

Introduction

The Significance of Place in Girlhood Studies

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What's Place Got To Do With It?

From the bouncy pop songs of Taylor Swift to recent activist videos that make visible sexual and racial harassment against girls and social media networks that reveal girl activists in action, girls loudly proclaim their needs and rights to places for and as girls. Place is a stage and practice of power; it is also the site of great pleasures and possibilities for girls. As Timothy Cresswell argues, “Experience is at the heart of what place means” because place is something that is practiced and enacted in girls’ daily lives (2009: 2). As geographers Doreen Massey and Nigel Thrift argue, “place has become one of the key means by which the social sciences and humanities are attempting to lever open old ways of proceeding and telling new stories about the world” (Massey and Thrift, 2009: 276-277), a world that is deeply marked and territorialized around lived experiences of gender, race, sexuality, class, age, citizenship and other social differences, privileges and oppressions. Just as place as a concept is of great significance to geography, so, too, is it crucial to the study of girlhood.

The chapters of this book approach place as an especially productive and enabling concept in the field of Girlhood Studies, one that provides needed specificity to the very meaning of “girl.” Reflecting on her study of country girlhood in Australia, Catherine Driscoll argues that local specificity “produces and evaluates styles of girlhood and distinctions between types of girl” (2008: 78) in ways that, without explicit attention to space and place, tend to be grouped under the less-diversified term *girl culture*. From special journal issues in the field on the place-based and regional specificity of different Girlhood Studies, such as the 2013 special issue of *Girlhood*

Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal on Nordic research, to the international character and reach of scholarship on girls, Girlhood Studies is increasingly a multi-sited and transnational field that pays more and more attention to place, locale not only as “sites” of research, but as what is itself being researched. The contributors to this volume approach place not as a static container for girls and their practices but, instead, as an active, material production of power and social relationships as feminist geographers such as Doreen Massey (1994) and Linda McDowell (1999) demonstrate.

Following media historian Susan Douglas’s (1994) call to “go where the girls are,” Girlhood Scholars locate the contested geographies of girlhood in places as distinct as the school washroom and toilet, the playing field, the school bus, the public park, the offices of policy makers, the river bank, and, of course, as McRobbie and Garber (1976, 1991) clearly established almost four decades ago, the bedroom. “Children’s identities,” feminist geographers Sarah Holloway and Gill Valentine argue, “are constituted in and through particular spaces” that, as Girlhood Studies scholars argue, is further modified by gender (Holloway and Valentine, 2000: 765; see also James 1990). Alongside Sharon Mazzeralla’s (2008) assertion that “there is no longer a *single* girl in Girl Studies,” this book aims to demonstrate that there is also no single *place* for studies of girlhood either (see, for example, Bettis and Adams 2005).

Place, and geography more specifically, is also a contentious reality that shapes girls’ lives; girls and young women struggle to assert their rights to territory and autonomous spaces, to represent their experiences of belonging to and relating with others in key spaces of learning, working, playing, consuming, and, as Mary Thomas (2005) argues, *hanging out* in the city. They may do

so in ways that resist or oppose adult forms of spatial control and also in ways that conflict directly with institutionalized forms of adult power with dire results, such as, for example, the targeting of racialized girls for lock up by the local police. However, Thomas (2005) argues against a model that sees girls' spatiality as primarily a reactive response to adult control of social space. For Doreen Massey, the issue of control over, and of, spatiality "is part of the process of defining the social category of 'youth' itself" (1998: 127; quoted in Thomas 2005: 588), in particular by adults invested in containing youth through, for example, practices of racialized and sexualized surveillance and control. Much of that social control seeks to contain girls by removing them from public space. Against constructs that see the street as a space of (often sexualized and gendered) danger and threat, for Hugh Matthews, Melanie Limb and Mark Taylor, "the street is [also] a key communal location where girls meet to socialize" (1999; cited in Thomas 2005: 588). To create spaces of their own, girls must struggle to assert their rights to place-making practices that often put them into conflict with institutionalized power structures.

Where *Are* The Girls?

Girlhood and the Politics of Place is part of an effort to develop more responsive methods and tools of analysis for examining the different context-specific conditions in which girls live, learn, play and organize. It aims to deepen understanding of the place-making practices of girls and young women through multi-national studies, taking up work with and about girls in Canada, Australia, the UK, the US, Rwanda and South Africa. The work published here is necessarily cross-disciplinary in character, drawing on research across fields of study such as health, literary and historical studies, art history, communications, media studies, sociology, and education, while addressing a range of social and historical factors that shape the lives and social spaces of

girls.

