not the 2016 target was reached. Nevertheless, the stated goals, and the simple fact that GBV in schools was included as one of the eight strategies, are positive in that they justify an urgency to implement programs to prevent and address the violence. How the different units within the MENA are or are not completing their mandates stated in the SNAEF will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Exclusion of Homophobic Violence and Gender-Based Violence Against Boys and Men

The National Gender Policy (PNG (2009)), the SNAEF (2012), and the PSEF (2017) explicitly acknowledge the existence of sexual violence and harassment against women and girls along with "traditional practices" of forced marriage, polygamy, FGM, etc. However, these official national policies do not mention protection and there is no acknowledgement of homophobic violence. The PNG (2009) lists homosexuality as a factor that places women at increased risk for contracting HIV/AIDS. Further, the policies address GBV in schools as an issue harming girls and women. There is a lack of acknowledgement that boys can also be victims of multiple forms of GBV in schools. All policies use binary categories for women and men.

Local School Policies

At the school level, each secondary school has rules and procedures listed in an official document called Interior Regulations (*Règlement Intérieur*) with which all administration, staff, and students must comply as part of their jobs. This national document, created in 2014, provides the basis of regulations that all secondary schools

must follow in Burkina Faso. The document contains 51 articles that mainly address the organization of the student body; rules for students such as absences and behavior on school premises; sanctions against students who break these rules; and in- and out-of-school activities in which students can engage during the school year. There are no regulations regarding administration and staff, beyond how to discipline a student who has violated one of the rules (MESS, 2014).

   While all public schools must adopt what is laid out in the Interior Regulations, officials within the MENA explained that school administrations are permitted to add clauses. Salif, one male teacher interviewed at School One, reported that as a former principal of another high school, he added into the Interior Regulations that teachers were forbidden to have a sexual relationship, of any nature, with a student. Teachers working at that school had to agree to that additional policy to work at that school. Salif told teachers if they were unable to agree to the added clause, they could work at another school. Neither of the principals at School One or Two added on to the Interior Regulations for their schools.

   In order to evaluate the extent to which teachers understood and followed procedures laid out in the Interior Regulations, I reviewed some pertinent articles within the document. Starting with an example of the role and purpose of elected student positions, Articles 5-12 addresses the six positions that comprise a student committee for each grade. The purpose of these committees is to assist the teacher with classroom organization and management as well as to organize school functions such as afterschool activities. The delegate of the class is the head of the committee and is responsible for

reporting student misbehavior, which includes forms of GBV in class to the teacher and/or the school counselors known as "vie scolaire" (MESS, 2014).

Article 13 discusses rules and regulations for students. This includes how they should act around a teacher. For example, in Article 13, students are instructed to wait in silence for a teacher to enter the class, stand when the teacher enters the classroom, and remain standing until the teacher gives permission to sit. These regulations demonstrate the expectations of the type of behavior and respect that is to be shown to an educator. Article 15 states that students who are late to class are not permitted to enter and must report to counseling services (MESS, 2014). This is relevant to understanding teachers' definitions of violence as well as to explain the expectation around student behavior and the hierarchical relationship between teachers and students. Such rules demonstrate submission on behalf of the students toward teachers and as GBV is often based in unequal power dynamics, particularly when that power balance is challenged, this is important to note.

Section 5 of the Interior Regulations addresses student behavior. Article 19 states that students who are "guilty of physical aggression, sequestration, incitement, disorder, theft within the institution" will face sanctions from the school's discipline council. In Article 26, students are prohibited from carrying weapons in school as well as "dangerous toys such as firecrackers and pornography." The text states, "Vicious games, fights and insults are forbidden; sexual touching and harassment is prohibited; rape results in an appearance before the Disciplinary Council" (MESS, 2014). The document does not define who makes up the disciplinary council or how it functions. Nowhere in the regulations does it state that any violence is to be reported outside of the school, such as

filing a police report. However, in addressing substance abuse, Article 28 does state that the offending student may be reportedto the regional director of the Ministry of Education. According to this article, "The detention, use, consumption, sale of alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and other narcotics within the premises of the school and during educational and recreational activities and outings are strictly prohibited and subject to permanent exclusion pronounced by the regional director on the proposal of the disciplinary council" (MESS, 2014).   Thus, within the Interior Regulations it appears that substance use has more severe consequences than rape.

Section 6 of the Interior Regulations discusses possible awards and sanctions for students. Article 31 states that poor dress, indiscipline, or being impolite or lazy can result in being removed from class or loss of points on the final semester grade as decided by the teacher, temporary suspension from school for 24–72 hours as decided by the school principal, or an appearance in front of the discipline council. Article 33 addresses serious cases but does not offer examples of what is considered serious. However, the principal is allowed to suspend a student between 4–15 days or request the regional director to permanently expel a student from the school.

It is important to note that there is no specific document or policy for teacher conduct such as a code of conduct. There are several policies, such as Law 81, that outline policies for civil servants including teachers, such as vacation and sick time. When I made requests for policies and laws that outlined teachers' conduct, all participants from teachers to national officials referred me to the Interior Regulations. As seen in a previous section, these school rules have few guidelines for teachers but rather focus on student behavior.

Conclusion

This chapter outlines how different forms of violence are defined and addressed in national laws and policies in Burkina Faso. Strengths of the laws and policies are the inclusion of protection of witnesses and those who report violence, as well as articles stipulating certain parties to report violence. Thus, the laws have essentially required teachers and school administration to be mandated reporters, even though, as discussed earlier, some of the language in Law 61 does not clearly define when a teacher must report and what is considered "knowledge" of violence.

What could limit school staff and administration from reporting is the lack of a system that allows for safe reporting as well as the implementation of the protection of those reporting, as promised in the laws. The SNAEF is the only evidence of an implementation plan (with no evidence of implementation plans for any of the laws outlined in the chapter) and, as Table 2 shows, there is limited evidence that the action plan to combat violence against girls in schools is being fulfilled. There is no evidence, despite verbal confirmation by officials, that action items, such as a system of reporting and combatting the culture of silence, has been developed.

The national laws and policies, while at times referring to gender, use GBV almost interchangeably for violence against women and girls. The inequalities between men and women and the social construction of roles and characteristics of the two binary gender groups are recognized in each law and policy, however, there is no acknowledgement of heteronormative norms applied to all of the policies, which can create an environment that normalizes homophobic violence. National policies and laws do not recognize gender as a performance of masculinity and femininity that both males

and females can perform. While there are no laws against same-sex sexual acts, the lack

of protection in the laws and the limits of the definition of gender reveal a society where

heteronormative gender roles are so ingrained that there is a denial or refusal to address

anything outside of these norms.

The laws reviewed in this chapter do not include a specific section for GBV in

schools but do address the forms of violence that make up GBV. The Criminal Code and

Law 61 address the violence that can be defined as GBV as physical, sexual,

psychological, moral, economic, cultural, and patriarchal (in Law 61). The law for civil

servants, Law 81, only mentions physical violence, and nothing about gendered violence

or discrimination but does state that all employees are subject to the criminal code.

While the laws and policies have strong definitions of violence, encapsulating a wide

variety of forms of violence, corporal punishment is not included and not fully defined.

Laws against physical violence protect against hitting and beating a child, but other forms

of corporal punishment, often unequally distributed to girls in schools, such as forced

labor, are not addressed in the policies.

Another weakness of the laws and policies is the absence of a definition of

consent around sexual relationships. This is important due to the acknowledged power

dynamics as well as situations such as poverty that drive students to engage in sexual

relationships that may appear consensual but are in fact a result of coercion or in

exchange for material needs. Policies and other national reports (Devers et al., 2012;

Diawara et al., 2013; Government of Burkina Faso, 2012) acknowledge that these

phenomena contribute to students engaging in sexual relationships but do not go further

to define consent or attempt to hold perpetrators who use coercion or exploit students

responsible. The laws outlaw sex with a student who is under the age of 18 but there is little protection for older students (Criminal Code [*Loi N°025-2018/An Portant Code Penal*], 2018; Law for Prevention, Repression and Reparation of Violence against Women and Girls and Caring for Victims [*Loi 061-2015 Portant Prevention, Repression et Reparation des Violence a l'Egard des Femmes et des Filles et Prise en Charge des Victimes]*, 2015). While there are many sexual acts declared illegal in Law 61 and the Criminal Code, punishment is often lenient. For example, teachers risk losing their professional licenses for no more than five years if convicted of a sexual crime. In the Interior Regulations for secondary schools, if a student is accused of rape, the crime and punishment can be dealt with inside the school. There is no article requiring the school administration to report the student to the police or to the regional Ministry.

This chapter shows that laws and policies exist to combat GBV throughout the country, with Some specific laws and policies focused on GBV in schools in the more recent laws. With recent improvements of laws and policies regarding GBV in schools, including the new Criminal Code and Law 61, there is the possibility of more commitment to combatting GBV and holding perpetrators accountable. With the SNAEF as the only implementation document, there are limited mechanisms to hold secondary schools accountable to the laws against GBV.

Chapter 5 presents the findings for the second research question by reviewing data from interviews with policy makers and continued document analysis. It builds on the findings of Chapter 4 by examining the departments and units created to implement and enforce the existing policies and looks at how national and regional officials approach their office mandates.

CHAPTER 5: Laws and Policies Implemented by Departmental Units

This chapter address my second research question, "Given that such policies exist, how effective are the mechanisms and procedures for implementation at a regional and school level?". To this end, I explore how departmental units within the MENA and other ministries are charged with implementing the reviewed laws and policies and how they followed the mandates of their offices as well as national laws and how they have implemented the action plan outlined in the SNAEF. The first section discusses the national departmental units within the government that are mandated to implement policies addressing gender-based violence (GBV) in schools (see Figure 2). A discussion of national systems of measuring GBV and evidence of enforcement follows section one. After outlining the role of regional units, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the extent to which the overall response is establishing a strong system to aid in understanding and combatting GBV in schools through the vertical implementation of national laws and policies.

National and Regional Ministries and Organizations Addressing Policies

The Government of Burkina Faso created ministries and units that help address various gender issues and implement policies (see Figure 2 for those included in this study). In 1994, the government created the Ministry of Social Action and National Solidarity, commonly referred to as *Action Sociale*, to protect women, children, and marginalized groups. Individuals can go to a local *Action Sociale* office, located in regional and provincial cities, to report violence and to seek protection and resources. In

Figure 2. Organizational chart of ministries, unions, and I/NGOs implementing policies.
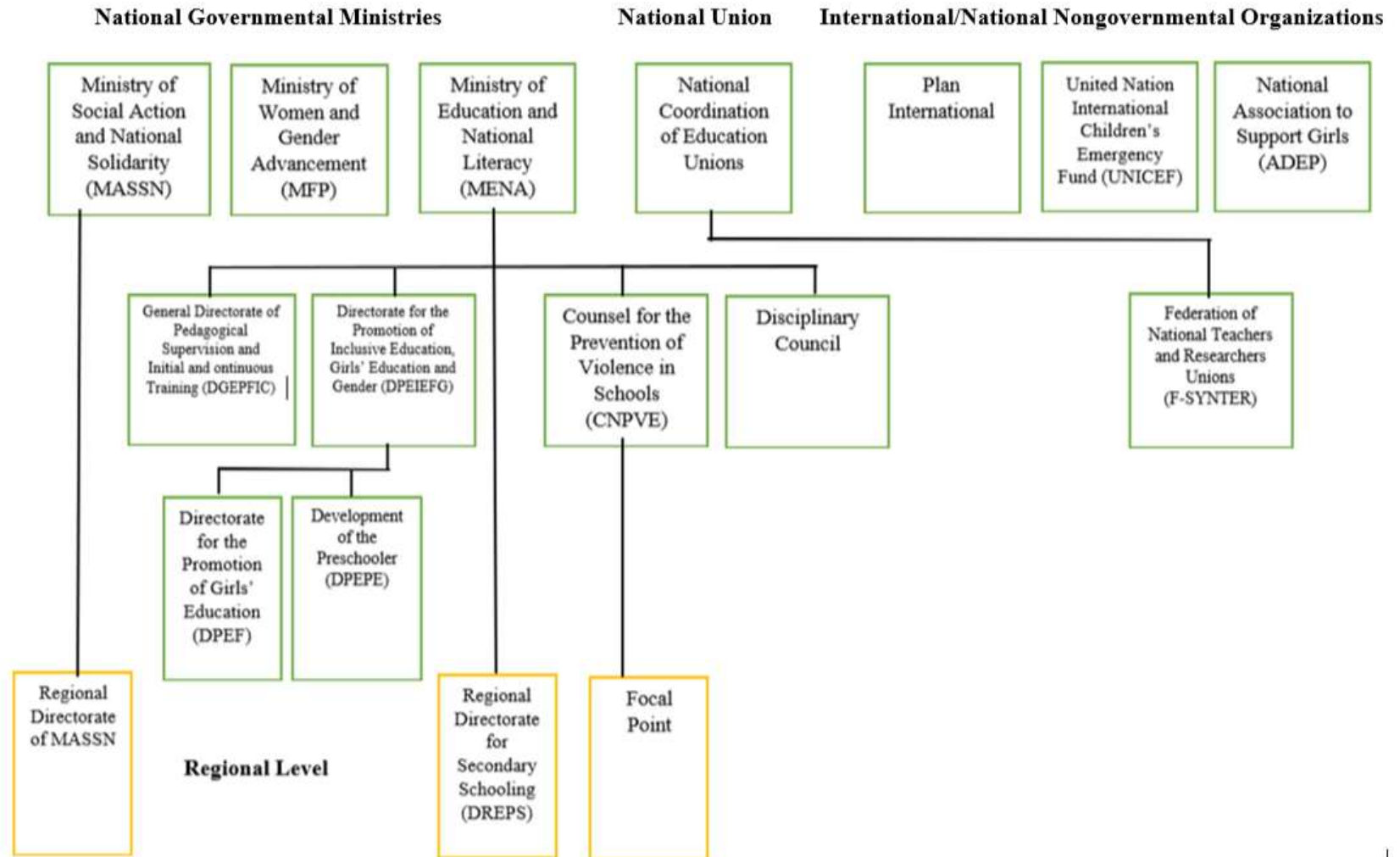
Source: Author, based on existing organizational charts and interview data

an interview in July 2018 with Mr. Paré[1], a high-ranking employee at a national office, explained to me,

> Our role is to promote good behavior at the school level to avoid violence because we see more and more of a lack of civility. There is a lot of deviant behavior that we see on the [inter]net, it transforms children, some lead to deprivation of morals, and also causes school-based violence. Our role is to promote this education in order to help the child to have a harmonious schooling, with the respect of the teachers, the respect of the parents and respect for the good of the community.
>
> Mr. Paré promoted a discourse of blaming students, rather than showing an

understanding that students are vulnerable. A term that he used, "lack of civility", has been used to describe some of the students' current behaviors in school by the government and NGOs. This term refers to the collective voice that students have used increasingly since 2011 but, more so, after the people's revolution in 2014 that pushed out former President Compoaré. Students have taken to the streets in peaceful and, at times, violent protest over perceived injustice in school. Nationally, students have reacted to mistreatment, delayed exam schedules, poor teaching or school results by organizing and voicing their discontent. Though much of this lack of civility has been expressed through walk-outs and peaceful protest, there have been reports of students burning buildings, motorcycles, and threatening school personnel. The government and NGOs have been implementing programs and trainings to teach the youth peaceful democratic values, due to the concern of growing lack of civility.

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[1] All names used in this dissertation are pseudonyms

When I asked if *Action Sociale* is mandated to assist victims in reporting GBV taking place in schools, his response was to explain the new law made it illegal for teachers to go out with minor students and added, "we are doing a comprehensive promotion and protection of children, minors, so whenever there is violence no matter where, we have the obligation to intervene. Whether at school in high school or any structure, we intervene." So that I could understand how *Action Sociale* becomes informed of occurrences of violence in order to intervene, Mr. Paré explained that while there are no policies for protection around reporting the violence, such policies are not needed as reports are made anonymously through a 116 confidential number. He emphasized, "So we do not need any text, we do not need anyone to denounce a victim openly." He reported to me that the people call the line and statistics are kept at another office but that the data is not disaggregated, thus making it difficult to identity the number of calls reporting GBV occurring in schools. Despite numerous attempts, I was unable to get the statistic of how many calls are received each year. Further, only one teacher referenced this number.

Mr. Paré explained that the national office of *Action Sociale* works with the MENA to use media campaigns to raise awareness against violence. He was well versed in existing laws and policies around GBV. Mr. Paré spoke of gender as a binary of men and women and explained the purpose of the PNG is to help men and women "...support each other in the realization of projects. Because the woman can have insufficiencies which can be leveled out if she is empowered and supported. She can be a project initiator, like the man, for a prosperous community."

The Ministry for the Advancement of Women and Gender (*Ministère de la Promotion des Femmes et du Genre,* (MPF)) was created in 1997 in order to develop strategies and policies for women and girls. The MPF authored the National Gender Policy (PNG) and works closely with international donors on women's and girls' initiations. In a conversation with a high government official in the MPF, Ms. Naré, she referred to the official definition of gender as outlined in the PNG, which according to her, is framed in a social justice lens to redress inequalities. She added that both men and women can be victims and perpetrators of GBV. She stated, "Just because it is the Women's Ministry doesn't mean we don't promote men's rights too." There is a separation between MPF and MENA, despite an overlap in mandates around women's and girls' education. While Ms. Naré spoke of "synergy" among the different ministries to address GBV in schools, she did not provide details when asked to elaborate but explained that the MENA and MPF work on studies and strategic planning together. Ms. Nara demonstrated a well-rounded knowledge of national policies, authored by different ministries, which involved addressing GBV. She explained how each policy is carried by one ministry and that within each ministry a directorate is charged with the operational logistics of implementing the policy. She offered the example of the SNAEF as a policy that is "fathered" by the MENA and implemented under the Directorate of Promotion of Inclusive Education, Girls Education and Gender (*Direction de la Promotion de l'Education Inclusive, de l'Education des Filles et du Genre* [DPEIEFG]).   For Law 61 in which the MPF plays a supporting role, Ms. Naré explained that the MPF trained judges and magistrates so they were aware of the new laws. After the training is complete, the responsibility is passed on to the courts to apply and enforce. The

responsible ministry is also tasked with conducting awareness and outreach campaigns

for the public to learn of the new laws and policies. While Ms. Naré told me that the

MPF does Some training sessions, a lack of financing and resources limits the activity.

Despite being in a position to have access to statistics on the number and type of trainings

conducting by the MPF each year, Ms. Naré was unable to provide me such details.

According toher, in 2017, the MPF did some trainings in high schools on sexual and

reproductive health but none were planned for 2018. There was no mention of trainings

on specific policies around GBV that were included in Law 61 for school personnel or

students. Ms. Naré identified GBV as starting at the family level and informally

mentioned, as a side note, that nongovernment organizations conduct programs in

partnership with the MPF. She did state that violence is decreasing, and improvements

have been seen. When pressed for evidence of this, Ms. Naré quoted the increase in

girls' access to schooling and more women in leadership positions, though she

acknowledged, "there are no miracle solution" to decreasing the violence.

The MENA oversees early childhood education, primary, and secondary

schooling in Burkina Faso. The ministry has created national directorates to address girls'

education, gender, and violence in schools. As outlined in previous sections, the MENA

is also charged with implementing several policies that deal with girls' education.

Working closely with international funders such as the Global Partnership for Education

(GPE) and UNICEF, the MENA is currently implementing the current education plan.

When talking with an influential policy maker within the MENA, Mr. Lompo, to further

understand MENA officials' understanding of the term gender, he explained a unique

interpretation stating,

Sometimes when we talk about gender, in short, most of the people see right away men and women. As far as the MENA is concerned, that's not accurate because anything regarding, for example inclusive education, disabled people, and anything that makes a difference, we will consider it as gender problems. In education, taking into account gender is no longer about male and female, but it takes into account people with disabilities, for example. So that's more or less the vision we have at the level of the MENA, something more global.

The concept that gender encompasses people with disabilities may come from the recent addition of inclusive education in the mandate of DPEIEFG that formerly focused only on girls' education and promotion of gender in education. While addressing the marginalization within schooling that occurs due to gender inequality and discrimination against children with disabilities in order to create a more inclusive environment for all, gender is not a disability but a social construction or performance. Further, strategies to achieve gender equality in education are different from establishing equal access and quality education for the disabled. Though Mr. Lompo represents the MENA, his interpretation of the concept of gender was different from both his colleagues and how gender is defined within national policies. However, given that he is a high-ranking ministry official, it is concerning that he advocated such an understanding of gender.

Mr. Lompo identified teacher training as the most important piece in achieving equal education for all. According to him, "Even if the teacher has good intentions, he/she does not know how to [teach inclusively without gender bias]. It is not that he/she does not want to, he/she just cannot do it, because he/she is not well equipped to do it, so this is part of the problems that we have...." Though it is encouraging that Mr. Lompo

identities the need for teacher training, other officials in charge of implementing training discuss the multiple barriers to effective, wide-spread teacher training, mainly due to limited resources and funding, as will be seen throughout this chapter. This highlights one of the conundrums that ministry official find themselves in: suggestions such as teacher trainings are promoted from outside organizations, and while officials may agree with such strategies, there are no resources available for systematic implementation. It is difficult to determine if officials such as Mr. Lompo, reference trainings as a solution due to the influence of international development programming or due to a strong, professional belief in the approach. Further, Mr. Lompo stated in the above quote that teachers are unable to teach indiscriminately. This implies that an inherent gender bias exists in today's classrooms.

To combat gender inequality, Mr. Lompo was realistic in stating that there were tangible things the MENA could do, such as create girl-friendly curriculum and develop textbooks that present more equal gender roles and norms as outlined in the action plan for strategy seven in the SNAEF. Mr. Lompo emphasized that it would take much more than changing class material to end GBV in schools, which requires "changing mentality" throughout society.

Mr. Lompo was very frank in stating that there is a lack of enforcement of existing policies. He explained that often there are violations of policies that are not reported to the Ministry. Yet when perpetrators were reported, there were often no consequences because of parents of the victims requesting the case be dropped. He explained,

I think we have a case going on right now. I think it's a teacher who has made some mistakes. He has [confessed] to those mistakes and all [the Disciplinary Council] has done is to reassign him [to a different school]. When the case came here [to the Ministry], the parents [of the victim] said, "No no no no", because when the matter gets out in public, it is a shame for the family. So the parents said "No no no. It'll be fine." It will be fine for the parents, but what about the child? What is the impact on the child? We don't pay attention to that. We brought the case here [to the Ministry], I sent it to the HRM (Human Resources Manager) saying that we will enforce the policies and the matter will be brought in front of the Disciplinary Council. We will send the person in front of the Disciplinary Council.

Mr. Lompo's explanation of the issues of reporting and enforcing aligned with this study's findings, as presented in Chapter 7: cases of GBV are not generally reported, and when they are, the laws are most often not enforced. What is most significant is Mr. Lompo's willingness, as a high-ranking official in the MENA, to vocalize these norms around shame, particularly when he is unwilling to challenge the taboo nature of naming sexual violence. It is interesting to note that while being frank and honest, he, himself, chooses to not name the crime, sexual assault, but refer to it as a "mistake" rather than a crime. I understand this as a cultural practice of talking around a taboo subject, rather than Mr. Lompo's beliefs of what is a crime, but if high officials in the government will not break through the taboo, it reinforces, or at the very least continues, the obstacles to addressing the phenomenon directly. Ministry officials are often placed in the dilemma of managing the expectation of the international community (seen in this study as a

hegemony in its own right, particularly with the legacy of colonialism) and social acceptance of the population. Despite positional power, along with access to resources, higher socio-economic status, and higher education attainment, officials are aware that there are consequences for being out spoken and breaking societal norms. One example of a social consequence is the phenomenon of poisoning as an act of revenge or to signal displeasure with a family (author's field notes, 2018). While this is an extreme example, it shows the precarious position that officials can find themselves in when negotiating with community member such as parents or teachers who feel they have a lot to lose due to being publicly shamed. Mr. Lompo stated he endorsed full enforcement of the law for sexual violence, but, in 2017, this did not happen in the four cases heard by the Disciplinary Council. However, he was not in his current position during that time so it is unclear if he had the capacity to intervene or if he would do so in his current position.

Mr.Lompo highlighted that his office works closely with the DPEIEFG and the National Council for the Prevention of Violence in Schools (*Conseil National Pour La Prevention de la Violence à l'Ecole*, CNPVE) to address GBV in schools. Tucked away in a neighborhood far from the ministry buildings, CNPVE is housed with DPEIEFG. At the time of the study, the CNPVE was staffed with the director of the department and a secretary. The low budget and limited availability of resources were quite evident in the lack of office supplies and equipment, staff, and general work activity (author's field notes, 2016; 2018). The CNPVE is charged to collect data on violence in schools, identify the principal sources of the violence, and develop prevention and responsive measures to combat the violence. Gender and GBV are not a focus of CNPVE, and I was informed that the gender focus is the job of the DPEIEFG. The words gender or gender-

based violence were never used in any report by the CNPVE.   Despite the lack of focus

on gender, an employee associated with CNPVE, Mr.Tiendrébéogo, gave a thorough

explanation of bias against women in the society, drawing on the example of the

inclusion of men in position of power.   Further, Mr. Tiendrébéogo was the only

government official to recognize that it was necessary to challenge heteronormative

norms, along with masculine power dynamics, in order to address gendered violence. He

explained, "But today, too, we must take into account more and more the situation of

people with disabilities, the situation of bisexuals, etc. and the need to respect each

other's freedom." This sentiment, however, is not reflected in the CNPVE's reports or

activities. When listing the different forms of violence, Mr. Tiendrébéogo stated, "There

are verbal violence, psychological violence, moral violence, physical violence, etc. And it

concerns the two sexes; it concerns both boys and girls. But specifically, there is violence

that only affects girls, including rape, gang rape, and then some physical aggression." So

while he was able to recognize the rights of the LGBTQ community, he did not include

boys as victims of sexual violence. As seen in the interview with Mr. Paré of *Action

Sociale,* Mr. Tiendrébéogo used language that placed blame on students. Mr.

