Exploring Zambian girls' experiences of secondary education and the barriers encountered in rural schools: A case study of Chilanga and Kafue Districts

Elizabeth Mulenga Mbewe

Doctor of Philosophy

University of York

Centre for Women's Studies

September 2020

Acknowledgement

I would like to begin by thanking God the Almighty for making it possible for me to take up this research and for guiding me throughout the course of my studies.

I offer my sincerest gratitude to my Co-Supervisors, Professor Victoria Robinson and Professor Vanita Sundaram, who both supported me throughout my thesis with their patience and knowledge whilst giving me the freedom to exercise my intellectual capabilities. Your contributions, detailed comments and insight have been of great value to me. You were always there for me whenever I needed support both intellectually and emotionally. I greatly attribute the level of my PhD degree to their encouragement and tireless efforts, without which, this thesis would not have been completed. I cannot wish for better or caring supervisors than the two.

My heartfelt thanks also go to Dr. Eleanor Brown and Professor, Stevi Jackson who served as Chairpersons of the Thesis Advisory Panel, Dr Ann Kaloski-Naylor, Dr.Rachel Alsop and all the other Lecturers in the Centre for Women's Studies Department that provided me with useful insights during the development of the research proposal as well as giving me feedback on the data collected from the field. My special thanks also go to the Women' Studies Administrators that served during the entire period of my study at University of York.

I am indebted to the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission for giving me an opportunity to benefit from the full scholarship without which, it would have been impossible to study in the United Kingdom. I am equally indebted to Forum for African Women Educationalist (FAWE) for representing me as the Awarding Body for the scholarship.

My deepest thanks also go to my colleagues from the Ministry of General Education in Zambia, Boniface Tembo, Clara Chanda, Vanice Mwiya, Exhilda Gondwe and Vincent Zgambo, including the participants and staff of the two case study schools and staff of the Districts

Declaration

The work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of York. The work is original except were indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree.

.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

This thesis explores girls' experiences of secondary education including barriers they encounter in two rural districts of Chilanga and Kafue, Zambia. Official government documents show that more girls dropped out of school and few of them complete secondary education especially in rural schools. Research in the past two decades in low income countries including Zambia, have mainly focused on gender parity of educational attainment, neglecting the nature of learners' educational experiences and of the multiple influences on their aspirations and ability to achieve an education they value. I, therefore, explore how girls experience secondary education in rural schools. Methodically, I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with fourteen girls, five school managers and six teachers, held focus group discussions with fourteen Parent/Teachers' Association members and eight District Education Officers and administered questionnaires among 28 girls, 5 school managers and 6 teachers from the two case study schools. Drawing from their narratives, I show that adequate physical infrastructure besides menstrual hygiene facilities does adversely affect girls' motivation to value their education. I further illustrate that equal academic achievement between girls and boys in school does not inevitably translate into attainment of gender equality as demonstrated by girls' negative perceptions about schools. The unsafe school environment for girls, compounded by the lack of gender responsive teaching, inadequate physical infrastructure, and meagre remuneration with poor housing for teachers, are limiting factors to full attainment of gender equality in secondary education. The thesis concludes by proposing a set of approaches for enhancing rural girls' secondary education.

<center>**Chapter One**</center>

<center>**Introduction**</center>

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information that specifies the background and justification for undertaking research on girls' secondary education in Zambia. I then discuss the geographical, settlement patterns, agriculture, economic and cultural profile of Zambia. This is because understanding experiences and views of girls' schooling requires knowledge and appreciation of the local conditions or circumstances that influence and shape participation. I further describe the structure of the thesis followed by an account of the education and re-entry policies that have been established by the government through the Ministry of Education, to guide the implementation in Zambian schools. subsequently, a discussion on the development of girls' education and interventions germane to the research is provided. The chapter also covers issues that affect girls of secondary school age including the prevalence of national fertility rates of child marriage in Zambia. This includes a summary of the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education into the school curriculum.

1.2 Background

This thesis is framed by looking at the rewards of education to girls and the challenges they encounter as they attend and participate in school. Educated girls and women have greater confidence and freedom to make decisions that affect their lives (Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). Hence, they are better equipped to challenge the cultural imperative that women belong in the home, raising children and doing the chores. Education empowers young women to think beyond the cultural norms and pursue their dreams of a better life. Furthermore, girls with higher levels of education are also less likely to have children at an early age and when they do, their offsprings are guaranteed of good health (McCrary and Royer, 2011). Besides children's health being attained, research further suggests that educated mothers facilitate an intergenerational positive impact of education on their children in society (Kings and Winthrop, 2015; Sutherland, 2015).

<center>1</center>

To realise the benefits to girls' education like those mentioned above, several treaties and declarations have been disseminated. The first one is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which provides that "everyone has the right to education" (United Nations General Assembly, 1948[1], Article 26). The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 1989) include "the most comprehensive sets of legally enforceable commitments concerning both rights to education and to gender equality" (UNESCO, 2003: 25). 173 countries ratified CEDAW by 2003 and CRC has been ratified by almost all the countries of the world (UNESCO, 2003). The Dakar Framework for Action in 2000 for achieving Education for All (EFA) was reaffirmed by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the United Nations in the same year. Both the Dakar Framework and the MDGs include time-bound targets such as the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary schooling by 2005 and aims to achieve gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to, and achievement in, basic education of good quality. The 2000 Millennium Development Goals set the elimination of gender disparity in secondary education by 2015 as one of their major goals (UNESCO, 2014).

While there has been an increase in secondary enrolment in Sub-Sahara Africa, so too have gender disparities in accessing secondary education. Sub-Saharan Africa (including Zambia) has the world's lowest female secondary enrolment rate, with wide variations among countries (UNICEF, 2019[2]). For instance, girls' gross enrolment secondary education rate exceeds 100 percent in South Africa versus 12 and 12 percent in the Central African Republic and Niger respectively (UNECA, 2017).

Furthermore, research in the past two decades, indicates that more attention has been paid on improving gender parity of educational attainment by low-income countries, measured primarily through exam scores and years of schooling completed (Aikman and Rao, 2012). However, some critiques of this educational focus, argue that it neglects the nature of their educational experiences and of the multiple influences on their aspirations and ability to

---

[1] More information found at: https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/
[2] More information is available at: https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/secondary-education/

achieve an education that is valued by the learners (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2007; Rao, 2010). It is equally important to note that achievement of gender parity between girls and boys in educational attainment is not a guarantee to the attainment of gender equality in education. Hence, this study is exploring the experiences of girls and the perceptions of teachers, school managers and parents in relation to secondary education. It is envisaged that engaging the participants to share their views will lead to establishing girls' experiences of education in the two case study schools. The use of a qualitative study method has been considered due to its advantage of digging into traces of conceptualised meanings and probing research participants' perceptual stances.

1.3 Structure of the research

Chapter one begins with an introduction to the study and then discusses the background of secondary in Zambia. It then discusses the rationale of the study which provides an account of the justification for the study. The geographical aspect including the country's population and culture are also briefly discussed. In addition, the education and re-admission policies as well as the structure of the education system is discussed. This is followed by the historical development of gender inequality in the education system in Zambia. It also discusses the status of adolescent girls, the prevalence of early marriage among adolescents and the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education, aspects that are important for this study.

Chapter two explores the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. It includes a review of the human capital, rights based, and capability approaches to education. It draws from the schools' gender regime, social role, and cultural capital theories to understand, explain and illuminate the qualitative data generated in two co-education secondary schools. Gender Regime theory assists in thinking about the structural and contextual issues raised by the study; Social Role theory helps in thinking about how the respondents are socialised into the context while the theory of Cultural Capital helps to think about how those respondents operate within the context. Furthermore, the chapter discusses girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa, and approaches that have been considered to enhance the education of girls

In the third Chapter, the entire process of the research and the methods used is examined, including the fieldwork exercise that was conducted in two co-education secondary schools in Chilanga and Kafue (case study districts) in Lusaka Province of Zambia. This chapter also covers reflection on the overall process and choices and decisions that emerged during my fieldwork. With regards to Chapters four to six, the analysis of the findings of the study is presented. Chapter Four focuses on girls' experiences of secondary education, in which I discuss and analyse how the gender responsiveness of the school physical infrastructure and the school environment make it conducive for learning for both girls and boys. I explore girls' views in relation to their understanding of secondary education and include investigations on student-teacher relationships, their perceptions of teachers' expectations of their academic performance, their views about sexuality education. In chapter five, I explore the education personnel and parents and Parent/Teachers' Association members' perceptions of girls' secondary education. The education staff include teachers, school managers, district education officers, parents of girls enrolled at the school and representatives of the Parents/Teachers' Associations. I analyse school managers' and teachers' views on the differences in the way girls learn compared to boys. In chapter six I analyse the barriers perceived by all the participants, which hinder girls' schooling, and explore ways in which they dealt with them. In chapter seven, I discuss and analyse the key findings, followed by the research's contribution to knowledge, policy recommendations, future research, limitations and reflections and end with conclusions of the thesis. I now move to discuss the developments of girls' secondary education in Zambia.

1.4 Rationale

As a woman, born and grown up in Zambia, my passion to pursue enhancement of girls' schooling builds on my masters which was focusing on access and quality of poor girls at primary level (Mbewe, 2003). Besides, it is linked to my own educational background as well as professional experience. You may wonder how my educational and professional backgrounds are linked to this focus. I can explain this interest starting with my life history. I have personally been supported by my family through primary and secondary education. Although my parents had humble educational qualifications, they supported the family that is my sisters, brothers and me by taking us to reputable schools. Specifically, I did my primary

and secondary schooling at a Catholic School because my parents believed in good character building and hence supported me to enrol and attend the religious school. While attending school I did not encounter any form of abuse from neither the teaching personnel nor the other students and therefore took good quality education for granted. My completion of secondary schooling led to several opportunities and experience in my professional work later in life which made me have great value for education, and not to take it for granted.

