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To what extent does Girl Hub embody feminist principals?

An analysis of a girl centred anti-poverty programme from a feminist perspective.

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Abstract

Girl Hub is an anti-poverty programme with a gender equality steer, operating in Ethiopia, Rwanda and Nigeria. This study analyses Girl Hub's goals and aims from a socialist feminist perspective through content analysis of materials produced by the UK Department For International Development, The Nike Foundation (though Girl Effect) and Girl Hub. Setting Girl Hub in the context of the contemporary development obsession with 'the girl', I problematise the feminist credentials of Girl Hub through a critique of smart economics; empowerment-lite; the ways girls are represented; and Girl Hub's method of creating change. Just Associates (JASS) is used as a comparison. This study shows that there are many features of Girl Hub which embody feminist aims, and yet that they are packaged in a problematic way. I show that Girl Hub lacks a critical engagement with systematic inequalities and obfuscates complex social problems. This ambiguity is theorised by drawing on the work of Hester Eisenstein. I demonstrate the way in which feminism has proven 'useful' to a global neoliberal agenda, and highlight why this is not good for the world's women. I conclude that Girl Hub represents a form of 'neoliberal' feminism, which is deeply problematic because of the promising sheen it provides, whilst simultaneously obscuring many of the forces which work to oppress women and girls.

Contents

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Introduction 9

Chapter One: Girl Hub in theoretical and historical Context 13

1.1 Which feminism?

1.2 Girl Hub in context

Chapter Two: Girl Hub's Goals 23

2.1 Smart Economics

2.2 Empowerment

2.3 Smart economics, individualised empowerment and neoliberalism

Chapter Three: Girl Hub's Methods 35

3.1 Representations of girls

3.2 Creating Change

Chapter Four: Explaining Ambivalence 43

Conclusion 49

References 51

Appendix 57

Introduction

> "*Girl Hub's mission is to empower the 250 million adolescent girls living in poverty to reach their full potential. Girls are a proven force for change and are the catalyst to end global poverty - it's called the Girl Effect.*" (Girl Effect 2015a).

The 'girl' is at the forefront of the contemporary development agenda. Government aid agencies, non-governmental organisations and the United Nations all seem committed to the consensus that girls represent the 'most powerful force for change on the planet' (Girl Effect 2015c). The Millennium Development Goals, which have shaped the landscape of development practice since 2000 features 'Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women' as it's third priority of eight. An emphasis on women's rights, and the need to protect these in the global south, has been a key goal of feminist activists and scholars. Of course, the rights of the girl child can be viewed as part of this project. Yet the push has also come from another source. Perhaps most notable in the drive for a greater 'investment' in girls from the global south has been from multi-national corporations (Wilson 2015:16). Corporations from Nike to Goldman Sachs have all clambered to be the biggest 'investors' in women and girls in the global south, as the trend for corporate social responsibility climbs.

Girl Hub represents a particular strand of this broader picture, and is one case study in a crowded market. Girl Hub is a 'strategic collaboration' between the Nike Foundation and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), operating in Rwanda, Nigeria and Ethiopia. With the goal of mass empowerment for adolescent girls, Girl Hub produces brands to bring about major attitudinal and behavioral change. Using research, social media, radio shows, pop groups, magazines, and discussion groups, Girl Hub seeks to put the Girl Effect into action. The 'Girl Effect', coined by the Nike Foundation, is a theory of development that places adolescent girls as the key force for change. The premise underpinning the theory is that investing in adolescent girls will 'stop poverty before it starts' (Girl Effect 2013a) by changing the life-courses of those who will go on to impact their families and communities a great deal more than their male counterparts. Girl Hub is highly significant in the field, for several reasons. Firstly, the Girl Effect theory has become very influential (Koffman and Gill 2013), and Girl Hub represents an operational side of it. Secondly, Girl Hub can be viewed as representative of the key investment priorities of both government aid

and corporate social responsibility - because of its nature as a collaboration between DFID and the Nike Foundation.

For some feminist thinkers, the increased attention that global corporations are paying to women and girls in the developing world has been viewed positively (Cudd 2011, Dolan and Scott 2009). Yet others are more scathing of this movement (Chant and Sweetman 2012). To what extent then, does Girl Hub embody feminist principals? In order to address this research question, key materials produced by Girl Hub, the Nike Foundation (through Girl Effect) and DFID were analysed using content analysis. Themes which were repeated across the materials relating to Girl Hub's goals and methods were identified, and these were then subject to analysis from a socialist feminist perspective. These materials were found by online searches, and chosen for their level of centrality to the working of DFID, Girl Effect or Girl Hub. It was important for this study that materials beyond the very popular social media output were considered, as these have already been heavily analysed (Switzer 2013, Shain 2013). 24 documents, videos, articles and songs were considered (see Appendix).

In Chapter One I will outline a socialist feminist framework for the analysis; acknowledging the contested nature of what 'feminist principals' are. I will posit Girl Hub as a product of a trajectory in development studies as well as in corporate social responsibility, arguing that feminist thinking can be seen to have influenced development studies, but to a lesser extent corporate social responsibility. This chapter will include a discussion of whether global capitalism is good for women. In Chapter Two, Girl Hub's goals (poverty reduction through smart economics; empowering girls) will be analysed and I will argue that though Girl Hub does embody certain elements of feminist thought, it represents a form of neoliberal 'popular' feminism that is deeply problematic, as it does not seek to challenge inherently unequal power relationships and distributions. Building on this argument, Chapter Three will scrutinize Girls Hub's methods (representing girls; bringing about change). Throughout Chapter Two and Three the work of Just Associates (JASS) will be used as a comparison to Girl Hub. JASS was chosen for comparison here as they too have a 'theory of change' which can be measured against the 'Girl Effect' theory of change used by Girl Hub. Drawing on the work of Hester Eisenstein and Nancy Frazer, Chapter Four will theorise the relationship between the feminist movement and the advance of neoliberalism, which will provide a framework for understanding the complex and contested nature of Girl Hub. Finally it will be concluded that though there are several features of Girl Hub that can

be viewed positively in their attempts to empower girls, Girl Hub's embodiment of 'neoliberal' 'hegemonic' feminism is deeply problematic as it reifies inherently oppressive institutions, obfuscates complex social problems, and ultimately will not make good on its promise to 'end global poverty'.

Chapter 1 - Girl Hub in theoretical and historical context

1.1 Which feminism?

Feminism is a hotly contested term (Offen, 1998), and as Cornwall et al. establish, 'there are feminisms, not feminism' (Cornwall et al. 2007: 1). Popular contemporary feminist Caitlin Moran simply presents feminism in two rules: 'Number one, women are equal to men. Number two, don't be a dick.' (Moran, 2014). While this definition may re-popularize a term which many now seem afraid to use, it prompts several questions - questions which feminists have answered in different ways. How is this equality achieved? What is the standard of the equality? Are inequalities between women problematic? Significant differences in the answers to these questions from feminists have led to a situation where 'scholars have to invent their own definitions of feminism' (Offen, 1998).

In that vein it is important to establish which feminist principals Girl Hub will be measured against in this study. There are some areas of feminist thinking which are less contentious and transcend boundaries within feminism. One such principal which will be significant in measuring the extent to which Girl Hub embodies feminist principals is the extent to which women and girls are driving and shaping the goals and outcomes of programmes. And yet other aspects require a more nuanced analytical framework. Socialist feminist theory will be defended and used to provide an analytical framework through which Girl Hub will be assessed.

Three key principals will be foundational in the sort of feminism advocated here. The first is an attendance to equality and justice beyond that relating to gender. This includes an acknowledgement of the different cites where women may experience oppression, as well as the many forms of it. For some, the liberation of women can be viewed as a cultural quest, and one which categorizes gender discrimination as a higher form of evil than other discriminations or inequalities. The key battles cites for these feminists are identity based; challenging cultural assumptions about femininity and masculinity, and fighting for greater opportunities for women to participate in cultural life. Yet this understanding limits the scope of many second wave feminists' transformative aim, which held an 'emancipatory vision at its core' (Holmstrom 2011: 137). This broader vision seeks to transform all levels and institutions of society towards a more just society - not just a more 'gender neutral' society. Eisenstein identifies this as 'the utopian quality of feminist thought' (Eisenstein 1984: xiii). Frazer articulates a reduction of feminist ideals from this broader goal of social justice as a 'major

shift in the feminist imaginary: whereas the previous generation pursued an expanded ideal of social equality, this one invested the bulk of its energies in cultural change' (Frazer, 2008: 105). In the socialist feminist tradition advocated by Frazer and Eisenstein, justice and equality are the key principals which a concern for women hinge on, which leads to a critique of political and economic practices, as well as cultural ones. It is essential then that in assessing Girl Hub from this feminist perspective, economic and political aspects of justice and equality are addressed. This will require a critique of Girl Hub's participation in global capitalism - the 'most salient aspect of this moment in human history' (Scott 2000: 16).