The focus on place allows for in-depth investigation of how girlhood is positioned in relation to interdisciplinary and transnational research methodologies, media environments, geographic locations, historical and social spaces; it is also an important area of study in and of itself. In looking at methods of analysis in the field, we consider how girlhood scholars construct and deploy research frameworks that directly engage girls in the research process. Several chapters draw on visually-inflected and media-based methods of inquiry, using strategies and tools such as photovoice as developed by Caroline Wang (1999) in her work with Chinese women, and as developed further with girls and young women (see Mitchell, 2011 a, b). For example, Lysanne Rivard uses photovoice with girls in Rwanda and the claims they make about the significance of physical education in their lives, while Katie MacEntee explores digital storytelling in her work on sex education and HIV advocacy with youth in rural South Africa.

In this volume Marnina Gonick uses experimental multi-channel documentary video to refract the issues girls face through a different kind of lens, one that, as Krista Genevieve Lynes (2012) argues, is a political and aesthetic strategy of prismatic media, “a semiotic and aesthetic disruption of figuration in social practice...firmly located within a complex politics of location” (20). Multichannel video in particular “break[s] apart an image into a series of visions or a site, an event or a subject” (68) that, in the case of Gonick’s work, refuses any easy connections between girls, their identities and the landscapes they inhabit, and instead provides a place-based visual testament to the affinities, commonalities and differences that shape their lives. Drawing on visual analysis, Jacqueline Reid-Walsh’s work on eighteenth and nineteenth century

flapbooks demonstrates the ways in which the visual and material culture of girlhood-in-history offers a rich landscape. The visual can also be a tool for critical reflexive engagement and memory-work as we see in Loren Lerner's chapter on young women's engagement with visual art in the university classroom, and in Teresa Strong-Wilson's chapter on memory-work that uses family photographs. In more broad-reaching analyses of the practice of method, Caroline Caron and Claudia Mitchell's chapters examine feminist modes of critical reflexive engagement as both phenomenon and method.

Girlhood and the Politics of Place also sets out to deepen understanding of the difference that from-the-ground-up analytic approaches can make in policy and advocacy that is aimed at and developed by girls. Tatiana Fraser, Alyssa Louw, Njani Sajnani and Stephanie Austin explore the workings of the Montreal-based Girls Action Foundation while Lena Palacios focuses on girls' transformative justice activism and the community-based contexts in which they organize.

The chapters in *Girlhood and the Politics of Place* discuss not only the places in which girls can be found but it also brings together scholars —some established and some new— from Canada, Australia, the UK and the US as well as members of non-governmental organizations who are uniquely positioned to address a range of place-based, cross-national perspectives on the study of girlhoods. By bringing together academics, community-based researchers and policy makers, we aim to offer a cross-section of conversations about girlhood so as to consider how we might improve research and knowledge dissemination with, for, and about girls. It is our hope that the chapters here will assist researchers, students, teachers, advocates and policy makers alike to create, and respond to, girl-focused research that emerges from grounded perspectives on girls'

lives.

We recognize that Girlhood Studies researchers in the academy and advocates working in the non-for-profit and policy sectors face particular challenges when it comes to translating knowledge about girls' lives into policy action and community support initiatives. For academic researchers, these challenges include creating opportunities for difficult cross-disciplinary exchanges between and among scholars in the social sciences, humanities and professional fields such as education. Academic and non-profit sector agents struggle to mobilize knowledge about girls that can inform policy. Additionally, the international and cross-sector scale of Girlhood Studies demands collaboration and then requires maintenance of those collaborative relationships. We recognize both the exciting possibilities of transnational research in the increasingly globalizing contexts of policy making and media making that directly impact girls' lives, and the great difficulty of doing so in long-term sustainable ways. Several chapters in the book result from the forms of long-standing collaborations we are talking about, while others are the result of newly emergent ones: both enable crucial forms of cross-sector exchange and offer possibilities of social transformation that this book seeks to foster.

