

Theories of Change: Empowering All Social Groups in Generations For Peace's Accra Programme

July - December 2015

Generations For Peace Institute Research | Programme Research | 6

Eva Steketee
Summer Field Research Intern
The University of Oxford

Supervised, reviewed, and edited by Generations For Peace Institute:
Nabila Hussein, Love Calissendorff, and Jadranka Stikovac Clark

Plagiarism Disclaimer

I, Eva Steketee, hereby confirm that the enclosed document is entirely my own work. I confirm that this written submission has, in no part, been copied from a book, article, encyclopaedia or any other source, including the Internet, except where such sections are clearly identified by the use of quotations. I confirm that all sources utilised have been correctly identified within the body of the text or in the final list of references.

Table of Contents

List of Acronyms	3
List of Abbreviations	3
List of Tables	4
List of Graphs	5
1. Introduction	9
2. Theory of Change Model	13
3. Conflict Background and Context	20
4. Methodology	27
5. Findings	39
6. Conclusion	80
Bibliography	88
Books, Reports and Journal Articles	88
Interviews and Focus Groups	93
Appendices	95
Appendix A: Surveys for Target Group	95
Appendix B: Surveys for Beneficiary Community Peers	97
Appendix C: Focus Group Questions for Target Group	99
Appendix D: Focus Group Questions for Beneficiary Community Peers	100
Appendix E: Interview Questions for Delegates	101
Appendix F: Interview Questions for Key Stakeholders	102
Appendix G: Interview Questions for Beneficiary Community Parents	103
Appendix H: T-test Calculations	104

List of Acronyms

ARPP	Arts For Peace Programme
GFP	Generations For Peace
GFPI	Generations For Peace Institute
SPPC	Sport For Peace Programme for Children

List of Abbreviations

BC	Beneficiary Community
JHS	Junior High School
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SHS	Senior High School
St Peter's	St Peter's Mission School
TG	Target Group
ToC	Theory of Change
UPS	Upper Primary School

List of Tables

Table 1.0 Research Participants	28
Table 1.1 Age and Gender of TG	29
Table 1.2 Religious Background of TG	29
Table 1.3 Age and Gender of BC Peers	29
Table 1.4 Mean and Standard Deviation of TG and BC Ages	29
Table 1.5 TG Focus Groups	32
Table 1.6 BC Peers Focus Groups	32
Table 1.7 Delegate Interviews and Follow-up Interviews	33
Table 2.0 Other Conflicts at St Peter's	52
Table 3.0 Coded Behavioural Changes of TG	60
Table 3.1 Coded Expressions of Change for TG	63
Table 3.2 Coded Behavioural Changes of BC Peers	64
Table 3.3 Questions on Behavioural Changes in TG Surveys	65
Table 4.0 BC Peers Reasons for Wanting to Participate in GFP	75

List of Graphs

Graph 1.0 Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?: TG Members by Age	44
Graph 1.1 Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?: TG Members by Gender	44
Graph 1.2 Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?: BC Peers by Age	45
Graph 1.3 Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?: BC Peers by Gender	45
Graph 1.4 Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?: TG Members by Religion	46
Graph 2.0 Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school? (TG Members and BC Peers)	47
Graph 2.1 Have you ever been personally affected by one of these? (TG Members and BC Peers)	48
Graph 2.2 Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school?: Age Differences (TG Members and BC Peers)	48
Graph 2.3 Have you ever been personally affected by one of these?: Age Differences (TG Members and BC Peers)	49
Graph 2.4 Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school?: Gender Differences (TG Members and BC Peers)	49
Graph 2.5 Have you ever been personally affected by one of these?: Gender Differences (TG Members and BC Peers)	50
Graph 2.6 Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school?: TG Members by Religion (TG Members and BC Peers)	50
Graph 2.7 Have you ever been personally affected by one of these?: TG Members by Religion (TG Members and BC Peers)	51
Graph 3.0 Behavioural Changes: UPS TG Members	65
Graph 3.1 Behavioural Changes: JHS TG Members	66
Graph 3.2 Behavioural Changes: Female TG Members	66
Graph 3.3 Behavioural Changes: Male TG Members	67
Graph 3.4 Behavioural Changes: Muslim TG Members	68
Graph 3.5 Behavioural Changes: Christian TG Members	68
Graph 4.0 Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?: TG Members by Age	69
Graph 4.1 Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?: TG Members by Gender	70
Graph 4.2 Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?: TG Members by Religion	70
Graph 4.3 Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?: BC Peers by Age	70
Graph 4.4 Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?: BC Peers by Gender	71
Graph 5.0 Would you tell someone if you saw this happen?	72
Graph 5.1 Who would you tell?	73

Graph 6.0	Has there been a decrease in bullying by GFP students?: TG Members	74
Graph 6.1	Has there been a decrease in bullying by students in school?: TG Members	74

Key Definitions

Beneficiary Community	People in the wider community benefiting or aimed to benefit from the Generations For Peace programme. ¹
Bullying	“The use of force, threat, or coercion to abuse, intimidate, or aggressively impose domination over others”. ² Bullying can include physical threats or offenses, verbal assault or coercion, emotional harassment and cyber bullying.
Conflict	“A conflict occurs when two or more related parties, e.g., individuals, groups, or countries, hold different interests”. ³
Conflict Transformation	Transformation of capacity, relationships and dynamics to break a conflict cycle. ⁴
Delegates	Volunteers selected by Generations For Peace through an application process to be trained in the GFP curriculum and design their own peace-building programmes to address a local conflict.
Expression of Change	“Changes in attitudes or behaviours that demonstrate that relationships among people are changing, and that conflict is being transformed”. ⁵ GFP identifies six Expressions of Change: (1) Building Acceptance; (2) Fostering Cooperation; (3) Ensuring Inclusion; (4) Developing Respect; (5) Taking Responsibility; (6) Building Trust.
Gender	The socially constructed meanings attached to biological differences between the sexes.
Peace-building	A continuous effort to stop both direct violence and cultural and structural violence making up a conflict situation. ⁶
Programming Framework	Involves analysing the conflict context, identifying a Theory of

¹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 7.

² Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

³ Generations For Peace (GFP). “Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation.” *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 1.

⁴ Generations For Peace (GFP). “Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation.” *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 2-3.

⁵ Generations For Peace (GFP). “Vehicles.” *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 1.

⁶ Generations For Peace (GFP). “Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation.” *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 6.

Change and devising monitoring and evaluation tools.

Social Group	Collection of human beings with interrelations based on common attributes, goals or a sense of unity.
Sport For Peace	“The use of carefully facilitated sport and sport-based games for children and youth of different age groups, integrating peace-building education for conflict transformation objectives”. ⁷
Stakeholders	The people or organisations providing the inputs needed to make programme activities happen. ⁸
Target Group	Participants directly involved in the programme activities. ⁹
Theory of Change Model	A “big picture analysis of how change happens in relation to a specific thematic area; an articulation of an organisation or programme pathway in relation to this; and an impact assessment framework which is designed to test both the pathway and the assumptions made about how change happens. ¹⁰ The Theory of Change model is often articulated through the following statement: “We believe that by doing X (action) successfully, we will produce Y (movement towards peace), because Z”. ¹¹

⁷ Generations For Peace (GFP). “Sport For Peace.” *Curriculum*. Amman Jordan (2014): 1.

⁸ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 9.

⁹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan (2014): 7.

¹⁰ D. Stein and C. Valters, “Understanding Theory of Change in International Development,” *JSRP Paper 1*, The Justice and Security Research Programme, 2012: 4.

¹¹ CDA, *Reflecting on Peace Practice: Participant Training Manual* (Cambridge MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2013): 18.

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Outline

The Theory of Change (ToC) model is a commonly used programming tool in the field of peace building which facilitates programme design, monitoring and evaluation. This research, conducted as part of a collaboration between the Generations For Peace Institute (GFPI) and the University of Oxford, investigated the relevance and success of the ToC employed in the Generations For Peace (GFP) Sport For Peace Programme for Children (SPPC) in Accra, Ghana. GFP is a Jordan-based non-governmental organisation (NGO) founded in 2007 dedicated to promoting sustainable conflict transformation through grassroots peace building.¹² The Organisation operates internationally with a network of around 8,500 youth leaders from over 50 countries.¹³ GFPI, established in 2010, is the research and development arm of GFP and engages in interdisciplinary research, programme monitoring and evaluation, community outreach and curriculum development and training.¹⁴

GFP empowers, mentors and supports local volunteers to enact change in their communities based on a uniform model adapted to specific local conditions. Volunteer youth leaders are selected through an application process to become GFP Delegates and undergo a local or international training in Generation For Peace's unique conflict transformation curriculum.¹⁵ Post training, Delegates subsequently devise their own peace-building programmes to address their particular conflict context. Lead Delegates devise the programme within their local communities and may be supported by other programme Delegates. All programmes are developed by using the GFP Programming Framework,¹⁶ which involves analysing the conflict context, identifying a ToC, and devising monitoring and evaluation tools.

With continuous mentoring support from GFP, Delegates implement a twelve- to fifteen-month programme based on one or more conflict transformation tools: sport, art, advocacy, dialogue or empowerment. GFP's Cascading Model encourages Delegates to locally train volunteers and youth to ensure the sustainability of their programmes. Participants involved in the programme are termed the Target Group (TG) and all programmes are designed to indirectly reach a Beneficiary Community (BC) by encouraging the TG to 'pass on' the message. At the core of all GFP programming is the conception of a context-specific ToC that structures the programme design and execution.

The Accra SPPC was launched in September 2015 at St Peter's Mission School in the suburb of Madina. The aim was to reduce bullying between students from different social backgrounds by effecting behavioural change in their relations. St Peter's is characterised by vast social diversity, hosting students from a variety of different ethnic, religious, socio-economic, tribal and national

¹² Generations For Peace (GFP). "Pass It On..." (2014).

¹³ Generations For Peace (GFP). "Pass It On..." (2014).

¹⁴ Generations For Peace (GFP). "Institute." (2014).

¹⁵ Generations For Peace (GFP). "Approach." (2014).

¹⁶ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan. (2014).

backgrounds. Bullying at St Peter's is perceived by programme Delegates to be largely predicated on these social differences, with observed results including absenteeism and lasting psychological effects for the victims. Nine Delegates implemented the programme for a TG of 40 students 11-13 y/o, covering a wide range of social backgrounds.

Preliminary research conducted by Delegates conveyed that the effects of bullying at St Peter's are differentiated by gender, with girls and boys experiencing the act and effects of bullying differently.¹⁷ This highlights the potential impact of social groups in determining the experience of bullying. This is especially significant considering that St Peter's is a highly diverse environment with a range of social groups represented. The Accra programme uses one single ToC to address all these conflict dynamics, with the aim of bringing students from all backgrounds together. The aim of this research was therefore to understand whether the ToC used by the Accra SPPC was appropriate to the conflict context and relevant for all social groups. In particular, the research investigated whether differences in experiences and perceptions of bullying and the outcomes of the programme were informed by age, gender or religion. This in turn raises questions about the ToC model more generally and whether these social dynamics need to be accounted for through multiple ToCs.

This research explored the following main research question: *Is the Theory of Change employed in GFP's Accra programme relevant to the conflict context and is it appropriate for all social groups?* Research was conducted during a two-week period at St Peter's School. This included conducting interviews with programme Delegates, Key Stakeholders and parents (members of the BC), as well as surveys and focus groups with TG members and peers (members of BC).

The research uncovered that conflict at St Peter's is built on intersecting social identities that shape students' experiences and perceptions of bullying. The results revealed a lack of shared understanding within and between Delegates, TG members, Stakeholders, and the BC community as to how these identities shape bullying behaviour and that these understandings were predicated on several normative assumptions. Nevertheless, the ToC model was generally very successful in this conflict context in bringing about the intended behavioural changes and reducing bullying at St Peter's. The research does, however, convey that social group influences the outcomes for certain behavioural changes, necessitating the accommodation of these differences within the programme's ToC. Furthermore, the research uncovered other conflicts that this programme has either instigated or inadvertently tackled that were not identified as part of the ToC. The research project will therefore present evaluations on the ToC model and recommendations for future research.

1.2 Purpose and Relevance to GFP

Investigating the relevance and impact of the Accra programme's ToC is vital to the work of GFP. The ToC model provides the foundation of GFP's programming. Chapter 2, entitled "Theory of Change

¹⁷ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

Model”, will outline how all GFP programmes are devised through a Programming Framework which Delegates use to establish a ToC and to design a programme around this conception of change. The GFP programme in Accra in particular, aims to tackle relational conflicts based on social differences. However, every member engaged in a particular conflict will be shaped by multiple, intersecting identities, which will inform their experience of the conflict and GFP programme. This research is therefore important for uncovering whether the ToC needs to take into account and cater for these differences. To devise a ToC which takes into account these differences requires a shared and accurate understanding of the conflict context. The first aspect of this research is therefore to understand the relevance of the Accra programme’s ToC to the conflict context and whether there is a shared understanding of the conflicts present at St Peter’s between the Delegates, TG members, Stakeholders and BC community.

The research then explores whether and why impacts differ according to age, gender and religion. The findings provide an insight into whether the ToC works for all social groups and whether in reality, multiple ToCs are necessary where conflict is influenced by various social dynamics. The GFP Accra programme is particularly interesting for this reason, considering the vast number of social backgrounds that are represented at St Peter’s and within the programme’s TG. Considering the centrality of the ToC model to GFP’s work, this research is useful to GFP in assessing the continued relevance, applicability and effectiveness of its model.

1.3 Structure

The presented research is divided into five main sections:

Chapter 2. Theory of Change Model: Initially, the literature surrounding the use of ToCs in peace building will be outlined and analysed to determine the main features of a ToC and the advantages and challenges of such an approach to conflict transformation. This section will then outline and explain the centrality of the ToC model to GFP programming and how it is integrated into the Programming Framework. Finally, the ToC used by the Accra programme will be delineated to reveal the change that the programme envisions and therefore how success is measured.

Chapter 3. Conflict Context: This section provides an insight into the various conflicts present in Ghana, Accra, and at St Peter’s School, incorporating a brief review of the literature on bullying in schools in Ghana.

Chapter 4. Methodology: This section outlines the research questions that were explored, as well as the research approach and justification. Next, methods of data collection and data analysis are outlined. This section also contains an exploration of research limitations and how they may have impacted the results. Finally, a critical summary of the ethical issues that were considered and mitigated is presented.

Chapter 5. Findings: The findings of the research are presented in three sections. The first section looks at the ToC model more broadly, investigating how research participants have understood the ToC and whether any changes are envisioned. The next section provides an analysis of perceptions of the conflict context. The final section advances the findings on outcomes and impacts of the programme.

Chapter 6. Conclusions and Recommendations: The final section provides a concluding evaluation of research findings according to the research questions posed. Recommendations are also offered on ways of incorporating these findings into programming structure in the future.

2. Theory of Change Model

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Defining ToCs

Peace-building programmes are increasingly shaped by explicit articulations of how durable and effective peace can be achieved and what forms of change are necessary to precipitate the end to violent conflict. These conceptions are commonly expressed through the ToC model.^{18 19} The ToC model can be defined as a “big picture analysis of how change happens in relation to a specific thematic area; an articulation of an organisation or programme pathway in relation to this; and an impact assessment framework which is designed to test both the pathway and the assumptions made about how change happens”.²⁰ The use of the ToC model within peace building involves integrating a conception of how and why change happens within a programme’s design, implementation and outputs.

The integration of a ToC into peace-building practice is a recent development driven from within the sector as well as by external pressures. The approach is considered to have first emerged in the United States in the 1990s, used in the field of community initiatives both for programme evaluation and as a tool allowing practitioners to reflect on their practice.²¹ Since then, the ToC has become an attractive model to the peace-building community, in particular due to pressures from donors promoting a ‘results agenda’ and seeking to understand systemic or complex social change.²²

A ToC embodies a causal assumption²³ about what changes programme designers view as necessary to achieve peace and “how and why a set of activities will bring about the changes a project’s designers seek to achieve”.²⁴ The basic premise of a ToC is articulated through the following statement: “We believe that by doing X (action) successfully, we will produce Y (movement towards peace), because Z”.²⁵ The ToC thus reflects the process through which a change occurs as a result of programme inputs and activities.²⁶ It embodies an analysis of who needs change, what form it should take, how it can be achieved and who will bring about the change. Theories on how change occurs

¹⁸ Reina C. Neufeldt, “Frameworkers” And “Cirlers”: Exploring Assumptions In Peace And Conflict Impact Assessment, Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2007). See also: C. Church and M.M. Rogers, *Designing for Results: Integrating Monitoring and Evaluation in Conflict Transformation Programs* (Washington DC: SFCG, 2006); J.P. Lederach, et al., *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring And Learning Toolkit* (Notre Dame, IN: The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2007).

¹⁹ Prinsen and Nijhof, “Between Logframes and ToC,” 236.

²⁰ D. Stein and C. Valters, “Understanding Theory of Change in International Development,” *JSRP Paper 1*, The Justice and Security Research Programme, 2012: 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

²² *Ibid.*, 3.

²³ B. Dayton, “The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-group Conflict: From Theory to Practice,” *International Studies Perspectives* 12, no. 3 (2011): 283.

²⁴ Lederach, et al., *Reflective Peacebuilding*, 25.

²⁵ CDA, *Reflecting on Peace Practice: Participant Training Manual* (Cambridge MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2013): 18.

²⁶ I. Shapiro. “Theories of Change,” in *Beyond Intractability*, ed. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. (Boulder: Conflict Research Consortium, 2005): 1.

often “operate beneath the surface of a project as implicit or unspoken assumptions”.²⁷ The ToC model aims to extract and articulate these theories and unpack any underlying assumptions that may shape them. Practitioners can evaluate whether these core beliefs are consistent with existing theory, thus offering an opportunity for the application of both theoretical and context-specific understandings of conflict and change to peace-building programmes.²⁸

The context in which the ToC is formulated is key as the expected and actual change will vary according to the local setting. A conflict analysis is therefore considered to be the first stage in formulating a ToC that is “grounded in the realities of the context and the specific dynamics of the conflict”.²⁹ The success of any ToC is dependent on its relevance to the conflict that is being addressed. Conflict analysis can be defined as the “systematic study of the profile, causes, actors and dynamics of conflict”.³⁰ It involves assessing the multiple levels of conflict, including at the local, regional and national levels; the multiple actors that are involved, including those resistant to change; and the mixture of causes, comprising of structural causes, proximate causes and immediate triggers.³¹ Moreover, this encompasses investigating the *relationship* between varying levels of conflict.³² A ToC draws the link between the conflict and the role of the peace-building programme in realising a conflict transformation.

ToCs can be articulated in multiple forms, encompassing changes in behaviour, practice, structures, relationships, knowledge or attitudes.³³ These changes may be of an individual, inter-group or systemic nature.³⁴ CDA (2013) outlines two primary formulations of the ToC model.³⁵ The “Peace Writ Large” (PWL) method assesses the contribution of a programme to larger events, viewing it as playing a specific, targeted role within a bigger, systemic web of events and peace-building programmes. The “Programmatic ToCs” technique encompasses theories and evaluations on the way programme activities add up to the goals or objectives set.³⁶ Here, the focus of the ToC is more on its role within a specific programmatic outcome than its place within the broader context. The applicability of the model and scope of change depends on the programme and conflict context, necessitating an analysis of how and why changes occur in that conflict system.³⁷ GFP’s use of the ToC model, which will be outlined in section 2.1.2 ‘Employing the ToC Approach’, conforms to the second “Programmatic ToCs” approach in that each GFP programme identifies a particular behavioural change desired and uses the ToC to identify how this change will occur and to monitor the achievement of the change in a

²⁷ Lederach, *et al.*, *Reflective Peacebuilding*, 26. See also M.H. Ross, “Action Evaluation in the Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution,” *Peace and Conflict Studies* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1; I. Shapiro, *Extending The Framework Of Inquiry: Tocs In Conflict Interventions*, Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 5 (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2006): 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

²⁹ CARE International, *Guidance for Designing, Monitoring and Evaluating Peacebuilding Projects: Using ToCs* (London: CARE International UK, 2012b): 8; see also CDA, *Reflecting on Peace Practice*; D. Stein and C. Valters, *Understanding Theory of Change in International Development*.

³⁰ Kinoti 2011 cited in UNDP, *Draft Report For Conflict Mapping: Northern Ghana*, 2013: 13.

³¹ UNDP, *Draft Report For Conflict Mapping*, 2013.

³² CDA, *Reflecting on Peace Practice*, 4.

³³ Church and Rogers, *Designing for Results*.

³⁴ Shapiro, “Theories of Change,” 1.

³⁵ CDA, *Reflecting on Peace Practice*, 19.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

³⁷ Church and Rogers, *Designing for Results*, 11.

particular conflict context, rather than relating the ToC to a wider web of peace-building events and programmes.

The general ToC approach is not without limitations and the main criticisms of the model highlight the risks of implementing a value- or assumption-ridden ToC. Gathering the evidence necessary to substantiate a ToC can be particularly challenging in the context of peace-building work due to the complexity of conflicts.³⁸ When a single ToC frames the programme design, this can encourage a linear understanding of the conflict transformation instead of recognising the 'systemic' or 'organic' nature of conflicts.³⁹ Although ToCs are used to overcome assumptions, the ToC may become an assumption itself when it is narrowly defined or not appropriate to the context and thus fails to achieve the anticipated change. Valters (2012) emphasises that "[t]hroughout the literature, the extent to which 'assumptions' should be tested is unclear, as are questions of how this is to be done, as well as whether it is enough simply to identify assumptions clearly".⁴⁰ It is therefore crucial that assumptions are fully explored and highlighted in devising the ToC but also throughout the programme implementation process.

2.1.2 Employing the ToC Approach

The ToC has been employed in peace-building programmes for various purposes. Stein and Valters (2012) outline four main purposes: the strategic planning of programmes; monitoring and evaluation; a description tool for partners; and as a learning mechanism.⁴¹ It has significant advantages in shaping programme design, especially in ensuring that all activities have a common vision and approach.⁴² This facilitates evaluating whether programme activities are aligned with the programme goal.⁴³

Dynamic ToCs are useful in addressing the complex and multi-layered nature of peace building. They encapsulate consideration of the broader change and long-term impact envisioned in society in the form of conflict transformation, whilst simultaneously envisioning how a programme intervention aims to create behavioural or structural change within a particular context, and how this local change will translate into broader societal change. They are thus useful for articulating short-term, medium-term and long-term goals.⁴⁴

All ToC models are also effective tools for the monitoring and evaluation of peace-building programmes as they specify the desired or expected change.⁴⁵ Evaluating a programme which integrates a ToC requires an analysis both of the outcome of a programme on its participants and of its impact on the broader community since the ToC is linked to the larger process of conflict

³⁸ CARE International, *Peacebuilding with Impact: Defining ToCs* (London: CARE International UK, 2012a): 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴¹ Stein and Valters, "Understanding Theory of Change in International Development," 6.

⁴² Church and Rogers, *Designing for Results*, 16.

⁴³ CARE International, *Peacebuilding with Impact*.

⁴⁴ Shapiro, "Theories of Change," 4; Prinsen and Nijhof, "Between Logframes and ToC," 238.

⁴⁵ Church and Rogers, *Designing for Results*, 12.

transformation.⁴⁶ The ToC is most commonly complemented by an outcome evaluation capturing the specific results of the programme.⁴⁷ A basic outcome evaluation used in the logical framework methodology consists of assessing outputs, outcomes and impacts. 'Outputs' reflect immediate, directly measurable results. 'Outcomes' are defined as the behavioural or other changes resulting from these activity outputs. Finally, 'impacts' refer to the longer-term results of the programme, often influenced by external dynamics.⁴⁸ Befus, *et al.* (2004) situate the outcome evaluation within the larger 'results chain' which connects inputs to impacts: inputs → activity → output → outcome → impact.⁴⁹

2.1.3 Formulating Adaptive ToCs

The ToC model also has some limitations. Primarily, ToCs may be difficult to specify due to the volatile and multifaceted nature of conflict. Accordingly, programmes may work towards more than one ToC, especially if change is being initiated at multiple levels or if the conflict context is changing as a result of the intervention.⁵⁰ This requires an analysis of the potential for and nature of change occurring at different times within the programme design, including before, during and after. Furthermore, it requires a continuous assessment of the conflict context to evaluate the appropriateness of the ToC. This necessitates planning ahead, monitoring earlier outputs, and designing flexible ToCs that reflect the ongoing nature of the programme.⁵¹

Secondly, considering the constantly changing external circumstances, ToCs should be updated to reflect these dynamics. Lederach (2005) upholds the need for planners to "create processes with peripheral vision, capable of maintaining purpose while constantly adapting to the difficult and shifting sands and tides they must face to survive".⁵² Changes in external circumstances may limit the relevance of the ToC devised at the time of programme planning. Accordingly, the conflict analysis is a useful tool when applied periodically to sustain and re-evaluate the continued relevance of the ToCs.

Finally, the ToC model presents a conundrum in programme evaluation as it may be difficult to conclude whether a failure to meet programme expectations or goals is due to a weak, inappropriate or unachieved ToC or other internal or external circumstances.⁵³ It is therefore essential for an evaluation not only to deduce whether the change envisioned has been achieved, but also to investigate whether the ToC used was appropriate to the conflict context, and whether that particular ToC was actually implemented.

⁴⁶ Shapiro. "Theories of Change," 3.

⁴⁷ CARE International, *Guidance for Designing, Monitoring and Evaluating Peacebuilding Projects*; Prinsen and Nijhof, "Between Logframes and ToC."

⁴⁸ Befus M., *et al.*, "Splash and Ripple! Planning and Managing for Results," Calgary, Alberta: PlanNet, 2004: 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁰ Lederach, *et al.*, *Reflective Peacebuilding*, 25.

⁵¹ CARE International, *Guidance for Designing, Monitoring and Evaluating Peacebuilding Projects*, 8.

⁵² Lederach 2005 cited in Church and Rogers, *Designing for Results*, 23.

⁵³ Prinsen and Nijhof, "Between Logframes and ToC," 236.

2.2 ToCs in GFP Programming

All GFP programmes are based on the design and implementation of the “GFP Programming Framework”,⁵⁴ a document which guides the analysis of the conflict context, the monitoring of the programme and evaluation of programming outputs, outcomes and impacts. This shapes a constant learning cycle through the gathering of evidence for programme improvements. Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) is built into the Programming Framework through a M&E grid completed for all programmes to ensure that the programme’s innovation, quality, impact and sustainability are maximised.⁵⁵ Articulating an explicit ToC is a fundamental aspect of the GFP Programming Framework, informing the programme design as well as the M&E strategy and therefore providing the foundation and direction for all programmes.

Delegates devise their programme structure and articulate an explicit, context-specific ToC which follows the GFP Programming Framework and affiliated M&E grid. The first step for any GFP programme is to develop a thorough understanding of the context and sources of conflict within the country and locality. Based on Lederach’s articulation of four levels of change,⁵⁶ any GFP programme will address one or more of the following dimensions of conflict: personal, relational, structural or cultural. Once the conflict context has been identified, GFP Delegates then design a ToC using the following sentence as a framework: “IF (we do something)...THEN (something will change)...BECAUSE (of something)...”. The ToC then forms the basis for designing the programme logic, the programming activities, and the monitoring and evaluation procedures.

GFP programmes focus on generating behavioural change, which is viewed as the first step necessary to influence long-term and sustainable change. Behavioural change is considered an ongoing process that takes place over several months, requiring the following steps: awareness about a problematic behaviour; motivation to change the behaviour; preparation to change the behaviour through the development of skills and knowledge; adoption of a new behaviour; and maintenance of the new behaviour through its reinforcement. GFP identifies six “Expressions of Change”, defined as changes in attitudes or behaviours that will enable a conflict transformation, which can inform a programme’s ToC. These are: building acceptance, fostering cooperation, ensuring inclusion, developing respect, taking responsibility, and building trust.

Each programme ToC aims to achieve one relevant Expression of Change and may build towards this aim through working on other Expressions of Change. In devising the ToC, Delegates also identify a TG who directly participate in activities, and the BC benefiting from changes instigated by the programme. Subsequently, a programme logic is devised, which includes identifying Key Stakeholders involved in helping run the programme, planning the activities and outputs, and identifying expected outcomes and impacts. Furthermore, this stage involves the analysis of risks and assumptions related to Stakeholders and programme design. Finally, the monitoring and evaluation plans are developed in

⁵⁴ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan. (2014).

⁵⁵ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan. (2014).

⁵⁶ Stein and Valters, “Understanding Theory of Change in International Development,” 8.

relation to the ToC; this includes the Participatory Evaluation method, carried out at the close of GFP programme, which brings together all groups participating in the implementation and activities of the programme to assess the effectiveness of said programme.

Considering the evident centrality of the ToC model to GFP's work, evaluating the outcomes and impacts of GFP's programmes will require an analysis of the effectiveness of the ToC that has been employed and its relevance to the conflict context. Integral to such an evaluation is measuring whether and what form of behavioural change has occurred, and whether and how this has translated into a transformation of the conflict context. Accordingly, it is essential for GFP programme Delegates, Stakeholders, TGs and BCs to have a shared understanding of the ToC that the programme uses, and for Delegates to have a deep and accurate understanding of the conflict context that informs the ToC.