A related area in socialist feminist thought, and the second key principal which ought to be established here, is the recognition of different types of female labour. In particular, the reproductive labour which is carried out by women is often ignored in measuring economic development. This has been critiqued by socialist feminists, and in that tradition the extent to which Girl Hub addresses these differences in male and female production will be problematised. A related discussion in this area, though one that is again very contested (even within socialist feminist thinking) is the extent to which differences between men and women are recognised. For many feminists an 'abolition of gender' (as described in Eisenstein 2009) has been imperative in creating equality for men and women. For example, in order for women to gain the right to enter all areas of the labour market, the similarities in the capacities of men to women has been emphasised (Ibid: 227). There are significant problems however with this strategy. Firstly, it holds men and male positions as the ideal to which women ought to aspire. Secondly, an 'abolition of gender' risks diminishing, belittling and discouraging behaviors associated with women - even if they are socially constructed rather than biologically innate (Eisenstein, 1984: xix). After Eisenstein, I will argue for a feminist perspective which acknowledges and encourages the distinct contribution of women in shaping their society, culture and economy. For example, Eisenstein writes that 'we could raise something that we - correctly in my view - associate with mothers to the level of a social principal...I aim envisaging a transformed kind of maternalism, meaning a sense of compassion and a responsibility to nurture on the part of all social and political organizations' (Eisenstein, 2009: 228). This of course must be held in tension with the danger of 'gender myths' (Cornwall et al, 2008) and gender essentialism which reinforces restrictive gender binaries, and can work towards oppression rather than liberation.

A third area of socialist feminist thought which ought to be established here is the need for collective transformation, rather than an emphasis on increased individual opportunity. While certain feminist thought can be described as emphasising 'the quest for personal independence in all aspects of life' (Offen 1998: 136), socialist feminism seeks to bring about justice and equality not just for individuals, but collectively. The intersections of gender, race and class will be considered, attending to the critique of socialist feminism which claims it reduces everything to class. These principals provide the theoretical foundations on which the analysis of Girl Hub can be built.

1.2 Girl Hub in context

If Girl Hub could be shown to have been borne out of feminist activism and struggle, this would certainly increase its feminist credentials. The development studies field and the growth of corporate social responsibility both provide important historical contexts for Girl Hub, and allow us to begin to interrogate whether Girl Hub embodies the feminist principals outlined above.

1.2.1 Development Studies

Girl Hub's intended beneficiaries are clear from its name: Girls. Yet, an obsession with girls in the development field is a very modern phenomenon. Though 'gender' is now such a dominant feature in development discourse that it is met with a certain 'ennui' or 'gender fatigue' (Molyneux 2004, Cornwall 2007), its current ubiquity belies its youth. Indeed, during the early years of international investment of aid and the growth of development as a field of study, girls rarely featured on the agenda at all. Before the birth of second wave feminism the gendered dimensions of poverty and inequality were not at the forefront. As Momsen reflects, 'prior to 1970...it was thought that the development process affected men and women in the same way.' (Momsen 2004: 11). This reflected a wider social consensus on normative understandings of gender roles.

However feminist thinkers began to challenge this consensus. Economist Ester Boserup's landmark work '*Woman's Role in Economic Development*' (1970) is hailed as having changed the idea that development affects men and women in the same way (Momsen 2004:11; Chant and Sweetman 2012: 523). Boserup questioned the dominant ignorance of the gendered dimensions of production and illuminated the role that women played in many economies as producers. Her argument was

that the assumption that women's primary role is domestic held by colonial and post-colonial administrators ignored the reality of the way in which production was carried out in many countries. This analysis of the gender division of labour in several countries has illuminated that 'women form the majority of the world's food producers' (Bandarage 1984: 497), contrary to an assumption held by many in the United States at the time that a natural gender division of labour was of male production, and female *re*production.

This gave rise to an approach known in development literature as 'Women in Development' (WID). The central tenet of this approach has been summed up as 'add women and stir'. That is, that women ought to be incorporated into dominant understandings and theories of development. One path to development was assumed for countries in the global south, and WID thinkers argued for barriers to the inclusion of women in these processes to be removed. 'Equity and efficiency' arguments were deployed to justify this change (Wilson 2015: 3).

In order to assess whether this was a feminist success, it is important to consider the emerging feminist voices at the time. Liberal feminism, typified by the Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) presented a key challenge to traditional gender roles assumed by economic and social theorists as 'natural'. She cites women's subordination as their relegation to the domestic sphere, and calls this 'the problem that has no name' (Friedan 1963: 5). Her contention is that female fulfillment will be experienced when women are able to work outside of the home, be integrated into the public sphere, have a career and economic earning potential that matches their male counterparts. This theme will be shown to be dominant in the materials produced by Girl Hub. Change in attitudes and an increase in the training and education of women were seen as key to realising this transformation. There was therefore an emphasis from liberal feminists on attitudinal change strategies, legal measures (like the Equal Rights Amendment in the United States) and affirmative action (Bandarage 1984).

A key tenet of liberal feminism, however, is that the underlying socio-economic paradigm of the time was acceptable - or at least that this paradigm was not critiqued. Women's integration into this system is the key area of problem - rather than the system itself. Therefore liberal feminists would contend that the inequality *experienced* in a capitalist system is in fact an aberration, or a temporary and fix-able problem, rather than a function and consequence of the system itself. Given this assumption, liberal feminists seek to challenge any barrier that women face in order to participate in

the system, but wouldn’t necessarily seek to change the fundamental assumptions of the system itself. The modern incarnations of this ‘brand’ of feminism - or even *neo*liberal feminism - include Sheryl Sandberg, Chief Operating Officer of Facebook, who, rather than pointing out the features of modern capitalism which are essentially sexist, instead encourages women to ‘lean in’ to the system, and to ensure their place in it (Sandberg 2013). Bandarage concludes of WID, ‘as a distinct blend of modernization theory and liberal feminism, it assumes that all women can be liberated within the capitalist world system’ (Bandarage 1984: 496).

In some sense then, the emergence of a focus on women in particular in the development agenda (as embodied in Girl Hub) can be hailed as a success for feminism. However from a WID perspective, this relies on capitalism being good for women - a contentious assumption.

The issue of whether or not capitalism is good for women highlights the diversity of the feminist movement - and one that requires early consideration in this study. Girl Hub’s mother (Nike) is one of the biggest corporations in the world, and a beneficiary of global capitalism. For many feminists, capitalism has provided the conditions for the growth of the feminist movement. For example Scott (2000: 29) argues that the ‘market-driven media’ has proved to be a successful vehicle for feminist ideas to be spread, and that the emergence of a ‘large class of educated, motivated women with the leisure time to devote to politics’ (Ibid) was a major factor in the emergence of the feminist movement. Some go further than this, arguing that capitalism itself benefits women. Cudd, for example, argues that the ‘material, moral and political’ (Cudd 2011: 49) conditions of women have improved because the wealth generated through capitalism. Increases in life expectancy, lower infant mortality and fertility and improved quality of life have all come about concurrently with the rise of global capitalism. Cudd argues that these are causally linked to capitalism, and in particular the wealth that this system has accumulated. This argument is advanced by many feminists, and must be engaged with.

While undoubtedly the improvement of conditions for certain women has been concurrent with the emergence of global capitalism, it is also true that the divergence in the level of material, moral and political wellbeing *between* women around the world has grown (Holmstrom 2011: 237). This has led socialist feminists to show the ways in which capitalism has not been good for women and girls (Holmstrom 2011, Eisenstein 2009). Critiques range from theoretical to practical. From a theoretical perspective, Holmstrom demonstrates that capitalism does not promote true freedom,

because workers are ‘free of’ the means of production (since in capitalism the means of production are privately owned), which makes them entirely economically dependent on those who will buy their labour (Holmstrom 2011: 199). This ‘freedom’ means the private owners of the means of production determine what, how, when workers work, and indeed for what renumeration (Ibid: 200). A situation therefore occurs where employers ‘have more complete control over the labor process than slave owners had over the labor of their slaves’ (Ibid). This chilling comparison illuminates the way in which aggressive global capitalism can serve to limit freedom, rather than enhance it. Total capitalism is systemically unequal - since the freedoms that people enjoy are completely dependent on their relationship to the market.

From a practical perspective, the global capitalist project has increased inequality (Eisenstein 2009:15), increased the amount of work that people do (Holmstrom 2011: 215), and increased the number of women in low paid, unregulated industries which can lead to shorter and more risk-filled lives (Ibid: 228). An economic system that has profit maximization for individuals as its ultimate aim will at times inevitably be at odds with what is ‘rational from a social point of view’ (Ibid: 251). Though arguably bad for society as a whole, these features have been shown to be particularly bad for women, who bear social responsibility for care for others in all countries. This critique will be drawn on and further explored in Chapter Two and Three below when Girl Hub’s goals and methods are analysed.

Critiques of the WID approach, and particularly its allegiance to capitalism, were advanced during the 1980s, which provided an evolution in development thinking to an approach labelled Women and Development (WAD). Advocates of Women and Development launched a sustained critique on capitalist visions of development, due to their potential for harm on the world’s poorest, and particularly women. WAD practitioners such as Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) argued for ‘a world where development processes are founded on social solidarity and economic, political, ecological, social and personal justice’ (DAWN 2015). This development again highlights the diverse nature of feminism.

A second evolution from WID has taken place which provides important context for assessing the extent to which Girl Hub embodies feminist principles. Gender and Development (GAD) grew out of three areas of critique. The first area of critique against WID was around an assumed vision of ‘development’. GAD thinkers problematized the idea that there was one route to ‘development’,

that ought to be prescribed for all nations and economies (Jackson and Pearson 1998: 2) without questioning alternative routes or paradigms. Secondly, the assumed categories of women and men inherent in WID and liberal feminism were challenged. During the 1970s and 80s 'gender' began to be seen as a way of framing sex difference that acknowledged the socially constructed nature of it. This sex:gender distinction (sex as biological fact, gender as social construct) has gone on to be a key feature of feminist thought. Of course, it is not without problem. As Jackson and Pearson accede, there are significant dangers with both acknowledging and obscuring difference. As they write, 'recovering a female subject risks essentialism; refusing a female subject risks erasing gender difference' (Ibid: 11). Thirdly, the theory of 'intersectionality' which gave greater emphasis on the inter-weaving nature of different forms of oppression gained prominence, as socialist feminists interrogated class:gender interactions (Ibid: 8). This served to question the WID approach that women as a category could simply and unproblematically be incorporated into a system. Further, Gender and Development activists and theorists sought to illuminate the power relations that 'reproduced an unequal and inequitable *status quo*' (Cornwall 2007: 71).