Upon successfully acquiring a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Early Childhood Education, I was privileged to be employed by CARE International[3] in Zambia as an Education Coordinator for Community Schools. As an employee of CARE, I was involved in coordinating the piloting of community schools for the less privileged in society. It is from this experience coupled with religious practice from a Catholic school that I acquired the passion to help those who are disadvantaged due to socio-economic and gender status for example girls in rural secondary schools in Zambia. I also observed at the time of my engagement with CARE that girls were already categorised as a disadvantaged group due to cultural practices especially in less privileged communities. I began to appreciate the value of contributing to quality lives of less privileged persons through facilitating acquisition of knowledge and skills that transformed their lives. I realized that education was important as it equipped one with knowledge and skills to assist other persons in life.

The concept of community schools was initiated because the government in Zambia could not provide enough schools to meet the high demand as well as provide schools to children in remote rural areas of the country. As education for children could not wait, the government introduced a policy to allow other stakeholders such as CARE International to support the introduction of 'Community Schools' or 'self-help' schools initiated by community members. Indeed, the thought that education cannot wait as it is a right for every citizen, including personal benefits strengthened my attitude towards supporting others to get an education. In dealing with the less privileged community members who included children and their families, I noted then, that girls were categorised among the marginalised groups. This situation

---

[3] CARE International is a relief, non-governmental development organization, whose main objective is to improve the lives of less privileged in society by supporting them in developmental activities.

strengthened my desire to focus on girls' education. Consequently, I pursued a Master of Arts Degree in Women, Gender and Development to effectively support girls' education.

Later I was recruited by Forum for African Women Educationalist Zambian Chapter (FAWEZA) in 2005, as a FAWE Attached Technical Assistant Programme Officer for FAWEZA National Chapter in Zambia. Hence, I got involved in building the capacity of the chapter members and personnel by organizing training of staff members in skills for transforming an ordinary school into a gender responsive school environment (school suitable for both girls and boys). Skills imparted to the members and participants included: gender responsive school management; consultation and stakeholders consensus building on a shared vision for gender responsive schools; proposal writing and resource mobilisation; assessment of schools for gender responsiveness physically, academically and socially; mobilisation of community towards provision of gender responsive infrastructure; gender responsive teaching methodologies and teaching and learning materials; guidance and counselling; networking with the MOE at all levels - national, regional, district; empowerment of girls in life skills, including protection against HIV/AIDS; analysis of policy documents for gender responsiveness (Education Bill, Budgetary Allocation, etc.); and project coordination, monitoring and evaluation.

My academic and work experience allowed me to reflect on various issues including the importance of education for future employment opportunities, the need for parents to support secondary level education not only for their sons but daughter as well. Thus, the need to support the less privileged in society. The latter was also because as a Christian who went to a Catholic School, I learnt the importance of supporting the needy persons in society such as the marginalised girls living in rural communities of a developing country like Zambia. With this work and personal experience, I am optimistic that with secondary education, is likely to increase rural girls' opportunities for better quality of life. I therefore feel the need to continue supporting this area of focus at PhD level.

1.5 Girls' secondary education: The case of research in Zambia

The wider considerations of this study include a concern with the rural girls' experience of secondary education, the implications of this to the attainment of educational goals in Zambia. Specifically, the study sets out to explore the experiences of girls, and perceptions of teachers, school managers, parents, and district education officers in relation to motivations and barriers to girls' secondary education. As stated, to earlier, Zambia is part of Sub-Saharan Africa region with poor enrolment ratios among girls at secondary school level (MoE, 2016a; United Nations, 2015). Remarkable progress towards gender equity in primary schooling, where the girl-to-boy ratio shifted from 0.90 in 1990 to 0.99 in 2013, is undermined by the drop in the secondary education gender ratio, which fell from 0.90 to 0.84 during the same period (UNICEF, 2015). This is confirmed by the Ministry of General Education's 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin (pg. 21) which indicates enrolment rates of 30.5% for boys and 25.7% for girls in 2015 countrywide (MoE, 2016a). It further shows enrolment rates for boys at 26.5% and 24.3% for girls, reflecting percentages in relation to the population of males and females that are supposed to be in school.

Furthermore, the gender parity index provides a gloomy picture of Zambia too, as the Educational Statistical Bulleting reveals that the Gender Parity Index (GPI)[4] for grades 8 – 12 (the entire secondary level) increased from 0.84 (1.1 denotes boys and girls are at par, 1.0 denotes boys are more in number) in 2015 to 0.86 in 2016, still shows that more boys than girls were enrolled in secondary school. The UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report (2015) also confirms the prevalence of gender disparities to the disadvantage of girls, in majority of Sub-Saharan African countries (UNESCO, 2015b). The report further states that most countries failed to eliminate gender inequalities by 2012 at secondary school level. In Zambia, for instance, girls dropped out of school more than double the rate of boys in grade 7[5] and three

---

[4] The Gender Parity Index (GPI) is a socioeconomic index usually designed to measure the relative access to education of males and females. This index is released by UNESCO. In its simplest form, it is calculated as the quotient of the number of females by the number of males enrolled in a given stage of education (primary, secondary, etc.). A GPI equal to one signifies equality between males and females. A GPI less than one is an indication that gender parity favours males while a GPI greater than one indicates gender parity that favours females (Unstats.un. org., 2019).

[5] Grade 7 is the highest level in Primary School in Zambia, at which students have to sit for government centrally set exams to transit to Secondary School.

times the rate of boys in grade 11[6] in 2013–14 (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). Girls begin to be disadvantaged at secondary school level, especially in rural areas of the country. Girls are disadvantaged by 7%, with the worst disparities (14%) in rural areas of some provinces of Zambia namely Luapula, North-Western, Northern and, surprisingly, Lusaka a more urban area, where the capital city of Zambia is situated, (UNICEF, 2014).

The gender inequalities in Zambia are not limited to education but have regularly been an open feature in all areas of human endeavour, social, economic, and political. Hence, it is vital to seek redress of the differential educational experience of girls in Zambian secondary schools as a broad range of issues in the education system are gender related. It is also necessary to consider the nature of gender differences in the schooling experience of girls as this will result in exploring hindrances to their schooling and determine the appropriate quality needed for their education (Aikman and Rao, 2012).

Fewer studies have been done that go beyond focusing on measurement of exam results and consider the diversity of contexts in which schools operate and girls and boys live. Further, the need to focus on rural girls' education includes the recognition of Mwanza's (2015) claim in her study on Zambian schools, that parents in rural communities do not attach importance to the education of girls. It is theorised that poor, rural families with many children often do not choose to spend the little money they have to pay school expenses for their girl-children (Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006). In addition, assessments by various theorists including the government in Zambia (GRZ, 2008; Mwanza, 2015), suggest that attitudes and beliefs obtaining in patriarchal systems of society in some parts of the country that rate men as superior to women, adversely affect how men regard women especially when it comes to equal access to education. Hence, it appears, girls in rural schools are disadvantaged by poverty besides the cultural issues, requiring other strategies to address their needs.

The above situation is therefore of great concern, as education is a right for both girls and boys. One wonders what is negatively affecting the rural girls' completion rate at secondary level of

---

[6] Grade 11 is the fourth highest secondary level in the Zambian education system

8

their education despite the measures that the government is implementing. What are the factors hindering girls' secondary education and how are they interlinked? Initially I set out to focus on child marriage, however, as I began to review literature on girls' education, I realised that the issues affecting girls were more complex than this. I also observed from numerous studies that education for girls is an effective tool to end child marriage and other harmful vices that hinder girls' learning (Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006; UNGEI and GPE, 2014; Walker, 2013). Therefore, I decided to focus my research rural girls' secondary education, as more research is required to identify and recommend theories that are most useful to analyse girls and others' schooling experiences. In the next section, the background facts on Zambia are outlined.

1.6 Background facts on Zambia

Zambia, officially the Republic of Zambia, is a landlocked country in south-central Africa (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020). It neighbours comprise the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the north, Tanzania to the north-east, Malawi to the east, Mozambique to the southeast, Zimbabwe and Botswana to the south, Namibia to the southwest, and Angola to the west. The capital city is Lusaka, located in the south-central part of Zambia. The nation covers 743,398 square kilometres of land and 9,220 square kilometres of water, making it the 39th largest nation in the world with a total area of 752,618 square kilometres (World Atlas, 2019). The country became an independent state in 1964, after gaining its sovereignty from The United Kingdom (World Atlas, 2019). See map of Zambia below:

Figure 1: Map of Zambia (showing 10 Provinces including Lusaka where the two Districts of this study have been drawn)

Source: https://zambiareports.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Zambian-Map.jpg

Zambia is Africa's second-largest copper producer achieved middle-income country status in 2011, during a decade (2004-2014) of impressive economic growth, averaging 7.4% per year (World Bank Group, 2019). However, growth only benefitted a small segment of the urban population and had limited impact on poverty. Fifty-eight percent of Zambians in 2015 earned less than the international poverty line of $1.90 per day (compared to 41% across Sub-Saharan Africa), and three quarters of the poor live in rural areas (World, Bank Group, 2019).

The country is divided into two spheres based on formal and informal economies. Urban Zambia is associated with the formal economy, but most of the rural areas are heavily involved in the informal sector and accommodate many of the identified vulnerable groups (Zambia–United Nations Sustainable Development Partnership Framework, 2016-2021). Zambia has a Gender Inequality Index (GII) value of 0.517, ranking it 125 out of 160 countries in the 2017 index. With regards to representation in parliament, 18.0 percent of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 39.2 percent of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 52.4 percent of their male counterparts. For every 100,000 live births,

224 women die from pregnancy related causes; and the adolescent birth rate is 82.8 births per 1,000 women of ages 15-19 (UNDP, 2018).