2.3 Generating Behavioural Change in the Accra SPPC

The GFP SPPC in Accra followed the Programming Framework used by all GFP programmes. To formulate a ToC which would provide the foundational logic for the Accra SPPC programme activities, Delegates initially conducted a conflict analysis within St Peter's Mission School. The Accra SPPC's conflict context uncovered the widespread presence of bullying between students from different social backgrounds which had severely negative psychological, emotional and physical impacts on students, as outlined in detail in Chapter 3.⁵⁷

The ToC used in the Accra SPPC targeted the relational dimensions of conflict within St Peter's. The focus on improving relationships between and within the varying social groups at St Peter's was based on the theory that establishing cooperative, positive and trusting relationships⁵⁸ can transform the conflict and, in this case, reduce bullying in school. This is expressed in the ToC that was employed:

*If we implement a Sport For Peace Programme with 40 children 11-13 y/o of St Peter's Mission School for a two-hour session once every week for nine months, then students will develop respect for one another leading to less incidents of bullying in St Peter's School, because our sessions will provide an opportunity to develop skills on better cooperation, communication, greater understanding and trust.*⁵⁹

The behavioural change sought through this programme was developing respect; increasing the level of respect felt by students towards other students from different social backgrounds. To achieve this Expression of Change, the Delegates promoted the five other GFP Expressions of Change within the Target Group: building trust, building acceptance, fostering cooperation, ensuring inclusion, and taking responsibility. Programme sessions involved activities focused on these five Expressions of Change as necessary precursors to developing respect. The immediate outcome expected from the

⁵⁷ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

⁵⁸ Shapiro, *Extending The Framework Of Inquiry*, 6.

⁵⁹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *M&E Grid*. Accra: Ghana, (2014).

programme was an increase in respect among students in the TG. Furthermore, a ripple effect of the reduction of bullying and violence in the school more generally was expected, thus impacting the BC made up of “other students and friends (peers) within the school environment”.⁶⁰

Based on this ToC, Delegates completed the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) portion of the grid for the Accra SPPC, using the ToC to drive the programme activities and outputs. An evaluation of the relevance and effectiveness of the programme ToC therefore requires investigating whether students are more respectful towards each other, whether this has led to a reduction in bullying, but also whether increasing respect is the most effective method of addressing the conflict context and whether the programme activities are appropriate in achieving this goal. Accordingly, such an evaluation must also investigate whether the dynamic and systemic nature of the conflict context is effectively understood and integrated into the programme design and M&E framework.

⁶⁰ Generations For Peace (GFP). *M&E Grid*. Accra: Ghana, (2014).

3. Conflict Background and Context

3.1 Ghana

Ghana is often invoked as a model example of a peaceful and democratic country in Western Africa, with no major outbreaks of violent conflict occurring within the past 20 years. However, the reality of conflict in Ghana is much more complex, as the country experiences cycles of community-level conflicts related to ethnicity, religion, land ownership, chieftaincy, and conflicts related to political and economic instability.⁶¹ Ghana is characterised by ethnic, religious and cultural heterogeneity. The uneven distribution of social and economic resources along these social markers has contributed to social inequalities and persevering tensions.⁶² Conflicts in Ghana can be grouped within the following categories: intra- and inter-ethnic conflict; religious conflicts; political violence and economic disparities.

3.1.1 Intra- and Inter-Ethnic Conflict in Ghana

Isolated cases of violent inter- and intra-group conflict persist and are an obstacle to permanent reconciliation in the country. Ghana is an ethnically heterogeneous society; there are estimated to be around 92 ethnic groups.⁶³ Although many of the larger groups share similar cultural histories, most groups retain different languages, customs and political histories.⁶⁴ As a result of migration during the colonial period and extensive subsequent labour migration, no region in Ghana is ethnically uniform.⁶⁵ The urban centres of Ghana are the most ethnically diverse due to migration in search of employment. Although populations in rural areas tend to be less ethnically diverse in comparison, labour migration, particularly in relation to cocoa-producing areas, has also resulted in widespread ethnic heterogeneity.⁶⁶

Violent outbreaks have occurred as a result of ethnic-based community-level tensions, most notably in 1994 and 2002. According to Adjapawn (2008), 17 ethnic groups were engaged in 23 ethnic conflicts between 1980 and 2002 in the Northern Region of Ghana alone.⁶⁷ Most of these were clashes between 'minority' and 'majority' ethnic groups⁶⁸ and they mainly encompass struggles over land or chieftaincy. Examples include the Gonja-Nawuri conflict in 1992, the conflict between the Konkomba and the Gonja also in 1992, and the 1994 'guinea fowl conflict' involving the Konkomba on one side

⁶¹ D. Tsikata and W. Seini, "Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana," *Working Paper 5*, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford, 2004: 4.

⁶² R. Asante and E. Gyimah-Boadi, *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Sector in Ghana*, Geneva: UNRISD, 2004: 1.

⁶³ Asante and Gyimah-Boadi, *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Sector in Ghana*, 8.

⁶⁴ O.J. Para-Mallam, "Ethno-Religious Pluralism and its Management in Ghana and Liberia: Lessons for Nigeria," *Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy* 16, no. 2 (2012): 13.

⁶⁵ Tsikata and Seini, "Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana," 53.

⁶⁶ GhanaWeb. "Ethnic Groups". (2015).

⁶⁷ Cited in: F. Azuimah, "Perception as a Social Infrastructure for Sustaining the Escalation of Ethnic Conflicts in Divided Societies in Ghana," *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2011): 261.

⁶⁸ Asante and Gyimah-Boadi, *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Sector in Ghana*, 14.

and the Dagomba, Nanumba and Gonja on the other. The latter conflict resulted in 2,000 deaths as well as the internal displacement of around 200,000 people.⁶⁹

3.1.2 Religious Conflicts

Ghana's religious composition is also diverse with a population of approximately 70 per cent Christians, 16 per cent Muslim and 14 per cent other religions.⁷⁰ Although religious conflicts in Ghana are not large-scale compared to other African nations such as in Nigeria, Kenya or the Central African Republic, longstanding religious conflicts do exist and in some cases are mapped onto inter- or intra-ethnic tensions.⁷¹ The nature of these religious disputes are either intra-religious, between Muslim factions and between Christian factions, or inter-religious, mainly between Christians and members of other religious groups.⁷² A notable religious conflict in Accra is that between the Christian Churches and the religious authorities of the Ga Traditional State.⁷³

3.1.3 Political Violence

Although democratisation in Ghana since the 1990s has not resulted in large-scale violent conflict, Ghana does experience sporadic outbreaks of political violence. Studies highlight the increased growing of support for political parties along ethno-religious divides.⁷⁴ The Dagbon dynastic succession is an identity-based conflict that has been politicised through national party politics. This conflict dates back to the colonial period and involves disputes between the Andani and Abudu ruling houses, which claim succession rights over the Dagbon monarchy, based in the Volta basin of Northern Ghana. Both ruling groups are laying claim to selecting the "Ya Na", or the king of the Dagomba people, as well as contesting the procedure through which the king is selected.⁷⁵ Voter alignment in the Dagbon area of Northern Ghana is largely based on the Andani-Abudu distinction.⁷⁶ In March 2002, this conflict erupted in what has been termed 'the Dagbon regicide', where the second Chief of Dagbon was murdered with 40 members of his entourage, displacing around 3,500 people.⁷⁷

3.1.4 Economic Disparities

Structural economic conditions that have the potential to fuel violent outbursts are prevalent in Ghana.⁷⁸ Ghana is a heavily indebted country that relies primarily on agricultural exports, making its

⁶⁹ Tinab Mohammed, "Ethnic Identity, Globalization, and Ethnic Conflict in the Northern Region of Ghana: The Case of East Gonja and Kpandai Districts," *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 2, no. 7 (2014): 333.

⁷⁰ Para-Mallam, "Ethno-Religious Pluralism and its Management in Ghana and Liberia," 13.

⁷¹ Tsikata and Seini, "Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana," 28.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷⁴ An example of such a study is: Naomi Chazan, *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession* (Boulder CO: West View Press, 1983).

⁷⁵ S Tonah, "The Politicisation of a Chieftaincy Conflict: The Case of Dagbon, Northern Ghana," *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 6.

⁷⁶ J. Ayelazuno, "The Politicisation of the Mirigu-Kandiga Conflict in Ghana's 2008 Election: Questioning the Electoral Peace Paradigm," *Conflict Trends Issue* 2, ACCORD, 2009: 48.

⁷⁷ B.F. McGadney and J.A. Nibewun-Tarko, "Women Displaced in Conflict in Northern Ghana," *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative* 1, no. 1 (2010): 105.

⁷⁸ T. Hughes, "Managing Group Grievances and Internal Conflict: Ghana Country Report," *Working Paper 11*, The Hague, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2003: 11.

population vulnerable to climatic and exogenous economic changes.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Ghana is experiencing population pressures in southern regions, as well as land and resource scarcities and widening development disparities across the country. This contributes to increased tensions based on socio-economic disparities as well as the emergence of land conflicts as a result of population pressures and land scarcities.⁸⁰ Socio-economic disparities are reinforced by an urban bias in the provision of welfare services and decision-making power which has created an urban-rural divide in Ghana.⁸¹

Social cleavages within Ghana are also characterised by overlapping class and regional differences. Lower standards of living and levels of economic development typify the northern regions of Ghana in “a classic centre-periphery dichotomy characteristic of postcolonial sub-Saharan African countries”.⁸² During the dry season, masses of unemployed young people migrate south to urban centres in search for jobs and security. The Northern Region of Ghana is characterised by a disproportionate share of conflicts compared to the southern regions of Ghana,⁸³ in particular land disputes of an ethnic and communal nature. Land disputes are widespread in Ghana and are founded on ‘economic and political inequalities, social and cultural perceptions, and competition for limited resources’.⁸⁴ Vulnerability to land disputes or land insecurity is often heightened by the social vulnerability of migrants⁸⁵ and chieftaincy conflicts. To convey the depth of the problem, in 2001 Ghanaian courts were dealing with 60,000 land related cases.⁸⁶

3.2 Accra

Accra, the political and economic capital of Ghana, is located on the south eastern coast of the country and hosts a population of 2.242 million,⁸⁷ around 10 per cent of the country’s total. Although Accra is relatively stable and affluent compared to other parts of the country, the city faces many challenges related to economic stagnation, rapid urbanisation and massive in-migration. These challenges include increased urban poverty, unemployment, the over-stretching of infrastructure and scarcity of land. Internal migration has also resulted in the emergence of large and densely populated slums.⁸⁸ The trends of migration into an already diverse community in ethnic, religious and economic terms, have resulted in Accra manifesting itself as a highly pluralistic society made up of numerous and diverse social groups. As migrants tend to face the worst socio-economic conditions, inequalities

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁸¹ Tsikata and Seini, “Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana,” 8.

⁸² Hughes, “Managing Group Grievances and Internal Conflict,” 12.

⁸³ UNDP, *Draft Report For Conflict Mapping*.

⁸⁴ UNDP, *Draft Report For Conflict Mapping*.

⁸⁵ Tsikata and Seini, *Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana*.

⁸⁶ Babette Wehrmann, *Land Conflicts: A Practical Guide to Dealing with Land Disputes*. Eschborn, Germany: German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ), 2008: 7.

⁸⁷ CIA, “The World Factbook: Ghana,” (2014).

⁸⁸ R.A. Tutu, “Dilemmatic Experiences of Young Migrants in Accra, Ghana: The Merciless Hands of Pirate Urbanization and Landlordism,” *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 29, no. 4 (2014). See also: G. Owusu and M. Otiso, “Comparative Urbanization in Ghana and Kenya in Time and Space,” *GeoJournal* 71, no. 2 (2008); P.O. Adjei and P.O. Kyei, “Linkages Between Income, Housing Quality and Disease Occurrence in Rural Ghana,” *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 28, no. 1 (2013).

become marked on ethnic, religious and geographical differences. Nevertheless, ethnic and religious conflicts remain mostly under the surface.

3.2.1 Ethnic Diversity and Socio-Economic Inequality

Accra is an ethnically diverse city with three main ethnic groups: the Akan (39.8 per cent), Ga-Dangme (29.7 per cent) and the Ewe (18 per cent)⁸⁹. Langer (2007) attributes the lack of violent outbursts in Accra to ethnic mixing in urban areas and residential segregation based on economic disparities rather than ethnic cleavages.⁹⁰ High land prices in the Accra Metropolitan Area force many city dwellers to obtain shelter in low-class neighbourhoods with minimal land-use standards, which reinforces residential segregation based mainly on income, but also grounded in ethnic, regional and religious differences due to in-migration.⁹¹ The growth of Ghana's economy has increased the cost of living in Accra. Nevertheless, the housing conditions in affordable areas are also deteriorating along with the growth of informal settlements. Currently, 58 per cent of Accra's population lives in informal housing, referring to housing constructed on land which occupants do not have a legal claim over.⁹² This is exacerbated by the increase in land conflicts and insecurity within the Greater Accra Region. Many of these land conflicts are marked in ethnic terms with the growing frustrations of the indigenous Ga, which make up 29.6 per cent of Accra's population,⁹³ over the expropriation of vast areas of their land by the state with a lack of adequate compensation.⁹⁴

3.2.2 Religious Conflicts

The religious diversity of Accra's population reflects that of the Ghanaian demographical trends. Christians constitute the main religious group (83 per cent), followed by Muslims (10.2 per cent), those who are not religious (4.6 per cent) and, finally, traditional religious groups (1.4 per cent).⁹⁵ Religious conflict in Accra has tended to be sparse and isolated. Nevertheless, a notable conflict that has emerged along religious lines is that between the Christian churches and the Ga Traditional State religious authorities.⁹⁶ This conflict has been described as a debate over tradition versus Christianity and involves tensions over an annual ban on drumming and dancing which is tied to the Homowo festival celebrated by the Ga. Several Christian churches in Accra have refused to observe the ban and as a result clashes have broken out.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Government of Ghana. "Greater Accra." (2015).

⁹⁰ Langer, "The Peaceful Management of Horizontal Inequalities in Ghana".

⁹¹ S. Agyei-Mensah and G. Owusu, "Segregated by Neighbourhoods? A Portrait of Ethnic Diversity in the Neighbourhoods of the Accra Metropolitan Area, Ghana," *Population, Space and Place* 16 (2010): 499-516.

⁹² J.U.C. Pescina, "The Economic Base of Accra, Ghana: Advanced Issues in Development Planning," (2013): 11.

⁹³ Steve Tonah, "Democratization and the Resurgence of Ethnic Politics in Ghana, 1992-2006." In *Ethnicity, Belonging and Biography: Ethnographical and Biographical Perspectives*, edited by Gabriele Rosenthal and Artur Bogner, 63-82. (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009): 66.

⁹⁴ Tsikata and Seini, *Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana*, 42.

⁹⁵ Government of Ghana. "Greater Accra." (2015).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁹⁷ Tsikata and Seini, *Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana*, 27.

3.2.3 Political Violence

Although political violence in Accra is uncommon, cases exist and an increased tendency to vote on ethnic or tribal lines is evident. Ethnic voting patterns in the Greater Accra Region are not highly explored by the literature as Accra's population is vastly diverse and the populations involved in ethnic politics tend to be small.⁹⁸ However, there have been cases of violence and intimidation accompanying election campaigns, such as in the 1992 and 2000 elections. This included military exercises conducted by the army as well as the harassment of opposition figures.⁹⁹ Subsequently, during the 2008 election campaigns, tensions built up as the leaders of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) political parties blamed opponents for orchestrating violence which accompanied their campaign tours in Accra.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, outside of incidents related to elections, violence rooted in party politics is not prevalent in Accra.

3.3 Bullying at St Peter's School

The social diversity characterising Accra's population, and Ghana more widely, similarly shapes the demography of the student body at St Peter's Mission School in Madina, located in the Greater Accra Region of Ghana. St Peter's is an international boarding school. The student population is immensely diverse, consisting of students from ten different regions in Ghana and 21 nationalities. In addition, the students come from an array of different social and economic backgrounds, and from a variety of different districts in Accra. The total population of St Peter's School is 1,842, consisting of 1,031 girls and 811 boys. A wide range of age groups are represented at St Peter's School, made up of the following departments: Nursery, Lower Primary School (LPS), Upper Primary School (UPS), Junior High School (JHS) and Senior High School (SHS).¹⁰¹

As identified by the GFP programme Delegates, a conflict notably present amongst the student body is bullying. The Accra SPPC defines bullying as "the use of force, threat, or coercion to abuse, intimidate, or aggressively impose domination over others".¹⁰² The Accra SPPC highlighted that a defining feature of bullying is its repetitive or habitual nature and the social or physical power imbalance between the bully and the "victim".¹⁰³ Bullying can include physical threats or offenses, verbal assault or coercion, emotional harassment and cyber bullying. It is commonly justified or played

⁹⁸ Joseph Kingsley Adjei. "An African Model? Conflict Management in Ghana's 2008 Presidential Elections." In *Managing Conflicts in Africa's Democratic Transitions*, edited by Akanmu Gafari Adebayo, Ch. 13. (New York: Lexington Books, 2012): 242.

⁹⁹ E. Debrah "The Electoral Process and the 2000 General Elections in Ghana." In *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Progress*, edited by L-K Tukumbi. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 242.

¹⁰¹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

¹⁰² Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

¹⁰³ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

out on the basis of defining social features, including race, religion, class, size, sexuality, gender, age or appearance.¹⁰⁴

Various studies have analysed and outlined the high prevalence and detrimental effects of bullying within schools in Ghana. For example, Kang's (2011) study of SHS students in Ghana conveys that the highest occurrences of bullying were among younger students, with incidences of bullying declining with age.¹⁰⁵ When it comes to gender-based bullying, several older studies show physical violence in schools across the world to be differentiated by gender, with boys being more frequently engaged in physical fighting.¹⁰⁶ However, a recent study by Acquah, *et al.* (2014) illustrates that in Ghana this gender gap is narrowing,¹⁰⁷ and that in fact there is no significant relationship between gender and physical fighting. Whilst studies¹⁰⁸ exist, speaking to the reality of gendered violence within Ghanaian schools, few studies analyse bullying based on markers of class, religion and ethnicity, notwithstanding the social significance of these categories in Ghana. This research on the Accra SPPC therefore contributes to addressing and exploring this gap in research.

The social heterogeneity of St Peter's student population is important in characterising bullying between the students. As part of the conflict analysis which is the first stage in the GFP Programming Framework, Delegates mapped out bullying at St Peter's School by carrying out research with the students. Their research analysed what the issue of tension was and who the different sides were to the conflict.¹⁰⁹ Out of the four dimensions of conflict focused on by GFP programmes (as highlighted in Chapter 2) the Delegates chose to focus on the personal and relational dimensions of conflict. They found that students from all social backgrounds experience frequent bullying by their peers.¹¹⁰ The ToC devised by the programme Delegates addresses bullying between children with high social statuses and low social statuses. This predominantly refers to the bullying of students of minority ethnicities and bullying based on socio-economic differences. Delegates identified that bullying often has lasting effects, including short-term absenteeism as well as emotional problems such as lack of self-esteem, disempowerment and poor relationship skills. Furthermore, when this behaviour is normalised at a young age, there is a risk that the effects become translated into wider Ghanaian society.

¹⁰⁴ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

¹⁰⁵ M. Kang, "The Association Between Bullying and Psychological Health Among Senior High School Students in Ghana, West Africa," *Journal of School Health* 81, no. 5 (2011): 236.

¹⁰⁶ See for example: Fraga, Silvia, Elisabete Ramos, Sonia Dias, and Henrique Barros. "Physical fighting among school-going Portuguese adolescents: Social and behavioural correlates." *Preventive Medicine* 52 (2011): 401–04; Rudatsikira, Emmanuel, Adamson Muula, and Seter Siziya. "Variables associated with physical fighting among US high-school students." *Clinical Practice and Epidemiology in Mental Health* 4 (2008): 1–8.

¹⁰⁷ E.O. Acquah, *et al.*, "Adolescent Physical Fighting in Ghana, Their Demographic and Social Characteristics," *Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2014): 228.

¹⁰⁸ See for example: M. Dunne, "Gender Sexuality and Schooling: Everyday Life in Junior Secondary Schools in Botswana and Ghana," *International Journal of Education Development* 27 (2007): 499–511; Dunne M., *et al.*, "Bullying and School Attendance: A Case Study of Senior High School Students in Ghana," *Create Pathways to Access Research Monograph No. 41*, University of Sussex Centre for International Education, 2010: 4.

¹⁰⁹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

¹¹⁰ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

This preliminary research carried out by GFP Delegates at St Peter's School also uncovered that the effects of bullying differ by gender.¹¹¹ For girls, emotional problems were strongly associated with higher absenteeism, especially for those who did not report their being bullied, which was not as evident for the boys. Furthermore, the mitigation of absenteeism through support from friends was higher for boys than for girls. Finally, the preliminary research showed that students were unaware of how to deal with these issues, with violence often considered a necessary and appropriate retort. The GFP SPPC in Accra aims to tackle these issues.¹¹²

The conflict context conveys a complexity of social factors influencing the experience of bullying at St Peter's, with grave effects on the physical and emotional well-being of students. This provides an interesting platform for research into the ToC model as it demands the effectiveness of a ToC in addressing a complex and dynamic conflict context consisting of a diverse array of students with different experiences and backgrounds. The fact that preliminary research confirms that experiences of bullying differ for students according to their gender suggests experiences may also differ according to socio-economic, religious, ethnic or other social backgrounds. This research therefore aims to unearth to what extent a single ToC can address these differences by analysing whether the ToC has been effective in the context of the Accra SPPC. This research is important not only as an evaluation of the Accra programme and to make recommendations for the future, but also to critically analyse the concept of a ToC model itself and explore whether it should take into account and adapt according for different social groups.

¹¹¹ Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

¹¹² Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

4. Methodology

4.1 Research Questions

This research investigated the following main research question and sub-questions:

Main Research Question: Is the Theory of Change employed in GFP's Accra programme relevant to the conflict context and is it appropriate for all social groups?

Sub-Questions:

1. Is the Theory of Change relevant to the conflict context?
 - a) Do Delegates, Stakeholders, TG members and the BC understand the Theory of Change uniformly?
 - b) Is there a shared understanding of the conflict context?
 - c) Is the Theory of Change appropriate for addressing the conflict context?
2. Is the Theory of Change expressed in the GFP Accra Programme relevant to all social groups involved?
 - a) Is the type or experience of bullying informed by age, gender or religion?
 - b) Does the impact and success of GFP programming vary according to age, gender or religion?
 - c) Is the Theory of Change appropriate to the conflict context when broken down by social groups?
 - d) Does the programme require multiple Theories of Change?
3. What could have made the Theory of Change or results more successful?
 - a) What does this teach us about the relevance and framing of the Theory of Change model more generally?

Considering the complexity of conflicts which encompass ethnic, religious, gender, age and socio-economic differences, the main research question was posed to uncover whether a single ToC can address all these aspects of a conflict, whether it can be relevant for all social groups involved and whether it can transform the conflict for all parties.

The first sub-question is important in uncovering whether the ToC was relevant to the conflict context. This is a vital question to pose as it addresses the conundrum that a programme may be ineffective not due to the outcomes not being achieved, but rather due to the ToC being inappropriate to the conflict setting. The question therefore explores whether there is a shared understanding of the ToC which informs the programme design and activities, and of the conflict context, and whether the ToC is appropriate to the context.

The second sub-question addresses whether the ToC is relevant to all social groups involved, thus exploring whether one ToC can be applied for different parties to the conflict. This question investigates the outcomes and impacts of the programme and whether these are differentiated by social group.

Finally, the third sub-question aims to gain a general understanding of whether the ToC model is an effective tool by examining what could have made it more effective in or relevant to the context of the Accra SPPC. Furthermore, this question aims to draw lessons and recommendations for the applicability and design of the ToC model.

4.2 Approach and Justifications

This research was carried out at St Peter's Mission School in Accra. Research participants were made up of students from St Peter's who participated in the SPPC (the TG); friends of students on the programme (BC peers); parents of students on the programme (BC parents); all the Delegates, including the Lead Delegate; and several Key Stakeholders. Table 1.0 contains a breakdown of all research participants along with the research tools used to obtain data from them.

Research Participant Group	Total Number of Research Participants	Data Collection Method
Target Group	34	Surveys; Focus Groups
BC (peers)	16	Surveys; Focus Groups
Delegates	9	Interviews; Follow-up Interviews (only four Delegates)
BC (parents)	8	Interviews
Key Stakeholders	7	Interviews

Table 1.0 Research Participants

All TG members participated in the research, apart from students that were no longer part of the programme for various reasons (see Table 1.1 and 1.2 for a breakdown of TG gender, age and religion). This ensured that there was no selection bias in the sampling process. To recruit the BC peers, several TG members were asked to invite one friend to participate in the research. This sampling technique was used to guarantee that the BC peers were potential beneficiaries and to enable the measuring of the programme's impacts on friends of TG members. A total of 16 BC peers participated in the research, with an equal gender and year group balance (see Table 1.3).

	UPS	JHS	Total
Female	8	10	18
Male	10	6	16
Total	18	16	34

Table 1.1 Age and Gender of TG

	Christian		Muslim		Totals
	UPS	JHS	UPS	JHS	
Female	3	4	5	6	18
Male	10	2	0	4	16
Total	13	6	5	10	34
Full Total	19		15		

Table 1.2 Religious Background of TG

	UPS	JHS	Total
Female	4	4	8
Male	4	4	8
Total	8	8	16

Table 1.3 Age and Gender of BC Peers

The mean and standard deviation of TG member and BC peer ages are outlined in Table 1.4, separated by gender and age. The table conveys that the age discrepancies within UPS and within JHS are not significantly large, with a maximum difference of 1.2 years. Furthermore, there are significant age differences between UPS and JHS, suggesting that year group differences can be treated as a difference based on age.

		Female	Male
UPS (ages 11-12)	TG	12.4 ± 0.52	11.9 ± 0.74
	BC	11.25 ± 0.5	11.5 ± 0.58
JHS (ages 13-14)	TG	13.9 ± 0.99	14.2 ± 0.41
	BC	13 ± 0	13.75 ± 0.5

Table 1.4 Mean and Standard Deviation of TG and BC Peers Ages

All BC parents were contacted by the GFP Delegates via letters taken home by the TG members two weeks before the arrival of the researcher. The BC parents who expressed their availability were further pursued via telephone and invited to the school for an interview. All nine programme Delegates were interviewed, and four were selected for a follow-up interview to clarify certain results. The follow-up interviews were conducted with the Lead Delegate along with three other Delegates employed at St Peter's, due to their enhanced knowledge of student dynamics.

A mixed methods approach was employed to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data. Quantitative data was obtained through surveys with the TG and BC peers. Surveys were used to gain

numerical data and measurable results to facilitate the drawing of comparisons between groups and analyse their statistical significance. Qualitative data was collected through focus groups with TG members and BC peers, and interviews with Delegates, Key Stakeholders and BC parents. Qualitative research methods enabled a deeper and richer exploration into the experiences, understandings and behaviours of the various research participants, a more detailed comparison of responses, and the contextualisation or explanation of survey results. A mixed methods approach allowed the research to draw on the strengths and minimise the limitations of each approach.

The surveys, interviews and focus groups took place over the duration of two weeks within school premises, including the school library, classrooms, the headmistresses' office and the conference room, during school days and hours. The location was chosen to cater to the schedules and needs of the research participants and to enable access to the TG and BC peers during their break times. All the focus groups and interviews were recorded and permission to record was requested at the start of each session. The recordings were then used to create transcriptions.

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Surveys

A survey is a research technique which involves gathering written responses from participants to a list of written questions. These questions may be in the form of close-ended questions, which pre-determine the range of responses a participant can give, and open-ended questions, where there are no pre-defined categories or options for responses. The advantage to close-ended questions is that they are easier to code as the responses are pre-defined, and they can be more accurately quantified in graphs or tables. However, close-ended questions do not allow the respondent to explain their answer, making it harder for the researcher to interpret responses. Open-ended questions can address these limitations and provide additional qualitative data, however, they are more difficult to code.

Surveys are advantageous in that they produce easily comparable and presentable results. Furthermore, research bias is reduced in that all the questions are asked in the same way, and for close-ended questions the responses will also be within the same categories. Nevertheless, surveys are not value-neutral research tools. Surveys are more difficult to interpret as the responses are shorter and cannot be followed-up. In close-ended questions questions may be knowingly or unknowingly misinterpreted as respondents do not have a chance to explain their answers. This makes it beneficial to complement survey research with other qualitative tools such as focus groups or interviews.

For this particular research, surveys were conducted in six different sessions with 34 TG members and 16 BC peers (see appendix A and B) in the school library during school breaktimes, when

students had 30-40 minute break from class. The surveys were piloted on the Lead Delegate to ensure that the questions were appropriate for the age group. They included a mixture of open-ended questions, eliciting written responses, and close-ended questions, consisting of ordered response scales and categorical options.¹¹³ Students were asked to note down their names, to enable answers to be corroborated against focus group responses, and were informed that only the researcher would see their individual responses. Furthermore, respondents were informed that they could ask for clarification on questions if required. Surveys were supplemented by focus groups to help interpret and contextualise the quantitative data obtained.

4.3.2 Focus Groups

Focus groups are a valuable research method for providing rich qualitative data, especially where students steer the conversation in a new direction to provide unpredictable results.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, a limitation of the focus group methodology is that group dynamics will shape responses and may inhibit persons from expressing their true opinions. However, this in itself may produce interesting findings when an analysis of group dynamics is integrated into the results.

Focus groups were carried out in the school library with the same TG members and BC peers after completion of the survey. Each group was seated around a six-person table with the moderator at one end. The library was chosen as this was a familiar space to the students and this room could be kept free throughout the research. The focus groups were conducted during the children's break times, providing a 30-minute time slot for each session. However, as students were often late to arrive, the focus groups averaged 20-25 minutes in duration.

