Acknowledgements

Abstract

Just like other parts of the world, schools in Zambia are, by and large, expected to be spaces for children to socialize and acquire knowledge and skills. However, the school practices in most parts of the world suggest that school spaces are 'ideal spaces for children's training' and 'preparation for the future'. They are seen as places that keep children away from danger and misdemeanor.

In view of the foregoing, the aim of this thesis was to explores children's lived school experiences and understand how they negotiate through school social spaces. The study examines school practices, physical spaces and gender differences therein. At the core of this research were views and perceptions of children, parents and teachers on schooling as a lived space. The study further discusses issues related to *social structural approaches* (generation and agency), *space and non-spaces* for children and childhood, and gender perspectives.

To that end, empirical data was collected using interviews, focus group discussions and observations in school spaces and some homes. The recorded data from all 24 participants (18 children aged between 15 and 17, 5 parents and 1 teacher) were transcribed and coded into emerging themes. These were then thematically analysed by category in relation to practice and theory.

Findings in this research suggest that childhood is viewed as a period of schooling and training by both adults and children. In general, adults argued that children are incompetent, immature, and irresponsible and lack the ability to coordinate their own activities. This characterization of childhood is typical of Zambian society and the analysis finds that in this respect, children's agency is underestimated by the parents and teachers working with children in the studied schools.

The research has highlighted strategies that children use to negotiate through school physical spaces in view of the many rules and regulations set by adults. It also suggests that school spaces can actually be non-spaces of children and childhood as the latter continue to occupy the worst parts of these social spaces.

Results also suggest differences between girls and boys in the way they view schooling and childhood. Girls saw school spaces as a place for less rules and obligations and the home as a space for domestic work. Boys however, to a larger extent, saw the home as a space for play

due to less domestic obligations and rules while school as an adult space due rules and regulations. The difference in perception of the two spaces can be attributed to social cultural constructions about 'boyhood' and 'girlhood' that are embedded in Zambian society. Everything about children and childhood is seen through adult eyes and not based on views and perceptions of children themselves.

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List of acronyms

CSO - Central Statistical Office

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency

EU - European Union

EFA - Education for All

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

IMF - International Monetary Fund

MDGs - Millennium Development Goals

MOE - Ministry of Education

MoE SP - Ministry of Education Sector Plan

MoE NIF - Ministry of Education National Implementation Framework

P.T.A - Parent Teachers Association

SACMEQ - Southern And East Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAPs - Structural Adjustment Programs

WB - World Bank

UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Childhood memories

I recall attending school at a rural primary school with dilapidated infrastructure in Central Zambia. The school had ten classrooms that were used by children from the first to the ninth grade with two streams per grade. That meant that children from the lower primary had to attend the afternoon session due to inadequate learning space. A school population of over 1,000 children shared four toilets that were rarely cleaned. On a number of occasions, I recall attending classes under a big tree that could provide some nice shed. The rain and cold seasons were a challenge as over 80 of us had to gather in one small room to be taught by 1 teacher. My experiences as a child in the named rural primary school suggest enormous challenges for schooling in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In her studies in Southern Africa, Ansell (2005) argues that learning in some schools in sub-Saharan Africa is a big challenge for both the teacher and the learners as there are inadequate learning spaces and equipments. Her argument is in line with other scholars such as Kelly (1996), Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005), Mumba (2002) and Ansell & van Blerk (2004) who have equally shown some horrendous situations for school going children in this part of Africa.

I have never attended school in a big city. I can however relate to children's difficulties during their schooling in urban schools as the situation on infrastructure is not any different from rural schools such as the one I attended. I have also been working as a teacher in a big city and thus I am aware of the school situations. Before going to the research field, I knew a number of things about the school system in Zambian public schools. I was also aware that this knowledge I had could influence my views on the children I was going to research. To that effect, I used this knowledge to formulate very good research questions and interview guides. Nevertheless, I was not sure if my childhood experiences would be similar to those of the children going to school today. I therefore sought to explore the children's experiences in school and other related spaces.

Often times, scholarly works in Zambia have shown a number of researches on children's schooling and its significance to their future (Serpell, 1993; Kelly, 1996; Mumba, 2002; MOE, 2005; MoESP, 2007; Shatunka, 2009). The link is often on how the availability or lack of it would impact children's lives when they are adults and not as children. Attention

has been paid to learning materials and equipments, sanitation, classroom overcrowding and how these affect the academic performance of children. There is little or no attention paid to how the mentioned facilities and situations affect children's lived school experiences - by putting emphasis on the 'here and now'. This research has therefore delved into children's lived school experiences of the school social spaces without necessary emphasizing on academic aspects of schooling experiences.

In this research, interviews and discussions with parents, children and teachers brought out views that are related to the 'future'. The terms 'my future success', 'their future job security' and 'the only way to success' kept echoing in the participants' responses. As participants discussed schooling - school spaces, gender differences due to gendered structures and generational issues, the "future" was never left out. The discussion always moved towards the "future" and not the "here and now" of schooling. I have therefore, linked the notion of 'the future' to the immediacy of the children's needs and aspirations during their schooling in Zambian schools.

1.2 The aim of the research

In this research I hoped to explore new insights on children's views and use of school social spaces. The research also delved into generational and gender issues attached to schooling in Zambia. Important herein is how gender constructions of childhood could be a point of departure to the understanding of children's schooling and why adults make choices that they do in this regard. I place the children who took part in this research at the centre of the study as they are the ones who experience current school spaces. The ambitious goal in this endeavor is for children's views on these school social spaces to be used to improve their lived school experiences through policy changes and practice.

The challenge is often how to tap the views of the individuals on which certain policies will have an impact. I acknowledge Nelson Mandela's note in the Book *'Emerging Voices: A report on education in South African rural communities*' by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) that "policies undertaken to improve the quality [and equity] of...education [should] be informed by the powerful insights of the people in those communities". For this reason, I was curious to find out how children can bring in their powerful insights into the field of

childhood studies in Zambia so that scholars and professionals can make decisions based on the views of the children themselves.

Below are some of the research questions that I specifically answer in this thesis:

- Do children themselves find schooling beneficial for their lives?
- What motivates children to attend school even in the face of challenges and obstacles?
- To what extent does parents education affect their children's schooling process?
- How do children negotiate through school physical spaces in an adult controlled environment?
- How do girls and boys negotiate traditional constructions of girlhood and boyhood during their schooling?

1.3 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. The *first chapter - Introduction,* starts with my personal reflection on early years in my schooling while linking this to some themes that emerged in the research. The chapter includes the aim of the study and the research questions to be discussed. The *second chapter - Background of the study*, presents the study area, a brief history of Zambia, the economy and education system by highlighting the development it has undergone and the present situation. The *third chapter - Theory* is based on the position I took with regard to theoretical perspectives and framework which is the basis of my decisions throughout this research. The *fourth chapter - Methodology*, I discuss my role and position as a researcher in the field, the methods, techniques and procedures employed in the research and the challenges encountered. The *fifth, sixth and seventh chapters - Presentation of findings and discussion*, I present empirical material from the field, on the children's views and use of school social spaces. I discuss concurrently with literature and theory the framework, structure, motivation and generational issues linked to schooling in chapter five, chapter six highlights physical spaces of schooling and chapter seven concludes with school as a gendered space. In these discussions, I link gender constructions to the theme of this research. *The eighth chapter -* discusses briefly the link between political economy of a nation and children's schooling. The thesis closes with concluding remarks and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Background to the study area

2.1 'One Zambia, One Nation'

"One Zambia, One Nation" is a political national slogan that appears on all governmental, institutional and organizational emblems in Zambia. It is the uniting symbol of this diverse, multicultural and multi-lingual nation. This slogan was first used after Zambia's independence in 1964 by Kenneth Kaunda, the first Zambian president, as a way of uniting the different cultures, language groups and peoples of the land that became a new nation (Mwanakatwe, 1974). During his regime which lasted for 27 years, Kaunda followed a socialist system of governance that emphasized working together for the common good of all people.

He followed a pro-poor policy which emphasized the need for social-equality (Mwanakatwe, 1974). This meant that no single individuals were allowed to own large companies in his reign. He successfully nationalized all mines, industries and companies that were privately owned before independence. Furthermore, his government implemented free universal education with English as the official language of instruction and communication throughout the country (Kelly, 1996). He therefore encouraged co-existence and the breaking of language, cultural and tradition barriers by forming a unitary society that was tolerant to all members of the society (Carmody, 2004). In his view, all people in the country were to share one identity of being 'Zambian' and, that ethnicity, religion, culture, language or traditions were not to be tolerated to divide the nation.

In this chapter, I present the background to the study area. This research was conducted in Kitwe, Copperbelt region of Zambia located in the north western part of the country near the borders with Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). I will give a country profile and its political system with a socio-economical point of view. The chapter will then provide an elaborate education system dating back to independence (1964). It also shows how society views education and childhood.

2.2 Country profile and politics

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with eight neighboring countries namely; Angola, Botswana, Congo DR, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It lies between 8 and 18 degrees south latitude and between 20 and 35 degrees east latitude. It has a tropical climate and vegetation with three distinct seasons: a cool dry winter from May to August, a hot dry season during September and October and a warm wet season from November to April (CSO, 2009). There is an estimated fourteen million people in the country from about seventy two ethnic groups along with Asian and western societies. The median age for the country according to the 2010 national population census, is seventeen (CSO, 2012).

Figure 1. Map of Zambia

Zambia was born in 1964 when the formerly Northern Rhodesia got its independence from the colonial powers Britain who had been at the helm of colonialism in Africa for hundreds of years (Manakatwe, 1974; Serpell, 1993). Since 1964, Zambia has been a relatively peaceful

country with all its different cultures and language groups working together. The first 27 years of independence were characterized with one party rule and a near dictatorship practiced by the regime. After the fall of the communist regime in Russia that the government of Zambia subscribed to - and the economic problems of the late 1980s, the government was forced to reintroduce multi-party democracy (Rakner, 2012). Since 1991, the country has enjoyed plural politics with a measure of democracy. From the onset of plural politics, Zambia has held six national elections with the most recent in 2011 that saw an opposition party dislodge the ruling party from power. All these elections have been said to be peaceful [by EU Delegation and SADC], free and fair (with minimum electoral violence) in the manner that they were conducted (Rakner, 2012). No matter how unhappy the general populace might be with the election results, Zambians quickly put the elections behind and move on, hoping to do something different in the 'future' elections. That is why, despite the poverty that a lot of people might be going through, they never pick arms to fight each other. Zambia is therefore known to be one of the most peaceful countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

2.3 Socio-economy of the country

At the time of independence and the subsequent years, the Zambian economy was one of the best in sub-Saharan Africa. Mining and agriculture were the main stay of the economy and provided the country with foreign exchange and food supplies. However, the slump in copper prices on the world market in the late 80s and the 90s saw a sharp decline in the national economy thereby crippling the lives of many people (Carmody, 2004). The situation got worse when the government implemented the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) from IMF and World Bank in the 90s (Kelly, 1996). The policy changes that came with SAPs were devaluation of the kwacha (Zambian currency), opening markets to foreign direct investment, cutting agricultural subsidies, reducing employment and spending in the public sector and privatization of all government owned industries. This meant that education and health care were no longer free social services, the general populace had to pay for services they had always received freely (Rakner, 2012). The massive privatization of industries led to massive job losses as the new owners of mines and other industries were cutting on human labor.

This is not to say that SAPs were only negative and had no positives to the Zambian economy. In spite of the positive strides that have been made since the implementation of SAPs, the negative effects outweigh the positives. After two decades of SAPs, Zambia is still

among the poorest countries in the world with over 50% of its population living on less than a dollar per day (CIA, 2013). There is over dependence on donor aid. Between 2000 and 2005, an average aid accounted for 43% of the national budget per annum, peaking to 53% in 2001 (Rakner, 2012: 2-3). However, over the years, donor aid has been reducing significantly. The budget speeches between 2006 and 2010 show reductions of up to 24% of the whole national budget (Rakner, 2012). Most of the reductions came in the wake of widespread corruption which the international community was concerned about for many years.

Of the entire Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 21.88 billion United States Dollars in 2011, 20.9% accounted for agriculture, 33.5% industry and 45.6% was for services (CIA, 2013). From figures as high as US$752 per capita income in the independence years, the country has dropped to number 150 of the 169 countries ranked by IMF and World Bank (World Bank, 2012). The countries' urban population is concentrated along the line of rail where there are industries and trade-links for employment while the rural areas are basically agricultural based (CSO, 2009). Even though the largest part of its population is in rural areas, recent years have seen massive rural urban drifts which have changed this pattern (UN Report, 2007). This is steadily increasing the numbers of people in urban areas and making it a challenge to provide all the needed social amenities such as schools, health facilities and play parks (ibid). As a result, unplanned settlements have become the order of the day with many slum areas expanding rapidly without or with minimal supply of water and sanitation facilities (CSO, 2009).

As stated earlier, Zambia has an estimated population of 14,000,000 with an annual population growth of approximately 2.8 % (CIA, July 2012 estimate; World Bank, 2012). 46.3 % of the total population is made up of children between the ages of 0 and 14. About 51.3 % are between the ages of 15 and 64 while slightly above 2.4 % are above 64 years of age. It is estimated that approximately half the population are children below the age of 18. The life expectancy at birth is currently at 53 years, and the infant mortality rate is at 70.6 deaths per 1000 live births. The HIV and AIDS prevalence among adults is still high at 13.5 % most of whom are family heads which means the number of orphans per year is still high as there are about 45,000 deaths per year related to HIV. It is also estimated that only 49 % of the total population have access to proper sanitation facilities (World Bank, 2012; CIA, 2013).

2.4 Kitwe: A mining town on the Copperbelt region

The Copperbelt region is the second most populated area of Zambia with its inhabitants from all over the country who are migrants to the mining towns. It is in this region where the study area for this research is located. This research was conducted at a Kafue High School (the name is fictitious) in Kitwe town. This town is the economic hub of the Copperbelt region as it houses the largest industries that are related with mining in the whole Zambia.

The city has an estimated population of 504, 000 people of which, one third are school aged children (CSO, 2012). Kitwe has some of the most densely populated residential areas in the country and these keep expanding at an alarming rate (Inanga and Mandah, 2008). Although the city produces the largest amount of mineral wealth produced in the country, its people are living in poverty. According to the statistics, the city has 63 primary and high schools run by the government through the Ministry of Education that cater for thousands of school going children from all the residential areas (Local Education Authorities, 2012). There are also private schools providing education to children of the rich. However, in this research, the focus is on public schools as they are for the majority of children. There is no doubt that schools are overwhelmed with the number of children they need to provide schooling to in their catchment areas. Some of the children going to these schools are those with unemployed parents, who do not have a steady income to pay for the needs of their schooling.

2.5 Education in Zambia

At the dawn of independence in 1964, there were only 623,000 children aged between 7 and 14 in schools, 350,000 of them were in lower primary school (grade 1-4) while the rest were in upper primary and secondary schools (Kelly, 1996: 69). There were only 26 mission and 16 government schools across the country (Carmody, 2004). There were no well trained teachers in schools for the indigenous people while the European schools had the best facilities and well qualified teachers. The levels of inequality were at its peak as the former colonial masters had practiced segregated schooling for African and European children (Mwanakatwe, 1974). The challenge then at this time was on how to integrate the two systems without affecting the education standards and removing the racial distinctions that had been a mark of the education system (Kelly, 1996). There was an enormous amount of pressure on the new government to increase access to schooling as many parents wanted to send their children to school.

From 1966 to 1996, a number of education plans were adopted and implemented. In all of these policies, the core issues were on providing quality education while expanding the education system for the growing population. "As education system in Africa constitutes the more or less obligatory path to the modern labor market", the demand for education and the desire to get a white collar job became imminent (Kelly, 1996:27). There was a great desire to train personnel who would take up most jobs left by the Europeans. However, there was also a sense of fear from the government that the education system was creating an elite society and thus needed reforms from time to time to meet the needs of the country (Kelly, 1996). According to Julius Nyerere (1987) first president of Tanzania, the education system that was inherited from the Europeans needed to be discarded and replaced with one that did not alienate its people from society (ibid).

By 1990, the seemingly expected results from the education reforms had not made any major strides towards universal education (Carmody, 2004; Kelly, 1996). The World Bank and IMF had significantly reduced funding to the education sector and were pushing for an implementation of SAPs by the government. By the time Zambia was invited to attend the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand, preparatory works had shown that Zambia was in similar situation as many other African countries who needed concerted effort to achieve parity in the education system (Kelly, 1996). The "declining monetary allocations to education" was a big setback and the government was near economic collapse (Carmody, 2004).

After the EFA World Conference, the Zambian government set out to provide education to all at primary school level and a substantial amount of children to have access to secondary schooling. However, the challenges and disparities in the education sector are still enormous to present (MoESP, 2007). The Ministry of Education still reports of children who are not in school due to lack of spaces, inadequate classrooms are a menace to children's lives as some still learn in open air classes or poorly done roofs that have been blown off in the past during lessons (MoE - NIF, 2010).

2.6 Financing schooling and 'cost-sharing' policy
There is over reliance on external funding which is erratic at times and means that the Ministry of Education cannot plan its own goals for the year until such a time that the funds

are available (Das *et al*, 2004). A number of programs have been delayed in the past or postponed to a later date to facilitate the sourcing of funds. There is a very low rate of construction of more schools and even when schools are built, the deployment of teachers is slow (MoESP, 2007).

The school user fees are not uniform country wide. Individual schools in liaison with some parents who attend the annual general meetings decide on the amount of money each child is required to pay (Kelly, 1997). Attending the annual general meeting is not easy for most parents. As most parents are poor, they spend a lot of their time working hard to find some money to feed their families. That makes it hard for them to find time to visit the school and attend the P.T.A (Parent Teacher Association) meetings. In practice, it is the few parents who have stable income that find time and money to travel to the school and attend such meetings. These are the ones who decide on the needed school user fees and impose it on the parents who never attend the meetings. In the long run, it is the children who suffer the consequences as they have to work during the school holidays to raise the needed money or drop out of school.

After a decade of hardships (the 90s) of schooling among children from poor families, the government made and implemented a landmark policy framework. In its 2003 - 2007 education sector plan, the government announced compulsory free primary education for all children across the country (MoESP, 2007). In line with the policy, the education system was re-aligned and adopted the Basic education system that was to allow at least all children to acquire 9 years of education at a school closest to their homes. However, it was only 7 years of this 9 year basic education plan that was free. That meant that for most children, proceeding to the 8th grade was a dream that never came true.

According to SACMEQ (2011: 3), "most schools have no learning materials and teaching staff". The schools are overcrowded and there is more to free and compulsory education than is stated in the policy (Das *et al*, 2004: 24). Parents have to pay user fees for children in high schools, buy books for all children including those in primary schools that are said to be free and also provide uniforms and shoes. These requirements put road blocks on the schooling of most children whose parents cannot afford.

2.7 Current issues and problems in education provision

At the end of 2011, Zambians elected the opposition Patriotic Front party into power. The new government announced that it was going to re-introduce a 7 year primary education and 5 year secondary education. This system was followed between the 60s and the late 90s. This education plan has since been implemented at the beginning of the 2013 academic year in January. In its 2011 to 2016 education plan, the government has announced that it will soon introduce free education for both primary and secondary schools (Ministerial Statement, 2012). As long as this pronouncement does not become a reality in the near future, the dream of getting secondary schooling for some children will remain a dream unrealized.

School structure from 1964 - 1998		
S/N	Type of schooling	Number of years in school
1	Primary school	1 - 7
2	Junior secondary school	8 and 9
3	Senior secondary school	10 - 12

Table 1. School structure from 1964 - 1998

School structure from 1999 - 2012		
S/N	Type of schooling	Number of years in school
1	Basic school	1 - 9
2	High School	10 - 12

Table 2. School structure from 1999 - 2012

From January 2013, there has been a policy shift back to the 1964 to 1998 schooling structure. The reasons for doing so are not very clear. However, it is my understanding that the new political party in power wants to assert its authority firmly by bring about different kinds of changes as it has been the case each time there is a new government in power.

According to statistics of the ministry of education, the teacher pupil ratio is relatively high at 1: 65 with high dropout rate (MoESP, 2007; Rakner; 2012). However, findings in this research suggest otherwise as I will show later in chapter five. In most public schools, a single teacher could handle an upward of 70 children in a single classroom and such a teacher would have about 4 of such classes to teach, mark exercises and follow up on all the children's school work. This in itself is a big challenge and to most teachers, it is a nightmare. As a result, the children might never have close interactions with the teachers and thus may not have fond experiences and memories of the school system.

In order to capture as many children in the school system as possible (Millennium Development Goals, 2015), the Ministry of Education has implemented a policy of 'class shifts' (MoESP, 2007). In this system, most schools especially in urban areas have more than two sessions per day in one classroom. Some children are in the morning shift, others are in mid-morning while one shift is in the afternoon. The time children spend in school in a day has been reduced to about 3 to 4 hours for lower primary while the upper primary and secondary schools have only two sessions in a particular day giving them at least 5 to 6 hours in school (MoE, 2005). The most affected of these are the ones who are in the afternoon sessions as they have very little time to spend with the teachers. Also at that time, the classrooms are hot and the children are more tired and less likely to pay more attention to what is being taught (Abebe, 2008c; Ansell, 2002).