Tiendrébéogo did so by explaining that the cause for the increase in violence was due to

the use of drugs by students. After doing an assessment in two regions in 2017 around

drug use among students, the government commissioned the CNPVE to draft a strategy to

combat drug use, addiction, and violence in schools. Mr. Tiendrébéogo expressed hopes

that employing this coming strategy would see a reduction in violence in schools in the

future. To reiterate, the CNPVE is tasked with decreasing violence in schools *without

examining gender or GBV.*

Mr. Tiendrébéogo reported that the CNPVE trains about 150-200 teachers each year. At the time of this writing, the CNPVE had provided three trainings in 2018, in different regional cities. However, these trainings were funded by outside programs on topics slightly outside the focus of the CNPVE, such as extreme terrorism, another example of the influence of the international funders as well as the limited control ministry officials have over training agendas.   While Mr. Tiendrébéogo acknowledged that such a topic is important and relevant for the realities of today in Burkina Faso, he told me he attempts to use the platform to also discuss violence between students and teachers, particularly addressing teachers having sexual relationships with students. Mr. Tiendrébéogo hoped to be able to train school counselors, about whom he said,

> it is thanks to them that we can keep track [of] the children who are on time, those who are late. It is thanks to them that we know that a given child has the predispositions to be a drug addict, etc. So you have to know how to praise their work and tell them they are really an important element in the school system.

Mr. Tiendrébéogo also suggested that there be trainings for class delegates, who are described in the Interior Regulations as responsible for reporting violence and misbehavior in the classroom. According to himmost often, delegates are "just for the show" and often lead rallies and strikes that result in vandalism. Thus, instead of working to combat violence and act as allies to teachers, he believes that class delegates are actually causing more conflict between teachers and students and thus, not using their positions in appropriate ways.

Throughout our conversation, Mr. Tiendrébéogo seemed to go from being transparent in presenting the struggles around violence in schools to using language to

make the CNPVE appear successful in decreasing violence and make the general

situation appear hopeful and heading in the right direction. He spoke with optimism that

a coming code of conduct for teachers, which does not currently exist, would put a stop to

sexual violence between teachers and students and asserted, without mentioning the

difficulties of reporting such violence, that such cases would be disclosed due to the

regional "*focal point"* being present. Chapters 6 and 7 explore whether or not a regional

focal point is obtaining data from the two participating schools on GBV as is the mandate

of the position.

The SNAEF lists the CNPVE as responsible for implementing national reflection

workshops on violence against girls as an action item for strategy seven: Combatting

violence against girls (see Table 2 in Chapter 4). Mr. Tiendrébéogo reported that the

CNPVE has led two trainings, as well as organizing a "National Civic Week" to fulfill

the action plan.

The DPEIEFG (formerly known as the Direction for Girls' Education and

Promotion of Gender (DEFPG)), is mandated to oversee 10 out of the 11 listed action

plans for strategy seven in the SNAEF including: 1) creating an inventory of the

prevalence of different forms of violence against girls, 2) conducting awareness trainings

with parents and education personnel, 3) developing mechanism to combat the silence

around GBV in schools, 4) reviewing legislation around GBV, 5) creating a sex

education curriculum, and 6) implementing a plan of action to combat GBV (see Table 2

in Chapter 4). It is not clear why the CNPVE is not tasked to help develop the inventory

of the frequency of violence against girls, since it is the CNPVE's role to collect statistics

on violence occurring in schools. It may be due to the DPEIEFG's mandate to address

gender violence while the CNPVE is tasked with dealing with violence in general, which is treated as separate from GBV.

Despite the large responsibility placed on the DPEIEFG in implementing the SNAEF, the overall mandate of the directorate has expanded in recent years to include inclusive education. When I asked a high official in DPEIEFG, Ms. Sawadogo, how the directorate is able to manage to address such a large mandate, she explained that it is a unit with many subunits to help with the implementation of programs. Ms. Sawadogo informed me that awareness training was the most important element to combat GBV in schools in order to give people in the education sector correct information about what is gender and violence as, "they often do things without knowing that it is violence." Ms. Sawadogo reported that DPEIEFG trains approximately 1,000 school teachers a year and also coordinates with INGOs and NGOs, who conduct their own trainings. For example, the World Bank partners with DPEIEFG to do trainings in the North region and Plan International does student and teacher training in the Central North region. However, it was not evident that any of the individual INGO or NGO programs align together or how they come together to implement the action plan laid out in the SNAEF. Ms. Sawadogo suggested this was not a concern because, "until now we can't reach everyone. So even if everyone goes to the same place, it is sure that there will always be people that UNICEF will train, [Handicap International] will train, that Plan will train, or that the state will train." When asked if the DPEIEFG has completed or is working on the other remaining action plans, Ms. Sawadogo emphatically stated that all of the action plans had been created. I requested access to the action plans, inventories, and other tangible mechanisms that would have been produced from these initiatives and was assured they

would be sent to me. Despite several attempts to follow up, I have not received these mechanisms and have found no evidence of implementation beyond trainings.

The General Directorate of Pedagogical Supervision and Initial and Continuous Training (*la Direction Générale de l'Encadrement Pédagogique et de la Formation Initiale et Continue* (DGEPFIC)) was charged with modifying curricula as part of the action plan for Strategy seven in the SNAEF, as referenced by Mr. Lompo. Mr. Somé, an official at the DGEPFIC, said that the Directorate is working on creating guides and textbooks that remove gender stereotypes. He reported, "a team is working to prepare pedagogical guides for teachers. In those guides we will explain to teachers what consideration they should have for girls at school ... Afterwards we will start another work that will focus on new student workbooks." While the changing pedagogy is addressing gender equality, Mr. Somé said it is much more difficult to address GBV. He believed that since the general society is violent toward women and girls, it is difficult to change this with curricula or within a school.

Difficulty in measuring prevalence.

In a report titled *Report on the Situation of Violence in Schools and Universities in Burkina Faso: 2012-2015* published in 2016, the CNPVE reviewed data collected from regional directorates in all of the 13 regions. In the beginning of this short, public report, the current time was described as a crisis in Burkina Faso with an increase in physical, verbal, moral, and psychological violence and vandalism in schools. Sexual violence was notably missing from the measured forms of violence. The listed violence was not defined in the report, so it is unclear if moral violence was defined as verbal and/or sexual violence or if it was excluded all together. In this published report, cases of

violence were measured by physical violence, verbal, moral and psychological (which is undefined), and vandalism.   In the 2013-2014 school year, the published 2016 report documented 43 cases of physical violence. Yet, in the separate unpublished annual report of that same school year, there were a total of 6 cases of physical violence for the same year. This suggest that the MENA has been unsuccessful at getting reliable statistics on violence in schools in general and is consciously choosing to avoid collecting data on sexual GBV in schools.

     Interestingly, two unpublished annual reports for the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 school years report documented sexual violence and the lack of civility (which includes protests and strikes), but not vandalism directly. Further, these annual unpublished reports also disaggregate by the title of the perpetrator, which was not included in the 2016 published report. The published 2016 report presented data that was different from and did not align with the two unpublished annual reports that cover two of the years included in the published report. The CNPVE did not mention the inconsistences between the reports, including the absence of statistics on sexual violence or early pregnancies in the published report. Despite reviewing obstacles such as the lack of funding and resources, the published report did not address the lack of reporting of violence, starting at the school level. There is no mention in the published report that statistics on violence is difficult to measure. Mr. Tiendrébéogo, during our interview in August 2018, explained that the inconsistences with the CNPVE numbers and other studies are based on the means of collection. He explained that the CNPVE was dependent on getting statistics from the Regional Directors and other decentralized offices and often these regional offices were not serious about reporting incidences. Mr. Tiendrébéogo said,

"there is no motivation ... And we have told the regions to get serious, because sometimes we hear things, cases of violence in this and that region, but when their reports come there is no mention of those cases in them." To help improve data sharing, the CNPVE has identified a civil servant in each region to serve as a "*focal point*." This person works with local schools and regional offices to collect reliable data. However, Mr. Tiendrébéogo insisted that a culture of silence was not an obstacle to getting reliable statistics anymore and offered examples of when rapes were reported by parents to demonstrate his point. Throughout the interview, Mr. Tiendrébéogo contradicted himself regarding whether violence in schools is increasing, prevailing at the same levels each year, or decreasing. At the beginning of the interview, he reported that due to incivility and student drug use, violence was increasing, though he corrected himself later in the interview to clarify that the violence was simply remaining at the same levels due to the students' behaviors. Finally, at the end of the interview, he offered evidence of a decrease in violence in schools, based on statistics that CNPVE collected, that he, himself, had acknowledge were not accurate. Thus, it is not clear if violence, and/or what type of violence, was remaining the same, increasing, or decreasing. Mr. Tiendrébéogo's inconsistent language points to the balancing act that ministry official engages in when discussing policy implementation, enforcement as well as the success from such initiatives.

Despite, Mr. Tiendrébéogo's, understanding of and attention to gender equality, it was quite concerning that there is an absence of GBV incidences in the CNPVE reports. Other reports in Burkina Faso have demonstrated higher rates of GBV in schools (Devers et al.; Diawara et al., 2013). The contradictions between the official numbers from the

MENA and data reported in national surveys, as well as independent research surveys (Devers et al., 2012; Diawara et al., 2013) highlight the difficulty in obtaining reliable data on GBV, particularly when reliant on official reporting. Anonymous surveys, whether conducted by the government or independent organizations, showed higher incidences of GBV than statistics collected through official mechanisms. This could be due to the resistance in reporting GBV in schools.

National Procedures and Mechanisms of Enforcement

The Interior Regulations for schools state the students who engage in violence will get sent to the school's Disciplinary Council, whose recommendation of sanctions will be sent to the Regional Director. Teachers who violate school policies, including engaging in GBV, can get reported to the school director and school's Disciplinary Council. A teacher could also be reassigned as punishment by the Regional Director. Within the MENA, a teacher can also be reported to the national Disciplinary Council according to Article 153 in Law 81. According to Mr. Coulibaly, an official in the Human Resources Management litigation department, an accused teacher will only stand before the Disciplinary Council if a regional director has written to the MENA reporting a violation and has requested the accused go in front of the council. When asked for the laws and rules that apply to teachers and that guide the Disciplinary Council's work, Mr. Coulibaly referred to Law 81 as the main guiding policy. The Disciplinary Council can impose sanctions such as suspension from work or revoking a professional license, however it is the courts that take a case and apply criminal charges. Mr. Coulibaly reported that the Council waited until after a court case ruling to hear a case. He also emphasized there was a problem with underreporting both to the MENA and the courts.

He said that school principals, regional directors, and ministry officials would not report accused friends or employees with political connection. Further, parents themselves asked for cases to be dissolved after a private "solution" was agreed upon. This is similar to what was reported by Mr. Lompo. Mr. Coulibaly reported,

> For example, if someone has raped their daughter or made her pregnant, the parents even go to the gendarmerie to ask the gendarmes not to send the file anywhere and to drop the case. They say, "That's our daughter that was raped, but we made an agreement with the rapist, so we want you to drop the case. We don't want the file sent to court." So that is the way it usually works. And then the second element is politics. If the one who raped, or who stole, is in politics, the case does not go far. And then in the third element, there are also feelings of fear. In reality, parents do not want to report, they are even afraid to do it. They think that if they report [they will be shamed] ... Because the culture of going to the gendarmerie, the justice system, it is not in the culture of Burkinabe people.

Mr. Coulibaly's assessment of the root problem of underreporting was consistent with other ministry employees' assessments of the phenomenon. While he expressed frustration in the lack of accountability, he did not offer ways that the MENA was attempting to address the problem through official mechanisms. When asked about cases involving GBV, Mr. Coulibaly explained,

> Gender issues are a matter of national policy, so we don't manage them here. If a guy hits a woman, this is not called a gender issue, it is an intentional assault. Either it goes to court or it comes to the Disciplinary Council. But we don't

consider it a gender issue. For anything related to gender, it is a national policy that must manage it. We don't talk about gender here.

Just as Mr. Tiendrébéogo suggested, Mr. Coulibaly reported that gender is a separate "issue" that only designated gender national policies and units address, such as the National Gender Policy and departments such as the DGEIEFG. He made no connection between violence and gender, which demonstrates a limited understanding of GBV and perhaps limits how it can be confronted through official mechanisms.

This adds to the concern about how GBV is being addressed within the MENA, particularly within the Disciplinary Council, and around holding perpetuators accountable by enforcing laws, such as Law 61. For example, in 2017, a public record of the Disciplinary Council's cases showed five of the cases dealt with teachers who were accused of having "guilty relations with a student" at the primary school level. In 2018, the council heard four cases of "guilty relations with a student" (level of schooling unknown). There are no statistics for rape, sexual assault, harassment, or any other form of GBV. The language of having "guilty relations" is problematic, as it is differentiated from rape, and implies that the sexual relationship was consensual. In an example of one of these cases heard in 2017, a male primary school teacher got a fifth grader pregnant and then had a traditional marriage. The write up of the deliberation explains that while the student's birth certificate showed she was born in 1994, the teacher believed that her actual year of birth was 1988 and that she was 21 years old at the time. There was no mention of the student's consent to either the sexual relationship or marriage. The council voted to give a sanction of a one-year delay in any job promotion. This was the same sanction against two other teachers who had "guilty relations" with students of

primary school age. Only one case involved sentencing, that of a fourth-grade teacher having "guilty relations" with an 11-year-old student. Having spent 45 days in jails awaiting trial of athree-month suspended sentence, the council issued a sanction of a one-year delay in any job promotion. The description of these cases should be defined as rape, as they involved minors, not "guilty relations." Even though the new 2018 Criminal Code was not applied at the time of these hearings, Law 61, which was enacted in 2015, clearly outlaws sex with minors. All of these teachers were allowed to continue to teach children (Disciplinary Council, 2017).

There are six members who are making these decisions around cases: three officials from the MENA and three representatives from the teacher unions. Mr. Coulibaly discussed the conflictual nature between the MENA and the unions. According to him, union members sitting on the Disciplinary Council often demanded lower sentences or recommended warnings rather than punishment, on behalf of the accused teacher. The unions were granted half the seats in order to avoid conflict and the risks of strikes and protests among teachers if the council issued a contested sanction, according to Mr. Coulibaly.

During an interview with Mr. Barry, a top manager of a large teacher union, he explained the union's role in working with the MENA, stating that union officials were members on the Disciplinary Council and, "Depending on the nature of [the accused teacher's] misdemeanor and what they will say in front of the council, we try to reduce their sanction or show that they must be sanctioned to give the example." Mr. Barry went on to explain that if a teacher admits to the crime, such as taking responsibility for impregnating a school girl and supporting the school girl's pregnancy, as well as

promises to change, then he should be forgiven. Mr. Barry's philosophy is that people can change, as is promoted often to encourage forgiveness and ending conflicts in Burkina Faso, even when violence has occurred such as in cases of domestic violence. When asked about past teacher strikes to protest sanctions applied to a colleague accused of rape, Mr. Barry vehemently denied that his union had ever organized or condoned a strike to defend a teacher found guilty of a "sexual misdemeanor."

Mr. Barry described the relationship between the government and the unions as one that lacks trust and is conflictual in nature as was earlier described by Mr. Coulibaly. Mr. Barry was very clear in condemning all sexual relationships between teachers and students. He stated, "My organization and I have always, and still, condemn sexual violence directed toward anyone at school. It is not the role of teachers and it is not a good thing for the ethics of the teaching profession." However, he explained that laws, referring to the recent Article in the new Criminal Code that makes it illegal for teachers to have sexual relations with a minor student, must include all professions and not just teachers. He also reported that the union offers trainings to teachers, but mainly around organizing within the union and workers' rights. The union does not address GBV in schools though they work with teachers to represent the profession in a respectful manner and officially speak out against the use of corporal punishment as well as other violence in schools.

Regional Ministry Offices

The regional level government offices are not charged with constructing policies but are responsible for assisting with the implementation at the regional and local levels. The regional directorate of Action Sociale has positions addressing women's rights and

child protections. Providing social services to the most vulnerable populations, Action Sociale understands gender rights as human rights. Mr. Sanou, a regional officer at Action Sociale, explains inequality and injustice at the root GBV. To address GBV in general, he explains

> It is linked to traditions, and for questions of traditions, it is also linked to questions of behavior, and attitudes, things that people have already internalized. Because if we justify the treatment that we administer to a human being on the basis of tradition, on the basis of custom, or on the basis of religion, it means that it is internalized, and in that sense, to fight them we need a long struggle, to raise awareness, to make sure that children go to school to understand more that these issues are questions of human rights and that we need to live together in harmony, fighting things by their roots. Education, education, transmitting values that respect human rights, that's it.

Along with providing support for victims, in the form of counseling, medical or legal referrals, and other material supports, Mr. Sanou reported that the regional directorate assists with implementing laws that help change the unequal traditions and customs by reminding the national ministries of duties that have not yet been fulfilled; essentially acting as an advocate. His office also provides such advocacy with the regional directorate of the MENA. When asked if there is a partnership in reporting and enforcing laws against GBV in schools, Mr. Sanou stated, "When violence happens at school, most of the time they don't want us to know. It depends on who is the perpetrator. If it's the teacher who is the perpetrator, they don't want people to know about it…." Since the schools are not reaching out to *Action Sociale* and reporting GBV, it is up to the

victims to seek out help themselves. Thus, Mr. Sanou said that *Action Sociale* does not

work with many schoolchildren, unless a pregnant girl comes to seek help after being

turned away by her family.

To explore how the school systems reports GBV and follow the obligations of

reporting outlined in Law 81 and Law 61, I visited the regional Directorate of the MENA

and spoke to an employee, Mr. Ouédraogo. He explained the regional directorate's

responsibility as

> giving information to the [school administration] who are responsible for
>
> informing or sensitizing their teachers. That's all we can do. We can relay the
>
> information. The information is passed to the regional directorates from the
>
> national level and we write for the national regulation to be applied in the fight
>
> against violence at school.

While the regional directorate does not conduct trainings, the office, as part of the

decentralized government, is expected to pass on information about any new policies to

the local schools, often through administrative written correspondence. However, Mr.

Ouédraogo also mentioned that not even regional directors are thoroughly trained on

policies. The regional directorates are also in charge of passing along reports of

violations in individual schools to the national office. While the Regional Director must

write to the national MENA to request a school employee's appearance in front of the

Disciplinary Council, he or she can reassign teachers from school to school in the region

without seeking permission from the national office. This action is often taken to

"resolve" conflicts, including accusations of GBV, without reporting the case. Mr.

Ouédraogo said that his office sent only one case to the national office of the ministry

during the 2017-2018 school year to the ministry, regarding the president of a Parent

Association (APE) who got a 15-year-old student pregnant. This was not a teacher, but a

parent involved in the school. He reiterated that the regional directorate could only report

and be aware of occurrences of GBV that individual schools report directly to the office.

Aware that this does not always happen and feeling that the regional office lacks the

ability and power to act, he does not believe that existing policies are effective at

combatting GBV in schools. He explained,

> The policies are not precise, for example, to say that for such a case these are
>
> procedures to take, but everything is vague. All of this must be regulated by texts
>
> to make our work easier. I said that the last report I did was to say that an APE
>
> member had impregnated a girl in school and then that's it. But if I was given
>
> enough authority to act, for example in this case, I would be able to make sure
>
> that this member of the APE is no longer a partner of the school. We could punish
>
> him, but [instead] he continues to go to the school.   [The Regional Directorate] is
>
> not given any authority to act. Everything happens in Ouagadougou.

This quote highlights two things: the lack of ability and accountability that

individual regional offices have to implement policies and the limited reporting that

occurs at the local and regional levels. As Mr. Tiendrébéogo highlighted, the MENA

added focal points in each region to help with reporting efforts. I spoke to a civil servant

who serves as a focal point, Mr. Barso. Mr. Barso reported that he requests data on

violence every three months from schools. However, he says schools are not willing to

report violence through official systems. He stated, "We ask them to do it, but I don't

know. As long as [the case] is not serious, and as long as they find a solution in the

school, people say there is no need to report to the [regional directorate]. So it stays in the schools." Mr. Barso went on to explain that schools are short-staffed and school staff is overworked and there are no means to motivate them to report statistics of GBV. He added,

> There is nothing I can do. What I do is to ask all the time for the school principals to be strict enough and apply the Internal Regulations, and to raise students' awareness. We know that there are problems, but we don't have the means to go fight them and help people.

Mr. Barso echoed Mr. Ouédraogo's, from the regional directorate, sentiments: the lack of reporting and limits of their authority, as well as the lack of national enforcement, all make it difficult for them and their regional offices to do their jobs and effect change.

Discussion: Success in Policy Implementation?

None of the national or regional officials interviewed mentioned official procedures to implement or enforce laws nor did they refer to action plans or implementation plans that accompany the laws and policies. They did refer to the policy or law that applied to their work mandate. For example, Mr. Coulibaly quoted Law 81, which addresses the process of sanctioning a state employee. The policy makers, in general, included elements from the official definition of gender, outlined in the PNG, when explaining the term with the exception of Mr. Lompo. The national officials demonstrated familiarity with the various laws and policies that address GBV in school, while at the regional level, it was less obvious if the officials were knowledgeable of such policies. In fact, Mr. Ouédraogo, from a regional directorate of the MENA, stated that often the regional directors themselves have not read all the policies. If the employees at

the regional offices are not educated thoroughly on the laws and policies, it is unlikely

that their offices will be able to implement and pass along laws and guidelines to local

schools.

Mechanisms Not in Place

As reviewed in Chapter 4, Law 61, Law 81, and the Criminal Code include

articles that support reporting of violations, as well as providing protection for those who

report. Despite the call for the creation of a mechanism to confront the culture of silence

around GBV, as well as an inventory of violence against girls in the SNAEF

implementation action plan, there has been no evidence that these have been created or

implemented. Ms. Sawadogo and an employee at UNICEF working on GBV issues

alongside the government both reported these actions items have been developed but I

have not been given access or been able to locate any evidence of the implementation.

Further, no regional office expressed awareness of these tools, if they do exist. If an

inventory or mechanism has been developed, it does not appear to have been put into use

as of the summer of 2018.

The SNAEF's acknowledgement of the obstacle of reporting and denouncing

perpetrators indicates the government's awareness of the seriousness of the culture of

silence around GBV. It is encouraging to note that Mr. Lompo, a visible official in the

MENA, as well as Mr. Coulibaly, an employee involved with the Disciplinary Council,

were willing to be frank about the appraisal of the culture of silence and the

unwillingness of victims, parents, teachers, and others to report GBV, as well as the

solidarity among teachers and colleagues, which often resulted in protecting the accused

from any accountability. However, it is equally concerning that employees involved

with the CNPVE, the council mandated to collect statistics on the incidences of violence

in schools, reported not having agency to tackle the challenges around reporting. This is

reflected in the council's reports.   If there is no willingness to acknowledge that GBV in

schools is occurring unreported, it will be difficult to take the actions, including thorough

implementation and enforcement of the law, to break through the silence. There is no

evidence of school staff or administration being held accountable for *not* reporting when

there was knowledge of GBV, nor is there any evidence that articles to protect employees

as outlined in Law 61 and the Criminal Code are being applied. Despite, Mr. Paré's,

from Action Sociale, confident assertation that there is no need for a system of protection,

the following chapters bring this into question.

Lack of Enforcement

In recent years, the national news media, including TV and radio, have reported

on one or two high profile cases of teachers who have been convicted of raping students

per year. Aside from these visible cases, there were only a few cases involving GBV

going before the MENA's Disciplinary Council, highlighting the lack of reporting.

However, reports from 2017, as outlined in this chapter, demonstrate a very concerning

lack of enforcement of laws. Not only were crimes not being appropriately named in the

official documents, for example, "guilty relationship" being used for rape, but there were

little to no consequences for the convicted. The sanctions imposed by the council in the

cases involving rape violated the sanctions outlined in the Criminal Code and Law 61.

Despite top officials in the MENA reporting the need to enforce current laws,

enforcement was not occurring. All participants expressed agreement with the laws

around GBV and reinforced the inappropriate nature of GBV, particularly sexual GBV.

The positions of some of the participants should have allowed them to acknowledge the outcomes of the Disciplinary Council hearings, thus it was assumed they were aware of the lack of enforcement as they reported the need of the application of the laws. If these same officials do not demand that the Disciplinary Council enforces the ministry's and the national laws, it brings to question their commitment to that discourse.

Lack of Accountability

Despite the understanding and knowledge of the policies, policy makers, at both the regional and national levels, placed blame outside of their offices, and failed to take responsibility within their own offices. At the national level, officials were able and willing to discuss elements of the phenomenon of GBV in schools but avoided or denied addressing the shortcomings of their offices' mandates. Part of this apparent lack of accountability could be due to the desire to represent their offices well and avoid trouble with supervisors if they revealed information that would reflect poorly on their departments. The MENA is routinely monitored by outside donors such as the GPE and the World Bank in addition to the national government. There is pressure to confirm policy implementation and penalties if there is a lack of follow through. Thus, participants may have been hesitant to be open about their offices' failure in implementing their mandates for this reason.

Nevertheless, several of those in positions of power and influence failed to acknowledge their agency, perhaps because they did not believe they had the ability to choose or act. A number of officials expressed helplessness. According to some officials, particularly at the regional level, there was nothing they could do in their positions to combat gender violence or effect change. There is a culture of blame and

avoiding accountability is seen throughout all levels of society. However, these officials are educated and influential leaders of their country, in more positional power than the majority of citizens. It will be difficult to challenge social norms, such as the culture of silence, if it does not start with the policy makers. However, this is not an easy task, and will take courage and commitment on behalf the officials. To be willing to push forward unpopular agendas, officials' buy-in to the policies and implementing actions is necessary. However, given the heavy international influence, it is unclear if this level of commitment and mindset is presence among those in the ministries.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that, despite having policies that outline specific mechanisms and procedures for enforcement, there was little to no implementation at national or regional levels. Reported incidences of GBV in school in Burkina Faso are low and official government data have contradictory statistics, even within the same department. Thus, reporting mechanisms do not appear to be reliable. There was alarming evidence that there was no enforcement of laws in the few cases that are reported. Beyond that, the language within the policies did not mirror the language used against the accused. If impregnating an 11-year-old is called "guilty relations," and with almost no penalties within the MENA, it will be difficult to truly confront GBV, regardless of what is outlined in the laws and policies. This chapter gives voice to officials and policy makers as well as highlights the challenges to implementing law and policies. With more comprehensive new policies and laws in place, such as the adoption of Law 61 and the new Criminal Code, it is now up to government officials to hold local schools accountable by applying the policies in order to combat GBV and hold

perpetrators accountable for their actions. National and regional government employees must take the lead in breaking the silence around GBV and strictly enforcing the country's laws. Further, if individual officials continue to place blame outside of their own departments, acts of GBV will continue with impunity.

