

Capabilities, Aspirations and “The Girl”

A Gender Analysis in Zambia

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Abstract

A comparative case-study into the differences in girls' capability and aspiration development, from two schools within a rural area of Livingstone, Zambia. Community Schools and Government Schools provide the basic, free, education in Zambia. Previous research has looked at the infrastructure differences of the types of school, but not how the school, its environment and the community affect the integral capability and aspiration development of pupils. Explored through the gender and capabilities approach lens, qualitative Focus Group Discussions with pupils, teachers and parent/community members and quantitative statistics from the schools capture the opinions of capabilities and aspirations of "the girl" in the focal community.

Findings surmised that the communities surrounding the schools played an important role in the access to development of capabilities and aspirations at the schools. Where there were more traditional barriers surrounding access at the Community School, the Government School community were more sensitised to educating girls, thus the capability and aspiration development for girls is more accessible. However, both communities relayed perceived ambitious aspirations which given the evidence seemed unobtainable, and adaptive preference with regards toward the gender duty the girls complete in the house.

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Final thanks are to my supervisor Jo Heslop, who helped me to think through the knots and question the conclusions allowing me to gain a more thorough understanding of the project both as a whole and in its sections.

Twalumba Sana (Thank you in Tonga)

I found the following quotations, inspirational and motivational throughout the composition of this Dissertation, I'm sure that they will continue to instil the same inspiration and curiosity in others:

"The function of education is to inspire both the desire for change, and an understanding that change is possible", (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010).

"Ubuntu, one is only a human being through one's relationships with others" (HDCA, p. 6).

"Community School is an avenue for promoting children's rights to education", (CATCH, 2005).

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Acronyms

AIDS – Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome

BESSIP – Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Program

BPS – British Psychological Society

CATCH – Community Animators Targeting Children

CS – Community School

CTVET – Commission for Technical and Vocational Training

DEBS – District Education Board Secretary

EFA – Education for All

FPE – Free Primary Education

GDP – Gross Domestic Produce

GNI – Gross Net Intake

GRZ – Government of Republic of Zambia

GS – Government School

HIV – Human Immunodeficiency Virus

IOE – Institute of Education

LIWOMADI – Livingstone Women Making a Difference

MDG – Millennium Development Goals

MMD – Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

MOE – Ministry of Education

MOEST – Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

PCSC – Parent Community School Committee

PEO – Provincial Education Officer

PF – Patriotic Front

PTA – Parent Teacher Association

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF – United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNIP – United National Independent Party

UPE – Universal Primary Education

ZCSS – Zambia Community School Secretariat

ZOCS -- Zambia Open Community Schools

Chapter 1

Introduction

January 2005, Serenje, Zambia, standing in front of a class of 55 Grade 9 pupils, ages ranging from 15 to 24, affirmed the realisation that this was a different world, let alone a different country, to the one I grew up in. Their determination to complete school, walking 15kms there and back daily, repeating grades when failed to progress, whilst the prospect of employment or continuation to secondary education was not likely to be fulfilled for the many of the pupils who were sat bunched up on benches. From the nine months I spent in that community it was apparent that many girls in the area did not continue to secondary school; this was due to marriage or the distance of the nearest secondary school being too far and too expensive. Zambia imprinted onto me, and 9 years later I am printing my views, research and conclusions on Zambia's education and how girls are affected by what they experience through education.

I carry a strong belief that people are entitled to achieve their dreams, and that their paths to achieving this should not be blocked by others or where they live. The ability to achieve what one value's, to achieve self-realisation and functioning, to be free and independent; sounds simple enough but cannot always be accomplished (Sen, 1999; HDCA, 2009; Nussbaum, 2011). Following the study of the Capabilities Approach through the Masters' discourse, I became intrigued at how the type of schooling affects what pupils believe they are able to achieve later in life in terms of careers, habitat and to an extent the socio-economic status (HDCA, 2009; Nussbaum, 2001; Sen, 1999; Sen, 1992). Specifically through a gender lens I wanted to know what the difference was for girls, would they have access to the same potential options as their male counterparts, were they thought of as equal beings or would the girls stereotyped role of "housewife" remain a constant condition. Within Zambia there are different types of schooling, but essentially it can be broken down into three different spheres (MOE, Education Bill, 2011); the Community Schools, a "free" school run by communities, churches, private funders or Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO); The Government Schools, run by the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) and

the Private Schools, run by private organisations and individuals supplying high end, paid for education. Although education is meant to be free for Grades 1-7 in Zambia, all schools do not receive enough funds from the Government to sustain a school without additional facilities top up fees paid by the parents of the pupils (Carmody, 2004; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; UNDP, 2011a). As Community Schools are most often set up and run by the community, the costs in fees to parents are lower than that at Government Schools; this is for example because the school may not be able to employ qualified teachers as when qualified they are placed at Government Schools and paid a government wage; higher than the affordability of the Community School (Carmody, 2004; Chondoka, 2006; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). Typically in Zambia, there are often more girls enrolled into Community Schools than Government Schools¹. Based on this, I wanted to find out more about how the type of school affected the perception of achievable capabilities and aspirations for girls from each school and its community. In one small area of Livingstone, a town surviving on its tourism and international trade (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010), I carried out Focus Group Discussions with participant groups from two schools and their immediate communities.

This dissertation is separated into; explorations of key a thematic approach to be used in the research, background history and relevant literature, the methodology for the research, analysis of results, concluded with a discussion and summary of what can be learnt from this investigation into *Capabilities, Aspirations and The Girl*. I have, contrary to the norm, deliberately moved the thematic and gender approaches prior to the literature review as depicts the capability approach and gendered lens through which I conducted this entire dissertation. The literature review then provided the journey and understanding of Zambia's Educational History, the position and progression of girls and women in Zambia, and showed essentially what was missing in the documented research. As the focus of research was looking specifically at gender in Basic education, the free education, I do not go into depth about secondary, higher

¹ Reasons include the additional fee of sending girls to Government Schools, or the distance to the other schooling options which could make the journey unsafe for girls to travel (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010)

or adult education. Similarly, literature research does not look at the inclusion of Special Educational Needs in the schooling system, or to great extent gendered violence and how its role affects educational achievement.

Drawing on experience and literature I began this journey with the mindset that Community Schools, with fewer qualified teachers and less infrastructure, would, through the more informal method of teaching, inspire girls to achieve their dreams and allow them to become innovative in their futures. By comparing a community school and a government school with similar catchment areas for pupils, I would be able to test my theory. I developed the central Research Questions;

- What girl's capabilities and aspirations are?
- How do the capabilities and aspirations of girls differ when influenced by the school and its environment?
- What is the communities' perception of the "girl"?

Through a mixed methods design I was able to investigate these questions, and analyse them through core evidence such as pupils' pass rates in school, and through thematic analysis of discussions with pupils, teachers and parents. Together this would form a case-study focusing on a gender analysis of the educational implications for the development of achievable capabilities and aspirations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Theoretical Framework

Amartya Sen, philosopher and Nobel Prize winner in Economy, theorised that approaches and theories which were current, at the time, in the interpretation of international development, were too narrow; so evolved the Capabilities Approach (HDCA, 2009; Hart, 2012; Sen, 1992). The Capability Approach framework allows for the identification and recognition of experiences, environments and inequalities such as gender, that lead up to capabilities and thus achieving functionings (Hart, 2012; Sen, 1992; Walker & Unterhalter, 2007). “The concept of capability stresses the real freedoms a learner has to make informed choices in order to achieve life she has reason to value” (Unterhalter in, Human Development and Capabilities Approach, 2009, 217).

Capabilities are the opportunities, freedoms and the abilities to make valued choices which lead to achieving functionings, thus fulfilling what is valued (HDCA, 2009; Sen, 1999; Hart, 2012). The Capabilities Approach looks at the “distribution of wealth and income”, (Nussbaum in Hart, 2012, 22). By considering well-being as opposed to the material wealth, the capabilities focuses on “what kind of life he or she is living, and what the person is succeeding in “doing” or “being””, (Sen, 1999, 19).

Aspirations of an individual are “goal-orientated and concern the future of the self or the agency of the self in relation to goals concerning others” (Hart, 2012, 79). It is important that aspirations are viewed as separate to imaginations; which need not be goal-orientated or related to the self; however imagination can be influential to the development of the capability to aspire (Hart, 2012). “Aspiring can be seen as a *functioning*”, as a means of thought development which can later be expressed through creative and physical expression (such as writing) (Hart, 2012, 79). Aspiring however can also be seen as a capability, either as a freedom or as a means of enabling more capabilities and functionings for the individual (Hart).

Capabilities and Aspirations are a key factor for influencing what someone chooses to do with their life, if they have a choice. Much of this is dependent on the capability to attend school. It is important to understand the context and background of the schools and the pupils in order to effectively evaluate what capabilities the schools can offer pupils, and likewise what capabilities and aspirations the pupils can then develop. As Fuller depicts in her study of UK schools, the socio-economic background of the parents can predispose their children what values education holds for them, which “impacts on the education ambitions and aspirations they have for themselves in terms of further and higher education”, (2009, 12). Bourdieu identified this as the *habitus*, the sub-conscious embodiment of the familial life and thus the individuals’ way of life (2010). Along with *capital* and *field*, an individual, a pupil, is able to experience “tastes” and/or “preferences” and make decisions based on their experience of what next to do (Bourdieu, 2010, 166). Although the *habitus* may remain a constant, the tastes or preferences experienced may enable mobilisation out of the current status (2010). Essentially, the capabilities that the schools could enable in a pupil, and the aspirations that are developed through the individual’s experiences could facilitate individual functioning to achieving the individual’s aspirations and capabilities and thus increasing well-being (Hart, 2012).

Adaptive preference can, however, provide an illusion of what an individual may choose (or lack of choice) to value, “people’s overt preferences may be adapted to adverse circumstances” (Robeyns I. , 2002, 5). Aspirations based on accepted norms in the society rather than what an individual may choose to value, there placing an adapted value on what society dictates the individual to choose (Hart, 2012; Elster, 1983). Adaptive preference plays a huge role in gender inequality, as what may have happened traditionally or historically but was discriminatory against women can become an “accepted norm” as Butler defines (1999). Where Sen differentiates individual preference over adaptive preference is through *agency*, “the chance to be heard and to be involved in collective evaluations and decisions” (Robeyns, 2005, 5).

The Growing up Global report, suggests capabilities to be achieved through education in preparation for adulthood should be (Lloyd, National Research Council, & Institute of Medicine, 2005):

- Good mental and physical health
- Human and social capital to be a productive adult member of society
- Prosocial values and contribution to collective well-being as a citizen and community participant
- Capability to make choices through the acquisition of a sense of self and a sense of personal competence
- A sense of worth.

My interpretation of these capabilities, are multidimensional in that 1. there is little explanation of how or what precisely to measure and the interpretation could differ for each individual asked, and 2. the use of the words “a sense of” indicates that it is not achieved but still in progress. However the capabilities listed do assimilate Sen’s generalised groupings of capability sets which enable the capabilities to be tailored to the individual based on their circumstances (Hart, 2012). Although focused on western societies, Robeyns’ capability list used to conceptualize gender inequality provides a malleable yet comprehensive list of evaluative capability criteria (2002).

1. *Life and physical health*: being able to be physically healthy and enjoying a life of normal length
2. *Mental well-being*: being able to be mentally healthy
3. *Bodily integrity and safety*: having the freedom not to be exposed to violence of any sort
4. *Social relations*: being able to be part of social networks and giving and receiving social support
5. *Political empowerment*: being able to participate in and having some influence on political decision-making
6. *Education and knowledge*: having the freedom to be educated, and to use and produce knowledge

7. *Social reproduction and nonmarket care*: being able to raise children and take care of other people
 8. *Paid work and other projects*: being able to work in the labor market or to do projects such as arts
 9. *Shelter and environment*: being able to be sheltered and to live in a safe and pleasant environment
 10. *Mobility*: having the freedom to be mobile
 11. *Leisure activities*: being able to engage in leisure activities
 12. *Time-autonomy*: having autonomy in allocating one's time
 13. *Respect*: enjoying the freedom to be respected and treated with dignity
 14. *Religion and spirituality*: having the freedom to practice a religion or live one's life according to spiritual principles.
- (Robeyns, 2002, 12)

What is clear is that some of the criteria groupings match both the Sen and the Growing up Global report capability sets; for example, the importance of being healthy both physically and mentally. More importantly however, these capabilities take into consideration the inequalities within gender and life. The majority of the capabilities above can be increased through education and can lead on to achieving functionings and aspirations. This provides access for inequality measurement by looking at different groupings of individuals, such as I have in my research, and what capability sets each group has in comparison to their background and environment , or as Bourdieu would term the *field*, *habitus*, and *capital* (Hart, 2012; Bourdieu, 2010).

Zambia in Context

In the middle of Sub-Saharan Africa is Zambia, a lower middle income country, with GDP of \$20.68 billion and a GNI of \$1,350 per capita (The World Bank, 2013a). The population in Zambia in 2012, as recorded by the World Bank in 2012, was 14,075,099, with just under half of the recorded population between the ages 0-14 (The World Bank, 2013a; The World Bank Group, 2013b). Half of the total population are female and Zambia has a poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line of 60.5% (UNDP,

2013; The World Bank, 2013a). The Government in Zambia are working towards the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education For All (EFA) goals, however, with specific focus on education based goals, current statistics show that to achieve these goals more needs to be done (UNESCO, 2012a; UNESCO, 2012b). The Basic, free, education is a means to allowing Zambia to achieve the EFA goal 2 and MDG 2 in Universal Primary Education (UPE) (UNESCO, 2012a; UNESCO, 2012b). MDG 3 in Gender Equality and the empowerment of women was missed in 2005, and although now on track to achieve the goal from Primary Schooling, there are substantial interventions required to be achieved in secondary and tertiary education (UNDP, 2013).

Gender in Zambia

Many families in Zambia, as elsewhere in Africa, do not appreciate the benefits of educating girls and women, whose role is often narrowly seen as preparation for marriage, motherhood and domestic responsibilities. (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010, p. 80).

This is a very strongly opinionated statement, and certainly struck a chord when I read it, but there is evidence to back it up.

Research and documentation by the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) reports that by educating women, the returns flow not only to themselves, but to the next generation as well (2010). Throughout the educational history in Zambia, although supported in policy, girls have not been educated (Carmody, 2004; Cashen, et al., 2001; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Unterhalter, 2007; Heward & Bunwaree, 1999). The most recent Global Monitoring Report (GMR) states that “all countries that started with gender disparity in literacy in 1998-2001 made progress except for Zambia” (UNESCO, 2012a).

Table 1: UNESCO 2012 statistics for School Intake and enrolment in Zambia (no

statistics for upper secondary enrolment – lower secondary is available at Basic schools that provide G8-9 education).