As several chapters illustrate, contemporary work in Girlhood Studies is situated in a global context shaped by major media industries that too often "love to sensationalize, victimize, and create panic about girls and young women" (Girls Action Foundation 2010:n.p.). Global economies and shifting patterns of immigration and migration also powerfully shape the contexts in which girls live and learn. Researchers studying girls must, in turn, account for these intersecting realities and develop a critical set of methodological tools that enable them to deploy

intersectional ways of thinking across national and international contexts and multiple intersecting lines of oppression and privilege. Indigenous and racialized girls, for example, are still routinely portrayed as “exploitable and expendable” (Downe 2005: 3), appearing far less frequently in media and policy discourse as significant girl citizens than do girls identified with and within white settler colonialism (see Marnina Gonick 2010). Against frameworks that overemphasize what Linda Smith (2012) and other scholars refer to as the damage-centered and deficit-oriented approaches to racialized and indigenized girlhoods (see Sandrina de Finney, Marnina Gonick, and Lena Palacios, this volume), Girlhood Studies scholars are developing frameworks that see girlhood less as an identity and more as “a situated, collective, and relational event” implicated in relations of power (de Finney, this volume). As Sandrina de Finney argues, unless we decolonize not only the frameworks of research that are associated with white-settler-identified feminism but also the very practices of territorial displacement and colonial segregation in which they participate, studies of racialized and indigenous girlhoods will continue to replicate this misrepresentation and the disenfranchisement of indigenous girls. In this way, decolonization is not a metaphor or an empty signifier, as Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2012) argue; it is a practice of repatriation. If we approach girls not as problems-to-be-solved or subjects-to-be-rescued but as potential agents who face systemic barriers to their own agency and autonomy, we can stop linking them to research constructions that re-colonize their subjectivities and experiences (Mazzarella and Pecora 2007).

This is not the first book on girlhood to study the lives of girls within the frameworks of place and geography. Indeed, it builds on other texts on girlhood and place such as *Geographies of Girlhood* (Bettis and Adams 2005), and Mitchell and Reid-Walsh’s (2002) *Researching*

Children's Popular Culture: Cultural Spaces of Childhood that explores the many spaces for research on (and with) girls and childhood, including virtual spaces, memory spaces, girls' bedroom spaces, and historical spaces. The different places and spaces of schooling, in particular, have been explored by various authors across different spatialized contexts: from school toilets (Mitchell 2008; SajanVirgi and Mitchell, 2011), playgrounds (Bhana 2005), and the school media lab (Doyon 2009) to the school concert (Walkerdine, 1991) and the pre-school play room (Thorne 2003).

But it also builds on work that distinguishes between the private and public spaces in girls' lives (see Lincoln, 2012), raising the issues of safety and security, gender violence and sexual harassment as is discussed at length in Moletsane, Mitchell, Smith and Chisholm's 2008 book *Methodologies for Mapping a Southern African Girlhood*. Such concerns are not limited to the Global South as Leach and Mitchell (2006) highlight in their edited book *Combating Gender Violence in and Around Schools*, but are a systemic structural feature of the worlds in which girls live and learn.

Placing the Chapters of Girlhood and the Politics of Place

In *Girlhood and the Politics of Place* contributors conceptualize place to include a variety of sites in which girlhood is made and remade. As a feature of contemporary girlhood studies, place and space for girls transverses online and offline worlds, as we see in Connie Morrison's chapter on girls and their avatars and in Jessalyn Keller's chapter on girls and feminist blogging in this volume. Several of the contributors take into consideration the non-urban context of girlhood by looking explicitly at rural, remote and country locations (see Catherine Driscoll and Marnina

Gonick). As many of the contributions illustrate, schools still remain key locations in which girlhood, where notions of feminist girlhood are being actively produced and negotiated but also limited and circumscribed. The specific sites of girlhood that our contributors address include secondary school classrooms (Rebecca Raby and Shauna Pomerantz, Jessica Ringrose and Emma Renold), university classrooms (Loren Lerner, Claudia Mitchell) the extra-curricular school space (Katie MacEntee), and the sports field (Lysanne Rivard). Place, as they demonstrate, is a practice and a way of imagining girls' realities in the social spaces of schooling and education.