2.8 Gender imbalances in provision of education
The government's long term intention is to provide good quality education up to grade 9. Despite the growing population and the lack of investment in education, the gross enrolment rates at the primary level are still among the highest in the region, standing at 103% for boys and 93% for girls. At secondary level, the rates were 25% for boys and 16% for girls (Kelly, 1996). However, the strict emphasis on numeric expansion has downplayed the importance of providing quality education as the classrooms are overcrowded (Mumba, 2002). The progression rate is also lower currently than in the past due to high user fees, other education related costs, disillusion with the school system and school-girl pregnancy related cases. As secondary schools are still inadequate too, the selection to secondary education is highly competitive and a good number are left behind as the examinations are not the best methods of selecting competent children for secondary schooling (Kelly, 1996). In most cases, the

number of girls going to secondary school and higher education reduces up the education ladder due to the alluded challenges and problems.

Although the disparity between girls and boys in terms of primary school enrolment has narrowed since 1960, girls' enrolment continues to lag behind that of boys in Zambia (MoE, 2005). For example, school completion rate for girls in rural areas is still averaging a staggering 60% while the urban girls at approximately 94% (Mumba, 2002). Girls lack role models as they grow up in a society that has less expectations of what they can achieve and in most cases, they are not motivated to do more in school. Schools do not make adequate sanitation and water facilities for girls who are reaching physical maturity (Kelly, 1997). Girls participation and performance in school is further negatively affected by the widespread belief in society, "that the proper task for girls is to prepare herself to be a wife and mother and not academic work" (Kelly, 1996: 240). Their school attendance is increasingly being jeopardized by the need to care for the sick and HIV/AIDS infected relatives.

At home, girls are expected to do domestic or house work [cleaning the house, dishes, fetching fire wood, fetching water, preparing food and take care of younger children] (Ansell, 2002). While it is generally agreed that there is nothing wrong with children doing some household chores, many experts have emphasized on work that does not impact negatively on their education (Bourdillon, 2006). Children should find time to do their homework and have some time to play (Punch, 2003). Some parents tend to view boys education as ultimately more cost effective, since girls usually join their husband's household upon marriage, leaving their own homes. The parent's views on educating either girls or boys will be presented later in chapter seven.

As shown by a number of scholars such as Punch (2002), Abebe (2009) and Chant & Jones (2005), most of the labor at home is done by female children. They have to collect firewood, make the fire, fetch water and do the cooking in addition to taking care of their siblings. In this research, girls also explained the amount of work they do at home and how being in school gives them a break from doing that housework. School for some children is then a place for freedom while for others it is the opposite as it robes them of their freedom. Boys find school to be a place that takes away their freedom especially when they are in their teenage when they want to try so many things at home with their friends. I will present their views on this subject later in chapter seven.

Poverty has continued to be a big hindrance to a good atmosphere of schooling for many children in sub-Saharan Africa. Reports, scholarly works and surveys have shown vivid pictures of what kind of an 'enemy' poverty has been to schooling for children in most societies in Zambia, whether rural or urban (Carmody, 2004; Katz, 2004; Kelly, 1997; Kelly, 1996; Mwanawina, 2003; McCulloch et al, 2001). The most affected of them all are girls as parents would ask them to stay home and help them with household chores while they find food for the rest of the family. In some instances, children might even be asked to accompany their parents to work for food or some wage to buy food at home.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

This chapter presents the theoretical approach engaged in this research. I begin by discussing social studies of childhood and then connect it to the four approaches on childhood. Social structural theorization of childhood [i.e., generation, agency and gender] has taken a centre stage in this thesis. I use space as a theoretical framework that informs children's lived school experiences in Zambian. I emphasize the notion that 'children are members of a society that prepares them for the future' [as human becomings] (Prout & James, 1990). It shows the amount of agency and competency that children have in their day-to-day lives in the process of schooling and other adult controlled activities in society.

3.1 Social studies of childhood

The "existence of childhood" has been a debate in social studies of childhood for a number of decades (Corsaro, 2011; Prout & James, 1990). Until the 1980s, children and adults were seen to be of very distinct nature and lived different lives, and in separate spaces, as the latter were the guardians and keepers of the former (Jenks, 2004). They helped them to grow into adults who they desired and followed established norms and patterns of life of the society. This makes childhood before our era a social construction just as it still does today in many societies around the world (Jenks, 2004).

The period discussed in the above paragraph has been referred to as the pre-sociological period (James et al, 1998). Most scholars of the time ascribed to theorizations of childhood that have been contested in modern capitalist societies as well as some sections of the global south. Children were seen as 'humans in the making' who lacked competence and could not make sound decisions on their own (ibid). "Age based hierarchy and eventual dichotomy [became] institutionalized in the relationship between adults and children and the defining characteristics of these differences were, by and large, oppositional" (1998: 4). Society separated the two worlds distinctly by creating one associated to adults and another to children (Archard, 1993). The two worlds had varying needs and preoccupations, but one thing was certain, both worlds were to be controlled by adults to a great extent. The adult society evolved into a more sentimental one that needed comfort and pleasure from the world of children through games and play (James et al, 1998).

From the 1980s to present, a new sociology of childhood has taken a centre stage on [personal, political and academic agendas] in most parts of the world (James et al, 1998). There is an overwhelming response to the advocacy of the rights of children from people in all walks of life. The rights of children have been ratified by most countries even if domestication is a challenge (Kjørholt, 2008). Some of these issues stem from the lack of equal treatment as beings with regard to children who are in some societies that see them as going through a [process towards individualization] as adults (Prout & James, 1990; Alston, 1994).

The focus on children's lives as persons who are living now and not those who are preparing for their future has become the core of childhood studies (James, 2009). In western societies, children are increasingly seen as 'beings' and as 'competent' persons who have abilities to live as individuals. The division that is often drawn between adult "human beings" and child "human becomings" is still vivid especially in the global south (Lee, 2001). In this thesis, attention is drawn around Lee's argument that society has:

> *grown used to making sense of childhood through adulthood, interpreting everything children do, or have done to them, in terms of how this will affect their journey toward adulthood, or in terms of what it tells us about how far a given child has travelled. Children's lives and activities in the present are still envisaged in the main, as a preparation for the future* (2001: 8).

With this history in mind, it is important to ask how parents and teachers view children and childhood in Zambia. The analysis chapters in this thesis explore this question in detail as I shall show later.

Scholars argue that childhood is shaped and constrained by society, time and circumstances prevailing at a given place (James et al, 1998; Corsaro, 2011; Punch et al, 2007). This is contained in Mark Twain's classic novel '*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn'* which argues on Huck's raft as encapsulating "the modern conception of childhood as a period of peril and freedom; an odyssey of psychological self-discovery and growth; and a world apart, with its own values, culture and psychology" (Corsaro, 2011: 74). In this story, the raft was moving at an escalating speed with strong current which Huck was unable to control fully. This brings to the fore adult ways of theorizing childhood by viewing the latter as persons with partial control of their livelihood in an adult controlled environment.

In their explorations of children's agency and their present social, political and economic status as contemporary subjects, Allison James, Chris Jenks and Allan Prout, introduced a series of conceptual models. The *socially constructed child* stands on childhood that is not universal - varies across time and space. In their view, "children are not formed by natural and social forces but rather that they inhabit a world of meaning created by themselves and through their interaction with adults" (James et al, 1998: 28). The *tribal child* views children and childhood as persons with agency and individual rights that are applied in real sense and not as fantasies or games. This approach sees children as different from adults and thus gives a better idea of exploring their spaces and or geographies in schools and home (1998: 207). The *minority group* child presents children as persons with less power in an adult dominated world. This approach views children as marginalized and exploited persons across societies "by existing socio-generation structures like other minority groups such as women and ethnic groups" in both the global north and the south (Abebe, 2008a: 27). The *social structural child* emphasizes the need to see childhood as constant and essential. "Children in this case have the same status as research subjects as adults, but they too have a different set of competencies that adults do not have" (James et al, 1998: 33).

This research is informed by all the four approaches as they have thin lines between them. Its focus however, is on children's spaces and non-spaces, generation, agency and actions of the participants as I elaborate in the next sub-themes of this chapter.

3.2 Children's spaces and non-spaces

For space to have any social significance in people's lives, there has to be an ability to move freely and make use of this space as desired by the users (Tanner, 2007). Such need emerges predominantly when children attain adolescence to the end of teenage- a time that each child is building self esteem and self awareness. Interestingly, this is the very time that children are expected to be fully engaged in schooling as a means of "training" and preparation for a better 'future' (Meinert, 2003:186). This 'training' might involve classroom lessons, outdoor socialization and school maintenance projects. These activities in school shape the definitions that different persons attach to school spaces. According to Meinert (2003:188), children in rural eastern Uganda stress that "schooling is an important aspect of academic learning and 'looking proper' or 'smart' in school uniforms as opposed to 'dirty village child' [as the former describes better what society] still regards [as a space that] prepares children for non-rural,

modern future". There is a general understanding therefore by adults that school spaces are essentially meant to be used by children through adult rules and regulations (James et al, 1998).

In view of the foregoing, "places of childhood(s) coincide with clearly demarcated physical spaces in which children are both spatially and socially segregated from adults" (Nieuwenhuys, 2003:99). In the western world, adults have argued that children need protection and safety at all time and justify placing them in 'what is referred to as' [safe, supervised and controlled] spaces (Buckingham, 2000; Nieuwenhuys, 2003). As a result, children who spend most of their time outside the deemed safe spaces, are said to be at risk and in dangerous spaces. In some instances, such children might be said to be deviants and also being outside childhood (Nieuwenhuys, 2003).

Since childhood can both be historically and culturally predicated on spatial separation, the approach on children and spaces poses a challenge as different historical and cultural events can change this kind of theorization (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). Even if all persons in different societies are subject to "geographical and spatial prohibition, [whether this] prohibition is by discretion, private possession [of property] or political embargo, the experience by children is paradoxical" (James et al, 1998:37). Alison James, Allan Prout and Chris Jenks have further argued that "in terms of social space, children are sited, insulated and distanced, and their very gradual emergence into wider, adult space is only by accident, by degrees, as an award or privilege or as part of a gradualist rite of passage" (1998:37).

This argument is further qualified by Archard's statement when he addresses the issue of 'cultural separateness' of modern childhood in the western world:

> *Aries is at least right to observe that the most important feature of the way in which the modern age conceives of children is as meriting separation from the world of adults. The particular nature of children is separate; it clearly and distinctly sets them apart from adults. Children neither work nor play alongside adults; they do not participate in the adult world of law and politics.* (1993: 29)

It is important therefore to state that children globally are highly subjected to adult laws and politics that only ensures that they are positioned in their particularity - school spaces, and "apart from adults" (Qvortrup, 1995a). The argument that parents and children are over the

years spending less and less time together has not only remained a western phenomenon but is also on the rise in the global south as shown by different scholars (Nieuwenhuys, 2003; Ansell, 2002; Abebe, 2008; Punch, 2001). Examples from these scholarly works have shown how much time children spend in schools away from parents, begging on the streets and working for financial earnings for their families while their parents are equally at work for a long period of time. In Bolivia for example, children are reported to either be in school, working at home or taking care of their siblings while parents are away for work on the farms (Punch, 2001).

The examples above suggest a somewhat deliberate spatialization of children and childhood by adults. It is however important for a researcher to question personal experiences that might be his or her primary reference point before entering the field. For example, Nieuwenhuys argues that:

> *Childhood icons such as children's playgrounds, children's rooms and furniture, classrooms, clothing, baby food, toys and books need to be critically recognized as encoding an urban middle-class childhood and separating it from the world of adults. Their absence, rather than signifying a lack of childhood, points to a deeply different understanding of children's place.* (2003: 100)

In this case, the availability or absence of certain facilities in the physical space being studied can be interpreted in different ways. In view of the study conducted by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005) in rural South Africa, children argued that they enjoyed the time they spent in school even though certain learning materials and equipments were not available. The children in the global south therefore experience a different childhood from that of the western world (Corsaro, 2011; Punch, 2003). A number of children in the global south experience what Nieuwenhuys (2003: 100) calls "privileged modern childhood(s)" as they are given schooling as an alternative environment away from adult spaces where they learn to "contest local rules of authority and acquiescence". I find his argument of privileged modern childhood(s) fitting as there is a huge population of children in the global south who do not have access to schooling because it is not available to them (Kelly, 1996; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Mumba, 2002; MoESP, 2007). Ansell & van Blerk (2004) found that there were a lot of children who had no access to schooling in Malawi due to HIV/AIDS and other orphan hood related cases.

While in modern western societies children are obliged to spend considerable amounts of time in schools, the situation is not the same in the global south (James et al, 1998; Punch, 2003; Ansell, 2005). As stated in *chapter 2,* there are hundreds of thousands of children who are not in school in Zambia (MOE, 2005). Cases of street children in the global south show that schooling is a privilege of the few children whose parents can afford the cost of schooling and other necessary school requirements (Abebe, 2008). It is important to mention that even if the numbers of children attending school in Zambia has increased over the years, the quality and equity is still at its lowest ebb especially for girls and vulnerable children such as those living with disabilities (Mumba, 2002; Carmody, 2004). This in itself presents a paradox on the children's embeddedness in societal structures of schooling and the home as I will discuss further.

As I have argued throughout this thesis, adults have insisted that the best places for children are either school or the home. I show a quote advanced by Allison James, Chris Jenks and Allan Prout that shows the opposite of such conceptualizations.

> *As a conceptual and physical space within which the child is increasingly embedded, the domestic space of the 'home' is, in practice, of course not always an ideal space: the regulation and discipline of that space, like those of the school and the city, remain problematic for many children. Indeed, it is a paradox that in the haven which home may be said to present … power and control of the child may come to be more strongly voiced. It is certain, for example, that family home is most often the site for the sexual and physical abuse of children, and indeed the onset of homelessness, the exclusion of the child from the home, may be precipitated by the above.* (1998: 53)

The quote above brings to the fore the ambivalences that are embedded in adult notions of childhood 'spaces and non-spaces'. Adults argue that schools and homes are the best 'spaces' for children and childhood, and thus prohibit children from using public 'spaces' such as roads, city centres and market places (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). A general argument among adults is that schools and homes are safe for children and childhood while public spaces are dangerous (James et al, 1998). On the contrary, children's experiences in schools and homes reveal a somewhat contradictory story of the adult notion.

The argument by James et al (1998) above is further exemplified by the children's projects in Addis Ababa as [non-spaces] of childhood. NGOs in Addis Ababa provide a so-called 'home

for the homeless' child (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). "They offer a space for childhood to children who are perceived as lacking a proper place in urban society (the 'street' being the antipode of 'home'). Paradoxically, however, their very structure undermines children's local embeddedness" (ibid, 2003: 109). The staff in these projects occupy "the best places of the buildings" while the children they claim to help use "shacks" as homes (ibid, 2003: 110). It shows that children's spaces are highly "demarcated spatially and paradoxically underline the fact that children's real [spaces] are elsewhere and later" - adulthood (ibid, 2003: 112). In this research, I was curious to get an understanding of the children's spaces and non-spaces, and their lived experiences in the said spaces of school and home.

3.3 Social Structural Approach

Qvortrup argues that childhood is immensely influenced in a "particular way by societal forces" which "often occur indirectly or in mediated forms", making it difficult for this kind of influence to be noticed (2002: 48). However, there is no doubt, that societal events, rules, regulations and legislations have a tremendous ripple or trickle-down effect on children. In light of the study conducted in Zimbabwe and Lesotho by Nicola Ansell, governments were pressured by the international community and other cooperating partners to reform the systems of operations in schools and indeed all other government wings (2002: 101). This pressure left them without much choice but to realign their policies to the western ideals which might not be very favorable for the children in these countries - global south. In the long run, children have to live with the consequences of reforms in their livelihoods at the expense of adult perception that this is indeed for their own good.

As infants grow into toddlerhood, parents and society in general begin to think of ways of separating them from what is perceived dangerous in homes (James et al, 1998). These dangers could be too much play with wires and other sharp objects, internet pornography and bad company of friends in the compound or residential areas. Adults hence, create an environment for children that structure the institution of childhood in a manner that gives children barriers to the perceived dangers at home (James et al, 1998). As a result, a schooled childhood theorization emerges in which children are temporary placed in schools that provide a [so-called] smooth passage to adulthood while restricting their movements and activities (Jenks, 1982).

Within this formulation, focus is placed on the curriculum which is a means that makes schooling a formal organization through a combination of time, space, location, content, proximity and hierarchy (James et al 1998). This also encompasses all kinds of learning (in and outside classroom learning) that takes place in a given school calendar (Ansell, 2002; Serpell, 1993; Kelly, 1996). It insulates children from each other for all the time that teaching and learning goes on and it also provides opportunities for socialization at specific periods of time (ibid). The experience is a global one that keeps all children schooling as a separate class of humans living in a distinct world with its own rules and regulations that are not resonant to their next social group - adults (Qvortrup, 2002).

3.3.1 Generational theory

While children always experience a full upward mobility, childhood persists as a form in its sense (Qvortrup, 2002). This argument relates with the need to create an ideal childhood that will always be there and lived by a certain group of children at any given time. In as much as all adults have been through the schooling childhood and have since left it, that period still exists to this day and will continue into the future (Alanen, 2001; Serpell, 1993). Perhaps, it might only change its form and structure but its core function and purpose hardly changes (Ansell, 2002; Qvortrup, 2002).

Alanen argues that members of the same age group (or cohort) live through the "same historical and social events and experience them as significant to themselves" (2001: 15). They grow up with these experiences and these influence the way they conceptualize their children's childhood(s). These come to share a "common consciousness, or identity, which can be observed particularly in the world view and the social and political attitudes of the age group in question" (2001: 15). For example, 'people born in the same period of social and historical time and exposed to the specific range of social events and ideas' (ibid). This generation is only in the mind of a researcher as the participants are not sharing any actual relationships with each other. The researcher uses observations and research information to group the informants into certain categories not known by them as a way of explaining their generational positions.

The generational discourse also brings to the fore the Weberian sense of class which is "the probability of enjoying the benefits of material goods, gaining a position in life" and [some

form of education] that makes one to join a certain category of persons in society (Alanen, 2001: 18). The participants in a given research are given categories that they fit in depending on their social economic status. This includes, the kind of jobs they have, the income on a monthly basis which can be estimated by the life styles they lead and the kind of schools they send their children to. People therefore become more conscious of their common situation and make this consciousness the basis of their group solidarity (ibid).

There is a more rational thinking about generational positions in childhood studies. This rationality is said to be focused on the inter dependability of each other in family units. Alanen however is quick to mention that, "the relationship between members of the family needs not to be, and often is not, symmetrical in both directions", that is from parents to children and vice-versa (2001: 19). The adults in the family have the upper hand in decision making and influences that they put on children. They do so by showing the children that their childhood was better than the current one and that children should follow their example, and only through that process, their childhoods would be something they would live to remember fondly.

According to Lee, "a distinction is often drawn between adult human beings and child human becomings" (2001: 7). Before the 1970s, the western world interpreted childhood through the eyes of adults. Everything that children did was scrutinized in terms of how the action would affect adulthood or how such actions would affect their journey into adulthood (Jenks, 1982). Adulthood was seen as the end point of childhood and thus every child is bound to leave childhood while adulthood stays for the rest of our lives. Studies on children were done to understand how they develop the rationality characteristic of adult thought. Jean Piaget, the main proponent of developmental psychology, focused on children's development stages - moving from less complex ideas to more complex ones. The more complex issues were, [the more they] could only be grasped well by adults and thus he positioned them as 'human becomings' who were transiting into adulthood (James et al, 1998). In this case, childhood was not the most important thing that scholars were studying; it was the fear of having an incomplete or incompetent adulthood in society that encouraged most of the studies on childhood (Lee, 2001). In this research, my curiosity on what the views of Zambian parents and teachers on this subject would be, gave me an impetus to find out more from them the position they ascribe to. I therefore present examples of such generational theorizations among adults in chapters five, six and seven.

3.3.2 Agency

Agency is one of the most important theoretical developments in the recent history of childhood studies which sees children as competent social actors in their own lives. It has brought about what Hardman (1973) calls "the study of children in their own right and not just as receptacles of adult teaching" (James, 2009: 34). This change in perception elucidated the emphasis on children's role as social agents. They are now seen as "people who, through their individual actions, can make a difference to a relationship, a decision, to the workings of a set of social assumptions or constraints" (Mayall, 2002: 21). The focus on children's agency has therefore brought about a "re-conceptualization of the ways in which children themselves can be understood as active participants in society" (James, 2009: 34). This shift in theorizing childhood has very significant ramifications to the way children are perceived in the 21st century. It has brought about human rights treaties and laws that have brought significant changes to children's lives in many different parts of the world. However, the conceptualization is not yet global as different parts of the world still see children in relation to their traditions, cultures, customs, norms and beliefs.

In this era, the idea that children are active social actors in society is not strange. Children today are studied as persons who are active with creating their own social lives and also participating in doing so with others (Mayall, 2002). Children therefore, "have a part to play in the lives of those around them in the societies in which they live and form independent social relationships and cultures" (James, 2009: 41). Corsaro gives an idea of children's agency and actors in their social lives in schools. He explains how children find a way of challenging adult rules in schools, that forbids them from carrying toys to school as these become areas of conflict during their schooling and social livelihood. The children manage to carry toys which they hide in their pockets and bags without adults noticing. They use these toys during their play without the knowledge of the teachers and caregivers (2005: 24). This play happens, in most cases with little or no conflict at all among children. Children therefore, create their own culture that adults never think they are capable of creating - their own conducive environment for play. This illustrates the amount of competence that children have and how they make use of this agency in their lives.