	Male	Female	Total	GPI
Primary Education (Grades 1-7) Gross Intake Rate	114%	117%	115%	1.03
Primary Education (Grades 1-7) Net Intake Rate	49%	52%	51%	1.07
Lower Secondary Enrolment (Grades 8-9)	76%	68%	72%	0.90

Education in Zambia

Pre-Colonial to Independence: 1880-1964

Traditional education in the pre-colonial era consisted of “systematic socialisation of the young into norms and core of society”, (Carmody, 2004, xi). Snelson depicts that the education “largely conducted by the elders, developed the sense of loyalty and pride in membership of the tribe” (1974, 1). Carmody enlightens that around an evening fire, “pre-colonial education ... was diverse in so far as it included history and folklore, vocational skills, moral and religious instruction, sex and family education, military training, dance and music” (2004). The first school started by European Missionaries was by Arnot in Barotseland in 1883 (an area in western Zambia where Cecil Rhodes took jurisdiction for British Southern Africa Company (BSAC)). From Arnot’s initial settlement, Missions Stations increased in Northern Rhodesia. They set up Christian schools. Education was for children and adults with subjects covering “literacy, village improvement, trades and village crafts”. These were the first Community Schools in Zambia, (CATCH, 2005). Although BSAC took no financial responsibility for the schools, they declared all schools (of all sorts) be registered in 1918 (Carmody, 2004). This was the first registration of schools in Zambia.

Carmody refers to a quote from the Phelps Stokes Commission in 1925 which indicates that although girls may be in Education, what they learn is how to be women and lead families (Snelson in Carmody 2004, 6). The BSAC’s approach to schooling was

“adaptation²”, (Snelson, 1974; Carmody 2004). For Zambia’s education of national citizens this meant a “dual education for the masses and for the small élite” (Carmody, 2004, 6). It did however include women in the eligibility, entitlement and equality to education. Education provision at this time, although *adaptive* was progressive as Carmody provides example; there were talks of “Higher Education, technology and all that has been found necessary elsewhere”. Missionaries didn’t teach English in as much as they wanted to preserve the current way of life. Through the “adaptation” within the education system, the schooling’s purpose was to improve “village life” and not to provide social mobility. This education was to sustain the villagers as they were and improve the quality of their agricultural produce which, consequently, benefitted the mission stations, or as Carmody states “preserving the status-quo”. After the registration of schools with BSAC, a Teacher Training centre was set up in Mazabuka³. The Jeanes Centre’s purpose was to produce trained teachers who maintained and supervised the village mission schools and stopped more opening by increasing the current schools’ efficiency (Carmody, 2004). “Not only were schools few and widely scattered in colonial days, but education cost the princely sum of two shillings and sixpence a year” (Kaunda, 1973, 24).

The education policy BSAC introduced did,

however, have a further aim to keep any higher level schooling at a stage where it would not produce a large semi-educated class for whom there would be no employment and who would be so far ahead of the masses that they would be out of sympathy with them. (Carmody, 2004, 11)

This policy was the “social vision” that prevented the expansion and development of education to secondary school until the 1940’s. Carmody continues to explain that there was no secondary education for the masses; it was kept for “a most important minority”, by 1961 only 2602 pupils were enrolled in secondary school (2004, 14).

In contrast to the secondary schooling development hiatus, by 1945 there were 116,000 in primary school, of whom 70% were boys (Snelson, 1974, 238). Within 15

² At the time the word “adaptation” was the US term for Segregation.

³ A large sugar plantation town in Southern Province, Zambia.

years there were 287,536 pupils enrolled in primary, 62% were boys and 45% were girls (Carmody, 2004, 13).

Africa, took a huge leap forward in the development of education at the UNESCO 1961 Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, held in Addis Abba. The conference reflected the importance of development economic needs through skilled labour. Carmody acknowledges that the focus for Northern Rhodesia was to pay “closer attention to the relationship between schooling and the needs of the community”, this was vital to attain the goals set at the conference which included; Universal Primary Education (UPE) and secondary education for 30% of the primary schooled population, with the provision for 20% to then go on to complete Higher Education (2004, 14). As a result, by 1964, there were 12 training institutions, 6754 trained primary teachers and training courses for Secondary school teachers. There were 13 trade schools with 544 students enrolled in trades like Carpentry or Brickwork, (2004, 17). However, the colonial academic schooling was still seen as integral for social mobility as Carmody reflects; “for young Africans taking a technical course did not hold out much promise of well-paid employment ... it was the academic system that had higher status and promised upward mobility” (2004, 17; see also Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010).

Carmody explains that the disparity in gender in schools was likely to be “dated back to the advent of the missionaries, most of whose pioneers were men. Girls were not excluded from catechetical schools though boys had a head start”, evidently this meant that there were more men in the upper class having succeeded through education (2004, 17). On the surface it seemed the government was discriminating against girls in school, in fact it was the opposite;

As Godsden argued, government positively discriminated in favour of girls ... boarding schools also favoured the education of girls. It seems true that traditional perceptions of the role of women in society had a major part in the slow appearance of girls in the higher grades. By 1964 there were 154,061 girls or 43% of the total enrolled in non-fee paying aided primary

schools and 4105 or 42% of all students in secondary schools. (Carmody, 2004, 18)

From the pre-colonial era up to Independence, education – inclusive of a policy that encouraged girls to attend school - remained selected for the boys. Thus creating an upper-class gathering of men, equipped with knowledge enough to create a Political Party to fight for Independence from Colonial rule (Carmody, 2004).

Independence to Third Republic: 1964 - 1990

In 1964, there were only 110,000 living persons, from a total of population of about four million, who had received six years of schooling. A total of 32,000 Zambians or 58% of this age group had completed the full primary school course of eight years. Zambia could only count 1,200 Zambians with full secondary school certificates. The 1963 census showed that 76.6% of all men and 95.6% of all women were illiterate. The *Zambian Manpower Report of 1965* commented that Zambia was less prepared (for Independence) than most African countries. (Carmody, 2004, 25)

Kenneth Kaunda was appointed Prime Minister of the Government of Republic of Zambia (GRZ) in 1964 when the United National Independence Party (UNIP) ended the colonial rule of Northern Rhodesia (see for example Carmody, 2004; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). One of the instrumental policies that UNIP campaigned for was the expansion of educational facilities, the manifesto “declared that education would be compulsory, free, and in no way subject to the individual’s creed, colour or sex” (Carmody, 2004, 20). UNIP took on an education system that consisted of basic (primary) school with 8 Grades, then Secondary school with 5 Forms, which could be followed by University. For pupils who wanted to study outside the country they had to complete 2 further years to attain A Levels (Carmody, 2004). The new government de-segregated the schools and abolished fees which increased the volume of higher educated people for employment. In 1966 the Education Act was passed, total control of schooling and education was passed to the Ministry of Education (MOE). Included in the control and facilitation of the MOE was, the central teacher training and

deployment administration the Unified Teaching Service Commission, National Examinations Council, the Zambia Education Publishing House and the centrally controlled national curriculum. Carmody explains that, in contradiction to stating prior to Independence that UNIP would remain working in partnership with the organisations and missions providing primary education, by 1967 the new government controlled 63% of all primary schools (2004). The control of primary schools included those started and run by Mission Stations and independent communities, both of which were types of Community School (Carmody, 2004; CATCH, 2004). This was the beginning of the decline and “disappearance” of the initial Community Schools (CATCH, 2005).

To overcome the issue of insufficient human resources at Independence, the curriculum that was relayed into the schools was crucial to allowing the development of Zambians up the leadership ladder; Carmody refers to this as a process to “Zambianize the state” (2004, 26). The diversification in the skills required by the state was not being produced by the curriculum; as a result the First National Development Plan (1966) was put into place (Carmody, 2004). Importance was placed upon Agricultural development and so this was added into the technical skills expansion. Commercial and practical subjects were also included from 1968. Carmody explains that “it was hoped that in time all schools would have an agricultural section” (2004, 31). Although agricultural science is still taught as part of the primary education (dependent on schools), participation in learning the practice as well as the theory is only common in the rural areas which have land to learn with (personal experience).

Carmody illustrates how the UNIP government were still struggling to produce the human resource needed to carry Zambia forward, so Canadian Advisor W.A.B Saunders was invited to report on and support a better education structure (2004). The Second National Development Plan was written in 1971 with a focus on developing the technical side even further and introduced the Commission for Technical and Vocational Training (CTVET). Carmody explains that just one year later CTVET was “reabsorbed” into the MOE due to the loss of momentum, interest and investment in

technical education. Although the idea of technical education was continued to be of great significance, it remained more elusive within the education system (2004, 32).

1973 saw the 10 year ruling UNIP move government from a multiparty democratic state to a one party participatory democratic state. During this period the global development stage was moving from a modernization approach towards the dependency theory (Carmody, 2004, 36-42). Add in Zambia's worst economic crash; severe currency inflation, rocketing levels of unemployment and an increasing population living in poverty, Kaunda was tested to the extreme and this impacted the decisions taken on education (Carmody, 2004; Kaunda, no date).

Kaunda acknowledges in *Humanism in Zambia Part II and a guide to its implementation* (no date), that the education system was reproducing the elitist format of schooling, with a minority of people completing education, gaining employment and joining the wealthier upper class whilst the masses remained with less education and poor employment opportunity. Kaunda wanted the education system to develop, "I see education in this way: the teacher shapes the tools, life provides the materials, but what is wrought depends on the individual himself" (1973, 35). Carmody also recognised that "Education had provided some social mobility, but as elite groups established themselves in positions of power, they also began to monopolize opportunities for their relatives" (2004, 41). *Education for Development* was drafted in 1976, a radically different approach to education and schooling through socialist approaches which aimed to equalise the system and provide a human resource base to cater to all skills required. The strategy was rejected, amongst many factors this was possibly due to the allegations of elitism and Kaunda's move towards socialism not seeing eye-to-eye in the domain of the upper classes (Carmody, 2004). The lack of budgets and increase of total government control over the education (with removal of community input) would have also influenced the rejection of the *Education for Development* strategy, to Kaunda's dismay (Carmody). The 1977 *Educational Reform* was swiftly drafted after the flop of the former strategy, within it were the propositions for an educational system that "mirrored the interests of the dominant urban minority groups including the political leadership, civil service, and elements

from the trade unions” (Carmody, 2004; also see Lungu, 1985, 286-95). As Kelly notes, both these strategies and other talks of educational reform at the time did not consider “how education could respond to the all important role of women in development” (1996-1997).

Zambia during 1970-1985 was a country in state of flux; the economy was plummeting southwards due to sky high oil prices and the fall of the copper trade, fixed agricultural producer prices and severe drought left the population with increased levels of starvation, and to cap it off, the Government’s budget deficits were rising (Saasa, 1996). From 1974-1985, “GDP growth was at an average of only 1 percent per annum, which was well below the population growth rate of 3.3 percent” (Saasa, 1996). In 1983, Zambia, with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, began the implementation of a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Stromquist states that “the purpose of SAPs is to steer economies towards better economic and social performance” (Stromquist in, Heward and Bunwaree, 1999, 18). Community Animators Targeting Children (CATCH) explain how the strict SAP implementation by World Bank/IMF stopped the construction of new schools, and the monies that had been allocated to education were redirected to servicing debt payments (2005; see also Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). Existing schools ran out of funds and became dilapidated (CATCH, 2005). With an increasing population, the numbers of school-aged children not attending school were also increasing. Urban areas could accommodate many children in the larger schools but in rural areas the scatter of the population made this unsafe, inadequate and impossible (CATCH, 2005).

“Between 1975 and 1984, the enrolment in primary schools rose from 872,392 to 1,348,689 with sufficient places for 92.4% of the seven year olds”, (Carmody, 2004, 47). This marks significant progression from 1975 when less than half of all seven year olds were in school. Unfortunately the provision of employment did not grow with the enrolment in schools, leaving 43,000 primary school leavers in urban areas unemployed in 1986, (Carmody). The curriculum came under scrutiny as it was not comprehensive enough for the pupils who left the system early; the promises of change from the reform had not been fulfilled. Due to the population rate increasing at

a rate higher than the available places in schools and a curriculum still examination based and not equitable the *Educational Reform Implementation Project* was devised in 1986. The primary aim was to put the system back on course towards the UPE goal (Kelly, 1996-1997). Rather than the unrealistic proposed nine years of education for all that was implemented under the 1977 *Educational Reform*, the new policy suggested seven years of primary education. Carmody explains that the latest policy was the most equitable to date, it included both the provision for girls and boys as well as children from all socio-economic backgrounds. The policy directed funds from other areas of education budget towards the provision of primary funding. However, with the arrival and roll out of the new policy, came the re-introduction of fees to primary and secondary boarding schools (Carmody, 2004; Zvobgo, 1999). This consequently re-introduced the inequality in access to education as parents could not afford to pay the fees (Carmody, 2004). The effect of the fees can be seen in conjunction with the SAPs, which were “insensitive to any consideration of women’s economic contribution and the need for incentives at the micro-level” (Stromquist, 2002). This in-turn could have forced women into the role of house management, a role that is has remained a typecast across cultures, nations and time and there is the literature documenting how SAPs enhance gender stereotypes (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). With specific reference to Zambia, SAPs denied many of education; girls and women were more disadvantaged due to this imposition (Kasonde-Ng'andu, Chilala, & Imutowana-Katakula, 2000). With the micro-level economies not supported during SAP and this being the primary income for women, school education was funnelled by parents and guardians towards boys as they had a higher return to investment than that of girls at the time (Schultz, 1971; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010).

Once the Government withdrew from the SAP in 1987 - due to pressure from the population over the worsening of the economy and country - and began to introduce the aforementioned school growth programmes, numbers of out-of-school children began to drop in the urban areas. “In rural areas, where populations were scattered, it was not possible to provide every child with an accessible school”, (CATCH, 2005, 59). The effect of the SAP and the consequence of the re-introduction of school fees were

evident in the education system as a decline from 95% in 1985 to 85% in 1994 in primary school enrolment (Carmody, 2004).

When the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was overturned in 1987-1989, the re-introduction of fees increased the divide in the access to education. It remained however that the expense of educating girls was spared, and many did not enter schooling; “Many of those who dropped out were the poorest of the poor including large numbers of girls” (Carmody, 2004, 58). Due to the reduction in access to school, the development of capabilities and aspirations were also reduced for the out of school children.