The book is divided into four sections: each is framed around a particular conceptualization of place. While there is some overlap between and among the focus of the chapters, the four sections offer readers a map of the differing features of place in relation to girls' lives. These include "Girls in Latitude and Longitude" (Section One), a term borrowed from Marnina Gonick's chapter, which serves to examine the relationship between physical and historical location and identity construction for girls living and studying in different parts of the world. "Situated Knowledge, Self-Reflexive Practice" (Section Two) brings together chapters that critically examine the location and positionality of Girlhood Studies scholars and their own place-making research practices. "Girls and Media Spaces" (Section Three), drawing on Divya McMillin's urging that, in order "to extend critical inquiry on girls globally...the point of entry has to shift to context rather than medium" (2008: 84), unpacks the relationship between social space and mass and mobile mediation that shapes girls' experiences. Rather than presume the significance of media in girls' lives, McMillin suggests instead that media ought to matter in studies of girlhood insofar as its analysis can reveal important features and critical vantage points

on the contexts of girls' lives. Section Three starts a crucial dialogue about activism and media justice that continues in the chapters that make-up Section Four of the book, "Studying the Spaces of Girls' Activism." Here the focus is on the cross-sector forms of communication, practice and media-making that occurs between and among community organizations, policy making bodies, schools and girls' autonomous activism, thus modeling different possibilities for doing this significant work.

Girls in Latitude and Longitude

"Girls in Latitude and Longitude" starts with a chapter by indigenous scholar Sandrina de Finney, who proposes new ways of approaching indigenous girlhood within the context of settler colonialisms. Interrogating the concepts of trauma and place through which the lives of indigenous girls are often framed, de Finney offers presencing as a transformative research practice "to enact a different praxis of girlhood" that is politicized and truly decolonizing. In her chapter she draws on her ethnographic work with girls in Victoria and other parts of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, Canada.

Marnina Gonick's chapter asks what question the visual opens up in studying Inuk and indigenous girls' lives? Building on the experience of co-producing a video art installation *Voice in Longitude and Latitude*, the chapter considers "what new ideas about girls and girlhood may emerge in the intra-action of bodies, landscapes, places, and other matter and what new concepts of place materialize with the insertion of a multiplicity of girlhood bodies". Drawing on ten years of ethnographic research with girls living in rural Australia, Catherine Driscoll then examines in her chapter "Nowhere to Go, Nothing to Do: Place, Desire, and Country Girlhood" how rural

Australian girls interpret and challenge policy and popular discourse of the anti-modern country girl, articulating their agency in terms that challenge the portrayal of the rural as little more than a space of economic and educational crisis.

Turning to the physical and social space of the classroom, Rebecca Raby and Shauna Pomerantz explore what girls have to say about such factors as school climate, the dumbing down of curricula, the reputation of the school, popularity, and the pressures on girls in relation to school success in their chapter, “Landscapes of Academic Success: Smart Girls and School Culture.” Their research produces “a powerful portrait of the impact of school culture on academic success [in having] a diversity of girls’ in-depth analyses of what it means to be smart both in their own schools and across a variety of schools.”

Situated Knowledge, Self-Reflexive Practice

Self-reflexive practice is one of the defining features of feminist research. The four chapters in this section draw on a variety of narrative forms in order to highlight in different ways what this might mean to Girlhood Studies.

Claudia Mitchell’s chapter “Charting Girlhood Studies” starts the section with a reflection on the combined institutional and personal production of research in Girlhood Studies, and the place and contextual specificities of where the motivations for doing research on girls can come from, however differently for each of us. Mitchell begins her feminist study of girlhood in an auto-ethnographic account of the Montreal Massacre of December 6, 1989, an event that powerfully resonates for many Girlhood Studies scholars in Canada and elsewhere. She reminds us that the

project of girlhood continually reinvents itself, in part (but not only) based on our own girlhood histories and the contexts of political education as individuals and scholars.

The chapter “Teen Feminist Killjoys? Mapping Girls’ Affective Encounters with Femininity, Sexuality, and Feminism at School” is based on qualitative research Jessica Ringrose and Emma Renold conducted with a group of girls between the ages of 14 and 16 years in a Welsh secondary school. Focusing their analysis on how adolescent girls take on what they see to be a feminist identity, Ringrose and Renold’s interviews illustrate how girls come to understand what it means to engage in feminist practices inside the contested institutional, physical and social spaces of the school.