Fought for by feminist advocates, development policy and practice is now littered with references to 'gender'. Girl Hub is not unique for this focus. Indeed, 'gender mainstreaming' introduced in the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, institutionalized 'gender' discussion in a new way. The UN describes 'gender mainstreaming' as 'the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programme, in all areas and at all levels...' (UN 1997 quoted in Moser and Moser 2005). This focus has resulted in the vast majority of development institutions, international financial institutions, UN agencies, and NGOs incorporating attention to gender into their practice. The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) has taken gender mainstreaming very seriously, seeking to 'put women and girls at the heart of all of [their] work' (DFID, 2008). Girl Hub has therefore been developed in a context where a gendered focus is celebrated, encouraged and internationally respected.

And yet, it is highly questionable whether Girl Hub embodies all that feminist thinkers intended through their analysis of gender and development. Rather than promoting critical analysis of entrenched inequalities in socio-political paradigms, gender has become an umbrella term for speaking about women and men more generally. Cornwall calls this 'from buzzword to fuzzword' (Cornwall 2007: 70). She goes on to lament that 'that which lay at the heart of the 'gender agenda' - transforming unequal and unjust *power* relations - seems to have fallen by the

wayside' (Ibid: 69). The politicized nature of the original meaning of Gender and Development has been obfuscated by those seeking to create international consensus on gender equality. Further, it has allowed for a situation to arise where feminist development practitioners are 'used' by bigger organisations as 'gender experts', rather than as those whose political goals ought to be considered (Alvarez 1999). This has led to a process where there is a deep ambivalence towards 'feminized anti-poverty programmes', such as the case study considered here, Girl Hub.

Feminist scholars and activists have therefore greatly impacted development thinking with regards to gender, and it seems there is much cause for celebration for those who have pushed for the continual re-assessment of the ways in which women and men experience the development process. There are elements of the different approaches listed here evident in Girl Hub, such as their key aim of challenging the way that gender is understood. As Girl Effect explain of Yegna - (the social communications platform developed by Girl Hub Ethiopia):

> *'Yegna is a brand designed entirely to create social change, in an environment where deeply entrenched attitudes and behaviors hold girls back....To change things for girls, you have to speak to everyone.'* (Girl Effect 2014c).

However, fitting with a WID approach, Girl Hub does not present any challenge to a capitalist, neoliberal vision of development, where the expansion of the market economy is seen as the key goal (see Chapter Two). As such, the production of the environment in which Girl Hub (and other anti-poverty programmes focusing on women and girls) has grown can legitimately be seen as having been influenced by feminist thought, yet has a complex and contested relationship with it.

1.2.2 Corporate Social Responsibility

The second context which provides insight into the emergence of Girl Hub is that of the growth of corporate social responsibility (CSR). While feminist scholarship and activism has clearly influenced development theory, it is perhaps harder to see this influence in CSR.

As mentioned above, Girl Hub is a strategic collaboration between DFID and the Nike Foundation. Whilst DFID's investment in economic development and their emphasis on the empowerment of women and girls is not particularly surprising, the Nike brand may not be synonymous with aid and

women's empowerment. Indeed, as a multi-national corporation Nike has a questionable track record when it comes to workers (and women's) rights globally. One of the world's most recognised brands, Nike faced scandal which began in 1996 with accusations of child labour prompted by images of a young Pakistani boy sewing a Nike football (Wazir 2001). Despite promises to improve working conditions, Nike continued to face criticism about their employment practices in the global south with claims that some workers were forced into 70 hour working weeks (Ibid). This scrutiny extended to three or four links down the supply chain (Richey and Ponte 2011). These revelations about Nike are a good example of the ways in which globalization - and particularly the spread of market capitalism - can be 'brutal, ruthless and dangerous' (Eisenstein, 2009: x). The need for corporations to create the largest profit and therefore to source the cheapest labour, combined with the ability to seek this internationally, has brought about working conditions and practices that fall below standards of universal human rights. The global media has brought these conditions to light, and has prompted negative reaction from consumers which threatens these corporations' profits (Folkes and Kamins 1999).

However in recent years Nike's CSR strategy, embodied in the Nike Foundation, has renewed it's reputation. The field of CSR, founded by philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie at the end of the nineteenth century, has grown in popularity and importance. Though Carnegie's CSR grew out of a conviction that corporations had a responsibility to 'improve conditions for vulnerable groups' (Richey and Ponte 2011:125), contemporary obsessions with the idea may be born more out of self-interest, as consumers become increasingly sensitive and attentive to claims of bad working conditions, child labour and lack of employment regulation. As Richey and Ponte explain, 'two decades of civil society action against corporations labor practices, environmental mismanagement, predatory extraction of resources, unfair trade practices, and high prices for HIV/AIDS drugs have pushed CSR onto the agenda of many mainstream corporations' (Ibid: 6).

This has given rise to a form of CSR which is characterised by Richey and Ponte as 'distant' and 'disengaged' (Ibid: 129), in contrast to action which is 'proximate' and 'engaged'. Proximate, engaged CSR would involve a corporation changing its own working practices and employment conditions and addressing the environmental impacts of its means of production. 'Distant' and 'disengaged' CSR however is characterised by 'cause-related marketing with distant beneficiaries' (Ibid). The danger of this is that corporations can hide deeply exploitative practices with a veneer of 'doing good'. On the face of it, the Nike Foundation's 'the Girl Effect' seems very

likely to have this motivation. This form of ‘aid’, borne out of CSR, is characterised as ‘young, chic and possible’ (Richey and Ponte 2006: 711) which characterizes well the aesthetic and rhetoric of Girl Hub. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that Girl Hub does not have outcomes and effects which can be celebrated from a feminist perspective. However, the historical growth of CSR and the profit-based motivations which lie behind it do lead to the conclusion that Girl Hub's inception was prompted out of desire to improve Nike's reputation, rather than necessarily a desire to improve the lives of women.

Chapter Two - Girl Hub's Goals

Girl Hub's goals, as outlined earlier, include both the empowerment of girls, and the ending of global poverty (Girl Effect 2015a). In this chapter, these goals as presented in the materials analysed will be addressed from the feminist perspective outlined in Chapter One. The analysis suggests that there are certain aspects of Girl Hub's goals that can be viewed as consistent with feminist principals. Yet the over-riding emphasis on economic development via education and paid employment also has significant problems which limit Girl Hub's embodiment of a commitment to social and economic justice.

2.1 Smart Economics

Girl Hub's goal of ending global poverty is, in DFID's framework, synonymous with economic development (Greening 2014). Smart economics refers to the idea that gender equality brings economic rewards. It preaches a focus on women and girls as an economically efficient, strategic investment, towards the aim of economic growth. It is typified in these words in a World Bank publication:

> *'Investing in women is critical for poverty reduction. It speeds economic development by raising productivity and promoting the more efficient use of resources; it produces significant social returns, improving child survival and reducing fertility, and it has considerable inter-generational pay offs'.* (World Bank 1995: 22 cited in Chant and Sweetman 2012: 519).

A 'smart economics' approach is central to the Girl Effect, and therefore to Girl Hub. In Maria Eitel's (founding President and CEO of the Nike Foundation) words, 'Girls are the world's greatest untapped resource for economic growth and prosperity.' (quoted in Moeller 2013: 613). A commitment to smart economics can be seen from each of the stakeholders in Girl Hub. The Nike Foundation, DFID and Girl Hub all proclaim that investing in adolescent girls is the right thing to do because it is 'smart' economically. This is seen first of all in the language used by the conservative minister for International Development, Justine Greening. In a speech 'Putting women and girls at the heart of international development', given in 2013, Greening says:

‘Where half the population is locked out, prevented from being productive and from pursuing opportunities, there isn’t a sustainable path to development. Investing in women and girls is the smart thing to do.’ (Greening 2013).

Development, primarily framed in economic terms (Greening 2014), is the ultimate goal, to which gender equality is presented as a reasonable means of getting there. This ‘instrumentalising’ of women and girls, is quite clear across the surface presentation of DFID’s gender policies. Girl Hub, similarly, regularly use the slogan of ‘smart economics’ to garner support for their emphasis on adolescent girls. In a promotional video named ‘Smart Economics’, the narrator says:

‘Ethiopia’s economy is growing faster than ever before. It means more people have the chance to escape poverty. But there’s something else. Something that will create greater, faster change. GIRLS. Nine million of them. And here’s an even bigger number, four billion dollars. That’s how much Ethiopian girls would add to their economy if every girl finished school.’

The video finishes by returning to this number:

‘Four billion? That’s more than Ethiopia receives in aid each year. It’s not complicated, it’s just smart economics.’ (Girl Effect 2014a).

It all seems so simple. And yet the connection being presented between gender equality with economic growth and poverty alleviation is problematic partly because as many feminist critics have established ‘the actual lived experience of women in poor households and communities suggests that a win-win scenario in which poverty is alleviated, economic growth is assured, and gender equality is attained, is very far from the truth’ (Chant and Sweetman 2012: 521). The simple, clean, apparently common-sense logic presented in smart economics obfuscates the layers of complex social, economic and cultural practices which contribute to poverty, economic growth, and the marginalization of women and girls.