Third Republic to Current Day: 1990-2011

The political movements of the Cold War in the rest of the world, and the economic downturn and increased poverty stirring within Zambia pushed for political change (Carmody, 2004). Increasing resistance pushed Kaunda back to liberalisation of government and to hold an election in 1991. Opposition Mr Frederick Chiluba, leader of the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), was elected. A new era for Zambia’s politics, economics and its education began. “The Third Republic carried a promise for a complete and far ranging re-arrangement of the society and the people’s lives”, (Lungwangwa, 1994, p. 1). The new MMD Government instigated the decentralisation and liberalisation of economies and education (USAID, 1996; see also Carmody, 2004).

The new government needed to increase the money to support the education system and in 1996 a new Education Policy named *Educating our Future*, drove forward the government’s decentralisation and partnership with multilateral and international organisations (including NGOs), churches and communities (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). In order to implement the policy, the Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Program (BESSIP) was designed; “a complex and comprehensive program which has successfully synergized several national policies and interventions ... to increase access, decentralize the education system, build capacity, raise equity, develop better

partnerships and improve quality and coordination of basic education” (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010, pp. 44-45).

Basic Schools, part of the educational strategy from 1982, were integral for Zambia to achieve UPE for 9 years of education (Carmody, 2004). With the addition of Grades 8 and 9 to the Primary schools to form the Basic Schools, the intention was that the extra grades would supplement the initial years of Secondary School which could not be accessed as the schools often did not exist (Carmody, 2004). However, in 1982 there were only 7 Basic Schools. Progression of the school enhancement programmes whilst under SAPs was evident as by 1994 “there were 399 [Basic Schools] which increased to 5,677 in 2001” (2004, 63). In comparison to the total control of schools and education by UNIP, the GRZ liberalisation and privatisation worked in partnership to increase Basic School numbers through grant aided and private schools; “by 2001, there were 63 grant-aided and 133 private basic schools” (2004, 64). District Education Boards (DEBS) were set up in 1995 to assist the localisation of the government education system, with the initial Board in the Copperbelt⁴, (Carmody, 2004). Running separately to the Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) the DEBS controlled the Human Resources for schools, fee imposition, and institution maintenance (2004). The MOE retained control of the “policies, quality control and accountability” (Carmody, 2004, 61).

SAPs had been re-introduced in 1991-1995 as the Government struggled to overcome the increasing economic decline into extreme poverty (USAID saps paper).

In 2001 Zambia’s total population was approximately ten million, eighty-two percent of whom lived below the poverty line where a family of six needed K814,000 for monthly basics while the average family’s income was K280,000. (Carmody, 2004, 66)

The pupil enrolment was continuing to decline due to the fees, the government implemented the policy of free education once more (Carmody, 2004). But it was not free; essentially it only meant that the tuition fee was not required. Costs that still had

⁴ Predominantly Copper mining area in the North Western Zambia, (bordering the Democratic Republic of Congo).

to be paid were “transport, meals, books, stationary, Grade 7 exam fees, and other charges linked to particular schools like wall fences and boreholes” (2004, 66). On top of this, the money that the schools now lost from fees was not met by the government, pushing many schools into deficit and lowering the quality of education.

Through the BESSIP partnership a program designed to increase enrolment of girls in school was developed in 1997 (Carmody, 2004). With support from Norwegian Aid (NORAD), UNICEF and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Abdi et al describe, (with reference to Mumba, 2002b), how Program for the Advancement of Girl’s Education (PAGE) “focused on policy development, capacity building, gender sensitization, material development and research”, (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010, p. 45). PAGE although implemented in schools was reliant on the support of the community to promote equal education for girls and boys, and community involvement with the school to increase pupil retention (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Mumba, 2002b). PAGE addressed gender bias in the curriculum as well as positively changing teachers’ attitudes and methods to reach equal education for girls and boys. Although not able to attain 100% gender equity (rural areas still remained with low enrolment for girls in comparison to boys’ enrolment), PAGE did achieve the implementation of a “special curriculum module [on gender issues], and single sex classes” (Carmody, 2004, p. 77).

By 2001, with the HIV/AIDS pandemic ripping through the nation and still little improvement in the economic climate, Basic School and Community School enrolment rates were still low as “700,000 school aged children were not in school” (Carmody, 2004, p. 76); BESSIP was not working (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). Numbers of orphans due to HIV/AIDS were rising; therefore the amount of school aged children who could not access school as a result of the fees was increasing (Carmody, 2004). In 2002, Free Primary Education (FPE) was re-introduced for the first 7 years⁵ of the Zambia schooling system by the newly elected MMD President Levy Mwanawasa (Tembo & Ndhlovu, 2002). The funds accrued through BESSIP were to supplement the schools loss of tuition fees for pupils; funds could not stretch to cover the financial implications due to the high uptake of education (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). As before with the

⁵ Universal Primary Education was reduced to 7 years in Zambia by the Government, (Carmody , 2004)

free education, it was only the tuition and admission that was free, stationary and other costs were still required. Uniform was not compulsory (MOE, 2002). Although pupil numbers rose, teacher numbers dwindled through a myriad of national brain drain of human resources to countries who paid more, or because of HIV/AIDS affecting teachers directly through infection or indirectly where teachers look after relatives (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Moonga, 2010). The quality of education the pupils received in government schools was low, due to the aforementioned low teacher retention creating high pupil teacher ratios, and lack of resources such as textbooks, desks; consequently many pupils dropped out of school to either attend Community Schools⁶ or to assist parents with employment or home chores (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Carmody, 2004; UNDP, 2011a; UNESCO, 2011).

It is important here to note that in the beginning of the literature review I defined community schools as; the traditional form of education that communities lead whilst around for example the evening fire. Whereas from 1982 onwards the references to Community Schools are to be understood as; schools set up and run by Communities within the modern context of pupils learning in a classroom environment with a teacher, even if the classroom is non-existent and the teacher unpaid.

Community Schools began to make a comeback in 1982 as education facilities took a downward spiral (Carmody, 2004; see also CATCH, 2005; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). Carmody explains that Community Schools “first appeared in 1982 out of a need for additional school places and relevant education for out-of-school children and youth” (2004, 64). It remained undisputed that those who could not afford the Government School fees could attend the Community schools running with reduced or no fees (Carmody, 2004; CATCH, 2005). “Community Schools have become a major player in the provision of education services to children failing to be enrolled in conventional Government schools” (CATCH, 2005). Abdi et al state that “the number of community schools increased phenomenally from 55 in 1996 to 373 in 1999, (2010, 36). The growth in schools continued as Carmody records that in 2001, there were 1,149 Community Schools which increased to 1,340 in 2003 (2004). Nkoshla and Mwanza,

⁶ Lower maintenance costs for the school (ZOCS, 2012)

explain that alternative methods of education were encouraged by the government as ways to overcome the lack of education services remaining after the SAP (2009). “Community schools in modern Zambia are initiated, developed and are owned by communities through Parents Community School Committees” (CATCH, 2005, 1). The Parents Community School Committee (PCSC) supported the community school by contributing land or buildings, and sometimes provided a meal for the pupils (Chondoka, 2006; Mwansa, 1998). By using communal spaces, old disused or donated buildings community schools were formed with non-qualified teachers filling a demand to facilitate and teach (often community members with some schooling or Church Ministers would set the schools up as well as teach in them), (Mulenga & House, 1993). Initially schools were teaching the School Participation, Access, and Relevant Knowledge (SPARK) Curriculum. Designed by UNICEF, the curriculum was based on four key subjects; English, Zambian Language, Mathematics and Social Science (Carmody, 2004; Chondoka & Subulwa, 2004). Although the idea of the different curriculum was innovative, the preference for the examination based national curriculum held strong and many Community Schools reverted to concentrating the education through the Graded system (Chondoka & Subulwa, 2004). Another key reason why SPARK was not continued was a lack of community members with the skills to teach the SPARK so it was ineffective when used in communities where there was no prior similar skill set (Chondoka & Subulwa, 2004). Community Schools were often supported by “school committees and an NGO or church”, (Carmody, 2004, 65).

The GRZ partnered with donors in 1996 to create a support agency for the Community Schools; the Zambia Community Schools Secretariat (ZCSS)⁷ (USAID, CASE STUDY. Meeting EFA: Zambia Community Schools, 2008). ZCSS was a “representative body that would coordinate the educational activities throughout the country” (CATCH, 2005, 14). Community schools needed a Parents Community School Committee (PCSC) in order to receive support from ZCSS, but the ZCSS has “no direct control” of how the community schools were conducted. When working with the ZCSS, the PCSC were then to “inform the DEBS office of the school’s existence and initiate a formal registration

⁷ The ZCSS was not formalised until 2001 with a signing of Memorandum of Agreement between the ZCSS and the Ministry of Education (MOE) (CATCH, 2005).

process, including a small fee and inspections by education standards officers” (MOE, 2007, 6). This procedure however was not strictly followed, and it was often that community schools “ran for years without the knowledge or assistance of the MOE” (MOE, 2007, 6). The difference in standards across the community schools in Zambia therefore, was and still is varied as there is no minimum being measured (CATCH, 2005; MOE, 2007; also from personal experience). The MOE, 2007, *Operational Guidelines for Community Schools*, states that to become an established community school, and working with ZCSS, the DEBS would ensure that there were sufficient pupil numbers and that the school was not within a 3km radius of another school (only within when based on obstacles which would otherwise prevent children from attending school).

Chondoka gives example of what the minimum standards in 2006 should have been examining; this included “two bore holes; and at least 10 VIPP latrines” which would increase the girl friendly standard through hygiene and safe water promotion (2006). However, the minimum standard is something that many Government Basic Schools have not and are not able to achieve let alone Community Schools which receive less provision to complete the work (CATCH, 2005; also from personal experience). Despite the infrastructure standards varying in each community school, Chondoka found that “quality education” existed in most of the schools and that “each year more learners reach grade 7 and more learners also pass grade 7” (2006). Chondoka however does not state whether or not the pupils progressed to Secondary Schools or to Basic Schools offering Grade 8-9, or whether the pupils entered into employment (whether it was private or in-formal/agricultural sector). ZCSS worked with UNGEI to help promote girls education and improve access for girls to schools (UNGEI). “In 2006, the ZCSS collapsed” and MOE was left to provide nationwide support to Community Schools, with assistance from Zambia Open Community Schools (ZOCS), (USAID, 2008).

Zambia Open Community Schools (ZOCS) was formed in 1992 and is still operating. ZOCS provide support, community sensitisation, funding and teacher training for Community Schools (ZOCS, 2012; Carmody, 2004). In time ZOCS has now replaced ZCSS

and is now key in implementing and improving facilities to community schools nationwide (ZOCS, 2012).

Learning at Taonga Market is the Interactive Radio Initiative (IRI), and its' 900,000 "students are known to out-perform children at government schools - scoring 10-15% higher", (Sulaiman, 2012). Reinvented in 2001;

The program sponsors identify out-of-school children for Grades 1-5, provide radio sets, find local volunteer instructors, shelters, and assistance to the volunteers while the MOE designs the curriculum, trains scriptwriters, presenters and mentors, pays for airtime and prepares support material. (Carmody, 2004, 70).

With support from Lifeline Energy for the past 11 years, specialist wind up radios help the facilitation of the IRI reach areas without access to electricity supplies (Lifeline Energy, 2013). The IRI curriculum, Learning at Taonga Market, allows pupils who pass to continue to mainstream education if they have the means to do so after passing the IRI tests (USAID & MOE, 2005; Lifeline Energy, 2013). The flexibility of the education program means that it could be used in Community Schools with ease and Government Schools when the means to facilitate classes were reduced (USAID & MOE, 2005).

The aspirations to be developed through education, were depicted by the MOE in the 1996 paper *Educating Our Future*, are that the "education policy and practice promote equality, equity, efficiency, partnership, pluralism, transparency and accountability" (MOE 1996, *Educating Our Future*). The question is, were these objectives practiced in a way that permeated through to the pupils who were in school and further onto the wider community? I found myself asking the question, are the para-teachers often at the forefront of Community Schools able to achieve these aspirations even when they are often not trained as a teacher?

Pupils in community schools had higher educational but lower career aspirations. Over half (54.9%) of the pupils indicated that they would like to finish grade 12, 11% would like to go as far as possible and 8.5% would like

to go to the university. The career aspirations were for jobs which ranged from mechanics, drivers, cooks and teachers. This low career aspiration is in part conditioned by lack of exposure to different careers other than of their parents and teachers. This is not peculiar only to community schools but to government schools as well. (Mwansa, 1995, cited in Mwansa, 1998, 22).

The aspirations, if appropriately achieved as functionings, should help to instil in communities the confidence in the capability of education for girls and the importance of quality education as is the nature of the PAGE program (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Carmody, 2004). Girls' aspirations and capabilities increase in value and numbers with education (Sen, 1999; Nussbaum, 2011). In comparison to Community Schools, "Government schools follow a strict teaching, professional and organisational structure, while community schools focus on developing children's educational, social and vocational capacities without being over regulatory (Batch, J. et al, 1995)" (cited in CATCH, 2005). Mwansa's study also supports the view that the community school has a positive influence on the community as by "being closer to the communities and nurturing a sense of responsibility and ownership of institutions that have previously been run by the state" (1998, p. 5).

Mwansa found in his study that there was a more relaxed atmosphere between pupil and teacher at community schools, and that on average there were low teacher to pupil ratios making a more conducive learning environment (1998).

Government schools have already failed us. We prefer community schools ... We would not want the government to take over our school because they would demolish everything the community has set up. If the government follows the community rules, they could get involved, but only if they do not charge fees and introduce uniforms. The community school needs to because it accepts all children. (Cashen et al, 2001, 17).

When successful at completing Basic Education whether through a Basic School or a Community School, the next academic step would be Secondary School (Carmody,

2004; MOE, 2007). However the fees that are required for this level of education are substantial, as on top of the uniform, stationary, food and transport/boarding, tuition fees are also required (Carmody, 2004; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). If not successful in moving to secondary school be-it through not attaining Grade 7 or not being able to afford the schooling, then employment was the alternative. This now begs the question; did the education up to Grade 7 prepare the children for life without more schooling (Cashen, et al., 2001; Mumba, 2002a; Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder, 2002; Carmody, 2004)? This is a question that factored a lot into my research in terms of how much did the total school experience bring to the pupil, and was one environment more or less equal and conducive to the capability and aspiration development of the girl.

Current Day Education: Government School and Community School

Michael Sata of the political party Patriotic Front (PF) became the President in 2011 after the MMD 20 year reign with multiple Presidents (Carmody, 2004). Education was and is still in need of major development as the 2012 GMR reported 71% of the population aged 15 or over were literate, and that by 2015 that would only increase by 1% (UNESCO, 2012). Statistics also showed that the amount of illiterate women in 2010 was 2,021,000 and was increasing. The knock on effect of this is that poverty becomes harder to eradicate as:

In Zambia, around three quarters of young people with primary education or less are working below the poverty line; youth with secondary education fare somewhat better, while for the minority who reach higher levels of education, poverty rates are very low. (UNESCO, 2012a, p. 197).