In the next chapter, I explore how teachers understand the phenomenon of GBV and how their awareness of the policies influence their understanding of GBV in schools. Teacher trainings and media campaigns to inform the public are the most prevalent methods of conveying information about GBV to teachers. Chapter 6 will provide some insight into how far reaching and effective these efforts have been among teachers in two secondary schools.

CHAPTER 6: Teachers' Understandings of Gender-Based Violence

During an international conference in 2018, a group of international development workers from INGOs as well as transnational agencies, gathered to discuss gender-based violence (GBV) in schools. The group of about 15 women, mostly all young professionals from America, broke into groups to discuss the standardization of a toolkit to conduct prevalence studies on GBV in schools. In one group, a well-intended woman declared that there is no need to discuss how to define violence. For her, the definition of violence is universal.

On UNICEF's website to promote their #End Violence Campaign, there is an interactive quiz to test your knowledge of what is violence. The first question is, "Is slapping a child a violation of his or her human rights?"   The quiz has only one right answer, which is, "Yes," but for many throughout the world, it would seem that the answer is not so clear.

There is an assumption, particularly within transnational organizations and INGOs, that the definition of violence is not up for debate. This chapter will demonstrate that teachers develop their own understandings of GBV, not just from official national policies and international discourse, but also based on social and cultural practices, as well as their own concept of power.   In the first two sections of the chapter findings from teacher interviews identify how the participants defined gender and GBV in schools. The third section discusses the ways teacher participants addressed power. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significance of the participants' understandings of the phenomenon.

Defining Gender

The term gender was defined by men and women teacher participants as a man/women binary, with unchanging, inflexible, specific gender traits assigned to men or women. Azeta, a middle-aged veteran teacher at School Two, stated, "When we talk about gender, for me it is the difference between a man and a woman. So there are things that are typical to a man and things that are typical to a woman." A younger teacher, Salimata, Azeta's co-worker, defined gender similar to Azeta and the other female participants. She explained, "If we talk of gender, what it means is that we are talking of the male and the female sex … So either the person is a woman or a man." Salimata understood gender as binary and fixed, and interchangeable with the term sex. The men expressed the same understanding of the concept. When Salif, a boisterous teacher at School One who had also served as director at a private school, was asked if it was possible for women to have masculine traits and men to display feminine characteristics, he exclaimed, "Here in Burkina Faso, no! When you are a man, you are a man and when you are a woman, you are a woman." Salif's response differs from the other participants in that his language indicated that gender was contextual due to how he prefaced his response by stating how it was understood in Burkina Faso. The teachers' understandings of gender as roles and traits assigned to men and women, were aligned with how the United Nations (UN) and the National Gender Policy (PNG) define gender, as binary. None of the participants explained gender as nonbinary or raised the possibility that traits can be shared or fluid

What was absent from the teachers' explanations of gender was how traits and roles are socially constructed, which results in the fluid nature of the concept, which is

included in the UN and PNG definitions. The UN and PNG acknowledge that gender

roles and attributes are not fixed between the binary but are determined by socialization,

context, and time period. The research for this study demonstrates a lack of uniformity

among the women and men teachers as to the origin of gender dynamics. For example,

Azeta did not explain whether these "typical" things that she referred to in her definition

of gender were innate or socialized but throughout her interview, she spoke in a matter-

of-fact manner about the gender roles, indicating that they are permanent and

unquestionable, even though these roles give men power over women. However, in her

group interview with Chantal, Azeta asserted that these roles need to be challenged and

systems need to be created to assist women with caretaking tasks as they take jobs

outside of the home. A few of the men associated the term with the promotion of

equality for women. Siddo, Moussa, and Ali explained that the concept of gender came

from the need to support women because as Ali explains, "It has been noted that women

are not as favored as men." As noted earlier, the PNG and the UN's definitions also

highlighted the use of the concept to address inequalities.

As it appears in the next subsection, most of the participants described how

masculine and feminine traits contributed to violence and recognized that socialization

perpetuates power dynamics that contribute to, and promote, unequal gender roles but the

teachers did not attempt to challenge this socialization.

Gender Traits and Roles

Aziz was a younger teacher of eight years at School Two. Like the other teachers,

he did not report receiving additional training or have other experiences that differed

from the other men. Aziz was the only participant to acknowledge that there were roles

"given" to women, stating, "We have given a role to women, which means that in school girls are always the victim of the role the society gave to the woman, because women are supposed to be submissive. They are always seen as being inferior to men so that gets to school as well and the boys think that the girls are inferior to them." He explained that social construction of gender roles and performance, rather than innate inferiority, contributes to inequalities between men and women, thus contributing to GBV. His analysis in the individual interview stood apart from his peers'. However, as a participant in a mixed focus group, Aziz asserted that such socially constructed roles should remain. When discussing gendered images in textbooks, he said, "It will look weird to open our reading books and see Lili playing soccer, or, even Lili herself will find it weird that she is playing soccer, when we know that in our society, girls try to imitate their moms, since their childhood … but the girl being portrayed as doing house chores, to me in Africa, that is the model of the woman in our society. We should not replicate all from the West. We have to show the girl pounding [millet]." The women did not challenge the prescribed gender traits during individual interviews but the two women in the focus group with Aziz did not accept his idea. Instead, they suggested that girls be shown in front of computers in textbooks rather than doing domestic work.

During interviews, the women teachers spoke of male masculine traits as violent and aggressive, with the male dominant status unchallenged and spoken as problematic but natural, as Salimata explained, "The boy has always been violent by nature." These gender traits were used to explain the occurrence of physical and sexual violence. Azeta said, "I mean boys are inclined to raping girls, especially underage girls … because the girls are underage they don't have the authority to raise their voice and say no, so all they

do is accept just like that." The female teachers spoke of boys and men needing to prove their manhood and strength. The size of male students and men, in general, was often a focus for the women when discussing what is physical violence. Boys were described as big and overpowering. Unlike Aziz, the women participants during interviews talked about gender traits as fixed and innate. Further, they did not question the applied characteristics, such as men and boys being dominant and women and girls being submissive, as problematic, socially constructed, or in need of being challenged to reduce GBV. However, during the focus groups, both in the mixed and in the paired interview with Chantal and Azeta, the women spoke more assertively about their rights and the need for change. Aisha, in the mixed focus group, pushed back against Aziz to disagree that women's roles in Africa needed to be maintained but insisted on a different mentality. She stated, "If we replace the image of the girl pounding with that of a girl sitting in front of a computer, the girls will change her way of thinking." Chantal and Azeta spoke of standing up against men who believe women were weaker than men. Unlike in the individual interviews, the women made suggestions as to how the inequality needed to be challenged. Chantal explained,

> It is not normal that the woman stays at home just to take care of children . … So the real issue is that women should go out, work, meet other people, to be able to change their mentality or way of seeing things, and men will also begin to see women being more that sex toys, as we say.

Aside from acknowledging the harm of the current gender roles and norms, these teachers demonstrate that such discourse is not only coming from Western hegemonic gender ideals, but women in Burkina Faso, both passively and actively, reject the roles

they are assigned in their culture. The international development community is guilty for perpetuating this hegemony and attempting to use Western influence to define and address issues, even around gender issues. Cultural relevance is often considered in such research. However, the female teachers speak of their own culture needing to change in how women are viewed and treated in society, despite discussing traits as fixed.

During individual interviews, the other male participants focused on slightly different gender traits. Many reported that girls and women express their thoughts and emotions verbally, often seen as talkative and as Mamoudou and Ali, colleagues at School Two, said, "provoked" boys. Boys were characterized as less verbal and more physical, thus explaining why boys and men used physical violence to express their displeasure and sexual violence to express their sexual desires. Within this description, the concept of control or oppression was not highlighted while the women, though they did not question it, did acknowledge the controlling nature and the oppression that resulted from these dynamics. Many of the male teachers recognized that boys fight each other to establish hierarchies and demonstrate their masculinity, which was tied to dominance, physical power, and aggression. As Ali, a teacher for seven years, explained, "But among themselves they fight because one does not want to be submissive to the other, in the classes there is a kind of leadership, one wants to lead and the other one does not want to be submissive."

During the interviews, many of the men first stated that men and women were equal, with a few, like Mathias and Mamoudou, two older veteran teachers at School Two, asserting that this equality had been achieved. Yet, as the interview progressed, the men would make points to demonstrate how women were not equal to men. Salif was

most explicit and stated at the beginning of the interview, "Men and women are human beings who have the same potential, and even equality, from the start." Later, he went on to explain, "but in reality, nature did not create us equal, because a man does not approach issues like a woman. There is a difference already and even when a woman wants to look like a man, is it obvious it is not a man, and vice versa."

As with the women, the male participants became more outspoken during focus groups. Mathias and Mamoudou, both measured in their word choice and expression during individual interviews, spoke against some laws for women's rights, such as the law against rape in a marriage. According to Mathias, it is not possible to have rape in a marriage. Further, they and other participants in the focus groups spoke of gender equality discourse and initiatives as threat to their society. Salif echoed the sentiment of the other men in his focus group by stating,

> Either most women did not understand, or they over understood, the concept [of
> gender equality]. They understood it like the western woman, by saying they are
> equal to men. What the man can do, a woman can do and where the man can
> enter, a woman too can enter. What the man deserves, a woman also deserves it,
> by forgetting certain values, or the nature of men and women. There is a
> difference. It is true that we should promote the woman, but we should not lose
> our values. The respect of the husband for example, when this emancipation
> concept started women thought they were equal to men, especially on the political
> level, especially the intellectual women, and a lot of them lost their husbands. The
> ladies, female intellectuals, understood the concept a bit too much and were
> confronted with problems in their families. Now how do you transfer the

promotion of women to African women in our African context? We should

sometimes go through a process, by taking into account our values, and not copy

exactly the American or European women.

Salif went on to explain that gender roles in the Mossi culture provided equality,

as a man would seek the advice of women quietly, in the privacy of the home. The men

stated that both men and women were happy with the dynamics as it supported the family

unit. Azeta, when asked about this sentiment simply stated, "No one is happy as they

say. It is a way to be able to assert their supremacy."   Both the men and women teachers

demonstrated insight into the construction of masculine hegemony and how men continue

to assert their privilege through violence, aggression, and discourse. This insight came

without the benefits of training to assist or influence the teachers' understanding of

gender or power dynamics.

The men demonstrated a strong opinion of bitterness toward gender

empowerment and equality in focus groups. Siddo, a younger teacher who demonstrated

more progressive thought toward gender equality during his interview, did not disagree

with his older male peers during the focus groups but was also more passive and did not

speak much. It is difficult to determine if he held similar beliefs or if he was not willing

to go against the other men, as it would not have been socially appropriate for him to

disagree with the senior teachers. The hierarchy and need to show respect for one's

elders exist in every pocket of Burkinabé society, making it difficult to assert different

views or actions. Whether or not Siddo did disagree is impossible to determine, but *if he

did*, he did not appear willing to stand up against the older teachers.

The dominant discourse among the older men, one that reinforced the existing dominance of men, was at the heart of the focus groups, and often underlying during their individual interviews. It is difficult to imagine that a teacher, who so strongly believed in male superiority and the inferiority role of women in his society, would act in a neutral manner in his classroom.

Defining Gender-Based Violence

The teacher participants immediately identified discrimination, physical, and verbal violence as GBV. Most of the women, excluding Aisha and Azeta, did not mention sexual violence until later in the interview or when asked directly. As an example, Juliette, a physical education teacher of 16 years currently teaching at School One, stated that GBV was "discrimination against girls. The violence I know is often between the students themselves. And I think that is all." As the conversation continued she discussed many more forms of GBV. In general, the women participants focused on physical and verbal violence, as well as the indiscipline among students, which they classified as GBV in their initial definition. Bito, a teacher of nine years at School One, explained GBV as,

> violence between students themselves, violence between students and teachers
> and sometimes violence between students and the school administration. Because
> when we talk about violence, there is verbal violence, there is also physical
> violence, which ends in blows, and people beat each other. Verbal violence is to
> trash talk. In the school environment we encounter that. Teachers can trash talk
> students and students can trash talk teachers and it ends up in a bad way. Or

students can trash talk the administration, we see that often. And students beat each other up sometimes.

Bito was concise in her definition of who participated in the violence and labeled both teachers and students as aggressors. Some of the women, like Salimata and Chantal, first focused on violence perpetuated by students before discussing teachers' roles as aggressors of GBV. Aisha, a colleague of Juliette and Bito, spoke about power dynamics within GBV in a manner similar to Aziz. There does not appear to be anything distinct about Aisha's and Aziz's experiences, so their progressive attitudes toward the phenomenon is relatively unexplained. Aisha, having taught at School One for her entire 11-year teaching career, directly discussed sexual violence as a result of gender inequality before discussing other forms of GBV. She immediately highlighted the silence as a form of violence. She stated,

> [A teacher] can threaten with grades, "If you refuse, I will give you a failing grade." And then, the student will be afraid in that class but won't know who to turn to. As we are in Africa, in general, sometimes it is a taboo for certain people; they find it a bit shameful to go talk to people about these issues. For some people there is always that shame, it is a taboo, so I can say that this is also a form of violence.

Aisha is the only participant to label silence as a type of violence and the only woman to be so open about talking about sexual violence. Even Azeta, though she mentioned sexual violence as a form of GBV in her definition, was shy in discussing the topic and did not continue to describe the dynamics of the violence until asked to expand.

Several of male participants mentioned sexual violence when first asked to explain GBV. For example, Moussa, a younger English teacher at School One, defined GBV immediately as, "sexual harassment can be violence" before adding, "we may also have student-teacher violence as well as student-student violence in the school setting." With seven years of teaching experience, Harouna replied, "The types of violence are physical and sexual violence." Some of the male participants, such as Ibrahim, François, and Drissa, expanded their understanding of sexual violence to include both male teachers and female students as aggressors. For example, Drissa, a middle-aged French teacher, said,

> and the other aspect is the sexual, where students can be disturbed by some of their teachers who are trying to go out with them. Or some students who are inclined and they try to draw the attention of their teachers. Especially because we have a lot of young teachers in our schools nowadays, and those young teachers when they have some money, they dress properly. This becomes a source of attraction for young ladies.

However, some of the older male teacher participants did not mention sexual violence and downplayed the other forms of violence in schools. Despite 15 years of teaching, Mathias stated, "In the school environment where I work, I have not seen any violence, especially physical violence. Verbal violence, maybe, can happen." Mamoudou, with 25 years of teaching experience, did not deny knowledge of violence but like the women participants, did not go into details about sexual violence until later in the interview when asked about it. He first defined GBV as "verbal and some physical

violence at the secondary school level." Further into the interview, he conceded that sexual GBV also occurs in schools.

Student Indiscipline as a Form of Gender-Based Violence

Men and women participants talked about student indiscipline and drug use as part of GBV. They discussed violence between students, student-on-teacher violence, and teacher-on-student violence, as seen in Bito's definition. Teachers' reports of the frequency of the different types of violence varied by participant. Most of the teachers stated that teacher-on-student violence was decreasing, including the school principals, mainly due to laws against physical corporal punishment and having sexual relations with minors. Mamoudou explained, "Verbal violence has decreased a lot and slapping students has decreased as well. Teachers don't beat like before. Some teachers still beat students, but discreetly." However, the majority of the teachers expressed concern at increasing violent student behavior. A few participants highlighted that boys were more likely to threaten women teachers and be more disruptive in class. Ibrahim stated, "Generally, boys are more brutal. They are more aggressive. They are more provocative than girls, and even in class, in terms of rebellion, boys are much more likely to be rebellious than girls." Salif reported that female teachers have refused to teach a class due to a student's behavior. Moussa gave an example to highlight this, "In this case I have already seen a female teacher in the province of Leo who had a problem with a student and the student wrote a letter to say that he will kill her so we had to reassign her [to teach at another school]." Ali and Salimata, colleagues at School Two, spent much of the interview talking about the issues of student-on-teacher violence. Salimata reported that when she was a first-year teacher four years ago, she had been a victim of

threats by a student who had waited for her after school with a knife. None of the women or men teachers identified themselves as victims, even as schoolchildren, of physical or sexual violence, though some stated they knew such violence existed because they heard about it when they were students.

Defining Physical Violence

The teacher participants described physical violence through a gendered lens at times. Most teachers included gender traits such as aggression as part of the cause for physical violence, as seen in previous sections. François stated, "The big ones sometimes use violence on the small ones, and this is physical violence, the big one beating the small ones."

Physical violence was described as taking place in the classroom, around the school grounds, during school social events, and off school property. There was no consensus of who perpetrated the violence and who were the victims. Aziz reported, "Physical violence is when you harm a person's physical integrity. It happens sometimes that [teachers] use our hands on students and hit them. Yes, the violence can come from teachers to students and students to teachers." Most of the teachers acknowledged that physical violence happened not just between boys, but that boys afflict the violence on girls. Ali stated, "[A boy] tends to get really violent when a girl, maybe speaks to him badly or tells something that he does not like, and he can beat the girl."

Corporal Punishment

The term corporal punishment was not used by any of the participants. All of the participants were aware that physical violence as corporal punishment was illegal, and the law has been enforced. Andrea stated, "In the past, at school, teachers could hit the

student a little bit but now that's prohibited. Teachers no longer hit students, and that was not only for girls, it was for all the students." However, teachers varied in their reporting of teachers being physically violent toward students. Aziz said that teachers used to lay hands on students; Ramata, a young teacher with three years of experience, reported that teachers do not hit students; and Moussa, another young teacher from the same school, was quite frank, stating, "Yes, there are teachers who hit." The participants who did report that teachers at times can be physically violent toward students did not attribute a struggle for power and control into their analysis of the violence as they did when discussing physical violence among students. Many of the participants talked of the physical violence by teachers as a form of discipline that is now outlawed and for many teachers that rendered them helpless in the face of increasing student misbehavior. While most of the teachers did not include gender in their definition of the violence when carried out by teachers, Mamoudou did, explaining, "Sometimes teachers physically beat the students. I didn't notice that they beat girls more than boys. In general, we avoid beating girls." Mamoudou's observation aligns with research findings on the prevalence of physical violence and corporal punishment. Noted in Chapter 2, boys are more often the victims of corporal punishment in the form of physical violence.

The remaining forms of corporal punishment were not acknowledged as violence and only spoken of by Azeta and school counselors. Azeta explained, "When a student does something wrong, you scold him. But physical violence, we don't do that at [secondary school] in general. We can punish him; asking him [to go down on his] knee or to go out and stay there until the end of the class. But it is not violence but rather punishment." The three school counselors interviewed all mentioned forms of corporal

punishment being used simply as punishment, such as watering the trees, cleaning the school yards, and kneeling. It is clear that participants do not identity these forms of corporal punishment as violent, though they are aware that the punishments can be gendered, as one school counselor commented that boys often refuse to clean as punishment, since they see it as "women's work."

The government may have a reason to delay enacting the law against corporal punishment in entirety. Teachers and parents alike have not supported the ban on physically reprimanding students in the classroom. Bito explained,

> You know in Africa to correct a child, sometimes we try to be hard, to hit. But in schools they said not to beat them. And when we say that a student should not be hit, and the student knows that he will not be beaten whenever he is at fault, he will do what he/she wants. It contributes to making students undisciplined; they no longer respect others.

The teacher participants reported that they are unable to control students as a result of the law. Bito highlighted that there was social acceptance of corporal punishment and, in fact, people believed that it is good in raising a respectful, well-behaved child.

Moral Violence

In Burkina Faso, "*violence morale"* is a French term used to describe violence including verbal abuse and discrimination as psychological violence. For example, Chantal explained moral violence to be mockery among classmates. Other participants acknowledged that these forms of violence could occur between many school actors, including teachers and students. The teacher participants identified these forms of moral

violence as GBV and reported they occurred in their school.

Verbal violence.

Bito explained, like other participants, that teachers engaged in verbal assaults when frustrated. She said,

When students get the teacher angry, you know that when you are angry sometimes you kick students out of the classroom, [saying] "Get out!!!" or "I give you a 0," or "I give you -5" to try to intimidate them sometimes. With students, it is not easy. More than 60 students, you are alone with them, it is not easy [laughs]. No matter your patience, there are moments when you will get angry [laughs].

Several teachers talked specifically of verbal violence and how it is harmful. While the participants did not offer examples of the language they used, Drissa explained the effects by saying,

There is verbal violence; when for example the teacher is talking to his students and sometimes there is tension. It might not please students. They are frustrated. Their self-esteem is hurt. It is a sort of violence, which is maybe not perceived by the teacher, but for students, it is a sort of violence.

Drissa and other teachers spoke of how teachers are not always aware of how their words can affect students. Salimata said, "The teacher can traumatize the child by yelling at him or by insulting him; it can traumatize the child and even cause the child to abandon school." Despite showing some awareness of the negative effects of verbal abuse, many of the teachers explained that teachers engaged in the behavior due to frustration at the students and as a way to manage the class. Mathias reported, "Verbal

violence, maybe, can happen. And that, especially under the influence of anger. Anger

can make us talk to students in an unpleasant way." Ali, the only participant who is a

member of a more radical teacher union, Sin-C, was more explicit. He stated, "Between

pupils and teachers, [there are] cases of violence. The causes, for example is when a pupil

disturbs the class and is disrespectful. The teacher asks s/he to walk out and s/he refuse,

and challenges the teacher, therefore between the teacher and the pupil there will be a

kind of quarrel." Ali verbalizes the power struggle between teachers and students, which

according to him and other teachers can lead to verbal abuse by teachers in attempts to

establish control and demonstrate their authority. The women were more likely to focus

on the verbal abuse the teachers endured from the students, though both men and women

participants mentioned that students could be verbally abusive and disrespectful to a

teacher. Bito offered an example of what student-on-teacher verbal abuse looked like in

her school, stating, "Oh, they can insult. Insults like 'dirty guy,' or 'dirty teacher,' or 'I

will punch you.' All these are violence."

While Bito focused more on the verbal abuse perpetrated by students, several of

the men explained verbal violence as used to insult girls and women. Aziz reported,

"Another type of violence for girls is the verbal violence, making a girl believe that she is

inferior to a boy. Mamoudou acknowledged that teachers participated in this, saying,

"We have tendency to say that girls are not intellectual, they are not capable of doing

well, or that they do have not the same level [as boys]."

Discrimination.

Verbal abuse is not the only way in which girls are treated badly in school,

according to some of the participants. They explained GBV as discrimination against

girls, and all of them, at some point in the interview, stated that gender inequality existed

in Burkina Faso. Many participants understood this as a dominance/submissive duality,

in which boys/men dominated over girls/women. Siddo, a young teacher who has taught

for 10 years, stated,

> The girls suffer a lot of mental violence because of the position the woman
>
> occupies in our society. Let me take an example of class representative election,
>
> we ask them to express their wish to be class representatives at the beginning of
>
> school year, and girls will never express interest, because even if they do, the
>
> other girls will not vote for her. The image of the woman is that she cannot lead.
>
> They have been educated to believe that girls come after boys, and they have
>
> accepted that and always step back.

Several other male teachers, such as Moussa, Salif, and Mamoudou, mentioned

girls are blocked from taking leadership roles in the classroom due to the belief that only

boys/men are leaders. Chantal, a head teacher, reported during a lesson that the class,

particularly the boys, could not accept Burkina Faso ever having a women president.

Though many teachers explained the discrimination girls face when attempting to

be in leadership positions, teachers spoke differently about the discrimination faced by

female teachers. Mathias reported that there was equality among teachers and men and

women in the workplace overall. The women participants did not directly mention

discrimination in their interviews but Chantal and Azeta spoke of discrimination they

face during their focus groups. Further, a female school counselor offered a recent

example of the discrimination she faces as a female employee at the school. When

talking to the father of a student regarding the boy's behavior, the father was unwilling to

take advice from her. She recounted, "A parent of a student told me, "You cannot talk to me that way. I have a wife at home, so it is clear the woman must not speak"." Other cases, such as Moussa's and Salif's examples of threats against teachers, involved female teachers, suggesting that female teachers faced higher rates of violence from students and were more likely to struggle with classroom management.

Sexual Violence

How teacher participants defined and understood sexual violence was another example of how definitions of violence are not universal and are quite contextual. All participants defined sexual violence as when a man or boy physically forced a girl/woman to engage in a sexual act. Participants conceded that it was possible for a boy to be a victim of a girl, who forced him to engage in sexual behaviors with her, but they were clear that this was rare. No teacher participant reported same-sex sexual violence or female teachers victimizing male students. For example, participants reported that they had never heard of a boy/man sexually abusing another boy/man. The teachers were able to articulate what they defined as rape but were less clear about what was a consensual relationship and what was coercion.

Participants understood sexual relations as violent when the girl was a minor, mainly due to the recent law in the Criminal Code that illegalizes sexual relations with minor students. Ramata stated, "Here we will qualify it as violence, because she is a minor. It is even forbidden by the Burkinabé law for a teacher to go out with a minor student. So it is a form of violence." Harouna explained, "We only talk of violence when it involves a minor, and then the laws provided by the ministry will be applied." However, there appeared to be an exception, when the teacher had intentions of marrying

a student, and went through the socially accepted practice of asking the parents. When this appeared to be the case, the age of the student was not a factor. Juiiette stated, "In my opinion, a male teacher can go out with the female student … as long as she agrees and that he follows the normal ways, in my opinion there is no violence." François explained the difference between what is and is not acceptable by stating,

> If you want to marry the girl yes, then we can accept. That is not violence, I can say it is acceptable, but if it is to satisfy the sexual need and leave her, it is not good. I mean, if it is to marry her and take her home as your wife, there is no problem! That is not prohibited. I have never heard that it is prohibited.

Ali and Mamoudou offered examples and descriptions of the actions necessary to make it appropriate to have a relationship with a student, regardless of age. Ali said,

> For example, if I am a single teacher and I meet a pupil in my class or in my school and want to have a serious relationship with that pupil, it is not forbidden. Now, what is important here is to be responsible. The girl that I want, who is my pupil, I am responsible. [It] is a serious commitment that will lead to marriage and thus a special approach is necessary to meet the parents, so the parents are informed. Then there is engagement until the marriage; in this case the law does not condemn. How many teachers have wives who are their pupils or their former pupils? There is a proverb, which says that the sheep grazes where it is tied up. Now you should not graze in a bad way, you must not abuse, you should graze seriously.