1.6.1 Settlement patterns, Agriculture, Religion and Culture

In Zambia, over half the population lives in the areas along the Line of Rail. The movement of people from the rural areas into the towns was particularly marked after independence In 1964, because of the removal of colonial restrictions on movement from rural to urban areas (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020). Since that time rural-to-urban migration has been the predominant form of movement. The proportion of the population living in urban centres rose steadily for much of the 20th century, and in the early 2000s more than one-third of the population was urban. Government efforts to reverse the flow have had only limited success. More than one-tenth of the population lives in the Copperbelt to the north of the capital, but the greatest concentration of people is in Lusaka itself, where some one-tenth of the population resides.

Figure 2: Distribution of Urban and rural population in Zambia

Zambia urban-rural (2017)

urban 41.8%

rural 58.2%
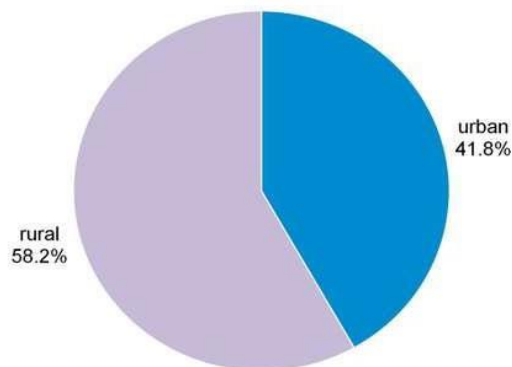
© Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.

Zambia: Urban-rural

Source: (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020)

Life within urban centres is not standardised and has become increasingly demarcated along class lines (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020). The researchers found many of those who live in the shanties that encircle the cities have crafted a living out of very little. They add that there are numerous cottage industries and walking salespersons offering a variety of goods are visible on the streets. Other vendors prefer to set up shop in the network of lively markets, which are colourful and fragrant with the smell of cooking food and serve as social meeting places as well as sites of commerce. For others, city life has a markedly different flavour. The wealthier members of society, often the inhabitants of lower-density residential areas, enjoy the benefits of globalization and advances in technology and communications. Zambia's transition to a free-market economy led to an increase in the trappings of modernity, and the availability of supermarket chains, furniture and electronics stores, and other establishments greatly expanded. However, these goods and amenities continue to be accessible only to expatriates and the small proportion of locals who can afford to shop in such places.

In Zambia, agricultural pursuits employ most of the country's labour force (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020). The country has a vast land and natural resource base; although only about one-sixth of the country's arable, land is under cultivation. Farms range in size from household farms to large commercial farms. Smallholder farmers use hand hoes and few external inputs, and they mainly produce food crops such as corn (maize), sorghum, millet, cassava (manioc), and groundnuts (peanuts). Smallholders also grow much of Zambia's cotton, which is used for the local textile industry as well as for export.

Zambia is predominantly a Christian country, although few have totally abandoned all aspects of traditional belief systems (Robert, Hobson, and Williams, 2020). The first Christian missions arrived before colonial rule, and the growth of adherents was assisted by the schools that they established. More than three-fourths of Zambians identify as Protestant, while Roman Catholics make up one-fifth of the population. The growth of fundamentalist churches has been particularly noticeable since independence. The Asian community is predominantly Hindu, the rest mainly Muslim. There are relatively few Muslims among the African population.

With regards to culture, in Zambia, there exists a deep-rooted notion of an unequal gender relationship in which men are superior to women (JICA, 2016). This biased view regarding gender equality originates from not only traditional cultural and social norms but also from the dual structure of statutory law and customary law[7]. Rights, which are supposed to be protected under statutory law, are not necessarily observed and women bear unfair treatment in terms of child marriage, unequal distribution of property and the like (JICA, 2016). Hence, as country informed by patriarchy norms and beliefs, Zambia's education system has not been spared (Evans, 2014).

Although the majority of the 73 tribal groups are matrilineal[8], the lineage above has little influence on gender roles. This is evident from the large numbers (264) of male chiefdoms, compared to only 22 female chiefdoms in the country (JICA, 2016). Hence, in most Zambian tribes the socialisation process trains girls through various practices to aspire to become wives, mothers and care givers who are expected to be submissive (Evans, 2014; JICA, 2016). On the other hand, boys are groomed to take up leadership roles and become providers. As a result, men tend to dominate in decision making at household and community level, as well as being in control of family and community assets with women being in subordinate positions with limited powers.

Hence, besides the influence of western education in relation to male dominance on society, Zambia has been culturally, male dominated in all walks of society, from the formal employment sector to the basic family unit (JICA, 2016). Consequently, gender stereotyped education (biased on sex lines) leading to lack of investment in girls' education has perpetrated male dominance among citizens (Committee on the CEDAW 13th Session Zambia Report, 1994). For example, up until 1994, families were still not ready to invest in the education of their daughters as they were for their sons. This situation has changed in some parts of Zambia although not much in some rural parts of the country. I further discuss how issues of patriarchy have affected girls' education in other chapters of the study. In the next section, I discuss the

---

[7] One problem of the dual league system is as explained later in this chapter under child marriage.
[8] Meaning that tribal heritage is passed on by the mother, while a few are patrilineal (Embassy of Sweden, 2008)

education policy and the structure of education in Zambia. In addition, the re-entry policy that allows girls that fall pregnant while attending school is also debated.

1.7 Education Policy

In recognition of the importance of women's contribution to national development, the government of Zambia developed a National Education Policy document in 1996 entitled 'Educating our Future'. The policy document specifically states in its mission:

> *"To guide the provision of education for all Zambians so that they are able to pursue knowledge and skills, manifest excellence in performance and moral uprightness, defend democratic ideals, and accept and value other persons on the basis of their personal worth and dignity irrespective of gender, religion, ethnic origin, or any other discriminatory characteristic." (Ministry of Education (MoE, 1996: p.1)*

The policy further includes a specific chapter (7), which focuses on 'Gender and Education' (Ministry of Education, 1996: 62). The specific objectives of government include i. achieving gender balance in educational institutions and within the educational system; ii. Ensuring that female students are integrated with their counterparts as equal beneficiaries and participants at all levels of education; iii. Eliminate factors that hinder access, progression and accomplishment of girls in schools and colleges and iv. Take measures to encourage participation of girls in science and technology at all levels of education. Hence, this provides a guide to this research later when analysing the interventions in the two case study schools. The education policy therefore provides a guide in the implementation of programmes in the Education sector. In addition, there are other subsector policies guiding the sector such the Re-entry Policy (1997) aimed at ensuring the return to school of girls that get pregnant while attending school (Mitchell et. al., 1999).

The government has further implemented various initiatives alongside non-governmental organizations to eliminate gender disparities in the education system (Mitchell et. al., 1999). They constitute inclusion of a chapter in the 'Education Policy' entitled 'Gender in Education' which outlines the situation of girls and women regarding education and training and discusses factors that affect enrolment, retention, and performance of girls. Hence, to make the provisions of gender in education a reality, the government under the Ministry of General education in collaboration with UNICEF, spearheaded the 'Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE).

The Zambian education system has a 7-5-4 structure, namely 7 years at primary school, 2 and 3 years at junior and higher secondary school respectively, and 4 years at university for undergraduate degrees (Scholaro pro[9]). The official primary school entrance age is seven, although private schools are more flexible in their admissions and may allow children to begin school earlier. See figure 3 below of the education structure:

---

[9] Available at: https://www.scholaro.com/pro/Countries/Zambia/Education-System

Figure 3: Education structure in Zambia

Source: (Scholaro, nd)[10]

The above structure(Figure 3) represents the structure that is currently in force in all government schools in the country (MoE, 2016). Primary education starts from grades 1 and goes up to 7 and is divided into two sections: lower (grades 1-4) and middle (grades 5-7) basic education. Pupils are expected to complete primary education by the age of 14. Secondary education is divided into two cycles: junior secondary, or the upper stage of basic education, covering two years (grades 8 and 9); and the three-year senior secondary cycle (grades 10-12). Junior secondary ends with the pupils sitting their Junior Secondary School Leaving Examination (JSSLE) usually referred to as the Grade 9 exams. The Grade 9 or JSSLE is an examination that is administered to candidates for them to proceed to high school. Students, who pass the examination, progress to Grade 10. The Certificate obtained at this level is a pre-requisite for eligibility to register for examination at Grade 12. In other words, the JSSLE Certificate is a requirement for a candidate to undertake registration for Grade 12 examination [Examinations Council of Zambia. – Available at http://www.examscouncil.org.zm/]. At the end of grade 12, students sit the School Certificate Examination, which is also used for selection for the university and colleges. According to the 2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin,

---

[10] https://www.scholaro.com/pro/Countries/Zambia/Resources

the completion rates for Lusaka Province (where both districts Chilanga and Kafue of this research are located) of students at grade 12 was 43.9 per cent for boys and 27.6 per cent girls. It is therefore important to note that fewer girls compared to boys get to Grade 12.

1.7.1 Re-admission Policy for pregnant girls in schools

In an effort to ensure girls in Zambia enjoy their right to education in the same way as their male counterparts, the Zambian government launched the Re-admission Policy in 1997 to enable girls that fell pregnant while attending school to go back after delivery (Mitchell et. al., 1999; Mwansa, 2011). The aim of this policy is to implement measures that will help prevent the exclusion of young mothers from furthering their education. In the event of a girl being forced out of school due to pregnancy, the Ministry of Education has provided policy guidelines[11] to assist schools and other stakeholders such as parents and guardians to ensure that the girl is enabled to complete her education (Ministry of Education, FAWEZA and UNICEF, 2004).