Minimum wage in 2012 was increased, in some careers basic pay increased by 100%, with strict new implementation laws, (MLSS, 2012). The affect on education was and still is paramount, with such a huge inflation with immediate effect, many businesses, small and large scale, had no time to prepare for budgetary changes, as a result employments were terminated (see comments on Ntumwa, 2012). For people to then

gain employment the achievement of Grade 12 Certificates became a prerequisite from some employers; which, for the population without passing or even completing school to Grade 12, becomes a barrier to employment and increases poverty and deprivation. A worrying statistic noted in the Global Monitoring Report (GMR) is that “among countries that participated in the third SACMEQ study, almost four in five children make it to grade 4 in Kenya and Zambia, but schools in Kenya are more than twice as effective in ensuring that they learn basic mathematics skills” (UNESCO, 2012a, p. 124). Thus meaning that the likelihood of progression for the pupils into higher grades or to secondary school is lowered, as is the chance for passing the Grade 12 exams.

In a contradictory move, in light of the continuing decentralisation, the government stated that it will upgrade all the community schools to full primary and secondary (MOE, 2011; ZOCS, 2012). At some point since the PF came into power, uniforms became compulsory for primary school; however it is not documented in the MOE strategies or policies that have been written since 2011, it may be more a case of schools taking on the compulsory uniform decision themselves, but that is an assumption. This is in contrast to the relaxation of compulsory uniforms when the Free Primary Education (FPE) began in 2002 (SACMEQ, 2011). From personal experience working with schools in Zambia since 2011, schools are enforcing that uniforms must be worn from Grade 1 up, (see also; Zambia Child Foundation, 2013; School Club Zambia, 2012). As happened previously when the fees were reintroduced to schooling, a divide between Community and Government Schools become more prominent as a social class barrier. Community Schools do not enforce compulsory uniform; Government Schools do request compulsory uniform (Zambia Child Foundation, 2013).

Capability Criteria and Aspiration Acquisition

As the research to be conducted is to focus on a Community School and a Government School the following topics provide themes for comparison and what current literature there is supporting them. The themes provide a basis for the environment in which pupils are able to develop their capabilities and aspirations. “The capability approach

requires that we do not simply evaluate the functionings – the actual achievements – but the real freedom or opportunities each student has to choose and achieve what she values” (Unterhalter in Human Development and Capabilities Approach, 2009, 218). Within the themes in Table 2 are the Zambian community and government school based resources, methodologies and infrastructures that enable capability and aspiration development within pupils who are able to attend school. The table provides a clear way of seeing the differences, and factored in the construction of the key research questions.

Table 2: Community School and Government Basic School, resources and environmental differences.

	Community Schools	Government Schools
Facilities and Infrastructure	In rural areas the schools are often constructed with mud bricks, wooden posts and grass roofs; Urban schools are often in donated buildings or given land to build on and have more substantial resources with which to build from (Carmody, 2004; personal experience). Water supply depends on the area, although stipulated as a requirement sometimes the taps, boreholes or mono pumps can run dry (MOE, Education Bill, 2011)	Urban and rural schools have concrete brick built classrooms with tin roofs, though many Schools are in need of more classrooms (MOE, Education Bill, 2011)
Teachers	“In Zambia, communities assess teachers by their dedication to teaching underprivileged children and to helping the community. These standards, rather than academic ones, are used because hiring qualified teachers poses financial constraints” (Cashen et al. 2001). Due to the teachers coming from the community where the school is the social distance is minimised, however exposure to experiences outside of the community could be limited so the teacher may reproduce the social norms that are set in that community, which could include allowance of early marriages in girls. Once the Community Schools are registered with the DEBS they schools will have access to teacher training, meaning the teachers will gain experience too (MOE, 2007).	Teachers are sent to schools by the Government after their initial training. Teacher accommodation and placement bonuses have been increased through the government budget to incentivise the teachers placed rurally (MOE, 2011). As a result of the teacher placements is increased Social Distance between the pupils and the teachers; the teachers may come from the more urbanised cities or from rural areas both of which could have different cultures and traditions to the where they are placed.
Safety for Girls	The physical proximity of the school provides a safer environment for girls to learn as it is within their community and they do not have far to travel (Mwansa, 1998).	Distances to the schools can be far, I worked at a school where pupils' would walk 15km each way a day. Not only was this unsafe if the children were to meet someone with bad intentions on their way, but also left them exhausted at school and at home, (personal experience). Can raise awareness of child rights as it is brought into the extra curricula activi-

Language of instruction	Depending on the teachers at the school, more often it is in local vernacular (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010).	Supposed to be English but depends on the location of the school (urban vs. rural) (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010).
Fees	Free Primary Education: No tuition or admission fees (MOE, 2011)	
	Community and PCSS raise funds to support the school, parents pay top up. Uniform is not always compulsory but is supplemented. One meal is sometimes provided. (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010)	Parents pay for materials, such as books, uniform, stationary. (Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010)
Curriculum	<p>The National Curriculum is used at both Community and Government Schools. However, teacher knowledge of the subjects may be lower at the community school if the teacher has not had full teacher training (Carmody, 2004).</p> <p>The Growing up Global report states that</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">important skills required for in today's job market are ... proficiency in reading, writing, maths, abstract reasoning, critical thinking and computer literacy as well as skills in lifelong learning. (2005, 266).</p> <p>These, I believe, are vital capabilities in their own rights as they lead to achieving functionings, acquiring agency and thus increased freedom, well-being</p>	
Pedagogy	Due to lack of teacher training, resources and books, the community school teachers base their pedagogy on own experience, as a result the style is often more informal, which as studies have shown can be more conducive for girls learning (Cashen, et al., 2001; Chondoka, 2006; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010; Mwansa, 1998).	Child Centred teaching techniques are encouraged in MOE Schools (MOE, Education Bill, 2011), however, from personal experience the teaching often resorts to learning by wrote with the teacher at the front instructing the class with a lot of chalkboard writing and copying for the pupils.

Research Questions

Although based on the literature above there is more often linear teaching, government inflated budgets and resources (Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder, 2002; Nkoshu & Mwanza, 2009; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010), are the Government Schools enhancing girls' aspirations and capability sets more than Community Schools? As I discovered when composing the literature review, there was previously minimal research conducted to explore differences in capabilities and aspirations of girls' who attended either a community or government school within a community either globally or within in Zambia. The literature research did however indicate that the type of education experienced at community schools could affect the capabilities and aspirations of girls. Therefore the research conducted aimed to explore, through a small scale gender analysis, the Central Research Questions; what girl's capabilities and aspirations are, and how do they differ when influenced by the school and its environment, as well as the communities' perception of the "girl"?

The following research questions guided the study:

1. What do girls value in their education?
2. What are girls' aspirations and capability sets in a rural Government School and rural a Community School? What aspects of the two differing school environments influence how the identified aspirations and capabilities are developed?
3. How do communities engage with issues around girls schooling in the two different school models? How does this influence community perceptions' of girls' capabilities, aspirations and girls education?

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter depicts the methodology used when collecting research data that would form a small scale gender analysis. The research focused on girls' aspirations and capabilities when attending either a Community School or a Government School, in a rural area of Livingstone, Zambia. Qualitative data was collated through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with pupils, teachers and parents/community members. Quantitative data was collected from the schools on pupil enrolment, dropout and attainment, as well as infrastructure and school environment (such as classrooms).

Research Design

The District Education Board Secretary allocated the two schools to participate in the research. Pupils, teachers and parents/community members were then briefed by the Headteacher at each School, and volunteer participants took part in the research. A total of 37 participants took part in the research as displayed in Table 3. Through FGD Participants discussed topics and questions that would allow for the Central Research Questions to be answered. Where individual interviews may have been intimidating for participants the FGDs were used to reduce anxiety and allow free discussion on a variety of topics. The pupil participant FGDs were separated into single sex groups to minimise embarrassment and encourage interaction in the discussions. To build confidence and trust with the pupils the FGDs were Child Centred and used a child friendly technique where the pupils worked together to draw a map of the initial area and then mark on areas as identified by the researcher's questions (Save the Children, 2004).

Table 3: Participant figures from each school.

FGD Participant Group	Community School	Government School
Grade 6 Girls (aged 11-12)	5	5
Grade 6 Boys (aged 11-12)	5	5
Parent/Community Members	4 (3 Female, 1 Male)	2 (1 Male, 1 Female)
Teachers	5 (all Female)	6 (2 Male, 4 Female)

Drawing on readings and research from my undergraduate degree and throughout this Master's degree, I found the Foucauldian ideologies of critical thinking and researcher influence highly important to how I conduct research. Aside from the androcentric focus in much of Foucault's research, his initial approach to research provides a strong starting point for researchers and made me think carefully about what I was looking for and why:

it was curiosity – the only kind of curiosity ... that is worth acting upon with a degree of obstinacy; not the kind of curiosity that seeks to assimilate what it is proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself. (Foucault, 1985, 8)

I wanted to increase my knowledge base and understanding of how the different institutions and environment could affect the outcome for girls' aspirations and

capabilities in an area of close proximity. The findings of my research, albeit a small case study, could and did challenge my initial perceptions of what I was likely to learn and was looking for⁸. This enhanced my own approaches and capabilities in understanding the culture in which participants from the communities were coming from. The Capability Approach, to me, is a very literal way of evaluating what status people have in terms of health, wealth, and material. Nussbaum elegantly depicts

What are people actually able to do and to be? What real opportunities are available to them? This question, though simple, is also complex, since the quality of a human life involves multiple elements whose relationship to one another needs close study. (Nussbaum, 2011, x).

These questions are embedded in my research questions, the difference being that I added focus specifically on the gendered implications of being a girl in a part of Zambia, and how the different schools enacted on this, in turn impacting on aspirations and capabilities of the girls.

By reading and evaluating methods of study design by successful and less successful research projects as well as dissertations, published and unpublished works, I was more prepared and confident that using a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methods would provide me with comprehensive data that would allow me to gain a thorough understanding and perception of life of “the girl” in the communities and statistics painting a more institutionally structured picture. This approach allows access to the researcher to the individual and group perception of the world (Bell, 2010; Burns, 2000).

As I was fairly familiar with the cultures and traditions within Zambia due to previous volunteer and work experience, I was more aware of potential taboo subjects that my research would touch upon; such as asking about the initiation ceremonies and life within the community that is not always visible to a passer-by or visitor. Because of the sensitivity required for the research I ensured that trust was built up with both the translator and I via interactive questions with participants and activities like map

⁸ That based on the literature review and personal experience, the Community School was a more conducive environment for development of capabilities and aspirations in girls attending the school.

drawing with the pupil participants. These methods allowed participants to see that I was keen to learn about their community by respectfully taking into account the different aspects that make up their interactions within the community. The activities with the pupil participants were also child centred to ensure maximum understanding, participation and coordination, as well as to prevent singularity (Save The Children, 2003; 2004). I wanted to remain as impartial to the research and the participants as possible to ensure that my report will be the view of the participants. However, as exemplified by Foucault, the data method collection automatically formats the primary source data into what the researcher wanted to look for, whether intentionally or not (1985).

I used Focus Group Discussions to attain the bulk of my data; the advantage of this was that the participants were less likely to feel anxiety and embarrassment during the discussion (Save the Children, 2004). However a disadvantage is that the group would be more inclined to resort to socially accepted norms rather than personal expression that may differ (Save the Children). Essentially though, this therefore allowed for data to be collected on what the accepted social norms could be on topics raised in the discussion. It could therefore be suggested that the result of the discussion could be the mundane reality of life in the community, thus the possible actuality and analysis of a typical “Girl in the Community”, (Bell, 2010; Burns, 2000).

The field work took place in one week, the last week of term before closure for December, Table 4 shows this below:

Table 4: Timetable of Conducted Research

Weekday (November 2012)	AM	PM
Monday 26 th	Travelling	Arrive in Livingstone
Tuesday 27 th	Meet with Provincial Education Officer (PEO), discuss research	Meet with DEBS, discuss research and get schools to work with.

Wednesday 28 th	Meet Headteachers at both schools and arrange research times	Messages of the research sent to teachers, pupils, parents and community members by the Headteacher (some messages sent via the pupils to take home).
Thursday 29 th	Community School: School Statistics with Headteacher. FGDs at with teachers and pupils (girls then boys).	Government School: School Statistics with Headteacher. FGDs with Parents/Community members, Teachers, Girl Pupils and Boy Pupils.
Friday 30 th	Community School FGD with Parents and Community Members.	Review and check research data. Begin write up of findings.

Research Sample

As the research was a case-study designed to provide a gender analysis focusing on two school areas, the participant sample needed to be Stratified Purposive; “a hybrid approach in which the aim is to select groups that display variation on a particular phenomena but each of which is fairly homogenous, so that subgroups can be compared”, (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, 79 referencing Holloway and Wheeler, 1996; Patton, 2002).

Participants were recruited voluntarily through coordination with the Headteachers at each school. An introduction to the research was explained by the Headteachers, participants then volunteered for the research. In the FGDs it became apparent that pupils from Grade 6 were suggested by the Headteachers at both schools, instead of volunteering for participation. This was clarified with the pupils during the FGDs; I checked with the pupils that they were willing to take part in the research and made it clear that they could leave if they did not wish to participate (this was also translated to ensure full understanding). On reflection, and upon observation in the classroom at

the Community School, it also became apparent that the pupil participants were all high achievers in the class. Although I cannot be certain, this was possibly the case for the Government School too. Similarly the Parent/community members who assisted with the research were likely to also be key persons in the school development and PTA and thus more willing to take part.

The schools, pupils, teachers and parents/community members were all unknown to the researcher and translator. However both schools, and in particular the Community School were used to visitors, volunteers and researchers attending the schools. The Community School regularly received International Volunteers through organisations who recruit volunteers to facilitate programmes that run from 2 weeks to 3 months. An advantage of not knowing the participants prior to research at either school decreased the researcher bias and possible factors that may have influenced how the participants responded within the research. However, this is at the same time a disadvantage as the participant's lack of confidence and trust with the researcher may have impeded the answers they provided. I considered this in the research design and ensured that the best conditions for participants were ensured throughout the research.