Each focus group consisted of two to four participants and one moderator. Stewart and Shamdasani (1990) note that focus groups usually comprise of around eight to twelve individuals.¹¹⁵ This numerical range is considered ideal as certain members may dominate smaller groups, whilst larger groups are harder to control. However, large numbers are more difficult with younger age groups as sessions may become harder to control.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, considering the time constraints, four was considered the optimum number of participants for this research. The number was low enough for sufficient information to be collected from each student, without resulting in an interview format. Three was considered less ideal, as at times group dynamics emerged where two students were friends and the remaining student felt uncomfortable discussing issues in their presence.

All focus groups were either all-male or all-female, and consisted of all-UPS or all-JHS participants. Ten focus groups were run for TG members and four for BC peers (see Table 1.5 and 1.6).

¹¹³ This is suggested in R.M. Groves, *et al.*, *Survey Methodology* (Hoboken, NJ: J. Wiley, 2004): 221.

¹¹⁴ Stewart and Shamdasani, *Focus Groups*, 17.

¹¹⁵ D.W. Stewart and P.N. Shamdasani, *Focus Groups* (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1990): 10.

¹¹⁶ M. Morgan, *et al.*, "Hearing Children's Voices: Methodological Issues in Conducting Focus Groups with Children aged 7-11 years," *Qualitative Research* 2, no. 1 (2002): 7.

Focus Group	Date	Number of Participants	Gender	Year Group
1	02/07/2015	4	M	JHS
2	02/07/2015	3	F	JHS
3	03/07/2015	4	F	UPS
4	03/07/2015	2	M	JHS
5	06/07/2015	3	F	JHS
6	08/07/2015	4	M	UPS
7	08/07/2015	4	F	UPS
8	08/07/2015	4	M	JHS
9	10/07/2015	4	F	JHS
10	10/07/2015	2	M	UPS

Table 1.5 TG Focus Groups

Focus Group	Date	Number of Participants	Gender	Year Group
1	06/07/2015	4	M	UPS
2	07/07/2015	4	F	UPS
3	07/07/2015	4	F	JHS
4	07/07/2015	4	M	JHS

Table 1.6 BC Peers Focus Groups

Focus group questions were semi-structured, allowing for the conversation to be steered by students within the boundaries of pre-established questions. Nevertheless, the moderator played a prominent and directive role, which was necessary due to the time constraints and the fact that students were often initially shy and reserved. All students were given a name card during the focus groups so their responses could be matched with their surveys. During the focus groups, behavioural and non-verbal interactions and gestures were observed and noted.

4.3.3 Interviews

Interviews are a qualitative research technique that involve asking questions to participants, allowing for the collection of detailed information. Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Structured interviews are rigorous interviews where specific pre-designed questions are asked in the same order for each participant and the participant is continually guided back to those questions, leading to comparable results. Semi-structured interviews also involve the asking of pre-designed questions, however, the conversation is more fluid and the participant and the researcher can steer the discussion and raise new questions. The advantage of this approach is that participants often raise new interesting issues or questions which the researcher can then explore. Finally, unstructured interviews are open and flexible conversations steered by the participant and the researcher and covering a topic chosen by the interviewer.

This research used the semi-structured interview technique in order to make sure all the results remained comparable by asking similar questions and to facilitate drawing comparisons between interviews, whilst still giving the participants power to raise new issues and concerns. This enabled the research to uncover outcomes and conflicts related to the Accra SPPC which were not considered prior to the start of the research. Interviews were carried out with Delegates; Key Stakeholders and BC parents, either in the school library, the classrooms when the children were not in school, or in the conference centre. Conducting the interviews on the school premises not only ensured that the research participants were at ease, but also made it easier to coordinate the logistics. Interviews were carried out with all nine Delegates implementing the programme, and follow-up interviews with four Delegates (see Table 1.7). The Delegates included four teachers at St Peter's and one headteacher at UPS; they are of a similar age group, with an average age of 30.7 and a standard deviation of ± 5.5 years. There are four female and six male Delegates, all of a Christian denomination.

	Gender	Age	Religion	Interview Date	Follow-up interview
Delegate 1	F	34	Christian	29/06/2015	12/07/2015
Delegate 2	M	32	Christian	01/07/2015	
Delegate 3	F	34	Christian	01/07/2015	
Delegate 4	F	41	Christian	01/07/2015	10/07/2015
Delegate 5	M	28	Christian	01/07/2015	10/07/2015
Delegate 6	F	26	Christian	01/07/2015	
Delegate 7	M	32	Christian	01/07/2015	10/07/2015
Delegate 8	M	23	Christian	01/07/2015	
Delegate 9	M	26	Christian	09/07/2015	

Table 1.7 Delegate Interviews and Follow-up Interviews

The BC parents were both male and female, and were the parents of TG participants from all gender and year groups. The Key Stakeholders had varying relations to the programme, including two stakeholders from the media, one from the Ministry of Information, a retiree previously working for the National Commission for Civic Education, two headmasters at St Peter's, and one assistant to the school Director. Interviews were considered most appropriate, as this qualitative method would enable the collection of the most information without the influence of other parties.

4.4 Limitations

The research presented itself with unforeseen shortcomings that may have influenced the findings and must therefore be explored. In terms of general limitations, the first was the fact that not all age and gender groups were equally represented, which was only discovered once the research had started. The TG group initially selected by Delegates had an equal number of male-female and UPS-JHS students. However, six students left the programme for a variety of reasons resulting in unequal numbers (as outlined in Table 1.1). The research design aimed to survey an equal number of participants in terms of age and gender. However, as the TG sample was very small it was ultimately

considered necessary for all students to participate in the research, even if this meant having unequal numbers, as this would have provided more representative results.

A second general shortcoming that influenced the results is that a number of JHS children missed several GFP sessions in spring as they were training as cadets for Independence Day on 6 March during the GFP programme time slot. This may have changed the programme's impact on them, especially considering that each session focused on a specific Expression of Change. Although it is not possible to be sure what effect this had on the programme outcomes for these students, this nevertheless needs to be taken into account when evaluating the differences between UPS and JHS students.

Finally, as several of the Delegates teach at St Peter's School, Delegates were at times present in the room when research with other participant groups was taking place due to unforeseen or necessary circumstances. For example, Delegates were asked on several occasions to collect books for other teachers when the focus groups took place in the library, or they stood near the door to prevent other students from coming in. The presence of Delegates was prevented where possible, however, in some cases the Delegates entered the room whilst the researcher was carrying out an interview or focus group. In these cases, the researcher would have had to interfere with the research in order to ask the Delegates to leave the room which may have interrupted them whilst they were explaining an interesting or essential finding. The researcher was therefore not able to prevent Delegates from being present in the room at these times. The presence of Delegates was a limitation in that it may have undermined the willingness of certain students, Stakeholders or BC parents to openly or honestly express their opinions and thus may have affected the results.

4.4.1 Surveys

Survey research presented itself with unanticipated constraints. Questions had been simplified as much as possible for the target age group and surveys were piloted with the Lead Delegate. Nonetheless, several students asked for clarification on how to complete certain survey questions. These students who asked the researcher for clarification may have received more information than others, potentially creating a bias. As well, there were students who filled in answers incorrectly. For example, one girl circled 'male' for 'Gender'. This has been adjusted in the results. And, one respondent missed out a question. She was later called back to complete it, however, this may have affected her response.

A significant disadvantage of the survey research was evidence of deliberate misreporting. For example, all students circled 'yes' for the question '*Would you want to participate in the programme if it happens again next year?*'. Nevertheless, in one focus group with JHS boys one student remarked that he would not want to participate due to other commitments.¹¹⁷ This suggests that some students

¹¹⁷ TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

may have felt pressured to give positive answers, potentially due to their awareness of the presence of Delegates or teachers in the room. For other questions, such as '*Is using violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?*' it is probable, considering focus group responses, that students are aware of what the "correct" answer should be. This can be considered a finding of the research, as it conveys that students are aware of the behaviour or values expected from them. However, it is a limitation in that it makes it difficult to be sure where students gave honest responses. These limitations are heightened by the fact that students were asked to write their name on surveys, which may have resulted in a fear of being caught in their being honest. This was nevertheless necessary to corroborate the results from the surveys and focus groups.

4.4.2 Focus Groups

A constraint with regard to the focus groups was the short time frame, which was unavoidable due to the short break times. As explained previously, the focus groups were only 20-25 minutes in duration. Stewart (1990) suggests that "[t]ypical focus group sessions will last from one and a half to two and a half hours".¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, focus groups with young children do not normally take the same structure. Morgan and Britten (2002) have recommended two 20 minute sessions with a break in the middle for children 7-11 y/o. 20-30 minute sessions were therefore an appropriate amount of time, however, having two of those sessions with a short break in between may have elicited more results.

A second potential limitation was the small group size. As outlined previously, four was considered the ideal number for this research. Nevertheless, some groups consisted of only two to three people, either due to absences or errors in scheduling. The variety of group sizes makes drawing comparisons between the groups more difficult as any behavioural differences could be attributed to numbers. The group dynamics in the two-person focus groups were found to be less revealing as in both cases the two participants were close friends since before the start of the GFP programme. The three-person focus groups were problematic when two of the participants were close friends and the third felt uncomfortable or intimidated.

A further difficulty in the focus groups was the emergence of "serial interview scenario[s]"¹¹⁹ where the moderator had to ask each child to express their views in turn as some students were very shy. At times this resulted in the focus group taking on a more unnatural structure, undermining the potential to observe uncontrived behaviours. The difficulty of eliciting responses from some students may also have been related to the gender and age of the moderator and the fact that she was an outsider to the community. Nevertheless, changing the gender and age of the moderator may have made other students less responsive, and the outsider status of the moderator could also have been an advantage in that she was seen as more objective or neutral by the students. Finally, making the students in the focus groups say their names may have inhibited results as they may have felt more timid with their

¹¹⁸ Stewart and Shamdasani, *Focus Groups*, 10.

¹¹⁹ Morgan, *et al.*, "Hearing Children's Voices," 8.

identity known to the moderator. This limitation was mitigated after the first three focus groups by using only the name cards rather than having students say their names out loud.

4.4.3 Interviews

The interviews with Key Stakeholders, Delegates and BC parents also presented difficulties. For two BC parents the results of the interviews are difficult to compare with the others. In one of these two interviews, a parent's son joined and answered every question from his perspective as the parent could not speak English. This meant the results do not necessarily convey a parent's perspective but rather the sibling's perspective. The interview was nevertheless useful in terms of results as the sibling can be considered part of the BC community. In the second of these two interviews, the parent was also a teacher at St Peter's and therefore had a deeper insight into bullying at school. Whilst this was advantageous in terms of uncovering insights from a teacher's perspective, this meant the results were not easily comparable to the other BC parents as this parent naturally had received more information about the GFP programme through students and other teachers.

The results of the interviews with the Delegates and Key Stakeholders need to be cautioned for social desirability. It is logical and inevitable that Delegates will present a generally positive view of the programme. Furthermore, most of the Key Stakeholders tended to have a personal relationship with the Lead Delegate. This predicament was mitigated by carrying out focus groups, surveys and interviews with BC parents, BC peers and TG members to balance the responses given by Delegates and Stakeholders.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues were also considered in the designing of this research due to the sensitive and potentially distressing nature of the topic of bullying. Informed consent was elicited from all research participants. By virtue of participating in the programme, all TG members agreed before the start of the programme to participate in any evaluation research. Consent was further sought by informing all parents via letters about the focus groups and, in addition, parents themselves were invited to come in for an interview.

MacKenzie, *et al.* (2007) suggest as a minimum requirement that "participants are fully and adequately informed about the purposes, methods, risks and benefits of the research".¹²⁰ Therefore, before the start of each interview and survey, all research participants were informed about the purpose of the research, the role and position of the researcher and the general structure of questioning. To ensure that the (inevitable) balance of power between the researcher and participants was reduced, semi-structured interviews and focus groups were chosen which give a greater degree of power to the

¹²⁰ C. Mackenzie, *et al.*, "Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challenge of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 301.

interviewees to steer the interview. The moderator ensured that if anyone felt uncomfortable at any point in the focus groups or did not want to speak they were not forced to answer any questions.

This researcher also aimed to ensure that GFP Delegates were fully involved in every aspect of the research. The Lead Delegate pre-approved the surveys and read over focus group questions to ensure that they were ethically viable. Delegates were primarily involved in organising the logistics and sourcing the BC peers, Key Stakeholders and BC parents, giving Delegates a degree of ownership over the research process and participants. In addition, to ensure that all opinions were equally represented in the research, all TG members were surveyed and participated in focus groups.

The research involved discussing the potentially distressing topic of bullying. Therefore, all research was carried out in the school, ensuring that the participants were in a familiar and safe environment. Focus groups were considered more appropriate for this age range than interviews as it ensured that the students did not feel pressured to talk. When signs of distress emerged in the focus groups, the moderator moved on to a new question, even if this prevented gaining insight into an interesting finding. In cases where it was apparent that the bully and victim were part of the same focus group, difficult questions were avoided. Furthermore, questions were open-ended, giving space for students to discuss their own experiences of bullying without directly asking about it.

A final ethical consideration concerned the potential impacts of the research on the conflict context. Goodhand (2000) highlights that researchers should be “aware of how their interventions may affect the incentive systems and structures driving violent conflicts”.¹²¹ This suggests that conducting field research can itself impact and cause a shift in the conflict context and this must be taken into account during the process. Similarly, Hart and Tyrer (2013) note that “[r]esearchers should be cautious that their work does not contribute to the creation of hierarchies amongst children”.¹²² In the context of conducting research on bullying, the impact of research on the conflict context may entail creating hierarchies amongst research participants due to the structure of the focus groups where some students dominate and others feel uncomfortable or threatened by their dominance. To this end, the moderator ensured that all children were given the chance to voice their opinion, without certain students dominating the conversation. Furthermore, three-person focus groups were avoided where possible due to potential hierarchical group dynamics.

4.6 Method of Analysis

4.6.1 Surveys

The survey data was analysed using statistical analysis and bar graphs for close-ended questions, and coding of answers for the open-ended questions. The answers to close-ended questions were

¹²¹ J. Goodhand, “Research in Conflict Zones: Ethics and Accountability,” *Forced Migration Review* 8 (2000): 8.

¹²² J. Hart and B. Tyrer “Research with Children Living in Situations of Armed Conflict: Concepts, Ethics & Methods.” *RSC Working Paper No. 30*, University of Oxford, 2013: 21.

drawn up in tables, and where appropriate a T-test was used to compare the mean of results between gender, religious and year groups. A T-test is a statistical test which is used to draw comparisons between the means of two sets of data and to determine whether the difference in means is statistically significant or due to random chance. A statistically significant difference refers to a difference that is most likely to reflect a real disparity between two populations from which the research groups were sampled.

For the other close-ended questions the results were interpreted using bar graphs which compared gender, religion and year groups, as well as TG members and with BC peers. Open-ended questions were coded into categories of responses, which were then summarised and compared in tables. This method was chosen as often two students may have listed a similar issue or theme using different vocabulary. The coding of these responses therefore facilitated comparisons. Survey results were cross-compared with the results of the coding and content analysis that was carried out for the focus groups and interviews.

4.6.2 Focus Groups and Interviews

Transcripts were written up for both the focus groups and interviews by a transcriber. For the focus groups, these were supplemented by the recording of observational data. To analyse the qualitative data produced in focus groups and interviews, this researcher initially used the “Scissor-and-Sort Technique”¹²³; the text was classified and sorted according to the sub-research questions and to overarching themes including the ToC model, conflict context, outcomes, and impacts, and further sub-themes within each theme. This classification formed the basis for the structure of the analysis. The researcher then carried out a content analysis, identifying themes, behaviours or responses that were repeated by participants and interviewees, and she then contextualised these through comparisons to other responses. Notable discursive trends are also outlined in the findings and, where relevant, observations of behaviour and group dynamics in the focus groups are included to complement the content analysis. Focus groups and interviews were also coded to tally the behavioural changes mentioned for the TG and BC peers and the results were summarised in tables.

With the analysis for all research methods, the responses were compared across various groups: between the TG and the BC, between various social groups, and between research participant groups. Focus group responses were compared with the responses given by the same students in surveys to contextualise and elucidate these responses and also to expose social desirability in survey responses. These cross-comparisons incorporate a content analysis and the noting of any discursive similarities in responses.

¹²³ Stewart and Shamdassani, *Focus Groups*, 116.

5. Findings

The research findings will be presented and analysed through a structure guided by the research questions. The first section investigates whether there was a shared understanding of the ToC by all the groups involved in the programme. The second section explores whether there is a shared understanding of the conflict context and whether this is reflective of the reality of bullying at St Peter's, by understanding if the experience of bullying is differentiated by social group. Finally, the third section examines whether the ToC is appropriate to the conflict context when broken down by social group by investigating the programme outcomes and impacts and relating these to understandings of the ToC and conflict context.

5.1 Shared Understandings of the ToC

The first research question explores whether the ToC was relevant to the conflict context and incorporates the sub-question 1(a): *Do Delegates, Stakeholders, TG members and the BC understand the Theory of Change uniformly?* At the start of their interviews, Delegates, Stakeholders and BC parents were asked to explain the programme's ToC. Furthermore, TG members and BC peers were asked about the purpose of the programme and what kind of change it was aiming to achieve. The research investigated whether there was a shared understanding of the change required, including whether this mirrored the programme's actual ToC, and the best method of effecting this change.

The form of change expressed in the ToC, according to the Accra Grid crafted by the Delegates prior to the commencement of programming, was to stop bullying between students from different social backgrounds, achieved through the programme's Expressions of Change. 88.9 per cent of Delegates stated that the programme's ToC was to reduce bullying, with only one Delegate not mentioning bullying as part of the ToC. Delegates were all aware of the Expressions of Change as a GFP concept, although not every Delegate could recollect all of them. There was an emphasis by Delegates on "developing respect" as the most important Expression of Change with one Delegate explaining that respect was "one of the brains behind the activities".¹²⁴ Delegates therefore had a shared understanding of the ToC used by the programme and were able to articulate the change envisioned by the programme.

In contrast, it was evident from the Key Stakeholder interviews that they were not familiar with the terminology of 'Theory of Change'. When asked about what the programme's ToC was, most Stakeholders hesitated or asked the interviewer to repeat the question. Some Stakeholders initially revealed a lack of understanding, with answers such as "the change, the change, is so great"¹²⁵ or "it has expanded their scope of understanding"¹²⁶ or "ohh they have volunteers and the stakeholders".¹²⁷ This shows that Stakeholders were unsure of how to answer the question and were unable to

¹²⁴ Delegate interview 2, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹²⁵ Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹²⁶ Stakeholder interview 2, Accra, 3 July 2015.

¹²⁷ Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015.

articulate the ToC when asked; this suggests a lack of understanding of the ToC as a concept, and of the programme ToC more specifically.

Nevertheless, when prompted with further questioning, 42.9 per cent Stakeholders mentioned reducing bullying as an objective and others understood that the programme aimed to deliver behavioural change, including cooperation, tolerance, teamwork, respect, trust, confidence and empowerment. Stakeholders therefore do have some understanding of what the programme aims to achieve, yet they may not be aware of the ToC terminology. However, this percentage shows that the majority of Stakeholders do not view reducing bullying as the ultimate change sought. Furthermore, in one case, when asked *Do you think increasing respect is an effective way of reducing bullying?*, a Stakeholder replied “[n]ot really”¹²⁸ suggesting a lack of understanding of the programme goals, especially as this Stakeholder was very enthusiastic about the programme results. Furthermore, only 25 per cent of Stakeholders explicitly identified developing respect as part of the programme goals. It is therefore evident that there is not a strongly shared understanding of the ToC by Key Stakeholders.

The interviews elucidated that most parents are not well informed about the programme’s ToC. When asked about the programme’s aim, only 37.5 per cent of parents mentioned bullying before the interviewer referred to it. 37.5 per cent parents mentioned increasing respect as part of the programme’s goals, although one of these parents might have had more information due to his teaching position at St Peter’s. 37.5 per cent of parents were aware that the programme’s aim was to improve relations between students in school. The remaining parents had a more limited understanding of what the GFP programme entailed, mainly referring to the promotion of peace, however, this can be inferred from the name ‘Generations For Peace’. It is evident that parents have some conception of what the programme aims to achieve but ultimately lack an insight into the programme’s goals, and the majority of parents do not share an understanding of the ToC.

The fact that some parents are not well-informed is supported by one parent’s claim that she found out about the programme from her daughter: “[s]he told me she’s in something like that [GFP] but she did not tell me what they do”.¹²⁹ Some parents felt there had been limited communication with them by the GFP Delegates, which may be as a reason for this incomplete understanding. The details and consequences of a lack of communication with BC parents with regards to the Accra SPCC will be detailed further in Section 3 ‘Achieving the ToC’. The evidence outlined here nevertheless conveys that awareness about the programme’s ToC was most limited for BC parents.

Finally, the TG group and BC peers unanimously agreed on the main aim or change envisioned by the programme, with 100 per cent of TG focus groups and 100 per cent of BC peers focus groups stating “generating/promoting peace” as the main objective. 40 per cent of TG groups raised respect as a behavioural change envisioned by the programme and 50 per cent mentioned behavioural changes or Expressions of Change. However, only 10 per cent of TG and 25 per cent of BC peers focus groups

¹²⁸ Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹²⁹ BC parents interview 2, Accra, 6 July 2015.

raised reducing bullying as an objective of the programme. Students are therefore very much aware that the programme aims to reduce conflict in the school, however, they may not have an awareness that the ToC specifically targets bullying.

An integral aspect to the ToC is its ability to also facilitate long-term change and produce impacts beyond the immediate beneficiaries, as highlighted both in Chapter 2 and in the GFP Programming Framework. The Accra programme's ToC outlines that TG members will precipitate change by impacting a wider BC. The wider community is identified as "other students and friends (peers) within the school environment". This is integral to the GFP model where changes are intended to spread beyond the immediate beneficiaries by encouraging TG members to pass on the programme's message. The interviews showed that the GFP Delegates and Stakeholders had a shared, uniform conviction that this model is key to the programme's success and relevance, and that they envision long-term as well as short-term impacts of the programme. As one Stakeholder put it:

[O]nce we are able to relate with others very well then we can expand and have that happen in the larger society. Once it happens in the larger society, then in time you find that the whole country will embrace the concept.¹³⁰

This quote reflects a shared understanding amongst Delegates and Stakeholders that the behavioural changes aimed for in the Accra SPPC should spread beyond the programme participants to effect change in society and shift the wider conflict context, and that this is integral to the programme's ToC.

The shared understanding of long-term impacts is encompassed in the view that the programme would not only change students' attitude towards each other but also in the home, in the classroom, and towards members of the community. It was highlighted by a Delegate, that "[w]e expect them to respect everybody, accept whoever you meet either in class or at home".¹³¹ A long-term model spreading beyond the classroom is evidently a crucial part of the ToC and its success will therefore be assessed later in Section 5.3 'Achieving the ToC'.

The interviews with Delegates and Key Stakeholders also explored the method by which the change was thought to occur. The Accra SPPC uses sport to build respect amongst students. Nevertheless, another integral aspect to the programme is the use of dialogue and discussion before or after sessions to effect behavioural changes in the students. Whilst some Delegates emphasised that the discussions were effective and crucial to the outcomes, others felt that more sport activities were needed at the expense of dialogue. For example, one Delegate mentioned "they do not want too much talking. Theory, theory, theory".¹³² This Delegate and others sharing his opinion, felt that too much dialogue could detract from the sport and was neither successful in effecting change nor engaging for

¹³⁰ Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹³¹ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹³² Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015.

the TG group. However, out of all the activities mentioned as most effective in interviews and focus groups, the “name game”¹³³ was the most common, demonstrating that dialogue was in fact an important tool. The Delegates therefore had a diverse understanding of the best method to implement the ToC and about the way in which change occurs.

28.6 per cent of Stakeholders emphasised the need for the programme to be expanded beyond sport. One argued for the need to “introduc[e] more tools”, emphasising the arts,¹³⁴ and another similarly suggested to “expand the [programme] beyond sport” by adding “drama” or “music”¹³⁵ as an effective means of bringing people together. The arts are already to some extent incorporated; for example, the children devised and performed a sketch for other students during the time this fieldwork was being conducted. In one TG focus group a student mentioned that he thought the sketch was the most effective activity in terms of achieving GFP’s aim.¹³⁶ This again conveys a lack of shared understanding regarding the how change envisioned in the ToC should come about.

Finally GFP Delegates were asked whether any changes to the ToC were needed and the responses were divided.¹³⁷ 33.4 per cent suggested the ToC was still relevant as it is,¹³⁸ whilst 33.4 per cent argued that it would have to change. One Delegate viewed the ToC as still being relevant as bullying has not stopped entirely in the school.¹³⁹ In opposition, a Delegate suggested the ToC should be changed as the goals had been achieved.¹⁴⁰ This was supported by another Delegate: “I think we’ve made our mark there...[s]o we should look at other aspects through which we can also help to bring peace in the school”.¹⁴¹ This conveys a lack of a shared understanding around the outcomes of the programme, but also about the change that was initially envisioned and whether the ToC necessitated an eradication of bullying or a reduction in bullying.

This section has shown that Delegates have a strong shared understanding about the types of change that should occur in the conflict context, including the long-term change in the form of impacting the community, the home and the classroom. Nevertheless, there are disagreements as to how the change should occur, with varying emphases on sport, dialogue or arts. Furthermore, there is a lack of agreement between the Delegates in terms of how to measure whether the GFP programme has been successful and when the ToC needs to be revised. Stakeholders have some shared understanding regarding the goals of the Accra SPPC, however, they lack knowledge of the ToC concept and terminology, suggesting that this is something they have not been informed about. BC parents have limited knowledge about the programme’s ToC and lack a common conception of the change

¹³³ The “name game” is a warm up activity, played before the sport-based games, that involves students explaining the linguistic and cultural meaning of their names to other students. The game is intended to help students gain understanding and awareness of each others’ cultural backgrounds.

¹³⁴ Stakeholder interview 5, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹³⁵ Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹³⁶ TG focus group 1, 4 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

¹³⁷ Only seven Delegates were asked this question as the third Delegate interview suggested that this was an interesting question to explore. The findings explored in this paragraph therefore only reflect the responses of seven Delegates.

¹³⁸ Delegate interview 3, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate follow-up interview 4, Accra, 12 July 2015.

¹³⁹ Delegate follow-up interview 4, Accra, 12 July 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Delegate interview 2, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁴¹ Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

envisioned by the programme. Finally, TG members and BC peers have a unanimous understanding of the programme goals, however, they do not reference reducing bullying as the main change.

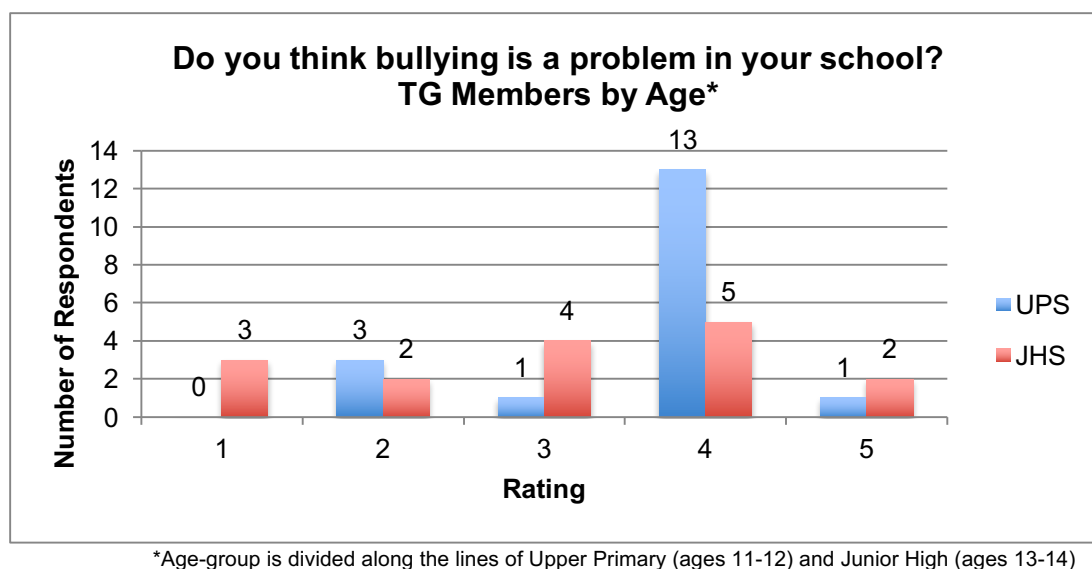
5.2 Perceptions of the Conflict Context

This section compares the varying perceptions of the conflict context and the experience of bullying at St Peter's school by the Delegates, Stakeholders, TG group and BC. In doing so this section addresses the sub-question 1(b) *Is there a shared understanding of the conflict context* by exploring the perceptions on the conflict context by the various research participant groups. It also examines sub-question 2(a): *Is the type or experience of bullying informed by age, gender or religion?*

This section initially analyses perspectives on whether bullying is prevalent at St Peter's to examine whether views are shared and whether the ToC is applicable to the conflict context. Next, this section explores which kind of bullying is considered to be a problem. Subsequently, this section investigates social group dynamics of bullying by analysing perceptions on whether the experience of bullying differs by age, gender, religion or other social groups. Finally, this section seeks to understand what research participant groups think are the reasons for bullying in order to explore in Section 3 'Achieving the ToC' whether the programme outcomes and outputs address the root causes of bullying. Each of these sub-sections will provide an insight into whether understandings of bullying at St Peter's are shared and whether they are applicable to the ToC.