Thinking about children's agency and action for many adults is not a very well received thought. Adults are always worried about what kind of agency to give the children and how much freedom children can handle without occasioning harm to themselves and others. For

example, there is a wide debate on how much freedom children should have with regard to the media and technology they are exposed to (Buckingham, 2000). James (2009: 43) argues that "the main feature of this anxiety, ironically, is whether children are to be regarded as passive receivers of media's messages or, instead, as savvy and competent, media-wise children who are active decision-makers, able to exercise control over it". It is also cardinal to think about childhood as fragmented by social variables such as class, gender, ethnicity and health status as not all children have the same opportunities in life just like adults do not have the same opportunities across societies and cultures (James, 2009). It is then important to think about children's agency as attributes of individual children and not to expose children's minority status to that of adults. The analysis chapters will explore how this agency is negotiated by children in Zambian public schools.

3.3.3 Gender approach

Gender issues in children and childhood means studying both girls and boys identities as distinct personhood. Different cultures have different ways of perceiving gender and often associate a particular sex to certain domestic or household chores or indeed certain activities only for girls or boys. Robert Serpell (1993) argues that children in eastern Zambia have gender roles that are very distinct from each other. Household chores are perceived to be for girls while herding cattle was for boys. Robson (2003) found a similar situation in Nigeria were girls and boys engaged in different tasks assigned by adults. The feminist discourses are therefore, very influential in the analysis of agency, power relations and children's places in schooling (Ansell, 2005; Holloway & Valentine, 2000). Childhood studies has shown some very important relations to the feminist discourses as it gives some insight on the children's relationships with each other and with adults in their use of time and space in their localities. It is these studies on time and space that endeavor to present childhood as a structural category constructed by children and adults in a given society (James & James, 2008; Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

Feminist perspectives situate gender as a fundamental category, that is cardinal for our social world and also that influences the way we think and perceive the world. As a result, the phenomenon of gender remains a social and cultural construct of sex differences that varies over time and space (James & James, 2008). For example, the assigning of gender roles stems from these social and cultural constructs that inform the status and power of either men/boys

or women/girls in a given society. Different societies associate different kinds of behavior, emotions and attitudes to the two genders. The complex system of personal and social relations of domination and power through which women and men are socially created and maintained for gaining access to power and material resources is deeply embedded in societal constructions (ibid). A good example of this complex system is discussed by James (1993 in Alison James, Allan Prout and Chris Jenks' book *Theorizing Childhood* about children's gendered spaces of play at Hilltop school in Britain. At this school, new children quickly learned that school space is highly gendered.

> *They quickly learn that the playground literally sidelines girls' play, as the boys colonize its centre through their games of football. They [also] learn that [there is a house within the school where] 'mummies' [girls] feed babies, cook the dinner, go shopping, control their husbands, speak on telephone and smack their children. 'Daddies' [boys] go off to work. For much of the time they are forced to stay outside the house, only gaining entry by permission from the 'mummies' or, when refused, by violence and force.* (1998: 46)

The institution of schooling therefore creates the gendered space of and for childhood in a manner that those who control it desire. Girls have their own play and spaces of play while boys dominate the outdoor spaces of the school.

The role therefore, that gender plays in shaping people's lives in specific societies is of paramount importance in this research. According to Punch (2001: 808), "household labor in the majority world is divided on gender lines". However, gender division of labor is not the most important aspect in Latin America as it is in Africa, Nepal and India (Punch, 2001). Instead, it is the generational divide that informs these divisions more than gender in itself. In her studies in Nigeria, Robson shows how feminist social scientists have argued that "public-private spatial divisions are reflected and replicated in social terms" (2003: 195). She argues that domestic spaces of reproduction are female occupied while outside spaces are more male dominated. This suggests a gendered divide of spaces and activities that can be done in any given social space (ibid). Play, work and schooling remain part of those activities that are highly gendered in African societies (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Ansell, 2005: Serpell, 1993; Mumba, 2002; Robson, 2003). Nicola Ansell shows in her studies in Lesotho and Zimbabwe that schooling is equally gendered as she uses the subjects children learn to

illustrate the influence that gender has on what academic choices children make depending on their sex (Ansell, 2002). In these communities, adults, teachers and children themselves assigned certain subjects and school activities to a particular sex. That reinforces the social constructionism that is associated with gender in these societies. In this research, I therefore remain curious to understand how these social cultural constructions can inform my research especially on 'girlhood' and 'boyhood' in a Zambian school spaces.

Chapter 4: Methodology

In this chapter, I discuss both the methods and techniques used in this research. I explore the research questions and discuss the methods preferred by putting into consideration the objectives and phenomenon of the research. I use Tingstad's (2007:129) argument that it will "never be about techniques alone but also about how the researcher perceives the phenomenon that is to be studied, the role and position of the researcher and how the researcher positions the research subject(s)". I therefore discuss my role as a researcher, how I perceived children's views on school social spaces and how I positioned my research participants.

4.1 Nature of the study

This study is anchored on best practices in qualitative research. As argued by Mason (2002: 3), "it aims to produce rounded and contextual understandings on the basis of rich, nuanced and detailed data". It has therefore, explored children's social spaces in Zambian schools and highlighted issues that arise from the process of schooling - overall experiences of schooling. It has also investigated views that children have about their future outcomes of education for them as individuals and also those that parents have for them.

4.2 Position of the researcher and participants

I carried out a study on this topic because of the interest I had in wanting to find how children experienced social spaces and places in schools and the reasons for their schooling. I had questions such as; What is the meaning of education for children? Does the school environment and setup motivate children to attend classes and participate fully? What are the societal expectations from boys and girls? What views do parents and teachers have on children's schooling? As stated earlier on page one of this thesis, I had my own experiences of schooling and childhood. Hence, the need to have these questions answered by the children themselves. I did not pretend to know or not to know some of the children's experiences in school social spaces.

Since I am a teacher in the same city as my participants, I was aware of how my knowledge could be prejudicial to what the children would say or do. I realized that children might not

feel free with me or might think that I would not take their stories seriously and thus would not participate fully. I therefore, made it clear to my participants that I was interested in their thoughts and that I would not judge them based on what I know. I also reminded them that they knew better than I did on school social spaces and that it was important for them to share information about their schooling and livelihood so that I could get a better understanding of what happens during schooling.

During observations, I did not take part in the classroom activities but observed the classrooms and outside environment of the school. I did this as I walked round the school and noted a few things that were going on. This is in line with Ennew et al (2009) who emphasizes that observations can take place at any time and place during the research. I too used every opportunity to note what I saw and made it part of my research data that could explain some unsaid issues. I was careful not to be compromised and become judgmental about what I was seeing because I know how much authority a Zambian teacher wields on his/her learners. I therefore, wrote down whatever I thought was important and critically thought about it during the research process.

4.3 Access to the field

Prior to my travel to the research field, I sent a letter to the principal of the school who is the gate keeper of my research field. I indicated my research topic, the aim of the study and the reason for choosing his school as advised by Ennew et al (2009) on the 'importance of giving some information about the study' to the persons in the field at the time of applying for access. I also mentioned briefly my research questions and methods that I would use whilst conducting the study with the children as shown by Abebe (2009) who submitted a proposal to the Research and Ethics bureau of the city Governor of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia prior to his access of research funds. Also included in the letter was a timeline of the study and also the number of children required to participate in the research with the preferred age and gender.

I only got permission from the school authorities who are mandated by law to give such when they see it fit. The school authorities gave me a teacher who would help me with some practical issues around the school such as arranging for rooms for our meetings and organizing the participants. He became my 'guide' throughout the research as I would enquire

from him whenever I needed something that the children would not know about such as school programs.

The first time I met the children was very interesting as I could see the eagerness from them to want the research to begin immediately. They liked taking part especially after learning that they will probably not need to write anything during the research process and that there were no wrong or right answers. I knew that some children do not like participating in research as they feel that they would give wrong answers which are very embarrassing for them.

4.4 Choosing the sample

I selected children at Kafue high school in Kitwe town who were willing to participate. The name of the school is fictitious for purposes of anonymity. These children offered their time and energy to be part of this study without anyone coercing them to do so. Most of them lived in the residential areas that surrounded the school whose catchment area extends to some poor neighborhoods similar to the ones in my childhood. This brings to mind what Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) say about researchers; they should be "seen not only as an observer but also as part of the social world that is being studied". This made me give some thought to my own childhood experiences as to whether what I experienced might influence the way I look at my research subjects. In order to be aware of my taken for-granted assumptions, I used my experience as strength to gather new insights from the children themselves on their use and negotiating through school spaces.

I used interviews with all the participants while I also had focus group discussions with children and I observed activities in the school setting. The data was collected from June to August, 2012 using the stated methods. I had 18 school children, 5 parents and 1 teacher. Children were from the 11th grade, aged between 15 and 17. I had the first focus group discussion in two groups, divided by gender to get views from a single sex perspective and later in the second discussion; the two were combined and discussed together as one group to compare views of either groups. This helped find some common issues cutting across gender, age and socio-economic status of the children.

S/N	Participants	Gender	Average Age
1	Ten Children	Male	16-17 years
2	Eight Children	Female	15-17 years
Total	*Eighteen Children*	*Male and Female*	*15-17 years*

Table 3. Participants - 11th grade children

S/N	Participants	Occupation	No. of Children
1	Female parent	Business Woman	2
2	Female parent	Teacher	5
3	Male parent	Engineer	8
4	Male parent	Mining Contractor	6
5	Female parent	Marketeer & Social Councilor	9

Table 4. Participants - parents

The number of children includes dependants living in a particular household. The parents interviewed are from a population of parents who have similar occupations and therefore, are anonymous. There are many parents who are teachers, miners and marketeers.

S/N	Participant	Occupation	No. of years in Teaching
1	Male	Teacher	22

Table 5. Participants - teacher(s).

The participant has served approximately one year at this school

I informed my participants about confidentiality as emphasized by Ennew et al (2009) and Abebe (2009) who stress its importance as some children 'might be uncomfortable with giving certain details' as they think that the adults in their setting such as teachers or parents will know what they said. I also made sure that building rapport was done side by side with

other activities that I was involved in. In a number of weeks, we got to be very close with each other and one boy became the second 'guide' as he organized most of the activities in an impressive manner.

Children in my sample were from the same class but with different ages. Entry in school in Zambia is by age on paper but in practice, age does not matter. In most cases, children are enrolled in school depending on their physical stature and who the parents know in the school. Some children are enrolled in school at the age of 5 or 6 while others at 7 or more. That is the reason why the age varies from child to child despite belonging to the same class. In a real sense, I did not worry so much about age as suggested by Solberg (1994) who argues that researchers should pay more attention to children's actions and views than other issues such as age.

4.5 Gathering of data

4.5.1 Interview Guide

I made an interview guide with questions related to my research topic. The questions were in line with the research questions that this thesis is anchored on. I made the questions in such a way that the first questions were closed ended and thus would make the conversation begin on a lighter note before we could get into more detailed issues. For example, questions like what time do you report to school and knock off? The subsequent questions were open ended and allowed the participant to give their own story of what was asked. What do you like in school that you do not get from home and why? I asked several questions depending on what the participants said to find out more as suggested by Kvale and Brinkman (2009) who encourages asking 'spontaneous questions based on the responses'. This made me see beyond my interview guide as I could ask more questions and participants could elaborate more on the subject being discussed.

As emphasized earlier, I allowed children and other participants to relate other issues that my interview guide did not consider in order for me to see the inadequacies in my questions and modify them were possible. Children especially told me a number of things that I had not thought were necessary to talk about when considering children's school experiences. For example, a good number of children talked about 'punishment'. They said, "the way punishments are meted out on us is not good, we are sometimes told to dig a pit for throwing

litter or at times they say dig a pit and burry it thereafter". Because of these tough punishments given to them for offences they commit, some children choose to go back home for fear of being severely punished. This is as argued by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 87) who states that "knowledge of interviewing is embedded less in explicit rules of method than in concrete examples of interviews, [and] ... remain to a large extent content and context bound". In this case, I sought to pay careful attention to the content of the interview as told by the participants so that I check the relevance of my questions to the interviewee. This was a push factor on me to modify the questions I would ask the teacher in order to get an insight of what had emerged from the interviews with the children. I applied the "craftsmanship" in interviewing as stressed out in Kvale and Brinkmann (2009). I attempted to establish validity of the information obtained from the interviewee by asking similar questions to the other children and the teacher in order to seek clarity over the subject matter. This did not mean that I did not believe what the child said but instead I did not want to leave any stone unturned in the research. I wanted to know whether this was a specific experience of one child or several of them as that would give an impression on different subjects discussed.

4.5.2 Interviews with children

As I went in the field, I knew that the main method of my data collection would be interviews alongside other methods. I found out that children would find it more fun to speak about their experiences in school since they rarely have such opportunities to speak freely to adults on issues that affect them. In this case, I applied Kvale & Brinkmann's (2009:48) argument of the traveler metaphor, "the journey might instigate a process of reflection that leads the interviewer to new ways of self-understanding, as well as uncovering preciously taken-for-granted values and customs in the traveler's home country". I therefore reflected on my methods of interviewing as well as other research methods in view of what had emerged from the children's views. This was so due to children's reactions when they learnt that they would not need to write anything at all. They were so happy to be part of the research as writing is normally associated to academic work that requires one to give right answers as taught by the teacher. In this research, there was no right or wrong answer that would be required from the children other than their own views, and this proved to be a worthwhile venture for me as a researcher and the children. Since I experienced the Zambian school system as a child and I

have been working as a teacher at a public school, I knew a lot about how the system operates and thus was able to ask questions that made the children provide more elaborate answers.

I therefore, used this metaphor 'as the traveler on a journey' to a place (children's lives) were I could gather information or knowledge (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) - which are views that emerged from the stories of the children. I went through this journey as a researcher and asked questions that enabled the children give stories of their own lives and thoughts on the topic. I heard first hand information from the children on what they experience in schooling and how this defines them for both the present and future.

I found a place to conduct interviews even though it was not ideal as it was in the outer space where other children walked passed us and went on with their own business. I used the interview guide I had made before going to the field and I asked the questions in such a manner that children could explain unlike giving one word answers. These are referred to as 'unstructured interviews' as stated by Ennew et al (2009: 5.36) that "it gives participants greater control over the direction of the conversation and allows them to tell their story in their own way". In this way, children spoke as much as they wanted and the interview would go on for over half an hour and children were asked to add any information that they thought was relevant to their school experience that my questions did not tackle.

All the interviews were conducted during the lunch break and the personal study time (1:20pm to 3pm) for the children. As stated earlier, this was done outside the classrooms as the room I was given was also the same room allocated to children in a particular religious group. The interviews were mostly done in English which most children were conversant to as they use it in school more than the local language *Bemba.* They used the local language only when they could not find an appropriate word in English.

4.5.3 Interviews with parents

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I interviewed 5 parents (at their homes and work) who were selected from among their children who took part in this research. I asked children to request their parents for their participation and the response was favorable as I got at least five of them. I interviewed them from their homes during the weekends when most of them would be home. I had one parent who was working at the market almost every day and had to leave the market place to come and answer my questions at home. I also interviewed one

parent at her work place as she could not have any other time for me to visit her home. I used the same techniques as I used when interviewing children which made me see the gist in James' et al (1998: 31) argument that children are 'essentially indistinguishable from adults' and thus should employ the same methods as that used when doing research with adults.

4.5.4 Focus Group Discussion with Children

A total of three focus group discussions with the children were conducted. I used the first one for familiarization purposes and building rapport. However, after two focus group discussions, I noticed that some children were not able to speak as much as the others did. I realized that this might only be as useful to a certain extent as argued by Ennew et al (2009). According to her (2009: 5.29), "a focus group discussion is a formal, facilitated discussion on specific topic. It can be useful for exploring ideas and attitudes in the early stages of the research." I therefore, used this method to explore different ideas, attitudes, values, knowledge and beliefs of the children. I was able to see which children could speak in a group and those who could not. I could also check the arguments as they unfolded as I could see how children challenged each other on certain issues that the group would not agree with. I realized that different children have different views on particular subjects being discussed. This acted as an eye-opener to my questioning style and procedure for interviews.

All the focus group discussions were done in a classroom that was allocated to our group and we would make sure that it would be vacant in advance so that our program is not disrupted by any other groups wishing to use the room. In these discussions, we used any language that was preferred by the children - *English* or *Bemba*. This made the discussion more interesting and enjoyable for many children and looked forward to another one. Of course, some children were shy to speak and they would be seen taping their colleagues telling them to speak on their behalf.

In the discussions, I made two groups as stated earlier according to their gender. We sat in a circle and discussed the school facilities that children enjoyed or used and those that they did not like. We then listed these in order of their liking and put them down on a manila paper. So many arguments emerged on the order of listing as some suggested one thing to the other. It also showed that children could engage each other in a discussion and finally come to a conclusion on the matter.

4.5.5 Photography

Photography was not a method for this research. It was merely used for building and enhancing rapport with my research participants (children). Photographs were taken in the school setting by the children. They especially liked taking photographs during a social event hosted by the school called Talent Show or *(Talent yapa Kafue)* an activity that is meant to show-case the children's talents to their peers by organizing dances, poems, comedy and songs just to name a few. This was experienced by Punch (2002) who noticed that Bolivian children took photographs depending on what they wanted to keep in their memories. One boy took me on a tour of the school and told me that he liked taking photos in the school orchard because it was clean and beautiful. Others also took photos in the school playing fields. Most of these photos were given to the children as electronic copies and some were printed and distributed to them for their photo bank.

I have shown photographs in some parts of this thesis to illustrate the physical space of the school. This was however not used as my method of gathering data as I had no plans of doing so when I went in the field. These activities were done without disturbing the learning program of the participants. I discussed with the participants on the best way of conducting the research and each one of them had an input in drawing up the program. Using the methods stated in this chapter, I explored the experiences of children in school social spaces and how they negotiate through these spaces. I had a smooth research process that was not marred with many challenges except those I will outline in the subsequent themes.

4.6 Ethical considerations

4.6.1 Informed consent and freedom of expression

Any research requires forethought from researchers to ensure that all the participants are fully aware of what they are getting into. As argued by Mason (2002:4), "any researcher has to identify and resolve a whole range of issues in the research process". These are issues such as the willingness of the participants to take part in the research, the needed privacy and reflexivity among others. As this chapter has shown, I have endeavored to present the procedures I took in this research, how I chose these procedures and why it was necessary to do so. I have explained how I gained access to the field and subsequent steps taken in directing the research to its desired goal. A copy of the letter for gaining access to the field and the consent form that was given verbally is attached in the appendix.

I based my informed consent requests to the field on the guidelines approved by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) (see appendix) and best practices outlined by a number of scholars such as Abebe (2009) and Ennew et al (2009). I asked for consent from the school authorities and the children themselves. There is a shared view by parents that children at school are under the full authority of teachers and the school (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Serpell, 1993 and Kelly, 1996). As such, teachers are viewed as second parents who can decide on important issues for them as long as it will not pose any harm/danger to their children. The consent was verbal and only from teachers and children. I explained the objectives of the research and emphasized that they were free to pull out of the research at any point that they desired. I also reminded them that I only needed their views and not what they thought I would like to hear. I assured them that their information was safe with me and I would keep it confidential and no teacher or parent would know about it.

4.6.2 Negotiating power

When doing research with children, one cannot proceed without bringing to the fore the contextualization of childhood by adults in an adult controlled world. This has a lot do with the positionality of children taking part in a research that explores their views on a particular subject. Researchers still argue on whether research with children is the same as, or different from that with adults (Punch, 2002; Solberg, 1996). The context of this argument is on the special position children occupy in a research they participate in conducted by adults (Abebe, 2009). These and the adult researchers often find themselves in a limbo on how power is negotiated by each participant for better results and on-going research process (Solberg, 1996).

Considering that I was doing research in a school environment with children who have to observe a number of rules, follow time schedules, listen to teachers and view all adults in their environment as teachers, I had to be more aware of how much power I unknowingly wielded on the children. As postulated by Solberg (1996: 53), I found myself "positioned within that culture as occupying adult roles" [as a teacher] and so needed to adjust my way of "conceptualizing children and childhood" in the school environment. I tried to ignore the taken for granted authority that I had as an adult in that school environment. I asked the children to call me by my first name and to feel free to discuss any matter with me. I also told

them that I was not there to solve their problems but to listen to them as persons who do not know what they really experience in school.

Some children however, found it very hard to address me by my first name. I say so as they never tried to get my attention if I was not looking at them or paying attention to what was being said. They only spoke when I was going to hear them without them having to struggle to get my attention. However, one boy found it interesting to call me by my first name, as he always laughed after calling me which I think was something that he has never done before and found it interesting to do. He was actually the one who found it easy to ask me for anything without hesitating or thinking that I would not be able to give him what he wanted. I would not be surprised if others also asked him to speak on their behalf on whatever they needed to find out.

As argued by Abebe (2009: 458), "adults cannot pretend not to have power over research participants and the research process". I saw this in that I was the one who knew what I was going to ask in interviews and focus group discussions. I also 'directed the research to a certain direction' due to the need to find answers to my research questions and meet the objectives of the research (Ennew et al, 2009) . Children just followed through the study as participants under my direction as I did all I could to equalize the power imbalances in my research. I tried to reduce my power by creating a trustworthy relationship with the children and not exerting any authority over them (Abebe, 2009). In a way, I showed them that I had very little authority over them by never directing them on matters that had nothing to do with the research. In fact, I used opportunities of their other engagements to get a glimpse into their views and perceptions on their daily activities within the school environment.

4.6.3 Reciprocity and reflexivity

Doing research in a community like the one in this thesis requires much more than just ethical considerations. It requires forethought on the kind of participants, their family social and economic status and indeed the influence of their communities on them (Mason 2002). Some of these children spend almost the whole day at school without proper food. They walk to school in most cases and the distance from home to school is considerably long. Some of them would be very tired and hungry by mid day as they cannot afford a proper meal at home (for breakfast) later on at school.