The two peri-urban schools were a 20 minute walk apart from each other, and although not as rural as I had originally planned they still provided an interesting comparison and a clear contrast in environmental settings prior to looking at the main case-study and research questions. The Government school was closer to Livingstone as the crow flies, and its surrounding compound⁹ was mainly cement brick built with iron sheets for roofs, electricity and cars roaming the potholed tarmac and sand roads. In comparison, the Community School was the only cement brick and Iron sheet roof building in the surrounding compound to the school. Most houses were mud brick with thatch roofs, no electricity, no cars and no tarmac roads. The common denominator between the two compounds was the water facilities, both were supplied by a compound borehole tap; however, the community school and surrounding compound had an irregular supply and often ran dry meaning people had to travel to the

⁹ A compound is in this context the houses and facilities within the immediate area around the school.

compound surrounding the government school for water. More comparisons can be made when looking at the clothes that the people in the differing compounds wore. For example in the Community School compound, the parents typically wore clothes that were more worn, in addition the women wore bright coloured Chitenge (African Material) over their clothes, and it was possible that they had come to the school from their fields. Whereas in the Government School compound the parents, both male and female were smartly dressed in suits (skirt suit for the female). Based on the observations here, it can be assumed that there is more material wealth in the compound surrounding the Government School.

Table 5: 2012 Enrolment Figures for both schools that participated in the research

(Grade 7 enrolment figures have not been included as at the time of research the Grade 7's had finished school so were not showing up on the School's enrolment figures).

	Community School			Government School		
Grade	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	27	16	43	51	45	96
2	21	25	46	48	65	113
3	17	20	37	62	49	111
4	15	15	30	54	63	117
5	18	20	38	73	64	137
6	13	10	23	61	96	157
Total	111	106	217	349	382	731

The Government School was the larger of the two schools, as Table 5 shows with the enrolment figures. The school also had more classrooms and land, but crucially had no toilets. The Community School, had toilets, and did have a school garden until the few weeks before the research when Elephants trampled through the fence and ate the produce.

Research Materials

To ensure that there would not be a communication problem throughout the study, a translator was recruited based on experience working with pupils and ability in translating into multiple Zambian Vernacular Languages. By contacting a reference from a well-established NGO in Zambia the Translator was highly recommended. A Child Protection Policy was read and signed after an interview with the Researcher (see Appendices 3, 4 and 5). This was followed by a research briefing between the Researcher and the Translator. I, as the researcher, also signed the Child Protection Policy.

At the four Pupils FGDs, flip chart and 4 different coloured marker pens were provided by the researcher for the drawing of community maps as part of the introductory child friendly approach. A different colour pen was used for each added level of information to the map so that it could easily be seen what the pupils were highlighting at certain points of the FGD (such as safe spaces for girls which were marked in green).

I had designed Interview questions and observation sheets, but these were not required during the actual research due to research changes as later detailed.

Qualitative data sheets were designed to capture statistical information for each school such as number classrooms, teachers, books and much more. These essentially were created to show the physical differences between the government school and community school.

Qualitative Research Methods Procedures

Focus Group Discussions:

Each FGD started with a briefing on the nature of the FGD and explanations of confidentiality, anonymity, right to withdrawal, informed consent as well as details of external services to contact if information was brought up that suggested that they were in danger. The briefing was translated into Nyanja, Bemba or Tonga depending

on the group and participants' preference. Each participant signed and dated Consent Forms, and Permission Forms were signed and dated for the Pupils and Teachers (see Appendices 3, 4, and 5). All of the FGDs were recorded to be later transcribed for the analysis; participants were informed and consented to this at the time of signing the consent form.

To ensure ethical equality as per the BPS (2004), and Save the Children Research Tools (2004), a FGD guide was composed for each participant group; girls, boys, teachers and parents/community members (see Appendices 6, 7 and 8). This also helped to make the FGD engaging for the participants whilst ensuring that there was enough fluidity in the question and to facilitate a discussion, thus providing answers to the research questions. Most FGDs lasted no longer than 45 minutes; some were reduced in time due to availability of the participants. Where this was the case all questions were still asked when possible but were given less response time.

The ice-breaker for the pupil FGDs was to draw a map of their immediate community. This technique had a purpose of integrating and building trust with the participants. The mapping exercise could also show differences between the male and female pupils groups but was not essential for data collection or further analysis. For the adult FGDs I asked for them to describe to me their community as I was an "outsider". The FGDs were ended on positive notes and when time permitted with the pupils, the researcher/translator asked questions to boost the participants' self-esteem (see Appendices 6-8).

Quantitative Research Methods Procedures

School Data

On meeting with the Headteachers at each school, quantitative data was collated on the infrastructure, enrolment, dropout and attainment of pupils. The Government School was unable to provide details for attainment results. For the completed School Data collection tools see Appendix 9.

Changes to the Study in the Field

The research had to be suddenly moved location from Siansowa¹⁰, to Livingstone¹¹ 250km south. The rains had destroyed the one road in Siansowa which made it unsafe to travel to the schools. This also meant it was likely that many pupils would temporarily stop attending the schools to help drain the waterlogged fields and repair rain damage to houses. The parents/community members and teachers would also be affected by the rains as noted above, making the pool for participants to volunteer heavily reduced. After discussing the research with the Provincial Education Officer (PEO) in Livingstone, it was agreed that the study could take place in a more rural area of Livingstone, a fifteen minute drive out of the city. The PEO requested that the pupil participants be from Grade 6 instead of Grade 7 as the Grade 7's were on holiday after completing their exams.

Part of the Qualitative research planned to include an Interview with an Education Officer in order to get the view point from the Ministry of Education on the impact of different schools on developing girl's aspirations and capabilities. Quantitative research was also sought from the PEO's office to look at district and national statistics on enrolment, performance and attainment of pupils in both Government and Community Schools. However upon asking the PEO, the Interview was denied as Interviews are only permitted to be conducted with the Minister of Education himself. Classroom observations were removed from the data collection as the PEO did not want the researcher to disrupt the class¹². The PEO organised an approved letter, and instructions for me to see the DEBS, who would arrange a Community School and Government School where research could be conducted. The DEBS assigned the two schools, provided contact details and as well as calling ahead to inform that I would be attending, he also wrote an introductory letter to the Headteacher of each school. I had wanted to collect statistics on the numbers of Community and Government Schools in the area, with enrolment and drop out figures, I was informed that this information was "not available as the time" and to "try again in a couple of days".

¹⁰ A rural Village in Sinanzogwe district in Southern Province.

¹¹ Zambia's main tourist town, in Southern Province

¹² The researcher had explained that there would be no talking or disruption with pupils or the teacher and the researcher's purpose would be just to observe, but this was still not permitted.

After numerous attempts through visits and phone calls with no response I concluded that the data was not going to be available for me. The same quantitative data was also attempted to be gathered from the MOE's website and the Department of Central Statistics. However, both sites and any related to the Government were frequently hacked and information inaccessible.

Research Ethical Considerations

The research proposed was to involve participants, and to ensure that the research nature and procedures were ethical, they were designed to comply with the *Code of Human Research Ethics* established by the British Psychological Society (BPS) (2010). As the research was working with pupils under the age of 18 and working teachers, permission had to be sought from the individuals' caretaker. In the case of the pupils this was their parents or guardians and for the teachers it was initially the DEBS and also the Headteacher to comply with National Governmental protocol. The parents/guardians of the pupils who were chosen to participate could not all write so the Headteacher signed on their behalf. With the DEBs providing written confirmation to both schools that he supported the research and that the teachers could participate, the Headteacher signed the Permission Slips. To ensure that participants understood the nature of the research and the conditions of recording the FGDs this information was translated into Nyanja, Tonga and Bemba depending on what language was required. Prior to the research being conducted, all research proposals and tools were submitted to the Ethics Review Panel at the Institute of Education. Although the location of the research changed I followed the same protocol that was outlined in the proposed Ethics form and Research Tools with the changes to data collection as per the request from the PEO (see Restrictions, Limitations and Reflections).

In preparation for the research I designed specific Research Tools to guide the study. Initial contact letters of intent were written to the Ministerial Staff, these letters explained the nature of the study, methods of data collection and permission to work with the Ministry, two schools, the teachers and pupils. The letters also explained a

brief history of the researcher and reason for research, and included that there was a Child Protection Policy designed and to be enforced throughout the proposed research for pupil safeguarding. Anonymity of the participants, schools and communities was ensured throughout the research, findings analysis and discussion process, participants and all persons involved in the research were made aware of this in the briefing at the beginning of the FGDs¹³.

For pupils and teachers, who required permission to take part, a Permission Slip was to be filled in by the caretaker. Each participant completed a consent form, informing them of the rights to withdraw and confidentiality. To ensure consistency and focus throughout the FGDs I wrote an introductory script describing in detail consent, right to withdraw and confidentiality in participating in the study. Following the script were guiding questions to spark discussions on topics that I wanted to understand in more depth.

Restrictions, Limitations and Reflections

Due to the effect of the rains on the environment at Siansowa the research had to be moved to Livingstone. This heavily impacted on the time that was available to collect the data. Travelling from Siansowa to Livingstone took out one day of potential research. A major road accident meant that MOE officials including the PEO and DEBS were out of office the next day to attend the funeral of one of their drivers and an associate. I had initially planned on spreading the research over 2-3 weeks so I would get to know the school, pupils and community. This was reduced to one week, which did not allow me to reach the intended level of integration into the community. As the research was being conducted towards the end of term, the Headteachers were very accommodating and allowed for 5 boys, 5 girls and 6 teachers to be released from classes to participate in the FGDs. Timing also coincided with the Parent Teacher Association meetings, so community members or parents could be approached, whilst at the school, to take part in FGDs. Reflecting back to a FGD with the Community School parents/community members I wonder if, even with the translation, that the

¹³ Including the translator, Headteachers and Education Officers.

participants did not understand why I was there. Through the little Nyanja and Bemba I know, I could understand that Rachel had explained the research was focused on girls, yet it seemed quite hard to extract that information. The nature of research and how I was collecting data through FGD's may well have been alien to the elder participants.

Where I had struggled to get some data on national statistics from the UK through Zambian websites, I had hoped that this would be easier in Zambia, this was not the case. The data collection through observations and Education Officer Interviews that was not permitted would also have provided interesting comparisons. Having said this, I feel that the data I did collect was very interesting and provides intriguing answers to the research questions I designed based on the literature review conducted. The most striking and memorable outcome of the research was the extreme differences of the schools and surrounding compounds and the effect this had on the pupils from physical size, language abilities, and interactions as well as the capabilities and aspirations that I was specifically looking at.

As with all research there is always more that can be looked into and I have learnt a lot in the process of this research, how to better structure and approach research. Topic wise it would be a good idea to work with older pupils who are at high school and comparing that with children that are not in school due to finances or other barriers but who attended a mix of either Community Schools or Government Schools. The research conducted by Hart provided a great insight into the world of aspiration development and capabilities, however, it was published whilst I was in Zambia and I was unable to obtain it (2012). Had I read this prior to conducting the research I most likely would have used older pupil participants.

Method for Data Analysis

We cannot simply evaluate resources and inputs (such as teachers or years of schooling) and that we must look at whether learners are able to actually *convert* resources into capabilities, and thereafter into functionings. (Unterhalter in, HDCA, 219).

The recordings of the FGDs were transcribed and broken into timed sections based around the questions/discussions. The transcriptions were thematically analysed through a theory-led process where the FGDs were coded into the thematic areas devised in the literature review. These were then analysed through their capability and aspiration development and acquisition. With reference back to the research questions, the outcomes were split into the girls' values in education, the potential capabilities and aspirations developed and acquired through school, the communities' perceived capabilities and aspirations for the girls and the difference between the two schools and communities.

The statistical data that was accrued for each of the schools' infrastructure was entered into a comparison table. This can be seen in Appendices 9, 10 and 11, with interpretation within the findings and discussion section.

Chapter 4

Findings, Analysis and Discussion

I have chosen to write up my findings together with the analysis and discussion. The reason for this is the extent of data withdrawn from the FGDs is more accessible and comprehensive when examined as a whole rather than over two separate chapters. This continuity and inclusiveness also reflects the nature of theory of the Capability Approach that was utilised in designing the study. From here on, the schools used in the research will be referred to as CS for the Community School, and GS for the Government School.

What aspects of the two differing school environments influence how aspirations and capabilities are developed?

School and Environment

However, in response to what the girls find different between their CS and the GS they explained,

the classes here are smaller and there its much nicer, and more conducive, here the teachers pay attention to them, teach them well and they get international volunteers ... it is a calm environment, they don't get easily influence, like they don't get to be like anybody else like any of their friends in town, here everyone is the same. (Girls FGD, CS, Translated into English by Rachel).

This is in line with the findings in the literature review as documented by Mwansa (1998), Cashen (2001), and Chondoka (2006). The *field* provided in terms of a lower pupil teacher ratio and the "calm environment" is conducive for capability and aspiration development, and especially for knowledge development (Bourdieu, 2010).

Likewise the girls from the GS stated they liked their school better, but explained that there wouldn't be a difference in the education. At the CS they would get porridge,

new uniforms, books and bags, whereas at the GS, their parents have to fund them. One of the girls explained through Rachel that “at the end of the day it’s better as they have a meal at school if they don’t at home”. The pupils like the competition and teaching ways of their school, “you try to compete with the others to see if you can surpass them ... I am going to work harder I want the awards”. Interestingly though the when comparing the GS to the CS the boys stated that “the other schools do not teach them as well as this school” and that the girls from the government school will be “more matured”. The boys continued to explain that they are taught “something nice, something educative ... and how to correct”. From observations at the school, it was apparent that the boys at the GS may have picked up on an important issue. There were differences in language use and the physical size of the pupils at the two schools. Both the Girls and Boys from the CS were small in stature in comparison to the pupils at the GS. The pupils at the GS were more proficient and confident in English, to the extent where the majority of the FGDs were in English, whereas at the CS, the only FGD that was in English was with the teachers. Language was discussed in the parent/community member FGD at the CS. The participants explained that they would change the language from English into the local language as most of the pupils struggle. The male participant explained this further in English, “they [pupils] would rather hear what you say [in English] but you need to translate what you say so they get to understand what you say”. He was using this with the example of volunteers who come into the school to teach, many of whom are British or American and do not speak the local vernaculars. Although the language of instruction is English, it is more often that the teachers use local vernacular to teach or translate. The pupils, although keen to learn and participate in class, struggle as they do not comprehend the language of instruction. This creates a barrier as, if pupils do not understand what they are learning it becomes incredibly hard to apply and pass exams in the subject, they become disadvantaged and their capabilities are reduced.

Teachers, Curriculum and Pedagogy

In contrast to the documented literature, the teachers at the CS were all fully trained and placed at the school by the government. As a result, the education the pupils were

receiving was of government standard quality, with added input from international volunteer teachers who supported classes, taught English and ran extra-curricular clubs. In comparison to the aforementioned research, this CS was in the position to increase the access for girls to develop capabilities and aspirations. The teachers explained that “it’s a noble job, I have to sacrifice if I want to produce more doctors and more teachers like me ... you have to be a model”. This teacher had a clear understanding that her ability to teach is preparing workers of the next generation, that it is a sacrifice, means that something along the way has been given up by her and this has become a commitment. She continued to describe the scale of work that is involved in being a teacher, “you have to discover and search a lot of things”. However, neither of the schools had enough classrooms meaning that multiple schools were run throughout the school day to cover all of the classes. The CS ran two schools in one day, and the GS ran 3. This, meant that not only were the teachers over worked and tired, their contact time with the pupils was minimal, and thus provided a less conducive environment for girls to develop their aspirations and capabilities (FAWE, 2010; Nussbaum, 2011).