Not only is the logic unproven, but smart economics can also been seen as a further means of exploiting women. As Chant and Sweetman contend, ‘Smart economics seeks to *use* women and

girls to fix the world' (Chant and Sweetman, 2012: 523, emphasis added). In 'smart economics' women are 'instrumentalised' as a means of creating economic prosperity. They become a source of human resource capital, rather than as the beneficiaries of necessary social change. Girls are presented as analogous to a natural resource which a government owns and may exploit in order to grow an economy. This inevitably leads us to ask whether the marginalization and oppression of women and girls is wrong in and of itself, or if it is only wrong because it hampers greater economic growth. Indeed, 'what if the numbers hadn't added up, and, in fact, another object, or another 'human kind', or different life form was calculated as the best investment?' (Murphy 2012).

Undoubtedly, the way in which this narrative recognises women's agency and power is a positive development from discourses which viewed poverty reduction as something which happened *to* women rather than by them. Yet, it also leads to situation where feminised anti-poverty regimes can in fact serve to deepen hierarchal gender systems, rather than challenge them (Wilson 2015:5). For example, smart economics rests on assumptions about women - that they work hard, are community spirited, and will spend their money on their families rather than waste it on themselves (Molyneux 2006). This ignores the way in which these spending patterns are a result of patriarchal structures (Wilson 2015:9). Further, an increase in female participation in the labour market seems to do little to change the domestic workload of men (Ibid). This is an example of the ways in which Girl Hub does not address the unique contribution that women have played historically in domestic work and reproduction. Since childbearing and domestic work doesn't contribute to a countries GDP, advocates of 'smart economics' completely ignore this labour. In fact, childbearing is seen as a significant part of the problem. Similarly, domestic work doesn't seem to be considered at all, except as a problem - and the way in which women in economies that rely on female labour work a 'second shift' (Hochschild and Machung 1989) is ignored and unchallenged. Studies on aid programmes which have used women in this way have shown the ways in which they serve to perpetuate and consolidate burdens on women, rather than 'empowering' them. Batliwala and Dhanraj write that one such project in India presented this message to women: 'improve your household's economic condition, participate in local community development (if you have the time), help build and run local (apolitical) institutions like the self-help group; by then, you should have no political or physical energy left to challenge this paradigm' (Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007). It leads to a situation where women are increasingly power*less*, because of the heightened expectation on their income-earning potential.

Part of the 'genius' (or 'smartness') presented in Girl Hub's approach is the apparent 'fact' that investing in women and girls would 'stop poverty before it starts.' This is the bold claim presented by the Girl Effect's 'The Girl Declaration'. In a manifesto which outlines (through the apparent voice of girls) the needs of girls in the global south, they write, 'A call to action for the post-2015 development agenda: it's time to stop poverty before it starts.' (The Girl Effect 2013). A British government policy document makes the makes the same claim: 'By putting girls and women at the heart of everything we do, we can stop poverty before it starts' (DFID 2010). Certain dangers exist with this claim. For example, the emphasis on youth, potential, and investing in those who *aren't yet in poverty*, ignores and marginalizes those who already are. As Koffman and Gill establish, 'this policy narrative could reinforce a shift of resources away from the adult population that constitutes the majority of women in the developing world' (Koffman and Gill 2013). Images of young people full of potential may be much more appealing than images of older people already living in poverty. This emphasis on youth characterise Girl Hub, with colour schemes, language and an aesthetic which is youthful, contemporary and playful.

As discussed in Chapter One, the narrative of smart economics fits with a WID approach to development. However, there are elements of the materials analysed that show an awareness of the moral and ethical case for gender equality. Part of this disparity can be explained by the different audiences intended to view the materials produced by DFID and Girl Hub/Girl Effect. Whilst a conservative government may stand to gain political points during an election campaign by an emphasis on economic efficiency, other moments and audiences can afford an opportunity to explore other motivations for an emphasis on adolescent girls. For example during the same speech mentioned above, Justine Greening said:

> *'But of course investing in girls isn't just the smart thing to do, it's also the right thing to do. This is a matter of universal, basic human rights. It's about girls' and women's right to have control over their own bodies, to have a voice in their community and country, to live free of violence, to choose who to marry and when...Blocking out women isn't just bad for an economy, it's bad for a society.'* (Greening 2013).

Girl Effect also frames investing in girls as a 'moral decision' as well as an economic one. Rights language is deployed in 'the Girl Declaration', where it is written: 'it's a matter of human rights. The world often neglects the human rights of adolescent girls' (Girl Effect 2013a). This dual

emphasis on rights and economic efficiency apparently provides a complete and water-tight case for investing in adolescent girls.

This gives a somewhat mixed picture of Girl Hub, which many of the critiques of The Girl Effect and smart economics more generally fail to articulate. The problematic nature of smart economics in its simplification of complex social and economic issues, and its supporting of gendered systems of oppression is certainly clearly observed in Girl Hub, however it is nuanced with a clear commitment to the human rights of adolescent girls, and an understanding of gender discrimination being an evil in and of itself. This tension will be further discussed in Chapter Four.

2.2 Empowerment

Empowerment is a concept which has been central to the women's movement. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, social movements working towards more equitable, participatory and democratic forms of social change used the term to denote a '*socio-political process*', which was about 'shifts in political, social, and economic power between and across *both* individual *and* social groups' (Batliwala 2007: 559). Understood as a collective process, women's empowerment was tied to political and transformatory ideas that sought to challenge unequal distributions of power through the structures of gender, race and class (Ibid).

A very different picture of 'empowerment' is presented in Girl Hub's materials. The term 'empowerment' is only ever used in the Girl Effect materials analysed in conjunction with 'economic'. According to the Girl Effect, 'empowerment' is something which can be monetarily measured, and is usually achieved through paid employment. In *Smart Economics*, the narrator charts the troubling life conditions of four Ethiopian girls, including a teenager facing violence, and a girl bearing the burden of domestic work. In coming to an end, the narrator says,

> *'What if these four girls could have a life more like our fifth girl? That's me by the way. My name is Sara and I'm set to graduate from university with a business degree...one day I plan to run my own company... Marriage and a family? Sure, some day. But when I decide.'* (The Girl Effect 2014a).

A career (via university education) is therefore clearly presented as the aspiration to which all adolescent girls ought to work towards and be able to achieve. Part of the reason for this comes in the connection between work force participation and growth in GDP, which is used as a key measure of economic development. The Girl Effect writes in another document, ‘closing the joblessness gap between girls and their male counterparts would yield an increase in GDP of up to 1.2% in a single year’ (The Girl Effect 2014b). This emphasis on GDP fits as part of the bigger commitment to ‘smart economics’, as the ultimate goal is presented as economic development. It fails to address the layers of gender discrimination which may exist in educational institutions, businesses, and the work place.

Education is presented as the key factor in securing other benefits - including employment. DFID’s ‘Gender Manual’ writes ‘Educated women tend to be better nourished; to marry later; have fewer, healthier, better nourished children; who themselves go to school’ (DFID 2008). They assume rather than prove the direction of causality in these inter-related phenomena. Education is presented as the key factor that *causes* women to marry later, which statistics alone would not be able to prove. It could be, for example, that women who have the opportunity of education are less likely to have children early because a cultural bias against women’s education is regularly accompanied by a cultural tendency towards early marriage. Challenging one of these assumptions doesn’t necessarily challenge the other. The statement is blind to the many factors which contribute to early and forced marriage and pregnancy, and indeed to the ways to combat it. Of course, no feminist would argue that education for girls is bad. It is a hugely important goal. The issue problematised here however, is the ends which girls’ education is being used to serve.

This leads us to the conclusion that Girl Hub’s vision of empowerment is somewhat at odds with the feminist imaginary described above. That is, that it comes through an individual’s economic advancement and paid employment. Pearson (2007) characterises this as the ‘Engelian myth’: that women’s empowerment ‘lies in their incorporation into the paid workforce’ (Pearson 2007: 202). Far from the transformative promise that this term previously held, Girl Hub instead promises ‘empowerment-lite’ (Cornwall 2007).

The idea that paid work leads to empowerment has been greatly contested amongst gender and development practitioners (Kabeer 2011, Pearson 2007, Batliwala and Dhanraj 2007). Kabeer et al (2011) conclude that while paid employment can contribute to empowerment, a great deal of

nuance is required to understand this accurately. For example, they contend that it is the *kind* of paid work which matters, not just the *fact* of it (Kaber et al 2011: 30).

Furthermore, the presentation of education as the route to paid employment (which is the route out of poverty) leaves many questions unanswered. For example, where are the jobs going to come from for this newly empowered and enabled work force? The socialist feminist critique against neoliberal economic policies is pertinent here. It's interesting for example that 'Sara', the character represented in 'Smart Economics', sets up her own business, rather than becomes a nurse, teacher, civil servant or public sector worker. The allegiance of Girl Hub and the Girl Effect to a privatized, small-state, deregulated economy is beginning to seem apparent (as discussed in 2.3 below).

A final problem with this education-and-employment-as-empowerment narrative is that it doesn't attempt to address the many thousands of women (and girls) who are already in paid employment, and yet who are in low paid, unregulated, non-unionized jobs. Employment doesn't necessarily change the gendered experience of lower wages, less opportunity, or lower expectation on women. As Kabeer et al write, 'while women's expanded access to paid work may have helped to offset some of the costs associated with their dependent status within marriage, 'patriarchal risk' continues to structure their life trajectories.' (Kabeer et al 2011: 30). For example, neither gendered division of domestic and care work, nor the need for legislation on maternity pay is presented as an aim in Girl Hub.