During the research process, I bought the children some snacks or drinks depending on the situation. I also provided bus fares to them on a number of occasions when we stayed at school longer than usual. According to Abebe's (2009) suggestions in his studies in Ethiopia on 'reciprocity and the immediacy of fieldwork', I gave the children some rewards of different kinds. However, I emphasized that whatever I gave them was not to buy information from them but that I felt it noble to give someone what to eat if I am going to make them stay at school for an interview after normal school hours. I also bought them note pads, pens and pencil for their use in their school work. All these measures proved to be very helpful as the children's efforts were rewarded and appreciated.

4.7 Challenges in the research process

Providing an opportunity for children to voice their views brings with it challenges such as translation, interpretation and mediation (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). This research was conducted mainly in *English* and so had no problems of translation. Even those who spoke in the local language did not make it hard for me to translate as I understand the language very well. I however met some words for the first time especially from teenagers who are in a habit of coining new words and attaching meanings to them that adults do not know about. I asked the child who used such words to explain what he or she meant so that I could understand what was being talked about.

I did what is advised by Kvale & Brinkman (2009), on asking 'probing questions' that gave the person who used the word to explain what was meant by the word. For example, I asked children to explain what changes they would bring into the school system if they had the power and the means to do so? One child responded that 'he would give a proper facelift to the school'. Then I followed that response by asking him what he meant by 'proper facelift'. This kind of questioning enabled him to explain more about his thoughts and also helped me to gather new insights on children's views and capabilities on their own schooling. As a result, I often used questions like, what do you mean? What does that word mean? Is that a new vocabulary? These questions allowed the participant to give an explanation of the meaning of his or her statement or word. I also asked others in the group on separate occasions to tell me the meaning of certain words used by other participants.

In the school setting, finding a secluded place to conduct 'private interviews' was the biggest challenge that I faced. This was also experienced by Abebe (2009) in his study in Ethiopia where he had difficulties of finding private places for interviews as either others in the household wanted to listen in or different activities went on in open spaces used by street children. All the classrooms, offices, laboratories and open spaces were occupied at the time of conducting interviews. I was first given the computer laboratory to use but one member of staff felt insecure leaving the room to a stranger with children who he does not know well. We then decided to look for an outdoor space that we could sit in. However, the spaces we used were the public spaces children used during lunch break. A number of pupils were passing by and some of them starring at us wondering what we were doing. This most likely made some participants to feel uneasy and may have not felt free to speak their mind as others could hear what was being said. As a result, we posed and talked about other things such as a scene on television on the previous day just to distract the passersby. In that way, I gathered very valuable data and used more time in order for the participant to feel free and safe as the interview continued.
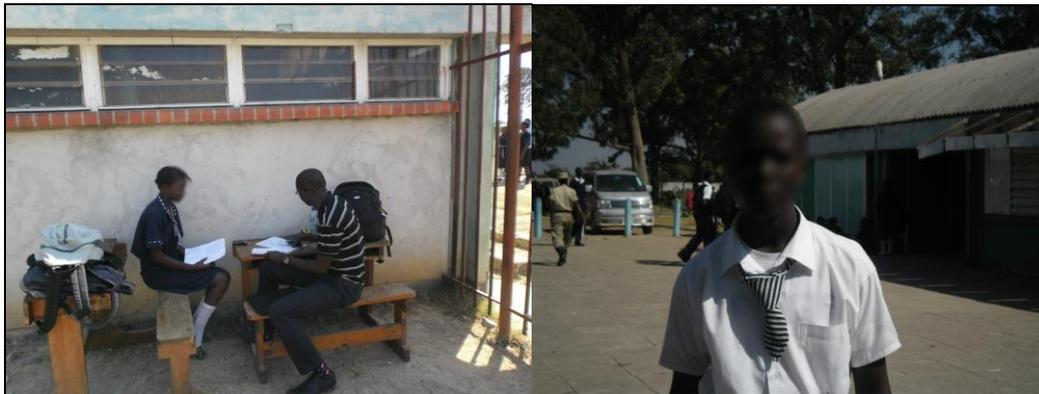
Figure 2. Conducting interviews in outer space

During my home visits, others would sit in and listen to the interview I conducted with the parents. I remember asking one boy to leave the living room as I spoke to his father. I feared that his father might use that opportunity to scold him if he was not doing well in school as some parents actually did. They saw me as a teacher who can now advise their child on the importance of school and help the child to focus on what they perceived to be more important things in life. I assured all participants that their information was safe with me and that it would be anonymous, for the purpose of my academic work only.

4.8 Data Analysis

I transcribed the interviews recorded on the tape recorder thoroughly and accurately as that would be a benchmark for best results during analysis. The interviews were mostly in *English* except a few that were in *Bemba*. I had very little problems with translation from the local language as it is my mother tongue and I am very conversant with it. The quotations in this research are as close as possible to what the children said. The names used in the quotations are fictional while I use 'Rs' to refer to myself as a researcher. I took time to read through the data and some issues began to emerge from the data. For example, I noticed that the role of the school in a child's life can be a place for schooling, play or just for being a child. I will elaborate more on this subject in the next chapters as I present my findings.

According to Kvale & Brinkman (2009: 201-2), "coding involves attaching one or more keywords to a text segment in order to permit later identification of a statement". In this study, coding was used as the main aspect of data analysis. I therefore, searched for keywords in the texts and attached these to the texts that would make it easy for me to identify them later. I used this method on all the interviews repeatedly until I got to a "saturation" of the material (ibid, 2009: 202).

Data was analysed thematically and it proved to be more useful and successful. I developed a list of themes that I used to categorize my data as suggested by Ennew et al (2009) and Kvale & Brinkman (2009). These were themes such as gender, parental support, cultural settings, social spaces, interactions, childhood, learning, school programmes, attendance, teacher relations, school social status, children's agency, government policy, class participation among others. Other themes also emerged later as I was coding and writing as shown by Ennew et al, (2009). I will show some of the themes that emerged in the text as I was coding. As fieldwork is said "to be a demanding activity and data analysis process as time consuming, engaging in data analysis alongside data collection is often very difficult in practice" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007:160). I therefore analysed my data after I had left the research field. The writing of the thesis however, was done concurrently with data analysis processes.

4.9 Validity and reliability

According to Mason (2002), "questions on whether qualitative data can constitute evidence" on whether the information gathered can be trusted as a representation of what really goes on in the field are fraught. However, proving that the data I collected on this study is reliable and valid is a challenge. To that effect, I find Punch's (2002: 325) argument that, children are less likely to present unreliable answers "when a researcher has built up a relationship of trust" with them very useful. I feel that I managed to create a warm and trustworthy relationship with my participants and thus would not doubt the information they gave me. I strongly believe that this information was a reflection of what they experienced in school spaces. I also used my own methods of validating the information such as observations in their school setting.

I noticed that most children found it easy to answer my questions without wondering what I was looking for or what I meant by the question I asked. Of course, some did ask me to clarify my questions as it is not possible for all people to understand a question in the same way regardless of how easy it may be. Sometimes what is advanced in Punch's (2002) argument can be of good use as she says that in some instances, there is a language dilemma between adult researchers and child participants. I tried to be as clear as possible by using the simplest vocabulary that would be understood by my participants considering their level of language vocabulary.

In the next four chapters, I present empirical data from my research field. Chapter five discusses School as a social space by highlighting the structure, framework and motivation for schooling in an adult controlled environment. Chapter six focuses on school physical spaces and how children negotiate through them. Chapter seven discusses school practices as an everyday lived experience of childhood. Chapter eight discusses a brief link between macro-micro political economy and children's school lived experiences. Presentation of findings is concurrent with discussion and I have moved to and fro empirical data on one hand and literature and theory on the other hand.

Chapter 5: School as a social space for children

In this, and subsequent chapters, I present my findings based on the data analysed in the research. According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007:159), data analysis should be "more than managing and manipulating data". It should involve going "beyond the data to develop ideas that will illuminate them" and then use the ideas to make sound arguments. I have therefore, moved back and forth from the empirical data on the one hand to the existing theory and literature on the other (Nilsen, 2005). I have made sound arguments on children's use of school social spaces by linking it to societal social cultural constructions of 'girlhood' and 'boyhood' coupled with generation views of childhood in contemporary Zambia.

In the interviews, focus group discussions and observations, a number of themes emerged ranging from school structure, school framework, motivation, gendered spaces, adult spaces, power and authority, and generation. During data analysis, I found that motivation, school practices, physical spaces, gendered constructions and generation run through the whole data gathered. It then became important to explore more on the themes that emerged and make meaning out of the information provided by the children, teachers and parents. In order to shed light on the aim of this research, I asked questions about different themes such as lived school spaces, historical and traditional spaces, physical spaces and future spaces. To show the essence of the subject being explored, I begin by presenting the school framework based on children's views as well as on relevant literature.

5.1 Framework of schooling

In modern societies, childhood has been seen as a time for schooling and learning (Qvortrup, 2002). Acquiring skills that would assist children when they are adults and ready to take care of themselves has become a cornerstone of most societies (Archard, 1993). School has therefore been seen as the right place for children; it keeps them away from trouble and builds them into responsible adults (Buckingham, 2000). In view of the foregoing, I begin by discussing a very pertinent question that I asked in order to feed into the main theme of this research. What is the meaning of schooling to you as an individual? This question is important as it explains the motivating factors for children attending school, teachers carrying out their duties of teaching and parents cooperating with the schools and government to

provide the children with the best experiences in school. I present views of children, parents and teachers on the subject matter and relate them to literature.

When the question on the previous page was posed to the children, their responses were somewhat similar. They stated:

It means learning and advancing in education in order to be able to get a good job in future.

It means training me to become a responsible adult.

To live a better life with my family when I am grown up.

[Interviews and focus group discussion]

A view that runs through the whole empirical data was that '*children are sent to school to prepare them for a better livelihood in future'*. From the above responses, children, parents and teachers see schooling as a process of training and imparting skills that are to be used in later life stages of persons. As Lee (2001: 8) rightly postulated, "children's lives and activities in the present are still envisaged in the main, as a preparation for the future". The focus then is on the 'outcome' and not on the 'here and now' - which in this research is the use of 'school social spaces'. However, in the process of discussing the importance of schooling with the children, their views on school social spaces became manifest and will be discussed in detail along with other related subjects.

5.2 Structure of schooling - views from teachers, parents and children

As mentioned above, school is theorized as a place for building children's future, and the main builders of this 'future' being 'teachers'. As such, the need to have good relationships between children and teachers cannot be overemphasized (Meinert, 2003; Lee, 2001). In this sub-theme, I place children and teachers in a communal or social group [classroom], that is expected to work together in order to compliment each others' effort. I asked a teacher a question that brought up some well founded thoughts on children's future aspirations as seen from the teacher's view point. Considering the structure and learning system that your school has in place, do you think you are doing the best for these children? I asked this question in order to establish the teacher-pupil relationships in terms of the number of children in the

classroom and how these relationships affect schooling for the children. The discussion that ensued gives a rather gloomy picture of the children's schooling experiences.

The teacher began his argument with making reference to the government policy whose focus is to have 'all children of school age in schools by the year 2015' (MOE, 2005). He then explained the school predicament:

> *We have very few schools in this city; as a result, we are overwhelmed with the number of children who are of school age. This school has in total of 45 classes (30 classes in morning session and 15 in afternoon) per academic year with an average of 70 children per class which gives us in excess of 3,000 children. We do not have enough teachers to cater for all the needs of the children.*
>
> *A teacher needs to prepare lessons in advance for all the classes he or she teaches, giving children exercises and homework and then the challenge of marking over 70 books in a single assignment. As you can imagine, there is very little, if any, individual attention that one can give.* [Interview - Teacher]

The above quotation presents a classroom as a crowded place that poses a challenge to both teachers and learners. Previous research in Zambian schools has shown how overcrowding in classrooms has impacted negatively on the learners' potential to excel to higher heights (Kelly, 1996; Mumba, 2002). The learner achievements have dropped drastically and the education standards have fallen to a low ebb (MoESP, 2007; Carmody, 2004). According to a ministerial statement released by the Minister of Education on December, 22, 2012, the children failing to progress to either the eighth or the ninth grade are in tens of thousands each year. If this is the situation at hand, then how can we explain the huge numbers of children going to school in most communities and most of them in very difficult circumstances?

The teacher in this research expressed sadness at the low level of teacher-pupil interaction which he said was impossible to improve with the prevailing conditions. He lamented again:

> *"There is very little individual attention that children get from teachers as they are just too many, there is no teacher in this world who can give that attention to over 70 children in his classroom while thinking about two or more classrooms that he handles".*

"Unless the government builds more schools with many classrooms and employs more teachers, the situation will remain the same or will even get worse." [Interview - Teacher]

According to the quotation above, the situation in most of the public schools is already bad and it keeps deteriorating each year. It is however, important to ask, do children also feel less able to achieve their goals and aspirations because of the situation they find themselves in? A closer look at how children viewed this adult representation of a bleak school system gives us a different perspective into this subject. I will discuss this subject later in the next sub-theme as I present children's reactions to the outcries of the teachers about the school predicament. However, before discussing children's perspectives on this subject, I link teacher's views to those of the parents hereunder.

During the interviews with parents, we discussed how the school system has changed over time from the time that the parents went to school in the seventies and eighties to present. These were the views that emerged in separate interviews;

Rs: From the time you went to school, what has changed in the school system over the years?

Parent X: So many things have changed. I think the curriculum is different today, do you know that my grade 11 boy can't read fluently in English. It never happened in our time. The culture of reading has died. In our time, we read so many books, teachers forced us to read portions of books and present them to others in the class. But these children of today spend all their time on computers, mobile phones, playing games, composing and recording music.

Parent Y: Children's behavior has worsened these days. Teachers in our time used to have authority, but I feel for the teachers these days. These same so-called children's rights are spoiling our children. In my house, I do not allow stupidity from my children whether here at home or at school.

Parent Q: Children have so many leakages today, so many of them are passing high school examinations by cheating. My children waste so much time on Television and the internet on their mobile phones. That is why the education standards are falling each day.

In the quotations above, a number of issues emerged that reflected parent's views. The issues raised could be understood in the educational context of each parent. *Parent X "emphasized on the curriculum, reading culture and children's rights as things that had changed the education system being experienced by their children".* Others complained about *"the cost of sending children to school as they were not managing financially".* They argued that *"in their time, they had real free education as they paid nothing in schools and the only thing that was required was to take themselves to school as the state would take care of the rest".* [Interviews - Parents]

Parent X could not understand why a pupil in grade 11 could not read English fluently. In his argument, during his schooling years, *"all pupils in the 11th grade would be able to read English well and articulate it with all its rules of grammar".* He argued that, *"his son's failure to read at that level of education was spending too much time on electronic gadgets".* He further explained the reading course he experienced in the seventies. "*Each one of us was given a book to read every week and we wrote a summary of the book and submitted it to the teacher for marking. In that way, we became more familiar with the English words and rules of grammar"* [Interview - Parent X].   Parent X in the discourse above sees what he experienced at his time of schooling as "peculiar to his cohort" and that it does not exist to his son and his cohorts' schooling (Alanen, 2001: 15). One thing he probably did not think about is that he was "exposed to different social events and ideas" than the ones being experienced by his son (ibid). He further explained that *"he had never seen his son reading a book while he is at home"* [Interview - Parent X]. This suggests that some parents see schooling years as time for reading and acquiring a wealth of knowledge through hard copy books than on electronic devices. Anyone seen with an electronic gadget is perceived to be wasting time or playing.

Parents and teachers argued that *"children have an insatiable love for electronic gadgets that they use in their play at home or in some computer cafes (small shops made of makeshift materials such as planks, hard paper and plastics) dotted around the neighborhood"* [Interviews - Parents and Teacher(s)]. Children, especially boys have been seen by adults to be so preoccupied with computer games in the named cafes where they play a game at a fee to the owner of the computers and other equipments. It is seen as the more fashionable thing to do for boys while girls sit for hours - after housework, in front of the television set

watching some TV series that have flooded the television industry. These soap operas last at least an hour each and maybe 3 or 4 of them every week day.

While some parents feel sympathetic for the teachers who have to deal with the modern children (born in the computer and electronic age), some parents accuse them of being negligent and contributing to the failure of their children in school examinations. *Parent X* argued that *"the advent of extra lessons or paid tuition outside the school program that the teachers have engaged themselves in is so detrimental to the children's schooling"*. According to him, *"teachers of their time never conducted extra lessons"*. *They taught in class and they made sure that all children had understood the concept being taught before moving to the next topic. They also ensured that all children were seriously studying and not playing* [Interview - Parent X]. This is further exemplified in the quotation hereunder:

> *"Teachers of these days spend their class time telling stories and making jokes so that they can do proper teaching during their private time and the government also allows them to that"*. [Interview - Parents X and Y]

Another parent also charged that *"children do not spend as much time as they should in school"* [Interview - Parent V]. She suggested that children should spend more time as she did during her time on academic work. According to her, *"childhood is not time for playing but for preparing the future - adult life"* [Interview - Parent V]. Children should therefore exhaust their energies on "preparing their future" a time that they will live most of their lives (James et al, 1998; Jenks, 1982). However, children also had a different take on what they should do with their childhood. They argued that "*they spend enough time in school and that they are working hard to get good grades for their future which the parents do not see"*. Children dismissed their parents assertions that *'they spend endless amounts of time on playing'* and instead argued that *'they only play after school'* and not during school time as *'the school environment and schedules do not provide them with enough opportunities for playing'* [Interviews - Pupils]. There was a general argument among children that school time just emphasizes on learning and studying without play.

5.3 Contesting adult representations of children's schooling
As stated on *page 46*, I discuss the role of the schooling in children's lives and how the children contest the adult representation of the overwhelming pressure to provide children

with the best academic experiences that they desire. They also make their own analysis of the situation and voice out their concerns through such forum as research. I was curious to find out whether children blamed it all on teachers for the falling standards and their representation of the previously stated bleak situation experienced by children in schools? This question elucidates on children's level of understanding of issues that concern their schooling and how the said issues can be dealt with.

The teacher discussed on the previous pages argued that 'it was unthinkable for any teacher to provide individualized education to all the children in the classroom'. On the, contrary, children argued that *"teachers can manage to provide better individualized attention to children than they are doing"*. Children further argued that *"teachers have taken advantage of the crowding in classrooms and are using it as an excuse for them not to do their best"* [Interviews-pupils]. What was even more annoying to the children was how the teachers would shift the burden onto the children when the children had their own burden of learning and internalizing whatever they learnt in order for them to pass examinations. Children informed me that teachers on many occasions have asked one of them to write notes on the blackboard for other children to copy in their books while the teacher goes away to do personal errands.

Betsheba a female pupil was so incensed with some teachers' attitude towards their work.

> "*Some of these teachers are lazy, they fail to do their work and give it to one of the pupils in class to write on the board*". [*Betsheba* - pupil]

Children in this case contested the adult representations of how hard their work was due to overcrowding by emphasizing that a teacher should be able to do his job to the best of his ability and not shifting the burden on learners. According to *Betsheba* mentioned above, *"the fact that the teacher has a lot of classes and he or she is teaching many children does not give him or her the right to shift the responsibility of teaching and imparting knowledge to the learners"* [Interview-*Betsheba]*. The views of the teachers and those of the pupils suggest what Holt (2004: 232) calls "heterogeneous sites of cultural conflict" in classrooms. In this case, classroom spaces can be sources of conflict especially if there are different expectations from different members of the classroom and one of the members is seen not to fully contribute to that common goal. According to the children, the "teacher's culture of laziness" when overwhelmed with work is at conflict with that of the children of not wanting to "bear

the burden" of the pressure on the teacher. The two cultures conflict even though the teacher culture seems to hold an upper hand of the pupil culture due to his adult authority that he poses (ibid, 2004). According to Mayall (2002: 21), children through their "individual actions" such as research, are able "to make a difference to the workings of a set of social assumptions and constraints" such as classroom constraints of teaching not doing their job as expected. I therefore contrast the adult views that presents a no-hope situation for the current circumstances to that of the children who see it as a deliberate move by teachers in order for them to avoid taking responsibility for the falling school standards. I use the argument here to show that children in this society also have and know how to use their agency and do not take everything from adults as the ultimate truth.

5.4 Motivation for schooling

According to Zambian government policy, school starts early in the morning at 07:30 hours, with all children expected to be in class before the said time. That means that children wake up very early in the morning depending on the distance between home and school (Carmody, 2004; Kelly, 1996). During the research, participants informed me that they spent at least 45minutes walking to school.

The journey to school is rather too long for some children and thus can de-motivate children who might otherwise have a zeal for schooling (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Those who report to school might be tired and thus find it a big challenge to follow through all the lessons as presented by the teacher. *Kadobi,* a pupil who walked to school every day had this to say:

> *I live in Wusakile* (name is fictitious) *and it takes me at least forty five minutes to walk to school each morning. There is a shorter road to school but, it is dangerous during the rainy season as there are criminals who kill children at the stream. That is why I use the main road. By the time I am in school, I am tired and I have to walk the same way back home after school.* [Kadobi - pupil]

Kadobi mentioned in the quotation above lives in one of the school catchment areas. It is at least forty five minutes walking distance from the school. Depending on which side of the compound he lives in, the time spent on walking to school might be more. He could not afford to pay for the bus on a daily basis and had other financial difficulties that made the

situation worse. However, he walked to school willingly each morning and he even looked forward to each day's activity. He spent most of his time in school and left when all school activities were over. He took part in all kinds of learning both "core and extra-curricular" school activities (Ansell, 2002; Kelly, 1996).