In response to what changes they would make to the curriculum, the teachers at the CS expressed that practical subjects are not part of the Grade 7 curriculum they teach; subjects such as “home economics and culture science ... at least that would start preparing them”. The teachers assured me that their teaching was child centred and that they “encourage” girls that “they can do better”, that they “can go ahead with education, can be a doctor as well”. Although both schools were supposedly teaching from the same curriculum, the GS ran a relatively new subject called Community Studies. It is a skills subject where pupils learn entrepreneurial and life skills preparing them for after school. For this subject, experts at the skills are brought into the school to teach, in the rest of the subjects mixed pedagogies are used, varying from field work, to debates, pair and group work. The entirety of the Subject and its related pedagogies sing through the aspects of key capability development, especially with the methods in which girls learn best (FAWE, 2010). A girl from the GS explained that “it teaches us even if you don’t get a job or you don’t finish your education you can start doing art and you can find money”; for example home economics teaches them how to

cook and thus they could open a restaurant. The male teacher explained that as well as this subject in support of Girl Child education, the government have reduced the entry grades for Girls to reach in order to move up to Secondary School. He continued to explain that the government reduced the secondary school entry level for girls in order to accommodate for the lower grades that girls achieve as a result of the work they have to do in the home. He stated they “don’t have time to study”, but “the education they receive definitely prepares them for that, even when there are no jobs available. We have some that become teachers out of a hard life”.

It strikes me that the school with the suggested higher pass rates (based on verbal word from the Headteacher, primary evidence was not obtained from the school), and in a wealthier area (based on observation of material wealth of car ownership and house building material), thus indicating that there is more opportunity for pupils to continue in education to secondary school, that of the two schooling options they are trialling the new practical skills subject. This is not to say that the GS do not need the subject as its skills are transferable, but that there is perhaps a greater need for it in the CS.

Fees

The CS teachers described that a barrier to education is financial difficulty, “because the parents cannot afford to get the fee that they require”. From my understanding that CS education is free, and that running costs were kept to a minimum because the school is funded by the community, the notion of the fees being too much surprised me so I asked for the participants to explain this in more detail. Initially there was a delay in the response, almost as if I was not meant to know that the free school was actually not free. The fees cover the pens and books, but other costs to the parents and guardians are the uniforms, shoes, and then the initiation ceremony costs. A teacher explained that for girls, “some of them stop going to school because here we don’t have a high school ... they don’t have the money for them to begin classes or they don’t have nice shoes to compete with others who have money”. For some households “the parents are gone” and it is a child remaining to look after the other children, and in these cases there are not just financial difficulties but also welfare and

shelter issues. When asked if there are a lot of child-headed homes in the area the response was “some”. The CS teachers explained what the likely prospects were for girls who did not complete school and left after Grade 7 being that the ones who don’t get married they become prostitutes and hang around at the local bars. Along the same lines the parents/community members at the CS explained that it would either be a poverty factor due to high school fees or if the family has money then it is smoking and drinking that stops girls from attending school.

The teachers at the GS explained that girls help their parents sell at the market, this is also stated by the girls at the CS. The reasons for them not being in school, as explained by several of the male and female participants was lack of funding, lack of encouragement and lack of knowledge with child-headed homes due to being orphaned (not having the information and resources to continue schooling).

How do communities engage with issues around girls schooling in the two different school models? And how does this influence community perceptions’ of girls’ capabilities, aspirations and girls education?

It was highlighted during FGDs with teachers at both of the schools that parents and community members were sensitised towards girls' education. Although progress was noticed at the GS as the teachers reported the dropout rate for girls had reduced, the CS did not identify whether or not the community sensitisation for girls’ education was working at that school. A teacher at the GS explained that the school was influential in the “sensitisation to the community promoting “Girl Child” education”. The female teacher continued to explain that as a result of the sensitisation. “instead of taking the children for early marriage or maybe the initiation ceremonies which keep them away from school they’d rather take the child to school then those ceremonies or marriage may come after they complete school”. From this it is possible to interpret that the community surrounding the GS were more receptive and proactive towards girls’ education. This in turn indicates a greater access for girls to enter school thus increasing their accessibility to develop their capabilities and aspirations. In comparison, the compound surrounding the CS held onto the initiation ceremonies, a

process that was thought of by one of the boys from the GS as only happening in the villages. The use of the word village is interesting as it clearly sets apart the traditions upheld in the compound around the CS, from the urbanised GS where traditions like initiation ceremonies are no longer a reality.

The teachers at the CS explained how, “Luvales¹⁴ go for initiation ceremonies, boys they go for what they call Mukanda” when they are 9 or 10 years old. The parents from the CS explained that there is a different ceremony for the girls when they reach puberty called “Chisungu, where girls spend 3 months in a house”. It was evident throughout the four FGDs that took place at the CS, and the conversation with the Headteacher, that initiation ceremonies were disruptive for both boys and girls at the school due to the length of time out of school. Initially the parents and community members of the CS only told me about the initiation for boys, to me this shows the community’s stronghold of hierarchy of boys/men over girls/women as it was possibly assumed that I would not want to know about the traditions of girls, or that the initiation for girls was not seen as important as the one for the boys. When discussing with the parents and community members from the CS about early marriages, initially the women answered 18, the legal age for marriage. After further discussion, “it is around 12/13 that some are getting married but usually it is 18 years”. For the girls it can take upto 6 months “preparing this girl to go and be a housewife for someone”. The marriage preparation and initiation ceremony for girls happens “in the compound a lot”. Sadly though, the teachers explained that once this process starts, some girls do not return to school, “some, they are married”. On a positive note however a teacher explains that in the community, “they were not exposed to education, now they have seen the importance of education than keeping them in those homes”, and the initiation ceremonies are now reducing. A negative however is that “because they are not exposed to education ... they don’t see the benefits of someone in that family attending”, other participants added that “they see it as a waste of time”, “they say it’s better you just get married”. The girls who participated from the CS were strongly against this “they don’t like it, they get old fast when they get married quickly”. It appears however, from the research, that in some cases it is the inevitable assumed

¹⁴ One of the 72 Tribes in Zambia.

[parental] capability, a traditional value which is upheld still, “some parents love money too much, some parents after they pass Grade 7 they say go for holiday and before it is time to return to school they are married”. The girls continued to explain that since the Grade 7’s left school a week before the research, 3 girls have been married. There are community groups that help encourage the girls to return to school by “supplying them with books and papers, they help to encourage them to make a future for themselves and to live with people”. The groups promote girls to finish school and college before marriage, but if they are forced into marriage and the girl is able to get help, the Victim Support group can call the police to charge the parents. The boys expressed that there is nothing bad about girls attending school but when completing Grade 7 “the majority they get married and then the others because of financial circumstances, they pass well but because of financial income they end up just stopping school there”. They continued to explain that “early marriages even when divorced don’t return, some of them don’t like school ... alcohol and smoking, there is one example where she got married at 13, she stays there and she smokes and another one she drinks and she is pregnant right now”.

However, a 20 minute walk down one road, at the GS, early marriage and initiation ceremonies were not a problem. When I asked the girls from the GS about traditional ceremonies they explained about Mukanda, but stated that there was no initiation for girls. The girls described that within their community they are expected to “learn how to wash plates, to wash on your own, to do a lot of housework”, and expressed that they did not mind this work. Thinking back to when I was the same age as these participants I can admit that I most certainly would not have wanted to do these chores, the values held by the pupils was very different to my own. This does not mean that either is right or wrong, but as Bourdieu would say, the *habitus* is different (2010). Thus the capability set is also different. What I do question is whether these skills are valued as capabilities in their own right by the girls in the FGD or if they are adapted or assumed capabilities to fit what is expected, as a gendered norm. The reasoning behind this is how the boys described that girls in the compound have a “*duty*” to do the household chores. When asking about the girls in the community near the school, the teachers at the CS explained that “as a girl they should know that they also have to

learn how to cook, how to maintain a home". Throughout the discussion with the parent/community members at the GS, it was apparent that the accepted norm was that the role of the girl is "to be a wife and a keeper of the family" even with the "changing patterns because of education and modern lifestyle" (Male participant). The male participant did explain how the importance of education is getting more equal for girls as well as boys, but that the traditions still hold strong with girls being removed from school to be married, or fall pregnant.

As the teachers from the GS explained, with regards to both early marriages and initiation ceremonies, it was "not at this school, but at some other schools in Zambia that is really a problem". Although the statistics that were supplied to me by the Headteacher do back up that there were no early marriages or dropouts between Grades 1 and 7 that year, I was beginning to find myself questioning data I had been given so far in the research process. When I asked the teachers if there were Women's Groups, and gave the example of Livingstone Women Making a Difference (LIWOMADI) group¹⁵, a female teacher answered "No, we don't have that here". I found this a bit strange as I know from working with a charity in the area that there is a Women's Group called LIWOMADI, and from the beginning of the FGD it was stated that ¾ of the staff at the school lived nearby.

Although unsure whether the following response was a direct link to the GS or a general reference for Livingstone, I have included it as it provides a good contextual information of "the girl" in the community and exemplifies what may be have been happening in the GS compound. The male participant at the GS FGD, explained that for the girls who became pregnant but did not return to school, "it's a turning point, they begin the life of a parent or life of a married person, others even get into prostitution because they have to fend for the child ... others they get into these petty business ventures where they try to sell on the streets". The options seem bleak, but walking around Livingstone town, I did not have to go far before I found women selling fruit and veg either from a stall on the walkway or from carefully balanced bowls upon their head whilst they move to find custom. Almost always there was a baby strapped to the

¹⁵ A Zambian NGO, made up of HIV positive women, the group supports vulnerable women and children affected and infected by HIV/AIDS. Among the projects is a School Development Programme.

back with brightly coloured material cloth. At night, the bars in Livingstone town and the townships are frequented by young women and girls, of whom are often seen leaving early in the night with one man, yet the same female will be seen again later on with a different man. Both my observations here are presumptuous of the actions and backgrounds of the women, and just because they tie in with the male participant's statement does not mean that they are conclusive or necessarily correct. Interestingly the male participant stated that some of the girls who have returned to school after having the baby, fall pregnant again and that this is due to the "other side of life pulling more". Here I interpret, from the comment that follows, that the poverty and unemployment can be a factor in girls falling pregnant. The unreliability of employment outweighs the need to use the money required for education, instead for food and shelter to alleviate poverty. "Simple jobs" with "low social security" are the main sources of employment for Secondary School graduates, but once the women are older their employment opportunities lower, "once they become like my sister here [female participant] their contract is terminated". The laws for employment changed drastically in 2012 with the introduction of minimum wages. For myself, witnessing the changes come into play was both fascinating and soul destroying as many people who were employed without Grade 12 certificates in education were laid off and replaced by staff that had completed school. This highlights how vital the education is in Zambia now for all citizens to increase their capabilities and aspirations in order to achieve functioning in areas of shelter and well-being. A positive twist on this as the female participant explained was that girls, who had dropped out of school for marriage or pregnancy, were beginning to return to education via night school to top up their education "to at least have something". The need to develop is there, and those who can afford to return to education to maximise their potential are doing so.

Even though the attitudes and approaches to girls attending school have changed positively the male parent participant at the GS does acknowledge and provides example of the stronghold that traditions have when it comes to girls and education.

Normally when we have PTA meetings, some of the issues that the teachers raise are absenteeism and find the child is absent, and when the

child is absent then comes to school and the child is asked “where were you absent”, “no I was asked to stay home to look after my siblings while my mother went away to the market and all that”. But the boy will be allowed to [go to school], but because the girl knows how to cook [she stays at home]. (Male, parent/community FGD, GS).

This is also reflected with the CS Parents/community members who were “happy with the girls coming to school and they are happy for them to take care of the kids when they have to go to fields”. However, the GS teachers stated repeatedly that there was not an absenteeism problem. To find out more about the barriers for girls to education, and to find clarity in the different answers I was presented with, I asked more questions to the parent/community members at the GS FGD. The answers were invariably that the education quality is dependent on what you pay for and for girls to get good jobs they need maths and science qualifications which they are not likely to get from the less expensive schools.

The girls from the CS explained that in the community,

people don't, the majority of them don't go to school, they smoke, they drink, at night it is not safe to move because you get attacked and they have rape cases at night as well. And some of them don't have parents so they end up doing what they want. (Girls FGD, CS).

After confirming that there are many child-headed households in the compound, the girls told Rachel that “there are a lot of young prostitutes ... that they enjoy having sex and they love money ... the prostitutes are as young as 12 years, so the same age as she is”. This theme of prostitution was noticeable throughout the FGDs at the CS, the teachers referred to it as the girls leaving school and “patronise” the bars. Personally I found it shocking to hear the pupils discuss prostitution in such an open and ordinary way, it is not a topic that as an adult I feel totally confident talking about, let alone a topic that 11 and 12 year olds would. The girls at the CS explained that sometimes the “girls are taken and forced to smoke it by certain groups”. It was confirmed by the girls that these groups were not lead by a pimp and were separate to the prostitution, it

was “their own personal thing”. I wasn’t convinced that this was separate but felt that this was something that maybe the girls did not understand, either through the translation or because they were still only 12 themselves. The boys from the CS marked that the market is not safe for girls because “when she is on her way back from the market she can find a boy on the way and it’s not safe for the girl”. Rachel translated that the boys continued to say “they can fall pregnant there since there is no safety”. The boys from the CS stated however, that “the girls become prostitutes so that they can have money for break ...they do it at night so that they can have money for school”, to me Rachel (who had translated) said “it’s bad”.

What do girls value in education?

I asked the teachers at the CS what the main reasons that girls attend school are and why it is important to them, I found the response very interesting. A participant explained that “some of them say from their household, they don’t want to be like maybe their parents because they didn’t go to school ... so they want them to excel so that they look after their families when they get a good job”. This is reflected in the girls, as they stated “so that we can be better in our future ... we help our parents, we help old people” (CS). This highlights that one of the values that girls have of education is the ability to later work and earn in order to help support their parents. It is a value that is held throughout both of the schools. Inspirationally, the girls at the GS stated that “if you stay at home you won’t have the knowledge, so if you go to school you will learn enough ... you will become independent ... you get to be free to do many things on your own ... you can go to work”. Essentially the girls are aware that without school they would not have the capability to achieve functioning in independence and work.