However, several studies have been done in Zambia to assess the viability of the Re-entry Policy in Zambia (Banda and Nowanga, 2017; Birungi et. al. 2015; Chulu, 2016; McCadden, 2015; Mutombo and Mwenda, 2010; Mwansa, 2011; Sampa 2010). Although the policy is aimed at supporting girls' retention and continuation of education, studies show that it is not well understood by both educational personnel and learners and the community, making it difficult to be applied by the school authorities (Chulu, 2016). An assessment by McCadden (2015), found that the policy alone may not be enough to drive a substantive increase in educational attainment among adolescent mothers. In validation of this argument, Birungi et. al. (2015), found that 75% of girls who did not return to school after giving birth, cited the lack of financial support for the welfare of their babies and themselves as the major reason for not returning. In addition, research demonstrates that there are difficulties that are encountered by the beneficiaries that is the girls that fall pregnant and return to school (Birungi et. al., 2015; Chulu, 2016; Mutombu and Muenda, 2010). For instance, there is lack of support from

---

[11] The guidelines for the Zambian Re-entry Policy are found at:
https://healtheducationresources.unesco.org/library/documents/guidelines-re-entry-policy-what-happens-if-school-girl-falls-pregnant

government and other stakeholders to teen mothers, both financially and emotionally, to cope with the task of combining schooling and caring of the babies.

An assessment by Banda and Nowanga (2017), on the effectiveness of the policy in Zambia revealed that studies through Africa show that many people including fear that the policy to re-admit has not fully achieved its purposes in the different years that it has been in existence in countries many countries including Zambia. The study further indicates that the re-entry policy seems to have an element of perpetrating immorality, indiscipline among girls, hence perceived to affect the quality of delivery negatively, if not revisited in relation to the way it is implemented. This standpoint from stakeholders of education, points to the lack of competence by the teachers and other persons that are charged with the responsibilities of handling the girls that return to school after delivery.

1.8 Gender inequality in the Zambian Education system: Historical perspective

It is imperative to set this study within a summary of the broader historical development of gender inequality in relation to education in Zambia. One reason for this, is that gender relations have historical roots and do not change overnight (Dilli, Carmichael and Rijpma, 2019). For instance, the current male dominance over women in the Zambian Culture is informed by the traditional patriarchal beliefs and norms (JICA, 2016; SIDA, 2008). This approach helps us to understand the root cause and why the practice of gender inequality was accepted by society at the time, and what should be done to review it and what direction it should take. Another reason is that historical trends of gender aspects, helps to determine whether the gender differences are new developments or not (Dilli, Carmichael and Rijpma, 2019). Hence, recent literature on gender equality has started providing a long-term perspective, for example, Shawn and Firebaugh (2010), describe the global decline in gender inequality in terms of health, education, political representation, and economic activity from 1960 onward. The 1995 Human Development Report (UNDP, 1995) calculates the Gender Development Index (GDI) for 1970 and compares it to 1992 (Dilli, Carmichael and Rijpma, 2019). In view of the foregoing, the Zambian historical account is discussed in the next section, I start with the traditional education before the missionaries and Western Colonialists came to the country.

In the period before the arrival or the Missionaries and Western Colonists, Zambia like other African countries, had evolved their own system of education on which cultural transmission and social reproduction of their societies depended (Sandlane, 1989). She adds that education was predominantly informal, as children participated in daily family life with the content of education differing from one tribe to another, depending upon the environment and culture of the group. Children were enriched with the history and traditions of the clan and the tribe. The telling of heroic deeds of the ancestors inculcated in them a sense of value, loyalty, and pride. The customs and beliefs, a sense of belonging to the tribe were emphasized through dances, games, rites, and ceremonies of the tribe. It was common practice for all tribes that grandparents would spend the evenings narrating stories to their grandchildren around the lire. This is the part, which children enjoyed most because they would repeal the loved stories amongst themselves, and today this is the part taken by grammar books and comprehension exercises. Their education would not be complete if it did not transmit societal values such as obedience to adults and knowledge as to how to behave (Snelson, 1970:1).

In the Zambian Culture, girls have been oriented by women and are made to strictly follow what they were taught without questioning anyone (Sandlane, 1989). For instance, the teaching of girls was the responsibility of mothers, aunts, and grandmothers, who were expected to equip them as future wives and mothers. Among the most important things that they were taught was cooking, child minding and their physical growth, while boys, learnt skills like making pottery, brewing beer, muddling the walls and the floors of the hut. In carrying out any task, girls were under supervision of an experienced woman or older girl who ensured that the task was accomplished in an appropriate manner. Disrespect or laziness on the part of the young girls was condemned (Mwanakatwe, 1968: 4). The highest level of education and training for a girl was when she reached the stage of puberty, as immediately she would be separated for a period (Mwanakatwe, 1968:5). The place of isolation could be considered as a school in which the final instructions were given concerning her responsibilities, which had direct relevance to her marital life in future. The girl was thus coached about the duties to her future husband and his relatives; lessons were given to her concerning childcare. Girls were trained about their responsibilities to the whole community.

On the other hand, a boy was trained in skills, which would assist him and his family to earn a living (Mwanakatwe, 1968:5). Fathers would take their young boys on a hunting expedition. There a boy was taught how to follow a spoor, how to set traps, to shoot a straight arrow, how to skin and dismember an animal: and how to find his way. This situation, on traditional education in Zambia points to one that is informed by patriarchy, which is a society that is-male dominated. It is important to note here that this situation did not change even when both the missionaries and colonial governments came on the scene. In the next section, I discuss the gender inequalities during the period the colonial government and missionaries in Zambia.

1.8.1 Colonial account of education

The gender inequalities in the education system of Zambia continued from the traditional one, to the late 19th Century, when missionaries introduced 'Western Education', which admitted only men and adolescent boys and taught practical subjects such as carpentry and gardening (Evans, 2015; Kelly, 1999). This was later compounded by the early days of colonialism, where Zambia was a part of the British South African Company (BSAC) that ruled the territory as North-western Rhodesia and North-eastern Rhodesia until transferring it to Britain in 1924 when the territory became known as Northern Rhodesia (Kuster, 231 as cited in Evans, 2015). Thus, BSAC was more concerned with keeping the territory out of the hands of other European colonial powers and using it as a labour pool for more prosperous white settler farming in Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe) and mining in South Africa. BSAC believed educating Africans served little purpose and would not contribute to the territory's economic development (Kuster 1999).

The education provided was one in which, preference was given to male education while female education was fixed at junior standard secondary school level (Evans, 2015; Committee on the CEDAW 13th Session Zambia Report, 1994). Furthermore, the curriculum for women was different from the men, as women were offered only care related subjects including baby care, cooking, hygiene, sewing and nutrition (Evans, 2015). In 1929, the first primary school for Africans was developed and colonial authorities until shortly before World War II (Evans, 2015) did not implement African secondary schooling. In preference to educating the African

population to prepare them for skilled and low-skilled labour jobs necessary for the later development of the mining sector, both BSAC and later Britain preferred to recruit European workers from Southern Rhodesia (Bulfin and Jodlowska, 2012). Hence, in colonial times, the primary and secondary education system in Zambia was designed to function only for children of white settlers. There was little attempt to educate the colony's African population until shortly before Zambia's independence in 1964. In 75 years of colonial administration, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia) produced about "100 African university graduates, a bare 1500 Zambians with school certificate and only 6000 junior secondary education" (Bulfin and Jodlowska, 2012).

Besides both male and female Africans being disadvantaged academically by the colonial government, women who became autonomous due to urbanisation from rural areas to the Copperbelt mines to seek income activities, were equally not supported (Evans, 2015). This occurred in mid-colonial period (1940s-1950s), due to as the governments' concern about the Great Depression, in which two-thirds of the Copperbelt force became redundant between 1929 and 1931. Hence, the government feared that female urban migration and the growth of Copperbelt families would create costly social responsibilities and undermine social stability (Ault 1983, 194; Chauncey 1981, 157-158; Parpart 1988, 121). This situation was compounded by Christian missionaries' move to impose insoluble, monogamous marriage by denying divorce to Church members (Evans, 2015).

Research further shows that the emerging African Christian elite were concerned about 'bad girls' barring their reputable status in colonial towns (Evans, 2015). Consequently, rural repatriation of bad girls including divorced women was enforced (Evans, 2015; Chingola court report cited in Parpart, 2001 page 279). To control unruly women, the colonial government further made legislative changes by conferring male chiefs with judicial authority to define 'customary law'. An example of this authority included granting of married African's accommodation in 1994 to married couples who were in possession of a marriage certificate from the women's home area, thereby restoring rural elders' control. Later even when Urban African Courts began authorising such actions, they always insisted on the consent of relatives, bride-wealth payments, and heavy fines of adulterers. Marriage registration came with

incentives such as access to municipal housing or rations from mining companies. Otherwise, women did not have access to housing or rations, only upon production of a marriage certificate (Mitchell, 1956 p. 4). Most women were economically dependent on men given the restrictions of their own livelihood preferences (Hansen 1997, p. 28 and p. 40; Parpart 1988, p. 123).

The above situation implies that the colonial government's main interest was to ensure men working for the mines have a stable wife who will be pre-occupied with taking care of their husbands and not working independently. This was because women were not deemed suitable to work on the mines. For instance, Parpart (2001: 278) as cited by Evans (2015) indicates:

"The British colonial regime expected women to be dependent housewives. For example, one boarding school for girls, was established on the Copperbelt with the explicit moral mission of creating 'town-bred girls who can become good wives and mothers in an urban environment' (quoted in Parpart 2001, 278).