The foregoing quotation suggests that the adult perception of 'school' as a 'place' that helps children to build their own future has been adopted by this child (James et al, 1998; Lee, 2001; Ansell, 2005; Mumba, 2002). He argued that the reason why he took the trouble of walking to school each morning for the whole year is that he was looking at what he would gain for the future. He equivocally stated;

> *I want to be a mining engineer, do you know that miners get a lot of money. So, this walking will end very soon and I will be enjoying the fruits (benefits) of my walking when I get a job in the mines.* [*Kadobi* - pupil]

He emphasized the need for him to keep that spirit as it was the only way he could get good grades that can enable him study at the best university or college in the country and later get a good job in the mines. As shown by Serpell (1993), 'attending school without getting good grades that can give you a good job was worse than not going to school at all'. All in all, *Kadobi* was looking at the bigger picture that lay in the future (high paying job in the mines for engineers) and through that, he was willing to over look the current situation he was in of walking a long distance to school as it was temporal. The long distances between schools in the country has been a challenge since independence and affects both rural and urban areas alike (Kelly, 1996; Serpell, 1993).

This is a similar trend in sub-Saharan Africa were children in most communities spend a considerate amount of time walking to school each morning (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Ansell (2002), Ansell and van Blerk (2004), have shown vivid examples from Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Malawi on the distance children covered from home to school. Even if the above scholars had focused on rural communities, the findings in their studies suggest a picture of an overall national trend on the spread of schools across countries. In my research, I have presented a quote from a participant who complained about the long distance that he covered to school each day. He was able to walk a long distance to school due to the 'future' benefits he was looking forward to enjoy after getting good grades that would help him enroll at the best university to study engineering - a career he saw as lucrative. This is the future that

"adults have constructed" and because of the "interactions" between children and the former, the latter adopts it as a norm (Lee, 2001; James et al, 1998: 28; James, 2009; Prout & James, 1990)

5.5 Agency

In childhood studies, agency is a very important theme that every scholar endeavors to highlight in his or her research. In this research, my participants exhibited a high level of agency in ways that were very interesting. I therefore discuss this important aspect of childhood studies by looking at school as either a space for children or for adults and the intra-pupil negotiations of power and authority in the next sub-themes.

While it is cultural and traditional for children to be expected to only listen and not argue over adult decisions, children in Zambia find their own way of exercising their agency. They might use their agency in schools by refusing to do certain things the teachers ask them to do (Corsaro, 2005). They do so knowing that the teacher will not beat them as it is "no longer allowed to beat children in schools" (MOE, 2000). Other ways could be by dodging from school activities and going back to their communities to play or do other activities or duties assigned by other members of the family or indeed themselves. I therefore present empirical data from my research interviews, focus group discussions and observations that emerged during the research. These issues emerged in the process of discussing other matters that I had wanted to find out. I do this to suggest that children do have the ability to organize themselves and negotiate power and authority in various events and activities with very minimal adult supervision.

5.5.1 School - a child or adult space

In schools, children have little or no say on the framework and structure of each day they spend in school. In line with James et al, (1998: 40), it is clear that "children [are members of a] group [with the] least possession of power within modern societies, late alone on the global stage". Children are given a program to follow with activities arranged in a certain order. They are told that, *"adults know better of what they really need and that they are children still going through schooling and training into adulthood"* (Parent interviews). As such, they do not need to argue with adults on what they should or should not do as they are not as

experienced as adults are with life. However, they can control the individual activities in a particular category of social group. This agency will be elaborated in more detail in the proceeding paragraphs.

During the interview with a teacher, some new findings emerged that can elaborate on children's agency and abilities. The teacher outlined different kinds of extracurricular (after school activities) activities and social events that children engaged themselves in.

> He outlined the following: *clubs and associations such as Readers club, Debate Society, Red Cross among others. Others also play football, netball, basket ball and hockey without any adult supervision.* He added, *In fact, the personal study program for the afternoon is supervised by older children to maintain order in the school. But for some things, they need adult supervision, otherwise they can mess up.*

> [Interview - teacher]

He emphasized the children's abilities in organizing and coordinating events in an orderly manner. His sentiment is in line with Mayall's (2002: 21) argument that children in their "individual actions, can make a difference to a relationship and to a decision". But he was quick to mention that they can only organize something to a certain extent and the rest should be done by adults. In my view, the teacher meant that 'children are capable of doing so many wonders without any adult supervision, the problem is that, adults think that children would use this opportunity to rebel against the school system in place'. Adults in this case do not fully agree with James (2009: 34) who argues that "children are [full] active social participants" and thus should be viewed in that manner. This came in the wake of the teacher's continued displeasure at children's rights that he accused of spoiling children and that the whole future generation was destined for a disaster if left unchecked. However, children showed high levels of order and cooperation among themselves. This argument is elucidated by the quote from my observations in school spaces.

As I walked through the school spaces making my own observations, I noticed, a group of children who were in a particular classroom every Wednesday during lunch time discussing issues from the Bible on their own. The group was made up of members who came together to share the word of God. This group of children had someone among them who acted as a

moderator of the whole discussion. The moderator gave different children opportunities to speak and share their views while the rest of the group listened. [Notes from Observations]

I did not sit in this particular classroom to hear more of what was being said or how they negotiated power, authority and agency among them, but the room had wide windows that were always open and the children were audible enough to anybody passing outside. I reckoned that there was quite some order in the room and that all the children were paying close attention to what was being said or discussed. There was probably more order, respect for each other and cooperation in this room than in classrooms that I saw with the teacher present. This reminded me of the children mentioned by William Corsaro who were 'able to play with the toys they sneaked into school in a very orderly manner without any conflict' whatsoever (2005: 24). The cooperation I noted in this meeting completely erased my taken for granted assumption that 'children would not manage to engage in constructive dialogue with each other in the absence of an adult'.

I saw this due to what was argued by most children during the research. The children communicated that they were not allowed alone in certain parts of the school as the authorities feared that they could not take good care of such spaces. It is interesting that the so-called "best places for children" are "occupied by adults" who are supposed to provide good places for children while the later remain in "shacks" as illustrated by "the NGO projects in Addis Ababa" (Nieuwenhuys, 2003: 109-110). The adult views are "shaping and constraining childhood" in a way that the former want it to be - to see children as persons who cannot take full care of the environment they use as portrayed in the classical novel, *'Adventures of Huckleberry Finn'* in which Huck is presented as 'one who does not have full control of the raft' (Corsaro, 2011: 74). The school principal further justified this notion by arguing that he could not allow the children to play at the school foyer - a large corridor with very beautiful decorations and the notice board, as the children would mess it up or make it dirt with the dust from shoes. The school foyer (large corridors) will be discussed in detail in *chapter 6*.

I also find this argument important for the whole Zambian society. As noted by parents, it is clear that Zambia has many people who ascribe to "adult-centric views" (James et al, 1998). A number of parents argued that *'children are children and must listen to both the parents and teachers'*. This view is exemplified in the following quotation from one of the parents:

Children need constant attention if they are to do anything good at all. (He then compared the current childhood to his own) *In our time, we were not given so much freedom as these children have. The teachers were so strict with us, they made sure that we only used our time on school than anything else. Children of this time are coping from the west (USA and Britain) and applying those things here. In our culture a child must listen to adults and do as he is told. In fact, in my house I do not tolerate those children's rights as they are spoiling children.* [Interview - Parent Y]

According to the parent in the quotation above, children should not be given too much autonomy as that could spoil them. His view of spoiling most likely meant that as a parent, his authority would be shaken and the authority of a teacher was already shaking due to the rights of children that government has domesticated. There was no thought in this parent that would suggest that children have the ability to do a lot of things on their own and actually do it right. He probably disagrees with James et al (1998: 33) who argues that children [should] be seen [as possessing] the same status as...adults, [and that] they have a different set of competencies that adults do not have". Instead, the parent above only saw children as incompetent and immature and thus needing adult supervision always (Lee, 2001; Corsaro, 2011; James et al, 1998; Prout & James, 1990).

A mother lamented how her son "*fails to differentiate between serious issues that need serious consideration and mundane ones that do not even deserve a second thought on them*" [Interview - Parent V]. According to the mother mentioned here, school related activities are the "*serious issues*" that the child does not need to ignore while playing at home with friends and chatting on facebook and watching television were *mundane things* that her son needed to stay away from if he wanted to have a bright future. She even concluded that I (researcher) was a teacher and she used the opportunity of my presence at her house to scold the son. I was further asked to give some advice to the boy (my research participant) and explain to him what he needed to do in order to succeed. In her view, I was a definition of success and her son needed to see me as a role model not as a researcher.

It became apparent to me that most parents and indeed adults in general underestimate the abilities of children. It remains to be seen on what could happen if the children's agency was to be allowed to operate fully in Zambian societies.

5.5.2 Intra-pupil negotiations of power

As I endeavor to discuss this important subject of power relations that emerged during my research with children, I delve on intra-pupil negotiations of power and authority that came out so prominent from my empirical data. This matter was discussed with my participants during the second focus group discussion. It did not seem to be a serious matter as the participants laughed about it when it was mentioned. However, I saw it's full force during some social gatherings.

On one occasion, one of the members of staff had organized a social event that was referred to as "Talent yapa Kafue" or 'Talent Show' (several different activities such as singing, dances, poems and comedy) for the pupils. This social event is meant to be an entertainment gathering that gives children some time to relax, enjoy each other's company and watch performances from other children. At this event, pupils exercised a lot of authority among themselves. The older ones - those in their final year of school, were the organizers of the younger ones (tenth and eleventh grade) and in following the scheduled activities for the day.

Groups of young cadet officers (pupils trained to be future soldiers) took vigil of the school hall where the event took place and ensured that all who entered had paid up and maintained order throughout the whole event. These children had acquired authority from the adults due to their position in school as older children and also as members of this school cadet force. [Notes from Observations]

The authority of the young cadet officers mentioned by children above was exercised in a similar manner as that mentioned in Bolivian households were older children took care of the homestead in the absence of their parents (Punch, 2003). Of course, anybody who defies the order from these older pupils would face the full force of the power they possessed which in most cases has the blessing of the school authorities. In fact, children would be more afraid of these cadets than the school law as the former do not know or care about children's rights and the system allows them to some extent to exercise their authority in order to instill discipline among fellow pupils.

A number of participants expressed displeasure at the amount of authority wielded by these young cadet officers. Children argued that there is no individual pupil in school who likes the cadets. I learnt that children even find it easier to defy an order from teachers than from these young cadet officers who are their fellow pupils. Some boys indicated that many times, they

have pondered on joining this group so that they can avoid being punished for the wrongs they commit in school. One might wonder if the cadets are so powerful and they are also pupils, why is it that they are so few in many schools. Why is it that other children do not join the group in order to evade punishment? I was curious to find answers to these questions. However, I only managed to find answers to the criteria of admittance to this social group of cadet officers. The criterion is discussed in the next paragraph.

Admittance to this group of cadet officers is open for all children who wish to do so. However, once an individual joins, there is no coming out of the group. Cadet force in schools was established to provide some discipline to the rest of the school children as well as a way of recruiting young soldiers as soon as they left high school. In seventies and eighties, it was used as a training ground for children who desired to join military service in future. As a result, the group still operates as a 'military unit' within a school. As such, children who do not want anything to do with military lifestyle stay away from the group. This in itself suggests that even among children, there are some with more power and authority than the rest. As long as other children do not join this group of cadets, the status quo will remain the same among children. Power and authority will always be something that needs to be negotiated among children just like it is among adults in any social group or organization. Power and authority is not something that is just given equally to all. Instead, it is negotiated or earned among members of the social group.

Figure 3. Showing boys dancing during performances of 'Talent yapa Kafue'

5.6 Parent's interest in their children's schooling

In this sub-theme, I link parent's schooling experiences to that of their children. I wanted to find out whether the level of schooling of the parents had something to do with the effort they put in the schooling of their children. All parents who took part in this research had some form of education. As mentioned earlier in chapter four, the parents were working in the mines, teaching in schools, community social workers and marketeers (small scale businesses in open air markets). It is clear that these parents know the importance of their children's schooling and thus would do more to help their children get a better experience in schooling. Of course, discussions on this theme suggest mixed views on the interest the parents show their children's schooling as will be shown later.

This however, does not mean that parents who are not educated do not put their children's education at the core of their agenda (Serpell, 1993; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Ansell, 2002; Punch, 2003). Mothers in this research stated that they always took time to check the books of their children to see what they had learnt at school and also made sure that the children had done homework. I would therefore assume that there is something else that makes parents to have keen interest in their children's education than just the level of education. I will explore this subject further in this sub-theme.

I asked parents a thought provoking question to get some insights in the domestic familial affairs and its impact on lived schooling experiences for the children. The question read as follows: Do you show interest in your children's education by checking what they do at school and giving them necessary support when need arise?

When the question above was posed to parents in different interviews, typical responses emerged.

> *'Sometimes I do, I am too busy with work', 'Yes, sometimes, about twice in a week', 'Yes I do most of the time', 'Sometimes'* and the most interesting response was - *'I think they can manage'.* [Interviews - parents]

Female parents found time to check their children's school work and ensure that they had done their homework and other assignments while their male counterparts were mostly busy with work or other activities outside the home. What is even more interesting is that even female parents who work full time either in formal employment or selling at the market place found time to check what the children had done in school and also assisted them with doing

their homework where possible. In this research, female parents seemed to be more patient with their children and schooling process while their male counterparts were always busy. Male parents argued that they work so that they can bring money home for the family. However, the same was true with the female parents who also contributed immensely to the family food basket. It is then important to ask; Why are male parents less likely to assist their children with homework than the female parents? Providing an answer to this question would explain so many unexplained issues in schooling and childhood in Zambian societies.

5.7 Children's rights - progress or imposition

The role of children's rights in their livelihoods and schooling has been questioned by parents and teachers. They argue that children are not taught about their responsibilities with regard to their rights. Parents and teachers argued that *"rights groups should emphasize on the children's responsibilities before teaching the children on their rights so that children can get the right picture of what is required of them"* [Interviews - Parents & Teacher(s)]. The parents and teachers' thoughts might be illustrated through the "best interest of the child" principle that has been critiqued by scholars due to its 'lack of clear cut definition and application' in times when it should be used by decision makers (Alston, 1994: 18).

As argued earlier, teachers blame children's rights on the behavior of the children both in schools and at home. The teacher in this interview was quick to mention that *"parents are having problems to discipline their own children and yet they expect the teacher to do that when the law does not allow him".* He further added *"discipline among children is waning so fast that pupils can now argue and exchange words with their teachers and the teacher cannot do anything about it. In fact, just pointing a finger at a pupil can make him go to victim support to report the teacher".* [Interview - teacher]

According to the teacher in the quotation above, children's rights are making the teachers to lose their morale in their teaching career. He argues that *"there is nobody who would love to be intimidated at his own place of work by those he is supposed to help"* [Interview - Teacher]. That is why teachers are not doing as much as they can do for the children. This portrays ambivalences in the school system that has telling effects on children's schooling experiences. The children are the ones who suffer as they do not get the best experiences in schools and they leave the school system with less education as is required. The teacher

reiterated the need to "reform the school system" by "changing a number of policies" and also revisiting the children's rights law (Ansell, 2002). That would enable children to enjoy schooling and teachers to enjoy teaching.

The teacher emphasized that *"as long as the children's rights are not revisited, teachers will always feel intimidated. In turn, they will be demoralized and will not exert themselves to do their best in teaching. In the long run, it is the children who will suffer the consequences of low teacher morale"* [Interview - Teacher]. The teacher in this research saw children's rights in a similar way as the critics of the 'best interest of the child' who argue that "the mere recognition of rights is quite ineffectual, and perhaps even misleading and counter-productive. In this view, children should not be accorded rights unless they are given the means to assert them effectively on their own behalf" (Alston; 1994: 22). The adults in this research strongly argued on teaching children how to assert their rights effectively and responsibly.

5.8 Optimism or pessimism to current schooling

Towards the end of the individual interviews with parents and teachers, I asked them a very pertinent question that would either suggest optimism or pessimism among them to the current school system being experienced by their children. The question read: Is it feasible to provide an education to the children that would be ideal considering the economic situation both the government and the parents are facing? In response, *Parent Y* whose response was similar to other parents' responses equivocally said:

> "*Government should build more classrooms. In our time, we were only 35 or less in class but now they have over 70 children in one classroom. That is double the number of children the teachers of our time handled".* [Interview - Parent Y]

He insisted that the government has money and it can afford to build more classrooms. He added that the government needs to re-align its policies by prioritizing education and healthy.

Another parent stressed the need to have play parks in schools. She said it was imperative that *"the local authority restores the play parks back to the schools so that the children can have a place to play during school breaks and holidays"* [Interview - Parent Y]. She lamented

the rate at which such places were being turned in residential plots at the expense of children's play.

> *"The children are now confined to homes and classrooms in most places. That is why they do not perform well in school as they do not refresh their minds in open air".*

> [Interview - Parent Q]

There was a general argument from parents and teachers for a 'complete overhaul' of the whole ministry of education 'policy framework and practice' (Ansell, 2002). They added that even if parents and teachers met and agreed on certain issues, nothing gets to be done by those who are in the committees. The blame was on corruption that the government had failed to deal with and perpetuated it by allowing corrupt officials to continue serving in government institutions like schools.

Summary of the chapter

In this chapter, nuanced arguments have been advanced on children's negotiations of school social spaces by linking social cultural constructions of childhood and generation to the understanding of children's lived school experiences. Throughout this chapter, empirical evidence and literature has shown that childhood is viewed as a period of schooling and training by teachers and parents. To some extent, even children seemed to agree with this kind of adult-centric theorization of childhood. There is also overwhelming evidence to suggest that children's agency is underestimated by the adults working with children in schools as well as the parents. On one hand, adults see children as incompetent, immature, irresponsible and lacking the ability to coordinate their own activities. Children on the other hand, have shown to a great extent how they use their agency and how they negotiate power and authority among themselves. The chapter has highlighted similar views between adults and children on how they view schooling. Schooling has been described as the best place for children as it prepares them for future of formal employment after university education.

Chapter 6: School as a physical space - focus on facilities

According to the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005), "teachers regard quality in education as being difficult to achieve due to poor infrastructure, lack of teaching aids and [inadequate school facilities]". A number of Zambian scholars and international agencies have equally stressed the importance of having improved school facilities in the country as a means of providing quality education to the children (Kelly, 1996). The Zambian education system still faces a lot of challenges such as inadequate classrooms space, lack of well maintained desks, school library and well equipped laboratories, text books and other relevant and necessary teaching aids.

The need to have adequate school facilities cannot be overemphasized. The school facilities can play a significant role in socializing children in the school system and also give them a needed education with good academic results at the end of their school years (Meinert, 2003; Nieuwenhuys, 2003). According to the Ministry of Education (2007), good school facilities can result in improved school attendance and good learning outcomes. It can also enable a child to make more friends and interact with them more often as most children live in distant places making it hard to see each other outside school time. As postulated by James et al (1998), and Corsaro (2009), school then serves as "a socialization agent" and thereby improve "pupil self esteem and relationships" with others. These relationships with others are necessary in any society as humanity depends on such relationships to survive. The children equally need some thriving relationships both among themselves and also with teachers and other adults in the school environment.

In this chapter therefore, I discuss the meaning of school facilities to the children, teachers and parents, and underscore their value in the schooling process of children. For the purpose of this thesis, laboratory equipment, desks, computer room, classrooms, school surroundings or play grounds and sanitation facilities are grouped under school physical space. In this chapter I ask questions such as: What facilities do you have in school and which ones are missing? What would you do if you had the ability to make things different? Do you use these facilities collectively with the opposite sex and without difficulties? The responses I got are discussed in subsequent themes of this chapter.

6.1 The meaning of school facilities

"*This school is one of the best in Kitwe, and it can be the best if we do something together as a school and community*".

The statement above was a concluding remark from *Kasanda* a female pupil (participant) at the school where the research was conducted. Looking back at her statement and what others said in the interviews, it was clear that the learners, parents and teachers all desired a better school atmosphere for 'best practices, learner enjoyment...final results' from the children (Meinert, 2003: 188). The participant mentioned 'doing something together' as a community for the betterment of the school. What did she mean by that statement? And how do her views contribute to best practices from the teachers, learner participation and good intra-pupil relations and overall school enjoyment? I endeavor to explain that statement in detail by showing the facilities that schools in the country should have versus those available - emphasizing on the condition of these facilities and school spaces, and how the users feel about the condition of these facilities.

In an ideal school situation, there are a number of facilities that are expected to be available for use by both the teachers to delivery lessons adequately and the learners to have a feel of the real life situations of what is being taught (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Nieuwenhuys (2003: 100) argues that "children's icons such as playgrounds ... classrooms... books and [other learning equipments]... points to a deeply different understanding of children's [school spaces]". These facilities and school spaces motivate children and also promote peer interactions which are a cornerstone to lively school atmosphere that is desired by school children, parents and teachers.

During the first focus group discussion, I posed a question. *What facilities do you expect to be in this school and which ones do you think are not available?* The children listed a number of facilities that they expected to be available, in good condition and accessible to all children and those that were not available. Among them were:

> "*A school library, well maintained toilets, well furnished classrooms, laboratories equipped with all the needed chemicals and equipments, nice play ground, an accessible school administration block, school buses, tuck shop (small grocery store), beautiful school hall and a garden".* [Focus Group Discussion No.2]

The facilities and physical spaces listed in the above focus group discussion were all available in school. However, the children did not find them adequate, available and or in good condition and thus saw the need to make them better. The views of the children above relate well with those of the children in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa who face similar challenges of inadequate learning spaces and equipments coupled with lack of proper sanitation facilities (Ansell, 2002 & 2005; Meinert, 2003; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). The children did not expect the school authorities or the government or indeed their own parents to work on these facilities and make them better without a collective participation of all the users and beneficiaries. They insisted that the condition of these facilities and spaces in the school could be uplifted if all members of the community worked together with the school authorities and the state to build, maintain and use with care.