Drawing on her research with girls in Quebec, Canada, and in the context of high profile media and policy debates about girls and hypersexualization, Caroline Caron’s “Placing the Girlhood Scholar into the Politics of Change: A Reflexive Account” offers a reflexive and critical account of feminist research practices and politics in the field of girlhood. Caron challenges other girlhood scholars to be more critical of what it means to “listen to girls’ voices” without engaging a constant practice of self-reflexive questioning that requires us to evaluate the actual uses to which we put our representations of girls. If one of the key objectives of Girlhood Hood studies is to represent and deploy girls own ideas about social and political change toward those who can help make this change, then we need to incorporate more self-reflexive modes of evaluation about what kind of political work our research does, or does not do. Caron reminds us of the constitutive links between situated knowledge and feminist methodologies in the field. As a francophone scholar, Caron also reminds us to the need to remember that “[t]he hegemony of

English in Canada and elsewhere in the world...denotes power structures that remain invisible until English is the only audible language.”

Teresa Strong-Wilson’s chapter, “Returns and Departures Through Girlhood: Memory-work as an Approach to the Politics of Place in Mother-Daughter Narratives,” offers a different model of self-reflexive research practice through the creation of a series of narratives drawn from memory-work. In this mother-daughter inquiry, Strong-Wilson, the daughter, uses photographs and various experimental writing techniques to suggest different entry points for imagining girlhood and womanhood that “reimagin[es] the politics of place in girls coming of age to be women.” The final chapter in this section by Tatiana Fraser, Alyssa Louw, Njani Sajani and Stephanie Austin, “Girls Action Foundation: Reflections on practice,” situates the growth and expansion of girl's action networks in North America. Using a case study of the Girls’ Action Foundation, a pan-Canadian advocacy network which involves over 300 groups and organizations working with girls, the chapter analyzes the unique forms of knowledge production that emerge from these networks, providing a model for how to create on-the-ground organizing capacity that fosters creativity and new modes of self-representation for racialized and immigrant girls.

Girls and Media Spaces

Informed by the contributions on self-reflexivity and girls and researchers’ situated knowledge, the contributors to Section Three model ways of doing context-specific media analysis in the social spaces of media production and critique. Based on her experiences teaching art history, Loren Lerner’s chapter “‘What This Picture of a Girl Means to Me’: The Place of Girlhood

Images in the Art History University Classroom.” examines how female university students reflexively engage with visual images of girlhood by analyzing what the gaze on girlhood looks like in the recent history of art. Lerner and her students created a web-based project that uses photographs and paintings created by Canadian artists of girls and girlhood to reveal how the seemingly non-placed nature of the university class is transformed in the process of students’ own media production.

In “Modding as Making: Religious Flap Books Created by Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Girls” Jacqueline Reid-Walsh makes apparent the critical need to look beyond what often appears to be the present-mindedness of contemporary popular culture to find the roots of do-it-yourself (DIY) girls’ culture. Her chapter examines three homemade religious flap books produced by girls in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in England and America as early examples of DIY culture. Examining the artifacts in relation to contemporaneously published flap books indicates how literacy in earlier centuries of Anglo American culture was understood as a multi-media process that encompassed both writing and drawing. Interestingly, in their subtle modifications of the published flap books, the girls engaged in a type of twenty-first century remix by combining copying and creation to produce new artifacts.

Susan Cahill’s chapter, “Where are the Irish Girls?: Girlhood, Irishness and L.T. Meade” explores girls’ fiction written by Irish women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as L.T. Meade, Rosa Mulholland, and Flora Shaw. Despite its contemporaneous popularity, this body of literature is largely neglected today because of its target audience of middle-class

young females, its associations with popular culture, and its Victorian outlook, all of which are at odds with the Irish Literary Revival project, which, with its focus on “what Irishmen could do for Irish literature,” provided little recognition of girls as readers or as the subjects of texts. The chapter explores the resonances of the literary depictions of the Irish girl, and investigates the complex ways in which these writers negotiate between colonial constructions of the so-called wild Irish girl and the colonial and nationalist representations of Ireland in feminine form in their constructions of Irish girlhood.

Geraldine Bloustien’s chapter, “‘God is a DJ’: Girls, Music Performance, and Negotiating Space,” focuses on the ways in which teenage girl DJs learn to acquire and perfect their musical skills through learning to negotiate spaces which, traditionally, are less accessible to women. To be a DJ means having the right networks; having gained enough cultural and social capital to be recognized as somebody important in one's universe; having gained enough self-respect and respect for one's peers; and being considered 'authentic' and not a 'try hard' or a 'loser.' As Bloustien asks: “Is it surprising then that most DJs are male?” Far more powerful than any physical containment of space, the self-perception and self-surveillance of what is or is not considered appropriate or acceptable, what is or is not questioned and questionable in one’s world, limits and constrains the ability to explore the possibilities of this world as her ethnography demonstrates.