Ali's use of the proverb, "the sheep grazes where it is tied up" further illustrates the unequal power dynamics, as well as the lack of consideration for consent. Men, like

the sheep, pick who they want for their own needs. There was no discussion of the choice for the girls. Instead they seem to be regarded as how the grass is to the sheep. Both men and women participants did not define serious relationships as sexual violence and almost always saw them as consensual and therefore acceptable, regardless of the age of the girl. Ali appeared to consider that the law bends for intent, which it does not. There is no clause that states that if the intention is to marry, then a teacher can have relations with a minor student. Only Aziz and Aisha mentioned the problematic nature of this socially accepted practice, due to the power dynamics between teachers and their students. This practice comes from the acceptability of child marriage and forced marriage seen throughout Burkina Faso, as highlighted in Chapter 2.

Consent.

While consent was not necessarilynamed, all of the teachers implied that a sexual relationship between a teacher and a student over the age of 18 years was consensual. Salif stated, "If the teacher's relationship is with a minor, it is considered an abuse, because the teacher, being an adult can easily dissuade the girl, but if it is with an adult [student], we can say it is a consented relationship." In fact, consent was assumed with any long-term relationship. Bito said, "There may be consent from the teacher and the student. It starts and once the child [student] is pregnant, the teacher is compelled to marry her. Sometimes that is not violence." This idea of assumed consent is problematic due to the nature of the relationship and the power dynamics between teachers and students. Presenting more contradictions, the participants spoke of such relationships as nonviolent and consensual; however, during interviews the participants would also speak of the lack of agency the girls had at saying no to a teacher's or classmate's advances.

Before condoning proper relationships between teachers and students, earlier in the interview, Salif explained, "The girls, the students, fear the teacher, and he wants the girl, instead of going through the normal way, he uses his title to influence her, and the girl is scared to refuse, and upset him for fear he will do something to her."

Other participants mentioned the violence between students. Andrea explained, "A boy can decide to woo a girl who, in return, doesn't want to go out with him. He will insist and harass her to the point of even wanting to hurt her if she keeps refusing. It even happens that some boys rape their classmates; that can happen." Such repercussions for saying no, such as physical or sexual violence, are documented in existingliterature.

Sexually transmitted grades.

Teachers have additional power, particularly over school girls' success in the classroom. Despite describing relationships as consensual, participants made statements that demonstrated their understanding of the unequal power dynamics between teachers and students. Participants such as Ramata, Drissa, and Aisha reported that grades were used as coercion for teachers to demand sex or a relationship from students. Drissa simply stated, "When for example teachers date students and then tell them they want to go out with them, the students refuse. In that case the students can suffer grade reductions, for example." The women teachers expressed the same understanding of unequal power dynamics, often leading to coercive behavior. Ramata said, "There are teachers who threaten girls with bad grades, so if they don't give in, they get bad grades. However, both Ramata and Drissa also stated that these sexual relationships were permissible, due to implied consent, as did the other participants.

However, whether true or not, participants also report that girls can seduce teachers in attempts to get a better grade, which is defined as violence toward the teachers. Drissa explained,

> At the end of the year, a student who realizes she has not the required grades to move to the next class, may try to see a teacher, especially if it's a girl, she can negotiate. And then, she's going to make advances … She comes, she forces, she calls you, or she comes to your house. It's still violence!

Even Aziz reported this school girl-on-male teacher violence to exist, despite explicitly acknowledging, more than the other participants, the positional power of the teachers. When defining violence, he said it is possible for, "a student to harass a teacher in the sole objective of getting better grades, which is also considered violence."

What is sexual violence?

The participants questioned what should be called violence and when, in fact, the teachers were victims. The men were more forward in their questions than the women participants. With 16 years of teaching experience, Ibrahim stated,

> I'm wondering, because the definition of violence is a bit sensitive. In which case can we talk about violence and in which case we cannot talk about violence? We talk about violence for example when there is no consent. When the [male teacher] does not [invite a school girl] but if the girl, the student herself, came to your house at 10 p.m. If there was sexual intercourse, can we say that it is the teacher who abused her? Has there been violence? Or if there has been violence it is perhaps the girl who has assaulted the gentleman. Because the gentleman is in his house at home and the girl comes to his home at 10 p.m., if there has been

violence, if we will define the violence here, so it is the girl who came to assault the gentleman.

The male teachers overtly questioned what violence was and if male teachers were victims of school girls' advances. While the women participants acknowledged that girls could make advances on the male teachers, they talked more about the difficulties girls have with male teachers' advancements, rather than questioning the violence done to the male teachers.

Power Dynamics in Violence

Though few participants described power dynamics as interwoven with GBV, themes of power and control were present throughout each interview. Participants talked indirectly of the link between control and violence. The women participants did not, in their definitions of GBV, alter their understanding that boys and men held control over women, even when school girls would make sexual advances for transactional purposes. The men balked at the notion that boys and men always held the power in each situation and offered scenarios when girls/women held power over men.

Contradictions in Power

There was a contradiction in the data from the male teachers as they explained the tendency for men in Burkina Faso to be dominating and oppressive but also weak and at times, even a victim of girls and women. Ali, along with the other men, admitted that boys and men could be violent and "beat a girl because he believes she is of the weaker sex." However, the men also labeled male teachers as weak at times in the face of sexual advances made by girls and women. Mathias explained, "A teacher is a man, he is a human made of flesh who can be attracted by young ladies." Ibrahim expressed the same

sentiments, "Because, after all, before being a teacher he is a man, isn't he? Before being a teacher, he is a man, he is a boy."

This contradiction of power and agency was expressed when the men talked about school girls as well, usually again in the context of sexual advances. Salif stated, "The girls are seen as children, they are victims because they are seen as inferior, so they are forced, and they are abused. Meanwhile she is equal to the man, so if a girl wants a man she wants him." While the women participants blamed and assigned responsibility to girls to prevent being harmed, they did not use the same contradictory language around dominance and victimhood of men. In the male focus groups, these contradictions were present as well. Within the discourse of men as victims, there is a theme of defensiveness and deflection. The men attempted to position men as victims and helpless against school girls that prey on them to take advantage of their power and financial status. The idea that men are sexually weak and unable to deny the seductive female is an old and oppressive narrative. It serves to deflect blame onto the victim, to deny as well as preserve the current power inequalities.

The presence of this defensive discourse may be heightened due to reactions to a new law that introduced, less than three months before this research, a clause, Article 533-14, explicitly forbidding teachers to have sex relations with a minor student. This clause has been met with a general dislike by the teacher unions and male teachers due to the law specifically naming teachers and not including other civil servants. Mr. Barry, associated with a teacher union, stated the reason they are not happy with the law is that, "The truth is that it gives the impression that the teachers are the only ones who have sexual relations with underage students, but that is not true." Ali also spoke of the law as

negative as it, "purely concerned the school environment, the teacher. The teacher is not the only one to abuse children." While it is true that minors are vulnerable to sexual assault in any institution or in any setting, this is likely not the only reason there is resistance to the law. It is the first time that there is a clear, direct consequence for teachers who have sexual relations with a minor student, a practice documented and known to exist.

The women did not define men as weak in the face of school girls' advances, but they did report that girls wanted to date their teachers for "easy" grades, as Chantal and Azeta phrased it, as well as to gain status for having a teacher as a boyfriend. As stated before, the women spent less time talking about what is sexual violence and did not mention male teachers as victims of the school girls that approach them. Aisha reinforced that teachers have the ability to say no to students. She explained,

> We can say that there are students who harass teachers, too. But in that case, we will not talk about violence, as the students don't have power over the teachers. But for teachers, they can intimidate students with grades, "If you don't accept, I will give you a bad grade." When I talk about harassment, it is young ladies harassing teachers, our male colleagues. They say that some female students are provoking them. Female students, instead of talking to teachers at school, they go to their houses and knock at their doors. Well, you don't know what they want.... But if you tell her, "I cannot let you in," that's better, but if you start [talking with her] and later people accuse you, even if you have done nothing, it is complicated.

Aisha understands power as fixed between the male teachers and girls, which kept her from defining school girls' sexual advances as violence given that she understood that

teachers are able to draw boundaries with the girls. While the male participants sought to claim victimhood, based on their innate weakness to say no to sex, Aisha did not play into this narrative.

Collective Power among Students

The teacher participants spent much of their time talking about students' behaviors in school, labeling it as GBV but not adding a gendered lens to how they spoke of the lack of discipline and violence. Rather, they focused on the power dynamic associated with how students act out in school, peculiarly the lack of respect shown to teachers. Andrea stated, "Students are not disciplined, and they don't respect teachers that much. Sometimes they don't respect the internal regulation." This manifestation of violence and disruption is included in this study on GBV in school for two majors reasons: (1) there are documented elements of gender discrimination and GBV within student indiscipline as well as the teachers responses even if the issue itself is not purely defined as GBV, and (2) this concern is not only prominent in the teacher participants' discourse, but has also become a nationwide concern with attention, funding, and programing going toward addressing the growing, unruly collective power of the youth. This is important when examining responses to GBV in school due to a shift in the conversation, resulting in a waning attention given to gender equality. Therefore, this section briefly outlines the teacher participants' concerns and how they present their definitions and understandings of the student behavior in order to examine it in the context of power and GBV.

Incorporated into this discourse was the recent history of Burkina Faso and a changing society. The teacher participants made connections to the general public's civic

organization resulting in social movements leading to protests, starting in 2011, that included various groups (including students), that led tothe successful people's revolution in October 2014. Ibrahim explained,

> Now violence between teachers and students, let's say there are students who are too recalcitrant, who are rebellious. They do things when you [discipline them]. They want to stand up to you. When you tell them to go out, they do not want to obey. … [A teacher] gives a punishment too strict, too exaggerated, the student or the whole class can complain and then, it creates a little noise. Or it sometimes gives rise to strikes, demonstrations or students say that, "In any case we declare 24 hours strike or 48 hours to show our dissatisfaction with this or that teacher."

Ibrahim articulated how students used collective action to express their displeasure in mistreatment by the teachers. Juliette added that there is solidarity among the students to protect each other from getting punished. She stated,

> Most often when there is punishment [against a student] and his classmates do not agree, they will mobilize to support their fellow student, and at this moment it becomes difficult. If a student has misbehaved and the other students are supportive and refuse that he gets punished. Right now it's getting worse and harder to handle.

The teachers explained this behavior as abusive and disrespectful, and clearly, the authority and positional power of the teacher was being challenged. The participants' language indicates that the students no longer tolerated abuse of power by teachers and had learned through recent history to draw on their collective voice. However, it is unclear if students were rebelling in order to stand up against mistreatment or because

they were unruly and out-of-control. After being threatened by a student with a knife her first year of teaching, Salimata reported that she had adopted a better system of classroom management. She explained, "At the beginning I did not know how to handle [indisciplined students]. Now I ask a student to go out calmly, because if you yell, it will lead the student to rebel, so we should find a way to talk to them calmly when they misbehave, and they obey." This gives insight into potential issues around class management skills, but to be threatened with a weapon for yelling at a student is an extreme response. In contrast, the male participants did not offer self-reflection or accountability rather they reported student behavior as problematic and concerning due to the disrespectful nature of the current students.

There are changing power dynamics between teachers and students. The Interior Regulations for schools make clear that the culture in secondary schools in Burkina Faso is one of submission to authority due to positional hierarchy, as is found throughout the society. Student are expected to stand at their desk when a teacher enters the room and be silent in the classroom, as described in the Interior Regulations. The teacher participants expressed that students no longer accept such heavy-handed authority, but the theydid not appear to know how to work with the students. There is concerning documentation of individual students being violent, such as in Salimata's case. Several teacher participants, particularly from School Two, reported that teachers are not safe from students. Mamoudou reported, "As teachers, we are very careful; we are not safe as we are supposed to be at school. [The students] are more dangerous than before and they take alcohol, some products, drugs before coming to class." The increased violence and drug use by students was mentioned by the majority of participants. Further, when

students do strike or protest, there are more and more cases of violence and vandalism.
As Salif reported, "For example we had a building for the principal. The students burned
it down." Salif went on to explain, "The government and the administration are scared of
the students. The students are organized in associations, and when they get out on the
street, they neutralize everything. They break and burn everything." Moussa, along with
Salif, explained students' actions as a result of a government that has oppressed and acted
above the law for as long as students have been alive. Moussa said,

> Because the past government allowed a lot of freedom to the students, they go on
>
> strikes when they want, as they want. When we say that someone has been killed,
>
> every year, on the same date, [the students] need to strike. And every year when
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> we are in the month of December, in Burkina Faso for instance, it is the month of
>
> strikes. You were in Burkina. You saw it, so that means it's like it's a party for the
>
> students now and it's in their minds: Norbert Zongo, Thomas Sankara, Flavien
>
> Nebier (public figures murdered by those associated with former President Blaise
>
> Compaoré). There's so much crime that was committed [by the government] and
>
> the students made it their problem, so they go on strike, and they are told that they
>
> are free to go on strike so the students go on strike as they want. So the day they
>
> are not happy, they do not come to school. We can't stop it. It's hard so we still
>
> need to sensitize people and also resolve those crimes that were committed, judge
>
> what has not been judged yet for people to understand that justice is done, is
>
> rendered, and then it's over so that's the problem is resolved

Moussa spoke of power dynamics and negotiations between the former
government of President Compaoré and students (and arguably the population at large).

He referenced the murders of men who spoke against inequalities within society as well as the lack of justice in investigating the crimes. As documented in Hirsch's (2016) book on revolution in Burkina Faso, the government of Blaise Compaoré would act with impunity but would placate an angry public, including students, by "allowing" protest for a period of time. Every December, the month of the murder of the beloved journalist Norbert Zongo, there are symbolic student strikes to protest the lack of justice around his death. The teacher participants used this history to explain why, today, students lack civility which threatens the power balance between students, teachers, and schools.

Discussion

In summary, the participants did not provide in-depth definitions of the concept of gender but their understandings were uniform and fairly aligned with international and national definitions. This could be a testimony of media information and awareness campaigns throughout the country. None of the teacher participants reported having any training on GBV related topics, but many mentioned learning about new laws and concepts around gender equality on the TV and radio. For example, Siddo reported, "[The government] uses the media to raise awareness. We see it on television. Action Sociale and the MPF lead campaigns to raise awareness in schools and hold conferences." Mamoudou stated that though teachers and the general public do not know the policies, people became aware of "violence [and its] consequences and pay attention [to media campaigns]. The media spreads the news to get the people informed. Almost everyone knows that even if you act violently toward your own children, you can go to jail."

As mentioned, throughout their interviews, women and men teacher participants characterized men/boys and women/girls in traditional gender roles and traits. Some male participants, such as Aziz and Mamoudou, used past tense to describe how women/girls were seen as weak and inferior to men/boys. However, the women and other male participants spoke of these dynamics as fixed and continual. None of the gender roles were questioned and no attempts were made to deconstruct them. While Salif communicated that women could do whatever jobs they desired, and not only the jobs traditionally held by women at the beginning of his interview, he reneged later in the interview. Mathias and Mamoudou also used contradictory language. They would repeat discourse aligned with government policies and INGOs' discourse that women are equal to men but would then slip into language or stories that demonstrated that they held beliefs that traditional gender traits and roles had a purpose and should remain. The two male focus groups confirmed this observation. Once with a group of men, the male participants spoke in a more expressive manner of their frustrations and disagreement with gender equality initiatives. The groups suggested that gender equality was disruptive to society, such as women's demands to work outside of the home. Ideas around agency and choice were rejected as part of an outside, western culture that went against the value of family in Burkina Faso. Even the term "gender" was not embraced by the men, as they stated it was a concept brought in from the West. Overall, the male focus groups highlighted the blowback to any progress of gender equality and girls' education. The men spoke fearfully and angrily about positive discrimination for girls and women. Salif used an example of working with an INGO that forced him to add girls

to the list of student recipients of the future project. He stated he was angry, as it was unjust since the boys he placed on the list had higher grades than any of the girls.

The male participants' attitudes may be blowback for the little progress, mostly in name and discourse from the state, civil society, and INGOs of gender equality and children's rights that threaten the power dynamic. The women did not question or deconstruct the oppressive gender norms that they articulated during interviews. They appeared to understand gender traits and roles as fixed. In a paired interview with two women participants, they discussed the difficulties and barriers to advancing women's agency. For them, and for the individual women during interviews, they understood that men would continue to hold on to the power. The two women discussed how women further oppress themselves by working against each other due to jealousy and mistrust, often in competition for men. This finding is discussed further in the next chapter. These discourses contribute to the continuation of power dynamics in favor of men. Even when talking about gender and GBV, the men and women participants continued to use discourse that continues to construct male domination.

Teachers' definitions of GBV did not include a complete definition of corporal punishment but included students' poor classroom behavior. Policy and public campaigns, along with the enforcement of the law against physical violence, have adequately informed the participants that physical force toward a student is physical violence and is banned in schools. Yet, it is also evident that teachers do not necessarily agree with this definition and the law against physical violence as punishment. None of the participants mentioned the harm that physical violence does to a child, while they were able to identify the harmful consequences of verbal abuse. They explicitly linked

their forced compliance with the law against hitting a student to the loss of power.

Further, according to the participants, teachers have not only lost power, but also students

have gained the power and are now inflicting violence on the teachers.

The discourse around teachers as victims is dominant in the discussion of

students' indiscipline as well as when the male participants discussed sexual violence.

First, the teacher participants did not have a straightforward definition of sexual violence,

as there were many exceptions to the rule. While there was universal agreement that rape

was violence, some participants appeared to classify sexual relations (not seen as forced)

with a minor as violence only because the new law forbids it, yet other participants

reported that the intention to marry nullified the concern of age. As seen throughout this

chapter, other participants identified coercion to obtain sex as violence, while all of the

participants, expect Aziz, reported that serious relationships between teachers and

students were not violent despite articulating that teachers' authoritative power over

school girls made it difficult, even dangerous, for the girls to decline sexual advances.

Second, the teacher participants' understanding of what is and is not sexual violence

highlights the need for specific laws to adequately outline what is and is not permitted.

Despite a new law enacted to forbid teachers from having sex relations with minors, the

participants did not think this applied if the sex relations were within a serious

relationship and intended for marriage. To be successful, laws need to be strictly

enforced, with the national government ready for a likely pushback from male teachers.

Finally, the influence of social and culture practices around sex and relationships should

not be underplayed. Even the women participants condone such relationships, despite

making comments recognizing that school girls often have little choice in consenting to

sex and/or a relationship with a teacher. The participants' discourse around marriage matched the oppressive discourse that has long supported child and forced marriages. Mamoudou insulted girls for only focusing on attracting a man, yet he and the other teacher participants highlighted, through their discourse, not only the importance of marriage, but also how the man continues to control the choice to wed It was not questioned that if a man decides to marry a girl, then as long as the parents are informed and agree to the arrangement. The girl continues to lack voice.

The male teacher participants gave more agency to the girls/women when they reported that school girls made advances toward male teachers in order to get good grades, material wealth, or prestige. While this discourse is for the purposes of retaining their own power and playing victim to laws, it does point to the possibility that girls and women are finding pockets of agency and power within an oppressive system. Nevertheless, seeking sex in exchange for something that should be obtainable through other means, such as the ability to pay school fees and be afforded time to study after school as opposed to performing domestic duties at home and then feeling pressure to "negotiate" for a passable grade, is a testimony of the unequal structures within schools and society. In contrast, the women participants did not do much to demonstrate their own agency, particularly with regards to shifting unequal gender power dynamics. Aisha stood apart from the rest of the women participants by being more forward about the phenomenon of sexual violence between male teachers and school girls. In labeling the silence around sexual abuse as violence, Aisha indicates that certain framing of sexual violence must be challenged. The other women used passive language, suggesting that they accepted the dynamics with little belief that change is possible.

Conclusion

This chapter explores how secondary school teachers in two schools in Burkina Faso understood and defined gender and GBV. The teacher participants showed a limited understanding of gender, with no articulation of the more nuanced meaning of the term. There is evidence that media information and awareness campaigns have been successful in educating the participants on definitions of physical and verbal violence and the potential harms of the violence in schools. Most teachers, particularly the male teachers, were informed of laws that forbid forms of GBV in school. However, none of the teachers mentioned corporal punishment beyond physical violence nor did they demonstrate any understanding of the harms outside of physical violence. The participants' definitions of sexual violence drew largely from socially constructed understandings of sexual relations with limited discussion or acknowledgement of power within the phenomenon.

As seen throughout the chapter, there are many contradictions in how the teacher participants articulated GBV. Power dynamics and oppression was a theme throughout the discourse around the violence, but the participant did not name and discuss power explicitly. Further, neither the men now the women participants questioned the power dynamics. The next chapter explores what factors may contribute to how the participants view the power that contributes to making the violence permanent and accepted.

CHAPTER 7: Teachers' Responses to the Violence

This chapter analyzes the factors that contributed to teachers' decisions regarding how to address gender-based violence (GBV) in schools, as well as issues of policy implementation and social construction. Themes around prescribed roles in schools, social norms, and traditions, along with the poor policy implementation appeared to influence how teacher participants responded to various forms of GBV. The first section outlines how physical GBV was dealt with either by the teacher or the school administrators through mediation, rather than through application of school policies. Teachers did not report how verbal abuse was addressed, which is discussed further in the second section. The third section examines the multiple social norms and traditions that determine teachers' abilities to address sexual GBV. After this discussion, the next section explores teachers' understandings of policies and evidence of implementation at the school level of those policies, particularly, how policies affect teachers' decisions on combatting GBV. The findings show that participants reported being unable to report GBV in school due to powerful social norms resulting in an unwillingness or inability to follow policy despite condoning GBV. The final section examines what teachers reported doing to address the violence, offering advice to students in their classrooms.

This chapter gives voice to teachers who have had a variety of experiences and spoke about the real and perceived factors that contributed to their decisions on how to deal with violence in their schools. Understanding the factors that influence teachers and the culture of (limited) accountability is important, along with evaluating policy design and enforcement; yet teachers' experiences and opinions on the phenomenon have not been thoroughly examined in previous studies. The evidence in this chapter provides

insight into how the phenomenon is dealt with among teachers, how they view their roles and responsibilities, and how their own discourse contributes to the continuation of GBV, and presents their suggestions on what is needed to successfully combat the violence in schools.

Responses to Physical and Verbal, Gender-Based Violence

While physical and verbal GBV are illegal in Burkina Faso, both continue to occur in schools. Teacher participants reported factors such as the severity of the violence, their roles in the school, and limited options for successful classroom management when addressing (or not) physical and verbal violence as reasons for why they did or did not combat physical GBV in schools. No matter what the severity, there was a general agreement among the teacher participants that avoiding reporting the violence to the police and justice systems was best. Both school administration, including the school counselors, and teacher participants reported that incidences of such violence were addressed within the school. The teachers described their method of addressing the violence in schools as meditation between parties to find a "solution". This method of finding a "solution" justified not reporting the violence outside of the school since there was not an issue anymore.

A Note About the Gender Lens around Physical Violence

Despite understanding that this study was examining GBV, teachers continually turned the conversation toward students' behavior rather than discussing gender inequality in schools, a telling sign about where teacher participants place their attention and what concerns them. The gendered lens of such violence was not always obvious, and yet elements of an existing masculine hegemonic culture were part of teachers'

descriptions of the violence, such as fist fights between boys and physical threats to girls in attempts to control and punish them, as seen in the teachers' definition of physical violence in Chapter 6. This same, less-than-obvious, gendered lens appeared to be considered when teachers addressed the violence. Female teachers struggled to achieve authority in the classroom while male teachers strived to reserve their unchecked authority. Though such gender power dynamics were alluded to rather than directly discussed, the gendered nature of the violence was still present in the teachers' reporting of physical GBV. Thus, for this reason, as well as due to my own observations in classrooms and informal discussions with students over the years in which gender dynamics has been presented overtly, I categorize physical violence as GBV. For this study's findings, it is important to note the teachers' prioritized their focus of analysis of the physical violence from the angle of classroom management rather than through a gender lens, despite discussing GBV. The fact that the participants chose not to focus on how the violence perpetuated or resulted from gender inequalities, but rather focused on the consequences that the violence had on their own positionality as authorities in the classroom, speaks of the participants' priorities, limited understanding of how to analyze gender discrimination and violence, or their struggle for power which causes them to ignore and diminish the gendered nature of the violence. Understanding the framing of physical violence, which aligns with the teachers' responses, which are to assert their authority, often through passive actions, highlights their orientation of power within the violence. This insight is useful in working with and supporting teachers, not just for providing discussions around the nature of physical GBV in schools, but also for understanding the reasons and motivations behind their responses.

Responses to Physical Violence

Settling the matter.

Most participants did not speak directly of breaking up fights taking place outside of their classrooms. Instead they reported that fights that occurred outside of the classroom were dealt with by the school counselors and administrators. Bito was the only teacher participant to mention considerations around breaking up a physical altercation on a school campus. She explained, "There are fistfights and I have even witnessed a fight between sixth graders and I tried to break them up. Sixth graders are little kids, so I tried to break them up." It is presumed that if the students had been physically bigger, Bito would not have intervened. Where Bito took responsibility to address the violence between students outside of her classroom, others saw it as the role of the administrators to intervene in fights outside of the classroom.

However, within their classrooms, teacher participants stated that they advised students engaging in physical violence to "settle the matter" by ending the confrontation and talking to the teacher. Ramata reported that teachers could take an independent approach to intervening in physical confrontations between students. She said, "If there is violence in the classroom and it is in front of the professor, he will call both of them, if it is physical violence, to talk to them. The teacher can decide to punish the student who is not right." While the teacher participants reported addressing smaller physical disruptions in class on their own, they asserted their authority by sending students out of the classroom when they engaged in more violent behavior. The teachers did not express concern about addressing the roots of the physical violence or protecting victims, whether they identified the violence as gendered, discriminatory, or resulting from a mutual

disagreement. The teachers verbalized concern only for maintaining a disciplined, respectful classroom and upholding their positional authority. Like the other women teachers, Chantal reported that she disciplined the students herself for small incidents of physical disruptions, but she described sending students out of the class when a larger physical altercation took place. Chantal concluded, "For example if you catch two students fighting, you can ask them to leave the class and go to the school counselor, since they handle cases of indiscipline. You cannot interrupt your course to deal with violence."

Ibrahim explained how he dealt with disruptions and physical confrontations in his classroom of up to 135 students. He said,

> There are students who are too recalcitrant, who are rebellious. They do things when you do not agree. They want to stand up to you. When you tell them to go out, they do not want to obey. I have not yet experienced direct situations like that because if there is a student who is a little recalcitrant, I quietly ask him to go out. He goes out or else I threaten with a -2, -5 [points off his grade]. In any case, usually he obeys.

Ibrahim demonstrated his ability to manage students and keep control. He went on to explain that other teachers are sometimes unable to manage the students the way he does and instead call in the head teacher to deal with the students. Mathias offered an example of how he typically reacted to physical violence between students in his classroom.