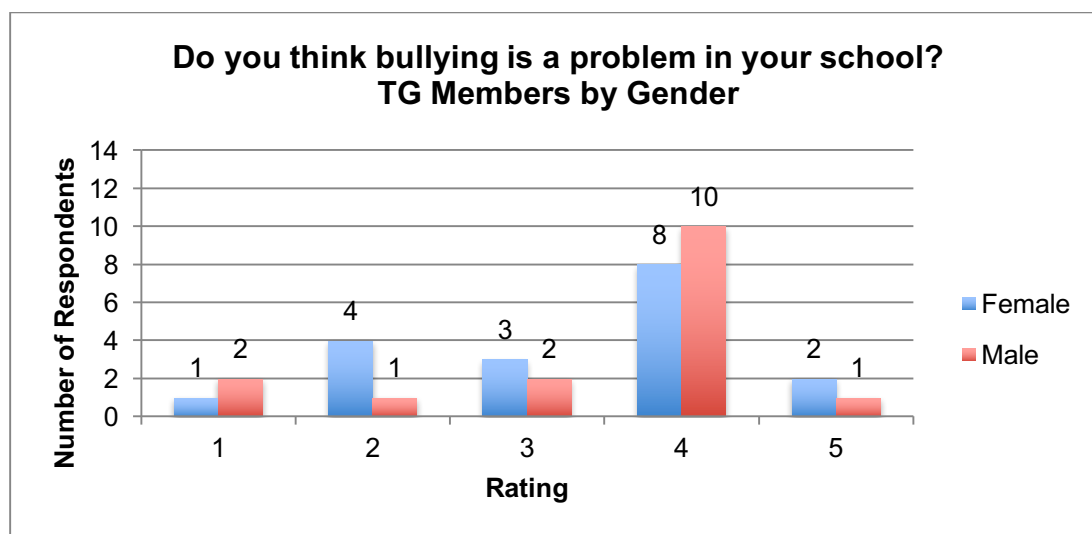
5.2.1 Prevalence of Bullying at St Peter's

The first question investigated in the surveys, focus groups and interviews was whether respondents considered bullying to be a problem at St Peter's. In the surveys, responses were rated from 1 (No) to 5 (Yes); 2 can be interpreted as meaning 'not a very big problem'; 3 as 'average'; and 4 as 'quite a big problem'. Graph 1.0 conveys that the mean of responses for TG members is higher for UPS (3.67 \pm SD 0.84) than for JHS (3.06 \pm SD 1.34). Although this difference is shown by a T-test not to be statistically significant ($p = 0.067$), the difference in the means nevertheless suggests that UPS children are bullied more than JHS students. This confirms Kang's (2011) study, as outlined in Chapter 3, that the occurrences of bullying decline with age. As will be supported by findings presented in this section, this is related to bullying often being manifested as a phenomenon of younger students being bullied by older students.



Graph 1.0

In terms of gender groups (Graph 1.1), the mean is higher for males (3.44) than females (3.33), however this difference is not large and is not statistically significant ($p = 0.64$). Bullying in the TG sample was therefore considered to be 'quite a big problem' by both males and females. This suggests that the perception of the prevalence of bullying does not differ greatly by gender.

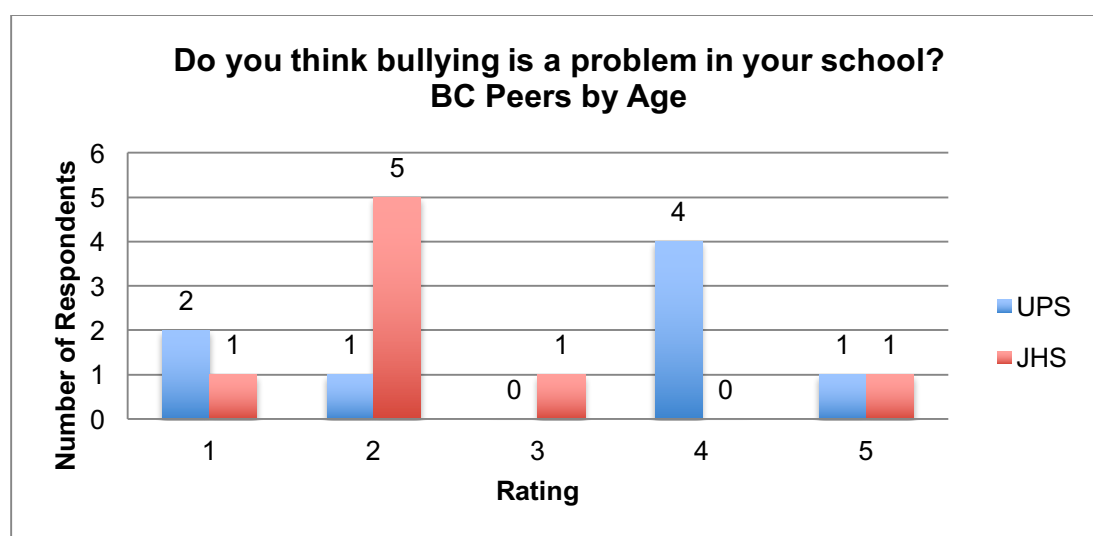


Graph 1.1

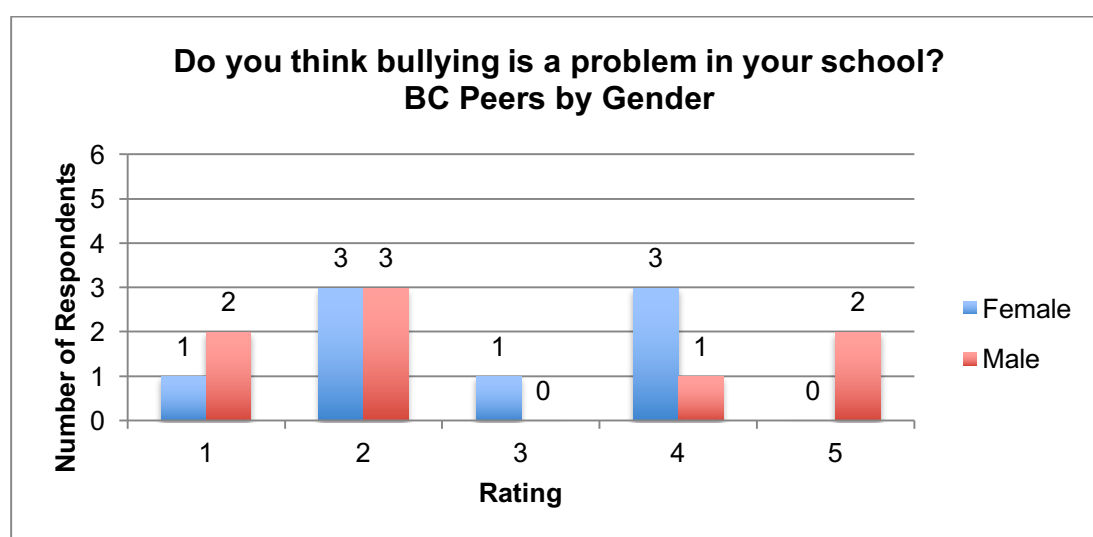
Considering the difference in responses between age groups, further T-tests were conducted to test the significance of differences between JHS and UPS within gender categories. Within both male and female gender groups there was not a statistically significant difference between the year groups. Nevertheless, the difference between UPS and JHS males ($p = 0.053$) is notable and may suggest that the divergence in perceptions of bullying by age is more significant for men. In other words, age may have an impact on the conception of bullying at St Peter's, especially for boys. UPS males have the highest mean out of all groups (3.8), which may suggest that they are most affected by bullying.

Instead, male JHS have the lowest mean at 2.83. This trend reflects the general observation by research participants that bullying at St Peter's is based on age, usually involving JHS students bullying UPS. This is related to difference in stature, with older boys being bigger and taller, and normative understandings of older peers having more authority and dominance within St Peter's School. This will be expanded on later in section 5.2.4 'Reasons for Bullying'.

These results can be compared to the data received from BC peers, where the mean was higher for UPS (3.13) than for JHS (2.37) students (Graph 1.2), reflecting the same trend, although again a T-test showed this result not to be statistically significant. For the BC peers the means are the same (2.75) for both genders (see Graph 1.3), although the variance is higher for males. The BC peers results therefore mirrors the results for the TG group which supports the validity of the findings.

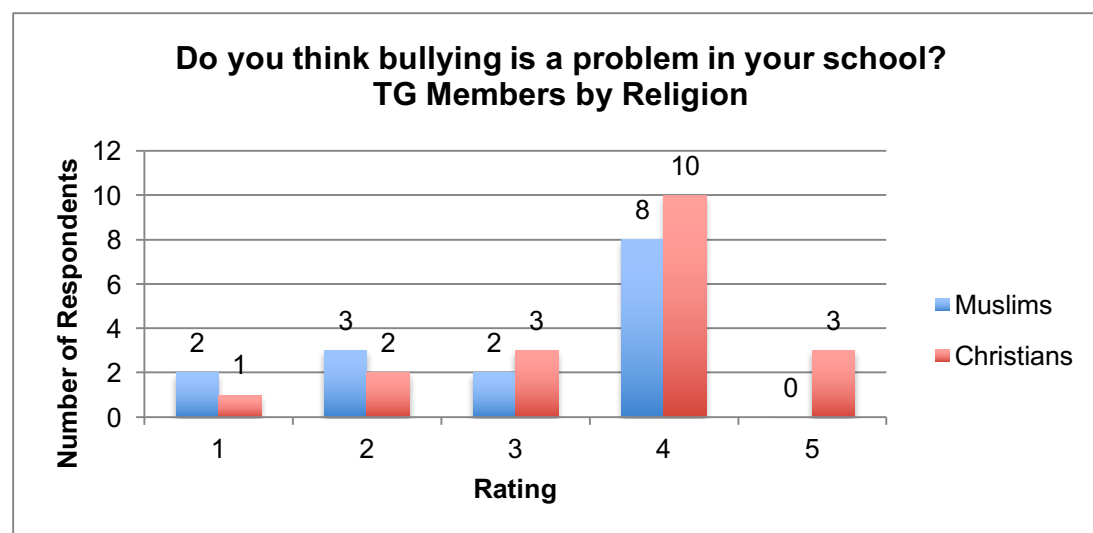


Graph 1.2



Graph 1.3

Results were also divided by religion (Graph 1.4). The mean rating is slightly lower for Muslim students (3.07) compared to Christians (3.63). However, the T-test uncovered no statistical difference in the means between the two variables. Therefore, there is not a significant difference between Muslims and Christians as they gave similar responses, with bullying seen as ‘quite a big problem’. Religion therefore does not affect the perception of whether bullying is a problem in the school which suggests that students from different religious groups are similarly affected by bullying.



Graph 1.4

The average result for all students was 3.34, which conveys that students think bullying is more a problem in the school than not, with it falling between being an ‘average’ and ‘quite a big problem’. This therefore supports the relevance of the ToC as it shows that it addresses a significant problem which is also recognised by students to be affecting them.

Out of the eight BC parents interviewed, only 12.5 per cent recognised bullying as a problem in the school.¹⁴² Most parents either emphasised that they did not know about, or they observed a lack of bullying based on the conduct of or information received from their child. Furthermore, some parents expressed that their children were not affected by this behaviour.¹⁴³ Similarly, 42.9 per cent of Stakeholders did not view bullying as a major problem at St Peter’s,¹⁴⁴ even before the programme, however, one other Stakeholder emphasised that bullying had decreased as a result of the programme.¹⁴⁵ This displays a lack of knowledge of or conviction regarding the ToC on behalf of most BC parents and Key Stakeholders as they do not feel that bullying is a major problem in the school. Nevertheless, this may also be linked to research participants aiming to positively portray St Peter’s School or the GFP programme.

¹⁴² BC parents interview 7, Accra, 8 July 2015.

¹⁴³ For example, BC parents interview 1, Accra, 6 July 2015; BC parents interview 2, Accra, 6 July 2015; BC parents interview 4, Accra, 6 July 2015.

¹⁴⁴ Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 5, Accra, 9 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

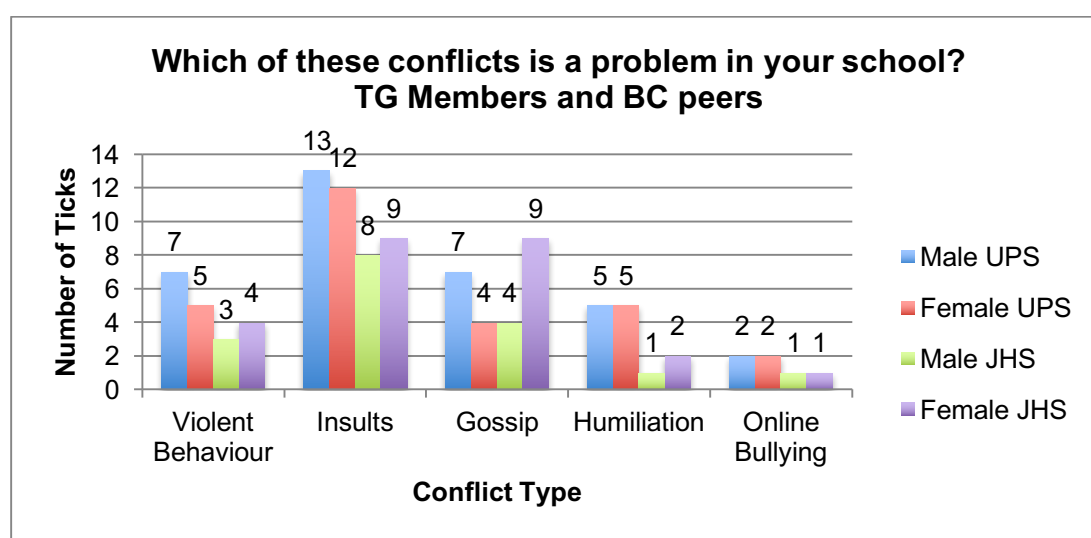
¹⁴⁵ Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

5.2.2 Types of Conflict

The evidence so far has shown that bullying is understood as a problem, however, identifying whether there is a shared perception of the conflict context also requires gaining insight into which types of bullying or conflict are viewed as a problem in the school. Furthermore, this section explores whether conceptions of which types of bullying are prevalent is determined by age, religion or gender. The surveys for TG members and BC peers incorporated a table listing five categories of bullying – violent behaviour, insults, gossip, humiliation, online bullying – (see appendices A and B) and students were asked to tick one or more of these categories for each question.¹⁴⁶

Graphs 2.0 and 2.1, which include both TG and BC peer results, convey which conflicts are considered a problem and which ones personally affect students, divided by gender and age groups. It is evident that insults are the highest category for all groups for both questions, conveying that verbal bullying is the most prevalent. For female JHS students gossiping is rated equally high, which again confirms the prevalence of verbal bullying, but also suggests that female students are more affected by gossip.

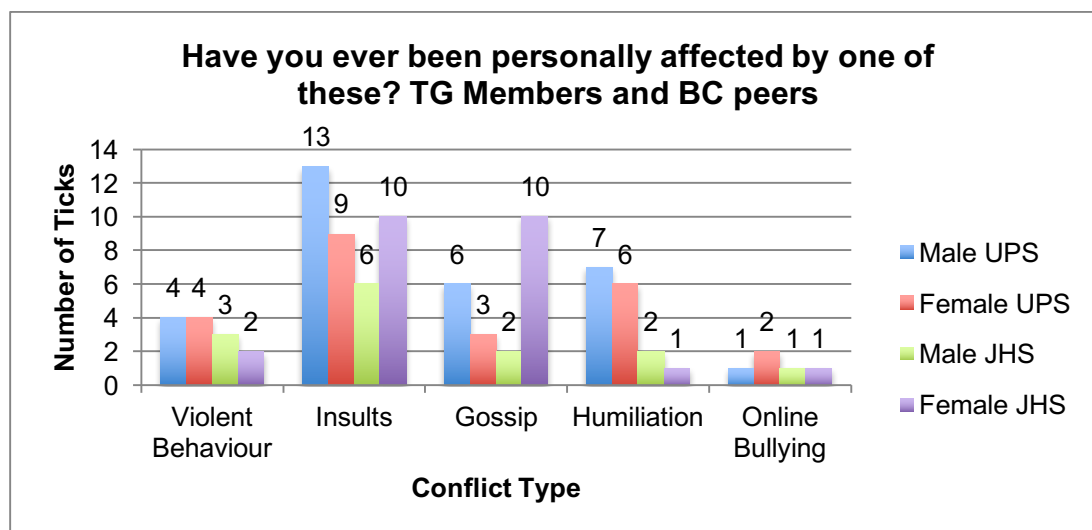
Online bullying has the lowest prevalence for all categories which implies that this is not regarded as a common avenue for conflictual behaviour. Nevertheless, in one focus group online bullying was raised as a significant conflict, with one girl reporting that “some things goes on in class then someone will post it on Facebook and people will be commenting, insulting, laughing”.¹⁴⁷ The presence of online bullying should therefore not be dismissed. Finally, Graphs 2.0 and 2.1 show that more students think violent behaviour is a problem than are personally affected by it. This may reflect the fact that violent behaviour is less common yet is regarded more seriously and therefore considered by more to be a problem.



Graph 2.0

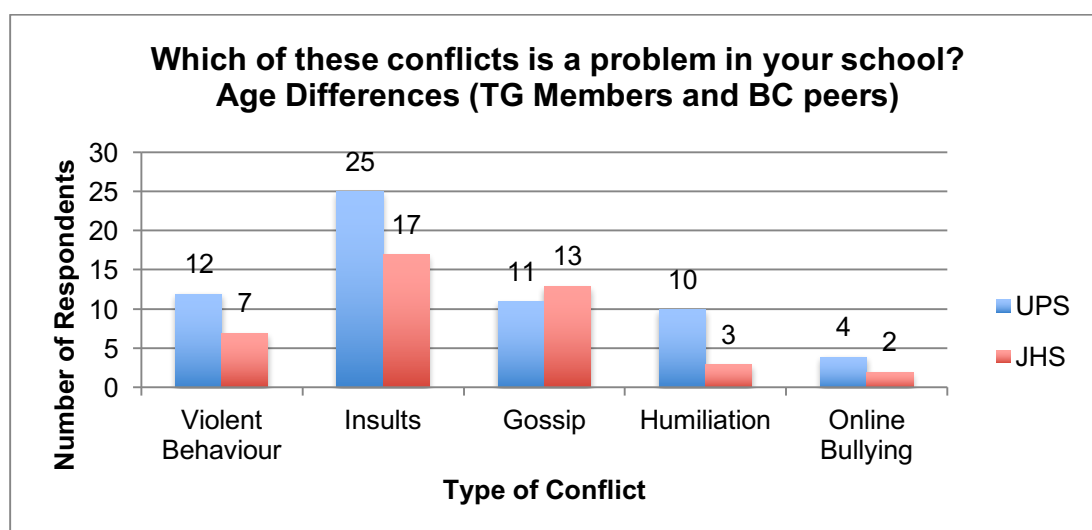
¹⁴⁶ These categories were selected through interviews with Delegates and based on relevant research on bullying in Ghana.

¹⁴⁷ TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

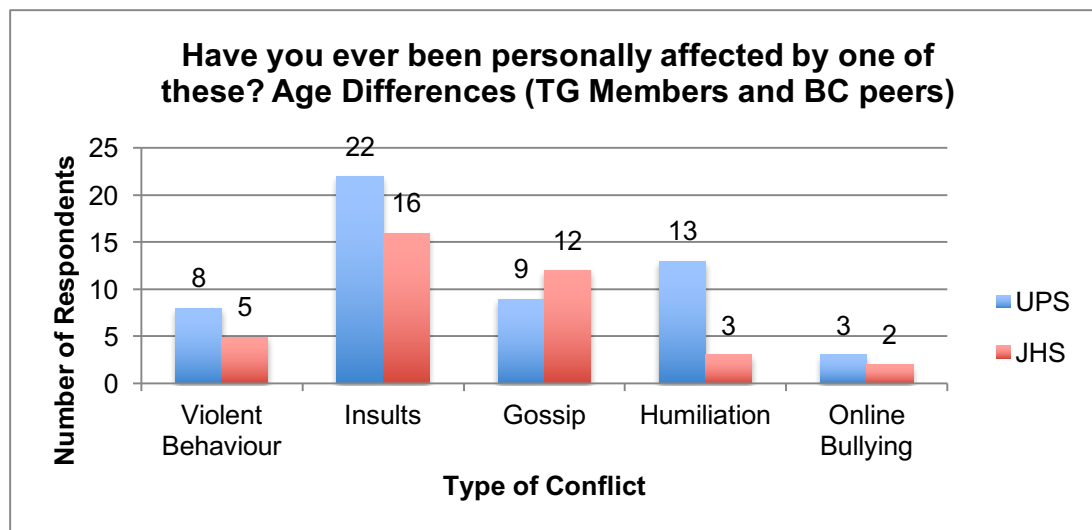


Graph 2.1

Differences in results between year groups can be seen more clearly in Graphs 2.2 and 2.3. For each conflict, UPS students have a higher result than for JHS students signifying that each conflict is considered a greater problem by UPS than JHS students. The exception is for gossiping, which is higher for JHS due to the high results for female JHS. This conveys that there is a significant relationship between JHS girls and gossiping. These graphs convey that UPS students are generally more highly affected by bullying, especially humiliation, which is significantly higher for UPS in Graph 2.3. This reflects the previous findings that UPS students are more likely to view bullying as a problem in the school. Section 5.2.3 'Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion' explores the qualitative findings to confirm this trend and the role of age in determining bullying dynamics.

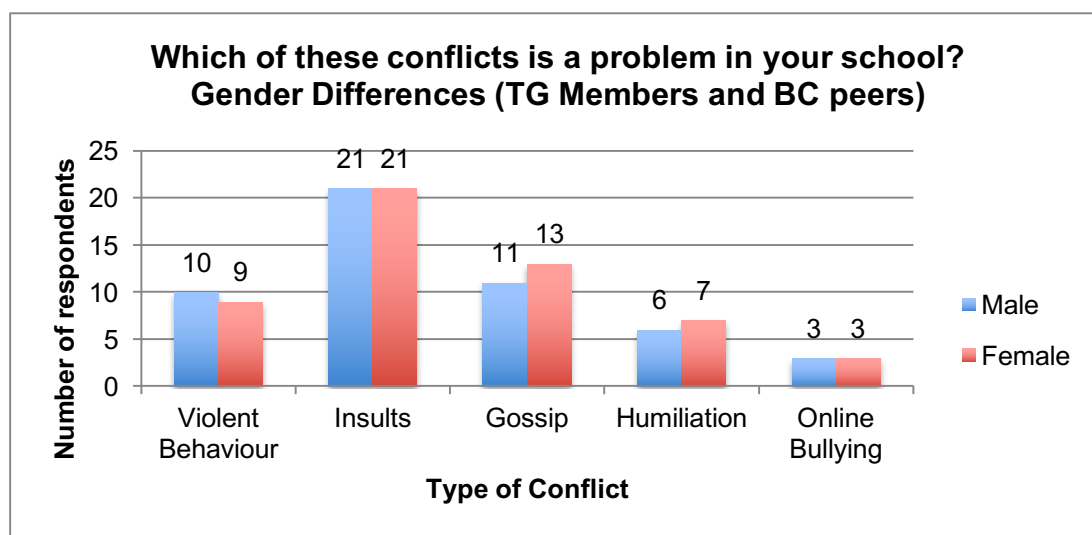


Graph 2.2

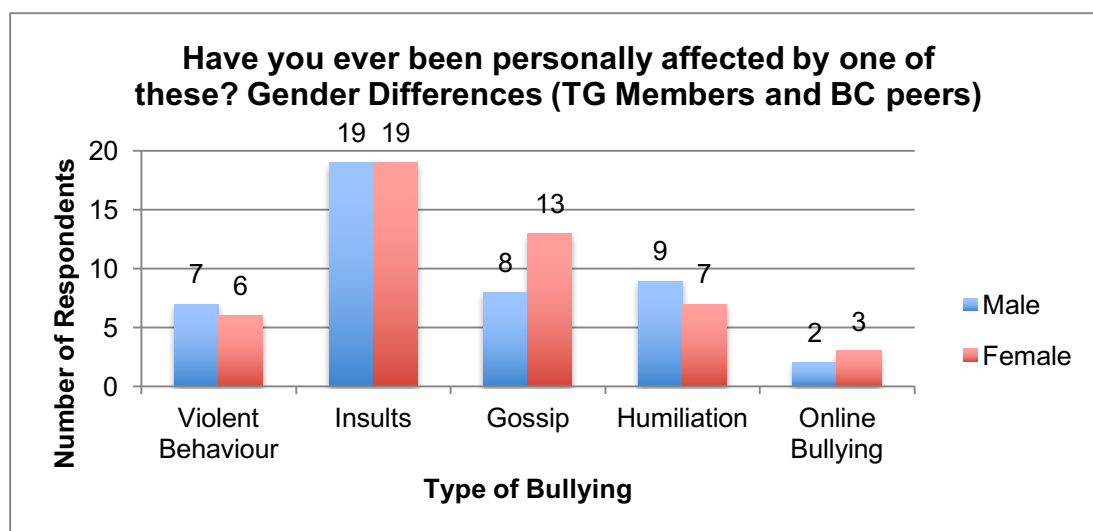


Graph 2.3

Graphs 2.4 and 2.5 convey the same results divided by gender groups. There are no significant differences in the conflicts that males and females face when analysed across the age groups, with the exception of gossip which is shown in Graph 2.5 to be significantly higher for females. Violent behaviour is shown to be similar for males and females both in terms of whether it is seen as a problem and whether students are personally affected. As will be explored in Section 5.2.3 'Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion', this contradicts various assumptions about male bullying being more violent and the experience of bullying being very different for boys and girls.

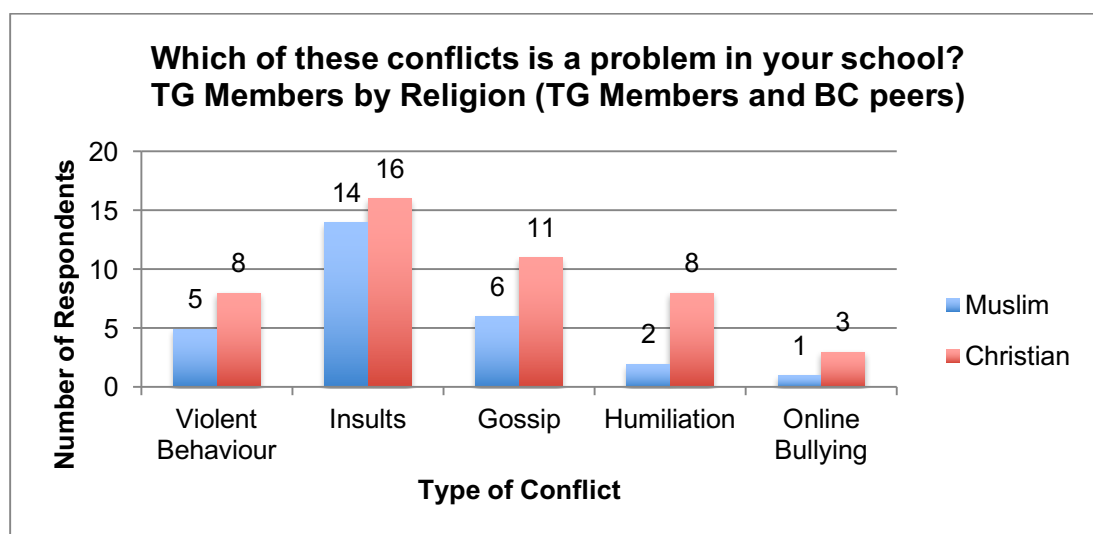


Graph 2.4

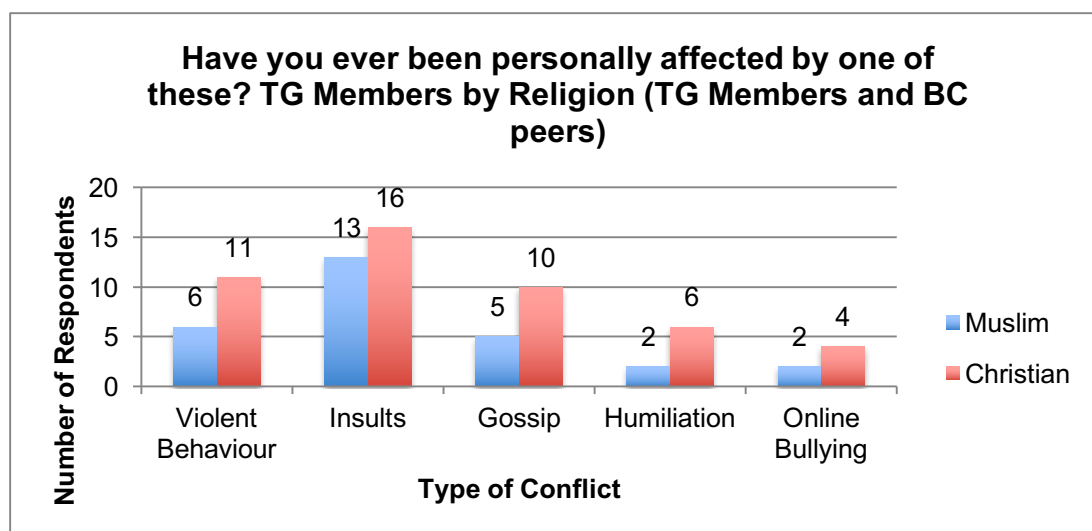


Graph 2.5

Finally, Graphs 2.6 and 2.7 convey the results divided by Christian and Muslim students. These graphs show only the TG students results as the researcher was unable to obtain information on the religious denominations of BC peers. The results were higher for Christians in each category. This is likely to be very much affected by the fact that the TG group consisted of more Christian students (19) than Muslim students (15). Nevertheless, it may convey that Christian students are more outspoken on the issue. This is an interesting finding as Section 5.2.3 'Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion' will explain that Muslim students were more likely to bring up the issue of religious conflict in the focus groups. Therefore, although Christian students may be more likely to consider bullying a problem, they are less likely to view bullying based on religion as a problem, conveying that religious group may shape the experience of bullying at St Peter's.