To meet the above expectation from the colonial government, mining companies sought to stretch miners' low wages by training their wives in domestic skills: sewing, hygiene and laundry, handicrafts, cooking, and sometimes reading and writing from 1930s to the 1960s. Gender divisions of labour were therefore prescribed, as part of a moral colonial capitalist mission (Evans, 2015). Moreover, women's domestic roles became devalued in the market-based economy. Food preparation was denigrated from honour to duty, thereby eroding the status women previously accrued (Evans, 2015). This outcome corroborates with one of Connell's gender regime theories related to gender division of labour in which she indicates that in many societies and situations, men perform certain tasks and women perform others (Connell and Pearse, 2015).

In this section, I have given an account on how girls and women continued to be confined to domestic roles of caring for the families both cultural and in the colonial era. The roles were informed by the patriarchy ideology and corroborate with the argument that any form of

training of girls and women reinforces gender differentials already set up in the household (Connell, 1996; Dunne, 2007). Hence, gender stereotyping appears historically to be the expected norm in the Zambian Society (Evans, 2015; Mwanakatwe, 1968; Sandlane 1989). I now move to discuss the situation of the patriarchy culture to girls' education in Zambia.

1.8.2 The educational System in Zambia from independence - 1964 to 1976

While Zambia got her political independence from Britain on 24th October 1964, the country inherited two education systems running parallel on racial lines (Evans, 2015). They consisted of the European and African education with the former including Asians and Coloured. The European schools were well funded, provided with good learning facilities, and sufficiently staffed with qualified teachers. African schools, on the other hand were sadly neglected in many respects. They were poorly funded, staffed with ill-qualified teachers, understaffed and with poor learning facilities. This resulted in African education to lag in development. The new Zambian government, therefore, took up the responsibility to integrate the two systems of education for effective delivery to African (Blacks). Zambia encountered a critical shortage of workers for its development.

Hence, it was the government's policy to move towards a system of universal primary education; to lessen the 8-year primary course to seven years, and to improve the general quality of education provided. The new Primary Course would consist of two sections, a Lower Primary Course of four years and an Upper Primary of 3 years. The main emphasis of the education programme under the Transitional Development Plan continued to be on the development of both the Primary and Secondary School systems. To carry out this plan, it was planned to establish larger secondary schools, increase the number of teachers by building more training colleges (Sandlane, (1989). By 1965, roughly, 1,500 students had completed senior secondary school (Form 5) and 6,000 had completed junior secondary school (Form 2) (Bulfin and Jodlowska, 2012).

Following the abolition of racial segregation in the schools in 1966, government assistance covered tuition, boarding, and teacher salaries in addition to nationalizing private and mission schools (Musambachime, 1983 as quoted Bulfin and Jodlowska, 2012). A major early obstacle to enhancing education was placing schools in urban areas when the Zambian population was still predominantly rural. Noticeable expansion in school enrolment continued over the next decade, as at secondary level the enrolment rose from 13,850 to 65,750. Technical and vocational training colleges enrolled about 3,000 in 1973 as against none in 1964. Enrolment at the University of Zambia grew from 312 in 1966 to 3,000 in 1973 (Musambachime, 1984).

In 1985 following, the Women's Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, women in Zambia began to vigorously, advocate for women's rights in all spheres of development. Zambia ratified the Convention for the Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in February 1985 without reservations as it pledged to the goals of equality, development and peace set for the United Nations Decade for Women and built-up activities to change grass-root realities (Committee on the CEDAW 13th Session, 1994: Zambia). Subsequently, non-governmental organizations become involved and established themselves in different lobby groups. For example, among professional women and in the Christian community, where they were caring for disadvantaged women (Committee on the CEDAW 13th Session, 1994: Zambia). Thus, the State has made a series of constitutional and legal amendments since 1991. Article 23 of the updated Constitution redefined discrimination as extensively as possible and included for the first-time discrimination on grounds of sex. The previous Constitution, of 1964, did not specify the kind of discrimination and hence generally accepted a common view protecting all citizens including women.

Zambia's participation at the women's conference (in Kenya), stimulated the demand for change in relation to girls' and women's access to education among various stakeholders (Mitchell et. al., 1999). Subsequently, the issue drew government's attention to the plight of girls and women's education. At the time, there was a very gloomy picture of the low enrolments of girls compared to boys at all levels. Girls only made only made up 42 per cent enrolment in 1985 at primary school level, while the situation was worse at the higher levels of education (Mitchell et. al., 1999). In 1997, women only made 19 per cent of graduating

students countrywide and remained the same in 1992. This resulted in public demands for equal participation of girls and boys, thus, persuaded the government to introduce an affirmative action of a lower cut-off point for girls to on to grade (entry grade for secondary level). Consequently, more girls were enrolled in secondary school.

A non-governmental organization known as Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD) took an interest of the changes and went further by identifying other gender inequalities that were practiced in the education system. For instance, there was a practice, which allowed schools at secondary level to have two boys admitted for each girl as well as they were many secondary schools for boys compared to those for girls. Furthermore, the two technical national technical schools only admitted boys. Due to the advocacy for girls and women's education, the government altered the enrolment to be equal, that is, 50 – 50 enrolments for both girls and boys, the two technical schools started permitting both girls and boys. Subsequently, the government amended the 50-50 Enrolment policy intended (January 1997) to facilitate the selection of equal numbers of boys and girls to Secondary (Grade 8 and 10). The amendment was necessitated by the desire to increase the enrolment of girls at secondary school level. The change was from the previous arrangement of two girls for every three boys. Another measure that the government made was to convert 'boys-only secondary schools into co-educational to provide more opportunities to girls to enrol in secondary school.

1.8.3 Zambia's response after 1990 World Education-For-All Conference

As with other member countries of the United Nations, Zambia participated at the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand (Mitchell et. al., 1999). The outcome of the conference supporting education for all including both girls and boys, stimulated the government to organise a National Conference on Education for All in March 1991 to prepare strategies and set goals for the subsequent ten years (Mumba, 2002). Years later, the government realised that girls' access to education was still an issue, which prompted the Ministry of General Education in collaboration with UNICEF to conduct analyses to establish the key issues that hindered girls from attending, participating, and completing their schooling. Although implementation of the 'Girl Child Education Programme' (1994-1995)

was for a short period, it included policy development, capacity building, gender sensitization, material development and research of the whole education system (Mitchell et. al., 1999; Mumba, 2002). Under this programme several research studies were administered that led to the implementation of the Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education[12] (PAGE). PAGE integrated advocacy, gender sensitization, social mobilisation, and specific interventions to improve girl's education.

The Programme was a Ministry of General Education initiative supported by UNICEF, CIDA and NORAD and was a concrete expression of Zambia's commitment to the advancement of girls and women in education and in all sectors of society. The programme sought to deliver quality primary education to all children, especially girls, and to reduce gender disparities in primary education enrolment, retention, completion, and achievement. Findings from an evaluation of the programme revealed that PAGE was perceived as a positive force within schools and the Ministry of Education at national, provincial, district levels, and the research studies that helped to develop the program had given it a solid basis (Mumba et. al., 1998). However, while advocacy efforts had achieved a great deal with respect to making communities, parents, and teachers aware of the problems and importance of education for the girl child, the evaluation found that data with respect to enrolment, retention and achievement did not show that PAGE had managed to make an impact within its short lifespan (1996-1997).

Another significant development towards enhancing girls' education in Zambia was the establishment of a Non-Governmental Organization called Forum for African Women Educationalists[13], Zambia Chapter (FAWEZA) that took place in 1996. FAWEZA has a specific programme that focuses on girls' education at all levels. The specific objectives of FAWEZA include i. Invigorating political commitment to the Education for All (EFA) Goals agreed upon at Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, emphasizing that the two-thirds of eligible children not participating in education were girls; ii. Stimulating government, NGOs and other donors

---

[12] The Programme was implemented from 1996 to 1997.
[13] FAWEZA is an affiliate of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE); a Pan-African NGO network founded in 1992. FAWE is the fruit of five visionary and distinguished African Women Ministers of Education who resolved to walk the talk about the appalling state of girls' and women's education in Africa (FAWEZA, 2014)

to increase their investments in education and in girls' education in particular; iii. Assisting the development of national skills for the purpose of Strategic Resource Planning (SRP) for the education sector and iv. Using existing data to design high impact programmes that consider the special needs of female students and teachers. It is important to note that FAWEZA made an enormous influence in the government's adoption of the Re-entry Policy discussed earlier in this chapter (Banda and Nowanga, 2017; Mitchell et. al., 1999).

Advancing gender equality requires having the right legal guidance for ensuring girls and women can actively and equally participate in society (Women Deliver[14], 2019). Due to its geographical location, Zambia obtained valuable assistance related to legal guidance on issues that affect girls and women from an organization called Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA) Research trust (Mitchell et. al., 1999). The organization, which operates in seven countries in the region (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe), has two main objectives: to conduct research on gender issues in Southern Africa, specifically those related to legal rights, as well as provide information on gender and law in order to leverage policy and law reform in its countries of operation. Thus, WLSA's engagement in Zambia's education sector, led to the introduction of human rights topics in both primary and secondary school curricula (Mitchell et. al., 1999).

The campaign for girls' education in Zambia, was further strengthened soon after the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 (Nkosha, Luchembe and Chakufyali, 2013). Like other committed members of the United Nations, Zambia participated in the Fourth World Conference on Women (FWCW) and on return, planned to implement the agreements from the Conference on Women in relation to Zambia's situation (UNECA , 1999). The government acknowledged the need for full involvement of women in the development process at all levels to ensure sustainable development and attainment of equality and equity between the sexes. Hence, facilitated several workshops and consultative processes that were carried out with the involvement of as many people as possible in the pre - Beijing and post - Beijing activities (UNECA , 1999). These were carried out in all the provinces and districts to

---

[14] Women Deliver - is a catalyst that leverages its extensive reach and partnerships to spark political commitment and investment in girls and women everywhere. Details about the organization are found at: https://womendeliver.org/our-work/

ensure that as many people as possible participated. The efforts specifically focussed on integration of women in development as part of Government's overall commitment in to ensuring maximum participation of women throughout the country. This process culminated in formulation of the Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women in Zambia (SPAW) with five priority areas[15].