The reality of paid employment for many women *can* be very *dis*empowering. For example, the 'global care chain' (Hochschild 2000) which has emerged as an integral part of the growth in female paid employment, poses questions about the extent to which paid employment empowers women globally. This 'care chain' comes about when poorer women are employed by higher earning families (often in other countries) to look after their children. For some economies (such as the Philippines) this female labour provides a significant proportion of their GDP. Yet it also creates a system where women are removed from their families, communities and even countries in order to care for someone else's children. From the perspective of corporate globalization, this flexible, cheap workforce is very important. This phenomenon could be held up as a beacon of female empowerment - women earning their own income and contributing to their countries economic growth. Certainly, this is the narrative promoted by governments whose GDPs are boosted by their

international care-force. Yet for those genuinely concerned with women's agency, welfare and empowerment, this is somewhat more problematic.

International migrant domestic workers are predominantly women (Parreñas 2000). And whilst these women are taking care of children in other countries, they hire poorer women to carry out the reproductive labour that they would have carried out at home (Ibid: 577). As Parreñas concludes, this brings about 'a gendered system of transnational capitalism' (Ibid) which relies on both women and *poor* women to continue. This highlights the way in which class and race impacts and intersects with gender in one's experience of empowerment (Glenn 1992). While middle-class women employed in professional well-paid jobs can pay someone else to look after their children, poorer women from the global south experience alienation from their own families and countries, low wages, and few workers' rights. Migrant domestic workers represent a particularly vulnerable group to abuse, because of language difficulty, the informality of domestic work (Davidov 2006), and the difficulty of reporting abuse (Green and Ayalon 2015). This again shows the pernicious sides of global capitalism, and highlights that simply increasing the number of women in paid employment (and creating economic growth) is sometimes *at odds* with the welfare of women and girls.

An analysis of the global care chain also illuminates the ways in which gendered hierarchies exist in the types of jobs that men and women carry out. Glenn (1992) demonstrates the ways in which women, and black women in particular, are characterized as 'innately' suited to caring for children (Ibid: 14). This belief legitimizes and reproduces gendered, class-based and racialised systems which ensnare black poor women in low paid jobs which are characterised as 'unskilled'. And so, simply presenting employment as a means of empowerment can actually serve to perpetuate a capitalist system which is systemically oppressive.

However, as with the balance of the economic and the moral case for investing in girls discussed above, there is another side to the story in terms of Girl Hub's aims and objectives for female empowerment which carry more feminist possibility. Employment does not stand alone as the only goal for the intended beneficiaries of Girl Hub. For example, the Girl Effect Fact Sheet (Girl Effect 2014b) does identify several spheres in which girls experience marginalization - even though the word 'empowerment' is not used in relation to them. The Fact Sheet begins with presenting statistics outlining the dangers of early marriage, followed by the topic of 'multiple births',

followed by ‘economic empowerment’, ‘education’, ‘health’ and ‘safety’. This multi-faceted approach is shared by DFID policy, which lays out that DFID will seek to:

> *‘Delay first pregnancy and support safe childbirth; get economic assets directly go girls and women; get girls through secondary school; prevent violence against women and girls’ (DFID 2011).*

The problem of violence against women is regularly repeated as a major societal problem which must be challenged. This is a key theme of second wave feminism (Eisenstein 1984) and is held by all feminists as a key campaign goal. Justine Greening has said that violence against ‘women and girls is a pandemic’ (Justine Greening 2013), and highlights it as a major battleground. Similarly the elimination of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) has been fought for by DFID, and the UK government has played a significant role in gathering support for this campaign, which fore-fronted the Girl Summit in 2014 (Gov.uk 2014).

The range of areas of life which Girl Hub seeks to challenge are visible through the variety of story lines introduced in Girl Hub Ethiopia’s social communications platform, Yegna. Yegna (meaning ‘ours’ in Amharic) is a girl band, radio show, and social movement which seeks to improve the lives of girls in Ethiopia. The radio show features the girl band, who each have different life stories and challenges to overcome. These story lines are based around five key areas: gender based violence; delay of first birth; eduction; economic empowerment; friendship and trust (The Girl Effect 2014c), and create points of discussion for girls and their wider community on these subjects. This highlights that social, economic and cultural aspects of empowerment are being addressed in the operational side of the Girl Effect in Ethiopia. These are undeniably good goals to work towards. And yet, these are usually framed as problems which can be overcome by girls, with *them* changing and being educated (a feature of neoliberalism - see 2.3 below). Again, structures of oppression are invisible and are not attended to. It seems then that aspects of Girl Hub’s goals are good, they are packaged in a problematic way, and are limited by what they fail to address.

It is informative to consider an alternative to Girl Hub which may have less inherent tension. Just Associates (JASS) is a ‘global women-led human rights network of activists, popular educators and scholars in 31 countries’, who work ‘to ensure women leaders are more confident, better organized,

louder and safer as they take on some of the most critical human rights issues of our time.' (JASS 2015).

Despite having ostensibly similar goals of women's empowerment, JASS' goals are framed very differently from Girl Hub's. JASS provides no explicit mention of GDP as a measure of development, nor of economic development as the explicit goal. Instead, JASS describes it's goal as 'ensuring peace and justice for all' (JASS 2015b). This seems to draw on an underlying presupposition that development ought not to be cast primarily in economic terms. Rather, JASS deploys a different development 'imaginary' - which focuses on capacities. JASS' theory of change seeks to equip women to 'mobilize and amplify political influence; generate and demand resources and freedom from violence; resist injustice and ultimately transform power in both the personal and the public arena.' A key difference in this vision of 'empowerment' and 'development' is that it does not rely on income as a sole measure of it. Rather, the 'capacity' or 'freedom' that a person has presents an alternative, and arguably superior measure. This idea, articulated by Amartya Sen as 'a process of expanding the real freedoms people enjoy' (Sen 1999: 3) presents a challenge to a hegemonic neoliberal paradigm, which seeks the increasing 'marketization' of life, and which measures wellbeing as income. The other key difference in JASS' aims compared to Girl Hub's is that they are clearly political in that 'challenging inequality' (notably, not just *gender* inequality) is cited as a key goal - an element which is absent from Girl Hub's materials.

JASS' challenge to inequality in its various cites has more transformative promise therefore that Girl Hub's comparatively limited project of ensuring that girls can enter effectively into 'the market'.

2.3 Smart economics, individualised empowerment and neoliberalism

The themes of smart economics and empowerment-as-employment/education are both part of a broader neoliberal paradigm which must be addressed. Though linked global capitalism (as critiqued in Chapter One) neoliberalism represents a broader paradigm, which global capitalism can be described as part of. The version of 'empowerment' described above is inherently individualistic, and emblematic of neoliberalism's encouragement of 'self-responsible subjects' (Scharf 2012: 55). Tied intimately with the expansion of global capitalism, neoliberalism can be understood in political

economic terms as a theory which emphasises ‘strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade’ (Harvey 2005, quoted by Scharf 2012: 55).

Neoliberalism has emerged in a context of economic globalization - that is, the increasing inter-dependence and connectedness of national economies and markets. Economic globalization, in turn, emerged historically from the end of the ‘long boom’ (Eisenstein 2009). When this boom slowed down in the 1970s, dramatic changes in the political economic world order were undertaken. During the downturn, the desire to procure the cheapest rates of production and the maximum margins of profit drove multi-national corporations to divide up their production chain in a global market (Ibid). The economic consensus of Keynesianism (a theory legitimizing state intervention in markets) which existed during the ‘long boom’ was thus replaced by that of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism preached a reduced role for the state in economic and social life, which translated into the deregulation of markets and reduced welfare provision. Nancy Fraser characterises this change: ‘reversing the previous formula, which sought to ‘use politics to tame markets’, proponents [of neoliberalism] proposed to use market to tame politics.’ (Fraser 2013: 218). Privatization and deregulation were key features of this new economic paradigm, founded on the principals of the ‘Chicago economists.’

In terms of development policy, the neoliberal consensus has induced a shift from state-led development processes to a neoliberal ‘open door’ vision of development (Eisenstein 2009, Fraser 2013). Some of these policies were enforced through the Structural Adjustment Programmes initiated by the World Bank and International Financial Institutions throughout the 1980s. Whilst state-led development encourages capital-intensive state-driven investments in the economy and state intervention against inequality, neoliberal ‘open door’ development restricts state investment and intervention, leaving the economy to ‘do its thing’ by a survival-of-the-fittest ethic. Development policies which come from this agenda are a focus on individual betterment, eduction, and access to participation in the market - all features already identified in Girl Hub. This tendency can also be witnessed by the enormous growth of microcredit and cash transfer programmes in tackling poverty (Rankin 2001, Molyneux 2006).

As well as the dangers outlined above with these features (see 2.1 and 2.2), at a personal level neoliberalism has been shown to have strongly individualist consequences (Shcarf 2012). The rhetoric of neoliberal governments encourages belief in ‘autonomous, active citizens who engage in

the pursuit of personal fulfillment and who make their life meaningful through acts of choice' (Ibid: 56). These individualizing forces work clearly against feminist understandings of collectivism and structural constraints. Scharf (2012) shows this process at work in the lives of young women in the UK, who have adopted neoliberal individualism to the extent that they refuse to identify their gender or class (and oppression related to these categories) as decisive factors in their lives. Rather, they see themselves as 'capable managers of their own lives', and as 'individuals responsible for success or failure' (Ibid: 57). As Switzer concludes, 'according to this fable, social change processes are reduced to heroic individuals making smart (and good) decisions' (Switzer 2013: 351).