Graph 2.6



Graph 2.7

These graphs confirm that violent behaviour is a common occurrence at St Peter's School. However, in the interviews, 55.6 per cent of Delegates¹⁴⁸ argued that there is hardly any violent behaviour at the school, and one Delegate¹⁴⁹ explicitly stated that there is no violent bullying. The majority of Delegates therefore do not view violent bullying as a problem at St Peter's. Delegates emphasised that the focus of the programme was on "attitudinal" or "verbal" bullying, claiming that this fits the conflict context. One Delegate commented on the programme's ToC that "[i]f [bullying] was more violent, obviously we would have a different approach to it".¹⁵⁰

A focus on verbal bullying reflects the conflict context, as has been evidenced in Graphs 2.0-2.7; the highest form of bullying is 'insults', and when combined with gossip, humiliation, verbal bullying far outweighs violent behaviour (76 per cent of responses to whether bullying is a problem – Graph 2.0, and 80.6 per cent of responses to whether students are personally affected – Graph 2.1). Nevertheless, violent behaviour still shows as a significant issue in the survey results and it was raised as a common issue for both TG members and BC peers in focus groups. The significant presence of violent behaviour should therefore be recognised, especially considering the seriousness and dangers associated with this kind of bullying. Furthermore, Section 5.3.1 'Programme Outcomes' will convey that students are still engaged in violent behaviour.

Aside from the conflicts highlighted in the survey, students were asked: '*Are there any other conflicts in your school?*' The results for both TG and BC peers are presented in Table 2.0. 67 per cent of students circled 'No'. Those who circled 'Yes' were asked to identify what form of conflict they were referencing. For those who circled 'Yes', the most common conflict was 'teasing', which was also mentioned in Stakeholder and three Delegate interviews, and in one BC peer and 70 per cent of TG

¹⁴⁸ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

¹⁴⁹ Delegate interview 3, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015.

focus groups. In the focus groups other conflicts were mentioned, such as “controlling someone”¹⁵¹, “disrespecting”¹⁵² and “not accepting people for who they are”.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Delegates commonly mentioned stealing in the interviews, yet this was brought up less by students. All of these categories reflect the wording used by TG members. Most of the conflicts mentioned (72 per cent) are non-violent forms of conflict.

Type of Conflict	Total	TG Group	BC Peers
None	32	20	12
Teasing	7	6	1
Stealing	3	1	2
Lying	2	1	1
Lashing	1	0	1
Embarrassment	1	1	0
Fighting	1	1	0
Religious	1	1	0
Assault	1	1	0
Domestic Violence	1	1	0
Cheating	1	1	0
Suspensions	1	1	0
Sharking of Responsibilities	1	1	0
Bossing about	1	1	0
Discrimination	1	1	0
Disagreements	1	0	1
Bullying	1	0	1

Table 2.0 Other Conflicts at St Peter’s

A significant mention was ‘lashing’ by teachers. This research uncovered teacher-student conflicts to be of noteworthy presence at St Peter’s, yet it has not been integrated in the Accra SPPC ToC model. The literature highlights conflict between pupils and teachers as prevalent in schools in Ghana.¹⁵⁴ Although corporal punishment was partially banned in Ghana in the 1970s; headteachers and deputies were still allowed to administer it.¹⁵⁵ The Ghana Education Code of Discipline for second cycle schools provides for corporal punishment in rare occasions on the condition that a headteacher must be the person to authorise and administer it.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, corporal punishment is still widely used by teachers, especially through lashing and the cane.¹⁵⁷ According to a report by Ghana’s Department for Children and Children and Youth in Broadcasting, over 80 per cent of children in Ghana have experienced caning in their school.¹⁵⁸ The effects of this kind of verbal and violent conflict

¹⁵¹ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

¹⁵² TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

¹⁵³ TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

¹⁵⁴ Opoku-Asare, Nana Afia Amponsaa. Takyi, Harriet and Owusu-Mensah, Margaret. “Conflict Prevalence in Primary School and How it is Understood to Affect Teaching and Learning in Ghana”.

¹⁵⁵ Abenyega, Joseph S. “Corporal Punishment in the Schools of Ghana: Does Inclusive Education Suffer?” *The Australian Educational Researcher*, 33: 3, 2006, p. 111.

¹⁵⁶ Sylvester Kyei-Gyamfi, “Corporal Punishment in Ghana.” In *Children’s Rights in Ghana: Reality or Rhetoric?*, edited by Ame, D.L. Agbényiga and N.A. Apt. (New York: Lexington books, 2011): 85.

¹⁵⁷ Alhassan, A.B. “School Corporal Punishment in Ghana and Nigeria As A Method of Discipline: A Psychological Examination of Policy Practice”, 2013, 4, 27”.

¹⁵⁸ UNICEF Ghana. “In Ghana, an effort to abolish violent discipline in schools.” (2014).

are detrimental to students as it can make them feel “unhappy, embarrassed, and uncomfortable in the teacher’s presence”¹⁵⁹ as well as with their peers, and it has been shown to adversely affect students’ academic performance and concentration in class.¹⁶⁰ Caning is considered to be an efficient way for teachers to deal with students’ misbehaviour and a failure to enforce the law has resulted in the custom of corporal punishment to continue in schools.¹⁶¹

One Delegate mentioned the teacher-student conflict, stating that “some children go to the extent of trying to bully some of their teachers”.¹⁶² In several of the focus groups, students emphasised that fighting between students and teachers emerged as a result of students’ lack of respect towards teachers and the teachers’ response of punishment¹⁶³. Nevertheless, most focus groups stressed teachers’ abuse towards students. In some cases this was verbal abuse, with students mentioning “bullying”, “insulting” and “anger”.¹⁶⁴

Two students, both Muslim, also mentioned verbal abuse based on religion. One felt that his teacher discriminated against students based on their gender and religion, stating that she punished him “one because I am Muslim; two, because I am a boy”.¹⁶⁵ In other focus groups corporal punishment was referred to, with lashing mentioned in 50 per cent of focus groups.¹⁶⁶ Students emphasised the unjustness of the use of lashing and in certain cases the extremity of the act, stating that teachers “can lash him mercilessly”¹⁶⁷ or “sometimes if they lash you, you can get sores and it spoils your skin”.¹⁶⁸ Violence used by teachers in the classroom to assert their authority can have a detrimental result on the example given to the students and may fuel the tendency for older students to bully younger ones.

This section has conveyed that bullying is seen as a problem at St Peter’s by all groups, but to the greatest extent by the youngest students. Perceptions of the conflict context may therefore vary by age group. Furthermore, there is evidence to show that perceptions of the conflict context are also informed by religious denomination. Bullying at St Peter’s is both violent and verbal, however, the verbal bullying is more prevalent. Female JHS students have shown to be most affected by gossiping. It can therefore be concluded that perceptions of the conflict context do vary by social group in terms of the extent and types of bullying. In addition, teacher-student conflict has been revealed to be a significant and harmful conflict prevalent at St Peter’s.

¹⁵⁹ Opoku-Asare, Nana Afia Amponsaa. Takyi, Harriet and Owusu-Mensah, Margaret. “Conflict Prevalence in Primary School and How it is Understood to Affect Teaching and Learning in Ghana”, p. 4

¹⁶⁰ Opoku-Asare, Nana Afia Amponsaa. Takyi, Harriet and Owusu-Mensah, Margaret. “Conflict Prevalence in Primary School and How it is Understood to Affect Teaching and Learning in Ghana”, p. 4

¹⁶¹ UNICEF Ghana. “In Ghana, an effort to abolish violent discipline in schools.” (2014).

¹⁶² Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁶³ BC peers focus group 3, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015; TG focus group 1, 4 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

¹⁶⁴ BC peers focus group 4, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015; TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015; TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

¹⁶⁵ TG focus group 4, 2 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

¹⁶⁶ BC peers focus group 4, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015; TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015; TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015; TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015; TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

¹⁶⁷ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

¹⁶⁸ TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

5.2.3 Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion

The interviews and focus groups also explored the question of whether, and how bullying is informed by age, gender or religion and to what extent research participants have a shared understanding of the role of these social categories. Participants were asked which students are affected by bullying and why, and in some cases social categories were later mentioned to prompt an answer.

- Age -

Most research participants viewed age or year group as a determining factor in informing the dynamics of bullying at St Peter's School. 77.8 per cent of Delegates agreed that older or senior students bully the younger or junior ones. One Delegate did not mention age as a factor and another explicitly stated that age was not relevant.¹⁶⁹ The dominant view of Delegates is therefore that age is a predominant determining factor for bullying, with seniors bullying the juniors. The same response was evident in the Key Stakeholder interviews.

These results were corroborated with those from students in the focus groups. It is clear that TG and BC members share understandings of bullying based on age. In 75 per cent of the BC peers focus groups students highlighted bullying by older students against younger ones. In the TG focus groups the number raising age as an important bullying dynamic was 80 per cent. The reasoning given was that seniors believe juniors to be "at the lower level",¹⁷⁰ or inferior, and as they are older "they [the older students] think they can control you [the younger students]".¹⁷¹ The age difference is therefore considered by bullies to justify their behaviour. As one student put it, "[s]ometimes if you are passing by and they feel like bullying you then they will just stop and tell you to do something that you don't like".¹⁷² This reflects that older students exercise their authority over younger ones to control them. Furthermore, as will be conveyed in section 5.3.1 'Programme Outcomes', some older students feel it is their right to bully the younger ones when they are not respecting them.

Nevertheless, in some cases, the role of height, stature or size was considered more important than age. Although this was often linked to year group differences, in other cases the influence of age was rejected in favour of size. For example, one Delegate emphasised, "age doesn't really matter". Instead "height or structure"¹⁷³ was more significant. Similarly, in one BC peers focus group it was suggested that "[s]ometimes the younger ones bully the older ones...Because some of the older ones are too small and younger ones some of them very big".¹⁷⁴ Age must be understood as intersecting with size. It is emphasised that "[t]hose who are physically built-up...strong, thick, tall seems to bully the little ones".¹⁷⁵ One Delegate argued for the role of "stature"¹⁷⁶ over all other social differences. Similarly, 57.1 per cent of Stakeholders emphasised that the stronger and bigger students generally bullied the

¹⁶⁹ Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁷⁰ TG focus group 4, 2 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

¹⁷¹ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

¹⁷² TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

¹⁷³ Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁷⁴ BC peers focus group 2, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

¹⁷⁵ Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁷⁶ Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015.

smaller ones.¹⁷⁷ In many cases the stronger, bigger students were considered to be male. This conception of bullying thus also integrates gendered norms and understandings.

- Gender -

Gender was considered to influence the dynamics of bullying by most research participants. With regards to whether bullying is an intra-gender or inter-gender phenomenon, there was a severe discrepancy in responses. 22.2 per cent of Delegates argued that both intra- and inter-gender bullying¹⁷⁸ were present at St Peter's. 33.3 per cent of Delegates suggested that bullying by male students, in the form of boy-on-boy and boy-on-girl bullying, was most common.¹⁷⁹ One of these Delegates claimed that they had not heard of any occasion of a girl bullying another girl and another that it happened only "sometimes". 22.2 per cent of Delegates viewed bullying as taking place mostly within the same sex,¹⁸⁰ with one arguing that boys were most affected. Only one Delegate mentioned girls bullying boys but stated it was "one out of a thousand cases",¹⁸¹ implying that they viewed it as happening extremely rarely.

As for the Key Stakeholders, 42.9 per cent suggested that all gender dynamics were prevalent, both intra- and inter-gender, and involving both males and females as the perpetrators. 28.6 per cent of Stakeholders argued that it was mainly boy-on-boy bullying, with bullying between girls being less common. A different Stakeholder argued that the main form of bullying was intra-gender bullying, with bullying taking place both between boys and between girls. Finally, the remaining Stakeholder argued that the most common form of bullying was boy-on-girl. Only one Stakeholder mentioned girl-on-boy bullying, arguing that "[s]ome girls can be worse bullies than boys".¹⁸² Nevertheless, the Stakeholder seems to be qualifying this statement against a dominant understanding that boys tend to bully more as he emphasised that contrary to general belief girls can be worse than boys.

This evidence conveys a disparate understanding of the conflict context by the Delegates and Key Stakeholders, as well as a view that bullying is less prevalent amongst girls whilst girl-on-boy bullying is largely non-existent. This observation can be viewed as being infused with normative assumptions as it largely contradicts the finding in section 5.2.1 'Prevalence of Bullying at St Peter's' that boys and girls share similar conceptions of the prevalence of bullying and section 5.2.2 'Types of Conflict' that girls and boys share similar experiences of bullying. The discourses encompassing these interview findings also reveal normative assumptions. Boy-on-boy bullying was considered most prevalent due to a belief that male bullying is more "likely to generate into violence".¹⁸³ One Stakeholder commented that "the boys are aggressive" and "they find means of settling their own issues",¹⁸⁴ as opposed to girls

¹⁷⁷ Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁷⁸ Delegate interview 3, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁷⁹ Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015; Delegate interview 2, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁸⁰ Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

¹⁸¹ Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

¹⁸² Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁸³ Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁸⁴ Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015.

who do not. Two Delegates linked inter-gender conflict to the perception that boys are “superior” to the girls¹⁸⁵ which reflects societal norms of male superiority.

In their interviews Delegates note a “fear of girls mingling with boys”¹⁸⁶ both within the classroom and the GFP programme as they will be teased.¹⁸⁷ A BC peer also noted that when boys talk to girls “they will go out to tell people...and spread it”,¹⁸⁸ which relates to gossiping and humiliation. This confirms that ‘ensuring inclusion’ is in fact an important Expression of Change as the mixing of boys and girls is important in overcoming feelings of superiority. One Key Stakeholder noted this as a failing of the school curriculum, which does not “teach about complementary roles of the sexes”.¹⁸⁹ He suggested that schools should teach children that males and females share an equal place in society to overcome this sense of fear of mixing. It can be derived that ensuring inclusion between the sexes would overcome constraining societal norms which facilitate verbal bullying and gossip.

These conceptions of the conflict context, as held by Delegates and Stakeholders, differ from those of the students, where there was a greater recognition that girls also bully boys and each other. Students in one TG focus group agreed that “[t]he tall girls, they mostly bully the short boys...by gossiping and insulting them”.¹⁹⁰ This suggests that gender can intersect with size to shape bullying dynamics. One focus group rejected the perception that bullying by males is more violent with an example of one girl: “she beat him mercilessly”.¹⁹¹ In one focus group one girl stated that boys bully the girls “because they are weaker”, however, this was not accepted by a bigger female participant who laughed and stated “[w]e are not weaker”.¹⁹² Graphs 2.4 and 2.5 show that girls are also affected by violence, largely rejecting the idea that male bullying is more violent.

This reflects a larger finding in focus groups that boys tended to see themselves as most affected by bullying, whilst girls considered themselves to be more affected. In many cases they saw themselves as bullied by the opposite gender group. In one TG focus group a girl explained that boys bully the girls more “[b]ecause they’re boys”.¹⁹³ This reflects a lack of understanding as to why there is conflict between the genders and why bullying occurs. This confirms that ‘ensuring inclusion’ is an important goal as it is evident that girls and boys do not understand each other’s experiences and do not fully recognise that bullying affects all genders equally, as proved by the survey results.

- Religion -

This research also investigated the prevalence of religion as a source of conflict at St Peter’s. Only 22.2 per cent of Delegates explicitly recognised religion as a source of conflict, 44.4 per cent of Delegates made no mention of religion when asked about which students were affected by bullying,

¹⁸⁵ Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015; also Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁸⁶ Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015; also Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁸⁷ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁸⁸ BC peers focus group 3, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

¹⁸⁹ Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁹⁰ TG focus group 1, 4 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

¹⁹¹ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

¹⁹² TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

¹⁹³ TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

and 33.3 per cent explicitly stated that religion was not a source of conflict, with one viewing tribal conflict as more significant¹⁹⁴. 100 per cent of Stakeholders, including the three headmasters, responded with either a definite “no” or “not much”.

The language or discourse used by the Stakeholders in shaping their responses was significant. Two Stakeholders explained that religious conflict does not even exist “in Ghana”¹⁹⁵ or “at the national level”.¹⁹⁶ One Stakeholder explained that the lack of religious conflict was due to the school being a “Mission school”.¹⁹⁷ Both Delegates and Stakeholders argued that religious conflict did not exist as all children were treated identically notwithstanding their religion in school. Finally, one Stakeholder explained that the students “are not grown enough to exploit their religious differences”.¹⁹⁸ These findings expose a denial amongst Delegates and Stakeholders with regard to the presence of religious conflicts at St Peter’s and even more generally within the country.

Nevertheless, responses by TG members and BC peers convey a different picture. Religion was mentioned in 50 per cent of TG focus groups as a reason for bullying. In another TG focus group students initially stated that bullying based on religion did not exist in the school, however, later on one participant stated when referring to a case of bullying “they even insulted her religion”.¹⁹⁹ Some examples of bullying involving religion were: “The Christians think the Muslims are bad”²⁰⁰; “They said the Muslims some of us are violent...they will not make friends with you”²⁰¹ or “sometimes they [Christians] think that their religion is more higher [superior]”.²⁰² In one BC peers focus group religion was confirmed to be a source of conflict between students; a Muslim girl explained that “[s]ome of the Christians I know they take us like rubbish”.²⁰³ Table 2.0 also showed that one TG student listed religious conflict in the open-ended survey question. Furthermore, as has been shown previously, religion was also mentioned twice as a source of tension between teachers and students.²⁰⁴

It is therefore evident religion is undeniably a source of conflict in the school which highly contradicts the Delegates’ and Stakeholders’ perceptions of the conflict context. Although religion was not considered to be an important bullying dynamic by all focus groups, this may be due to a social stigma surrounding the issue of religion at St Peter’s. There was a tendency in focus groups for all students to agree with the first person who answered ‘no’. Furthermore, in one focus group a student explained that “[m]ost of the times in the school we don’t talk about their religions”,²⁰⁵ confirming the finding from the Delegate and Stakeholder interviews that religion is an avoided topic in the school. Muslim students, more so than their Christian counterparts, responded affirmatively to religion being a source

¹⁹⁴ Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015.

¹⁹⁵ Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁹⁶ Stakeholder interview 5, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁹⁷ Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁹⁸ Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁹⁹ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁰⁰ TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁰¹ TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²⁰² TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁰³ BC peers focus group 2, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²⁰⁴ TG focus group 4, 2 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015; TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁰⁵ TG focus group 2, 3 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

of bullying, and in most cases, apart from one, mentioned Muslims as being the ones discriminated against, signifying generally that Muslim students are more aware of or more affected by bullying based on religion.

- Other Social Groups -

The Accra programme ToC also addresses bullying based on social class. 44.4 per cent of Delegates brought up bullying based on socio-economic status, as well as three Stakeholders. Most agreed that it was the richer students who are “looking down upon others”²⁰⁶ or “[d]on’t have respect for people who come from poor homes”,²⁰⁷ whereas the students who are less well-off “may be a little reserved”.²⁰⁸ 40 per cent of TG focus groups also raised this issue, defining it in more materialistic terms. For example, in one case the victims were described as “those who wear torn shoes”.²⁰⁹ There is therefore evidence that socio-economic factors play a role in bullying and that the change needed to tackle this is the integration of students from different socio-economic backgrounds, as illustrated in the ToC.

Finally, only one Delegate, one BC peer and one TG member mentioned ethnic or tribal differences as a factor determining bullying. Therefore, according to this research sample, ethnicity or tribe cannot be deemed a predominant cause of bullying. According to both of these students, those being bullied for their ethnicity were Ewes.²¹⁰ The Delegate discussing ethnicity later mentioned a case of a student outside GFP coming from Northern Ghana who he felt was predisposed to violence due to his geographical origins.²¹¹ This conveys normative assumptions about inherent violent tendencies. This type of statement was repeated by a Stakeholder, who stated that “[w]herever he was coming from a war is inside...so he has the spirit”.²¹² This may highlight a need for more activities where students and Delegates discuss or explain their different cultural or ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, many students mentioned the “name game”, where students explain the cultural meaning of their name, as the most effective activity, as it helped them understand each other’s backgrounds.

5.2.4 Other Reasons for Bullying

The interviews and focus groups also highlighted other bullying dynamics not addressed in the research questions. These are nevertheless important to analyse, as they define the conflict context on which the programme is based and the behavioural changes needed. Students’ level of confidence is a characteristic highlighted by 33.3 per cent of Delegates and one Stakeholder as determining their experience of bullying. Students that bully were characterised as “those who are more outspoken, more outgoing”,²¹³ or “the assertive ones”.²¹⁴ Instead, students who are “timid”²¹⁵ towards other

²⁰⁶ Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²⁰⁷ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²⁰⁸ Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²⁰⁹ TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

²¹⁰ The Ewe ethnic group occupies south-eastern Ghana and neighbouring Benin and Togo.

²¹¹ Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²¹² Stakeholder interview 1, Accra, 3 July 2015.

²¹³ Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²¹⁴ Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015.

students in the classroom were emphasised as the victims. Within the classroom, it was considered that those bullied are insecure students “who will go and hide when a teacher asks a question”.²¹⁶ This suggests that increasing students’ confidence towards other students and teachers is important in reducing bullying at St Peter’s.

A further important perception uncovered was the connection between bullying behaviour and students’ situation at home, as mentioned by 55.6 per cent of Delegates, one BC parent and one Stakeholder. One Delegate stated “[w]hatever the child learns [at] home, he will bring to the school”.²¹⁷ This was echoed by another Delegate who claimed that male or female domination in the home produces male or female domination in the student,²¹⁸ suggesting that children reflect and copy their parents’ behaviour towards other members of their family in their relations with students at school. Another Delegate suggested that those who do not feel accepted in the home try to show they matter in school.²¹⁹ The literature review emphasised that a ToC should recognise external influencing factors that determine or shift the conflict context, and the home is evidently recognised to be one of these factors. This suggests a need to fully involve BC parents due to their potential role in influencing the conflict context. In fact one Delegate mentioned that “the two parties need to work together so that we can help the child to behave well”.²²⁰

5.3 Achieving the ToC

This section investigates the outcomes and impacts of the Accra SPPC and analyses whether these differ according to social group. This addresses research question 2(b): Does the impact and success of GFP programming vary according to age, gender or religion? It also explores whether the ToC has been successfully implemented and whether the change envisioned has been brought about. First, this section analyses which behavioural changes all research participants perceive to have occurred in the TG members, including by the TG members themselves, and in BC peers, and whether these differ by categories of age, gender and religion. Next, the GFP programme’s impacts on the BC community, including BC peers and BC parents, and on teachers are examined. Finally, this section outlines the challenges and unanticipated outcomes of the programmes uncovered in the research which were not accounted for.

5.3.1 Behavioural Changes

- Perceptions of Behavioural Changes of TG members and BC Peers -

To uncover which behavioural changes had been noted in TG students, all research participants were asked what kind of behavioural changes they had noticed in TG members since the start of the

²¹⁵ Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015; Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²¹⁶ Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²¹⁷ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²¹⁸ Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²¹⁹ Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²²⁰ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

programme. The interviews and focus groups were coded by tallying the changes that were mentioned by participants without them having been stated by the interviewer (see Table 3.0). Changes that were discussed after research participants were explicitly asked about them are not included in the table. In some cases, the behavioural change was not explicitly stated but was inferred from the description.

Some behavioural changes are grouped together in Table 3.0. For example, as “greeting” others, especially elders, is considered a sign of respect in Ghanaian culture, this has been included within “increased respect”. In addition, the one mention of “teamwork” and of “sharing” is added within the category “greater co-operation”. Finally, “stopped bullying” includes mentions of “insults”, “teasing” and “violence”. “Stopped bullying”, which refers to TG members no longer bullying other students, is listed as a separate category to “conflict resolution”, where TG members intervene to solve other students’ conflicts, and “not retaliating”, which refers to students not reacting when students bullying them. Nevertheless, all three can be considered behavioural changes directly related to conflict transformation.

Ranking	Behavioural Change	Delegates	Stakeholders	BC Parents	TG	BC Peers	Total
1	Increased Respect	7	4	3	4	1	19
2	Increased Mixing ²²¹	8	2	0	4	0	14
2	Stopped Bullying	2	0	0	8	4	14
4	Taking Responsibility	5	1	2	2	1	11
4	Not Retaliating when Bullied	0	0	1	9	1	11
6	Greeting People More	2	1	2	4	1	10
7	Greater Confidence	2	2	1	1	2	8
7	Conflict Resolution ²²²	0	1	2	3	2	8
7	Greater Co-operation	1	1	1	5	0	8
10	Increased Calmness	0	2	2	1	2	7
11	Increased Tolerance	1	2	0	2	0	5
12	Controlling Temper Better	0	0	0	2	2	4
13	More Accepting	1	0	0	2	0	3
13	Increased Trust	1	0	0	2	0	3
13	Improved Academic Performance	0	0	3	0	0	3
16	Greater Inclusion	2	0	0	1	0	3
17	Greater Understanding	1	1	0	0	0	2
17	Helping Others More	0	0	0	2	0	2
19	Increased Communication	1	0	0	0	0	1
19	Increased Positivity	0	0	0	1	0	1

Table 3.0 Coded Behavioural Changes of TG²²³

²²¹ Refers to students from different social backgrounds (incl. age, gender, social class, religion) being willing to interact and mix together during or outside of GFP activities.

²²² Refers to interventions by TG when other students are bullying.

²²³ For the focus groups behavioural changes were counted only the first time they were mentioned.

Respect was the highest mentioned behavioural change, conveying that the ToC, which prioritises an increase in respect amongst the TG, has been largely achieved. Two Delegates explained that in response to reports received by teachers, more sessions were carried out on respect than initially planned. This conveys the dynamic nature of the programme's ToC, as the Delegates responded to the conflict context and external information. Research participants considered students to be more respectful in a range of environments, including towards other students, but also in the home, community and towards teachers and elders, conveying that the programme actually affected the BC as desired.

Nevertheless, increased respect also proved to be a problematic Expression of Change due to students confusing respect for elders with the legitimisation of bullying behaviour. For example, one student stated “the juniors too they don't respect the seniors so they [the seniors] have to bully them”.²²⁴ This view was repeated in two other focus groups, with one student claiming he engaged in conflict as “[the juniors] don't respect so you may be pushed into doing it”.²²⁵ In a fourth focus group one student justified their bullying by claiming that some students “don't respect themselves so you don't have to respect them”.²²⁶ This suggests that emphasising respect as an Expression of Change may have the opposite effect of enabling elder students to justify their dominance and authority, which is especially problematic considering the importance of age in influencing bullying.

In addition to increased respect, “increased mixing” was a highly mentioned consequence of the GFP programme. Increasing respect is shown in section 5.2.3 ‘Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion’ to be vital considering the unwillingness or fear of students from different social backgrounds to mix, including gender, age, social class, ethnicity and religion. Delegates and various TG members suggested this was no longer an issue in the programme as students become more willing to interact freely. One TG focus group agreed that this change was being achieved in the school in general, stating that before girls and boys would be teased for sitting together, but “now after this programme they are able to clear all those things from our head”.²²⁷ This conveys that the programme has initiated an important change to norms that proliferated conflict within the school community.

For the TG members, the most mentioned behavioural changes were related to decreases in bullying behaviour and not retaliating when other students bullied them, proving that for them the change envisioned by the ToC, decreasing bullying at St Peter's, is largely observed and enacted. A significant behavioural change experienced by the TG members and observed by all four respondent groups apart from the Delegates is resolving personal or other students' conflicts²²⁸. This may be due to the programme explicitly teaching students to mediate, however, it may also be the result of an increased social pressure on GFP students to act as role models which may be why Delegates are less aware of this outcome. This outcome is further explored in section 5.3.3 ‘Challenges and

²²⁴ TG focus group 2, 3 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

²²⁵ TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²²⁶ TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²²⁷ TG focus group 10, 2 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²²⁸ This refers to ‘stopped bullying’, ‘not retaliating’ and ‘conflict resolution’ in Table 3.0.

Unanticipated Outcomes'. Table 3.2 conveys that these conflict-resolving behaviours have also been passed on to BC peers which suggests that the programme has been effective in impacting the wider community and thus achieving its objective to "reduce bullying" at St Peter's.

Nevertheless, some focus groups also uncovered that some students still engage in conflictual or bullying behaviour. One female JHS TG member revealed that she had "stopped beating *some* of them"²²⁹, at which point other students in the focus group laughed. She then justified this by arguing "if I beat him he will not do it [make fun of me] again",²³⁰ revealing also that her bullying is violent. By laughing at this comment rather than criticising their peer for "beating" some students, the other focus group members fail to discourage conflictual behavior. The group dynamics therefore convey that in some cases those who do engage in bullying hold authority and are not criticised by other TG members. This finding also confirms girl-on-boy bullying which contradicts the perceptions of Delegates and Stakeholders. In one male JHS focus group a boy suggested that two participants in the focus group were still bullying. These two cases support the claim that the older age group is more challenging and the programme has been less effective on them.

Improved academic performance is a behavioural change considered to have occurred which is not one of the Expressions of Change explicitly addressed in GFP programming. This change was mentioned only by BC parents. This suggests they may have assumptions about the SPPC having academic aims, considering that section 5.1 'Shared Understandings of the ToC' showed that they are unclear about what the ToC is. Finally, increased confidence in school and at home was brought up by all groups, ranking 7th in Table 3.0. One student who felt that the programme had improved their confidence stated that before the programme "I was even afraid of my own relative"²³¹, and another stated about his first GFP session: "[a]t first I couldn't talk".²³² The findings in section 5.2.4 'Reasons for Bullying' showed that, according to research participants, timid students were more likely to be bullied, making increasing confidence an important outcome of the programme and contributor to implementing the ToC.