The Ministry of General Education has also been working in close partnership with Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED) to facilitate a programme aimed at meeting the costs of girls' education and with other partners[16], in the provision of bursaries to disadvantaged girls at secondary school level. The bursary package ensures girls are on well footing with peers. The girls receive coverage of school fees (including exam fees) and are provided with uniforms, shoes, stationery, and sanitary protection (CAMFED, 2015). Although the scheme does not cover all the girls that qualify for it, critical mass of Campaign for Girls' Education (CAMFED), supported girls (eight in each partner school) at any one school implies theses bursary recipients can offer one another with support and form friendship circles that carry them through school and beyond. Besides, CAMFED trains a female teacher mentor in each partner school (where eight girls are supported with bursaries) to provide guidance and support to learners both emotionally and academically[17]. Thus, this creates potential for these trained teachers, to share their knowledge and skills with other teachers at their schools. The sharing of knowledge could lead to – multiply benefits even to girls not covered by the scheme, depending on the way the individual schools facilitate sharing of knowledge.

Notable among other approaches undertaken by the government to enhance girls' secondary education, is the social cash transfer scheme. Zambia being a lower-middle-income nation in Southern Africa, with a population estimated at 15.5 million people in 2015, joined in social protection programme in 2003. This was in consideration that over half (58.2 per cent) of its

---

[15] 1. The persistent and growing burden of poverty on women and their unequal access to resources and participation in economic structure and policies; 2. Inequality in access to and opportunities in education, skills development and training, 3. Women's unequal accesses to health and related services; 4. Inequality between women and men in the sharing of power and decision-making; and 5. The rights of the Girl Child (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa -Zambia, 1999).

[16] including FAWEZA, Campaign for girls' Education (CAMFED) and Girls' and Women's Empowerment and Livelihood Project (GEWEL)

[17] Details of the CAMFED scheme are found at: https://camfed.org/our-impact/education/bursaries/

population is in rural areas, often at low density and following sparse patterns of territorial occupation that accentuate challenges related to access to public services and markets (Arruda and Dubois, 2018). Moreover, in terms of food consumption, 54.4 per cent of the population is living below the poverty line, with 13.6 per cent living below the extreme poverty line (CSO, 2015).

1.9 Status of adolescent girls in Zambia

I decided to include the status of adolescents in Zambia, as girls at secondary school level, are at adolescent developmental stage, a crucial moment at which to embed messages about empowerment and equality (Gordon, 2017). Gordon (2017[18]) suggests "adolescence magnifies the difference between girls and boys, it entrenches norms that disproportionately create negative experiences for girls." Adolescence is the period of transition between childhood and adulthood and is considered to start with puberty, a process of physical, psychological, and emotional development produced by a stream of endocrine changes that lead to sexual maturation and reproductive capability (United Nations, 2012). In girls, a key indicator of puberty is menarche (the first menstruation) and the mean age at menarche is between 12 and 13 years in developed countries and it is likely similar or higher in developing countries. Although puberty generally lasts two to four years, there is no strict definition of when adolescence begins and ends. Hence, information on adolescent girls, will provide a direction to appropriate approaches for their developmental stage.

In many societies, adolescents are expected to remain in school for long periods and legal provisions set the age of majority generally at age 18 or higher. However, globally, approximately that 150 out of every 1000 births are to adolescent girls aged 15-18 globally (Brown 2012; Psaki, 2015). The current population of Zambia is 18.14 million which ranks 66th in the world (Zambia Population, 2019). Adolescents make up 24 percent of the population[19], with roughly 13 percent of boys and girls aged 10 to 14 years old and 11 percent boys and girls aged 15 to 19 years (Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the

---

[18] More information is available at: https://www.ft.com/content/eff15b5a-7069-11e7-93ff-99f383b09ff9
[19] Details on updated population are found at: http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/zambia-population/

Republic of Zambia. 2017). The median age of the Zambian population of 16.8 years, declined between 1950 and 2010 and has just begun to rise. Empirical evidence shows that 28 per cent of adolescent girls, aged 15-19 in Zambia have begun childbearing and 6 per cent were pregnant with their first child (CSO, 2009; UNICEF, 2014). Hence, the proportion of births to adolescents in Zambia does not differ significantly from the Sub-Saharan African average, at one in five babies (Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia. 2017). As adolescents are associated with early sexual initiation, it is necessary to find out the situation on child marriage and how it is linked to early childbearing. Hence, in the next section a review on the prevalence of child marriage is discussed.

1.9.1 Prevalence of child marriage in Zambia

An estimated 90 percent of adolescent pregnancies in the developing world are to girls who are married, due to their higher exposure to sex, lower probability of using contraception compared to their unmarried peers, and pressure to conceive quickly after marriage (Brown 2012; Erulkar 2013a; Hindin and Fatusi, 2009; Presler-Marshall & Jones 2012). Consequently, the majority (75 percent) of adolescent pregnancies are planned (Presler-Marshall and Jones 2012). Experience shows that high fertility relates among adolescents relate to early pregnancy, which is intrinsically *linked child marriage* (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015; Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017; Psaki, 2015; Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006). For instance, a common cultural practice in some countries including Zambia is a situation at which early pregnancy puts girls at risk of being 'married off' as they may be forced to marry the father of their baby (Mann, Quigley and Fischer, 2015). It is argued that to spare the girls' family from the stigma associated with pregnancy out of wedlock.

Zambia within this broader context just outlined, has a high prevalence of child marriage (Mann, Quigley and Fischer, 2015; Mushota-Nkhata, 2014; Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). The 2013-2014 Zambia Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) found that child marriage was more common among girls than boys: 17% of girls aged 15-19 are married compared to only 1% of boys of the same age group. Correspondingly, in the 20–24 age group, only 2.2% of males reported having married when

they were younger than 18, as compared with 31.4% of females (CSO, MOH, and ICF International 2015). It is reported that 47% of all marriages in Zambia, result from the traditional custom of male superiority and poverty (JICA, 2016).

The Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2013–2014 emphasizes the importance of keeping girls in school as a strategy that can end early child marriages in developing countries like Zambia (UNESCO, 2014). The report points to the importance of secondary education in addressing obstacles such as child marriage. Furthermore, social scientists have argued that early marriage prevents women from achieving their rightful education, accessing employment and training opportunities, developing social relationships with peers, and participating in civic life (Marphatia, Ambale, and Reid, 2017). This claim is observable in Zambia as confirmed by UNDP report (UNDP, 2019).

As part of the programme of keeping girls in school, the government in 2013 launched a national campaign against child marriage (Zambia Ministry of Gender and Child Development, 2013). Hence, structures were put in place to fight child marriage including a civil society coalition against child marriage; a ten-member ministerial committee (including the Ministry of General Education) led by the Ministry of Gender and facilitating a National Strategy on Ending Child Marriage for the period 2016–2021(Population Council, UNFPA; Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). Another effort by government to end child marriage is the inclusion of child marriage related interventions into its Seventh National Development Plan (2017 – 2021), which has helped to institutionalise efforts to address child marriage across ministries and budgets.

Furthermore, Zambia signed the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (Mann, Quigley and Fischer, 2015). Specifically, article three, recognises that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed therein. This is without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status" (African Charter on the Rights

and Welfare of the Child, 1999: Article 3; see also African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, 2019). Laws that set a minimum age of marriage are a significant way to safeguard boys and girls from being married before they are ready (Girls-Not-Brides[20]). It is paramount that children are recognised in the law as being minors and that they are given the full protection of the law. Furthermore, it is necessary to have laws that set a minimum age of marriage, as they are an important tool in assisting those working to dissuade families and communities from marrying off their daughters as minors (Girls-Not-Brides, 2016). However, analyses in some countries show that in patriarchal societies, transitions from childhood to adolescent and ultimately womanhood are not strictly defined by age (Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017; Raj et. al., 2015). They instead reflect the social roles expected of girls, and the timing of sexual and physiological development. These factors may also function as a "social signal" for the readiness for marriage.

The above phenomenon is observable in Zambia, due to the patriarchal culture of male dominance in which women and girls are regarded as inferior to men, thus creating an unequal status and power relations between the sexes and ages of the people (JICA, 2016, Nkhata, 2014). Hence, the culture has resulted in Zambia having a dual structure of statutory and customary law (Country Gender Profile: Zambia final Report, 2016; Nkhata, 2014; Nsemukila, 2015; Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). Zambia has therefore two types of marriages which are applied under the dual system with two different definitions of marriage[21] (Nkhata, 2014. Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). Subsequently, the dual legal system has led to customary law contradicting statutory law. For instance, even though Article 11 of the Zambian Constitution (enacted in 1991 and revised in 1996) recognizes equal rights regardless of gender, Article 23 accepts civil as well as customary law. Customary law entails rules and disciplines, which are not written, but which individual ethnic groups as customs and it varies from one group to another of the 72 ethnic groups in Zambia. As a result, customs, which contradict

---

[20] More information can be found at: https://www.girlsnotbrides.org/child-marriage-law/

[21] In customary Law, a marriage is a union between people in accordance with their customary practices. Many customs in Zambia do not limit the number of people who would be part of this union, but the practice is that the union comprises of one man and one or more women (Nkhata, 2014). Under Statutory Law or Civil Law - marriages are those contracted in accordance with an Act of Parliament. In this marriage, two people can contract a marriage and have it solemnized by the registrar of marriage or a gazetted minister of religion. With Civil Law, a person aged 21 years is eligible for marriage, while with Customary Law a girl is ready for marriage when they reach puberty.

statutory law, have created serious problems in terms of socioeconomic activities, including marriage. For instance, marriage under the age of 21 is prohibited under statutory law. However, the practices of child marriage, marriage in exchange for payment of a dowry to the family of the would-be bride, still exist in Zambia (Mann, Quigley, and Fischer 2015; Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). This is an issue that I will discuss in other chapters of this research. In the next section, I discuss the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education in the School Curriculum by the Zambian government, as it is related to sexual and reproductive health rights of all learners.