> At the beginning I noticed that a girl who used to sit next to a male student decided to move to the back of the classroom where she sat with another male

student. I thought that they got into the fight over that girl moving next to the other student. The other student told me that was not the reason they got into a fight. He said that the other student insulted him on the sport field. You see? He did not like it, so he asked [the other student] in the classroom why he insulted him. The one who insulted repeated the insult in front of the other students, so he beat him up. Well, that was his side of the story. Is it true? I don't know. I advised them and settled the issue.

Mathias' discourse demonstrates the way in which the teachers indirectly discussed the gendered nature of the violence andhe was able to "deal" with the disturbance in his class.

Systems of discipline in school.

To respond to more serious physical violence among students, teacher participants talked about using the systems in place at their schools, just as Chantal did in the previous section. Both teachers and administrators described engaging the hierarchical system of management that included working through the class student delegate, head teacher, school counselor, and if necessary, the school principal.

Both women and men teacher participants shared that they sent disruptive and violent students out of the class to the school counselor. It was then up to the school counselor to decide whether to send the students to the principal for disciplinary action or to mediate between the students to resolve the conflict. However, the school counselors reported that they were tasked with mediating the problem and finding a solution between the students, to avoid having to take the incident to the principal, as the principal

preferred that the conflict did not reach a level that would require his involvement. Salimata supported this by stating,

> The process is so long that sometimes we just let it go. Thus, we send the children who fought to the school counselor, we call their parents, and we resolve that between us. The violence really exists, and it does not finish, especially insulting each other, and all we can do is to send them to the school counselor and it is up to them to take care of it.

Andrea reported, as Salimata did, that the administrators often did not bother to report incidents to the Regional Director's office. However, while Salimata said this was due to the onerous paperwork involved, Andrea claimed it was to protect the guilty parties involved. The administrators of both schools and staff at the Regional Directorate office confirmed that there had been no reports from the last school year.

Bringing students to the police to press charges for particularly violent confrontations or armed threats was equally not an option according to the teacher participants. Not only has there been a long-standing mistrust between law enforcement and the general population throughout Burkina Faso, but this resistance can be understood within the context of the region's recent history. In 2011, a student died in police custody in a city in the region in the area. While the official report cited health reasons, it is largely believed that the student was tortured. The death was met with citywide student protests and nationwide strikes. Salimata explained this as the reason schools were unwilling to take cases to the police. She said, "Sometimes when we bring the child to the police, it can traumatize him, but if we can advise him between us without bringing him there, it is better."

Working with Parents

Salimata suggested that it was preferable that the school administrators work with parents, rather than the police to address violent students. However, she and other teacher participants reported that it was not part of their jobs to work directly with parents. Unlike in countries such as the United States, where teachers are expected to communicate and, at times, work with parents to help students succeed and overcome behavioral issues, teachers stated this was not the case in Burkina Faso.

Throughout interviews, teachers complained about parents' disengagement with their children's education and lack of supervision. Moussa expressed a common narrative among teachers, saying, "Parents have resigned from their responsibility, even when their children misbehave in school and you call them, they won't come. Some don't even look at their children's report cards and when all of this happens, teachers are not motivated because they are not well treated."   Chantal, Siddo, and Harouna linked students' access to drugs, violent media, and other social ills that contribute to students' violent behavior, to the lack of parental supervision. Chantal reported,

> Regarding violence against students? Parents must double their efforts in the education of their children, moral education especially, religious education, which allow them to instill wisdom in the life of the student which can ... allow him to avoid certain behaviors that favor violence in schools.

Notably absent from the discussion of parents' responsibly to raise respectful children through increased supervision and moral education, is any mention of teaching children gender equality. Teachers would mention that discriminatory beliefs and behaviors were developed at home, including role modeling of gender inequality and

violence, but no teacher participant mentioned that parents should work to raise their children to respect all men and women as equal, perhaps suggesting a lack of a priority around changing social constructs around gender norms. While there have been programs that incorporate trainings with teachers and parents such as the USAID's Doorways program (see Chapter 1) these trainings are not widespread in Burkina Faso. None of the participants had participated in such a program.

Physical Violence as Corporal Punishment

The lack of attention to teacher behavior and accountability included addressing physical violence perpetrated by teachers or school staff. School administrators of both schools reported that this does not occur in their schools. Despite teachers acknowledging that teachers have and continue to use physical violence as punishment, only Mamoudou spoke of how such violence was addressed in school. Other teachers reported that the law against this practice has been enforced nationally and resulted in a decrease in the practice, but none of them talked about how they responded if a teacher at their school engaged in this behavior. This is likely due to the act being illegal, thus it is not surprising that participants denied that it happened at their school, among their colleagues. Even Mamoudou talked in the abstract and did not offer examples at his school. He stated,

> In school, teachers physically violated students, injuring them, and these teachers were taken to trial. [So] teachers don't beat like before. Some teachers still beat students discreetly, but this can create a problem for their career because administrative action can be taken against them.

There are reasons to believe that physical violence as a form of corporal punishment has decreased in secondary schools throughout Burkina Faso, though as Mamoudou stated, some incidences still occur. Triangulation and informal conversations with students and educators (not taking part in this study) confirmed a possible reduction of this behavior. Further, students in secondary schools have found their voices throughout Burkina Faso and when there is mistreatment, strikes and protests took place, as participants reported. Such informal collective actions by students are holding teachers accountable in a way previously not seen in Burkina Faso. The enforcement of the law is successfully deterring violence, perhaps along with other factors, such as students' empowerment, which may be contributing as well. This is an important case study of the success of the Burkina Faso government to design, implement, and enforce a law that is successful in curbing a form of GBV.

Verbal Violence

Both male and female teacher participants were comfortable sharing how teachers engaged in verbal abuse in efforts to gain control of their classrooms. Juliette admitted that "[Violence] happens, and most of the time it is verbal. A teacher may want to punish a student because he misbehaved, and the student can refuse the punishment. The student can be asked to go out for some time or for the rest of the class and he can refuse and disrespect the teacher." While participants reported the use of verbal violence, mainly by teachers but also by students, in gendered and gender-neutral forms, they did not speak of addressing or combatting this form of violence at all. No women teacher participants, but some men, such as Mamoudou, Aziz, and Siddo, spoke of past verbal discrimination against girls, though the men dismissed this as having been addressed through past girls'

education initiatives. Teacher participants themselves alluded to the idea that the types of insults vary by gender, in which girls' intelligence is challenged, and boys' "manhood" is questioned through verbal confrontations by male teachers. Mamoudou gave an explanation of girls being told, "you are nothing" when they get a wrong answer. Mamoudou, himself, complained that girls have lower scores because they do not study but instead focus on "looking pretty and thinking only of being a wife to a man someday." Men repeated this sentiment during the focus groups.

This data suggests that verbal violence is not being addressed. Perhaps this is not surprising as there is no specific law clearly addressing this form of violence. The Education Law, Law 61, and the Criminal Code incorporate verbal abuse as part of encompassing clauses that address all forms of violence, with no independent clause. Thus, while it is understood that insults are harmful, there does not appear to be action around eliminating the behavior. Along with the lack of strong policies around reporting and enforcing such violence, another factor influencing teacher participants' reluctance to address the violence may have been the power of authority that teachers were struggling to reinforce in classrooms. Despite acknowledging the harm, the teachers also acted flippant after reporting to have engaged in the behavior. Chantal stated, "There may be times when you have to raise your voice to ask for silence in class, maybe it frustrates [the students] but hey!" as she raised her arms with a shrug, signifying that she was not too concerned with the students' frustration, and that she engaged in this behavior to gain position in the classroom. Further, school counselors and administrators made no mention of dealing with verbal violence but reported working with teachers to keep their calm with unruly students and not lose their tempers, indicating that such violence occurs

but, while advised against, administrators do not apply consequences if a teacher engages in verbal abuse.

Addressing Sexual Violence

The teachers used two discourses during interviews when describing the responses to sexual violence. One was a hypothetical response. Within this discourse, teacher participants reported that when teachers became aware of sexual violence, they reported the case to the administration. Ramata reported, "If a teacher sees that there is a colleague who harasses a student he can go and denounce." Azeta also stated, "Yes, teachers must report violence in schools." François went even further to suggest that teachers could report perpetrators to the government social service agency, Action Sociale, or the police. He said, "Yes [the case] can go to Action Sociale, and I think there are policies related to that. There are laws for that. When it is a small girl, we can get Action Sociale involved. When it involves a minor we can take it to the police; it can be reported at Action Sociale, and the case can be taken to court, that is it."

The second discourse that teachers engaged in was justifications of why participants did not actually report perpetrators of sexual violence. Many themes emerged that capture the participants' unwillingness, or perceived and real inability, to report sexual violence occurring within the school community. The following section explores the multiple themes including: lack of clarity around consent, victims' responsibility to report, in-group solidarity among teachers, third-party mediation, the use of shame, and obstacles as a result of the absence of policy implementation, such as lack of protection.

Prominent social norms, at times concurrent with professional norms, dictated how teachers chose to respond to sexual violence. The teacher participants' definitions of sexual violence, established around social norms of marriage and courtship, also provided justification for the lack of intervention. The teachers spoke at length about the acceptability of sexual relations between teachers and students, when the student was over the age of 18 and when the relationship led to marriage. The teachers' language around their understandings indicated that it was permissible for a teacher to date a minor student if the intention was marriage.

Lack of Clarity around Consent

Because teachers believed that marriage between a student and teacher was neither problematic nor violent, coupled with the difficulty of determining what was a "legitimate" relationship, the likelihood of reporting and the ability to enforce policies decreased. Thus, the first issue around addressing the violence is labeling what is violence and how that violence is identified. When consent was assumed, the teachers deemed a sexual relationship was not seen as violent nor could they intervene. With participants literally stating that girls cannot say "no" without negative consequences, it is not clear how it can be assumed that a sexual relationship with a teacher is consensual. It appears, based on their language, that participants defined any sexual relationship outside of the understood definition of rape, which is sex by violent force, as a potential consensual marriage agreement, thus a relationship that is permissible. This is a major factor, or a convenient justification, as to why teachers reported not addressing the phenomenon of teacher-student sexual relationships.

Onus on Victim to Report

When asked about how teachers are able to distinguish a consensual relationship as opposed to one stemming from coercion, which is against the law, participants reported that it is up to the victim to report sexual violence or no one will know. The women teachers reported that it was up to the victim to report, despite an acknowledged stigma against speaking out. Salimata spoke directly, stating, "But these [sexual violence] cases exist and the student cannot say anything." Juliette told of a school girl who called her after a male teacher attempted to sexually assault her. She explained,

> So together we tried to contact other people too but as nothing transpired, talking about it was to put me and the student in trouble. Then also her name is going to go around. I don't know if you understand, people will talk about her in a bad way so she says that since nothing happened, we can close the case and then not talk about it. Otherwise it could go to justice and we will have to go and answer. That's how we manage… if it was my daughter, I could take the responsibility to go and report, but since that is not the case, I cannot go and report without her consent.

The other women participants echoed the same sentiment. Ramata stated, "If she decides to talk about it we can help her." But she explains, as Juliette, "Sometimes the student is ashamed to say that there is a teacher who harasses her. So sometimes it stays between them, she repeats the class," because the teacher will give her a failing grade

The women's discourse around this obstacle to reporting was more three-dimensional and insightful in considering the reality around the shame that perpetuates silence among victims than the men expressed. This is not surprising as they were more

likely able to relate to the girls than the men, and better able to understand the stigma associated with sex, particularly for girls and women. However, their discourse aligned with their male colleagues when it came to their abilities to intervene. The women equally reported that they were unable to address the violence unless a victim took the lead to report it. However, it is not entirely clear if the women (or men) would be willing to be part of reporting sexual violence if a victim reported to them. Salimata clearly demonstrated that when a school girl approached her after class to explain an incident of sexual harassment, she refused to listen. Salimata said, "[The school girl] told me, "Madam that is not the real reason, the real reason is that he made advances and I refused." When the girl said that, I left without allowing her to complete her statement."

Salimata's example showed that even if a student reports sexual violence to a teacher, the teacher might not be able or willing to assist the girl in reporting the violence. As seen above, Juliette admitted that reporting the attempted sexual assault would have "caused problems" for her.

The male teachers focused on their inability to report unless the victim reported the violence due to the burden of proof. Aziz said, "I won't know, unless a student comes to report, meanwhile students are sometimes shy to talk about it." Aziz was able to acknowledge the conundrum of victims reporting due to the taboo of talking about sex and the stigma of being a victim of sexual violence. Salif mentioned lack of proof as a barrier, stating he has never reported sexual GBV, "because I have not witnessed any yet. And even when you go and report, they will ask you if you have witnessed: Were you there? Do you have proof? Do you have pictures? Did you witness it yourself or you heard it?" Ibrahim reported that the victim has the onus to report and demonstrate proof

of violence. He explained, "But if it is the girl herself who denounces, she is the victim. She is the one who lives the situation. She cannot lie. That's the truth, so right now there is no problem. As long as you do not catch a thief with his hand in the bag, you cannot say it's a thief."

Aside from Aziz, the men did not display empathy or understanding about the difficulties for victims to report sexual violence. Ibrahim and Salif talked of the difficulty of combatting sexual violence in general: the lack of proof and the secretive nature of the act. These two barriers are a global concern in addressing sexual GBV.

There was a difference between the way men and women teachers were willing to talk about the stigma placed on victims. The men preferred to talk plainly about the need of proof required from victims to report the violence. The women teachers considered other factors such as the trauma of the victims and the risk around reporting, not only for the victims but for teachers as well. However, the common thread was the lack of action that the teachers were willing to take to assist victims in reporting violence.

In-group Solidarity among Teachers

One of the reasons for the unwillingness to be more active in supporting victims was the risks associated with reporting a colleague, which many of the participants stated as being ill advised. The teachers explained the importance of preserving such relationships in terms of social and cultural traditions, which were prioritized over addressing sexual violence. Some of the women teachers spoke of the solidarity among teachers as a cultural norm that is an obstacle to reporting colleagues. Bito explained, "It is complicated. This is the typical African life style. You cannot interfere in people's private lives like you want." The women expressed that it is best to avoid conflict with

colleagues. Ramata said, "Because it will create conflicts between us but I cannot go and tell my colleague, 'What you did to the student, is not good.' I cannot." Juliette was the only teacher to say that she would support a victim by helping them report sexual violence. To explain her willingness to do this, she stated,

> If [the accused] is right, the justice will prove him right, and if he is wrong the justice will prove me right. In any case he is wrong why he committed the act; he knew that there could be consequences, so I think he must denounce. That's my opinion we have to assume the consequences of our acts. If you misbehaved, you have to assume responsibility. Do not complain, do not do it ... it's simple.

However, when talking about the time a school girl came to Juliette for help after a teacher attempted to assault her, Juliette acknowledged the difficulties in reporting due to the stigmatization. Ramata and Aisha were also open about the need to report violence, though were quick to add that it was not possible.

This collective practice of avoiding conflict often blocked the ability to hold someone accountable which, as François pointed out, perpetuated the violence. Salif, also, explained the harm of this social norm,

> It's a problem because we cannot punish people. If you want to lodge a complaint, the other one will say, "It's our neighbor. You know his daddy. He is the only one who works in the family. If you to lock him up, the children will not eat. You see? Can we get along and arrange this between us?" and so they will make an arrangement and let it go.

While teachers gave clear reasons for their unwillingness to report a colleague, they did discuss the possibility of giving advice to someone who was "acting wrongly."

Siddo, like Mathias and Ibrahim, suggested that a teacher could offer advice as long as it

did not hurt the relationship between colleagues. Siddo stated,

> Sometimes, it is the principal of the school, if informed, who will ask the teacher
>
> to stop and be careful if the girl is a minor. We also do give advice to each other,
>
> when we teachers are aware of an ongoing relationship with a colleague and a
>
> student; we let the colleague know the consciousness of his act. That is all we can
>
> do. For example, I cannot force my colleague to stop a relationship with a girl.
>
> All I can do is offer my advice and warn him of the problems he might get into.

Mamoudou also reported something similar, adding that the administrators

offered advice, rather than sanctions or reporting the issue outside of the school, as seen

in the social practice of finding solutions to conflicts between parties. He said, "When it

is within the school environment, the administrators can contact the teacher and advise

him to be careful because this is not ok for him [to be having a sexual relationship with a

student]." Despite teachers reporting that the principal of their school privately

reprimands teachers who are known to be having sexual relations with students, the two

principals interviewed both categorically denied, along with the administrative secretary,

that such practice existed in their school. They reported that they had "never heard of a

case [of a teacher having relations with a student] at this school."   While the principals

denied having knowledge of sexual GBV in their schools, the school counselors reporting

dealing with cases when a student reported suffering from sexual harassment by a

teacher. They discussed the delicate nature with which is was necessary to confront a

teacher about such behavior, as not to upset the teacher and ruin the professional

relationship. One counselor explained, "We usually don't use a severe tone, we just advise to put an end to that and it works."

The in-group solidarity appeared to be a huge consideration for teachers when considering reporting sexual violence or relationships that involved male teachers. There was no discussion of the possibility of challenging the dynamic, though teachers criticized the practice and acknowledged its harms. As seen in analyzing the pressure for the victim to report, the women participants were more analytical about the problematic nature of the solidarity, while men participants were more passively accepting of the unwritten rule or expressed that offering advice would solve the issues, as François suggested in the next section.

While none of the participants added a gendered lens to the solidarity, it is important to note that the collective societal norms kept men from being accountable for actions that they have always been able to perpetrate without question. It is a tradition that does not just apply to teachers, but to society in general. Further, the solidarity seen among the teachers, resulting in protection of the men more so than the women, was likely to have been formed by and reinforced by the men. Collective solidarity in any group has traditionally protected men against having to take accountability for individual acts that would threaten a collective freedom, in this case, to engage in sexual acts with women and girls as they please. Along with seeking to uphold the unquestioned masculine hegemony, the practice of avoiding holding colleagues accountable to maintain group solidarity speaks to the preference to avoid relational conflict in Burkinabé society, which is seen as threatening to societal norms. For individuals to risk being excluded from the social fabric in this collective society is dangerous and makes

them vulnerable to consequences of becoming outcasts through such actions as restricted access to resources, support for family, and inclusion in collective practices. This is something that was displayed through the teachers' discourse when discussing reasons they were unable to break this in-group solidarity to report a teacher for GBV.

Saving Face: The Threat of Shaming

Some male teachers reported that speaking to perpetrators would shame them enough to stop the behavior. Francois stated, "It will shock the teacher and the student who are concerned! And maybe they will be embarrassed and let go…." When asked if the administrators reported violence outside of the school, Salif answered, "So the principal can call the teachers and threaten the teachers to report the case further if they don't stop." Salif explained that it is presumed that the teacher in question will stop the behavior in order to save face and avoid the shame of being reported. When the teachers were asked about why the school prefers to act in this manner, as opposed to following policies and reporting outright, they explained that it was in everyone's best interests. However, the women teachers were not so confident that simply talking with a teacher was enough to stop him from engaging in sexual relations with students. In fact, Ramata was clear that advising her male colleague, who was a neighbor, to stop his habit of having school girls over in the evenings, had no impact on his behavior.

While silence protects men when engaging in shameful acts, such as sexual relationships outside of marriage, the same silence victimizes girls and women. The perpetrators need their actions hidden to keep a public face and avoid embarrassment. While the victims remain silent to protect themselves from societal rejection, it is rare that a male perpetrator would suffer the same consequences if his crime were discovered.

Some teacher participants reported that the threat of shaming and the strong instincts to save face in the public eye act as a method of combatting sexual GBV, in that would-be perpetrators refrain due to the risk of being embarrassed. Yet the women reported this has no bearing on the choice of men to engage in this behavior.

Preference for Third-Party Conflict Resolution

In line with social preferences to avoid conflict and save face, there is an informal cultural practice of working out problems *in private*, through the use of a neutral, third-party person. Traditionally this neutral, older person is a well-respected community member with positional power, such as a chief or head of a family. Teacher participants expressed that this practice is not only used but is also the best way for teachers and administrators to address GBV in the school. Ramata reported that it is better to talk things out between parties and give advice instead of reporting the incident despite acknowledging it was not effective with her neighbor. Bito went into more detail around the practice of conflict resolution when a school girl became pregnant, stating,

> In Africa when you report [a relationship that has resulted in pregnancy] they tell you to go find an agreement with the family, the two families. You know, even if the girl agrees, she is not alone, she is in a community, and she has a family. It is also the same for the man [teacher]. So if the two families come to agreement and you, the teacher, you decide to go report it, it becomes complicated, in our African context. If the two families come to an agreement, there is nothing else you, the teacher, can do. After getting married, sometimes the girl is allowed to continue her studies. When that happens, for me, there is no problem then.

The women teachers provided some examples of how, within the systems explained above, the school resolves the "conflict." Salimata provided examples of some specific cases. In one incident a school girl was almost raped by a group of male students in an empty classroom. The girl screamed and was able to get out. Salimata said, "They wanted to rape her, but luckily for her it was during the break. The parents of the two boys were summoned and the case was resolved in the school." Instead of reporting the attempted rape to the police, or even to social services, the school chose to quietly mediate the situation within the school. Another case that used the third-party solution to deal with sexual GBV was when a school girl was being harassed by a teacher in class. The girl audio recorded the harassment and went to the administration for help. When asked about the outcome, Salimata reported,

> The principal called the teacher and he denied it, so the principal told him if he does not change he will be obliged to show the tape recording to everyone and so [the teacher] should stop harassing the girl. They settled it between the principal, school counselor, and student. The student brought her aunty to the school. But since that time [of resolution], the girl goes to her class, quietly, but they did not take [the case] outside of the school.

This informal mediation was done without any paper trail or other consequences. While Burkina Faso does not have a formalized form, that I have seen, it is required for administrators to document and submit reports to the regional focal point. The purpose of this third-party system is not only to solve conflicts peacefully but also to avoid the problem from being known to others, thus to preserve the reputation of everyone. Andrea

offered an explanation for why the school community strived for a "conflict resolution" that was mediated within the school. She explained,

> Here it is not easy. The court, the trial and all, it is not simple, and that's what makes people avoid reporting; to also protect the person who committed the violence. Well, but there are may be people who will talk to him about it and make sure he stops or limit what he is doing.

The preference for finding a solution within the school provided an explanation for the low reports of incidences of violence throughout the country's schools. Saving face is important in Burkina Faso's social fabric and people will go to great lengths to preserve their reputations and livelihoods. Andrea expressed there is a sensitivity for consequences and an awareness that someone who is employed is likely supporting many who have no access to income. Thus, in punishing a teacher, the whole family gets punished.

There are several implications to the use of the third-party approach. First, it disregards policies, including the reporting required by the CNPVE. Second, sexual violence is viewed as a conflict, like an argument to be negotiated between two friends. The women teachers expressed the stigma and harm done to victims of sexual violence, yet when discussing the violence as a conflict to be mediated, no participant questioned the comparison of an act that violated a person with severe, long-term consequences to "conflict." Finally, as with the protection within the solidarity of colleagues, third-party, in-house resolutions allowed perpetrators to act without having to take accountability, for the most part. Even within the school, participants indicated that resolutions were conducted in the privacy of the principal's office, something that was denied by the

principals themselves, with just a warning. There was a prevalent optimistic thought that

with a verbal warning, perpetrators would change their behavior and there would be no

more problems, or victims. This theme of "he will change" is heard inside and outside of

schools when addressing violence against women. Married women are often told to

return to abusive husbands, as "he will change" after an older relative has intervened

(author's field observations, 2016; 2018). Thus, there is a trust in the effectiveness of the

third-party approach; certainly, much more than the confidence in the official systems

that involve the police and courts. However, this trust and reliance on this tradition may

serve more as a means to hold social norms and expectations in place and placate

victims' and bystanders' consciousness, while upholding the perpetrator's ability to act

without repercussions.

Of course, this is not to say that there are no other structural and individual

barriers that contribute to decisions that continue violence and/or protect the perpetrator.

Policies have traditionally helped support victims of GBV remove themselves from the

situation and report an offender. The next section explores how teachers reported

following policies.

Adherences to Policy

This section looks at the role of policy design and implementation in influencing

teachers' response to GBV in schools. Aziz summed up one of the major themes that

emerged when examining how policies aligned with practice. He saied, "The laws are

modern, and our society is sometimes traditional." Other themes that emerged are the

participants' limited knowledge of policies, their lack of exposure to training, and weak

enforcement of laws and policies that would support teachers in challenging barriers such as the social norms that continue the silence of sexual GBV.

Established Procedures of Addressing GBV in School

The women talked about procedures within the school to deal with GBV. Aisha and Ramata explained that the school counselor was often involved in cases of GBV, which was confirmed by the counselors themselves. When asked about the system of reporting, the teachers revealed a vertical hierarchical system of dealing with violence in schools. The teachers were clear that if violence or any problem was to be reported, it was to be reported and dealt with within the school by those in a positional authority who made decisions. Mamoudou acknowledged that all of the school actors were responsible for combatting violence but that everyone had their own role to play. Teachers were educators. Thus, a factor that appeared to limit the teachers from doing more in combatting violence was the "role" that they play in the school. As Ibrahim stated, "I have never seen a teacher denouncing. Because it's not even your role. Why? It's not your job. Why? Your job is to teach."

 The teachers indicated that they did not have much power, other than informing the school administrators of the violence. Siddo stated, "Even when we report, it is to the school principal, and it up to the principal to take action, to either talk to the teacher to stop or he will report to higher authority." Harouna reported, "The teachers can only act after the administration has said something, so the administrators give guidance."

Harouna and Salif, along with the principals themselves, suggested that even the administrators have limited authority to fully confront colleagues to correct their behavior. Harouna reported that the administration must follow government policies.

Salif pointed out that the obstacle of hierarchical authority affects school principals as well, as principals "cannot punish [offenders] but can only denounce at the regional directorate level. Maybe it's the parents who can complain to the police and the police can come and take him." Salif alluded to possible constriction of the vertical reporting system that starts at the teacher level. This may be a factor in why the principals appear to prefer not having knowledge of GBV that is occurring in their school.