Table 3.1 illustrates the same results as Table 3.0 but listing only the Expressions of Change envisioned by the Accra SPPC. The GFP sessions were focused on these Expressions of Change and they were taught to all TG members. They therefore should be known to all Delegates and TG members. This table conveys that the Expressions of Change are most commonly mentioned by the Delegates and TG members in the interviews and focus groups, and not as often by Stakeholders and BC parents. The fact that they are mentioned more often by Delegates and TG members is likely due to the fact that they know what outcomes are expected from the programme and therefore are more likely to mention them. For the Stakeholders, this may reflect the fact that they are less aware of the programme's ToC and Expressions of Change. Instead, for the BC parents, it is likely due to the fact

²²⁹ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015; own emphasis.

²³⁰ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²³¹ TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²³² TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

that the three unmentioned Expressions of Change require witnessing the child's comportment with other students which is not likely for them as they do not attend the school.

Expression of Change	Delegates	Stakeholders	BC Parents	Target Group	BC Peers	Total
Developing Respect	7	4	3	4	1	19
Taking Responsibility	5	1	2	2	1	11
Fostering Cooperation ²³³	1	1	1	5	0	8
Building Acceptance	1	0	0	2	0	3
Ensuring Inclusion	2	0	0	1	0	3
Building Trust	1	0	0	2	0	3

Table 3.1 Coded Expressions of Change for TG

It is important to focus on all six Expressions of Change as the Accra SPPC sessions were constructed around these and they therefore inform programme goals, outputs and outcomes. Furthermore, as outlined in section 2.2 'ToC in GFP Programming', the other five behavioural changes contribute to achieving the main Expression of Change and thereby the ToC. According to Table 3.1, for all groups apart from the TG, "developing respect" is the most commonly noted change. "Taking responsibility" and "fostering cooperation" are also more successful, with TG members mentioning fostering cooperation the most. Although "ensuring inclusion", "building trust" and "building acceptance" are the least mentioned, building acceptance could have included "increased tolerance" and ensuring inclusion could have included "increased mixing" (see Table 3.0). This suggests that their lower ranking may be more related to the terminology used. Building trust is therefore the least mentioned behavioural change, which is supported by evidence from the focus groups and survey results suggesting that this expression has been the least realised, as will be outlined later.

Results for the BC peers' assessment of their own behavioural changes are also summarised in Table 3.2. Various changes were mentioned, with "stopped bullying" as being the most common. The fact that several behavioural changes were also noted by BC peers within themselves demonstrates that the GFP Accra programme has been successful in impacting a larger community as envisioned by the programme's ToC.

²³³ The one mention of 'teamwork' and of 'sharing' was added within this category.

Behavioural Change	Number of Mentions by BC peers
Stopped Bullying	2
Increased Confidence	1
Conflict Resolution	1
Increased Respect	1
Improved Academic Performance	1
Control Temper Better	1
Not retaliating when bullied	1
Greeting More	1

Table 3.2 Coded Behavioural Changes of BC Peers²³⁴

All these results were also compared between year and gender groups, however, there were found to be no significant differences in the behavioural changes mentioned. In the interviews, Delegates were asked whether they felt that students from certain social groups had responded differently to the programme and whether the outcomes differed by age, gender or religious groups. 88.9 per cent of Delegates stated that all social groups had responded to the programme in the same way. One Delegate stated that there had been challenges with the JHS group related to their absence from the programme for the 6 March cadet training,²³⁵ however, this difference does not directly relate to the programme itself. It can therefore be concluded that the overwhelming majority of Delegates did not view social groups as influencing the way that TG members had responded to the programme and therefore that outcomes do not differ by social group.

- Self-Assessment by TG Members -

The TG surveys contained close-ended questions (see Table 3.3) where students rated their behavioural changes from 1 (No) to 5 (Yes), with 3 being 'average'. These questions were selected to reflect elements of the ToC, the Expressions of Change and the outcomes envisioned by the programme with the aim of limiting the number of questions to make sure students could finish the surveys in 15 minutes. Shorter surveys were considered more effective and reliable as this ensures students have time to think over each question and respond honestly. Questions 1 to 3 are related to the Expressions of Change. Question 4 and 6 are linked to the ToC and the aim of decreasing bullying. Question 5 addresses the notion that timid students are often more affected by bullying. Finally, question 7 encompasses the ToC and the aim of ensuring that students from different social backgrounds can coexist peacefully.

The results are shown in Graphs 3.0-3.5, separated by year, gender and religious groups. For all groups '5' was the most common response. TG members therefore generally feel that their behaviour or attitude has changed significantly as a result of the programme. It is therefore evident that the programme was very successful in bringing about behavioural changes that relate to the Expressions of Change and ToC.

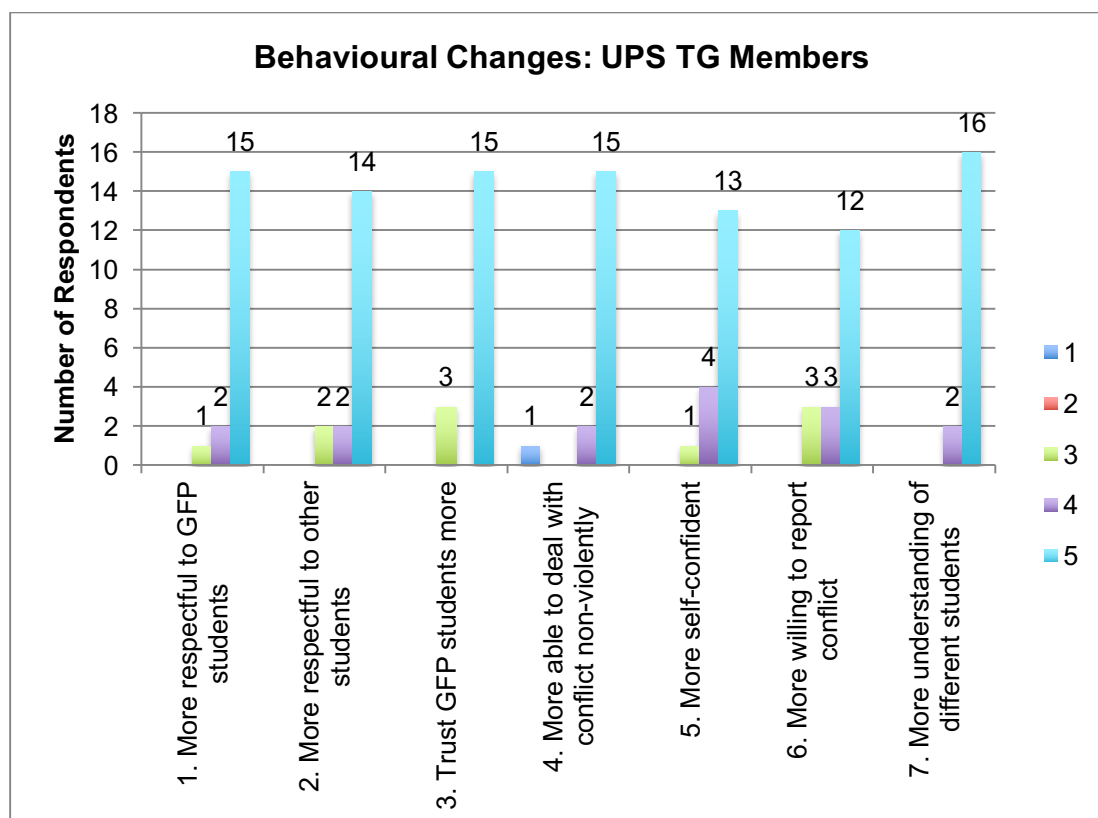
²³⁴ The moderator ran out of time for BC focus group 4 and was therefore not able to ask this question. The results are therefore from the first three focus groups.

²³⁵ Delegate follow-up interview 1, Accra, 10 July 2015.

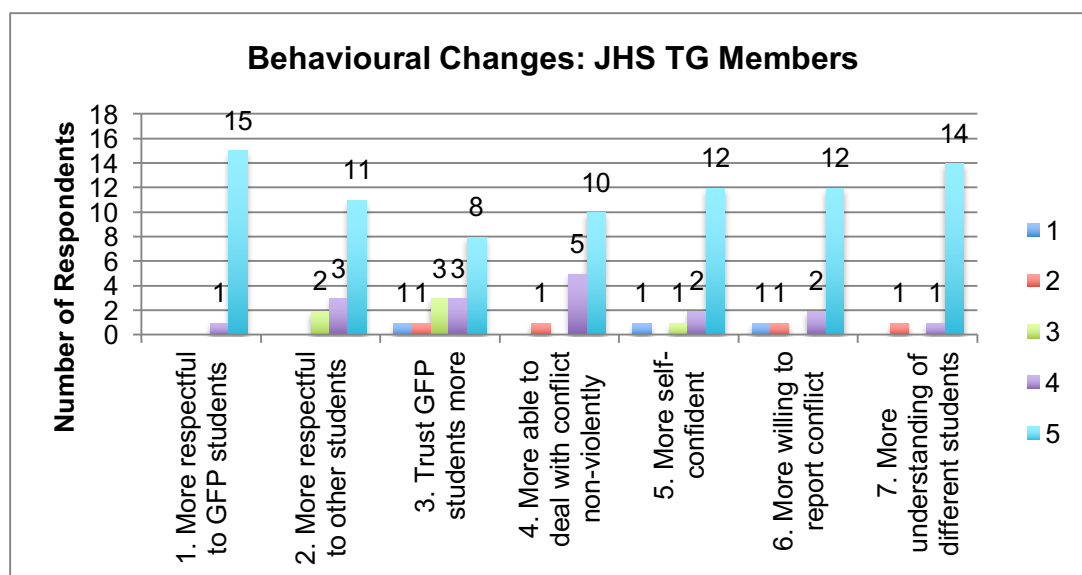
Number	Question
1	GFP programming has made me more respectful to other students on the programme.
2	GFP programming has made me more respectful to other students in school.
3	GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more.
4	GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way.
5	GFP programming has made me more self-confident.
6	GFP programming has made me more willing to report conflict when I see it.
7	GFP programming has made me more understanding of students that are different to me.

Table 3.3 Questions on Behavioural Changes in TG Surveys

It is evident from graphs 3.0 and 3.1 that UPS results are slightly higher than JHS students, confirming again that JHS students are a more challenging group. T-tests were conducted to analyse the difference in responses between different social groups. Between UPS and JHS students, it revealed a statistically significant difference in the means ($p = 0.034$) for responses to question 3: *GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more*. The mean for UPS (4.67) is higher than JHS (4) and the variance is lower conveying that this Expression of Change was more effective for UPS students. This supports the general finding that the programme was more effective for UPS students, and highlights that building trust is an Expression of Change that is particularly challenging for JHS students.

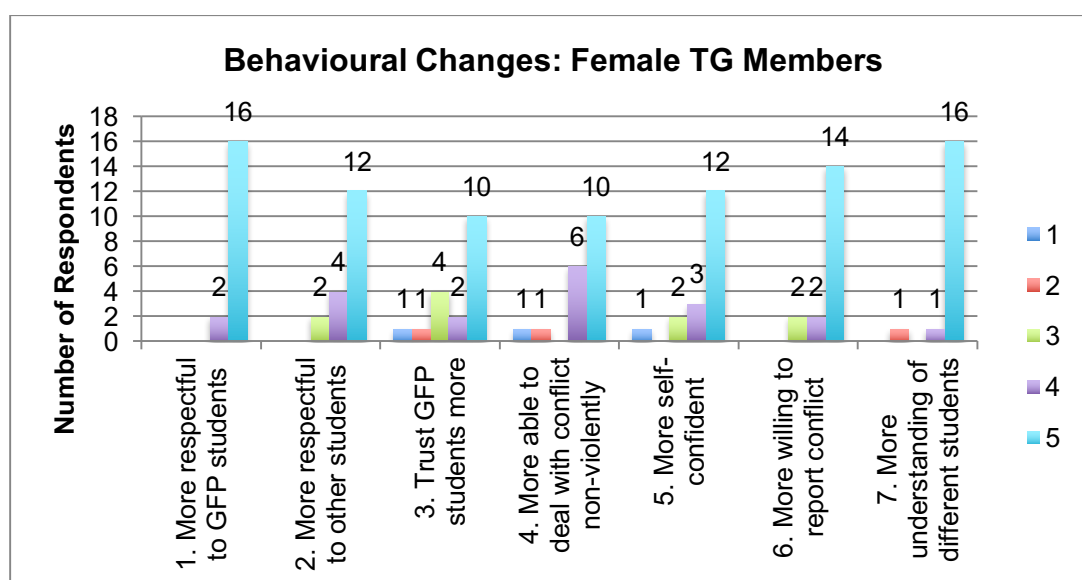


Graph 3.0



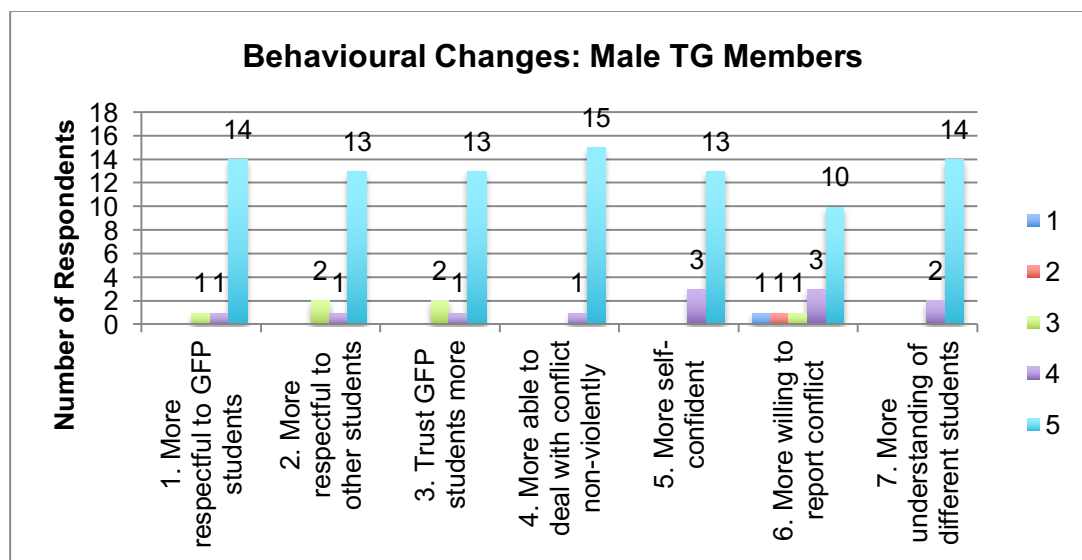
Graph 3.1

Graphs 3.2 and 3.3 show the results separated by gender groups. Again, there was a statistically significant difference in the means ($p = 0.043$) for Question 3, with males (4.68) higher than females (4.06). When the difference between gender groups was analysed within UPS and JHS groups, there was a significant difference ($p = 0.036$) between male JHS (4.83) and female JHS (3.5) students. The female JHS mean of 3.5 was the lowest out of all groups. This suggests that building trust was least effective for female students, especially JHS females.



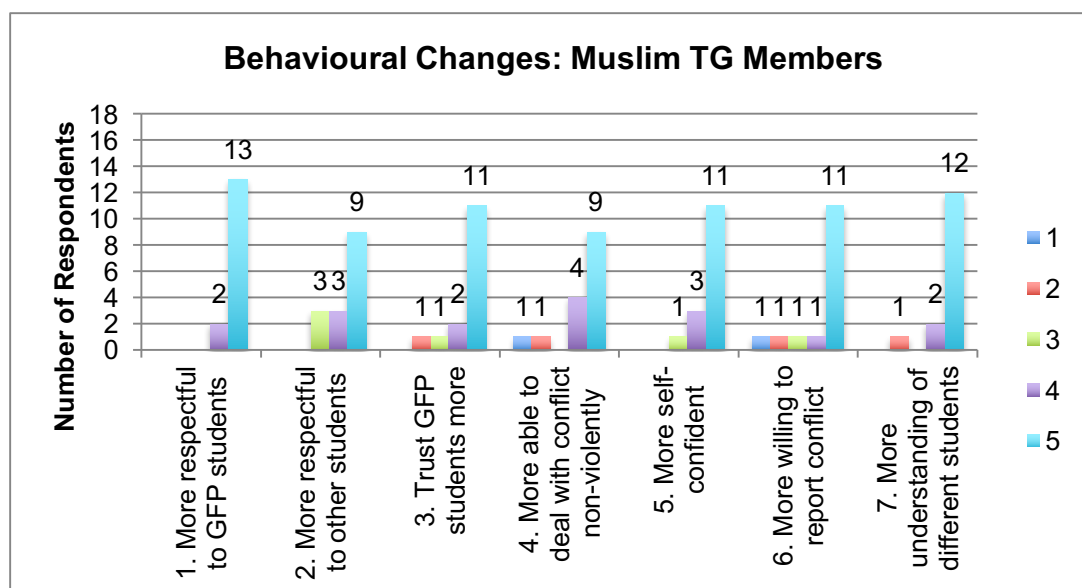
Graph 3.2

For Question 4, 'GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way', there was a significant difference ($p = 0.029$) between the means for female (4.28) and male (4.94) students. The largest statistically significant difference ($p = 0.027$) in means was between male JHS (5) and female JHS (4.2) students. The lower responses for females highly contradict assumptions by Delegates and Stakeholders that girls are not violent. It also contradicts some of the literature suggesting that bullying is more violent for boys (see Chapter 3). Nevertheless, the fact that all JHS males circled '5' may suggest a factor of social desirability. This should be considered for all JHS males as their responses tended to be very high even though the group dynamics and behaviour in the JHS male focus groups proved the most difficult and JHS male students appeared reluctant to discuss bullying, their behaviour and the outcomes of the GFP programme

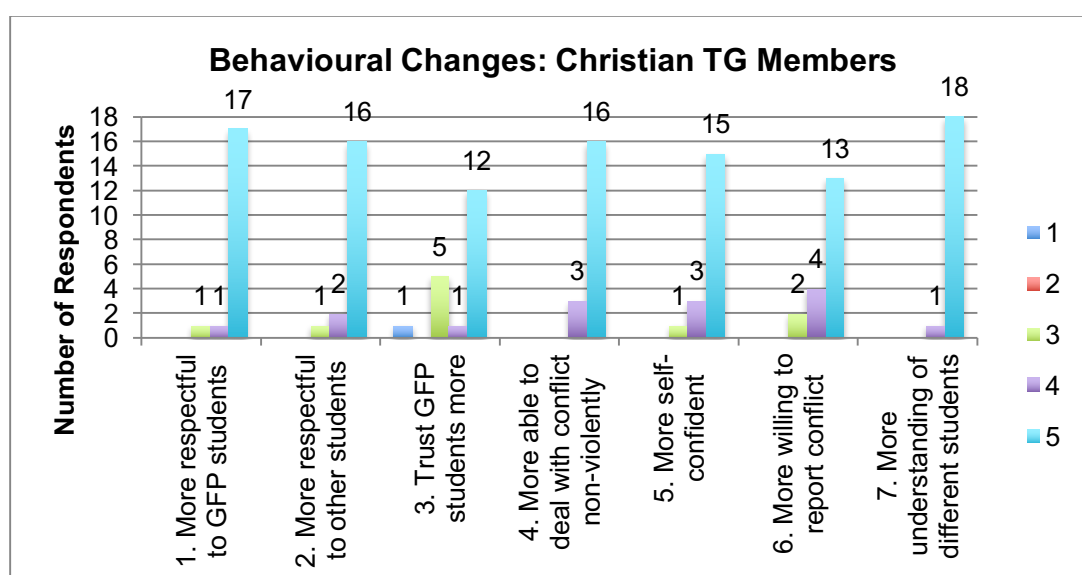


Graph 3.3

Finally, when separated by religion (Graphs 3.4 and 3.5), only Question 4 had a statistically significant difference between the means ($p = 0.049$). The mean was higher for Christians (4.84) than for Muslims (4.27). Generally, Muslim students gave slightly lower responses for most questions.



Graph 3.4

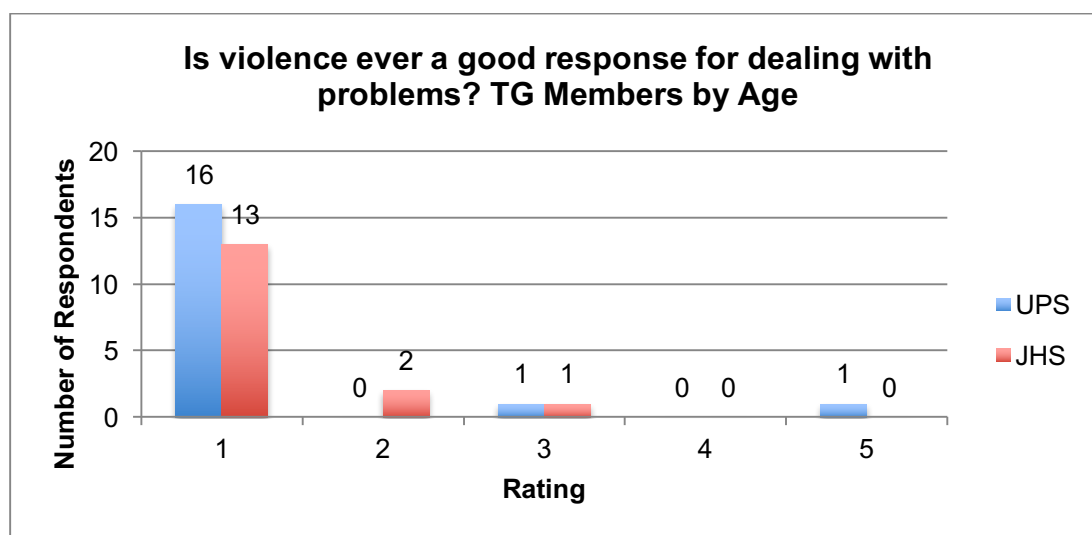


Graph 3.5

T-tests were carried out for all other questions, however, no statistical differences were found between age, gender and religious groups for questions other than 3 and 4. This suggests that in all questions apart from 3 and 4, social group does not significantly influence the outcomes of the programme. Instead, building trust proved to be a more challenging Expression of Change, especially for the older students and the females. This Expression of Change can be related to “gossiping”, which involves breaching trust, as the female JHS students also rated this as the most prevalent conflict (see Graph 2.5). This proves that female JHS students were less able to build trust as a result of the programme.

In the focus groups, trust was the issue that TG students most disagreed on, which is significant considering that it was very rare for students to disagree with one another in the focus groups. Students in six focus groups declared that they did not trust all students or that the GFP programme could work more on building trust. In one focus group, a JHS boy disclosed that he did not trust two students within the very same focus group.²³⁶ In three BC focus groups, students admitted that they still did not fully trust GFP members, with students declaring that “[m]ost of them are gossipers”²³⁷ or “[s]ome of them tell lies”.²³⁸ This demonstrates that the programme has not been able to fully address a lack of trust between students. This is important as building trust is considered to contribute to developing respect and therefore a proportion of the Accra SPPC sessions focused on trust.

The other question that has been shown to have had more varying responses and lower ratings was Question 4: ‘GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way’. The response to this question needs to be interpreted in conjunction with responses by TG members and BC peers to the survey question: ‘Is violence ever a good response for dealing with problems?’, where respondents were asked to rate the answer from 1 (No) to 5 (Yes) (Graphs 4.0 to 4.4).

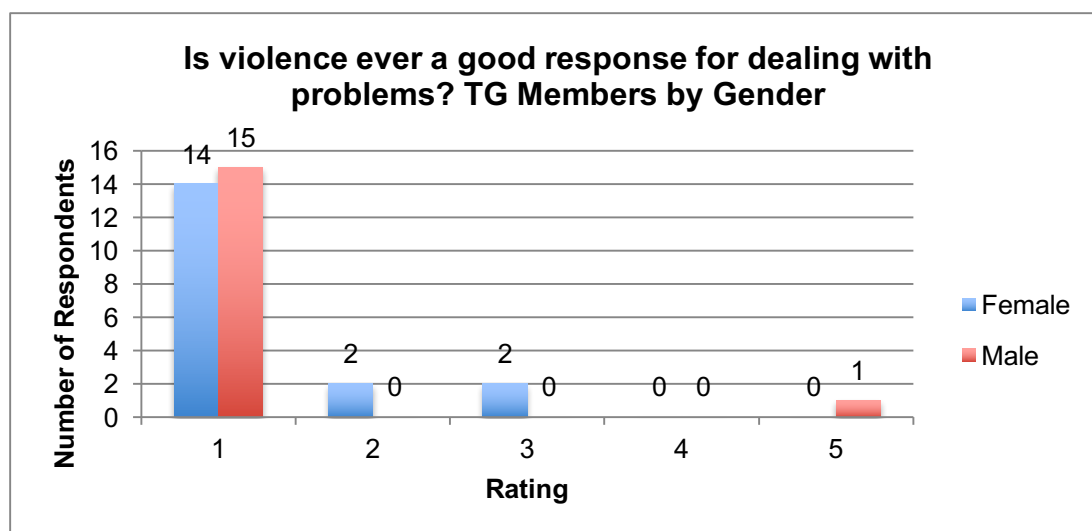


Graph 4.0

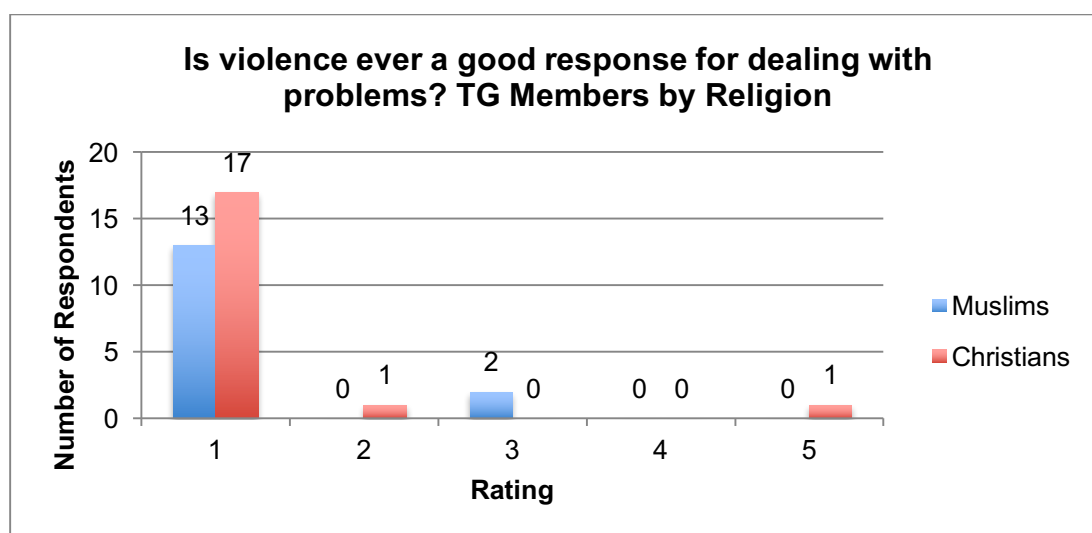
²³⁶ TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8th July 2015.

²³⁷ BC peers focus group 2, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

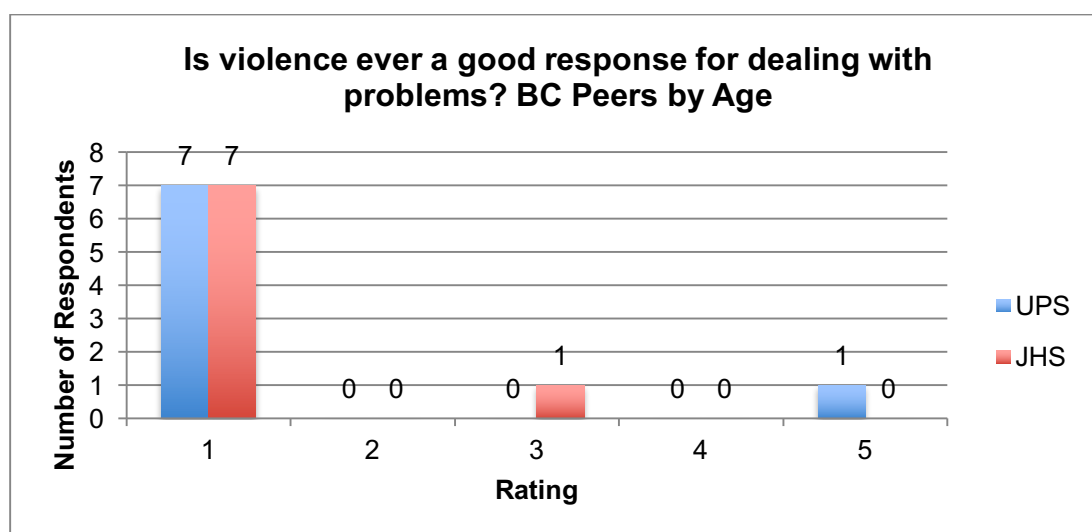
²³⁸ BC peers focus group 4, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.