Connie Morrison’s chapter, “Creating and Regulating Identity in Online Spaces: Girlhood, Social Networking and Avatars,” closes the section by examining the significance of developing new definitions of what counts as place in explorations of identity in Girlhood Studies. In her

analysis of a project involving adolescent girls' creation of online avatars, Morrison analyzes how girls both take up and refuse popular discourses about idealized femininity, reminding readers that "how girls negotiate identity in online places is as diverse and varied as the individuals themselves, their economic and material locations, and their shifting purpose for engaging with technology."

Studying the Spaces of Girls' Activism

Section Four examines the spaces in which girls take action. Jessalyn Keller's opening chapter, "Making Activism Accessible: Exploring Girls' Blogs as Sites of Contemporary Feminist Activism," examines how blogs constitute concrete spaces for doing feminism, especially for young women whose interlocutors live at great distances from them. While girls are often marginalized in traditional spaces of activism, Keller highlights the significant role that alternative spaces—feminist blogs—play for girls to perform their activist identities. In this way blogs are a mediated space for girls' cultural production, and, as Keller observes in her careful analysis, blogs are a critical space for studying, and locating, contemporary feminism.

Lena Palacios' chapter, "'Ain't No Justice... It's Just Us': Girls Organizing Against Sexual and Carceral Violence," highlights how the organizing of racialized, disabled, queer, and immigrant girls who represent the communities most affected by interlocking forms of interpersonal and state violence are at the forefront of developing transformative justice models. Palacios examines the models of collective action on which girls' transformative justice activism is based, demonstrating how girls are trained and train each other to become radical bridge builders engaging in intersectional and inter-movement praxis. The girl-centered organizations she

analyzes target their activism at criminal punishment systems, schools, media, other activist formations, neighborhoods, groups of friends, and families, thus building models for how to deal with the harms produced in these targeted institutions that do not rely on exile, expulsion, or imprisonment, but instead address the root causes of harm in ways that seek to transform the roles of both victim and perpetrator. In the process, many girls learn how to strategically maneuver between and among a number of social movements that challenge sexual assault, zero tolerance policies, and media racism.

The last two chapters in this section offer case studies of specific girl-focused action oriented projects, one from Rwanda and one from South Africa. Lysanne Rivard's chapter, "From The Playing Field to the Policy Table: Stakeholders' Responses to Rwandan Schoolgirls' Photographs on Physical Activity and Sport in Secondary Schools," demonstrates how photovoice practices can be used to bring about policy change in relation to girls and physical activity. Over the past 15 years, Rwandan authorities have developed and implemented a physical activity and sports culture as part of the country's post-conflict peace and reconciliation efforts. Since girls are traditionally marginalized from taking part in these activities, government policy, NGO community programs and physical education curricula are now seeking to provide girls with access to the benefits of physical activity. Using the visual participatory methodology of photovoice, this study gathers girls' perspectives on their lived experiences of physical activity and sports in secondary schools that are then used to make the case for girls' physical education with key educators and policy makers. This chapter reflects on these stakeholders' and policymakers' reactions to girls participating at the policy table through their images and captions.

Katie MacEntee's chapter, "Girls, Condoms, Tradition, and Abstinence: Making Sense of HIV Prevention Discourses in Rural South Africa," offers a case study of working digitally with girls in rural South Africa to address the high rates of HIV and AIDS. During a 3-day workshop involving grade 8 learners in rural KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, two groups of girls explore the prompts "Youth and HIV" and "AIDS and My Community" with digital cameras and visual storyboarding methodologies. Through these tools, they develop stories about what it is like to be girls growing up in a rural community where HIV and AIDS disproportionately affects girls and young women, and voice their concerns for safer sex practices and safer places in which to disclose one's HIV-positive status. While their stories speak to the difficulties of negotiating the presence of AIDS in rural communities, they also send messages of hope that girls can use in their daily lives.

As we highlight in the Coda, it is our hope that the chapters in this volume contribute to a more nuanced discussion of the place of Girlhood Studies in feminist scholarship as well as the significance (or place) of place in the study of girls' lives. Making place explicit in emerging girlhood discourse is vital. We need to address place, in the different and distributed material locations and situations of girlhood, as well as in the reflexive sensibility of the consciousness of place and its importance. These chapters provide particularly generative models for imagining, and learning how to do so.

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