What are girls’ aspirations and capability sets?

Aspirations and careers

The CS teachers were very positive that it is now accepted for girls to attend school, and that there are many inspirational women that they aspire to:

Because now they are seeing a lot of women in higher posts, they are seeing women teachers and women headteachers. They also envy that. They are seeing nurses are women, they are encouraged to work hard so that one day they will be like you coming for research. (Female teacher, FGD, CS).

The teachers acknowledged that they talk about careers, and “that last week most of them would say I would want to be a teacher maybe because they are seeing me a teacher, and others themselves want to be a soldier”. When the school does careers day the pupils are asked to dress in the uniform or typical attire of the job they want to do. Although this is good for inspiring and creating aspirations that the girls desire, they are not necessarily reflective of reality (Hart, 2012). This said, dreams are vital for motivation to keep the girls interest in-school with the hope that the parents support the girl more than upholding the traditions with initiation ceremonies and early marriages.

10 years from now the girls at the CS described how they would like to be working after completing college, and that they would like to travel to the UK. I speculate, in as much as I am aware of the impact from personal experience, that the international volunteers have instilled in the pupils a sense of adventure and ideals of careers abroad. Three of the girls expressed that they would like to be nurses, whilst one girl said she wants to be an accountant and the other a soldier. When asked if they could do anything in the world that they wanted to, they explained that they would help their parents. The one thing that would stop them from achieving this would be to marry an uneducated man; “they will be cursed by their parents” (Rachel’s translation). In order for the girls to achieve such ambitions the parents and guardians must “pay attention to them, give them extra attention and encourage them to go to school. If you don’t encourage them to go to school then they won’t achieve their goals, you know, to try to pay their tuition so they stay in school.” The boys from the CS explained that it’s good for the girls to go to school “just in case your parents pass away you have got a future for yourself ... just in case she has got parents that are poor she can help support them”. I asked how the girl would support the family and the

boys said in English “cleaning the house”. When I then asked how the education helped that, the boys said through Rachel, “they get to concentrate more on their future rather than men”. The value of being able to work and support their parents, as outlined previously, is clearly a very strong functioning held by the girls. The reality of the girls achieving the jobs they describe is however, dependent on how long they can stay in school and if they pass their Grade 12 exams. The pull of the more traditional role of housewife was still important as this too is seen as a supporting function that the girls often assume.

Table 6: Future Career Aspirations for Girls

FGD	Community School	Government School
Girls	Nurses, accountant and soldier. Wish to travel/work in the UK.	After attending secondary school as boarders, they wish to study to become a doctor or nurse and work abroad.
Boys	Girls should work in: “offices, shops and banks or as nurses and soldiers”. Boys would like to work as lawyers, soldiers and doctors.	Girls should help provide for their family along with their husband, but focusing on careers such as a nurse, lawyer or housewife. Boys would like to be doctors, an IT specialist and an artist and to work in Japan, America and UK.
Parent/Community Members	teacher, nurse, doctor, office worker/manager	Equal to men and not the “simple ones”
Teachers	“a doctor, a soldier, a nurse or anything”	none discussed.

The GS girls said, that “it is important that we study very hard to achieve our goals” and that nothing would get in their way, but for other girls “it’s like when someone fails, at their homes they call them you failure, then they think even if I study I won’t pass”. When asked if finances would be a problem, they discussed with Rachel who translated that “yes for some of them it’s because of finances, some of them end up stopping where they are”. If the girls could do anything in their life they would help the poor, “go to America become rich come back and when I come back I can help all the poor people, I will remember where I came from when I was young”. Another girl explained that she would “build orphanages, start NGOs”. Both these examples show influence of the meeting international volunteers and researchers. Failing to get a job or not completing university through lack of concentration would be the only things they describe to stop them from achieving their aspirations. I asked the boys from the GS what would stop the girls from achieving these goals and they explained that “because the parents want the boys to win out of the girls ... boys are hardworking”. Other than making themselves chuckle, the boys’ claim resounds the hidden gendered norm of girls lowered status over boys as is evidenced throughout Zambia’s education history (Carmody, 2004; Abdi, Shizha, & Ellis, 2010). It also highlights how easy the barriers are to put up against girls accessing education and thus are left less able to develop their capabilities and aspirations.

When I asked about what jobs the GS parent/community member FGD would like to see girls doing, instead of the “simple ones”, the difference in their individual exposure to society, national and international affairs became apparent. The male participant compared the job roles of women in Botswana and even in the Israeli Army to how the same roles are not seen in Zambia. He continued that the expenses of education in Zambia are disadvantaging women. Throughout the next section of the FGD I became more aware that the male participant was possibly trying to answer the questions with what he thought I wanted to hear as the opinion he had on topics continued to change the more he talked. When I then asked whether the education system was therefore leading women into the specific job roles and if the government’s structure of education would need to change in order to make progress with women and girls, I was surprised with the answer which was contradictory, to an extent, to the

explanation that the male participant had previously said. Instead, it became the mindset of the girl which was at fault for not pursuing education because of marriage, and not the cost of sending the girl to school. The example given was the reasoning that if the girl is successful she won't be able to get a successful man, and then because the man who she marries would be reliant on her, there will be no kids so she will be chased by relatives and community members, or that some women will not marry and will just be unhappy because of their success.

Although I was accustomed to Zambian life, as a female I still found this harsh to hear, I left a pause to see if there was more and that maybe the female participant may comment. Throughout this discussion the female had not said much except a few comments backing up what the male was describing. Breaking the pause the male participant added that aside from what he had given example of, there were successful women that had come from the community. When questioned further the only example that was provided after the male saying that "they can do anything", was that the previous Provincial Minister was female (similar to the role of an MP), and prior to that she was the District Commissioner (similar to the role of a County Councillor in the UK). These were both very significant positions achieved by the females, but this provides key example of where I feel that the participants answer started off by trying to find something that they thought I had wanted to hear.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

The research conducted aimed to investigate and analyse the capabilities and aspirations of *the girl* in an area of Zambia. As a small scale study, the results were exploratory but not for generalisation except within the community involved with the research. Albeit with set-backs, the research was successful in its aim to provide enlightenment into what life for the girl in the selected community is like, what their capabilities and aspirations are, and essentially if they are achievable.

From the FGDs with the girls at both schools, it was clear that they value the opportunities that school can provide for a better future, for *freedom and independence*, and the ability to work and support their parents. The determination that the girls had to attend school was empowering to me. The FGDs with the boys also showed that they understood to an extent the importance of education for girls. The boys at both schools explained that the value for girls of education was mainly so that they can assist parents and not so much for their own personal development.

Many of the career aspirations described by the pupils at both of the schools appeared to be influenced by international volunteers and workers attending the school. The indication of this is supported by the use of travel, working and living abroad as doctors and nurses. The influences of the volunteers may not be in vain as they provide key motivation for the pupils, as Hart exemplifies as being instrumental in aspiration formation (2012). The stumbling block is the aspiration acquisition. Both of the jobs, aside from the travel, are required to have completed schooling. As evidenced in the FGDs, the girl pupils from the Community School are less likely to continue to secondary school due to a combination of fees or early marriage becoming a barrier.

The difference to communities' approach to educating girls at the two schools was varied, with the Community School community still upholding the traditional cultures of initiation ceremonies in early marriages. Although the government School community were still encouraging the domestic chores to be completed by the girls

after school, there was strong opinion that the initiation ceremonies and early marriages did not take place; girls instead were encouraged to pursue education, supported the documented *habitus, capital and field* by Bourdieu (2010).

Although not impacting Policy implication in education in Zambia, the research does highlight areas where the Zambian education system, as well as the culture and traditions in the communities, withheld *the girl* from developing capabilities and aspirations that could aid her personal development of “being independent”, (Girl, FGD, Government School). The future research implications are multiple, but as touched on previously, a great further study from here would be to focus on older pupil participants who have crossed the barriers and entered into secondary education, those who have not attended secondary school and those who have completed secondary school. This would provide a more holistic view of the capability and aspiration development in the Zambian education system, and whether the *free* education really pays off.

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Appendices

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Appendix 1

Zambia development indicators (The World Bank Group, 2013b)

<u>Indicator Name</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2007</u>
Poverty gap at national poverty line (%)			28			
Female headed households (% of households with a female head)						24.3
Population ages 15-64 (% of total)	50.6397858	50.5212135	50.4344368	50.3824043	50.366127	50.3893089
Population ages 0-14 (% of total)	46.7305336	46.8372841	46.912075	46.9515419	46.9552536	46.9198685
Population, female (% of total)	50.1088409	50.1005058	50.0970764	50.0997696	50.1083565	50.1211281
Children (0-14) living with HIV		170000	180000	190000	190000	190000
Children in employment, total (% of children ages 7-14)					34.4	
Children in employment, female (% of female children ages 7-14)					33.3	
Children in employment, male (% of male children ages 7-14)					35.4	
Unemployment, total (% of total labor force)						
Population, total	14075099	13633796	13216985	12825031	12456527	12109620
Poverty headcount ratio at national poverty line (% of population)			60.5			
Poverty headcount ratio at rural poverty line (% of rural population)			77.9			
Poverty headcount ratio at urban poverty line (% of urban population)			27.5			
Prevalence of HIV, total (% of population ages 15-49)		12.5	12.7	12.9	13.1	13.3

Appendix 2

Child Protection Policy

In accordance with the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989, Article 19) and taken from the Child Protection Policy of Save the Children International (2003) the following is to be adhered to throughout the field research undertaken for the Dissertation belonging to Katie Prowse, Masters Student at the Institute of Education, London.

All parties involved in the research and data collection process must sign and agree to the below:

Values, principles and beliefs

- All child abuse involves the abuse of children's rights.
- All children have equal rights to protection from abuse and exploitation.
- The situation of all children must be improved through promotion of their rights as set out in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This includes the right to freedom from abuse and exploitation.
- Child abuse is never acceptable
- We have a commitment to protecting children with/ for whom we work
- When we work through partners, they have a responsibility to meet minimum standards of protection for children in their programmes.

What we will do

We will meet our commitment to protect children from abuse through the following means:
Awareness: we will ensure that all staff and others are aware of the problem of child abuse and the risks to children.

Prevention: we will ensure, through awareness and good practice, that staff and others minimise the risks to children.

Reporting: we will ensure that staff and others are clear what steps to take where concerns arise regarding the safety of children.

Responding: we will ensure that action is taken to support and protect children where concerns arise regarding possible abuse.

In order that the above standards of reporting and responding are met, parties involved will also ensure that they:

- take seriously any concerns raised
- take positive steps to ensure the protection of children who are the subject of any concerns
- support children, staff or other adults who raise concerns or who are the subject of concerns
- act appropriately and effectively in instigating or co-operating with any subsequent process of investigation
- are guided through the child protection process by the principle of 'best interests of the child' listen to and takes seriously the views and wishes of children
- work in partnership with parents/carers and/or other professionals to ensure the protection of children.

Commitment to protect children

- All Parties involved in the research and data collection/analysis will sign up to and abide by the attached code of conduct
- All Parties will have access to a copy of the child protection policy
- Recruitment procedures will include checks on suitability for working with young people
- Induction will include briefing on child protection issues
- Systems will be established by every Party to investigate possible abuse once reported and to deal with it
- Training, learning opportunities and support will be provided by the Katie Prowse to other Parties as appropriate to ensure commitments are met.

How to ensure our commitments above are met

All Parties involved in the research and data collection/analysis must sign up to and abide by this Code of Conduct.

Parties must never:

- hit or otherwise physically assault or physically abuse children
- develop physical/sexual relationships with children
- develop relationships with children which could in any way be deemed exploitative or abusive
- act in ways that may be abusive or may place a child at risk of abuse.
- use language, make suggestions or offer advice which is inappropriate, offensive or abusive
- behave physically in a manner which is inappropriate or sexually provocative
- have a child/children with whom they are working to stay overnight at their home unsupervised
- sleep in the same room or bed as a child with whom they are working
- do things for children of a personal nature that they can do for themselves
- condone, or participate in, behaviour of children which is illegal, unsafe or abusive
- act in ways intended to shame, humiliate, belittle or degrade children, or otherwise perpetrate any form of emotional abuse
- discriminate against, show differential treatment, or favour particular children to the exclusion of others.
- This is not an exhaustive or exclusive list. The principle is that staff should avoid actions or behaviour which may constitute poor practice or potentially abusive behaviour.

It is important for all staff and others in contact with children to:

- be aware of situations which may present risks and manage these
- plan and organise the work and the workplace so as to minimise risks
- as far as possible, be visible in working with children
- ensure that a culture of openness exists to enable any issues or concerns to be raised and discussed
- ensure that a sense of accountability exists between staff so that poor practice or potentially abusive behaviour does not go unchallenged
- talk to children about their contact with staff or others and encourage them to raise any concerns
- empower children - discuss with them their rights, what is acceptable and unacceptable, and what they can do if there is a problem.

In general it is inappropriate to:

- spend excessive time alone with children away from others
- take children to your home, especially where they will be alone with you.

Print Name _____

Signature _____

Date: __/__/____

References:

Save the Children. (2003), Online Resource accessed 01/10/2012:

<http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/content/library/documents/save-children-child-protection-policy>

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. (1989), Convention on the Rights of the Child. Online Resource accessed 01/10/2012:

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>

Appendix 3

Permission Slip - Children

Capabilities, Aspirations and “The Girl” - A Gender Analysis in Rural Zambia.

Research for a Masters Degree Dissertation – Participant Permission Form.

I Katie Prowse request the permission for _____ to partake in my research. He/She has the option to withdraw from this study at any point and without any further questions.

The aim of this research is to explore the capabilities and aspirations of girls who are attending rural Community Schools and Government Basic Schools in Southern Zambia. The research will be focusing on how the learning and school environment, community and social traditions impact the capabilities and aspirations of Grade 7 girls.

I _____ the parent/caregiver give permission for _____ to partake in the research as per the following:

- A classroom observation of a Grade 7 lesson
- A focus group discussion

Date: _____

Parent/Caregiver Signature: _____

Researcher Signature: _____

Appendix 4

Permission Slip - Teachers

Capabilities, Aspirations and “The Girl” - A Gender Analysis in Rural Zambia.

Research for a Masters Degree Dissertation – Participant Permission Form.

I Katie Prowse request the permission for _____ to partake in my research. He/She has the option to withdraw from this study at any point and without any further questions.

The aim of this research is to explore the capabilities and aspirations of girls who are attending rural Community Schools and Government Basic Schools in Southern Zambia. The research will be focusing on how the learning and school environment, community and social traditions impact the capabilities and aspirations of Grade 7 girls.