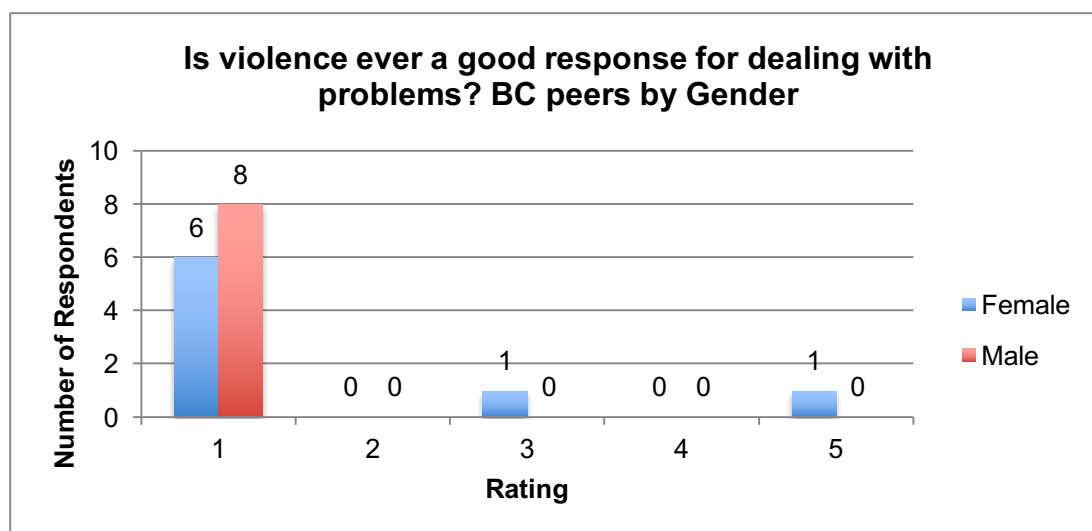
Graph 4.1



Graph 4.2



Graph 4.3



Graph 4.4

The answers tended to be very low for all respondents, averaging below 1.5 for all social groups. There were no major differences in the means for different age, gender or religious groups neither for TG members or BC peers. TG students and BC peers therefore do not view violence as an appropriate response for dealing with problems. Nevertheless, the responses may be shaped by social desirability. Furthermore, it is not evident whether the BC members are representative of the school and whether their attitude has changed due to the influence of the TG group. The responses therefore need to be treated with caution. Nevertheless, they demonstrate that students generally view violence as not being an appropriate response for dealing with problems.

The focus groups also shed light on the question of the use of violence by TG members or BC peers. From these survey responses it is evident that both groups of students know that the use of violence is unacceptable. Similarly, in the focus groups most students explained that they did not use violence, whilst some students admitted to having engaged in violent behaviour prior to the programme. One BC peer said he wanted to join the GFP programme because it would teach him how to resolve problems with peaceful solutions, which is confirmed by the results in Table 4.0, suggesting that this is something the GFP programme has taught other students.

Nevertheless, there were cases of students continuing to justify their violent behaviour, as has already been outlined in section 5.2.2 'Types of Conflict'. One student stated "I will only use it when they insult my parents"²³⁹ and another "sometimes I ask them to pick up [rubbish] and [they] don't pick then I use violence on them".²⁴⁰ Finally, some felt it was ok if violence was used in "self-defence".²⁴¹ It can therefore be concluded that students understand that it is wrong to use violence and it has been decreased as a result of the programme, however, it has not been fully eliminated by the programme amongst the TG members. Furthermore, the T-tests showed that the use of violence differs between

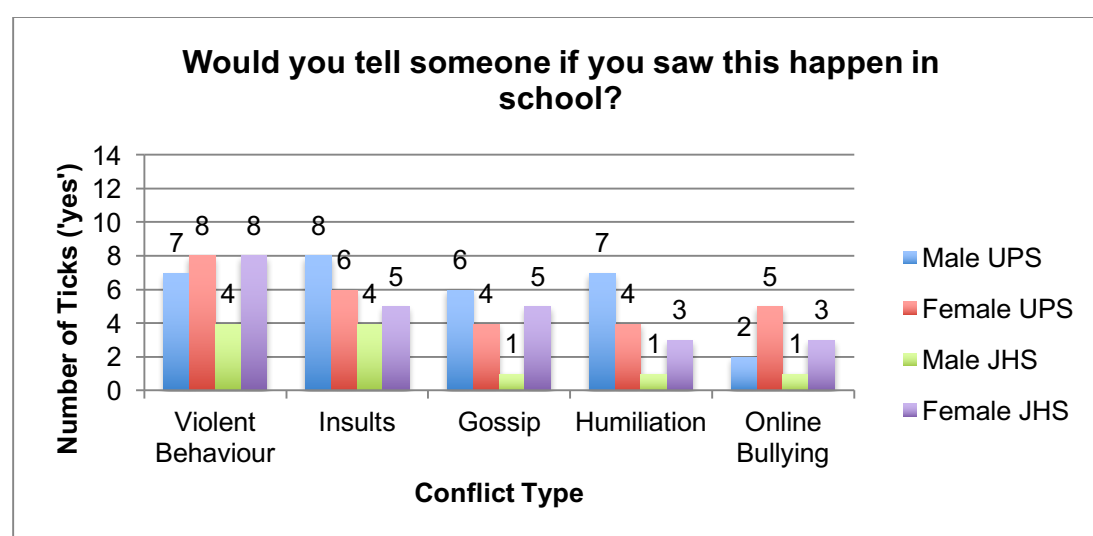
²³⁹ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁴⁰ TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁴¹ BC peers focus group 2, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

gender and religious groups which signifies that the aim of reducing bullying between students may relate differently to students from different social groups.

The research also investigated whether students were likely to report bullying. Although not mentioned in the ToC, the research provides insight on whether it was part of the implicit ToC, and whether increased confidence to report bullying is a programme outcome. Considering that increasing confidence has been found to be an implicit Expression of Change, confidence to report bullying may be a feature of this. TG and BC peers were asked the following question in the surveys: ‘*Would you tell someone if you saw this happen in school?*’, followed by a list of five options with boxes which had to be ticked for ‘Yes’ or left blank for ‘No’. The results for both TG and BC peers²⁴² are presented in Graph 5.0, which shows how many ticks each category received.



Graph 5.0²⁴³

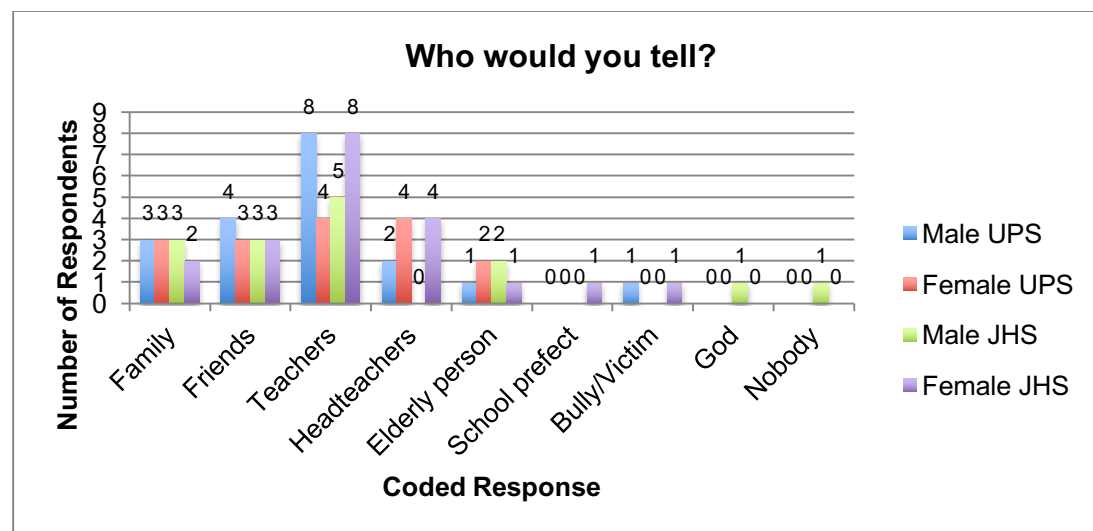
Graph 5.0 shows that UPS students were more likely to report conflict, however, the difference is less significant when BC peers are removed. Students are most likely to report violent behaviour, even though this is not considered the most prevalent conflict (see Graph 2.0). This suggests that violent conflict is considered the most serious conflict. The least likely to be reported is online bullying, which may be a consequence of it being considered the least common form of bullying (see Graph 2.0).

Figure 5.1 shows the coded results of which people students would report the incidence of bullying to. All students said they would report conflict apart from one male JHS student. Students were most likely to report conflict to teachers. However, it is likely that these survey results reflect a high level or social desirability considering some of the focus group responses. One BC peer said she does not report because “they [other students] will be like look at that girl, she was the one who went to

²⁴² The responses for TG and BC peers were grouped as there were no significant differences in the results.

²⁴³ For this question, the participants could choose more than one answer.

report".²⁴⁴ Others viewed intervention as a better response than reporting the conflict.²⁴⁵ Finally, one student felt teachers did not react when bullying was reported.²⁴⁶ Therefore, it is probable that students are not very confident to report bullying, notwithstanding the survey results.



Graph 5.1

- Reduction in Bullying at St Peter's -

This research explored perceptions on whether the aim to reduce bullying at St Peter's, which is articulated in the programme ToC, was achieved. 100 per cent of Delegates viewed bullying as having been reduced amongst GFP students, although one Delegate claimed bullying was never a problem amongst the TG.²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, Delegates were less sure about whether bullying had reduced in the school in general. 42.9 per cent of Key Stakeholders, which consists of the three Stakeholders who hold head positions in the school, claimed that bullying had reduced in the school in general.²⁴⁸ Within the focus groups, most students viewed bullying as having been reduced, however, one group claimed that JHS students were still bullying,²⁴⁹ reflecting the view that age determines bullying behaviour.

The TG surveys asked whether bullying by GFP students and within the school had reduced (Graphs 6.0 and 6.1). 88.2 per cent of TG members believe that bullying has decreased for GFP members and, 76.5 per cent feel that bullying has decreased in the school in general. The JHS males have equal 'yes' and 'no' answers for the first question, however, their predominantly positive responses to the second question undermine this result and conveys that some students may not have understood the question or answered it correctly. These results demonstrate that more students feel bullying by GFP members has decreased than by other students, however, the majority feel that bullying has reduced

²⁴⁴ BC peers focus group 3, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²⁴⁵ TG focus group 2, 3 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015; TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

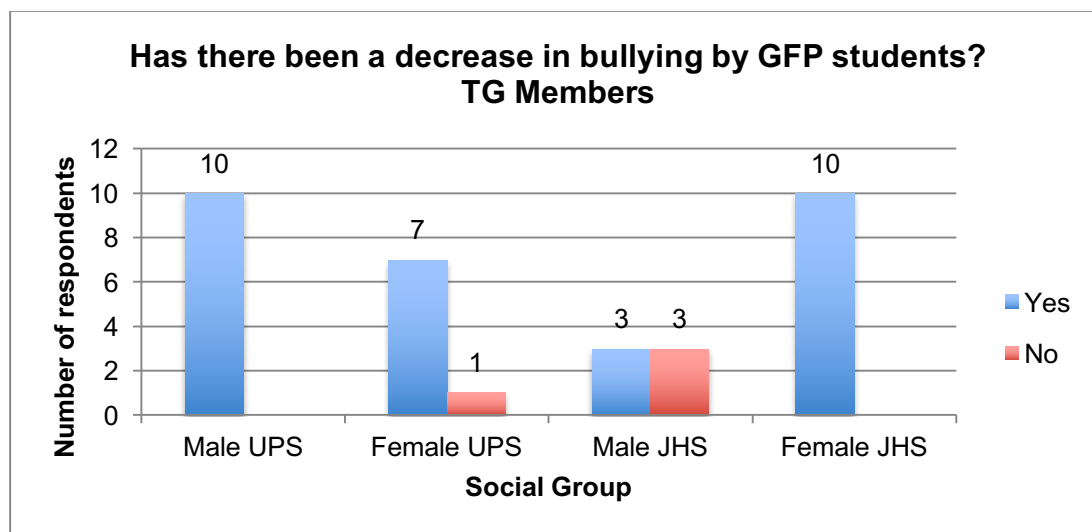
²⁴⁶ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁴⁷ Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

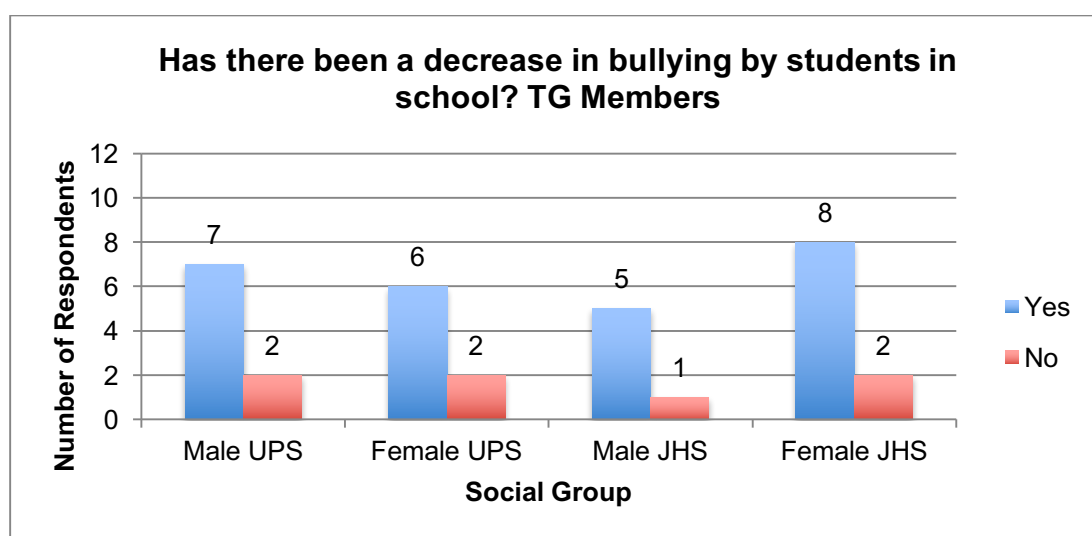
²⁴⁸ Stakeholder interview 1, Accra, 3 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 2, Accra, 3 July 2015; Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²⁴⁹ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

on both counts. This suggests that the ToC has been successful in achieving its objective. For BC members, 81.3 per cent of students felt that there had been a decrease in bullying by students in the school. None of the groups conveyed a great difference in responses by social group.



Graph 6.0



Graph 6.2²⁵⁰

5.3.2 Impact on BC Community and Stakeholders

- BC Peers -

Part of both the explicit and implicit ToC of the programme was impacting others beyond the TG students, including in the school, family, and community. To this end, TG members were encouraged within the programme to 'pass on' what they learnt to others. The focus group and survey results convey that this element of the programme was very successful. Delegates believed that the children

²⁵⁰ One UPS male did not answer this question.

were passing on the message, with one claiming that as a result “more than half the school know what the GFP is running”,²⁵¹ which is backed up by evidence that many students came to observe GFP sessions. Furthermore, Delegates and Stakeholders claimed that students were teaching their friends what they had learnt, with some BC parents also declaring that TG members were passing on the message to their siblings.²⁵² One Stakeholder even claimed that TG members were “passing it on to the teachers”.²⁵³

TG members themselves alleged to have discussed the programme with others, with 94.1 per cent of students answering ‘yes’ in the survey to the question: ‘*Have you discussed the programme with students in school that are not in the programme?*’ The two students that answered ‘no’ were JHS male, totalling one-third of this social group, again reflecting challenges of the JHS group. When asked: ‘*How many?*’, the average of all numbers totaled 5. It is important to note that this number does not include those in the community or at home, with whom many TG members claimed to discuss GFP as well. One BC member stated “they always talking about what [the Delegates] have been teaching them”.²⁵⁴ Many BC members declared an interest in joining GFP, with Table 4.0 conveying the main reasons they wanted to join.

Reason	Number of Respondents
To learn about/promote peace	7
To change behaviour	3
For the activities	3
Saw impact on GFP friend	2
To learn how to deal with problems	1
Pass on message	1
To help others	1
The programme is educative	1

Table 4.0 BC Peers Reasons for Wanting to Participate in GFP

TG students admitted that at times passing on the message was difficult, “[s]ometimes they don’t want to listen, they think it’s boring”,²⁵⁵ however, they felt it was important to continue trying to spread the messages they had learnt in the GFP activities and convince others to change their bullying behaviour. In fact, one TG student felt that this was a main aim of GFP: “it was a project like we should spread what they teach us in GFP”.²⁵⁶ In the focus groups, BC peers referred to numerous examples of TG members using what they had learnt in the GFP sessions to transform the conflict in their school. In one interesting case BC students referred to attempts by GFP members to change the behaviour of a bully who was not in the TG: “the GFP members who are in his class are trying to help

²⁵¹ Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²⁵² BC parents interview 7, Accra, 8 July 2015; BC parents interview 8, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁵³ Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²⁵⁴ BC peers focus group 1, 4 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁵⁵ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁵⁶ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

this guy to promote peace”.²⁵⁷ This conveys that TG members are actively promoting GFP message and the purpose of the ToC beyond the immediate TG by influence conflicts within the school and aiming to change the behaviour of others.

- BC Parents -

This research evaluated whether BC parents were satisfied with their level of involvement in the programme. It is important to analyse the perspective and involvement of the BC parents as section 5.2.4 ‘Reasons for Bullying’ has shown that students’ situation at home contributes to shaping their bullying behaviour. This research evaluated whether BC parents were satisfied with their level of involvement. The BC parent interviews uncovered a need for more and better communication with parents. According to the Delegates, parents were sent a letter at the start of the programme, requesting their consent, and more letters throughout the programme. Furthermore, parents were “invited to come and witness certain sessions”.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, 75 per cent of parents claimed that they had found out about the programme through their child, whilst only 25 per cent suggested they first found out about it through a letter. Two parents maintained that they had only heard the week²⁵⁹ or two weeks before²⁶⁰. One parent stated that “I think most parents are not aware of this programme”.²⁶¹

However, it was discovered during several interviews that several parents do not play a large role in their child’s life. For example, in two cases the TG children did not live with the parents interviewed but with their grandparent. In other cases the parents claimed to be too busy at work to have discussed the programme with their child. This finding would explain why many parents did not have information about the GFP programme as they may not be knowledgeable about their children’s life at school. Furthermore, this could support a claim made by several Delegates in their interviews that parents do not read the letters.

A lack of adequate communication from Delegates was considered by some parents to justify their lack of involvement in the programme. On this issue Delegates recognised that an improvement would be necessary and possible. One parent asserted that he “was not invited, even once to the programme”²⁶² which directly contradicts the statement by Delegates that they were invited to all sessions. This particular parent was very critical about his lack of involvement and made several suggestions for improvement, such as: receiving more detailed information on the programme, including session outlines and objectives, and feedback on their child’s performance. Two other parents supported this need for further information²⁶³. The first parent also suggested that parents could be more involved in monitoring their child’s progress. He proposed devising a questionnaire on students’ behaviour both for the parents and teachers at the start of the programme to help track their

²⁵⁷ TG focus group 2, 3 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

²⁵⁸ Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015.

²⁵⁹ BC parents interview 4, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁶⁰ BC parents interview 5, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁶¹ BC parents interview 1, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁶² BC parents interview 1, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁶³ BC parents interview 6, Accra, 7 July 2015; BC parents interview 8, Accra, 8 July 2015.

progress. Two other parents suggested greater participation of parents in the programme activities themselves.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, considering the opposing answers given by Delegates and BC parents, it is not clear to what extent parents have actually been involved and the level of information they have received.

- Teachers -

Many research participants highlighted the programme's impact on children's attitudes in the classroom. Moreover, it was suggested that teachers have or could benefit from the programme, which builds on the previous finding in section 5.2.2 'Types of Conflict' that teacher-student conflicts prevail in the school. One Delegate who is a teacher in the school claimed "the teacher can learn a lot as well as the student",²⁶⁵ with a second believing that this is already happening²⁶⁶. One Stakeholder even went as far as claiming that 'bullying' by teachers has decreased²⁶⁷ as they no longer shout or beat children but respect them instead.

Nevertheless, one Delegate felt that teachers should be more involved and are "not fully aware of what GFP stands for".²⁶⁸ Similarly, one parent who is a teacher in the school felt that he should not be hearing about GFP from students, arguing that "[t]ogether with the children, we the teachers can help promoting that peace".²⁶⁹ This suggests that the programme has impacted some teachers and involving them more will enhance the programme and address the teachers' role in teacher-student conflicts.

5.3.3 Challenges and Unanticipated Outcomes

Several programme outcomes were unaccounted for in the Accra SPPC's Programming Framework. One such outcome was the increased pressure and expectations on both Delegates and TG members to act as GFP role models. One Delegate who teaches at the school claimed that other teachers in the school "expect more from us" and "want to use you as a yardstick".²⁷⁰ According to him the same effect was visible for students, as the expectations of teachers for the TG were higher. Similarly, several TG members brought up that it was harder for them to retaliate against or engage in bullying as other students judge them by their membership in GFP. One TG member stated "I saw him shout at his friend...and I was like, 'Eihh! A member of GFP'".²⁷¹ This demonstrates that the TG member capitalised on the other students' membership in the GFP programme to stop them from engaging in conflictual behaviour. GFP therefore acted as a kind of watchdog. One Stakeholder claimed a bully "now has to look over his shoulder because eyes are watching".²⁷²

²⁶⁴ BC parents interview 4, Accra, 6 July 2015; BC parents interview 7, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁶⁵ Delegate follow-up interview 1, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²⁶⁶ Delegate follow-up interview 2, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²⁶⁷ Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

²⁶⁸ Delegate follow-up interview 2, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²⁶⁹ BC parents interview 5, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁷⁰ Delegate follow-up interview 1, Accra, 10 July 2015.

²⁷¹ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁷² Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Generally this is a positive impact as GFP prevented students from engaging in or reacting to bullying merely through its reputation. Responses from BC parents also conveyed the role of GFP's reputation in reducing bullying behaviour. One parent said "once you come to tell me about peace I have to judge you about what you tell me",²⁷³ with another stating she often told her child "you say you are Generations For Peace, see the way you are behaving?".²⁷⁴ This is important for the ToC model as it suggests that the mere participation in GFP fosters change. Nevertheless, TG members also feel this has negative effects in terms of enabling other students to "control" them²⁷⁵. This reputation also makes some GFP students feel entitled to control other people's behaviour. In one case a student said, "somebody did something good to her...and she didn't say thank you and I hit her and said, 'You should say thank you'".²⁷⁶

Another unanticipated outcome was the emergence of new forms of bullying since the GFP programme started. According to several TG students, non-TG students often tease them through name-calling, such as calling GFP "Generator for Light" and "Generations for War". One reason given for this was "[t]hey were jealous"²⁷⁷ which was supported by another student who claimed that her friend called her annoying because she had a GFP cap and shirt²⁷⁸. This suggests that the branding or exclusivity of GFP may have had the negative effect of facilitating the emergence of new forms of teasing. One TG member even suggested that "[s]ometimes it really gets too much. They say it a lot".²⁷⁹ This conveys the need for a dynamic ToC that takes into account a shifting conflict context. Interestingly, none of the Delegates brought this up in their interviews, even when directly asked whether there was any tension between GFP and non-GFP students.

Linked to this emerging tension was the exclusivity of the programme to 40 students. The three headteacher Stakeholders noted this as the biggest shortcoming of the programme. A quarrel emerged with one of these Stakeholders at the beginning of the programme who stated: "Initially, I did not want to give my consent because of the number of children involved".²⁸⁰ Nevertheless, all three Stakeholders expressed in the interview that they understood the necessity of restricting the first year of the programme to 40 students. Furthermore, it was evident from interviews and focus groups that a real effort had been made to involve these peers through other means, such as observing the sessions.

The programme's exclusivity was also manifested in the provision of GFP T-shirts, caps and refreshments during every session. A positive outcome was that it helped to raise the profile of the programme. Delegates mention that the outdoor activities attracted students due to the merchandise:

²⁷³ BC parents interview 5, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁷⁴ BC parents interview 6, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²⁷⁵ TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁷⁶ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁷⁷ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁷⁸ TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

²⁷⁹ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁸⁰ Stakeholder interview 1, Accra, 3 July 2015.

“the whole school comes out to see, especially when they are in their T-shirts”.²⁸¹ However, students raised the issue that some GFP students either boasted about these perks or claimed to attend the GFP sessions just for the refreshments. This issue was raised in 50 per cent of BC and 20 per cent of TG focus groups. In one BC peers focus group, it was claimed that GFP students “just come and [they will] be drinking into our faces”,²⁸² suggesting that TG members showed off about their refreshments. Sometimes this provocation was even framed in socio-economic terms: “they come like, ‘you can’t afford this’”.²⁸³ Some BC peers claimed that for this reason they would be less willing to join the Accra SPPC.

From within the TG group, one student stated that “some people in GFP, they want to come here because...after every lesson they give us some treats”.²⁸⁴ In another TG group a student actually admitted that this was a reason for him coming to the meetings.²⁸⁵ Finally, in a different TG focus group it was claimed that a male GFP member claiming to be part of GFP solely for refreshments was one of those who used the “Generations for War” insult.²⁸⁶ All specific examples brought up involved male students, which may reflect they are less engaged in the GFP programme. These issues convey that the branding and exclusive nature of GFP may be counterproductive in some respects and create new conflicts within the student body.

²⁸¹ Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015.

²⁸² BC peers focus group 2, 4 participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²⁸³ BC peers focus group 2, 4 participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

²⁸⁴ TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

²⁸⁵ TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

²⁸⁶ TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

6. Conclusion

This research has investigated whether the ToC utilised by the GFP Accra SPPC is relevant to the conflict context and whether it has been successfully implemented. More broadly, it has analysed the extent to which bullying at St Peter's is differentiated by social groups, and whether or how the ToC and programme has incorporated these considerations. It has also investigated the extent to which the outcomes of the GFP programme, in the form of behavioural changes, differed by social group.

This section evaluates the findings in relation to the research questions, and concludes the research by providing recommendations. First, this section reviews the findings on whether there is a uniform understanding by research participants of the ToC and the conflict context. Next, it explores to what extent the ToC is relevant to the conflict context, addressing research question 2(c): *'Is the Theory of Change appropriate to the conflict context when broken down by social groups?'* Subsequently, this section investigates research question 2(d): *'Does the programme require multiple Theories of Change?'* and 4(a): *'What does this teach us about the relevance and framing of the Theory of Change model more generally?'* Finally, concluding recommendations are presented in line with research question 3(a): *'What could have made the Theory of Change or results more successful?'* and to respond to the findings outlined in this research.

6.1 Evaluating the GFP Accra Programme's ToC

6.1.1 Awareness of the ToC and Conflict Context

This research uncovered that Delegates have a uniform understanding of the ToC used by the Accra SPPC, with 88.9 per cent stating that the ToC was to reduce bullying at St. Peter's. Furthermore, Delegates agreed that developing respect was at the programme core and the most vital tool for reducing conflict – which is perfectly in line with the designated ToC. Nevertheless, the findings also conveyed disagreements in terms of whether the ToC was achieved or remained relevant to the conflict context. Unlike the Delegates, the research revealed that the BC parents and Stakeholders had a more limited understanding of the ToC, with only 42.9 per cent of Stakeholders and 37.5 per cent of BC parents referring to reducing bullying as the objective. Furthermore, only 25 per cent of Stakeholders and 37.5 per cent of BC parents identified developing respect as part of the programme goals when asked. This potentially reduced their ability to support the programme's ToC and to observe the relevant behavioural changes. TG member and BC peers unanimously agreed that the programme aimed to promote peace, however, only 10 per cent of TG members and 25 per cent of BC peers mentioned bullying as the conflict that was being tackled.

The research elucidated that perceptions of the conflict context, including the type of bullying, the extent to which it prevails, and the groups affected, vary significantly between and within research participant groups. These diverging perceptions necessitate increased monitoring of and dialogue on the conflict context between the programme Delegates, Stakeholders, TG members and BC

community. Only 12.5 per cent of BC parents recognised that bullying was a problem in the school, and 42.9 per cent of Key Stakeholders did not view it as a major problem in the school. This is problematic considering that the programme's main objective was to reduce bullying.

The TG member and BC peers survey results suggested that verbal bullying was the most prevalent, making up 80.6 per cent of bullying affecting students (Graph 2.0), which confirmed the Delegates' emphasis on the greater prevalence of verbal bullying. Nevertheless, the significance given to violent bullying by the students in both the surveys and focus groups contradicted the view of the majority of Delegates (55.6 per cent) that violent behaviour is not a significant problem at St Peter's. Furthermore, the survey and focus group responses disproved the normative claims by Delegates and Stakeholders that violence chiefly affects males. There no significant difference between gender groups in terms of whether students perceived violent bullying to be a problem (Graph 2.0) or whether they were personally affected (Graph 2.1), and, in fact, the programme was shown to be less effective for girls in terms of whether students were more able to deal with conflict non-violently (Graph 3.2).

Age, gender, religious, socio-economic and ethnic dynamics all influence bullying at St Peter's. The finding of bullying based on religion, which was mentioned in 50 per cent of TG focus groups, was important considering that very few Delegates (22.2 per cent) and Stakeholders (0 per cent) viewed religious conflict to be a problem. The majority of research participants agreed that year group or age was a major determining factor influencing bullying, with results showing that younger students were most affected by bullying. However, these dynamics need to be considered in combination with size and stature, which was shown to intersect with age to impact bullying behaviour. This supports the literature on bullying in Ghana reviewed in Chapter 3. In terms of the prevalence of intra- or inter-gender bullying, Delegates and Stakeholders have extremely diverging views that largely contrast with those of students. For the students it was shown that boys and girls view their own gender to be the most affected. Most problematically, Delegates and Stakeholders have some normative assumptions about the gendered dynamics of bullying.

Considering the important role of social categories in shaping the conflict context, some of which the Delegates are not fully aware of, it is important that the ToC accounts for all of these dynamics. The Accra programme's ToC was uniformly applied to all TG members. This is consistent with the very aim of the ToC to improve relations between students from different backgrounds and bridge these social dynamics. To this end, inclusion and the mixing of students from different backgrounds was considered an important outcome for Delegates. Nevertheless, considering the variety of different conflicts and role of intersecting social identities in shaping the experiences of students, this research evaluated whether this uniform ToC was appropriate by analysing the outcomes and impacts of the programme.