The children exhibited to a great degree a sense of responsibility that adults normally do not associate with children. The adults in this research argued that "*children do not know that they have responsibilities too and do not use the spaces and equipments in the school properly*" and thus, *the need to have a number of rules and regulations on how the facilities should be used* [Interviews - Parents & Teacher(s)]. James et al (1998) illustrates that there is a general understanding among adults that school spaces are essentially meant for children's use. However, adults do not trust children's abilities to use these spaces well without adult supervision. A number of children equally agreed with the adult views of their lack of responsibility as they explained; *"some of our colleagues (pupils) are careless and are in a habit of vandalizing school property"* [Interviews and Focus Groups Discussions - Pupils]. This view was widely supported by all children who participated in the research and thus listed it among things that children hated in school - vandalism of public property like school infrastructure.

In as much as there are children who are irresponsible, there are also "adults who make mistakes" and thus it is also logical to argue that there are adults who are irresponsible (Bourdillon, 2006: 1208). To suggest that the level of irresponsibility is higher among children and thus should not be provided with certain things or spaces is an adult-centric way of conceptualizing childhood. As shown earlier in this chapter, most societies in Zambia still have deep rooted adult-centric views of childhood. They still see children and childhood as persons who are *'incompetent and human becomings'* (Lee, 2001; James, 2009). As a result, schools and communities in general do not give full access to certain spaces and facilities for

children to use on their own. They often fear that the equipments or indeed the spaces would be damaged and thus keep children away from them at all cost. As a result, this kind of perception becomes a paradox of these child spaces in school as its "structure undermines children's local embeddedness" (Nieuwenhuys, 2003: 109). Overall, there seems to be a suggestion that children's spaces are highly "demarcated spatially and paradoxically underline [a notion] that children's real [spaces] are elsewhere" - such as in adulthood and not in childhood (ibid, 2003: 112). This argument has been advanced due to the fact that both teachers and children attested to the existing strict boundaries on school spaces that are meant to be used by the children.

All children interviewed in the research, argued that *"if the school had all the needed equipments, school spaces and facilities, we would find school even more enjoyable than it is now"*. A girl pupil added that *"boys who are in the habit of dodging from school might find more reason to stay in school until all activities were over if there was something more pleasurable for them to do"* [Interviews - Pupils]. In her view, some children abscond from classes due to inadequate learning materials and lack of desired physical spaces. These spaces and materials when available could be a reason for more children to love school and also work hard to achieve good results at the end of an academic year. As was argued by a child in rural eastern Uganda, school spaces in the big cities were better than the rural ones. He argued that, given an opportunity to study in the city, he would not have left schooling (Meinert, 2003: 188). The argument of the Uganda child might not really be accurate, but it is important to note that children just like adults will always make comparisons of their present situations to those of others who they perceive to be better. They then use such perceptions as either reasons for doing or not doing something. Ultimately, such arguments when used in a positive way, they would help children to have better school lived experiences that would uplift their own standards and those of other children to enter schooling in future.

6.2 Condition of equipments in school

Children expressed their concern over the conditions of equipments in the school. In different interviews conducted and the focus group discussions, some parallels emerged in the children's responses:

Alinaswe: *We need more laboratory equipments, flushable toilets, clean environment, a new black board and lighting in the classrooms.*

Sean: *The school should build a library and renovate the toilets.*

Betsheba: *The school needs renovations by painting the walls, buying new desks or repairs to the existing ones, upgrading the equipment in the science laboratories and procuring chairs for the school hall. Toilets should also be cleaned daily.*

Susan: *I do not like the desks in my class, they shake a lot. The rooms are also dark; the black board is slippery and shiny. The toilets do not flush.*

Mwangala: *Some classes are not plastered, the walls need painting and classrooms should have good desks.*   [Interviews - pupils]

From the views of the children and the photograph I have presented below, the school in this research has very significant challenges. The children make earnest efforts to be at school each day and take part in classroom activities. They engage in various activities as stipulated by the school program and have found ways of managing with what they have at their disposal (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). It can be argued that, these children have tremendous resilience and coping strategies that make them look happy while in school despite the bad conditions in their learning environment (Bourdillon, 2006; Boyden & Mann, 2005).

Figure 4. Showing the condition of classroom desks

Regardless of the views of the children and the conditions prevailing in the school spaces, parents and teachers expect nothing less than good academic results from the children. As was argued in *chapter 2 [the background chapter],* the school achievement for each pupil is the most important thing in most societies in Zambia and sub-Saharan Africa (Kelly, 1996; Carmody, 2004; Serpell, 1993; Mumba, 2002; Ansell, 2002). Communities expect results that are good regardless of the situation at hand as they expect teachers to do their job of educating their pupils even in very hard circumstances, at the same time; children have no excuse for failing an examination (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). However, not all children agreed with the adult views, they argued that "*the said facilities and equipments were necessary for a good learning environment"*. They also added that, *"they have very little options to make and thus do their best in order for them to pass and enter the university or colleges".* [Interviews - Pupils]

6.3 School environment - a social space

The classrooms are the most used spaces by the children in schools. Teaching and learning is conducted in these spaces (Kelly, 1996). For the learners to get the most out of the lessons, these spaces need desks, chalk boards, talking walls (with various posters on different subjects) and enough space for children's interactions, and teacher mobility (Mumba, 2002; Ansell, 2005). The outer space is used by children for relaxing and enjoying company amongst themselves as learners. These spaces are also cardinal for various extracurricular activities such as sports. The school hall is a social space for indoor recreations and sports activities (Interview with teacher). At this school, this facility is used both as a social space and storage facility for damaged desks and other sporting equipments (Interviews with pupils).

From the time I begun preparing to go to my research field, I had some thoughts at the back of my mind about the school environment as a social space. I knew that the society I was going to do my research in, viewed children as least persons or least adults. I however, could not reconcile that thought to whether these children can in fact; think of ways of making their school environment better even though they are aware that the adults would not take their views seriously? I felt that asking such questions would help to either concretize children's

views or de-concretize those of the adults who regard children as individuals who only need to listen to adults. I therefore, sought to find out their thoughts on the stated spaces. I constructed questions in a way that gave them a feeling of possessing some authority and power to make things different in the school environment. The interview with a pupil I call *Sean* unfolded as follows:

Rs: If you had the power and the means to make things different in this school, what would you remove, add, change or build in the school environment?

Sean: *I would start will making a proper facelift to this school?*

Rs: What exactly do you mean by 'proper facelift'?

Sean: *I would renovate the school by painting the walls; they look so dirty sometimes, I don't like them. You know that we have a lot of desks that are shaking and some are even packed in the school hall and the other toilet we do not use over there* [he pointed at a toilet building that was over looking our sitting area for the interview, just behind one classroom block towards the north of the school]. *I would buy new equipment in the laboratories   and renovate the existing ones. Then I would buy special chairs for the school hall and put a beautiful stage there. Do you know that the   school hall is loved   by almost all of us here?*

Rs: No, I don't know about that.

Sean*: Yes, we love to watch 'Talent yapa Kafue'* (Talent show, which includes activities such as dances, singing and poems for entertainment purposes) *in there, even some boys in this group* (participants in this research) *sing and dance there.*

I would also encourage teachers to work hard, to motivate pupils to do group work and study hard. I would tell the teachers to stop telling stories during class time as we lose time like that. I would also not chase away pupils from school if they fail to pay school user fees but I would find a different way of making their parents pay. I would also build a library and buy more books.   [Interview - *Sean*]

This interview with *Sean* above is closely related to the views of other children in this research who strongly emphasized the need to *"paint the walls of the school, repair shaking desks, replace blackboards, renovate toilets, buy more laboratory equipments, improve on water supply, beautify the surroundings and most importantly, build a school library and*

stock it with all the needed books" [Interview - Pupils]. It also shows that the *"children equally know what is more important in the schools"* even more than what adults assume to be important. They are also able to use the little agency that they have by telling researchers who would write about their situations and experiences and most likely influence the views of policy makers and other cooperating partners on the needy areas in their communities (James, 2009; Ansell, 2002 and Shatunka, 2009). The genuineness of the children as they express their views is quite manifest as the status quo affects them as individuals. Given a chance to make those decisions, they would certainly make them right. That is not to say that all adults do not have the needs of the children at heart. It is actually, the adults who have been championing for more rights of children and campaigning for children's views to be heard by those who are charged with caring for societal needs (Alston, 1994; Alderson, 2000; Archard, 1993). In any case, both children and adults can play very complimentary roles in society especially in the learning process of children in schools.

6.4 Sanitation and its effect on children's schooling

All participants including the school authorities expressed displeasure at the way toilets were being kept by both the users and the sanitation officers. I therefore ask questions on the possible effects of this state of affairs. Does the condition of toilets in schools affect children's morale and zeal for learning? Do school authorities ever associate attendance or its negative to school sanitation facilities? These questions can elucidate children's untold reasons for absenteeism. *Chenda* a male pupil lamented:

> *"I do not use these toilets. I go to the toilet at home in the morning before coming to school and after I have finished my classes. They are very dirty and I cannot stand the smell. I think they only clean them once per week. Even us pupils, we don't keep them well."* [Interview - *Chenda*]

One would wonder what this child mentioned in the quotation above can do in case of an emergence. If he had persistent stomach upsets, he might decide to stay at home as he finds it more comfortable to use the toilets at home than the ones in school due to the poor state they are in. In the long run, he would miss out on learning and the "socialization" that the school environment is supposed to offer to children (Holt, 2004).

It is then understandable when schools report very 'high absenteeism' even when children only have slight stomach upsets that do not really need to make one stay at home without going to school (Kelly, 1996; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). They have no options of easing themselves when need arises while they could have access to a toilets in the comfort of their homes. While it is true that some children stay away from school due to poor sanitation facilities, it is also true that many more children make an effort to deal with the situation at hand. As a matter of fact, all children in Zambian public schools make a lot of effort to make their environment more habitable, relatively disease free and enjoyable (Shatunka, 2009). They do so by participating in cleaning of the surroundings and classrooms. Children form very strong relationships with each other and the school authorities in creating a "sense of competence" and responsibility within the school (Boyden & Mann, 2005: 8). Furthermore, each one of the children acts as a "policeman" who watches what the other is doing and makes them aware of their responsibility when they seem to deviate from the norms and values set by the school community to keep the surroundings clean, for example, by not throwing around litter, cleaning toilets after use and avoiding graffiti on the walls. However, not all children cooperate in making the school surroundings habitable as was *exemplified earlier in this chapter*. As a result, school spaces like toilets, classrooms and play grounds are in most cases left dirty by the users [children].

Recent studies on sanitation in Zambian have shown gloomy pictures of the facilities that children are expected to use while in school (Shatunka, 2009). As was stated by some participants:

> *"It is by God's grace that we do not catch airborne diseases so often with such toilets in our school".* [Focus Group Discussion No. 2]

That statement suggests a lot to any outside observer who might find it hard to understand and comprehend the coping mechanisms of the children. The most affected children are girls who need clean and wider spaced toilets and bathrooms for various uses. Interestingly, *girls did not dwell so much on stressing the need to keep the toilets clean. They instead talked about having big and wide mirrors in the toilets for them to check themselves before stepping outside the toilet. They stressed that the size of the mirrors in their toilets were too small.* The girls even laughed at the boys, *"they don't even have a mirror in their toilet, not even a small one"* [Interviews & Focus Group Discussions]. This suggests that girls are not only

concerned about some basic school facilities but also on a lot of other small details such as mirrors in the toilets. There was a general view from all children that there were serious challenges of sanitation facilities at this school.

In a study conducted for the Netherlands Development Organization of 2009, quoting from other sources in their report such as UNICEF 2008 Report on Water Sanitation and Health Education and Primary School Efficiency, and Zambia Bilharzia Control Program Report of 2007 shows that out of 8 596 schools that were in Zambia at the time, 1349 schools did not have water facilities while 502 schools did not have toilets at all affecting over 1 million and 500 thousand pupils respectively (Shatunka, 2009: 1). The report also stated that "teachers and pupils alike were exposed to the risk of disease due to inadequate water and sanitation". According to James et al,

> *As a conceptual and physical space within which the child is increasingly embedded, the [school] space ... is, in practice, of course not always an ideal space: the [physical condition] of that space, like those of the [other public spaces] ..., remain problematic for many children.* (1998: 53)

The argument by James, Prout and Jenks above reflects situations that children find themselves in as they grow up in an adult controlled world. Children and teachers in Zambian schools remain in very problematic situations as they both have poor sanitation facilities.

6.5 Negotiating through school corridors

When a *Alinaswe* a female pupil was asked as to which part of the school she loved the most, she explained:

> "*I love the corridors because they are clean and they can accommodate all my friends during break and lunch time, we play here a lot and we chat. We can be many but we manage to chat well along the corridors*". [Interview - *Alinaswe*]

The school corridors are supposed to be places for walking to and fro the classroom, but the pupil here saw it as a place for play and conversing with friends. The adults would want the children to use the corridors as they suggest. According to teachers, it should be used as a passage to and fro the classrooms or laboratories and not for play. Those who defied this order would be punished in a similar manner that children in Addis Ababa were punished for

not following the laid down rules and schedules of the NGOs that cared for them (Nieuwenhuys, 2003:112). *Alinaswe* and other children however, had a different view of the available social space and saw it as a "space for socialization" (Nieuwenhuys, 2003:116; James et al, 1998). This space therefore, improves pupil-pupil social relations as it is an outer space that has a freer atmosphere for conversations than the classroom which is used as an academic space.

Adults have a set of rules, regulations and time schedules for children as they engage in various activities in school. This is similar to the children's spaces and non-spaces' in Addis Ababa as mentioned by Nieuwenhuys (2003) were children were expected to follow 'rules, regulations and schedules very closely or face expulsion' from schools and orphanages. In most cases, children look for ways of challenging and negotiating adult rules and regulations. The interview with *Alinaswe* presents vivid ways that children challenge and negotiate the use of spaces that adults would otherwise not allow them to play in. Children in this interview mentioned that "*they use the corridors for their play mostly during the short morning break*" [Interviews - Pupils]. At this time, almost all teachers gather in the staff room for some refreshments and that leaves no one to enforce that rule. The pupils who keep vigil of school activities in the absence of the teachers also like to use the same spaces for their socialization and thus fail to ask other children to leave the space. In this case, the absence of a teacher gives pupils some freedom to be more mobile even at a time that they are not supposed to be loitering either in class or outside.

Another example is the school foyer (a large corridor at the administration block) mentioned earlier in *chapter 5,* which is probably the best looking space in the whole school, had a notice/poster on the entrance that read '***Out of bounds' (do not enter)***. Children are not allowed to loiter there or even to walk through that large corridor (foyer) as the authorities feared that they could make it dirty. It was perceived and constructed as an "adult space" - teachers or members of staff and visitors only and not a child space (Nieuwenhuys, 2003; James et al, 1998; Abebe, 2008). In a similar situation, children in the Addis Ababa NGO projects occupied "the waste parts" of the facility - "shacks", while the staff had "air-conditioned offices" and occupied "the best parts of the buildings" they operated from (Nieuwenhuys, 2003: 110). Children at the school were this research was conducted only accessed this space (school foyer) with permission from a member of staff. Children therefore, negotiated this rule by *"finding an excuse for visiting the staff room which is*

located in the same area" [Notes from Observations]- looking for a teacher. That way, they could see the space and use it by viewing the photographs and other beautiful posters stuck on the large notice boards on the walls of this space.

The most interesting thing is that, this foyer has the school notice boards were photographs for some important school events and important information is stuck. It is hard to tell who the notice board is meant for as it is not accessible to the pupils who should be the main focus of most of the information that circulates in the school. As the situation stood, at the time of this research, the area was only accessible to the visitors like us - researchers and others while children did not have access to this beautiful and important part of the school.

6.6 Inadequate school equipment - a source of conflict among pupils

The scarcity of laboratory equipments and space also brings another challenge to the learners. The pupils explained that "*they share equipment such as test tubes, beakers and lamp stands when carrying out experiments in science*" [Interviews - Pupils]. How then do children negotiate through this inadequacy in resources among themselves? What implications does this scarcity pose on their peer relationships? These questions can explain why to some extent some children feel intimidated by their fellow learners and withdraw from class participation and on worst cases, drop out of school completely. Below is an expression of despair from one female participant (pupil):

Rs: Do you use these things collectively with others of the opposite sex?

Alinaswe: Yes, we use them collectively with boys but some boys have a problem, they always want to be first and some of us girls might feel bad and later quarrel or stop talking to each other. Maybe if we had enough of these equipments, it would be good as we will not need to share them and that would reduce quarrels. [Interview - *Alinaswe*]

According to the children, often times they have conflicts over the use of school materials. The girls *"expected the boys to be more kind to them and allow them to use them first and then they can use them later"*. However, the boys also argued that *"they also want to learn and would want to be first"*. They even added that, "*this is an era of equal rights and as such; no one should be favored by others*" [Interviews & Focus Group Discussions]. Since none of the two groups were ready to be second in use of the equipments, arguments ensued that

would only be stopped by an adult who would use his authority to put up some kind of order to be followed when doing experiments in the science laboratory.

The consequences of not having enough teaching learning resources are immense and can strain student-student relationships in a school. Girls in this research insisted that *"boys are supposed to treat them nicely both in school and in many other issues of life"* [Interviews & Focus Group Discussion]. As boys also had their own views on how they should treat each other in such circumstances, scarcity of any resources is a recipe for conflict. For example a teacher argued that "*fights over text books and use of laboratory equipments would always be there and would often disrupt the learning atmosphere. In worst cases*, *some children would even feel intimidated and would either withdraw from classroom participation or dropout of the school system entirely"* [Interview - Teacher]. As Mumba (2002) aptly suggests, some girls drop out of school due to male intimidation and bullying that is found in co-education schools. As such, it is debatable as to whether girls and boys should learn in the same classroom spaces in the present circumstance that has inadequate learning materials.

6.7 Computer room

As the world keeps on advancing technologically, children do not want to be left out in this advancement. It is also not in the interest of the adults to leave the children behind in this technological age. Society needs young ones to be more aware of the latest developments as they would be the future leaders and the drivers of a nations' economy. It is in this regard that schools are being equipped with computers all over the country. Even though computer science is not yet an officially taught and examinable subject in the Zambian school curriculum, a number of schools are giving basic skills to children on how to use computers in their studies. For the purpose of this thesis, I refer to this facility as a computer room and not computer laboratory.

My research site had a computer room that was equipped with at least 15 working computers for students' use. The views of children over the use of this facility were quite mixed as some expressed ignorance as to whether "the facility was for pupils or for teachers [adults]" while others recalled having used it on specified occasions for specific assignments (Nieuwenhuys, 2003). Most children who participated in this research argued that the facility was accessible

to a selected few pupils as not all children were allowed in the facility. The views from all the children could be summed up in these three responses:

That place is only for the reader's club and debate society, I go there because I belong to readers club.

I have never been there and I am not in the clubs, so I cannot go there. It is only for those who are in the readers club and the debate society.

Because I am in J.E.T.S club (Junior Engineers Technicians Scientists), so I go to use the computers when researching on my project especially when preparing for a J.E.T.S fair. [Interviews and focus group discussions]

They reiterated that one needed to belong to a certain student association or club to be able to have access to this room. Looking at the number of working computers, it is clear that not all children can have access to them even if they belonged to clubs. I argue that this view is certainly meant to bar a large population of children from using this important facet of modern schooling as I delve on the criteria for belonging to a club and association in the next paragraph.

There is no criterion for joining a particular club or association. According to the school principal, all children are encouraged to belong to at least one club or association of their choice. However, some children argued that *"they find the clubs and associations a waste of time as they do not meet their needs and expectations".* As a result, *"they decide to stay away from them and instead go home to either play or engage in housework while others are attending to these club events"* [Interviews - Pupils]. During the interviews with both the teacher and the children, it became apparent to me that it was not possible for all pupils to belong to a club and associations to cater for the 3000 children who were in school at the time. Even if there were to be more clubs and associations, there is hardly enough room for all clubs and associations as the classrooms which are supposed to be meeting places, are occupied by afternoon classes (the second teaching/learning session of the day) as was shown in chapter two. This means that, these meetings are to be held in outer space which might prove to be inappropriate especially during cold, hot and rain seasons. I argue that this situation is in itself an inequality in sharing available facilities among children even in the same school and of the same gender. In my view, this inequality is related to inequalities such

as rural/urban, poor/rich and long distance to school (Ansell, 2002; Ansell & van Blerk, 2004; Mumba, 2002). It is almost *impossible for a population of over 3000 children* to have access to a *'staggering 15 working computers'* in the whole school. As result, it remains a facet for a selected few children thereby making the inequality even more visible

The most prominent of these associations and clubs were the Readers club, Debate Society and Junior Engineers Technicians Scientists (J.E.T.S). Its members were allowed in the computer room for research under a teachers' supervision on a specific topic or lesson that was needed in their clubs or associations. The debate club for example, has students who are good public speakers and have the ability to argue points with others in an academic manner. These would use the computers to research on a particular topic in preparations for their debate contest that would be watched by other children periodically. These competitions are held both locally at the school among children from different classes as well as between different schools from different regions depending on the choices and decisions of the organizers.