Evaluation of Policies

Rather than reporting or exploring ways in which teachers could respond to violence, the women indicated that other actors, such as parents and the government, are responsible for addressing GBV in schools, along with student behavior in general. Salimata blamed the government's inaction and lack of awareness and prevention programs as reasons for the violence, while demonstrating her belief that the government was responsible for addressing violence. She said, "There is no program, there is nothing … so that [students] will understand that violence is not good. I have never seen that, so I can say the government does nothing to fight [GBV] violence in Burkina." Juliette explained, "The policies are there but, in my opinion, it is not applied, if we make policies and we do not apply them it does not change things. I can even say it is the reason why these bad behaviors persist in our schools.

Mamoudou added that it was difficult for teachers to respond to violence, because the government had not developed effective systems to apply laws and policies. He said,

> The weakness we faced is the delay in the process of application. Since it is a
> matter of mentality, this is slow. You have heard there is an authority issue at the
> top level in Burkina Faso. The texts can't be reinforced correctly and people

accuse the contents [of not being strong], but the agents are not able to put them in application. One reason can be the agents don't have the knowledge or they are not protected enough to make some decisions.

Ibrahim, Aziz, and Ali reported that it requires all actors, including the government, administrators, and parents to prevent violence, along with teachers receiving proper training. However, some of the teachers mentioned that the government and authorities are not doing their due diligence to combat GBV in schools. Ali summed it up by saying, "Thus, it is necessary to sensitize, [but] the government does not play its role. The family does not play its role. All is left in the hands of the teacher." In the teacher participants' opinion, violence in general was increasing in schools due to the lack of enforced policies, though gender discrimination such as girls' access to school and mistreatment in school were no longer issues due to past reforms.

Knowledge of Policies

Though teachers reported that effective policies were absent, they also acknowledged their limited knowledge of existing policies and procedures. The women teachers were honest about not knowing the national policies around GBV. Bito said, "In relation to national policy, I don't know. I have not yet read the policies, but I know that they exist. I have not yet read it." While the women stated that they had not seen or read national policies, many of them talked about the school's internal regulations. Juliette explained, "If you had the chance to be a head teacher, you will be given the internal regulation to read for your students in the class, but if you're not a head teacher you may never see the policy." Some women teachers mentioned the new 2018 law that outlawed sexual relationships between a teacher and a minor student. Despite reporting not

knowing the policies, Chantal said, "If I'm not mistaken, I think it's forbidden for a teacher to have sex with his students ... but does everyone respect that?!" Andrea pondered that lack of application of the law as she acknowledged that teachers practiced behaviors that are forbidden. She said, "I think maybe there is a lack of severity in the application of policies, because normally a teacher must not have a student for a girlfriend."

The male teachers were not as explicit in stating that they had never seen national policies. Siddo was the only male teacher participant to simply state, "I know there are regulations. There are laws that exist, but I don't know these laws." The other men explained parts of the law that they knew. For example, Harouna stated,

It must be said that through the Ministry of National Education, there are policies in place as well as the policy we have, internal regulations … Now these policies condemn all forms of violence, be it physical, or sexual, and very recently there are also policies that have been voted that formally prohibit ... [Pause] a relationship between teachers and students, there is a penalty of prison, fines, going up to 3,000,000 FCFA for cases involving minors, and that can go up to the dismissal of the teacher.

Like the women, the men discussed the new law but offered more details, particularly around the punishment. Some of the men correctly cited the law while others spoke vaguely like Harouna, who did not report that older students were excluded from the law. Moussa gave correct details around this law but did not offer any knowledge around other policies combatting GBV.

The teachers, more or less, were able to identity that certain acts of GBV were illegal, though none of them reported having read national policies. While most participants mentioned the new law banning sexual relationships with minor students, many teachers had incorrect details or like Ibrahim, who stated that the intent to marry made it permissible to date a minor student, applied their own assumptions and expectations to the rule. It remains to be seen if this law will be enforced, like the law that prohibited physical corporal punishment. Even though the teachers acknowledged that GBV was outlawed, they correctly stated that there was a lack of implementation and reported that laws are not enforced.

Lack of Training

Despite the fact that none of the teachers had any previous training around GBV, many suggested that training would improve teachers' understandings of the policies and would contribute to lowering GBV in schools. The majority of the participants reported that lack of training was a factor in teachers' lack of understanding of what constitutes GBV as well as how to engage in combatting the violence. Aisha exclaimed, "No! We have never been trained. I, personally, have never been trained. But I have been here teaching since 2007. 11 years."

Azeta believed that trainings would help teachers be more active agents in addressing violence. Andrea had a similar suggestion, stating, "Maybe try first to train teachers on encountered violence and on how they can fight such violence, and especially in the school environment as we are always with students. Because we have never had training on violence in this domain."

Further, the teachers identified implementation of such trainings as the responsibility of the MENA. Harouna explained, "…but what is missing is the determination of the Ministry to train teachers and integrate [training] officially in our programs. If the teachers are trained in these techniques, I think we will also generalize the training to benefit all."

Both men and women teachers called for additional training and identified the lack of training as a missing link to disseminating information around policies. The women voiced the need for training around the definition of violence as well as policies to allow for increased reporting and enforcement. However, the men spoke about the need for training to increase teacher responses to GBV but did not express the need to train teachers on what violence is. A possible explanation for this slight difference is that the women understand two things: how society views violence, particularly sexual violence, and how women and girls experience violence.

Lack of Protection

When discussing sexual GBV, the women talked most explicitly about the lack of protection as a reason for not reporting or getting involved in preventing violence. Ramata said, "It is a problem, because there is no protection, teachers don't denounce." Salimata, after talking about refusing to listen to the girl who wanted to tell her about the school monitor who was sexually harassing her, explained,

> In this case, I wanted to protect myself, and also the students are brutal, so you must be in good terms with your colleagues. I did not want to have a conflict with my colleague because if I have a problem with a student, who will help me?

Unless of course you just mentioned, I did not think of it, I protected myself more that the student. I just thought of myself, I just realized I should have helped her.

She continued,

So when the student approached and explained the main reason [the male teacher] put her outside, I did not want to listen, because if I did I will be obliged to help her and since I cannot, that is why I preferred not to listen to what she had to say. I preferred to protect myself.

While all other teachers spoke of the lack of protection as a factor in addressing violence, none of the male teachers from School Two spoke of this concern. Some of the male participants in School One spoke of the lack of protection. Harouna simply said, "there is no protection" for a teacher who reports GBV. François explained the problems that could occur as a result of reporting without protection, saying,

Yes, because if it is known that it is you who denounced, you may be blamed in town. Me when I came here, there is no policeman following me! If someone stops me and hits me, how am I going to protect myself? So people have to be well protected. If someone denounce, his identity should not be known, right? It is risky.

Despite Articles 17 and 18 in Law 61 and Article 335-9 and Article 521-2 in the Criminal Code offering protection, it was obvious that there had been little enforcement or effort to address the dangers of reporting. Only Mamoudou referenced an anonymous phone number that was available to report violence, which was mentioned by Mr. Paré at Action Sociale. The limited enforcement of the law protects perpetrators and hurts victims. The lack of protection for victims maintains a culture where GBV often goes

unchallenged. The teachers reported that if someone were to break the norms and report a predator, there would be serious consequences. Salimata demonstrated this in her need to protect herself, which trumped her ability to be conscious of the needs of the school girl. The men at School One expressed little concern and men at School Two displayed no concern for lack of protection and did not identify it as a major barrier to combatting sexual violence like the women did. Given that the lack of protection is usually protecting men, it should not be surprising that this is not seen as important or as a major concern for many of the male participants.

What Teachers Do To Combat GBV in Schools

The teachers did report that they were able to (hypothetically) address GBV by offering advice in two forms: in the classroom with students as the audience, and among other teachers. In general, the women spoke about offering advice to students, and more specifically to girls, mostly in a hypothetical sense, rather than something that they practice. The men participants spoke more about offering advice to colleagues to avoid problems. While participants reported being unable to report incidences of GBV, they did say that teachers had the agency in the classroom to speak against the violence.

Advice Incorporated into Lessons

Many of the teachers suggested that in their roles as educators, they could offer advice in the classroom to students. Ramata suggested that during French class she could use texts and class material to talk about what violence is and how to prevent it. Aisha used math class as an example of a space to address violence. Moussa said, "The teacher can just talk to the students to let them understand that violence will lead them to no

good." Drissa and François also talked about how issues around gendered violence could be incorporated into lessons.

Salimata reported a similar approach to combatting and preventing GBV in schools. However, she felt somewhat defeated as she reported that students neither listen to nor take the teacher's advice. This opinion is not surprising given her orientation toward students and her focus on negative classroom behavior in general.

Advising Girls

In addition to providing information and positive messages in class, some of the women participants talked about offering advice to victims as well as colleagues who act as perpetrators. Ramata simply stated, "well in a case of violence, we call both involved and try to advise them that is all, we cannot do more than that." She explained how she gave advice to the school girls who were coming to her neighbor's house a male teacher at the same school, in the evenings. She said that many girls did not take her advice because, "they don't care, that it is because [they think] I am jealous. They sometimes even think you go out with the teacher. There are girls who think that way." During the paired interview with Chantal and Azeta, the theme of mistrust among women and girls was raised as a barrier to working together to combat GBV as well. Azeta explained,

> It's very complicated. We are married women. The girls are in school and they are
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> looking for husbands too. So if you approach them to talk to them [about] not
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> going out with the teachers. They're going to think you are [motivated by]
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> jealousy or something like that and this makes it all very complicated [when
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> giving advice].

Despite a lack of trust among women/girls, the women teachers reported that they were able to address GBV in the classroom and during lessons, thus staying within their roles as teachers. Azeta and Andrea both discussed talking among women and girls to offer advice on how to navigate relationships with men, within the male dominated society.

While the women teachers spoke more about their abilities to offer advice to girls in an informal way, the male teacher participants did not, but some spoke of addressing issues around gender inclusiveness in the classroom. Mamoudou mentioned that teachers are becoming aware of using gender inclusive language in the classroom. He stated,

> As we are aware of it, and we have also kids that need to take care of themselves. We tell them, "You are a girl. Don't wait for a man to give you all you need, work for yourself." To our sisters the same message, "You also need to work to support yourself." In our communication we use words that empower women. In classes we pay attention to words we use. We want to help girls go ahead in school. The government also is insisting for the teachers to change the behavior so to be more supportive to girls who have difficulty succeeding.

Giving advice did not appear to promote safe places for victims to get support from teachers. Despite the majority of teachers reporting that they offered advice to students in some capacity, few of them reported that students come to them for the support. Only two women participants reported that girls came to report sexual GBV.

Knowing what teachers were willing to do creates a starting point to understanding how to begin supporting and working with teachers. However, by and

large this limited response serves as a convenient way to continue the culture of GBV in schools, rather than to disrupt it.

Conclusion

This chapter details the reasons that teacher participants are not intervening and reporting forms of GBV using official mechanisms and procedures as outlined in policies. Teachers report that norms, lack of knowledge of policies, and weak policy implementation at the school level dictate their choices in how to respond to GBV. Teachers were unable or unwilling to address GBV due to real and unpleasant consequences for breaking societal norms, such as in-group solidarity. The women teachers expressed more awareness of the detrimental consequences the prescribed norms have on victims of GBV, while the men recognized the harm but offered limited analysis.

Overall, the participants were willing to address physical violence that they could mediate within their classrooms, but they reported that working further with other school actors to reduce the violence or even address an individual student's behavior was not part of their job responsibilities. Verbal forms of GBV were reported by the teachers to be psychologically harmful to students, but no teacher mentioned the need to enforce laws against such violence.

Themes emerged that showed several barriers to teachers' abilities and willingness to report sexual GBV. The teachers reported that it was not possible for them to address this form of violence. The women, in particular, spoke of the personal risks involved in addressing this violence.

None of the teachers reported that laws and policies to combat violence were sufficient, or applied, in their school. While theywere aware of the general laws, they did

not know procedures, or they chose to ignore them due to other pressures and norms. Though teachers offered hypothetical ways of advising against violence in their classrooms, it is unclear if they incorporate these in practice, or how often, throughout the school year. This study concludes that GBV is not being reported through the vertical channels of the MENA, nor are social services or law enforcement involved. Further teachers are continuing and reinforcing the silence around GBV in schools.

A striking finding is the lack of responsibility teachers feel toward protecting students. Women teachers reported that they must think of themselves first and in order to protect themselves, they avoid getting involved in cases of violence. Not only did the female teachers report not supporting the girls, but they also reported having a poor, distrustful relationship with them. This demonstrates that policies are not effective at providing protection that allows for the reporting of GBV and illustrates the strength of the societal norms and the lack of solidarity among women and girls.

Despite this awareness, many of the women did not challenge or suggest the need for policies to challenge and break such norms. Aisha, the most passionate participant, was the only one to articulate a need to break away from societal norms in order to work toward a more equal society. She stated that a school setting where teachers stop following norms will be able to start to demand that perpetuators be accountable for their crimes. Aisha argued that what is needed to address the social norms that guide teachers' attitudes and abilities to address GBV in schools is a change in mentality. It is with this change of mentality that teachers and administrators will be able to implement policies.

The final chapter draws on feminist post structuralist analysis to analyze these findings. Developing conclusions around the construction of the response to GBV in

schools may help facilitate the change in mentality Aisha endorses as a needed

component to combat the violence. The chapter presents conclusions and

recommendations based on the study's findings.

Chapter 8: Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis and Recommendations

This chapter uses feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) to analyze the findings presented in Chapters 4-7. This framework is intended to interrogate discourses of power dynamics, gender construction, agency, and participants' understanding of their experiences (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed description of FPDA) in the hopes of contributing to a "more subtle revolution" that is encouraged by a slow change of discourse (St. Pierre, 2004, p. 330). This deeper analysis brings themes found in the study's findings together. I will discuss the discourses found in the data of this dissertation study that limit the ability to end gendered violence (GBV) in schools successfully. If language creates norms, values, and rituals (such as violence) to uphold verbalized concepts as put forward by Foucault (1986), then dismantling such meaning-making by altering discourses "is a prerequisite for political change" (Weedon, 1987, p. 9).

This concluding chapter examines the discourses reinforced and accepted by teachers and policymakers as well as those found in policies in order to identify how GBV in schools continues to be justified and supported. With this analysis, perhaps the "subtle revolution" of shifting discourses can become intentional and result in a change in culture that removes the norms that this study found to be barriers to combatting GBV in schools. Chapter 8 will show why the international community's discourse is not necessarily helpful or productive but instead furthers conflict between competing discourses, perhaps reinforcing local social norms (see Figure 3). Rather, this potential shift in discourse is presence in the women teachers' dialogue. All of the women participants, in some way, asserted that social norms that continue gender inequalities in

their society, as well as block their ability to fight against GBV, need to be dismantled.

The men invoked cultural relativism as reasons for maintaining the status quo. While

Western hegemony, starting with colonialism, has and continues to harm and assert itself

in inappropriate ways, into West African societies, basic human rights and equality is a

universal desire. No woman stated they were happy with the discrimination and violence

women disproportionately face in Burkina Faso. Aisha, Chantal, and Azeta explicitly

advocated for a change in culture and had solutions to make a move toward disrupting

norms that perpetuate gender inequality. While this dissertation is critical of

heteronormativity, and no participant advocated for more laws protecting against

homophobic violence, I believe that the citizens of Burkina Faso will ask that human

rights be extended to all sexuality, in time. This is a trend from other African countries,

as marginalized voices seek to change the discourse and balance power both within

policies and society.

Framing of Power Dynamics

Conversations around gendered violence cannot take place in the absence of a

discussion of power. Before laying out how such construction of power is influencing

the response of GBV in schools, I define how I frame power. Drawing from feminist

poststructuralism, starting with Foucault's assertion that discourse creates power, this

dissertation is based on the notion that language shapes power. While power, particularly

hegemonic power, appears fixed, FPDA recognizes that power flows, even within

relatively stagnant power dynamics, as seen in gender norms. Individuals have pockets

to assert agency and create disruptive discourses to create new meaning of their

experiences. This study highlights many threads of power and this chapter captures the

vying, at times contradictory, power dynamics between actors in the macro, meso, and

micro levels and the consequences of the influential and conflictual natures of those

power dynamics. This chapter describes the influential flow of power around concepts of

gender and GBV from the international development community's discourse to national

policies. The power dynamics at the regional (meso) level is displayed as resistance to

action. The discourse from regional officials interviewed indicated the influence of the

vertical top-down rhetoric, but this middle level flexes a muscle through professed

helplessness to carry out the implementation of policies. The underflow of discourse

from teachers and the local school level support powerful social norms that are virtually

ignored by the outside community. The decision to follow the influence of social norms,

despite being aware of the international discourse and resulting national policies, shows

how actors at the local level create power through their decisions to comply with certain

sets of rules (top-down policies vs. community norms). The flow of power goes both

ways on a vertical implementation, created through opposing discourse, and the pockets

of resistance that maintain the status quo of hegemonic masculinity while hedging off

Western hegemonic influence. A horizontal comparison of the two secondary schools

demonstrates a consistent pattern of an environment where masculine dominance was

reinforced through the lack of bystander intervention of in cases of GBV. Further, this

chapter examines the recent historical change of discourse, starting with President

Sankara's influential shift of discourse, away from Western hegemony but towards

Marxist feminism. The power of his discourse was not only evident through creation but

also through the implementation, enforcement, and compliance to national policy.

Almost immediately after his assassination, such equalizing (at least at the level of labor) notions were replaced with Western neoliberal ideology of gender equality.

Elements of Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis

In conducting FPDA, I considered three elements of feminist poststructuralism: (1) agency exhibited by participants within power norms, (2) contradictions within the discourse, and (3) the relationship between the discourse of policies, interviews, and focus groups transcripts (see Chapter 2 for a more in-depth review of the elements). Aligned with the heteroglossia characteristic of FPDA (though also found in other analytical frameworks), women teachers' voices are brought out in this dissertation study, both in the analysis and summary of findings, to emphasize the women carry solutions to their lived experiences of discrimination, along with those in positional power.

Discourse Around Gender Definition

For all the participants of this study, the word "gender" was a confirmation of the two distinct categories of men and women. Further, teachers expressed an understanding of gender as a special focus on women, "since there is a lot of discussion on women empowerment, and her place in society," explained Siddo. Andrea articulated a similar sentiment, stating, "Gender is more about woman. When we talk about gender, we are talking especially about woman." Ali explained this focus on women due to their inferior status in society. The understanding of gender is one of the few discourses that aligned among the three vertical levels. International and national definitions of gender also highlight how the binary distinction helps to recognize women as they have been in an inferior status. African feminists document that concepts of gender are the result of colonial, Western influence, as well as gender roles and characteristics that are applied to

women. However, many of the male teachers pushed back on what they labelled as the Western woman: a woman who was independent, chose whether or not to marry and have children as well as engaging in the professional world. Even Aziz, as progressive as he was, spoke of, "the girl being portrayed as doing house chores, to me in Africa, that is the model of the woman in our society. We should not replicate all from the west, we have to show the girl pounding [in school books]." Thus, while the European colonialists brought concepts of gender roles, through excluding women from formal education and public life, the current Western discourse encourages another image of women. However, some of the women teachers assert their own discourse around gender roles. Chantal and Azeta voiced resistance and put further new narratives of supporting working women in Burkina Faso as well as interrupting the men's discourse that women are happy in their "place" in society.

The discourse of the binary was consistent at all levels of analysis.   The binary, with a focus on women, has been helpful for policies to protect against discrimination throughout the world. But there are limits to the binary discourse. The problem is that we do not live in a binary gendered world, so to construct such a world excludes elements of the phenomenon of GBV. Gender binaries contribute to heteronormative laws and restrict discourse to heterosexual relationships and partnerships, leaving the LGBTQ community unprotected as well as invisible.

The binary discourse that emerged in this study established powerful norms and failed to recognize potential fluidity of gender performance. For example, none of the participants in this study acknowledges that women can act outside of the gender norms associated with femininity as men can act outside of masculine traits. When teacher

participants were asked if men or women could act outside of the prescribed traits, they were emphatic that this was not possible. During a focus group, Moussa and Drissa discussed only rare cases when girls acted like boys or boys displayed feminine qualities. Drissa stated, "that can even lead [a student] to drop out of school because your friends are likely to make fun of you in school." Such fixed gender performance perpetuates a silence around homophobic GBV, which is alluded to by Drissa but remains veiled. When asked about such violence, homosexuality, in general, was denied as occurring, as well as same-sex sexual GBV by participants at all levels, making it difficult to explore further as part of this study.

Discrediting the established binary gender categories within discourses is a feature of some feminist poststructuralists' work to counter the continuation of masculine hegemony that is permitted within the binary discourse. As the binary implies a subject (male) and the object (female), shifting discourse within such an structure, as seen in liberal feminism, continues the domination of men over women (Krylova, 2016; Weedon, 1987). Instead, "we need to theorize both women and language in a way that opens them up to political change." (Weedon, 1987, p.79) For Butler (2006), to do this is to break out of the binary, while Krylova (2016) suggests switching the discourse of binary, to one of dichotomy. Krylova suggests that a dichotomy differs by removing the oppressive ordering (subject/object) implied by binaries. I am not convinced that preserving gender categories as dichotomies is much different than viewing them as binary. Nor am I convinced that it would do much to remove masculine hegemony, either within policies or in social construction. But I appreciate Krylova's effort to preserve the usefulness of categories while attempting to rid us of the problematic hierarchy.   As a scholar, I do

accept that the continuation of gender labeling can continue the oppression of those

identified as women, despite the advancements of laws and policies that allow greater

protection and freedom for women as a group. Thus, I feel it is important to acknowledge

the presence of such discourse. As the site and subject of discourse, the participants of

this study have displayed firm allegiance to the binary discourse. Thus, rather than

promote a competing discourse in this dissertation, I prefer to acknowledge the strong tie

to the binary that is held by all actors and found in all spaces in this study.

Discourse as Power

This dissertation allows for a FPDA of policies at the macro, meso, and micro

levels (see Figure 3). This exercise is useful to understand the competition for

establishing influence and power through discourse around gender equality. Hegemonies

are created through influential language, with one discourse often dominating other

discourses. Exploring the phenomenon of GBV in schools in Burkina Faso requires the

consideration of multiple hegemonic discourses, in particular, Western (referenced to as

international/transnational due to the undue influence Western nations has in West

Africa) and masculine hegemonies. FPDA is applied to examine how the various

discourses influence and conflict with each other within the conversation on combatting

GBV, as illustrated in this chapter. This analysis further sheds light on the obstacles to

combatting GBV effectively in schools. Given that discourse creates reality and power, it

is important to follow the flow and language of discourses.

International Organizations' Influence on Discourse

Western hegemony and influence in Burkina Faso's education policy is documented (Maclure, 1994). What is less documented is how the influence of discourse around GBV molds how the violence is understood, enacted, and combatted, if at all, which I outline in Figure 3. Emerging from this study's findings is the alignment, most likely due to external influence, of international discourse around policies and the discourse found in national policies and laws. The definitions of GBV in schools varied
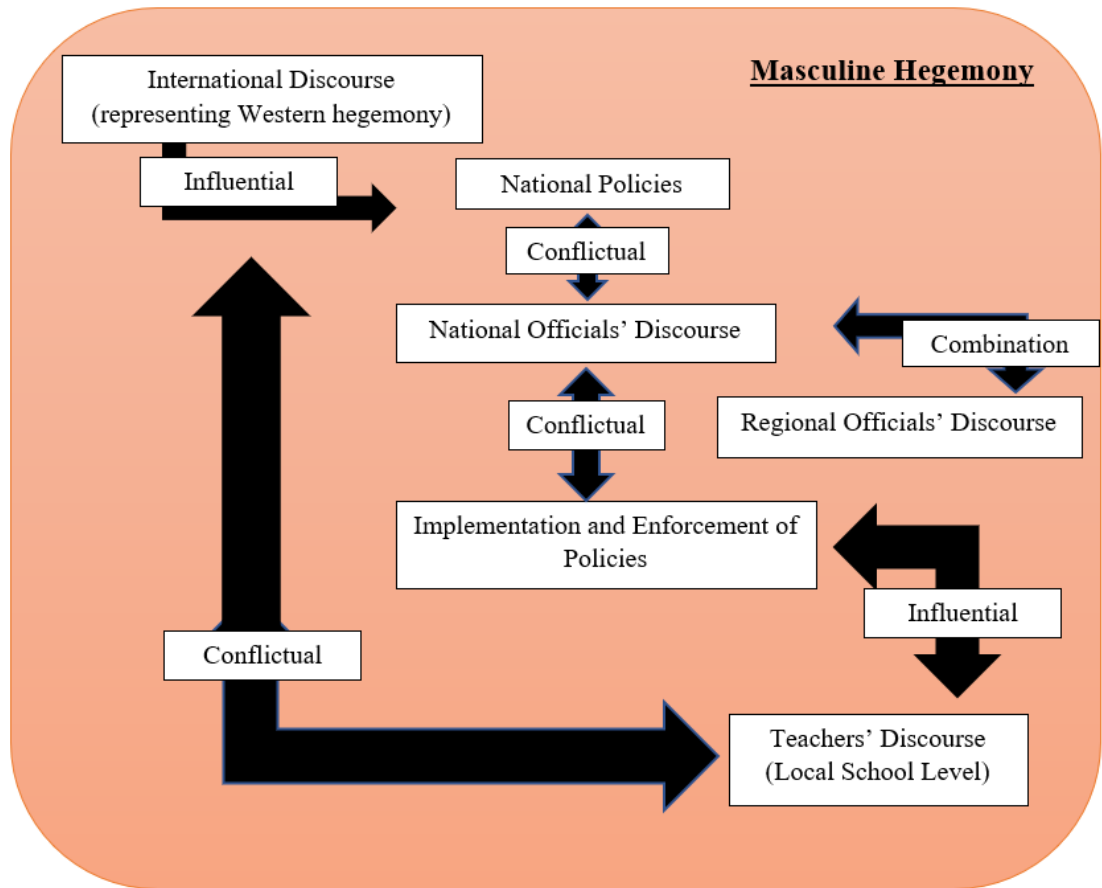

Figure 3. Vertical Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis on gender-based violence in schools. Source: Author

a bit from the international to national level. However, a key component of discourse to construct GBV was how the violence was defined by the categories of violent acts that are defined as GBV: physical, verbal, psychological, and sexual. INGOs and other international entities attempt to drive and standardize definitions and discourse around GBV, with clear recommendations on how to address the violence (see Chapters 1 & 4). For example, as shown in Chapter 1, the language within the definition of gender in the National Gender Policy (PNG) of Burkina Faso mirrors the international language. This can also be seen with the move from violence against women to GBV, as well as in updates in the new criminal code and the recent Law 61 that emulate discourse from the international community on GBV. During an interview, a representative from UNICEF's country office in Burkina Faso, told me that UNICEF works directly with the government to create policies. Further, the representative stated that often the government is pressured to adopt international norms in order to get funding for the Ministry and other programs.