6.1.2 Relevance of ToC to the Conflict Context

The Accra programme proved very successful in attaining the behavioural changes envisaged by the ToC. Developing respect was considered to be the most successful and widespread behavioural change by research participants, which involved the improvement of students' relations with each other, their teachers and their family. However, the research uncovered that there are also difficulties with developing respect as older students at times justified their bullying behaviour towards younger students on this basis. This suggests a need to perhaps use a different approach with older students for this Expression of Change. Furthermore, some students felt that they could not respect their teachers because of the fact that teachers were considered to on occasion maltreat their students. This reflected the finding in section 5.2.2 'Types of Conflict' that student-teacher conflicts were prevalent at St Peter's and experiences of this conflict varied by gender and religion. This necessitates the greater involvement of teachers in the programme, as will be highlighted in section 6.3 'Programme Recommendations', to foster improved relations and reciprocal respect between teachers and students.

The 'mixing' of students from different social backgrounds was a highly successful outcome of the programme, with "increased mixing" ranking second in Table 3.0, suggesting that the ToC's effort to bring social groups together was effective. This was important given a fear of or unwillingness of students from different age, gender and even in some cases religious backgrounds to mix, which was identified in section 5.2.3 'Role of Social Groups: Age, Gender and Religion' to occur both within the TG at the start of the GFP programme and in the school in general. Increased mixing of boys and girls in the school as a result of the programme, which the research revealed, shows that the ToC is changing cultural gender norms in which boys and girls are expected to associate with students of their own gender and lack understanding of each others' experiences.

In terms of students' self-assessment, the outcomes of the programme were relatively similar for all age, religious and gender groups. Nevertheless, building trust and solving conflict non-violently were responses that differed most between age, gender and religious groups, suggesting that a further emphasis on these particular behavioural changes is needed (Graphs 3.0-3.5). The research also uncovered that building confidence was part of the implicit ToC and an important outcome (Table 3.0). This was especially useful for some of the smaller and younger students and is therefore of great relevance to conflict context where the intersection of age and size elicits bullying.

There is a consensus amongst Delegates, TG members and BC peers that bullying has decreased as a result of the programme, reflecting that the change envisioned in the ToC is being successfully achieved. Stopping and preventing bullying is something that is being passed on to other students in the BC community by the TG members, suggesting that the programme was very successful in impacting the broader community and implementing change beyond the immediate TG. However, the findings also revealed that the older students were more challenging with regards to this outcome, with

some admitting to still bullying. This is problematic considering that seniors are more likely to bully the juniors than vice versa.

One element of the conflict context that was not taken into account in the ToC was the potential for the emergence of new conflicts as a result of the GFP programme. The research revealed that GFP students were experiencing bullying such as teasing or name-calling as a result of their membership in the GFP programme, and the Delegates did show awareness of this in interviews. Furthermore, tensions were evident between students as a result of the exclusivity or 'branding' of GFP. Although on the one hand the GFP name and reputation is putting pressure on GFP students to act as role models, on the other hand it is creating feelings of resentment towards these students. This suggests that the conflict context has shifted in response to the GFP programme.

6.2 ToC as a Programming Tool: the Prospect for Multiple ToCs

This research therefore uncovered significant findings for answering the question of whether a conflict that is informed by social group dynamics necessitates the formulation of multiple ToCs. It has been manifested that religious, age, gender and other social difference shape the conflict and the experiences of the victims and bullies. Nevertheless, it has also been conveyed that these intersecting social groups work in conjunction with each other to produce vulnerabilities. Ultimately, all research participant groups largely perceive that the objectives of bringing students from different social backgrounds together and reducing bullying in the school are being achieved. This suggests that a single ToC is appropriate to the conflict context and relevant to all social groups. The utility of the ToC model is confirmed by the success of the programme outcomes and impacts.

Nevertheless, it has been shown that for some behavioural changes the outcomes are shaped by age, religion and gender. The GFP Accra programme utilised the six GFP Expressions of Change, as outlined in section 2.3 'Generating Behavioural Change in the Accra SPPC' to influence their session design, activities and objectives to work towards implementing the ToC. The research has conveyed that some of these were less successful for certain social groups, building trust was more challenging for females, and developing respect was more challenging for JHS students. The Expression of Change desired by the programme, developing respect, therefore needs to be addressed in different ways for JHS and UPS students since their understandings and behaviours differ. Furthermore, session designs on building trust, which were aimed to enable students to develop respect, require targeted interventions for female JHS students.

Aside from a need to engage more critically with the role of social groups in impacting behavioural changes, it is also important that ToCs are not informed by normative assumptions. For example, Delegates and Stakeholders and some students viewed bullying based on religion not to be a problem at St Peter's partly due to a wider belief or assumption that religious conflict was not a problem in Ghanaian society. One potential way in which this may have to be addressed is for the programme to take on volunteers from different religious denominations, considering that all the Delegates are

currently Christian. Furthermore, the assumption that girls do not bully boys or that female bullying is less violent will similarly obscure the reality of the conflict context. Potential shared assumptions therefore need to be taken into account when devising the ToC.

Although the prospect of devising multiple ToCs has been discarded in favour of addressing social group differences within the Expressions of Change, the research nevertheless supports the use of the ToC as a dynamic tool. A dynamic ToC would consider that the programme has permitted the emergence of new conflicts, and, furthermore, that it is placing an unanticipated expectation on students to improve their behaviour.

6.3 Programme Recommendations

Based on the research findings and evaluations, the following recommendations can be made for enhancing the GFP SPPC in Accra's ToC, scope and activities:

- 1) Increasing the programme's focus on two of the Expressions of Change – building trust and developing respect** – taking into account that these behavioural changes are impacted by gender, for trust, and age, for respect. This could involve:
 - Carrying out more sessions and activities which focus on building trust and developing respect.
 - Teaching students within these sessions that respect is reciprocal in nature and that age does not justify the 'enforcement' of respect.
 - Running more sport-related activities that build trust between students.
 - Having a discussion session which explores gossiping and its impacts.
- 2) Integrating 'building confidence'** more explicitly into the programme's goals and activities, to amplify the successes already experienced. This may include:
 - Incorporating drama and the arts into the sessions to improve confidence through public speaking and exploring alternative avenues for expression such as poetry.
 - Using 'building confidence' as an Accra-specific Expression of Change. This may require increasing the flexibility of GFP's Expressions of Change model to allow local programmes to adopt one additional Expressions of Change which fits the conflict context.
- 3) Focusing more deeply on engaging the JHS group**, which proved to be the most challenging and likely to bully.
 - Including sessions for only JHS students with a focus on building respect towards younger students.
- 4) Increasing the involvement of teachers**, considering that the programme has the potential to address this conflict using the same tools. This could involve:

- Informing all teachers in the school about the GFP programme and its ToC.
- Having specific sessions that other teachers can join or even lead.
- Involving teachers in the evaluation of their students before and after the programme, such as through surveys or by including them in participatory observation.

5) Extending the involvement of BC parents. This could involve:

- Giving out more information about the programme, including session outlines and objectives.
- Corresponding with parents via telephone communication as well as letters, which proved largely unread.
- Involving parents in the evaluation of their children through a questionnaire before and after the programme, allowing parents to give more feedback on their child's performance.

6) Providing more information to Key Stakeholders about the programme's ToC, including session outlines and objectives, and a clear definition of what a ToC is and summary of the Accra programme's ToC in writing.

7) Discussing and coming to a conclusive understanding amongst Delegates about the conflict context. This would encompass:

- Coming to an agreement before the programme starts on the type of bullying that is prevalent (violent or verbal) and which students are affected (age, religion and gender dynamics). This analysis and dialogue would have to be continuous in order to respond to changes in the conflict.
- Having Delegates debrief after every few sessions on potential shifts in the conflict context and the continued relevance of the ToC, and recording this.
- Including an ideological "Risks and Assumptions" section within the ToC and conflict context section of the M&E grid. Encouraging Delegates to consider cultural, gender and religious assumptions which may inform their understanding of the conflict context.

8) Undertaking further research on the effects and extent of bullying between students based on religion, to ensure that this type of bullying is acknowledged and tackled by the programme.

A greater focus on religion could involve:

- Making sure that some Delegates are of a Muslim denomination or otherwise involving Muslim teachers in the programme to improve the religious balance of programme deliverers.
- Incorporating a discussion of religious bullying and allowing students to express their experiences as part of a session.

- Carrying out an activity similar to the 'name game' where students talk about their religious backgrounds.

9) Fostering more understanding and awareness between students of the experiences of students of other ages, genders or religions. This corresponds to the findings that each gender felt they were more affected by bullying, that mainly Muslim students brought up the issue of bullying based on religion, and that some older students felt that a lack of respect from younger students justified bullying. Possible methods include:

- Devising a role playing activity whereby students have to change their age, gender or religion, ask each other about their experiences and try to respond and then discussing the findings and challenges with the group.

10) Expanding the programme to include elements of the Art For Peace Programme (ARPP) curriculum. In particular, drama may be a useful way to bridge the gap between some Delegates' preferences for more sport activities against the preference of others for more dialogue.

11) Maintaining a dynamic ToC that accounts for changes in the conflict context. This could involve:

- Including within the M&E grid dates or milestones at which the ToC has to be reviewed.
- Anticipating risks, potential desired or undesired outcomes and changes to the conflict context within the M&E grid prior to the start of the programme and devising a plan around how the ToC would respond to these changes.
- Devising an explicit plan at the start of the programme for how to constantly review the conflict context, for example by discussing with the students or teachers.
- Holding a discussion after every few sessions around the ToC and whether it continues to address the conflict context. Structuring and designing this discussion prior to the start of the programme and keeping a record of these discussions.
- Including programme participants at every stage of the M&E process, such as in devising a ToC or conducting a conflict analysis to reflect the participatory evaluation process. This could be done through a survey asking children what form of bullying they think is most prevalent or what change they would like to see in their lives. This would also facilitate the evaluation process by matching it up to childrens' expectations.

12) Minimising the 'branding' of the GFP programme and making the sessions as open as possible to BC peers, to prevent the emergence of new conflicts between students. This could involve:

- Asking students to bring their own refreshments to the GFP sessions which take place during school hours.
- Allowing BC peers to join in with some of the sport activities and continuing to allow them to attend all sessions.
- Holding a taster session for BC peers.
- Including a safeguarding section in the M&E grid which requires Delegates to consider how they will deal with new conflicts and how they will ensure that children stay safe throughout the programme.

Bibliography

Books, Reports and Journal Articles

Acquah E.O., Lloyd J.K., Davis L. and Wilson M.L. "Adolescent Physical Fighting in Ghana, Their Demographic and Social Characteristics." *Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2014): 227-241.

Adjei, J.K. "An African Model? Conflict Management in Ghana's 2008 Presidential Elections." In *Managing Conflicts in Africa's Democratic Transitions*, edited by A.G. Adebayo, Ch. 13. New York: Lexington Books, 2012.

Adjei P.O. and Kyei P.O. "Linkages Between Income, Housing Quality and Disease Occurrence in Rural Ghana." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 28, no. 1 (2013): 35-49.

Asante R. and Gyimah-Boadi E. *Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Sector in Ghana*. Geneva: UNRISD, 2004.

Ayelazuno, J. "The Politicisation of the Mirigu-Kandiga Conflict in Ghana's 2008 Election: Questioning the Electoral Peace Paradigm." *Conflict Trends Issue 2*, ACCORD, 2009.

Azuimah F. "Perception as a Social Infrastructure for Sustaining the Escalation of Ethnic Conflicts in Divided Societies in Ghana." *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2011).

Befus M., Brewster S., Buckley M., Cox P., Coyne K., Griep L., Luft M., Robinson S. and Wadhwa B. "Splash and Ripple! Planning and Managing for Results." Calgary, Alberta: PlanNet, 2004. Accessed 25 July 2015. <http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/ahc-asc/pubs/contribution/ripple-ricochet/index-eng.php>

Bender D.E. and Ewbank D. "The Focus Group as a Tool for Health Research: Issues in Design and Analysis." *Health Transition Review* 4, no. 1 (1994): 63-79.

CDA. *Reflecting on Peace Practice: Participant Training Manual*. Cambridge MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects, 2013.

Campbell S.P. "When Process Matters: The Potential Implications of Organisational Learning for Peacebuilding Success." *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 4, no. 2 (2008): 20-32.

CARE International. *Peacebuilding with Impact: Defining ToCs*. London: CARE International UK, 2012a.

CARE International. *Guidance for Designing, Monitoring and Evaluating Peacebuilding Projects: Using ToCs*. London: CARE International UK, 2012b.

Chazan, Naomi. *An Anatomy of Ghanaian Politics: Managing Political Recession*. Boulder CO: West View Press, 1983.

Church C. and Rogers M.M. *Designing for Results: Integrating Monitoring and Evaluation in Conflict Transformation Programs*. Washington DC: Search for Common Ground (SFCG), 2006.

CIA. "The World Factbook: Ghana." (2014). Accessed 20 June 2015.
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

Dayton B. "The Social Psychology of Identity and Inter-group Conflict: From Theory to Practice." *International Studies Perspectives* 12, no. 3 (2011): 273-93.

Dunne M. "Gender Sexuality and Schooling: Everyday Life in Junior Secondary Schools in Botswana and Ghana." *International Journal of Education Development* 27 (2007): 499-511.

Debrah, E. "The Electoral Process and the 2000 General Elections in Ghana." In *Liberal Democracy and Its Critics in Africa: Political Dysfunction and the Struggle for Progress*, edited by L-K Tukumbi. London and New York: Zed Books, 2005.

Generations For Peace (GFP). "Approach." (2014). Accessed 20 June 2015.
<http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/how-we-work/approach/>

Generations For Peace (GFP). *Community and Conflict Background on St Peter's Mission School Madina*. Accra: Ghana (2014).

Generations For Peace (GFP). "Conflict, Peace Building and Conflict Transformation." *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014).

Generations For Peace (GFP). *Curriculum*. Amman: Jordan (2014).

Generations For Peace (GFP). "Institute." (2014). Accessed 20 June 2015.
<http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on/institute/>

Generations For Peace (GFP). "Pass It On..." (2014). Accessed 20 June 2015.
<http://www.generationsforpeace.org/en/pass-it-on/>

Generations For Peace (GFP). *Programming Framework*. Amman: Jordan (2014).

Goodhand J. "Research in Conflict Zones: Ethics and Accountability." *Forced Migration Review* 8 (2000): 12-15.

Government of Ghana. "Greater Accra." (2015). Accessed 20 November 2015.
<http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/about-ghana/regions/greater-accra>

Hart J. and Tyrer B. "Research with Children Living in Situations of Armed Conflict: Concepts, Ethics & Methods." *RSC Working Paper No. 30*, University of Oxford, 2013. Accessed 20 July 2015.
<https://www.childwatch.uio.no>

Hughes, T. "Managing Group Grievances and Internal Conflict: Ghana Country Report." *Working Paper 11*, The Hague, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2003. Accessed 20 June 2015. <http://clingendael.info>

Kang M. "The Association Between Bullying and Psychological Health Among Senior High School Students in Ghana, West Africa." *Journal of School Health* 81, no. 5 (2011): 231-8.

Kyei-Gyamfi, S. "Corporal Punishment in Ghana." In *Children's Rights in Ghana: Reality or Rhetoric?*, edited by Ame, D.L. Agbényiga and N.A. Apt. New York: Lexington books, 2011.

Langer, A. "The Peaceful Management of Horizontal Inequalities in Ghana." *CRISE Working Paper No. 25*, University of Oxford, 2007. Accessed on 30 July 2015.
<https://lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/123456789/316987/1/workingpaper25.pdf>

Lederach J.P., Neufeldt R. and Culbertson, H. *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring And Learning Toolkit*. Notre Dame, IN: The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame, 2007.

McGadney B.F. and Nibewun-Tarko J.A. "Women Displaced in Conflict in Northern Ghana." *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative* 1, no. 1 (2010): 103-126.

Mackenzie C., McDowell C. and Pittaway E. "Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challenge of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 299-319.

Mohammed, T. "Ethnic Identity, Globalization, and Ethnic Conflict in the Northern Region of Ghana: The Case of East Gonja and Kpandai Districts." *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 2, no. 7 (2014): 333-341.

Morgan M., Gibbs S., Maxwell K. and Britten N. "Hearing Children's Voices: Methodological Issues in Conducting Focus Groups with Children aged 7-11 years." *Qualitative Research* 2, no. 1 (2002): 5-20.

Neufeldt Reina C. *"Frameworkers" And "Circlers": Exploring Assumptions In Peace And Conflict Impact Assessment*. Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation. Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2007.

Owusu G. and Otiso M. "Comparative Urbanization in Ghana and Kenya in Time and Space." *GeoJournal* 71, no. 2 (2008): 143-157.

Para-Mallam O.J. "Ethno-Religious Pluralism and its Management in Ghana and Liberia: Lessons for Nigeria." *Nigerian Journal of Policy and Strategy* 16, no. 2 (2012): 1-18.

Pellow D. "Cultural Differences and Urban Spatial Forms: Elements of Boundedness in an Accra Community." *American Anthropologist* 103, no. 1 (2001): 58-75.

Pescina, J.U.C. "The Economic Base of Accra, Ghana: Advanced Issues in Development Planning." (2013). Accessed 25 July 2015. <http://mci.ei.columbia.edu/files/2013/03/The-Economic-Base-of-Accra-Ghana.pdf>

Prinsen G. and Nijhof S. "Between Logframes and ToC: Reviewing Debates and a Practical Experience." *Development in Practice* 25, no. 2 (2015): 234-46.

Robert M.G., Fowler F.J., Couper M.P., Lepkowski J.M., Singer E. and Tourangeau R. *Survey Methodology*. Hoboken, NJ: J. Wiley, 2004.

Ross M.H. "Action Evaluation in the Theory and Practice of Conflict Resolution." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 8, no. 1 (2001): 1-15.

Shapiro I. *Extending The Framework Of Inquiry: Tocs In Conflict Interventions*. Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 5. Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2006.

Shapiro, Ilana. "Theories of Change." In *Beyond Intractability*, edited by Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Boulder: Conflict Research Consortium, 2005. Accessed 25 July 2015. <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/theories-of-change>

Stein D. and Valters C. "Understanding Theory of Change in International Development." *JSRP Paper 1*, The Justice and Security Research Programme, 2012. Accessed 17 July, 2015. <http://www.theoryofchange.org>

Stewart D.W. and Shamdasani, P.N. *Focus Groups*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1990.

Tonah, S. "The Politicisation of a Chieftaincy Conflict: The Case of Dagbon, Northern Ghana." *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 1-20.

Tonah, S. "Democratization and the Resurgence of Ethnic Politics in Ghana, 1992-2006." In *Ethnicity, Belonging and Biography: Ethnographical and Biographical Perspectives*, edited by G. Rosenthal and A. Bogner, 63-82. Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009.

Tsikata D. and Seini W. "Identities, Inequalities and Conflicts in Ghana." *Working Paper 5*, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, University of Oxford, 2004. Accessed 20 June 2015. <http://www3.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/crisewps/workingpaper5.pdf>

Tutu R.A. "Dilemmatic Experiences of Young Migrants in Accra, Ghana: The Merciless Hands of Pirate Urbanization and Landlordism." *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 29, no. 4 (2014): 637-656.

UNDP. *Draft Report For Conflict Mapping: Northern Ghana*, 2013. Accessed June 20 2015. <http://www.undp.org>

Wehrmann, B. *Land Conflicts: A Practical Guide to Dealing with Land Disputes*. Eschborn, Germany: German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ), 2008.

Interviews and Focus Groups

Focus Groups Beneficiary Community

BC peers focus group 1, four participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

BC peers focus group 2, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

BC peers focus group 3, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

BC peers focus group 4, four participants, Accra, 7 July 2015.

Focus Groups Target Group

TG focus group 1, 4 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

TG focus group 2, 3 participants, Accra, 2 July 2015.

TG focus group 3, 4 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

TG focus group 4, 2 participants, Accra, 3 July 2015.

TG focus group 5, 3 participants, Accra, 6 July 2015.

TG focus group 6, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

TG focus group 7, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

TG focus group 8, 4 participants, Accra, 8 July 2015.

TG focus group 9, 4 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

TG focus group 10, 2 participants, Accra, 10 July 2015.

Interview Stakeholders

Stakeholder interview 1, Accra, 3 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 2, Accra, 3 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 3, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 4, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 5, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 6, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Stakeholder interview 7, Accra, 9 July 2015.

Interview Delegates

Delegate interview 1, Accra, 29 June 2015.

Delegate interview 2, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 3, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 4, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 5, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 6, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 7, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 8, Accra, 1 July 2015.

Delegate interview 9, Accra, 7 July 2015.

Delegate follow-up interview 1, Accra, 10 July 2015.

Delegate follow-up interview 2, Accra, 10 July 2015.
Delegate follow-up interview 3, Accra, 10 July 2015.
Delegate follow-up interview 4, Accra, 12 July 2015.

Interview Beneficiary Community Parents

BC parents interview 1, Accra, 6 July 2015.
BC parents interview 2, Accra, 6 July 2015.
BC parents interview 3, Accra, 6 July 2015.
BC parents interview 4, Accra, 6 July 2015.
BC parents interview 5, Accra, 6 July 2015.
BC parents interview 6, Accra, 7 July 2015.
BC parents interview 7, Accra, 8 July 2015.
BC parents interview 8, Accra, 8 July 2015.

Appendices

Appendix A: Surveys for Target Group

Age: _____

Department: Upper Primary JHS *[please circle]*

Class: _____ / Form: _____

Gender: Female Male *[please circle]*

Do you think bullying is a problem in your school? *[please circle]*

- 1 – No, there is no bullying
- 2 – No, there is not very much bullying
- 3 – There is an average amount of bullying
- 4 – Yes, there is some bullying
- 5 – Yes, bullying is a major problem

Please tick the boxes:

	Violent behaviour	Insults	Gossip	Humiliation	Online Bullying
Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How many people in your class are affected?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have you ever seen this happening?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you ever been personally affected by one of these?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Would you tell someone if you saw this happen in school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Who would you tell? _____

Are there any other conflicts in your school? Yes No

If yes, what are they? _____

Is using violence ever a good response for dealing with problems? *[Circle the number]*

No, never 1 2 3 4 5 Yes, always

Please rate your responses by circling a number.

GFP programming has made me more respectful to other students on the programme.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me more respectful to other students in school.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me more self-confident.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me more willing to report conflict when I see it.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

GFP programming has made me more understanding of students that are different to me.

No 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

Has there been a decrease in bullying by students in the GFP programme since the programme started? Yes No

Has there been a decrease in bullying by students in school since the GFP programme started?
Yes No

Have you discussed the GFP programme with students in school that are not in the programme?
Yes No

How many? _____

Would you want to attend the GFP sessions again next year? Yes No

- Thank you for filling in this questionnaire! -

Appendix B: Surveys for Beneficiary Community Peers

Age: _____

Department: Upper Primary JHS *[please circle]*

Class: _____ / Form: _____

Gender: Female Male *[please circle]*

Do you think bullying is a problem in your school? *[please circle]*

- 1 – No, there is no bullying
- 2 – No, there is not very much bullying
- 3 – There is an average amount of bullying
- 4 – Yes, there is some bullying
- 5 – Yes, bullying is a major problem

Please tick the boxes:

	Violent behaviour	Insults	Gossip	Humiliation	Online Bullying
Which of these conflicts is a problem in your school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How many people in your class are affected?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have you ever seen this happening?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Have you ever been personally affected by one of these?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Would you tell someone if you saw this happen in school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Who would you tell? _____

Are there any other conflicts in your school? Yes No

If yes, what are they? _____

Is using violence ever a good response for dealing with problems? *[Circle the number]*

No, never 1 2 3 4 5 Yes, always

Do you know about the GFP Sports for Peace Programme? Yes No

How did you hear about the programme? _____

What is the main aim of the programme? _____

Would you want to participate in the programme if it happens again next year? Yes No

Why? _____

Has there been a decrease in bullying by students in school since the GFP programme started?

Yes No

- Thank you for filling in this questionnaire! -

Appendix C: Focus Group Questions for Target Group

- What was the main aim of the GFP programme?
 - Why was this an important aim?
 - How did the programme try to do this?
- Do you think bullying is a problem in this school?
 - What kind of bullying?
 - Why do people bully?
 - Which students are most affected?
 - Are boys and girls both affected?
 - Are students ever bullied because of their religion?
- How can this behaviour be stopped?
 - Is violence ever a good way to respond?
 - Do you report bullying when you see it?
- Do you think the GFP programme made you change your behaviour?
 - Which aspects of your behaviour changed?
 - Are you more respectful of people different than you?
 - Are you more self-confident now?
 - Do you trust people on the programme more?
- Have you told other people about what you've learnt?
 - What do students outside the programme think about the programme?
 - Do you feel that it would be good for other students to attend the programme?
- What do you think was the most useful activity?
 - What do you think could have made the programme more effective

Appendix D: Focus Group Questions for Beneficiary Community Peers

- What is the GFP programme?
 - What are the main aims of the programme?
 - Do you think these are good aims?
- Do you think bullying is a problem in this school?
 - What kind of bullying?
 - Why do people bully?
 - Which students are most affected?
 - Are boys and girls both affected?
 - Are students ever bullied because of their religion?
- How can this behaviour be stopped?
 - Is violence ever a good way to respond?
 - Do you report bullying when you see it?
 - Do you trust other students in the school?
 - Do you respect other students in the school?
- Do you think your friend changed because of the programme? How?
- Did you want to be involved in the programme?
 - What do other students think about the programme?
- Did the GFP programme affect you in any in any way?
 - Were you able to get involved in any way?
 - What effect has the programme had on the school community in general?
 - Do you think there is less bullying because of the programme?
- Have you told anyone about the programme?

Appendix E: Interview Questions for Delegates

- What was the theory of change used in this programme?
 - Do you think the theory of change was appropriate to the context?
 - How did you ensure that the theory of change remained relevant to the conflict context?
 - How do you stay informed about bullying in St. Peter's school?
- Do you think bullying is a problem in this school?
 - What kind of bullying?
 - Why do people bully?
 - Which students are most affected?
 - Are boys and girls affected in the same way?
 - Are students ever bullied because of their religion?
- Did you notice a change in the attitudes of participants as a result of the programme?
 - What kind of behavioural changes have occurred?
 - Which students do you think have changed the most?
 - Are any groups of students more receptive than others?
 - Do you think the Theory of Change is relevant to all social groups in the programme?
- Has there been a reduction in bullying since the start of the programme?
- Did you receive feedback from any students and peers in the Beneficiary Community?
 - How did you remain engaged with the Beneficiary Community?
 - What is the reputation of GFP in the student community?
- Is there any feedback you want to give in terms of the Theory of Change model?
 - Do you think this framework was useful for designing and implementing your programme?

Appendix F: Interview Questions for Key Stakeholders

- What is the GFP Programme?
- How were you involved in the GFP programme?
- What is the Theory of Change that GFP uses?
 - The Theory of Change of the programme is that increasing respect between students will lead to fewer incidents of bullying. Do you think increasing respect between students is an effective way of reducing bullying?
- Is bullying a major problem in this school?
 - What kind of bullying?
 - Who is bullying who?
 - Why do they bully?
 - Do you think girls and boys experience bullying in school differently?
- Did you notice a behavioural change in students because of the GFP programme? If so, what kind of change?
- Do you think the GFP programme has contributed to a reduction in bullying in St. Peter's school?
 - Has the GFP programme increased awareness about the issue of bullying in school?
 - What is the reputation of the GFP programme at St Peter's School?
- How has the GFP kept you engaged in and informed about the programme?
 - Do you feel that you were able to provide feedback?
 - Do you feel that you were adequately engaged in the programme?
- Is there any way the programme could have been made more effective?

Appendix G: Interview Questions for Beneficiary Community Parents

- What is the Theory of Change that the GFP programme uses?
 - What are the main aims of the programme? Do you think these are good aims?
 - Do you think increasing respect is a good way to stop bullying?
 - How does GFP try to stop bullying from happening?
- Would you say that bullying is a problem in the school?
 - What kind of bullying is taking place?
 - Who is bullying who?
 - Is there violent bullying in school?
 - Are some students bullied because of their religion?
 - Are boys and girls affected differently?
 - Was your child affected by these conflicts in school?
- How did you find out about the GFP programme?
 - Were you initially supportive of the programme?
 - Do you think GFP Delegates approached you in the right way?
- How do you feel about the programme now?
 - How has GFP engaged you in the programme?
 - How would you want to stay informed about the programme?
 - Do you feel that you have been able to provide feedback and that this has been used in the programme implementation?
- Did you notice a behavioural change in your child?
 - How do you think GFP has caused this change?
 - Do you think the programme is appropriate for children from all social backgrounds?
- Do you think the GFP programme contributes to a reduction in bullying in St. Peter's school?
- What is the reputation of the GFP programme in St. Peter's school?

Appendix H: T-test Calculations

Question	Group	Category 1	Category 2	P-Value	Page Number
Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?	TG	UPS	JHS	p = 0.067	46
Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?	TG	Males	Females	p = 0.64	47
Do you think bullying is a problem in your school?	TG	UPS males	UPS females	p = 0.053	47
GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more	TG	UPS	JHS	p = 0.034	70
GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more	TG	UPS	JHS	p = 0.043	70
GFP programming has made me trust students on the programme more	TG	JHS males	JHS females	p = 0.036	71
GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way	TG	Female	Male	p = 0.029	71
GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way	TG	JHS males	JHS females	p = 0.027	71
GFP programming has made me more able to deal with conflict in a non-violent way	TG	Christians	Muslims	p = 0.049	72