1.9.2 Integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in the Education Curriculum

Zambia currently has the largest population of young people in its history, with 52.5% aged below 18 years (UNAIDS, 2016). During their school years, teachers and sexual health experts have a perfect opportunity to reach students with correct and appropriate health education information. The beginning of adolescence brings liabilities to human rights abuses, in addition to physical change mainly in the areas of sexuality, marriage and childbearing. Research suggests that CSE can provide young people with age appropriate culturally relevant and scientifically accurate information (UNESCO, 2015). It includes structured opportunities for young people to gain knowledge, skills and positive attitudes and values which will help them apply life skills in addressing challenges with regards to their sexuality. However, CSE not only plays an important role in preventing negative sexual and reproductive health outcomes, but also offers a platform to discuss gender issues and human rights and to promote respectful, non-violent relationships (UNAIDS, 2016).

Zambia as a signatory to the 2013 Ministerial Commitment on comprehensive sexuality education and sexual and reproductive health services for adolescents and young people in eastern and southern Africa, has integrated CSE in the school curriculum in 2013 (Curriculum Development Centre, 2013). The integration of CSE in the school curriculum was spearheaded by the by the Ministry of General Education in collaboration with UNESCO, following recommendations from a baseline survey in 2013, on the need to in cooperate the subject

(UNESCO, 2013). Hence, the Ministry has facilitated the development of the Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) framework to enrich the provision of Reproductive Health and Sexuality Education (RHSE) to all learners at secondary school level. Henceforth, reproductive health and Sexuality Education features as a cross cutting theme in the Zambia Education Curriculum Framework (UNAIDS, 2016). Specifically, CSE has been integrated at Junior Secondary School level (Grade 8-9) in the following subjects: Integrated Science, Social Studies, Home Economics and Religious Education. Similarly, at senior secondary school level (Grade 10–12), it has been integrated in four subjects including Biology, Civic Education, Home Economics and Religious Education. I will therefore analyse the integration of CSE considering it is a strategy aimed at addressing issues of sexuality and reproductive health for all learners comprising girls, whose academic experiences is the focus of this research.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the background, historical perspectives and some basic facts about Zambia. The situation of adolescents in relation to fertility rates and early child births have been discussed. While the government has implemented various interventions to address issues that adversely affect girls' secondary education; girls have continued to lag behind their male counterparts both in access and participation at secondary school level (MoE, 2016a). In addition, I given an account of gender inequalities and strategies undertaken by the government to address the disparities including the introduction of the Re-entry Policy and integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) into the school curriculum. In the next chapter, I discuss gender and education, as an important component of my theoretical framework. I review literature on girls' secondary education and identify the theoretical context that focuses on some relevant theories from different disciplines, at international level as well as the Zambian context, including potential obstacles and approaches that have been applied in addressing some barriers. The theories were chosen on the premise that exploring gender dimensions of an institution requires an understanding of the social structures and practices by which such institutions construct gender among teachers and students (Connell, 1996). I move on to chapter (2), to discuss the theoretical framework for this research.

<center>**Chapter Two**</center>

An overview of the literature relevant to analysing girls' secondary education in Zambia

2.1 Introduction

There are a wide range of studies on the theme of girls' experiences of secondary education, which will be discussed in relation to my research. Hence, this chapter summarises the theoretical debate on 'gender and education, which includes discussions and analyses on the theorists who have written about girls' education in a worldwide perspective and specifically on Zambia. In addition, revisions on Connell's theory on gender regime (Connell and Pearse, 2015), Eagly's (1987) social role theory and Bourdieu and Passeron's, (1997) capital theory are conducted, as they are pertinent to understanding some of the gendered processes at play with regards to girls' experiences of secondary education. The chapter also shows how the research questions for this study are arrived at.

2.2 Gender and Education

My literature review focuses on the work on gender preferences and inequality in secondary education. The main question that my research emphases on is why girls behind boys at secondary school level especially in rural schools, even though educational inequality has been singled out as a major violation of the rights of girls and women and a significant barrier to social and economic development in both national and international forums. The focus on gender and education is common in the development discourse and has since its introduction in the 1990's become a central priority for donor agencies, governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, 2007; Heward and Bunwaree, 1999). In 2000, the world's governments adopted the six Education for All (EFA) goals to meet the needs of all children, youth, and adults by 2015, including Goal 5: "eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in

<center>35</center>

basic education of good quality." (Ostby, Urdal and Rudolfen, 2016; UNESCO, 2021[22]). To strengthen gender equality in education, was the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Number 3 aimed at eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and at all levels of education by 2015. However, this goal was not met and is rebounded in the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which also include the quality aspect of equal education opportunities (cf. SDG Target 4.1), which reads as follows: "by 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable, and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes" (Ostby, Urdal and Rudolfen, 2016:1)[23]. I move to discuss theories that are related to gender and education.

Gender is a rationale that determines how gender equality is conceived and approached in education and it establishes itself in three frameworks: human capital, human rights and human development mainly capabilities (Unterhalter, 2019). Each of these frameworks features a different opposing, yet complementary approach to the way gender equality is addressed. The Human Capital theory, for instance, emerged in the early 1970s and focused largely on the gap between girls and boys in enrolment, the distribution of opportunities, and access to education (such as teachers, books, transportation facilities, and stipends). This theory elaborated on the economic value of schooling and economic empowerment, with an emphasis on delivering individuals for the labour market (Unterhalter, 2009). For the human capital approach, women's and girls' education is important to the extent it reduces the mortality rate, creates more educated families, and contributes to economic growth by fostering their participation in the economy (Unterhalter, 2007), and gender equality is limited to achieving equality in numbers and closing the gender gap.

On the other hand, the human rights-based approach recognises the existence of socially constructed gender differences (Vaughan, 2010). It is argued that gender equality in education strengthens quality, facilitates a suitable learning environment for both girls and boys, and ensures that students leaving secondary school, have an awareness of gender equality (SIDA, 2017). This is in line with the global commitment of "leaving no one behind" as set in the

---

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations (UNDP, 2016). The SDGs emphasize the need for countries to focus on both inclusive and quality education (SDG 4), putting the poorest and most marginalized girls at the forefront of development efforts (SIDA, 2017). This argument is supported by UNICEF and UNESCO (2007), who emphasize that education is a human right that everyone girl and boy alike should have access. In contrast with the capabilities approach, I found that the human rights-based approach is particularly suitable for ensuring the weakest citizens have access to essential services such as education (Oberoi, 2009). In addition, research suggests more widespread campaigns for a human rights-based approach can contribute to promoting legislation that benefits the poor or groups that are discriminated against (Broberg & Sano, 2018). This research is focusing on girls in rural schools in Zambia that are among the most marginalised in terms of secondary education as evidenced by the high dropout rates (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). Hence, the rights-based approach is likely to provide an opportunity of enhancement of legislation to the benefit of these girls, in that it could inform further studies and even policy makers.

However, granting rights does not always challenge the power and gender inequalities deeply embedded in institutions if there are no actions and implementations in place to dismantle the everyday sexism and unfreedoms. The approach, therefore, ignores the conditions that preclude the operationalisation of these rights (Robeyns 2006; Unterhalter 2003), focuses on legalistic solutions to inequalities, and fails to foster sustainable change and address local realities and complexities (Unterhalter 2009) and therefore has an 'ontologically individualistic' approach to learners (Robeyns 2003, 65), which entails it does not look into social, economic, or political forces that influence gendered experiences within classrooms. Furthermore, this approach has been found to be less effective in rural settings because literacy is lower than average, and the state is less present (Banik, 2010). Besides, the rights approach, in general, is not sufficiently supported by political and financial commitments (Robeyns 2006). By and large, both the human capital and rights-based approaches, do not stipulate a deeper understanding of gender equality; they focus on measurable indicators, such as schooling percentage and attainment, with no concern for qualitative indicators, such as experiences or the valued beings and doings of individuals.

Nevertheless, the capability approach is a theoretical framework that involves two standardising claims: first, the assertion that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral standing and, second, that well-being should be recognized in terms of people's capabilities and functionings (Robeyns and Byskov, 2020). Therefore, several studies have used the capabilities approach to assess the valued competences of girls and women in education (Cin and Walker, 2013; DeJaeghere and Lee 2011; Walker 2007), as well as the educational well-being and freedoms of communities and people (DeJaeghere and Lee, 2011) by identifying the capabilities that education should promote for gender equality. It addresses the multiple perspectives of gender inequality in education, such as gender discrimination related to learning, the reproduction of stereotypes about women and men through textbooks, and gender inequalities in the household, the workplace, and the state (Aikman et al., 2012), but also reconsiders the questions of justice in relation to gender equality, between school and the labour market, non-market settings, institutions, and pedagogies (Walker and Unterhalter 2007). Hence, we can measure gender equality in education, through this approach, by the nature of schooling valued by individuals and whether they can achieve their valued beings and doings through education (Unterhalter 2007), which allows us to acknowledge social and institutional structures requiring equity interventions, gender norms, and gender roles and identities between social arrangements and individual freedoms. In line with this philosophy, this study aims to find out the perceptions of the girls, teachers, school managers, district education personnel and parents in relation to the value of secondary schooling for girls. It further wants to explore their knowledge and practice of gender equality in education.