Summary of the chapter

School physical spaces or facilities are a cornerstone to any kind of schooling. There cannot be proper learning without classrooms, desks and teaching aids. This chapter has therefore developed around constructions of school physical space as a "socializing agent" and how these spaces enable learners to interact and create relationships with each other (James et al, 1998). I have done this by underlying what children make of the school facilities such as classrooms, outer space, and school hall and computer room. The chapter has also shown adult views of children's inability to show a sense of responsibility when using various kinds of school physical spaces. As a result, adults impose certain rules and regulations on children in order to protect the facilities from damage. Adults have therefore suggested that children lack the ability to take care of the school environment and thus justify the restrictions they have imposed on children in schools. However, children contested this adult representation of childhood by suggesting that they too have a great sense of responsible towards school spaces.

Chapter 7: School as a gendered space

This chapter presents the divide on the different experiences of girls and boys in their schooling due to social cultural constructions of 'girlhood' and 'boyhood'. Children and parents were asked to explain the meaning of 'girlhood' and 'boyhood' in school and at home. It is also important to ask; how traditional beliefs and customs affect parent's decisions when choosing who goes to school between girls and boys? The answers to these questions can explain children's everyday lived experiences in highly gendered spaces. The differences that exist between girls and boys as constructed by society necessitate the need to explore areas of interest in children's schooling.

7.1 Constructions of 'girlhood' - school/home

Historically, Zambian women and girls have been seen to be members of society whose responsibility is to take care of the domestic needs of a family (Kelly, 1996). Over the years however, the need to have more girls in school has been championed. Statistics suggest that the number of girls in schools is increasing at a tremendous rate despite many challenges faced by girls (MoE, 2005; MoESP, 2007). During this research, I was informed that the school which was my research field had more girls enrolled than the boys. In the interview with the school principal, he suggested:

"If you like, you can go to the classes and see for yourself. In this school, we have more girls enrolled than boys. There are always more girls attending classes on a daily basis than boys." [Interview - Teacher]

In the interviews and focus group discussions, the participants also communicated that girls spent more time in school than the boys. I therefore focus my attention on highlighting the reasons why girls stay longer in school and why the boys have a tendency to skip classes and rush to go home or out of the school premises. I argue that such an approach will provide an overview of what motivates girls to spend long hours in school than the boys and how their stay therein affects their schooling experiences.

In this research, the girls indicated that they find home to be boring than being in school as they can stay away from housework. A pupil participant who I call *Tamara* in this research said:

I stay at school longer so that I do not work at home during the week. I only do housework during the weekends most of the times. But my parents complain that I take too long here in school and they accuse me of just playing and not doing any school work. [Interview - *Tamara*]

Tamara sees home as a place for work and less freedom and school as a place for freedom and interaction with friends. In most Zambian societies, girls clean the house, go to the market to buy food for the family, they cook, fetch water and take care of siblings and visitors. In most cases, a girl child is expected to be ready to do household chores at any time the parents or other male adults demand for such without hesitation. These findings reveal some similarities of girls and their expectations by society in the global south. The Bolivian girls (Punch, 2003) were found to have domestic roles of fetching water, herding goats and taking care of their siblings. In a study that was conducted for the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005: 44-5) in South Africa, girls and boys have to attend to different domestic and household chores before and after school. Female South African children are reported to have more chores to attend to at home than the boys.

While visiting a home to interview a mother of one of the pupils who took part in the research:

"I saw boys playing in the yard while one girl was doing some work in the kitchen. Just before the interview begun, I asked the boy to leave me and his mother to talk (I did not want his mother to use my presence as a 'supposed teacher' to scold him as it had happened at another home), *I did not expect her to ask him to go to the kitchen and help his sister because 'he was a boy'. He immediately went outside to play with other boys while we continued with our interview."* [Notes from Observations]

In a related event, a boy was asked during the interview to explain the work he does at home before and after school. He exclaimed *'I do not do any serious work at home, in fact, most of the work is for girls, hah* (he laughed)*, I only wash my dad's car, hah....* He ended with a long laugh. [Interview - pupil]

Traditionally, a Zambian boy might not be expected to do any domestic chores as these are perceived to be feminine (Serpell, 1993; Lungwangwa et al, 1999). While the situation keeps changing with time, the idea of boys cleaning the house, cooking and washing dishes is only

reluctantly being absorbed in a number of societies. As such, boys have more time to play both at home and at school than girls as the latter only has school as the environment to have some play in the absence of work at home.

The gender differences with work and school experiences are quite similar to those found by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005), Punch (2003), Abebe (2008a), Robson (2003) and Chant & Jones (2005). In these studies conducted in the global south, children had so much work to do before going to school. For example, in Hausaland, Nigeria, children are sent to do "household errands such as fetching water, firewood, buying food at the market and taking care of their little siblings" (Robson, 2003: 203-4). However, girls seem to have had more household chores to do than the boys as the former are regarded as "women in the making" who should be the "principal homemakers" of any home (Chant & Jones, 2005: 192).

Boys are seen as men in the making who would marry wives and provide for the family financially while the wife takes care of the home. And as a result, the girls find school to be a free social space that they can use for their interactions and friendships while home is a place for work. They therefore, find any excuse possible to stay away from home a little longer so that they can reduce the amount of work they do at home. I argue that the motivation for girls spending more time at school than at home, is more related to housework obligations at home that are not there at school than their love for schooling.

7.2 Boy's preferred spaces for play

As boys had been reported to be in a habit of skipping classes and also in some instances dropping out of school entirely, I sought to find out, what they make of school spaces and why other spaces away from school become more favorable for their interactions with friends than the school environment? At a time when the research had reached an advanced stage, I became aware that there were things that the boys did at home that they could not do in school and thus rushed home for such activities or even decide to abscond from school for the whole day or a number of days. I then asked a male pupil to explain the activities that he normally does at home that he could not do whilst in school. The interview revealed some interesting issues:

Rs: What do you normally do at home when you knock off from school?

Mukubesa: I do a lot of things at home. I like playing with my friends.

Rs: Does it mean that you do not play here in school?

Mukubesa: Hah, [he laughed], *you don't understand, here we just learn and write notes and exercises. I do not even like playing football in school. It is more fun at home because I go to my friend's house. He has a computer and we play video games and computer games. I am not even allowed to carry a mobile phone here in school. I liked it more at home.* [Interview - *Mukubesa*]

The quotation above reflects a nuanced way of understanding play by different children of different gender. *Mukubesa* a pupil mentioned above sees playing as an interaction with friends in a free space with some electronic gadgets such as computers, mobile phones and play station (Buckingham, 2000). The kind of play that he would engage in at school of soccer, chess, conversing with friends and exercising does not qualify to be play. What was even more interesting, according to him, was that, *"as long as it is done in school, it has restrictions as the school environment has full of rules and regulations"* [Interview - *Mukubesa*]. The home has very few rules and besides, parents would be at work and so there would be no one to enforce the parental rules in the house.

I argue that children in Zambian communities make different meanings of school or home spaces due to the cultural and societal norms and expectations for a given gender. The boys especially in urban areas have little household obligations as compared to their female counterparts (Mumba, 2002; Serpell, 1993). As stated in the previous sub-theme, *"there are very few families that expect their male children to do household chores such as fetching water, cleaning the house, going to buy food at the market and cooking. Boys engage in chores such as cutting the flowers and maintaining the surroundings"* [Interviews - Pupils & Parents]. This work is not done on a daily basis; as a result, they have more free time to engage in different kinds of play whereas the girls' perceived chores are done on a daily basis (James & James, 2008; Punch, 2001). The girls stay longer at school to avoid housework at home while the boys leave school for home to avoid the rules and regulations associated with school spaces. Whether girls use the extra time they spend at school for academic purposes, is a question that is out of the scope of this thesis.

Children's absence or dodging from class has a lot to do with the socio-economic status of their families. Children from poor neighborhoods abscond from school for monetary reasons such as "helping parents with generating the income at home or taking care of siblings" (especially for girls) or supporting themselves (boys) financially (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Punch, 2001; Robson, 2003; Punch et al, 2007). On the other hand, children from affluent families have all the resources they need for school and home; they probably have educated parents or can even afford an expensive school. However, they do not find interest in school as compared to their vulnerable counterparts who see school as the only key to their success. They find interest in other things outside school such as computer games, composing and recording music - something that has become a new phenomenon for boys as young as 13 years in Zambian urban communities.

7.3 Combining school and paid work

School, paid work, household chores and play for children are very interrelated (Chant & Jones, 2003; Abebe, 2008). All these issues have telling effects on the livelihood of the children and how they experience childhood (Abebe, 2007). When I asked boys to explain why they have a tendency to skip classes and also abscond from school completely, they gave some related explanations. One of the extracts from the interviews reviewed the thoughts one boy had:

> *"My friend has a job as a 'Garden boy'* [one who works in a garden at a home]*in Nkana East* [a rich neighborhood], *he is well paid considering that he is just a boy living with his parents. Besides he only works once in a while and so he does not want anyone to take over his job due to school. So he goes for work when he is supposed to work and he does not come to school. I would do the same if I had a chance to do that work".* [Interview - Pupil]

For the boy in the interview above, a part time job was seen as a good job as he did not need to completely dropout of school. He could combine "work and school and earn some money" to buy books, clothes and other things needed for his daily livelihood (Abebe, 2008; Chant & Jones, 2003). It came to my attention that the money earned is also used for lunch at school and also for food at home depending on the socio-economic status of the family. In fact, some children came from comfortable families but still needed money to buy some electronic

gadgets such as iPods, video games and mobile phones. Almost every boy wanted to have a mobile phone, some device for playing video games, and also for recoding and composing music.

The majority of absentee children especially in urban areas are boys. My findings show that class attendance is a challenge for boys as they engage in paid work and other activities (Interviews with teachers and pupils). School records on attendance showed more absent boys on a particular day than the girls. The boy mentioned above told me how his friend would stay away from school in order to do some work in some rich neighborhood for a wage. He added,*" If I had a chance, I would do the same"* [Interview - Pupil]. What did he mean by that statement? Does it mean that given a job, many boys would leave schooling for work?

The boys explained that they *need some money each day they go to school* and it is not good for them to ask from parents. One boy emphasized that it is *embarrassing to ask for money when you are a boy* [Interviews - Pupils]. In this thesis, I argue that there are two main reasons for combining work and schooling especially for boys. As stated above, some of them find paid work in order to buy electronic gadgets such as mobile phones and video games. Others engage in paid work in order to "supplement the family income" and also spare some money for their own education (Ansell, 2005; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Robson, 2003). As a result, work is linked to play for some boys while for others; it is linked to acquiring an education (Punch, 2001; Ansell, 2005; Robson, 2003). Regardless of the reasons for engaging in paid work, children's challenges as they do this work cannot be overemphasized.

Robert Serpell's (1993) studies with children and young persons in Eastern Zambia shows different expectations that society had for different age groups. For example, children were expected to do light farm work on the tobacco farms while slightly older siblings would engage in harder work just like other adults in the community. Schooling was not an option to engaging in either paid work or non-paid work as long as both works contributed to the family basket. Just like 'children of the frontier' mentioned by William Corsaro (2011) who took part in the household economy either along with adults or as children, Zambian children contribute enormously to the household food basket. Scholars such as Kelly (1996) and Serpell (1993) have shown how children contributed to the household economy by working

on the tobacco farms, maize fields and fishing to support the livelihood of the homestead. Even with the promotion of schooling in modern global societies, children have continued to work in both paid and non-paid work for various reasons. In northern Zambia, media houses report that "children leave school during September to November as they engage in collecting caterpillars in the forests that are a huge financial earner". In other parts of the country such as Kitwe, where this research was conducted, children also engage in various activities in order to earn money through gardening and others kinds of work.

7.4 Decision making - traditional beliefs at play

As stated earlier in chapter two and five, education is a basic human right for all children regardless of their sex. All children who are of school age are supposed to be in school without fail. Governments are encouraged to prioritize schooling as it empowers citizens to be proactive and manage their own lives. It is even more important to educate a girl in most societies as they are more likely to contribute to the betterment of their families than a man can do. An African proverb by Dr. James Emmanuel Kwegyir-Aggrey (1875-1927) states, *"If you educate a man, you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman you educate a family [nation]".*

In this sub-theme, I discus gender issues by focusing on decisions parents make on who they send to school when confronted with financial difficulties. My interest is to look at girls schooling and the imbalances therein. As scholars have argued, 'girls face more challenges and imbalances in school than the boys' (Mumba, 2002; Ansell, 2002; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Needless to say, the situation of boys in Zambian schools is not at their best either.

When parents and teachers were asked as to who should get an education between boys and girls, they all indicated that all children should get equal chances of education. Their response is in line with the most logical thing to do if financial circumstances are equal or favorable for all.

Parent Q - a mother of four children argued that *"it is the wish of every parent to see all his or her children educated and live a better life in future".* She hastened to say that *situations arise that might force a parent to make a very tough decision on who goes to school and what kind of a school they go to. For example, a parent might lose his job or a parent might die*

and children remain orphaned and those keeping them might get an extra burden and thus, fail to provide for all the children equally. [Interview - Parent Q]

The example given has been felt by many children in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in a study conducted by Ansell & van Blerk, (2004) in Malawi, orphaned children were taken by relatives to villages to begin a new life and had to struggle to continue with schooling. In most cases, the relatives who took care of them chose to educate their own children first before educating the orphans. The Malawian example above is not different from the Zambian situations, as parents are forced to make such choices due to financial difficulties.

During the interviews with parents, I noticed reluctance on the parents to mention who they would choose to go to school between boys and girls as they insisted that they would not choose among their children. But when presented with a vivid situation, an example of what happened in the 1990s during privatization of industries in the country, in which thousands of parents were laid-off from the job market and had to start a new life either in the villages or within the cities. Their responses began to shift towards choosing a boy for a girl.

Parent X reluctantly explained:

> *I would choose a boy because he is supposed to be the provider of his family in future, he needs to have a job to do that and he can't get a good job if he does not get an education. My daughter will get married and the husband will take care of her and the children, besides, she can also ask her brother to help her when need arises. As you know, here in Zambia, your sisters' child is yours as an uncle. So girls have better chances of living well even without going to school. That is why I would take my son to school instead of my daughter. But I would love them all to be educated as I am doing now.* [Interview - Parent X]

This parent would make decisions based on gendered perceptions of who would suffer more than the other without an education. In his view, *"a girl would get married and her husband would take care of her and her children"* [Interview - Parent X]. On the other hand, *"a boy is the one that marries a girl and he is responsible for her well-being"* [Interviews - Pupils]. For that reason, a boy should be educated no matter the circumstances. The thought of girls being able to take care of their brothers in future cannot be an option. As mentioned by some boys earlier in this chapter, it is embarrassing for boys to ask for money from parents later on their

sisters. Most importantly, the rights of the girl child to acquire education are ignored. As was suggested in the preceding pages of this chapter, a girl is seen as a "home maker" who would take care of her children and the household while the husband is away for work (Punch, 2001; Ansell, 2002; Chant & Jones, 2003). It is thought that she would survive with her new husband even if she does not get an education as the man is seen as the provider of all family needs. The man needs to work to be able to provide for the needs of his household. Failure to do so, would make him a disgrace to society and a laughing stock in the community.

However, it is vital to state that the influence of traditional and cultural values and norms on children's lived experiences especially with regard to schooling is changing over time. From the interviews with parents in this research, a western theorization of childhood as a 'time of schooling and training' is taking a centre stage even if this theorization is understood in a different way from the global north (Qvortrup, 2002; Ansell, 2002). While in the global north it is argued that childhood should be a period of wonderful experiences by the children through play and other social activities, in this research, parents argued that *"childhood should only be a time of schooling and little play as the children are preparing for life in future where they would spend a longer time of their lives"*. According to the parents and teachers, *"children would eventually leave childhood and yet adulthood cannot be left by anyone. Humans spend most of their lives in adulthood and thus the need to prepare well for adulthood"* [Interviews - Parents & Teacher(s)]. As a result, there was a general argument for justify the placing of children and schooling in a box of an investment for the parents, teachers and the government who are spending their money, time and resources to build a society of persons that would carry the economy to the next generation (MoE, 2007; Kelly, 1996). Childhood therefore, is theorized as a period of preparation for the future. Children in this case do not live on the 'here and now' but focus on 'tomorrow' as their main stay of livelihood.

Summary for the chapter

In this chapter, theorizing childhood with gendered eyes has been discussed. For example, girls in this research argued that they stayed longer at school to avoid doing housework which they were required to do both before and after school. As a result, housework became a factor for girls to go to school on a daily basis and stay there as long as the school was open. Boys on the other hand had a different take on why they attended school. A resonant response was that "they wanted to be engineers, doctors, pilots and state security officers". In this case, the boys were looking at their future ambitions and not the school or home situation. The arguments in the discourses above are closely related to Alanen's (2001) argument who stressed that "persons growing up together at a particular time want to enter a certain social group". The boys see this social group as that of 'schooled persons' that have finished university education and have well paying jobs. They looked forward to the end of school and go to universities and get well paying jobs in the mines. This does not mean that girls had no future ambitions about their careers. It simply highlights the immediacy of their present situations that were different in the two genders due to different gendered structures of the society.

Chapter 8: Political economy and children's schooling

There is a close relationship between political economy of a nation and the parents' employment and the livelihoods of children within this structure (Katz, 2004). The massive privatization exercise experienced in Zambia in the 90s sent many parents out of the employment sector. The new owners of the mines and other previously government owned companies were reducing their work force. This directly reduced parent's income for their families thereby reducing the options that parents might have for their children's livelihood and schooling. In turn, children's schooling suffered a great deal as the parents could not afford the cost of schooling for their children on their own. As shown in chapter two, at independence and subsequent years, schooling was free in Zambia in an absolute sense as the parents paid nothing towards their children's schooling. Even school stationery was provided by the government. At that time, the economy was doing very well and the population was smaller than it is at present (Kelly, 1996; Rakner, 2012).

The situation is no longer the same since cost-sharing policy was introduced some two decades ago (Carmody, 2004; Das et al, 2004; MoESP, 2007). Parents have to struggle to raise money for school user fees and other school requirements which were provided by the state in the past (Das et al, 2004). *Parent Z* expressed despair at her situation. She works as a community social worker and also sales some merchandise at the communal market. She explained that *"in most cases, she has very little choices to make with regard to the children's education"*. She argued that *"her income is not adequate for all the needs of the family such as food, medicine and clothing, later on paying for school requirements for her son"*. Other parents also argued that *"the economic situations have never been better since the time of privatization in the 90s"* [Interview - Parent Z]. A statement that cut across most parents' views was:

"I don't have a steady income generating venture that is why it is difficult to make good choices on my children's education as education in this era has become very expensive both in public and private schools". [Interviews - Parents]

As shown in a number of studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa, 'a good number of parents face serious challenges with regard to their children's education needs' (Nelson Mandela Foundation [2005: 51]; Mumba, 2002; Ansell, 2002; Ansell and van Blerk, 2004). The

number of children sent home to collect school user fees (tuition fees) from time to time speaks volumes. It is no wonder that almost all children spoke against *"being sent home to collect school fees while their school mates were learning"*. They argued that *"they should be allowed in school even if they do not have money for school user fees as they are not the ones who have failed to pay"*. They insisted that *"school authorities should find other ways of collecting the money from parents and not using them as a weapon for forcing parents to pay"*. [Interviews & Focus Group Discussions]

Parent Z mentioned earlier was so furious that some school principals do not understand when she goes to explain to them about her precarious situation with regard to paying children's user fees. She added:

> *I want all my children to be educated but I cannot afford the school user fees that the schools are charging. I went to explain to the school principal at a named school and he couldn't believe what I was telling him. He said there was nothing he could do and I should just find the money or my son would be chased away from school. Things are expensive these days, free education is only on paper but we still pay user fees, they say it is for stationery in schools. We also buy uniforms, books and other requirements. If I could afford, I would take my children to private schools where they teach well.* [Interview - Parent Z]

In this discussion, the parent has a lot of desire for her children to be educated in a good school environment. However, her socio-economic status could not allow her to give the best schooling to her son as she did not have formal employment and has to fend for her children's needs at home before she can think of their education.

She insisted that *"it was not her fault that she could not pay schools fees for her children on time. She was not employed and so she has to live on hand to mouth income"*. In her view, *"the government should fund schools fully and allow the children from poor families to go to school on government resources or create jobs for all citizens so that they can afford paying school fees for their children"* [Interview - Parent Z]. This is similar to the experiences of some parents in South Africa who participated in a study by the Nelson Mandela Foundation. They expressed displeasure at "the failure by government to fund schools fully so that even children of poor parents could go to school on meagre resources" (2005: 51-2). The parents in this research therefore found reason to argue that *"as long as the government does not help,*

their children would grow-up illiterate and would not be able to contribute positively to both family and national economy". [Interviews - Parents]

Concluding remarks

The aim of this research was to explore new insights on children's lived experiences of the school social spaces. At the core of this theme was the children's negotiation of social spaces available in childhood. Gender differences due to gendered structures, motivation for schooling and vice-versa, and generational issues in children's schooling in Zambian society also informed this research. I have argued that people in Zambia view 'childhood as a time for schooling' as they 'transit into adulthood' and not as a lived time of childhood (Qvortrup, 2002). This has enabled me to make nuanced meanings in Zambian childhood(s) that would explain current and future schooling experiences by children.

Teachers and parents emphasized that childhood should be a preserved time for schooling and training. To some extent, children agreed with this kind of perception among adults. Children equally stressed on the future livelihood of adulthood and not that of childhood. Their discussions and arguments focused on the future rather than the present. Adults argued that children are incompetent, immature, and irresponsible and lack the ability to coordinate their own activities. This characterization of childhood is typical of Zambian society and its analysis finds that in this respect, children's agency is underestimated by the parents and teachers working with children in the studied school.