Girl Hub embodies this neoliberal individualism in presenting self-betterment through education and employment as realistic achievable goals for girls through their own 'awakening' and hard work. This undermines and undoes the ways in which cultural, political and economic institutions continue to create 'winners' and 'losers' according to their sex or financial status. These collective groups are dissolved into single units who are described as either 'lazy' or 'hardworking' - which is a gross simplification of the ways sex, class and race have been shown to impact opportunity. It blinds girls to the ways in which their choice is limited by inequitable power structures which are inherent in capitalism, and robs them of a way of fighting against it. In neoliberal development, any attention to structures are 'rendered irrelevent' (Wilson 2015: 17). By placing the responsibility on individuals to carry out their own 'betterment', states are less likely to be held accountable for the unequal distributions of power and wealth within a country.

The features of Girl Hub described in this chapter: emphasis on economic growth; the instrumentalizing of women to this end; the emphasis on young women and avoidance of birth come together as consequences of neoliberalism. Further, they represent an evolution from the 'liberal' feminism described as part of WID in Chapter One to *neoliberal feminism* (Wilson 2015). As Wilson explains, 'the focus on the pre-reproductive, pre-labouring years is thoroughly neoliberal in that intervention via education is constructed as necessary only to produce the idealized neoliberal subject who can negotiate unfettered and unregulated markets with ease, while simultaneously assuming full responsibility for social reproduction' (Wilson 2015:17). Of course, there are elements of this that *can* be viewed as progressive and empowering for women, and yet they co-exist with an inherent commitment to an indvidiualising, capitalist neoliberal framework which is ultimately limiting and dangerous for the world's women and girls.

Chapter Three - Girl Hub's Methods

Having considered the goals of poverty reduction and women's empowerment, Girl Hub's methods are now identified and analysed. Girl Hub works through a variety of channels, including promotional videos, magazines, and social communications platforms including radio shows and even a pop group (Yegna). Two central features were identified and are evaluated below. Firstly, the way that girls are represented in the materials produced by Girl Hub, and secondly the way that change is presented at the attitudinal level. Though threads of feminist thought can be identified, both are shown to limit a transformative vision outlined in Chapter One as a commitment to social, political and economic justice.

3.1 Representations of girls

Girl Hub produces materials which rely on specific representations of girls.

Two of Girl Effect's videos - 'The Girl Effect' and 'The Clock is Ticking' - have been heavily critiqued by post-colonial feminists (Swizter 2013). One key representation of girls in these which post-colonial feminists problematise is the fecundity of women in the global south. Much of the Girl Effect social media focuses on the 'problem' of fertility amongst adolescent girls, targeting early marriage and early pregnancy as evils that must be eradicated. This leads post-colonial feminist critics such as Shain to argue, 'the racialised and sexualised representation of the girl across these videos relies on and reworks colonial stereotypes of black women as overtly sexual and rapacious and in need of fertility control' (Shain 2013: 4.9). The reason that this is such a concern is not just that it may be a simplification of the multiple factors that influence a girls life (Koffman and Gill 2013: 96) but also that it represents a troubling continuation of a colonial obsession with fertility and population growth. The bio-political control of women's bodies for the purpose of development has an ugly history, which includes forced and coercive sterilization (sometimes used as a condition for food relief (Wilson 2015: 12)) as well as the 'dumping' of unsafe or untested contraceptive pills by pharmaceuticals (Ibid).

Careful analysis of wider materials and the work of Girl Hub do confirm problematic representations of girls. Drawing on the theme of neoliberal individualism identified in Chapter

Two, analysis of Girl Hub's materials did highlight deeply contradictory representations of girls as both empowered individuals capable of change, and as enslaved victims in need of saving.

On the one hand, The Girl Effect theory of change relies on a representation of girls as inherently hard-working, successful and ambitious. Switzer (2013) labels this a 'post-feminist fable' of 'adolescent female exceptionalism' (Ibid). Here she updates the concept of 'gender myths and feminist fables' (Cornwall et al 2008) which illuminates 'bowdlerized, impoverished, or just plain wrong representations about gender issues' (Ibid: 2).

The lyrics to one of Yegna's hit songs echo this representation of girls as inherently able, powerful and full of agency:

> *'Let's show our talent, capacity, and our wisdom*
> *Let the world be amazed - let's come together*
> *Let us live together in love*
> *People, let's not be separated...*
> *We have stood up! We have decided! See us - here - we have come!'* (Yegna, 2013)

This lyric (accompanied with a poppy, youthful, energetic sound) is reminiscent of the 'Girl Power' movement propagated by the Spice Girls, which emphasized female capacity, ability and volume. The comparison is fair - especially given the manufactured nature of both groups by large corporations seeking to make money (Driscoll 2010). Both rely on a 'popular feminism' (Koffman and Gill 2013) which seeks to remind girls that they really *can* rise up and change their situation. This deepens our impression of Girl Hub's neoliberal understanding of the individual in society.

Yet the Girl Effect and Girl Hub simultaneously rely on a representation of girls as needing saved. Such a representation can be seen in the *Smart Economics* (Girl Effect 2014a) video based around the life-stories of girls in Ethiopia. Four girls are presented, each as victims of their surroundings. One is soon to be 'married off' by her parents, another already has a child and is a victim of domestic abuse. The video chooses girls who are 'downtrodden victims of patriarchal values' (Koffman and Gill 2013: 85). The narrative produced is one where the women do not have any agency in the circumstances they exist in, but will be granted this agency through the salvific interventions of Girl Hub. This representation stands in stark contrast to the ways in which these

same girls are represented as 'the greatest untapped resource' that the country has, full of capacity and potential for change. This causes the viewer to pose the question: which is it? Are girls full of power and agency, or are they downtrodden victims of patriarchy?

However one can question the extent to which these representations are constructed by Girl Hub/ Girl Effect. Girl Hub consistently and persistently explains that their statements and representations are of *real* girls, from their own voices. Core to the value of Girl Hub is creating a space to listen to the voices of adolescent girls, and to shape their policy agenda around them. The Girl Effect's 'Girl Declaration' (Girl Effect 2013a) was specifically produced in order to make the voice of adolescent girls heard by the global development policy-makers (Girl Effect 2013b). This involved a consultation process with 500 girls in 14 different countries. Girl Hub in Rwanda, known as Ni Nyampinga, relies on real Rwandan girls as their role models and ambassadors. Furthermore, Girl Hub in Ethiopia and Rwanda (and the Girl Effect more generally) invest huge amounts of money in research that seeks to better understand the state of girls. Restless Development were commissioned by Girl Hub Rwanda to 'generate deep qualitative knowledge and understanding about girls' attitudes and realities by hearing from girls direct' (Restless Development 2011).

The emphasis on research and data gathering is admirable, drawing on feminist methodology of opening up spaces for women's voices. Yet it also positions Girl Hub as a leader in knowledge on 'girls'. It validates their methods and conclusions, without necessarily providing the basis on which the research was carried out. This leads to a situation where a commercial organisation 'extends its power and authority over new bodies, institutions and geographies, by asserting itself as an expert' (Moeller 2013: 612). The creation of 'experts' in this way is problematic in its connection with a global corporation whose access to monetary and marketing resources is enormous. It is very different from movements which emphasise grass roots activism and research. Again, JASS provides an illuminating alternative. JASS promotes the voices of women and girls in a way that is a great deal more radical - since there is no corporate intermediary or framework applied to them. Girl Hub's nature, as funded by a multi-million pound corporation with huge marketing budgets and financial and social resources, naturally cause the spectator to question the extent to which the voices of real girls are being heard, since the power structures of global corporations are involved, and the profit motive is bound up in the actions of the marketeers.

The dichotomous presentation of girls in the global south (as both agentic and victims) is mirrored in the differential presentation of girls in the global north and south. According to post-colonial feminists, Girl Effect media relies on an assumption that girls in 'developed' countries are fully empowered, liberated and have no need for feminist activism, compared to girls from 'developing' countries, who need to be educated, sterilized, and consumerised.

These framings rely on an 'othering' process which the Girl Effect media employs (Koffman and Gill 2013: 98). This process creates a wedge between girls in the North and South, and relies on a very particular portrayal of girls in the south.

However, there was evidence in the materials analysed that Girl Hub partners do not stick to this north/south divide in representations as rigidly as post-colonial feminists have asserted. Justine Greening, in a speech which lays out DFID's core priorities for bettering the lives of women and girls, says:

> *'I don't think we can engage credibly with others if we're not tackling our own issues at home. What would [the suffragettes] think of Britain and women's rights today? A hundred years later and we've seen just one female leader of a major political party, just one female prime minister, in 2010 women made up just 12.5% of the boards of FTSE 100 companies. Two thirds of public appointments go to men...We need to get our own house in order.'* (Greening 2013).

It is therefore not necessarily clear that Girl Hub or DFID seek to drive a hierarchical narrative regarding the north and south. And yet, this quote from Justine Greening deepens our understanding of the limited and individualist vision that DFID has for girls. Having more women on the board of FTSE 100 companies wouldn't necessarily change the gendered dimensions of domestic work, or the inherently inequitable structures of global capitalism, in which women are predominantly the losers. This demonstrates the ways in which feminism is a diverse movement, and the ways in which feminist principals can be used to problematic ends - a tension which will be addressed in Chapter Four.