I _____ the Headteacher give permission for _____ to partake in the research as per the following:

- A classroom observation of a Grade 7 lesson
- A focus group discussion

Date: _____

Headteacher Signature: _____

Researcher Signature: _____

Appendix 5

Consent Form

Capabilities, Aspirations and “The Girl” - A Gender Analysis in Rural Zambia.

Research for a Masters Degree Dissertation – Participant Consent Form.

I have been informed about the purpose of this research	Yes / No
I understand that all the information I provide will be treated as confidential and will be reported anonymously	Yes / No
I understand that I may withdraw from this research at anytime	Yes / No
I agree to take part in one or more of the following : Classroom observation Focus group discussion Interview	Yes / No Yes / No Yes / No
Participant's name: Signature: Date:	
Researcher's name: Signature: Date:	
If you would like a brief summary of the research after completion please put contact details either email or postal address below. English / Tonga (please circle which language you require)	

Appendix 6

Focus Group Discussion questions/guide

Pupils: 1 x girls, 1 x boys,

Hi,

My name is Katie and this is [name of translator] and we are here to learn about how your school affects the things girls want to do and what they choose to do with their future lives. We are looking specifically at choices of girls as for many years they were not allowed in schools and now that they are in school we want to see how things have changed.

Are you happy to be part of this discussion? [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD] This discussion will be one hour long.

A flip chart will be used to record key words from our discussion, if you do not wish to have certain words written on the chart please let the researcher know.

Is it okay to record this discussion? It will only be the researcher who listens to the recording for purposes of the study. Once the recordings have been used for the research the recordings will be destroyed. [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD]

The only exception to us being confidential is if you tell us something that raises concerns in relation to you or another person who is some sort of immediate danger. We then have to mention this to [Senior Headman Simankawa].

Do you have any questions before we start?

If you want to stop at any time, just tell me "stop", you don't have to explain why.

Please do not continue to talk after this session about what is discussed in this group from here on in order to maintain confidentiality. It is important for

Topics:

- As I am new to the area, can you draw me a map of the area?
 - Now can you add on and label the areas that are important for girls?
 - Can you describe to me why these places are important?
 - Now can you highlight areas on the map which are not safe for girls?
 - Can you tell me why these places are not safe?
- Can you tell me about this community?
 - Are there traditions, groups?
- What is it like to be a girl in this community?
 - Do they have social traditions, norms, cultures to abide by?

- Early marriage.
- Initiation to adulthood
- Women's groups?
- How do you and your community feel about girls attending school?
- How does this make girls who do attend school feel?
- What are the main reasons girls attend school?
 - What are the positives and negatives?
 - Why?
- What are the main reasons why girls do not attend school?
- What would you be doing if you were not at school?
- What do you will you do after you finish Grade 7?
- What do you think you will be doing in 10 years time?
 - Is this what you would like to be doing?
 - If you could do anything you wanted with your life what would you do?
 - What stops you from achieving this and how/why?
- If you had attended [opposite school] instead of where you are now that your choices listed above may have changed?
 - Why and how?
- Lets talk about this school, what do you like about it?
 - Teachers – why
 - Location – why
 - Buildings – why
 - Curriculum – why
- Tell me more about the curriculum, what do you learn?
- What are your favourite subjects?
- Are there aspects of rural community life that are stopping girls from achieving what they would like?
 - How does school fit into this?
- Are there any questions?
- Do you have anything else you wish to share with the group?

- We have come to the end of the discussion, but before we part, we are going to play a game:
 - Everyone to stand in a circle, Researcher to use a ball/bean bag to throw to a participant. On receipt of the object the participant must say what they like most about themselves and then throw the object to the next person.
 - Once everyone has said their favourite thing about themselves, they must now say the thing they like most about the person they are throwing the ball too.

Once everyone who wants to participate has, summarise the game and end the FDG.

Appendix 7

Teachers:

Hi,

My name is Katie and this is [name of translator] and we are here to learn about how your school affects the things girls want to do and what they choose to do with their future lives. We are looking specifically at choices of girls as for many years they were not allowed in schools and now that they are in school we want to see how things have changed.

Are you happy to be part of this discussion? [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD] This discussion will be one hour long.

A flip chart will be used to record key words, if you do not wish to have certain words written on the chart please let the researcher know.

Is it okay to record this discussion? It will only be the researcher who listens to the recording for purposes of the study. Once the recordings have been used for the research the recordings will be destroyed. [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD]

The only exception to us being confidential is if you tell us something that raises concerns in relation to you or another person who is some sort of immediate danger. We then have to mention this to [Senior Headman Simankawa].

Do you have any questions before we start?

If you want to stop at any time, just tell me “stop”, you don’t have to explain why.

Please do not continue to talk after this session about what is discussed in this group from here on to maintain confidentiality.

Topics:

- Tell me about this school and the community?
- Can you tell me the history of this school?
 - Who started it
 - When was it started
 - Has there been any interventions form NGO’s or the govt?
 - What curriculum is used
 - What are the classes like here?
 - What infrastructure is there
- What do you like about being a teacher here?
- What do you dislike about being a teacher here?
- What is it like to be a girl in this community?

- Do they have social traditions, norms, cultures to abide by?
 - Early marriage.
 - Initiation to adulthood
 - Women's groups?
- How do you and your community feel about girls attending school?
- How does this make girls who do attend school feel?
- What are the main reasons girls attend school?
 - What are the positives and negatives?
 - Why?
- What are the main reasons why girls do not attend school?
- What do girls who are not in school do?
- What do girls in this community do when they have completed schooling?
 - What options are there?
- As teachers at the school how much do you think this school can influence what girls do with their education?
 - Please can you expand on why and how?
 - What do you as teachers bring to girls' education as choices?
- Are there aspirations that the girls would like to be able to achieve but think that its out of their reach?
 - How and why?
- Are there aspects of rural community life that are stopping girls from increasing their capabilities and aspirations?
 - How does school fit into this?
- Can you tell me what this school brings to the lives of the attending girls? Please also consider the following:
 - Buildings/infrastructure
 - Teaching style
 - Community support
 - Subjects/curriculum
- Are there any questions?
- Do you have anymore questions for me?

Thank you for participating, before we depart can you please tell me what the most important part of your own education is and why?

Appendix 8

Community members/parents:

Hi,

My name is Katie and this is [name of translator] and we are here to learn about how your school affects the things girls want to do and what they choose to do with their future lives. We are looking specifically at choices of girls as for many years they were not allowed in schools and now that they are in school we want to see how things have changed.

Are you happy to be part of this discussion? [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD] This discussion will be one hour long.

A flip chart will be used to record key words, if you do not wish to have certain words written on the chart please let the researcher know.

Is it okay to record this discussion? It will only be the researcher who listens to the recording for purposes of the study. Once the recordings have been used for the research the recordings will be destroyed. [If yes continue, if no let those who do not want to partake leave the FGD]

The only exception to us being confidential is if you tell us something that raises concerns in relation to you or another person who is some sort of immediate danger. We then have to mention this to [Senior Headman Simankawa].

Do you have any questions before we start?

If you want to stop at any time, just tell me “stop”, you don’t have to explain why.

Please do not continue to talk after this session about what is discussed in this group from here on as it may affect the outcomes of the study.

Topics:

- As I am new to the area, can you draw me a map of the area?
 - Now can you add on and label the areas that are important for girls?
 - Can you describe to me why these places are important?
 - Now can you highlight areas on the map which are not safe for girls?
 - Can you tell me why these places are not safe?
- Can you tell me about this community?
 - Are there traditions, groups?
- What is it like to be a girl in this community?
 - Do they have social traditions, norms, cultures to abide by?
 - Early marriage.
 - Initiation to adulthood

- Women's groups?
 - How do you and your community feel about girls attending school?
 - How does this make girls who do attend school feel?
- Please can you share with me how you are involved with the school and how it is run?
- Are you happy with the school as it is or would you like to make changes?
 - If so what changes would you make?
- What are the main reasons girls attend school?
 - What are the positives and negatives?
 - Why?
- What are the main reasons why girls do not attend school?
 - What are the positives and negatives?
 - Why
- What do girls who are not in school do?
- What do girls in this community do when they have completed schooling?
 - What options are there?
 - How and why?
- What should the girls at school and in the community be aspiring to do?
 - Why and how?
- Are there aspirations that they would like to be able to achieve but think that its out of their reach?
 - How and why?
- Are there aspects of rural community life that are stopping girls from increasing their capabilities and aspirations?
 - How does school fit into this?
- What is likely for the girls to do once they finish school?
- Are there any questions?
- Do you have any questions for me?

Thank you for participating, before we depart can you please tell me the most important thing you have learnt in your life and why?

Appendix 9
School Data

	Community School		Government School	
<i>Infrastructure</i>	At the school	Funds Provided by	At the school	Funds Provided by
No. of Classrooms (made of)	5	African Impact (newest) Manchester Uni Care International	14 cement brick	Government and Community
How many required?	10		21	
Staff rooms (made of)	0		1 small room but not allocated staff room	
Staff houses (made of)	0		2	Community 25% Government 75%
How many required?	9+		31	
Pit Latrines : total	7		0	
Girls	2			
Boys	3			
Staff	2			
Other buildings / storerooms / kitchens	Kitchen (doubles as classroom) No storeroom	World Food Program	Small store room Home economics room	
Water source (is it drinking water)	Mono pump and tap (dry)		Tank water Borehole/tap (safe)	
Electricity (what used for)	Prepared for electricity in the new block but not connected to mains		Yes – classroom lights, headteacher laptop, cooking, home economics	Govt grants and community
Mobile network	yes		yes	
Nearest RHC	4km		2km	

Equipment	Community School		Government School	
	At the school	Funds Provided by	At the school	Funds Provided by
Chairs/desks/benches (how many required)	Sufficient for classrooms	NGO for 2 room Govt the rest	Desks are enough	Govt
Text Books for pupils (how many required)	Not enough, only 1-15 per class		Not enough by far, some not even supplied	Govt & Local Supplements 10:1 (pupils:book)
Text books and curriculum resources for teachers. (how many required)	They have			
Curriculum taught (eg MOE, SPARK)	MOE Extra/co-curricula: sports etc		MOE: Examinable and extra curricula: Dance and drama	
Other types of curriculum/interventions involved in what pupils learn? Eg USAID. Explain how?	Did have a food garden but the Elephants destroyed it		no	
Does the school have Pens, exercise books etc for pupils? (what do they use if not enough)	At times, otherwise they supply themselves		Pupils supplement	
Blackboards and chalk per class (what do they use if no blackboards)	Yes		All have	
What clubs does the school run?	Usual ones plus Art		Anti AIDS Chongola Wildlife Redcross Wildlife Subject clubs	Teachers and volunteers from the community support
Sports Facilities	Football and netball		Field but no fence so get	

			trespassers	
Other resources, eg drums and musical instruments, woodcraft, garden, science equipment	Drums only		Drums, Tools, Subject equipment	
Are there any computers? How many and how used?	None		Not for pupils, only 1 that was not functioning (Headteacher was using his laptop)	

	Community School		Government School	
<i>Teachers</i>	At the school	Funds Provided by	At the school	Funds Provided by
How many: total	9		33	
Male	1		8	
Female	8		25	
What is the age range of teachers?	30-50		27-42	
How are they paid? (if not paid what is the arrangement?)		Govt		Govt
Qualifications: Teacher Training completed (Qual.)	Diploma/degrees		Certificates, diplomas, degrees	
Have any had extra training in counselling and guidance?	Headteacher (1 Female)	Self-sponsored	1 female	Government College in Luansha
Have any had extra training on gender issues?	0		0	
Where do the teachers come from?	All within Livingstone		Originally from:	

Please list different areas and whether urban or rural home base.	(most based in compound near to the Government School)		Lusaka Copper Belt Eastern Most are from Southern Province Now live within Livingstone (not all locally)	
What is the main language of instruction in the classroom?	Chitonga (pupils speak in Nyanja a lot too)		English, Chitonga	
What different teaching techniques are used to teach?			Teacher exposition Q&A Projects and Presentation	
Is there a PTA/PCSC?	PCSC		PTA	
How many members? Male or female?	14 M = 9 F = 5		Exec Committee = 11 M = 7 F = 4	
How often do they meet?	1 x a month		1 x a term or more if required	
What do they do for the school?	Don't raise funds but offer labour and materials for free.		Raise monies for construction.	7.5ZMK Million as income 128ZMK Million as expenditure

General	Community School	Government School
How far do pupils travel to get to school?	100metres to 5km – all walk	10km – parents move further away and still send their children to school. Taxis or own transport is used.
How much do parents pay per pupil per month?	10,000ZMK per term	Each family pays 45,000 per term rather than per child
If they cannot pay what happens?	Remind parents but remain in school	Little to do as pupils cannot be taken out of school to fetch the money from parents due to child rights.
Is there a student council? If so what do they do?	Yes, 15 pupils – they protect student rights. Also Prefects who regulate the pupils and discipline	Both council and prefects. They need more training on roles, workshops on how to improve life for pupils via rules and discipline.
Is there a Gender policy? If so how is it monitored?	No	Need to work on it
Is there an HIV/AIDS policy If so how is it monitored?	Yes	Yes, national policy.

Appendix 10 Community School Pupil Statistics

Pupil Enrolment Figures Year 2012

Grade	Male / OVC		Female / OVC		Total / OVC	
1	27	1	16	2	43	3
2	21	3	25	1	46	4
3	17	3	20	5	37	8
4	15	4	15	5	30	9
5	18	8	20	5	38	13
6	13	1	10	3	23	4
7	9		9		18	
Pre sch.	12		18		30	
Total	132	20	133	21	265	41

Drop out reasons

How many girls drop out due to:	Amount	Grade range	Age range	How many return to school?
Pregnancy	0	/	/	/
Marriage	0			
Initiation ceremonies / coming of age	0			
Other: (please list) Don't want to attend	1	7		

Pass rates for Grade 7 Pupils Community School (as supplied by the school)

Year	% girls	% boys	Total %
2011	100	95	95
2010	53	47	100
2009	100	90	93
2008	100	85	92

Appendix 11 Government Primary School Pupil Statistics

Pupil Enrolment Figures year 2012

Grade	Male	Female	Total
1	51	45	96
2	48	65	113
3	62	49	111
4	54	63	117
5	73	64	137
6	61	96	157
7	n/a	n/a	n/a
8	47	61	108
9	53	54	107
Total	449	497	946

Special Education Unit: 1 girl and 1 boy

Drop out reasons

How many girls drop out due to:	Amount	Grade range	Age range	How many return to school?
Pregnancy	2	9	Not specified	0
Marriage	0			
Initiation ceremonies / coming of age	0			
Other (please list)	0			

Pass Rates for Grade 7

Could not be supplied by the school.