Throughout interviews with national officials, their use of terminology and approach aligned with international discourse at times and with teachers' discourse at other times. Ms. Sawadogo, an official dedicated to working to promote gender equality and who spends a lot of time working with INGOs and NGOs, used language disseminated by the international discourse, such as "income-generating activities" and promoted similar justifications for gender-equality programs. While Ms. Sawadogo's understanding of GBV stayed aligned with international and national policy discourse, Mr. Lompo, another ministry official, followed the social norms of not naming sexual violence by referring to a teacher's "mistake" during his interview. Yet he also broke with societal norms by calling on more reporting and prosecution of GBV in schools as

outlined in the new criminal code, and a major compound to INGO and NGO programming for safer schools.

The influence of the international discourse among national officials was not surprising due to the amount of work and training that the national government does with transnational organizations and INGOs as well as the amount of donor funding that is offered to the government when it adopts policies approved by these Western-led organizations. Yet, some of the contradictions and alignment with local discourse were telling of the strength and pervasiveness of the societal norms. Mr. Lompo was educated in the West, furthering his exposure to the international rhetoric, thus it would be safe to assume that the influence of such discourse was more absorbed by him than by Ms. Sawadogo who was educated and trained in Burkina Faso. However, the difference could be accounted for by the fact that Ms. Sawadogo is a woman, thus more easily willing (and in her interest) to use discourse that promotes women and girls' rights as well as specifically working on gender issues within the MENA. Another example of the contradictory nature of national policy discourse and national officials' discourse, and their enforcement of policies is the Disciplinary Council's (made up of national officials) decision to not follow sanctions as outlined in Law 61. Why policy discourse and officials' rhetoric are in conflict with their (in)action is an important question to ask. Why does a Western educated high-ranking official talk about the need to prosecute teachers who have sexual relationships with minors, but then does not intervene when the Disciplinary Council does not enforce the law? There are two possible explanations for this, either: (1) those in these positions are not prioritizing GBV in schools because they prioritize other competing concerns within the MENA and do not have the resources, or

(2) they purposefully avoid proper enforcement since they benefit from the status quo.

More likely it is a bit of both explanations as well as a continuance to feel pressured to

follow the international community's lead to demonstrate some commitment to

combatting GBV in schools, despite whether the MENA is fully committed to

implementing such policies. Thus, at a macro level, there is contradiction within

influential discourses. The result contributes to unenforced policies and a weak ability

for the national ministry to be influential in either direction.

At the regional level, this pattern continues to emerge as regional officials

espouse a narrative of being caught in the middle—lacking the authority and autonomy to

enforce policies at the local level and unable to disrupt the behavior of local actors who

are influenced by societal norms. These officials relayed more of a neutral stance, stating

that their job description as the reason they were not successful in performing it. For

example, Mr. Barso, a regional focal point for CNPVE, explained, "What I do is to all the

time ask the school principals to be strict enough and apply the Internal Regulations, and

to raise students' awareness. We [regional focal points] know that there are problems, but

we don't have the means to go fight them and help people." Mr. Ouédraogo, from a

regional directorate, outlined the regional offices' role, stating, "We are not even allowed

to take regional initiatives … the information comes from the national level. It is a sum of

information that comes to us from the national level and we are responsible for relaying

and sending this information everywhere in our different [regional] departments." These

regional participants demonstrate that the discourse influences the top as well as the

bottom. Most of the regional officials interviewed discussed how both the top-down

system constrains them as well as the local schoolss' refusal to cooperate with policies.

Influence of Local Norms on Teachers' Discourse

Teachers' and school administrators' discourse demonstrated the unlikelihood of policy being followed at the school level. Discourse was strong in reinforcing social dynamics that allow for GBV to persist and thrive, such as the reinforced silence and men's continued domination in framing the phenomenon. It was evident that societal norms, outlined in Chapter 7, had more influence than national policies and discourse. To illustrate, while teachers knew that teachers *should* report perpetrators, none of the participants stated they had or were willing to report a colleague due to social consequences and potential risks to their livelihood and safety.

From the FPDA framework, the discourse creates a reality that is influential, not how the policies are written (which is influenced by the international community) but how policy implementation takes place, or does not, at the local level. It is clear from teachers' discourse that GBV is not going to be reported in a formal fashion, unless the national and regional levels force the change. The discourse used by local school personnel strengthen the rationale of how (not) to address the violence. Despite the international community's encouragement to report sexual violence, and the national government's cooperative actions, including the creation of police units and an anonymous hotline, teachers' discourse reinforces the impossibility of such reporting occurring. This is not to say the that national government does not have power to develop stronger discourse and action in order to strengthen policy enforcement in schools, but this is unlikely when government official themselves use contradictory discourse, particular with sexual GBV. On one hand some of the national officials' language aligns with international discourse and then departs from it, as demonstrated in

Mr. Lompo's narrative. The government was successful in enforcing the policy that outlawed physical corporal punishment in schools. The influential and conflicting direction of the discourse around that particular form of violence was similar, thus demonstrating the national government's capability to exert more influence when invested in doing so. To answer why the government is not as assured and committed to enforce other laws against gendered violence, particularly sexual GBV, is not surprising but concerning. It is not because they do not have the capacity to do more, but perhaps, because, consciously or unconsciously, as a collective or as individuals, the government is not interested in combatting sexual GBV in schools beyond what as already been accomplished. Recognizing the privilege of masculine hegemony, it is likely that all men benefit from the status quo and thus may be reluctant to disrupt. However, it could also be that there has not been enough time to allow for the full implementation and enforcement of the newer laws, such as Law 61 and the recent Criminal Code. Additional study is required to address this more thoroughly.

Conflict Between International and Local Discourses

The most significant findings from this FPDA are the colliding forces of the international rhetoric and local discourse. This was particularly stark during male teacher focus groups, where many of the men dropped the language used by the international community, and not only expressed resentment of the influence from the West but also remained committed to masculine hegemony in their discourse. This was displayed when Salif stated at the beginning of an interview,

> We don't agree [with policies], but we are obliged to accept. Let me explain, our
> politician goes abroad to look for aid, and the West impose their conditions if they

help us, and since our leaders need that funding, they accept the condition, and when they return they just bring out a law, such as on the number of girls we need to put in school, and we need this number of women in [leadership]. To conclude let me give an example, we had a test. [An INGO partner] needed 20 people to train for a course in water engineering. After the test, the 20 who [scored the highest] were all boys. The [international] partners said there must be girls in the group, so they went and took girls who had scored less than 9 out of 20 [on the test], to complete the group. … Doesn't the gender concept cause some injustice to the male?

As Salif made his point, Mathias and Ali would add in comments of agreement and encouragement such as "of course!" and "you see?" When one participant finished telling an example to demonstrate a point, another was eager to jump in to share another example. Interestingly, Siddo, a younger teacher who showedmore progressive thought toward gender equality during his interview, did not demonstrate similar enthusiasm but also did not dispute the other men's claims.

As demonstrated, the international community influences the construction of the national policies. However, the societal social norms and traditional gender power dynamics influence the blockage of enforcement of the existing polices, such as the use of special police units to combat GBV incidences in schools.

Another concerning conflict in the discourses is how sexual GBV is defined. Without agreeing to which sexual relations and acts are violent, it is difficult to combat sexual acts that are violent.   While the government made recent steps in creating a clear law forbidding teachers to sleep with minor students, the teachers define any relationship

that is intended for marriage as acceptable and consensual. If the local discourses continue to have more power over policy enforcement than the national discourse, this law could become meaningless.

Conflictual Nature between Policy and Teachers' Actions

Caught in the middle of the two power discourses are national and regional officials, who ironically hold positions of power. This is not to suggest that those at the national and regional levels are helpless to influence either polices or local discourse. Rather, this study's findings suggest they are choosing not to use their positions of power. Those in power, with access to resources and education, are often the ones who benefit from upholding hegemonies. Officials who follow the influence of the international community by applying the "correct" policies and discourse enjoy the favors and assistance of the external community. Such assistance, like teacher training and programming, meets demands of the international community to address social issues, such as GBV, but is not enough at the local level to support teachers and bolster the government's legitimacy.   The teacher trainings on GBV in schools is quite limited, with the majority of programming being provided by INGOs and NGOs who work in pockets of specific regions.   Each teacher interviewed expected more from the government than was given in terms of support and training on GBV in schools. Such demand for additional support is a convenient way of explaining and shifting responsibility away from teachers' own agency to combat GBV, particularly considering that most of the teachers reported knowing ways to respond to GBV but refused to take such action. However, there is a responsibility for national and regional authorities not only to disseminate information but also support teachers to be willing to challenge social norms.

Aisha demonstrated this during her proclamation of the need for a change in mentality in order for people not to be constrained by the collective (patriarchal) narrative. Additional national and regional support and involvement would likely influence a change in teachers' behavior through enforcement of laws, as seen in the success of campaigns to get girls in schools and end teachers use of physical violence as discipline in the classroom, even if change in mentality did not occur.

Agency and Contradiction within Power Dynamics

Victims or Girls Using Agency?

Between teachers and students, sexual relationships are labelled by many, and rightly so, as an abuse of power by teachers and considered coercive and violent against the girls. However, teachers, particularly male teachers, stated that girls make sexual advances toward male teachers and claimed that the teachers were the victims of GBV in such cases. Through a critical frame of masculine hegemony, such discourse is understood as blaming the victim, the girl, and as a way for men to reconstruct the narrative and assert continued power. However, FPDA leaves open the possibility that oppressed and exploited groups are able to find pockets of agency, and thus negotiate power. Since this dissertation study does not include observations or the voices of the schoolgirls, I focus only on teachers' discourse. Salif stated, "If it is a girl, there are policies that protect her, so she uses that to play the victim, even when she is not the victim. She is the one who leads the game." Salif asserts this with the idea that girls are gaining power over the male teachers as well as getting advantages such as gifts, financial support, and/or better grades. Further, several teachers, both men and women, reported that the girls use their sexuality to attract male teachers, not only for temporary

gains but for the potential status of being the girlfriend and eventually wife of a civil

servant, which offers a stable livelihood. Girls are charged with seducing male teachers

by dressing in provocative ways and asking for help on homework in order to get private

time with a teacher. Chantal explained that by dressing in a certain way, girls "create an

occasion for the teacher to be interested in you." Juliette told of a story of a girl who was

purposely being so provocative, the male teacher chose to leave the classroom.   The

teachers' discourse did not imply that girls were attempting to challenge gender norms or

even power but rather were seeking a means to acquire needed resources that would

benefit them in achieving stability through education and financial security.

There is power in using an established norm, in this case male teachers being

sexually involved with their female students, to gain advantages, which teachers report

girls are doing by seducing male teachers. However, there are fine lines between blaming

a victim of GBV and acknowledging that a girl can exhibit agency by engaging in a

sexual act, though it may not be violent. Male teachers (but not the women) suggested

that the male teachers were victims of the girls. This would mean that it is the girls who

have the power, thus shifting power dynamics. However, the teachers' discourse does

not fully indicate such power shifts have occurred since they communicated that men still

have the decision power, such as in legitimizing the relationship through marriage. Rather

the male teachers demonstrate that schoolgirls act within the established power dynamics

in order to negotiate the best situations for themselves in an oppressive environment.

Further, it is not accurate to state that the grown adult men are powerless and lack agency

in the situation. As Aisha pointed out, men are able to turn down the girl's proposition.

The fact that the men talked about not accepting girls' propositions at one point or another showed that they still hold the power within the sexual exchange

This is agency, on the part of both the girls and men; however, such actions stay within the current power dynamics, and therefore cannot be seen as transforming gender relations or the schoolgirls' abilities to challenge or access power. This is seen in cases when the schoolgirls get pregnant, which often results in either abandonment by her sexual partner and/or family or participation in a forced marriage (though this may be desirable to the girl even if it means she is no longer able to attend school). The dynamic of schoolgirls' agency when approaching teachers for sexual relationships would benefit from additional study that includes the voices of the girls.

Does Agency Align with Accountability?

Tellingly, the teachers spoke little about their own agency. While they were willing and able to provide examples of why girls had some responsibility in creating an environment that perpetuates GBV in school, the teachers did not identify their own agency to respond against the violence. At all levels of government, study participants pointed out where others had the responsibility and ability to act, but did not, which in turn, made it difficult for them, the participants themselves, to do their designated jobs to combat the violence. Teachers blamed parents for not supervising their children at home and blamed the government for the lack of training and policy enforcement. Principals blamed their inability to combat GBV in their schools on their lack of knowledge, while ministry officials blamed other ministry officials at different levels from not doing their jobs. An example of this was when the focal point, Mr. Barso, reported he could not do

his job because principals were not doing their duties by giving him statistics on GBV in the schools.

To explain their lack of action, the teachers' discourse described the strength of social norms, and the dangerous repercussions for going against those norms. The hierarchical nature of their school leadership was also given as a reason they did not do more to address GBV, as they were meant to stay in their roles as educators. Principals' discourse to explain their inability to address the GBV occurring in their schools was built around the notion that they are not informed of any violence occurring. This claim allows them to circumvent the responsibilities that come with their positional powers. Regional policymakers attributed their lack of agency to their roles as middle-men, meaning that they were messengers for the national officials at the top and beholden to school administrators below them to do their jobs, which, as the regional officials reported, rarely happened. Finally, the national policymakers, who had positional power as well as privilege in access, education, and resources, among other things, did not recognize their agency. It was striking that at each level, participants placed the blame elsewhere to explain the failure to respond. It seems that poor implementation and enforcement of policies to respond to GBV in schools is no one's fault.

Thus, as opposed to using individual agency to respond against GBV in schools, this study found that ministry officials, school administrators, and teachers feigned helplessness in the face of taking action. Not only were individual and positional responsibilities overlooked, as they were not mentioned, but there was an assertion that other actors had more ability, agency, and perhaps authority to take the lead in addressing the violence. Rather than using agency to combat GBV, individual participants found

ways to avoid action. This study highlights many reasons why the various participants are not taking action.

Contradictions Help Continue the Violence

Poststructuralism understands and allows for contradictions, as inherent to navigating the human experience. Adding the feminist frame to poststructuralism further highlights how such contradictions impact women's marginalization or agency within such marginalizing environments. Throughout the findings, contradictions were present in participants reporting of how they understand GBV and responses to the violence. The following provides a summary of such contradictions and how they were barriers to combating GBV in schools

Ministry officials' language.

As seen, high-ranking officials, such as Mr. Coulibaly in the MENA's human resources department, Mr. Barry at a national teachers' union, and Mr. Tiendrébéogo in CNPVE, used international discourse to talk about GBV in schools that is reflected in the national policies, but yet, there is evidence of limited actions within their departmental units which contradicted their language in interviews. Despite MENA officials and the representative of a union, whose members sit on the Disciplinary Council, stating they are prepared and motivated to enforce policies, this was not shown to occur in recent cases that were taken to the Disciplinary Council against teachers who had sexual relations with minor students in recent years.

Selective enforcement of policies.

While participants articulated support for girls' and women's rights, the selective nature of policy implementation and enforcement points to a lack of commitment and

willingness to address GBV. Unlike the enforcement of law against physical corporal punishment, laws focused on violence against girls and women, particularly sexual violence, such as outlined in Law 61 (see Chapter 4) have not been enforced, though it should be noted that Law 61 is relevantly new and with time, the laws may be applied. However,this warrants discussion for several reasons. First, as Mamoudou reported, along with previous research in sub-Saharan Africa, boys are more frequently victims of physical corporal punishment. It should not be overlooked that the policies around a type of violence that is more often directed at boys is more enforced than violence that affects girls, such as sexual violence. Second, by sanctioning teachers guilty of hitting students, such behavior among teachers was curbed. This demonstrates that the government of Burkina Faso is capable of implementing and executing laws around violence in schools. Thus, it begs to be asked: why have other laws against GBV not been as aggressively applied? Third, encouragingly, with the application of the law against physical corporal punishment, fewer teachers engage in physical violence in the classroom. This is despite the fact that teachers' beliefs in physical corporal punishment as an effective method of discipline remains strong. Parents will come to schools demanding that their children be beaten to learn better. The teachers explain that they would be fired or go to jail if they were to engage in such behavior (Field notes, 2010; 2016; 2018). Therefore, it is concerning that this study shows that there is a disregard for new mechanisms and policies, such as the use of a focal point in the MENA to collect statistics on violence in schools. The policies have been passed and there are clear penalties assigned, but there is a lack of enforcement. This may be due to the recent additions to the laws but it is more likely better understood by the gendered nature and stigma associated with talking of

violence in society. The government may be more comfortable enforcing laws around physical violence, particularly a type of behavior that is more observable. Other forms of GBV, particularly sexual violence, where there is often no witnesses and is a taboo subject, are harder to observe and report. Regardless, it still begs the question, if the government has the ability to enforce some laws that go against local norms, why does it not enforce laws around other forms of GBV?

Women teachers' understanding of gender traits.

The women spoken of gender traits, such as male aggression and female submission as fixed. Yet, they also argued against the inequality that women experienced. It is not clear if the women teachers believe that women have inherently traits as they described, and despite of those traits that are often deemed inferior to masculine traits, deserves equal treatment or if the women believe that the labelled traits themselves need to be challenged to create a more just society. The contradictions that appear throughout the findings of the women's discourse limit their power to challenge the status quo.

Men teachers' discourse around power and agency.

As the findings highlight, the men also engaged in contradictions. This occurred around gender equality in schools. Several of the men would espouse support for initiatives supporting girls and women but then would speak against such efforts. Further, men would recognize the oppression and lack of power experienced by girls and women but then would accuse girls of using power against male teachers. These contradictions, along with the evidence of blow back towards policies to promote gender

equality, are evidence that the male teachers feel a certain level of threat, along with their lack of response to GBV in schools.

Threats to Combatting Gender-Based Violence in Schools

There is little evidence that anyone, at any level, is willing or feel is able to do what is necessary to combat GBV in schools in Burkina Faso. Some ways that national and regional officials continued to enforce harmful norms or even normalize the violence were, but not limited to: (1) An influential, highly educated national official, Mr. Lompo, continues to refer to an act of sexual violence as a "mistake;" (2) The Disciplinary Council reports defined sexual relations with a minor as "guilty relations;" and (3) A regional civil servant, Mr. Barso, whose job is to collect statistics on violence from local schools reports that he has no ability to convince principals to cooperate so he can carry out his task.

Women in the Background

Women, who endure the heaviest burden of GBV, hold important insights into how to approach ending the violence, yet are often not consulted. A continued threat to achieving safer schools is the pattern of keeping women's voices out of the conversation. These findings offer reasons for listening closer to women when seeking to reduce GBV in schools. Female teachers provided a slightly different discourse than the men. They did not radically differ from the men in their stance of how they reported GBV in schools and their willingness and ability to combat it, yet the women did add an element of analysis that was absent from the men's interpretations. They discussed power as remaining with the men, even when acknowledging girls' agency (according to the women) in approaching male teachers. Another nuanced difference was the suggestion

made by women to further enhance girls' and women's rights. They did not accept girls' and women's inferior positions in society, rejecting the men's suggestion that women are happy with the traditional relationship in which they stay, quietly, within the home. The women proposed unique solutions that appeared to suggest their understanding of how to work with, and around, men to negotiate power. Aisha talked about the use of social media as an anonymous means to threaten public shame on potential predators, while Azeta and Chantal suggested daycare programs at the school to support female teachers. Though the women were not forceful or radical in their recommendations in how to reduce violence, women suggest that to go slow and position women to empower themselves rather than to be directly confrontational with men, will get more success in challenging the inequality that tolerates GBV (Author Field Notes, 2016; 2018).

Blowback

Male teachers used language throughout interviews and focus groups that highlighted this perceived loss of power. During focus groups, male teachers sought to reinforce the servitude position of women by blaming the Western discourse for disrupting their society. The angry reaction toward the internationally driven liberal feminism that promotes choice for women (in terms of marriage, family, and work) demonstrated a perceived threat that the men were feeling as a result of the new narrative. I categorize this discourse as blowback, due to the attempt of the men to gain back a perceived loss of power. The language of gender equality alone is a challenge to the masculine hegemony they enjoy.

Societal Shifts in Power

In the mid-1980 revolution, President Sankara used influential discourse to promote gender equality. He put women in the front, by recognizing their work in the society. This was demonstrated through the acknowledgment of the contribution of women in the social revolution that was occurring under Sankara's leadership. In a 1983 speech he famously declared, "May my eyes never see and my feet never take me to a society where half the people are held in silence. I hear the roar of women's silence. I sense the rumble of their storm and feel the fury of their revolt." Drawing from a Marxist feminism framework, Sankara encouraged girls' access to education, equal pay, and equal involvement in leadership. Despite the profound effects Sankara and his policies had on the population, immediately after his assassination discourse around gender equality dissolved. Despite women continuing to hold the same role in society, as well as making pivotal contributions to the 2014 revolution, the discourse from the governmental leadership was and continues to be, weak or absent, in comparison to Sankara's advocacy for women's rights. Rather, discourse of gender equality came from the international development community, which as previously discussed, has created tension between men and women, rather than empowerment and cohesion as seen under Sankara.

Currently, there are several shifts in power dynamics that were expressed by the participants. The government of Blaise Compoaré, who came to power after the murder of Sankara, lost legitimacy through a series of assassinations, including journalist Norbert Zongo in December 1998. This loss of legitimacy led to a slow increase in community organization, particularly seen among the youth, accumulating to the October 31, 2014, revolution that drove out Compoaré. This history matters in addressing GBV in schools

for two reasons. First, the youth have found their voices and power through collective action. Through the democratization process following the 2014 revolution, there has been significant attention and funding toward working with youth to garner a peaceful transition to a more open society. There is a focus on developing civil engagement, in order to shape the youth's collective voice away from unruly violence that is often done in the name of participatory democracy. This is in many ways a positive transition but comes at a price. The international community seems to be making an apparent shift in prioritizing funding for trainings on democratization, particularly with the youth in response to the recent governmental and security changes. Civility and democratization are replacing themes of gender equality in conferences and trainings that are largely funded by INGOs. The second reason history matters in addressing GBV in schools is that the shifts in power throughout society, including the collective voice of the youth, seen through this study as a concern in schools, and the political shifts resulting from the formation of new government leadership, arw doing two things: (1) shifting focus away from addressing the masculine power dynamics driving the continuation of GBV in schools, and (2) creating an additional threat of the loss of power for men.

Violence on Top of Violence: The Future Ahead

The village of Yirgou was systematically attacked by a predominately-Mossi vigilante group called Koglweogo, who killed over 200 members of the Fulani community in January of 2018. The one characteristic that all of the victims had in common was their ethnicity. This ethnic tension has boiled over largely as a result of criminal gangs and terrorist groups infiltrating Fulani communities, leading many to blame the ethnic group of contributing to the attacks on government posts (Human Rights

Watch, 2019).   Since 2015, over 1,111 public schools have been closed due to the threat

of attack by Islamist radicals who protest western schooling (Dewast, 2019). Peaceful

popular protests stopped a coup in late 2015, resulting in the dismantling of the elite

presidential guard, who many people whisper are to blame for the attacks on military

posts along the border, and increasingly in the interior of the country. Teachers and

administrators report that the increased violence in schools, particularly the youth's

violent, unruly habit of protesting, resulting in burned motorcycles and buildings

highlights local violence and the changing society.

The complexity of the violence is growing in the country. The last report

reviewed for this study that examined GBV in Burkina Faso's school was in 2008.

Instead, reports on ethnic violence from INGOs are being conducted (see Human Rights

Watch, 2018; 2019). Development projects have been withdrawn from the country due

to growing fears of attacks and are being replaced with humanitarian and peacekeeping

initiatives.

This is an unstable, insecure time in Burkina Faso's history. Violence is building

on violence and GBV in schools continues to exist. With the increased insecurity, comes

less attention and fewer resources allocated toward supporting gender equality and

combatting GBV. Nowhere in the discourse addressing the insecurity is there

acknowledgement of gender norms, GBV, or ways to incorporate gender equality into the

responses to any and all of the multiple layers of violence.   During this time of

uncertainty, forgotten is Sankara's assertion that developing a society "without the

participation of women is like using only four fingers when you have ten. It's an

invitation to failure." (Sankara, 2007, p. 53) Unlike under Sankara's presidency, today's

transformation of Burkina Faso does not speak of equality or unity. Division among ethnicities is shocking even to the country's own people. A local human rights group released a report in mid-March of 2019 showing evidence of government executional killings in villages while on an offensive to root out "terrorists". This violence is creating internally displaced persons and concerning discourse that denies the human rights of groups, which always creates higher levels of GBV in general.

Gender Inequality at the Local Level

Masculine hegemony continues to be displayed explicitly at the local school level through the continuance of GBV as well as teachers' discourse, as seen in this study. Men continue to dominate the conversation and continue to assert their controls to the best of their abilities. During focus groups, men's discourse created an image of a box in which they construct to contain girls and women. This imaginary box was constructed by men with authority over girls/women regarding how to act, behave, and maneuver. In interviews, many of the men attempted to hide how they asserted authority and control over women; however, during focus groups, the men were clear about the consequences for women who showed agency and went against the oppressive gender norms. The men were adamant that it was not just negative consequences for the woman, but for the society as a whole, for instance when Salif stated that women who thought they could work and take positions of power like a man, would lose their husbands (a condemned status in Burkina Faso). Many men questioned what would happen to society if women started to think they were equal to men.

The women teachers supported the hegemonic discourse around GBV for the most part, but also offered discourse that suggests their knowledge of the agency in

which they can work (and maybe manipulate) to expand the boundaries of the box that is drawn by men. Policies are created to increase protection around GBV but according to the women, to follow these policies would increase the level of risk of violence to them, and to the victims as well. Instead, they demonstrate that they have their own solutions and ideas of what can help combat the roots of GBV.

Contributions

This dissertation contributes to the potential of strengthening policy implementation as outlined in the recommendations section. An additional contribution to this study is the further understanding of the theoretical understanding of the phenomenon of GBV in schools. The data supports that definitions of GBV are not universal and is constructed from social norms. The data also present evidence that such norms are strong predictors of teachers' choice in responding to GBV in schools, regardless how they view the violence. While definitions may not be universal, the concept of universality of equal rights with respect to the dignity of each individual person was expressed by the women participants. Further discussion around contextual considerations in understanding GBV should continue to engage in universal human rights regardless of the contextual norms that challenge how forms of GBV are viewed.