3.2 Creating Change

Girl Hub materials consistently specify attitudinal change as a key means of bringing about the goals identified in Chapter Two. An emphasis on the need for *girls* to change is clear in the materials analysed. For example, the seven foci of Girl Hub in Rwanda (identified in a report produced be Restless Development) all work around a girl's responsibility, rather than on deeper processes of social change. They include aims such as:

> *'Girlhood: enjoying being a girl; Money: understanding how to deal with money; Health: being able to look after their own health; Ambition: expecting more from their own futures'* (Restless development 2011).

These aims put all of the emphasis for change on the girl and her need to better herself. This fits in well with the neoliberal individualistic narrative of self-improvement and agency. Key to the strategy of girls improving their own lots is the production and cultural reification of 'role models'. Yegna, the social communications platform development by Girl Hub Ethiopia works on this premise. The girls in the band act as characters in a radio show and are lifted up as aspirational figures which girls can work to be like (Girl Effect 2014c). The idea of these roles models is to inspire girls to be more like them, to develop belief in themselves, and to create for themselves a more prosperous future.

Though seemingly in line with the 'conscious-ness raising movement' of second wave feminism which highlighted the need for women to become aware of their own oppression (Eisenstein 1984: 35), the lack of attention to greater power structures in social, economic and political life is obvious. Girls are consciousness-raised to become responsible neoliberal entrepreneurs, rather than to be aware of the systemic oppression they may be subject to. The Girl Effect narrative relies on the idea that *girls* can bring about alleviation of poverty for themselves, their families, their communities and even their countries. As identified earlier, this claim obfuscates the entrenched inequality in the socio-economic system. As Hayhurst writes, the Girl Effect theory of change does not address 'the structural inequalities that continue to exacerbate the marginalization of these young women in the first place' (Hayhurst 2013: 1.5). Just as Richey and Ponte write of another corporate social responsibility project, Girl Hub claims that 'something can be done about poverty and against deadly disease without undermining the basic cultural or economic structures of the capitalist

system' (Richey and Ponte 2008: 725). Again, this puts Girl Hub in stark contrast with organisations like JASS. JASS is explicit in their method of female empowerment of equipping women to 'deepen their analysis of power and injustice in their lives and their world' (JASS 2015b).

It is true that the materials produced for Girl Hub in Rwanda, Ethiopia and Nigeria do not contain many overt references to legislation or governance in their materials. In fact, in the materials analysed, few existed. The Girl Declaration (2013) is an exception, and Justine Greening (2013) does make considerable reference to the need for legislation to protect women against violence as a means of empowering women globally.

However, there is again a more nuanced picture which needs considered. Though the core message of self-improvement and agency comes across very clearly, so too does the need to engage wider society in a project of change. This is primarily at the attitudinal level, rather than at a legislative or economic level. Yegna seeks to engage people from all parts of communities, and not just adolescent girls. One of the creators of the Yegna radio drama writes,

> *'It's also important to recognise that there's only a certain amount that girls can do for themselves. Parents, teachers, community leaders and religious leaders: all these people have a huge influence on girls. So we created secondary characters beyond the main ones, who demonstrate the changes we need to see in the wider community.'* (Harford 2014).

This quote explains that in the radio programme produced by Girl Hub Ethiopia there are role models for other members of the community - and so girls are not the only people expected to change. Yegna also encourages discussion groups in response to the radio drama which allows people to reflect on the role models together. An attack on 'discriminatory social norms' is a clear aim for Girl Hub, as well as for DFID. UK government policy states that the UK will work to 'tackle the discriminatory social norms that underlie early and forced marriage' (DFID 2010) and Justine Greening emphasizes the need to 'work with boys and men as partners in challenging discrimination and violence against girls and women' (Greening 2013).

Of course it needs to be asked whether the social norms approach, driven by social marketing (the idea that you can sell products like 'brotherhood' in the same way that you sell 'soap' (Krisjanous

2014)) is effective in bringing about real change for women and girls, beyond a psychological sense of their own empowerment. Girl Hub provides several stories of such effective change. In 'The Yegna Effect', the viewer is introduced to 'Ali':

> *'Ali used to live on the streets. He never went to school. Yegna for him is a source for education. It has changed the way he treats women. [Ali:] 'Here, violence against girls, sexual assault and unwanted pregnancy are common. Yegna has helped me to change my perception. Now that I can see things are changing I can see a better future for my daughter'* (Girl Effect 2015b).

Conversations amongst families are also cited as a positive outcome. The magazine produced by Ni Nyampinga has a very high readership in Rwanda, and one woman says:

> *'There are certain things I did not know how to tackle when talking to my daughter but it all changed with the 'Ask Auntie' column on the Ni Nyampinga show. Now I can talk to my daughter about pretty much anything'* (Girl Effect 2014d).

While this is obviously self-promotion and the use of clearly supportive people, the scale of reader and listenership of Ni Nyampinga (over 400 000 reading the magazine and over 350 000 listening to the radio show) mean that large community-wide participation in discussion seems at least imaginable. The exposure of these programmes is unsurprising given the nature of the marketing resources available to the Nike Foundation.

However, significant problems remain with an approach reliant on social norms. Though there is evidence that a social norms approach can have an impact on gaining mens' support in the fight against violence against women (Fabiano et al 2015), attitudes are one limited part of social change (Amine and Staub 2009). Other aspects such as legislation, financial incentives, and the uncovering of systematic discrimination are absent. Furthermore, a recent report published by the Independent Commission for Aid Impact acknowledges that there is very little data to measure what extent a change in social norms in Ethiopia and Rwanda can be attributed to Girl Hub (ICAI 2015). Indeed, it acknowledges that Girl Hub Nigeria has failed largely *because* of 'entrenched gender norms' (Ibid: 41). This failure highlights the need for a political action which provides a better environment for change.

Chapter Four - Explaining Ambivalence

The picture of Girl Hub that has emerged in Chapters One to Three is one that contains inherent tension for the feminist observer. Much of the content of Girl Hub's materials contain elements that draw on feminist thinking, such as the emphasis on the voices of girls; the battle to end violence against women; and the challenging of attitudes which limit girls' opportunities. As Cornwall admits, 'on one level, the battle appears to have been won. 'Gender equality' and women's empowerment appear on the top of bilateral and multilateral donors statement of intent' (Cornwall 2007: 71). And yet, the many inequalities inherent in global capitalism which aren't addressed can leave the observer feeling that these apparent accomplishments are nothing more than a 'chimera of success' (Molyneux 2004). In this chapter, this ambivalence will be theorized and accounted for.

The way that Girl Hub packages its 'gains' for girls is thoroughly neoliberal (as established in chapters Two and Three). An understanding of the relationship between feminism and global capitalism (or neoliberalism) will therefore unpack the tension and ambivalence inherent in an appraisal of Girl Hub. Both Hester Eisenstein (2009) and Nancy Frazer (2013) provide compelling accounts of the way in which feminist principals have been *useful* to governments seeking to advance a neoliberal agenda. Their accounts provide a framework through which the ambiguity and ambivalence of feminists towards projects such as Girl Hub and the Girl Effect can be theorized.

The particularly troubling and powerful element of Eisenstein's critique is the way in which she illuminates how feminist principals were themselves useful to neoliberalising political forces. The key cite of contestation which she addresses is the area of paid work, and women's participation in the workforce. She suggests that feminist critique of this area has been 'used' by neoliberal governments to forge a new 'hegemonic' or 'mainstream' feminism (Eisenstein 2009: 40) which is ubiquitous, yet robbed of the transformative power that feminist thought initially maintained. 'Hegemonic' feminism has goals of women's full and unfettered incorporation into the labour market on exactly the same grounds that men are.

> *'The dominant, mainstream version* [of feminism] *emphasized women as self-sufficient individuals. This feminism came to be identified with liberation from patriarchal constraints. The right to earn a living so as not to be dependent financially on a husband; the right to develop one's skills and abilities to the fullest; the right to control*

fertility so as not to be shackled by endless years of childbearing: in short, feminism U.S. style came to mean individualism and the right to participate in the market economy as a worker or entrepreneur in one's own name, separated from one's role as a wife and/or mother.' (Eisenstein 2005: 498).

She charts the different feminist approaches to work through the twentieth century - from labour feminists who sought particular protections for women workers (against certain forms of physical work, working hours etc) to middle-class feminists who sought to 'compete on a level playing field with men' (Eisenstein 2009: 47). This 'level playing field' feminism came out on top, as seen in the embrace of the Equal Rights Ammendment in the USA. This fault line of class was mirrored with a fault-line with race in the United States, where black women had predominantly low-paid, insecure employment. The middle class, white feminists who fought for 'a new world world for women in which paid work, rather than marriage, was their primary means of support' (Ibid: 48) can be seen as being complicit in the contemporary construction of empowerment-as-employment. The reason that this idea was so whole-heartedly adopted by governments and neoliberal pioneers was that economic globalization and the pursuit of economic growth requires an increasing, flexible workforce. As Eisenstein goes on, 'the feminist 'revolution' of the 1960s and 1970s was undergirded by the demands of the capitalist economy for women's labour' (Ibid). This would explain Girl Hub's emphasis on employment as a means to empowerment. Paid employment seems to be an answer for both girl's (or feminisms?) *and* neoliberalism's demands. Women experience an identity beyond 'wife/mother/daughter', and large multi-national corporations have a flexible, cheap workforce.