The research has highlighted strategies that children use to negotiate through school physical spaces in view of the many rules and regulations set by adults. It also suggests that school spaces can be 'non-spaces' of children and childhood as the latter continue to occupy the worst parts of these social spaces. For example, children in this research were not allowed in certain school spaces for various reasons. The restricted spaces happened to be the best looking parts of the school. These spaces within the school hence became 'non-spaces' of children and childhood even if they are supposed to serve the children's schooling needs.

Despite the precarious situation that both school children and teachers find themselves in, the responsibility of both the teachers, parents and pupils to do what is required of them for smooth schooling to take place cannot be overemphasized (Bourdillon, 2006; Boyden & Mann, 2005; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). Children argued that teachers have a tendency of making excuses on what they should do for best practices for the teaching/learning process. Teachers too felt that they could only do as much and the rest is for the children themselves. This situation makes children to experience schooling as the

adults prescribe it due to little or no authority over their own schooling. As a result, schooling serves the interests of the adults and not the children.

The research has also shown insights in children's preferred places both at home and in school. It suggested that girls stay in school longer than boys to evade domestic work that the social cultural setting requires them to do on a daily basis while boys see the school space as a place with too many rules and regulations and thus find ways of dodging and or absconding from lessons in order to play in the neighborhood where there are little or no rules at all. Boys also defined play as that which involves the use of electronic gadgets away from school spaces which have adult rules and regulations. The difference in perception of the two spaces can be attributed to social cultural constructions about 'boyhood' and 'girlhood' that are embedded in Zambian society.

As was argued by all parents, teachers and children, all school aged children have the right to schooling. The government and the cooperating partners should strive to provide 'quality and equal schooling opportunities' to all children (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005). That means having the necessary spaces, desks, toilets and other school learning materials (Ansell, 2002). However, the parents and children should also do their part. I have argued that the level of education for parents is not the main reason why parents either support their children's schooling process in the manner that they do or vice-versa. The research has shown that both educated and less educated parents had a measure of emotional, moral, practical and financial support for their children. Mothers especially looked out for opportunities to help their children with homework while fathers claimed to be too busy to help. The main argument as to why there is low emotional and moral paternal support of children's schooling process is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Area for further research

In this thesis, I have argued that parents and teachers underestimate children's agency. It would be interesting to explore more on this subject in order to have a broader and deeper understanding of what adults protect by undermining children's agency. I ask a question, what would be of the children if society allowed them to exercise their agency to the full? This question if explored further, can explain many other areas of children's lived experiences in Zambia.

Another important aspect of this research that has not been answered is 'what motivates female parents to help their children more in school work than their male counterparts?' This question needs more researching on parents work, school, social status and personality to be able to give a better explanation to the question.

The research has argued that girls prefer spending more time in school than at home in order to evade domestic work while boys prefer the home for their play as it has less rules and regulations than the school environment. However, an important question to ask is, do girls use the extra time they spend at school for academic purposes or play and how do both girls and boys manage to balance the time for play and school? This question can also give new insights in children's play and work during their school years.

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Appendices

1.0 Focus group discussion

i.   What is the meaning of schooling to you pupils?

ii.   What facilities do you have access to in this school?

iii.   What would you do if you had the ability to make changes?

iv.   Do you use the school facilities collectively with the opposite sex?

v.   Do you all take part in cleaning the school surroundings and your classrooms?

vi.   What do you not like about the toilets?

2.0 Interviews

2.1 Interview guide for children

Section A

i. What time do you come to school and leave for home?

ii. Approximately how much time do you spend on doing class exercises, learning, sports and other school activities?

iii. Do you think the time you spend in school is enough or too much for you and other children?

iv. What do your parents say about the time you spend in school in a day?

v. When you are in school, what activities do you participate in?

vi. Do you think it matters to you if you participate or not?

vii. What do other children say about the time you all spend in school?

Section B

i. So why do you come to school?

ii. What is it that you want to gain out of school that you can't get without coming to school?

iii. Do you think you are wasting your time in school?

iv. Would you love to be in the community and do what the other kids who do not go to school do?

v. What dreams do you have for your future?

2.2 Interview guide for parents

i. How many children do you have?

ii. How many of them are currently attending school or have attended school?

iii. Do you think all children should get equal chances in school regardless of their sex?

iv. If you had to choose among your children on who goes to school, who would you send to school between a boy and a girl?

v. From the time you went to school yourself, what has changed in the school system or are still being viewed the same as your time?

vi. Are you satisfied with the education your children are getting at the school?

vii. Do you have interest in that education by checking what they do while they are in school?

viii. Do you help your children with homework and other practical things they might carry home to work on?

ix. What expectations do you have from your children once they finish school?

x. Do you think other parents feel the way you do about your children's education?

xi. What do you think needs to be changed in order for these pupils to get the best out of the education system that are offered now?

xii. Would you have loved your children to be at a different school than a public school?

xiii. Do you think it is possible to provide them with what you call the ideal education considering the economic situation now?

2.3 Interview guide for teachers

   i.   How long have you worked with children in this school?

  ii.   How is the teaching/learning structured in this school?

 iii.   Do you think you are doing the best for these children?

  iv.   What do you think is the children's perception about education these days?

   v.   What do you think is the reason for your answer?

  vi.   What facilities does the school have that are accessible to the children?

 vii.   Do all children use these facilities equally especially the girl child?

viii.   Does the school make it easy and comfortable for girls to come to school and participate or compete favorably with boys?

  ix.   What are the achievements for all your children in this school? Are they to your expectations?

   x.   If you had a power to do things differently, what would have changed in the school system?

3. Request letter for access to the field

Postal Address

Pavilion C

NTNU – Dragvoll

7049, Trondheim

The School Head Teacher

Kafue High School (name is fictitious)

P.O. Box....

Kitwe, Zambia

Dear Sir/Madam,

<div align="center">

RE: *Request to Conduct Research with Children at Your School*

</div>

I am a Zambian student at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway, pursuing a Masters degree in Childhood Studies.

As part of my academic requirement, I have chosen your school as my research field with children between the age of 16 and 17(Max 15 pupils). I will be in Kitwe, Zambia in the second week of June, 2012 and I am expected to commence my study immediately until the school holidays begin. My research topic is '**Exploring children's lived school experiences: Negotiating school social spaces in Zambia***: A case of Kitwe, Zambia'.* I would therefore, like to conduct interviews, focus group discussion, and observations with children. I would also interview both parents and the school teaching staff (Head teacher and or any member authorized by the school administration). Participation in the research is entirely voluntary for all parties and all ethical issues (informed consent, confidentiality and privacy, anonymity and power differentials) will be adhered to by me and other participants. The information collected will be treated with serious anonymity unless so wished by the participants or would pose a danger to anyone's life. I would also like to make it clear that the research is purely for academic purposes and will remain, as such, a property of NTNU. It is my wish that this study does not in any way interfere with the participants' academic work. I will therefore negotiate the best way possible with both you and the participants.

Hereunder is the proposed research time schedule;

Time Schedule, June-August 2012

Week	Date	Activity
First Week	11th – 15th June	Meeting gate keepers-familiarization
Second to Ninth Week	From 18th June - 10th August, 2012	Building rapport and informed consent Interviews with children at school Focus group discussions Observations Story Writing Home Visits for parents
Tenth Week	13th – 17th August, 2012	Return to Trondheim

As children are increasingly being seen as 'competent social actors' with immerse knowledge and information to contribute to any research and indeed to best practices in education that should uplift the livelihoods, it is vital to apply 'rights' based approaches in research with them and also use best practices to do so.

Any other details of the research will be discussed with you when I arrive.

I would like to thank you in advance for the anticipated favorable response to this request.

Yours Truly,

Mwinsa Mapoma Grant.

All correspondence should be addressed to Mwinsa Mapoma Grant – Masters Student - NTNU

Postal address: Moholt Student Village, Hermans Kragvei, 43-31, 7050, Trondheim, Norway. Phone: +4792506105

MELDESKJEMA

Meldeskjema (versjon 1.3) for forsknings- og studentprosjekt som medfører meldeplikt eller konsesjonsplikt
(jf. personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter).

1. Prosjekttittel

Tittel	Children's experiences of the school system and its meaning or significance

2. Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Institusjon	NTNU	Velg den institusjonen du er tilknyttet. Alle nivå må oppgis. Ved studentprosjekt er det studentens tilknytning som er avgjørende. Dersom institusjonen ikke finnes på listen, vennligst ta kontakt med personvernombudet.
Avdeling/Fakultet	Fakultet for samfunnsvitenskap og teknologiledelse	
Institutt	Norsk senter for barneforskning	

3. Daglig ansvarlig (forsker, veileder, stipendiat)

Fornavn	Gry Mette D.	Før opp navnet på den som har det daglige ansvaret for prosjektet.Veileder er vanligvis daglig ansvarlig ved studentprosjekt.
Etternavn	Haugen	
Akademisk grad	Doktorgrad	
Stilling	Førsteamanuensis	Veileder og student må være tilknyttet samme institusjon. Dersom studenten har ekstern veileder, kan biveileder eller fagansvarlig ved studiestedet stå som daglig ansvarlig.Arbeidssted må være tilknyttet behandlingsansvarlig institusjon, f.eks. underavdeling, institutt etc.
Arbeidssted	NOSEB	
Adresse (arb.sted)	Dragvoll	
Postnr/sted (arb.sted)	7491 Trondheim	
Telefon/mobil (arb.sted)	4797568488 /	NB! Det er viktig at du oppgir en e-postadresse som brukes aktivt. Vennligst gi oss beskjed dersom den endres.
E-post	gry.mette.haugen@svt.ntnu.no	

4. Student (master, bachelor)

Studentprosjekt	Ja ● Nei ○	NB! Det er viktig at du oppgir en e-postadresse som brukes aktivt. Vennligst gi oss beskjed dersom den endres.
Fornavn	Mapoma Grant	
Etternavn	Mwinsa	
Akademisk grad	Lavere grad	
Privatadresse	Herman Krags Vei 43-31	
Postnr/sted (privatadresse)	7050 Trondheim	
Telefon/mobil	92506105 /	
E-post	mapomagm@stud.ntnu.no	

5. Formålet med prosjektet

Formål	The aim of the study is to find out the experiences that children (Secondary School children, 16 – 17 years of age) in Zambia have with their school system and the meaning or significance they attach to the education provided. It is also important to find out if their generational meanings attached to the education for children and how gender differences could be a point of departure to the understanding of the meaning or significance of schooling by children themselves.	Redegjør kort for prosjektets formål, problemstilling, forskningsspørsmål e.l.

Maks 750 tegn. |

6. Prosjektomfang

Velg omfang	● Enkel institusjon ○ Nasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt ○ Internasjonalt samarbeidsprosjekt	Med samarbeidsprosjekt menes prosjekt som gjennomføres av flere institusjoner samtidig, som har samme formål og hvor personopplysninger utveksles.
Oppgi øvrige institusjoner		

Oppgi hvordan samarbeidet foregår		

Utvalget	Students in a regular public school, Teaching staff and Parents Recruitment and Sampling: I will have a maximum of 14 participants (school children) aged 16 and 17, and at least one of their parents. I will have 7 girls and 7 boys from different socio-economic backgrounds. In addition I want to interview 1 - 3 member of staff.	Med utvalg menes dem som deltar i undersøkelsen eller dem det innhentes opplysninger om. F.eks. et representativt utvalg av befolkningen, skoleelever med lese- og skrivevansker, pasienter, innsatte.
Rekruttering og trekking	I will make the initial contact with the help of a member of staff at the school.	Beskriv hvordan utvalget trekkes eller rekrutteres og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Et utvalg kan trekkes fra registre som f.eks. Folkeregisteret, SSB-registre, pasientregistre, eller det kan rekrutteres gjennom f.eks. en bedrift, skole, idrettsmiljø, eget nettverk.
Førstegangskontakt	A member of the school will have the initial contact with the students and the parents on behalf of me.	Beskriv hvordan førstegangskontakten opprettes og oppgi hvem som foretar den. Les mer om førstegangskontakt
Alder på utvalget	☐ Barn (0-15 år) ■ Ungdom (16-17 år) ■ Voksne (over 18 år)	
Antall personer som inngår i utvalget	About 15 children About 15 - 20 parents About 1-3 of the staff at the school	
Inkluderes det myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Begrunn hvorfor det er nødvendig å inkludere myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse.
Hvis ja, begrunn		Les mer om inklusjon i forskning av myndige personer med redusert eller manglende samtykkekompetanse

Kryss av for hvilke datainnsamlingsmetoder og datakilder som vil benyttes	☐ Spørreskjema ■ Personlig intervju ■ Gruppeintervju ■ Observasjon ☐ Psykologiske/pedagogiske tester ☐ Medisinske undersøkelser/tester ☐ Journaldata ☐ Registerdata ☐ Annen innsamlingsmetode	Personopplysninger kan innhentes direkte fra den registrerte f.eks. gjennom spørreskjema, intervju, tester, og/eller ulike journaler (f.eks. elevmapper, NAV, PPT, sykehus) og/eller registre (f.eks. Statistisk sentralbyrå, sentrale helseregistre).
Annen innsamlingsmetode, oppgi hvilken		
Kommentar		

Redegjør for hvilke opplysninger som samles inn	It will be information on the time children spend in school, how they find the lessons and subjects, the practicality of what they learn and what expectations or meanings is held with education for their future. Teachers will also be asked about the system of education in place, subjects, curriculum and examinations. Parents will provide information on generational societal views on education, gender preferences and socio-economic issues attached to education provision and access.	Spørreskjema, intervju-/temaguide, observasjonsbeskrivelse m.m. sendes inn sammen med meldeskjemaet. NB! Vedleggene lastes opp til sist i meldeskjema, se punkt 16 Vedlegg.
Samles det inn direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det krysses av for ja her, se nærmere under punkt 11 Informasjonssikkerhet.

Hvis ja, hvilke?	☐ 11-sifret fødselsnummer ☐ Navn, fødselsdato, adresse, e-postadresse og/eller telefonnummer	Les mer om hva personopplysninger er
Spesifiser hvilke		NB! Selv om opplysningene er anonymiserte i oppgave/rapport, må det krysses av dersom direkte og/eller indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger
Samles det inn indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger?	Ja ○ Nei ●	En person vil være indirekte identifiserbar dersom det er mulig å identifisere vedkommende gjennom bakgrunnsopplysninger som for eksempel bostedskommune eller arbeidsplass/skole kombinert med opplysninger som alder, kjønn, yrke, diagnose, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
		Kryss også av dersom ip-adresse registreres.
Samles det inn sensitive personopplysninger?	Ja ● Nei ○	
Hvis ja, hvilke?	■ Rasemessig eller etnisk bakgrunn, eller politisk, filosofisk eller religiøs oppfatning ☐ At en person har vært mistenkt, siktet, tiltalt eller dømt for en straffbar handling ☐ Helseforhold ☐ Seksuelle forhold ☐ Medlemskap i fagforeninger	
Samles det inn opplysninger om tredjeperson?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Med opplysninger om tredjeperson menes opplysninger som kan spores tilbake til personer som ikke inngår i utvalget. Eksempler på tredjeperson er kollega, elev, klient, familiemedlem.
Hvis ja, hvem er tredjeperson og hvilke opplysninger registreres?		
Hvordan informeres tredjeperson om behandlingen?	☐ Skriftlig ☐ Muntlig ☐ Informeres ikke	
Informeres ikke, begrunn		

10. Informasjon og samtykke

Oppgi hvordan utvalget informeres	■ Skriftlig ■ Muntlig ☐ Informeres ikke	Vennligst send inn informasjonsskrivet eller mal for muntlig informasjon sammen med meldeskjema.
Begrunn		NB! Vedlegg lastes opp til sist i meldeskjemaet, se punkt 16 Vedlegg. Dersom utvalget ikke skal informeres om behandlingen av personopplysninger må det begrunnes. Les mer om krav til informasjon og gyldig samtykke, samt om forskning uten samtykke
Oppgi hvordan samtykke fra utvalget innhentes	☐ Skriftlig ■ Muntlig ☐ Innhentes ikke	Dersom det innhentes skriftlig samtykke anbefales det at samtykkeerklæringen utformes som en svarslipp eller på eget ark. Dersom det ikke skal innhentes samtykke, må det begrunnes.
Innhentes ikke, begrunn		

11. Informasjonssikkerhet

Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger erstattes med et referansenummer som viser til en atskilt navneliste (koblingsnøkkel)	Ja ○ Nei ●	Har du krysset av for ja under punkt 9 Datamaterialets innhold må det merkes av for hvordan direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres
Hvordan oppbevares navnelisten/ koblingsnøkkelen og hvem har tilgang til den?		NB! Som hovedregel bør ikke direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger registreres sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet.

Direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger oppbevares sammen med det øvrige materialet	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvorfor oppbevares direkte personidentifiserende opplysninger sammen med det øvrige datamaterialet?		
Oppbevares direkte personidentifiserbare opplysninger på andre måter?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Spesifiser		
Hvordan registreres og oppbevares datamaterialet?	☐ Fysisk isolert datamaskin tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Datamaskin i nettverkssystem tilknyttet Internett tilhørende virksomheten ☐ Fysisk isolert privat datamaskin ☐ Privat datamaskin tilknyttet Internett ☐ Videoopptak/fotografi ■ Lydopptak ■ Notater/papir ☐ Annen registreringsmetode	Merk av for hvilke hjelpemidler som benyttes for registrering og analyse av opplysninger. Sett flere kryss dersom opplysningene registreres på flere måter.
Annen registreringsmetode beskriv		
Behandles lyd-/videoopptak og/eller fotografi ved hjelp av datamaskinbasert utstyr?	Ja ● Nei ○	Kryss av for ja dersom opptak eller foto behandles som lyd-/bildefil. Les mer om behandling av lyd og bilde.
Hvordan er datamaterialet beskyttet mot at uvedkommende får innsyn?	My computer have a personal username and passworld, and I always keep it in a safe place.	Er f.eks. datamaskintilgangen beskyttet med brukernavn og passord, står datamaskinen i et låsbart rom, og hvordan sikres bærbare enheter, utskrifter og opptak?
Dersom det benyttes mobile lagringsenheter (bærbar datamaskin, minnepenn, minnekort, cd, ekstern harddisk, mobiltelefon), oppgi hvilke		NB! Mobile lagringsenheter bør ha mulighet for kryptering.
Vil medarbeidere ha tilgang til datamaterialet på lik linje med daglig ansvarlig/student?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, hvem?		
Overføres personopplysninger ved hjelp av e-post/Internett?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. ved bruk av elektronisk spørreskjema, overføring av data til samarbeidspartner/databehandler mm.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		
Vil personopplysninger bli utlevert til andre enn prosjektgruppen?	Ja ○ Nei ●	
Hvis ja, til hvem?		
Samles opplysningene inn/behandles av en databehandler?	Ja ○ Nei ●	Dersom det benyttes eksterne til helt eller delvis å behandle personopplysninger, f.eks. Questback, Synovate MMI, Norfakta eller transkriberingsassistent eller tolk, er dette å betrakte som en databehandler. Slike oppdrag må kontraktsreguleres
Hvis ja, hvilken?		Les mer om databehandleravtaler her

12. Vurdering/godkjenning fra andre instanser

Søkes det om dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for å få tilgang til data?	Ja ○ Nei ●	For å få tilgang til taushetsbelagte opplysninger fra f.eks. NAV, PPT, sykehus, må det søkes om

Kommentar		dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten. Dispensasjon søkes vanligvis fra aktuelt departement. Dispensasjon fra taushetsplikten for helseopplysninger skal for alle typer forskning søkes Regional komité for medisinsk og helsefaglig
Søkes det godkjenning fra andre instanser?	Ja ○ Nei ●	F.eks. søke registereier om tilgang til data, en ledelse om tilgang til forskning i virksomhet, skole, etc.
Hvis ja, hvilke?		

13. Prosjektperiode

Prosjektperiode	Prosjektstart:11.06.2012 Prosjektslutt:01.06.2013	Prosjektstart Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når førstegangskontakten med utvalget opprettes og/eller datainnsamlingen starter. Prosjektslutt Vennligst oppgi tidspunktet for når datamaterialet enten skal anonymiseres/slettes, eller arkiveres i påvente av oppfølgingsstudier eller annet. Prosjektet anses vanligvis som avsluttet når de oppgitte analyser er ferdigstilt og resultatene publisert, eller oppgave/avhandling er innlevert og sensurert.
Hva skal skje med datamaterialet ved prosjektslutt?	■ Datamaterialet anonymiseres ☐ Datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon	Med anonymisering menes at datamaterialet bearbeides slik at det ikke lenger er mulig å føre opplysningene tilbake til enkeltpersoner.NB! Merk at dette omfatter både oppgave/publikasjon og rådata. Les mer om anonymisering
Hvordan skal datamaterialet anonymiseres?	Transcriptions of interviews are kept anonymised/ depersonalized data. field notes are anonymised	Hovedregelen for videre oppbevaring av data med personidentifikasjon er samtykke fra den registrerte.
Hvorfor skal datamaterialet oppbevares med personidentifikasjon?		Årsaker til oppbevaring kan være planlagte oppfølgningsstudier, undervisningsformål eller annet.
Hvor skal datamaterialet oppbevares, og hvor lenge?		Datamaterialet kan oppbevares ved egen institusjon, offentlig arkiv eller annet. Les om arkivering hos NSD

14. Finansiering

Hvordan finansieres prosjektet?	Statens lånekasse	

15. Tilleggsopplysninger

Tilleggsopplysninger		

16. Vedlegg

Antall vedlegg	2	