Another theoretical contribution this dissertation offers is extending knowledge around teachers as change agents. Over the past few decades there has been an increased narrative around teachers as front-line change agents around educational, as well as societal issues. Teacher participants added complexity to this narrative through their discourse around abiding to social and cultural norms and their unwillingness to be change agents when there is a real or perceived risk to their livelihood, reputation, and/or

wellbeing. Theories around teachers as change agents should consider how teachers act

as agents to social norms as well, and how they navigate these contradictory roles. The

following section presents tangible recommendations taken from the findings of this

study.

Recommendations

The threats outlined above either maintain the current power discourses that

preserve the status quo or shift the discourse, not toward transformative power to combat

the violence and gender inequality, but rather toward more harmful discourse as fear and

discrimination grow with the insecurity.   As outlined in this chapter, and suggested by

Weedon (1987) and others, narratives need to be altered for change to happen. The

discourse that emerged from this study, whether it is the teachers' inability to hold

offending colleagues accountable in order to preserve social cohesion or the national

officials' contradictory talk and action, is concerning and reveals a culture that allows

GBV to thrive in a masculine dominant society. The following suggestions are made

with the hope of achieving increased resistance to passively accepting the occurrence of

the violence, and increased consciousness of individual agency to combat GBV. With

change comes hope and the opening of society that is taking place in Burkina Faso can

also lend voice to those who are most vulnerable to GBV in schools to join the

democratic movement and raise their voices.

(1) Incorporate (Female) Teachers' Voices and Needs in Policy

The findings of this study allow for a few recommendations that can strengthen

the approach to combating GBV in Burkina Faso by incorporating female teachers'

voices and knowledge to allow for more effective policies to facilitate a challenge to the

discourses that drive gender hegemony and GBV in schools. This dissertation

advocatesfor a better alignment of teacher trainings and policies to the teachers' realities

to be more effective at combatting GBV in schools in Burkina Faso.   Globally, teachers

are often not consulted during the construction of educational policies, nor are they

involved in the development of trainings. This is true in Burkina Faso, where many

trainings are developed by INGOs outside of the country, usually by professionals

unfamiliar with the country context. At the end of the majority of interview with

teachers, the individuals expressed hope that this study would result in support that

aligned with their needs. In this, they vocalized the powerlessness teachers felt in their

positions, as well as the frustration of the marginalization that they experienced when

programs designed to support them, do not offer information and tangible assistance to

allow them to be more comfortable and successful in their teaching role.

(2) Support Teachers' Abilities to Confront Social Norms

Another recommendation is to consider the norms that are articulated in this study

that contribute to the inability of teachers, and others, to address GBV in schools. This

should include: (1) a recognition that violence is defined differently in different contexts;

(2) a more in-depth understanding of the roots around the social characteristics of

shaming, which leads to the high motivation to save face; (3) lack of personal

accountability; and (4) how conflict is traditionally dealt with in Burkinabé culture (see

Chapters 6 and 7). To acknowledge these entrenched norms will allow policy makers to

write and implement policies that address the norms that are blocking a response to the

violence. Further, if programming and training provide a deeper understanding of the

context and reality at the local level, the government and NGOs can better tailor their

resources and materials to support school actors, such as teachers. In order to create responses to effectively combat GBV in schools, listening to women teachers will provide insight, not only in further understanding the phenomenon of the violence, but also into learning how to navigate, at the local level, around dominant norms.

(3) Increase Governmental Commitment to Enforce Existing Policies

The third recommendation is to align policies and strategies in ways to circumvent the outlined norms. It is easy to create a law making a form of GBV illegal. It is much more difficult to enforce the law, even with procedures, which, based on this study, is not a priority. The national government officials are unwilling to enforce policies around sexual GBV yet ask local schools to do such things as reporting incidences of violence to a focal point. It is unfeasible to think that there will be follow through by any actor. Rather, the national and regional governments should demonstrate serious commitment to enforcement as they have done around physical corporal punishment, as well as the implementation of mechanisms outlined in the SNEAF's strategy seven that would allow local schools to participate in the application of laws. Finally, along with the implementation of these mechanisms, a code of conduct should be developed for secondary teachers, as one currently does not exist.

(4) Increased Individual Accountability to Change the Discourse

Any attempt to challenge unchecked hegemony will also require some risk and courage. The fourth recommendation is for in-country activists, civil society, and NGOs to place pressure on the national and regional government to take accountability. An emerging theme throughout this study is the lack of accountability at all levels. The unwillingness to take accountability for ones' own role and contribution to addressing the

issues further emphasizes the lack of commitment to ending GBV, particularly verbal and sexual forms of the violence. One method of placing pressure of further accountability is the use of language, highlighted through the framework of this chapter as important in how power is created. High-ranking ministry officials must have the courage, as they certainly have the understanding, to use correct labeling of violence. Rape is not guilty relations or a mistake. It is a violent act that is often done with impunity. By calling it by its name, government officials will be combating two obstacles to addressing GBV in schools: they will be challenging the norm of silence around sexual violence, and they will be clearly defining what it is when someone has sex with a minor student or with someone against their will.

(5) Mainstream Gender Equality

The final recommendation resulting from this study is to mainstream discourse about gender and GBV at all levels and in all contexts of society, particularly when addressing the current instability. The findings from this dissertation highlight how the consideration for gender equality within issues, whether it be violence, child protection, etc., is marginalized and isolated, rather than mainstreamed. With the MENA, one directorate is tasked with addressing gender. The CNVPE and the Disciplinary Council do not apply a gender lens to their work, despite the fact that their list of responsibilities includes responding against cases of GBV. Several officials reported that gender issues, such as GBV, are dealt with by the DGEIEFG. Ignoring how gender inequality shapes the violence that is reported to the CNVPE disadvantages the government in being able to combat GBV. If there is limited acknowledgement and analysis of how gender inequality perpetuates violence in schools, it is unlikely that the CNVPE will reach its goal of

reducing violence in schools.   If the MENA does not examine how constructs of gender norms allow for teachers (and members of the MENA's Disciplinary Council) to not question if minor students had agency of choice when involved in a sexual relationship with a teacher, in getting pregnant by that teacher, or in marrying that teacher, how will the ministry enforce new laws protecting against the violence?

An obvious result of siphoning of the gendered lens to one department is the ability to ignore how gender inequality and oppression contributes to and intersects with other issues in schools. Another consequence is the creation of a competition between the different elements (e.g., gender, violence, pregnancy, justice, social services) of the phenomenon of GBV in Burkina Faso. As seen in the previous section, if gender is not mainstreamed into the education sector, as well as within each level of violence occurring in the country, gender inequality is forgotten and ignored, despite being present in everything. This limits not only the ability to diminish gender discrimination but also to effectively address the other elements, such as the root of the violence.

Without mainstreaming discourse on gender equality, it will, and already is, getting lost in the chaos and concerns of safety and security. This must occur at all levels, including how the international community funds and prioritizes programming within the country. The national government would be wise to create media campaigns (which reach more teachers than trainings) around how to understand GBV through a gendered lens. An example of this would be around how a student's indiscipline behavior in schools, and the resulting disciplinary action, can be understood through a gendered lens.

<u>For Further Study</u>

The findings that emerged from this dissertation highlight several areas that would benefit from additional study. Further exploration of homophobic GBV along with the heteronormative lens around GBV which often excludes same-sex sexual GBV would reveal how such violence is taking place in Burkina Faso. This study found officials caught in the middle of two competing discourses. Often ministry officials are thought to be influential in their positional powers. It is not recognized that they also must navigate between power dynamics and social norms. A well-designed study on the positions of governmental officials would serve to further understand to how they influence policy implementation as well as discourse around social norms.

<u>Many participants spoke on behalf of schoolgirls, particularly around sexual relations with teachers. Further studies involving schoolgirls would capture their lived experiences and how they understand such relationships. Finally, the power of social norms, and the need to change mentality to effective addressing GBV was prominent in this study's findings. Additional study to build off this theme would provide a more in depth look at how to disrupt norms that perpetuate GBV in schools. Conclusion</u>

This dissertation presents a vertical case study of current policies to combat GBV and teachers' knowledge and responses to GBV in schools, with a focus on the discourses that emerged from the findings. The aim was to further understand what policies existed to address the documented gendered violence in schools and how such policies were implemented and enforced at the school level. Such insight allowed for a deeper understanding of how teachers understand and address GBV in schools. Conducting FPDA helped identify the different discourses used around addressing the violence, or

rather, in maintaining an environment that permits such violence to continue without protest.

This chapter addressed not only the dominant discourses that play into legitimizing and controlling the (inadequate) responses to GBV in schools, but also the deviant discourses that could possibly disrupt the violence and create pockets of agency. Drawing from the feminist poststructuralist assumption that discourse creates power, and that interjecting agency can reshape that power, this study explored competing discourses through participants' demonstrations of agency (if present), contradictions in their discourse, and the relationship of the discourses between the macro, meso, and micro levels.

To apply a feminist poststructuralist framework without recognizing the use of binary within discourse, would ignore a significant element that is worthy of discussion. All discourses emerging from this study applied binary categories for man/woman, thus such a discussion of implications of such discourse is brief. Future studies can contribute to exploring limits of the use of the gender binary, as well as how shifting discourse would apply to policies and allow laws and structure to protect all gender identities that are systematically discriminated and oppressed.

The FPDA reviewed a top-down flow of discourse constructed by international community and a community discourse with an upward flow formed around social norms, largely based on masculine hegemony. These two hegemonic discourses conflict with each other as they seek influence over institutions and practices. Neither discourse was particularly progressive, and both seek to extend influence and control. Local discourse was overtly oppressive toward gender equality, with explicit intentions to

preserve male traditional dominance in the society as well as keep in place the barriers

that would allow for resistance against responses to GBV in schools. While the

international discourse helps shape more laws to protect against GBV in schools and

promotes goals of increasing gender equality, in terms of access and right to safety, for

women, those identifying outside the gender binary, along with the LGBTQ community

are left unprotected by Burkina Faso's laws. Despite the existence of policies, the

implementation of those policies was blocked by the local discourse which kept teachers

from responding against GBV in schools and authorities at all levels from enforcing the

laws. This presented an interesting dynamic of those in positional power being in the

middle of two conflicting discourses, and yet those officials, particularly at the national

and, less so, at the regional level, benefit from both hegemonic influences.

Within these powerful discourses, evidence of pockets of agency was presented.

In Chapter 1, such agency was demonstrated through women teachers establishing

groups, like the APEFF, to combat awareness of GBV in schools, largely within the

power dynamics and social norms that follow the discourses offered by teachers around

third-party solutions to avoid shaming and stigmatization. Such groups challenge the

narrative by working within the norms but yet demanding accountability (though often

not through the justice system) and protection of victims (such as more forceful

negotiation on behalf of pregnant student shunned from school or family). However,

while some teachers reported that schoolgirls were using sex as a way to gain access to

resources or security, there was no evidence of deviant discourse or attempts to shift

power dynamics away from the men. The agency the schoolgirls used appear to be

attempts to benefit from a man's power, rather than assert one's own power.

In general, throughout the study, participants, men and women alike, took agency to deflect their responsibilities. Indeed, all actors sought to limit their power through expressed powerlessness and helplessness. This unwillingness to confront obstacles, which would require going against the local discourse that serves to protect perpetrators of GBV in schools, can be understood as a commitment to preserving the status quo or the fear of the consequences of disrupting it. Such motives most likely vary between men and women, as women teachers often expressed the desire to do more to stop the violence, where men spoke matter-of-factly about their helplessness to respond.

Contradictions were seen throughout the participants' discourses, presented throughout the study's findings. The contradiction around the enforcement of different laws was an interesting phenomenon. On the one hand, resistance to combating sexual violence, which laws were not enforced, has always been strong and the violence is shielded with silence and secrecy.   On the other hand, the law around teacher use of physical violence was and remains unpopular with teachers and the community alike. The local discourse around laying hands on a child has not changed, yet the government was willing and successful at enforcing the law. This is an example of how the power of authority and laws is stronger than local discourse based on social norms.

In light of such an example that could bolster the success of laws protecting against GBV in schools, this chapter reviews several threats to combatting the violence. Some of these threats are lingering from historical and social norms, such as the continued discourse around the inferiority of women and girls, a narrative that is always enforced through violence and any blowback as a response to progress. However, there are new, current threats such as multiple shifts of power within the society due to the

recent history of the country. With a youth flexing its collective muscle and a new government experimenting with democracy, there remains a lack of commitment toward gender equality. Rather, there is evidence that gender is getting lost in the conversations, particularly among programming to address the new dynamics.

At the time of this writing, Burkina Faso is dealing with a different reality than even nine months ago, when this study began. The country declared a state of emergency in several regions at the end of December 2018 and rearranged its government in response to significant attacks that are being carried out along all of its borders (as opposed to just the northern border). Over 70,000 people have been internally displaced. No type of systemic violence is free from perpetuating GBV. With multiple layers of violence—ethnic, religious, and political—GBV in schools and throughout an increasing unstable environment will increase. Now more than ever, the government, with INGO and NGO partners, must address this violence through enforcement of existing laws. Better still, a new discourse of gender equality led by women in the country will assist in reducing all of the violence.

This chapter concludes this study with some recommendations. While it is imperative to be aware of national trends and insecurity, the government must continue to increase trainings that align with teachers' needs to assist in implementing and enforcing policies as well as creating room for alternative discourses that will challenge the gender power dynamics. Training and programming will be most successful when there is awareness of the social norms that current local discourse governs and protects. Teachers will not be willing to act until there are pockets of resistance that provide courage, and some safety for them to combat the violence. Further, laws providing protection must be

shown as relevant through enforcement. More than ever, gender equality and a zero-tolerance policy for GBV must be mainstreamed, not only throughout MENA but throughout the country, in order to prevent GBV from growing as part of the ethnic violence, or political violence, and other elements of the current and perhaps future instabilities.

This dissertation study demonstrates the complexity of responding effectively to GBV in schools. With multiple, competing discourses from actors at multiple vertical levels of government, there is no straightforward method for ending such violence. Rather, this study hopes to shed light on the context of one case in order to highlight the benefits of gaining understanding of the different layers of power created and perpetuated by discourses. Teachers' voices and experiences offer insight into how training can be structured to meet their needs in order to act as change agents, as well as hold them responsible. Further, understanding of the factors that influence teachers can strengthen the effectiveness of the construction, implementation, and enforcement of policies. The vertical nature of this case study proved useful when conflictual discourse emerged along with contradiction between the officials' rhetoric and the actions of the MENA in (not) enforcing policies or providing evidence of implementation of strategies. The horizontal study, including the review of Burkina Faso's recent history, gave additional context to the present discourses found at the different levels. There is much work to be done to achieve safe schools and gender equality throughout the world, including in Burkina Faso. This study hopes to contribute to creating more knowledge of how to construct a path forward.

Appendix

Appendix A: Interview and Focus Group Protocol

<u>Policy makers' Interview Protocol</u>

Introduction:
• Introduce yourself.
• Review the study information. "As a reminder, the purpose of this study is to better understand the national policies addressing gender-based violence in schools and how teachers are supported by national policies and programs to respond to violence in schools. I seek to learn how you, as a policy maker define violence in schools."
• Review the consent information. "Your participation in this interview today is completely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. If there are any questions you would rather not answer, just let me know, and we can skip those questions. The information you provide in this interview will remain completely anonymous. In any write-ups of this information, your name will be changed and no personally identifiable information will be included. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview today, so I can focus completely on speaking with you, rather than taking notes."
• Ask if the participant has any questions.
• Have the participant sign the consent form.

This interview is addresses the following research questions:
• To what extent do government policies define and address SRGBV and include mechanisms to hold secondary schools accountable in Burkina Faso?   • How effective are the mechanics and procedures for implementation of policies at a regional and school level?
Demographic Questions: - How long have you been in your current position?   - What has been your experience in the education sector of Burkina Faso?
Potential Questions about SRGBV: - How is gender defined in Burkina Faso by teachers, policy makers, and INGOs?   - Are there issues around gender in secondary schools?   - What is considered gendered violence in secondary schools in Burkina Faso? Can you give examples?   - How does your organization know that this violence takes place in schools?   - What do you consider as "violence" in schools?   - In your opinion, why does this violence occur?   - In your opinion, what is needed to end this violence?   - How do you define SRGBV?   - Do you believe that, in general, school communities define gendered violence in the same manner? If not, what is viewed as such violence?   - Is there a difference between GBV incidences by region/ethnicity? Do policies acknowledge these differences? If yes, how so? Can you give an example?   - Do teachers report violence? Why or why not? What type of violence?

- What do you think should be the main focus of policies addressing SRGBV?
Potential Policy Questions:
- How does your ministry/department/organization address SRGBV?
- What (information/evidence/influence) allowed your ministry/department/organization to develop this response?
- In your opinion, is the best response?
- How do national policies to prevent and combat SRGBV? What parts of these policies help address the violence?
- What policies ratified under President Compoare are still valid? Which are new?
- What has been your experience in being involved in drafting these policies? Who developed these policies? Are regional government offices, school administrations, union, and/or teachers involved?
- How have you been involved in working on policies around SRGBV?
- How does your ministry/department/organization work with other ministries/departments/organizations to construct policies?
- What procedures are involved in implementing the policies? By whom?
- How does your ministry/department/organization work with other ministries/departments/organizations to implement policies?
- How do the policies hold schools accountable?
- You said earlier that teachers (do/do not) report SRGBV. Do the policies include clear procedures for how teachers are to report SRGBV? What are these procedures? How are teachers trained on them? Is there protection for teachers who report SRGBV?
- How do policies address the stigma faced by victims of SRGBV?
- What are Some challenges your ministry/department/organization faces in developing and implementing policies?
- In your opinion, do you believe that the existing policies are sufficient for combating SRGBV? If not, what else is needed? Why has this not been done?
- In your opinion, how effective is this/are these policies in reaching the goal of reducing SRGBV by 2021, as outlined in the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Girls' Education (SNAEF) (2012-2021)?
- Is there a national (pre-service/in-service) training curriculum for teachers on how to address SRGBV? Is there a national curriculum for students in secondary schools that addresses components of SRGBV?
- What programs does your organization run to combat SRGBV? Who developed the program(s)? Who implements the program(s)? In what region/schools? How does the program work with teachers? Do you have evidence of results?

Teacher Interview Protocol

Introduction:
- Introduce yourself.
- Review the study information. "As a reminder, the purpose of this research project is to better understand how teachers define types of violence in schools. I seek to learn the ways in which teachers are supported by national policies and programs to respond to violence in schools."
- Review the participant's consent information: "Your participation in this interview today is completely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. If there are any questions you would rather not answer, just let me know, and we can skip those questions. The information you provide in this interview will remain completely anonymous. In any write-ups of this information, your name will be changed and no personally identifiable information will be included. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview today, so I can focus completely on speaking with you, rather than taking notes."
- Ask if they have any questions.
- Have the participant sign the consent form.

This interview addresses the following research questions: • How do teachers at the local secondary school level understand and define SRGBV? • What factors, including policy implementation and the social construction of the phenomenon, contribute to teachers' decisions on how, if at all, to address SRGBV?
Demographic Questions: - How long have you been in your current teaching job? - What has been your experience in the education sector of Burkina Faso? - Have you had any trainings on SRGBV or policies around gendered violence in schools, gender equality in schools?
Potential Questions about SRGBV: - What does the term "gender" mean to you? - Can you tell me what type of violence occurs in schools? - What of these different types of violence would you refer to as gender violence? - What is considered gendered violence in secondary schools in Burkina Faso? Can you give examples? - How do you know that this violence takes place in schools? - In your opinion, why does this violence occur? - In your opinion, what is needed to end this violence? - What do teachers often do in addressing any gender violence in schools? - How do you define SRGBV? - Do you believe that, in general, parents and communities define gendered violence in the same manner? If not, what is viewed as such violence? - Do teachers work with parents (and/or authorities) to address violence? - Do teachers report violence? If so, to whom? Why or why not? - What do you think should be the main focus addressing SRGBV?

- What are teachers willing to do to prevent and combat violence?
- What support do teachers need to be able to do this?

Potential Policy Questions:
- How does your school [administration] address SRGBV?
- How do national policies prevent and combat SRGBV?
- How do the policies define gender violence? Is the definition different from how teachers understand gender violence in schools?
- In what ways have you been taught to respond to this violence?
- How have you been involved in trainings on policies around gender violence in schools?
- How do the procedures in policies to report violence effect you/your school? Are there different procedures for different types of violence?
- How do the policies hold schools and teachers accountable?
- Do you agree that teachers should be accountable for reporting gender violence?
- You said earlier that teachers (do/do not) report gender violence. Do the policies include clear procedures for how teachers are to report gender violence? What are these procedures? How are teachers trained on them?
- What is your experience or knowledge around protection for teachers who report gender violence?
- How do policies address the stigma faced by victims of gender violence?
- What are Some challenges teachers face when following policy protocol?
- Do you believe that the existing policies are sufficient in stopping gender violence? (Ask for different types, for example: corporal punishment / sexual SRGBV)
- If not, what else is needed? Why has this not been done?
- Are you familiar with the National Strategy for the Acceleration of Girls' Education (SNAEF) (2012-2021)? If you are, how do you think the government will meet its 2021 target to reduce SRGBV?
- What programs does your school run to combat gender violence? Who developed the program(s)? Who implements the program(s)? Is there evidence of the results?

Teacher Focus Group Protocol

Introduction:
- Introduce yourself.
- Review the study information "As a reminder, the purpose of this research project is to better understand how teachers define types of violence in schools. I seek to learn the ways in which teachers are supported by national policies and programs to response to violence in schools.

Today, our topic will be how teachers understand gender and violence in schools. The results will be used for Ms. Anne Spear's dissertation research on teachers' responses to violence in schools. The results will be offered to the Ministry and your school to help identify ways to support teachers. You were selected for this study because you are a full-time teacher at a public secondary school. Thank you for your willingness to participate in this group."

- Review consent information: "Your participation in this focus group today is completely voluntary, and you can stop at any time. If there are any questions you would rather not answer, just let me know, and we can skip those questions. The information you provide in this focus will remain completely anonymous. In any write-ups of this information, all names will be changed and no personally identifiable information will be included. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the focus group today. This is only for note-taking purposes, so I can focus completely on speaking with you, rather than taking notes."

- Ask if they have any questions.
- Have participants sign the consent form

Addressing the following research questions:
- *How do teachers at the local secondary school level understand and define SRGBV?*
Focus Group Guidelines "There are a few guidelines the group discussion that I would like to go over before we get started. - There are no right or wrong answers, only differing points of view. - We're tape recording, with everyone's permission. The audio recording will be held securely by the researcher. - One person speaks at a time but talk to each other and discuss the questions presented to the group - You don't need to agree with others, but you must listen respectfully as others share their views - I ask that your turn off your phones or pagers. If you cannot and if you must respond to a call, please do so as quietly as possible and rejoin us as quickly as you can. - My role as moderator will be to guide the discussion. We will start off with Some questions and then I will present Some scenarios for the group to discuss."
Potential Discussion Questions: 1. In your own words, how would you define the meaning of 'gender'?   a. Can you tell me what national and school policies address gender?

      b. How is your definition of gender different from the National Policy on Gender's definition (read definition) and the United Nations' definition of gender?

      c. What is the importance around understanding and defining the concept of gender as oppose to using categories of biological sex?

      d. Is gender differences seen in school? What creates these differences? Do teachers address these differences with administration/other teachers/students? In your opinion, how are gender differences harmful?

      e. Should teachers be trained on the concepts around gender?

      f. In your opinion, how does gender relate to the focus on girls' education in Burkina Faso?

      g. How is gender reinforced in schools?

2. In your opinion, what does gender have anything to do with violence in schools?

3. Can you explain to me Some of the violence that occurs in your school?

      a. How do you as teachers know this violence is occurring?

      b. What about this act makes it violent?

      c. Where does such violence occur?

      d. Why do you believe this violence takes place?

      e. On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being not concerning at all and 10 being very concerning, how would you rate your concern with this violence in your school?

      f. The international community defines this violence, using the term, school-related gender-based violence, and includes all forms of physical, sexually, verbal, and physiological violence. What do you agree with in this definition? What do you disagree with? And what do you not understand?

      g. What is the difference between SRGBV, gendered violence, and violence against girls and women?

      h. How do you know when an act of violence is occurring vs. a harmless/innocent interaction?

      i. How does power contribute to gendered violence?

      j. Can you give me Some examples of gender violence that you have heard of occur in schools?

Addressing the following research questions:

- What factors, including policy implementation and the social construction of the phenomenon, contribute to teachers' decisions on how, if at all, to address SRGBV?

Potential Discussion Questions:

1. What policies and laws are in place to prevent gendered violence in schools?
      a. What do the policies include?

2. What policies and laws are in place to combat gendered violence in schools?
      a. Can you explain the reporting procedures in the policies?

3. How are teachers trained on such policies?

4. What do the policies require teachers to do in preventing and responding against

gendered violence?

5. What are teachers' opinions about these policies and the procedures and requirements?
    a. Do teachers and schools follow the policies?
6. How does the teachers' union contribute to supporting teachers in responding to gendered violence?
7. If you oversaw policies, what type of policies would you create to address gendered violence in schools?
    a. What would be your focus? What would be the procedures for reporting? How would you enforce your policies?
8. (if there is no or limited knowledge of policies), How do teachers respond to gendered violence? Can you give any examples at your school? On a scale 1-10, with 1 being no difficulty and 10 being impossible, how difficult is it for teachers to prevent and report gendered violence? Can you explain your answer?
9. How do teachers' response differently to different acts of gendered violence? What are Some of the reasons for these differences?

Scenarios

- A student told a teacher, Ms. Diallo, that he was being asked to do sexual favors for another teacher in exchange for a good grade in the class. What do you think Ms. Diallo should do? Does it matter that the student is a young man? Would your answer be different if the student reported the violence to a male teacher?
- One day, leaving the classroom, Mr. Hien witnesses a group of boys bullying another classmate. What should Mr. Hien do? What if the group of boys were sexual harassing a school girl?
- All the teachers know that Mr. Ouédraogo sleeps with his favorite students. It is rumored that he is in love with the most recent school girl. What should the teachers do? Are Mr. Ouédraogo's actions violent? Should he be punished?
- One day the school girl who Mr. Ouédraogo is sleeping with comes to your crying. You learned that she is engaging with him because her parents have encouraged it, in hopes that she will marry a civil servant and have a better life? But he is unkind to her and she is scared because she does not know what to do. What do you do?

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