This concept of 'identity' is central to the way in which Nancy Frazer charts the rise of 'hegemonic' feminism. She shows how the goal of 'redistribution', central to second wave feminism, was changed to 'recognition' (Fraser 2008, 2013). Whilst original feminist goals were political in nature, working towards greater equality and justice, Fraser argues that these goals were seen to be too difficult, too complex, and too unachievable. She charts a 'major shift in the feminist imaginary' (Ibid: 105) away from political goals of redistribution and towards the cultural goal of 'recognition' - an identity based concept. Of course, some feminists retained a more political vision, yet 'mainstream', 'hegemonic' or 'popular' feminism did not. This 'recognition' involved attitude change towards women and the way that they are characterised and culturally understood. Girl Hub's work towards attitudinal change in girls and about girls fits neatly in this version of 'tamed'

feminism. The ‘decoupling’ of the economic, cultural and political elements of justice (Fraser 2013: 210) which were held together in the original construction of second wave feminism (according to Fraser) led to a feminism which lost its critique of ‘economism’, ‘andro-centrism’ ‘etatism’ and ‘westphalianism’ (Ibid: 212-213). Thus, the feminist project became complicit in the neoliberalisation of the socio-economic world order.

Unpacking this relationship further, we can identify specific aspects of the desire for paid employment which ‘hegemonic’ feminism has advanced and which have proven ‘useful’ to neoliberal governments. The first, identified by both Frazer and Eisenstein, is the attack on the family wage. Another contested issue within the feminist movement, the family wage was attacked during the mid-nineteenth century as a patriarchal notion which kept wives under a husbands’ power. Women’s entry into the workforce undermined the argument for a family wage. Yet the family wage wasn’t just a gendered issue, it was a class issue (Eisenstein 2005: 501). Here again the distinct contribution of socialist feminist thought is powerful. Though largely ‘bourgeois’ women whose household income was already relatively high fought against a ‘family’ wage as a patriarchal anachronism, it had represented a victory for working class women whose families were made more secure with this notion in place (Ibid). The demise of the family wage also suited corporations who could pay lower wages. Thus, the ubiquity of dual earner households has come hand in hand with stagnated wages. The legacy of the death of the family wage is outlined by Nancy Frazer: ‘once the centre piece of a radical critique of andro-centrism, it serves today to intensify capitalism’s valorization of waged labour’ (Frazer: 2013: 221). Of course, neither Frazer or Eisenstein would argue for a return to the complete dependence of women on their husbands for financial security. Yet, it is important to note the ‘high price’ (Eisenstein 2005: 501) which the death of the family wage has cost, and the ‘usefulness’ which this has had to global capitalism.

A second key area of feminist thought which has been useful to, or co-opted by, political elites was the ‘abolition of gender’ (Ibid: 65). This other key element of second wave feminist thinking as displayed by authors such as Kate Millet (1970) became popularized through an attack on the assumption that gender roles are innate and natural. Eisenstein cogently argues that this rejection of biological essentialism was as well intertwined with a political reality - the lack of provision of maternal welfare in the United States (Ibid: 69). She writes, ‘it became a kind of feminist orthodoxy that women were primarily to be identified by their work, rather than by their role as wife and mother.’ (Ibid: 69). The desire to be identified by paid employment has been useful - in neoliberal

states (and seen initially in the United States) - to policy makers seeking to roll back the welfare state and increase individual responsibility. A limited welfare state is a key feature of neoliberal reform agendas, which usually aim for unhampered economic growth through the private sector, and the increased marketisation of every aspect of life. This policy change can be seen historically through the near reversal of the New Deal packages during the 1990s in the U.S.A., when 'workfare' replaced 'welfare', which abolished the idea of assistance as a right to single mothers who needed welfare to take care of their children (Eisenstein 2005: 501). This blindness to the specific needs of women as mothers is evident in Girl Hub. Moreover, the neoliberal consensus which it is part of legitimizes and encourages governments to have reduced welfare states, which impacts women negatively (Eisenstein 2009:144). Neoliberal structural adjustment programmes popular in development policy have been shown to generally require the 'replacement of free medical, education and water services with services requiring fees' (Ibid). This places a particularly heavy burden on those who have caring roles for others - predominantly the world's women.

Therefore this analysis put forward by Eisenstein establishes a framework through which we can understand the tension existing in contemporary feminised anti-poverty programmes, and Girl Hub in particular. Her analysis includes specific emphasis on the global south, and the ways in which the guise of feminist intervention (encouraging women's full participation in the work force) allows UN agencies, the World Bank and IFIs to target women and girls as the most effective tool for development. Of course, there are elements of this agenda which are universally attractive to anyone claiming to be part of the feminist movement. And yet, a socialist feminist framework illuminates the problematic nature of the idea that paid employment is the key to women's empowerment and the undoing poverty. The Girl Effect relies on this claim. Eisenstein powerfully critiques this view, arguing that 'there is a tool for development more effective than women's empowerment: namely, state-led development that directs investment towards the needs of everyone in the society.' (Eisenstein, 2009: 138).

The analysis of Girl Hub's materials carried out in Chapters Two and Three presented an ambiguous picture - with promising elements alongside troubling realities. This nuance can be explained by Eisenstein's theory of a 'dangerous liaison' (Eisenstein 2005) between feminism and corporate globalization. Key themes that have been propagated by feminists in the past are clearly established in Girl Hub, such as the right to economic independence and education, and yet are presented in ways which can be viewed as deeply problematic. We are left with a troubling conclusion: that

while we may think we are advancing the cause of feminism, we are in fact advancing the cause of neoliberal global capitalism. Girl Effect media, targeted at girls in the global north, lets its listeners feel part of a campaign to benefit girls. Yet they become complicit in a project that is also inherently linked to processes which damage women and girls. As Eisenstein concludes, 'the legitimization of feminism masks the radical restructuring of the world economy, and the glitter of economic liberation disguis[es] the intensification of poverty for the vast majority of women.' (Ibid 2005: 511).

This critique may provide the key to unlocking ways in which development activists and practitioners can improve girl-centered aid programmes. Re-capturing the 'feminist imaginary' of a truly just society, through a careful analysis of economic, political and cultural power administered on a collective basis, provides a promising foundation for moving forward. Alongside realigning feminism with the left, one of the solutions to this complex problem lies in the recovering of gender from the 'abolition of gender' that 'hegemonic feminism' has propagated (Eisenstein 2009: 227). Eisenstein's argument is that doing away with gender roles has in fact done away with 'womanly virtues' such as maternalism, and that rather than relegating these virtues, instead they ought to be 'writ large' (Ibid: 228). This would mean a 'parental' or 'family state', akin to the political and social consensus found in some Scandinavian countries. This powerful critique presents a more radical, more ambitious and more empowering goal than that presented by Girl Hub, which reifies and participates in a socio-political system which is deeply problematic.

Conclusion

This analysis has drawn out complex and conflicting results in terms of Girl Hub's articulation and expression of feminist ideals - an ambiguity which is not always appreciated by those critiquing only the Girl Effect videos (Shain 2013, Switzer 2013, Koffman and Gill 2013). Girl Hub represents a victory for feminists in many senses - loudly voicing the arguments for girls to be properly educated; for violent practices like female genital mutilation to be stopped; and for attitudes which hold girls in a negative light to be challenged. None of these things in and of themselves can be viewed as limiting or diminishing the lives of girls and women around the world.

However, the socialist feminist critique advanced in this study has illuminated the troubling package which these positive features come in. Girl Hub has been shown to be part of a neoliberal advance of global capitalism. Though some feminists argue that this is compatible with a concern for women and girls (Cudd 2011), it has been shown to unravel collective identities, obfuscate systemic injustices, and ignore the gendered nature of responsibility, and is therefore deeply problematic.

Perhaps more troubling is the way in which feminism, and the concern for women and girls, has been shown to be used as a vehicle for neoliberalism. The very programmes which end up harming women (for example the shrinking of welfare states) come packaged in a veneer that claims to be most concerned about them. As Eisenstein has pointed out however, the 'dangerous liaison' that feminism and global capitalism have created means that many of these elements are hard to disentangle. It would seem that Girl Hub does fit well in Eisenstein's 'hegemonic, mainstream' feminism, with its celebration of 'smart economics', aspiration of employment, and emphasis on individual improvement and betterment (via education). It presents a dangerously simplistic answer to complex social problems, which means that girls are almost set up to fail. Further, it does not present anything near the radical, political challenge presented by other feminist groups such as JASS.

Should feminists endorse Girl Hub? Chant and Sweetman (2012) are wary, writing 'feminists working in development...need to be very careful about supporting, and working in coalition with, individuals and institutions who approach gender equality through the lens of smart economics' (Chant and Sweetman 2012: 526). And yet engaging with Girl Hub fully does not allow

for a clear rejection. It is this ambiguity which is most troubling, and is explained by the way neoliberal governments and corporations have ‘co-opted’ feminist ideas in order to promote increased employment and economic growth. While this has led to a situation that can prompt certain celebration from feminist activists and practitioners, the critical edge of feminist work must continue to point out what Girl Hub and other ‘girl focused’ development agendas are lacking, such as attention to gendered dimensions of responsibility, and the problematic inequalities inherent in neoliberal global capitalism. This may require a great deal of reflection within the socialist feminist community, such as a consideration to which the extent the ‘abolition of gender’ has helped or hindered the cause of women around the world. This reassessment and continued critique is essential if girls (and therefore the world?) are to gain from Girl Hub, rather than be limited by it.

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Appendix

List of materials analysed

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