Despite the importance of the capabilities approach in enhancing gender and education, research suggests that one shortcoming is that additional social theories in capability assessments are needed, and hence the risk of getting different results depending on which social theories one adds to the framework (Robeyns and Byskov, 2020). While the correlation between years of education and economic growth is evident, new studies emphasize the quality of schooling across countries as more strongly associated with economic growth and sustained increase in demand for schooling (King and Winthrop, 2015). These theorists are of the view that it is the quality of schooling and its ability to improve students' cognitive skills that increase gross domestic product. Therefore, if girls are to make a meaningful contribution to the economic development of a nation, a girl friendly school environment that assures: the

promotion of gender equality in enrolment and achievement; eliminating gender stereotypes; guarantees girl-friendly facilities, curricula, textbooks, and teaching-learning processes, socializes girls and boys in a non-violent environment; encourages respect for each other's rights, dignity, and equality is necessary (FAWE, 2009; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). This also implies that the school management systems, policies, and practices recognize and address the gender-based needs of both girls and boys. Hence, the school management has a central role in establishing a gender responsive environment. They have a responsibility to understand what is happening in the school and to take a proactive role in bringing about positive change.

Having reviewed the three theories (human capital, rights based and capabilities approach), I am of the view that the three be integrated and applied to my research so that I do not restrict my analysis, hence consider the intrinsic and instrumental importance of education and the various ways in which it directly contributes to individual well-being and to societal progress. It is theorised that integrating human capital theory and capability conceptually and methodologically, can improve the ability to estimate and evaluate the gains derived from education, by extending the array of variables taken into consideration and moving towards a wider vision of well-being (Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash, 2014). Such integration could offer valuable new understandings into public engagement and the design of policies aimed at improving individual well-being through education.

With regards to feminist research, much of it has involved the existence of gender disparities in education by pursuing reasons why these inequalities continue to happen. Effectively, feminist research has become a catalyst for change, particularly in our knowledge of the nature and impact of education on women's lives. The equal opportunities approach dominated the field of gender and education in 1990s, with its concern for equal rights, equal access and participation, freedom of choice and the abolition of sex discrimination (see Arnot, David and Weiner, 1999). The debate on sex-role socialisation theory, is concerned with sex stereotyping, offered the prospect of revealing the ways in which boys and girls were being prepared for their assigned roles in society. It balanced the concern for equal rights since it revealed the countless and often quite subtle ways in which society channels each generation into rather limited and

conventional sex roles (Arnot and Dillabough, 2000). Such patterns of socialisation whether found in the family, amongst peer groups or in educational institutions hinder girls' full development. Nussbaum explores the reproduction of subordinate gender identity with special reference to 39 developing countries (Nussbaum, 2000). She argues that the processes within gendered power relations direct women to value "beings and doings" which undermines their empowerment and freedom in participation (Nussbaum, 2000: 135).

Gender and development are an important area to consider in this debate on gender and education, as it is a means of looking at how social norms and power structures impact on the lives and opportunities available to diverse groups of men and women (Kangas, Haider and Fraser 2014). Research suggests that educators need to have gender awareness to be open to girls'and boys' choices in learning and development, help children explore who they are, and make connections to people around them, as well as gain self-confidence, well-being, peer acceptance, and social support (Chi, 2018). It is argued that gender and development focus on providing agency to enhance female wellbeing (Sen, 2000). Sen supposes that female wellbeing could be improved by increasing their participation in public-sphere activities. The theorist adds that achieving gender equality is the most powerful strategy to achieve development.

Studies further suggest that girls' participation in education will improve national development indicators, such as lower infant and maternal mortality, lower fertility rates, longer life expectancy, improvement in conditions of health, nutrition and economic growth (Herz and Sperling, 2004; Jeffery and Basu, 1996; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). Families with educated mothers have the advantage of better health, higher income, and an increased chance of educational attainment for the next generation. With this standpoint, the women in development (WID) framework emphasises bringing women into development through, for instance, school and highlights the expansion of educational facilities for girls and women. Education of women is key for long-term gender equality and social change. However, Unterhalter (2005:17) argues that though WID emphasises greater participation of girls and women in education and in the process of development plans, it does not challenge the multiple sources of women's subordination. These include injustice and inequality that girls and women

face in the family and the workplace. Research suggests that this approach as being very western, as it is a perception of the global south from global north perspective, hence, it fails to acknowledge the collective and cultural concerns of women in the developing world.

In contrast, the gender and development (GAD) approach initiated in the late 1980s, concentrated on the discourse of power imbalances embedded in society and its impact on girls' education. This approach was more appropriate in the context of developing countries such as Zambia where the 'gender division of labour inside and outside the household' is noticeable (Other reference Unterhalter, 2005: 21). GAD, as argued by Unterhalter, focuses more on challenging the deep-rooted gender discrimination (Kabeer, 1994) that pervades society, based on the belief that gender equality can be achieved through programmes that initiate and restore the power balance between the genders by eliminating 'structural barriers to gender equality' (Unterhalter, 2005: 22). GAD theorists emphasise on the significance of gendered power structures of inequality in a range of contexts, and they argue that inequality needs to be challenged politically (Unterhalter, 2005). Research shows that the diversity of this approach was open to the experiences and needs of women in the developing world. (Collins, 2013). The scholar argued that the GAD approach is not just focused on the biological inequalities among sexes: men and women, but on how social roles, reproductive roles and economic roles are linked to gender inequalities of masculinity and femininity. This is important for this study as it aims at exploring the experiences of girls' secondary education.

Having provided a summary of the theoretical debate on gender and education that informed my research, I now turn to my review of the literature on girls' secondary education. I will start by discussing the gender gap in education and outline gender constraints in education participation. In so doing, I focus on research concerning the developing countries in general and Zambia in particular, as the problems are different from those of developed countries. In reviewing literature on the barriers to girls' schooling, I have considered common barriers and unique ones, as it is important in determining the types of strategies appropriate to addressing them.

In reflecting on these issues, I scrutinized a range of diverse sources including academic articles, reports by transnational agencies, and working papers by scholars in the field of girls' education. Reports relating to the status of girls' secondary education and the reasons for gender disparities to the disadvantage of girls at secondary school level by UNESCO, UNDP, DFID, and UNICEF tend to be generic and less specific in some instances. They mainly show changing policies at the national level (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015; World Bank, 2012). Some studies use secondary sources as data (e.g., Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). Limited studies carried out interviews and/or observations to get more personal and individual perspectives on the matter, either through one-on-one interviews and/or through focus group discussions with different stakeholders such as students, teachers, and administrators (Chinyama et. al., 2019; Somani, 2017). This is where my research makes an original contribution to knowledge in that it is based on primary empirical material in the form of qualitative interviews with relevant stakeholders.

2.3 The gender gap in secondary education

The issue of gender equality in education has been given increasing importance in the development agenda of international organisations as demonstrated by the General Assembly of the United Nations' inclusion of the education goal number 3 in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which is: 'To eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005 and at all levels of education by 2015' during the millennium summit in 2000 (Durokifa and Ijeoma, 2018). The goals were regarded as a design set to reduce poverty in its many dimensions such as income poverty, while simultaneously promoting gender equality, education, among other issues (UNMP, 2005). However, several scholars have argued that the MDGs are a mismatch for Africa (Durokifa and Ijeoma, 2018). These theorists add that despite the third goal in the MDGs, laying a lot of emphasis on the issue of gender equality, prominently amongst boys and girls in primary and secondary schools, it failed to capture the cultural practice and historical context that underpins gender and religious belief in Africa. They claim that there are areas in Africa where women and girls are prohibited from going to school and prevented from doing certain jobs. Furthermore, Poku and Whitman (2011), argue that though the implementation of the goals spelt out freedom for countries and

individuals, when people are poor, ill or illiterate, they are limited to what they can do with their freedom.

Lately, IIEP and UNESCO (2021), have found that despite significant progress relating to gender parity in education, world-wide girls and young women still face the most severe forms of segregation, resulting from several culminative factors, including socio-economic status, and place of residence. These theorists argue that associating gender inequality in education only to barriers to schooling for girls and women, neglects other forms of discrimination and social exclusion, hence omitting disparities that affect females, existing in other dimensions of schooling. I will, therefore, reflect on how these intersections of factors relate data from this research.

It is important to note that there are two types of factors relating to impediments of girls' secondary education are generally eminent, one is the supply-side of education, which are directly connected to education systems, policies, or schools, and the other those related to the demand-side of education, that is the impediments inherent in families, children, and society at large. The school or supply-side related factors that I will discuss include lack of a gender responsive school environment, which is characterised by sexual violence, high cost of school, long distance, and location of school. The demand related factors to be debated are socio-cultural factors comprising of negative cultural practices (gender stereotypes), early unintended pregnancies, child marriage, socio-economic status (poverty) and location (rural). I move to discuss the impediments to girls' secondary education, starting with the supply related factors.

2.3.1 Supply related factors

The learning environment comprises people, teaching materials, technical tools, and learning resources; curriculum, training, and instruction, and physical environment/learning space (Balog, 2018[24]). A positive school atmosphere encourages student attendance, helps reduce

---

[24] Impacts of the Learning Environment on Developer's Progress. Accessed from
https://www.codingdojo.com/blog/impacts-of-the-learning-nvironment,)

stress in teachers and students and boosts a more positive mindset in everyone. A gender responsive learning school environment is one in which the academic, social and physical environment and its surrounding community take into account the specific needs of both boys and girls (Dorji, 2020).[25] However, gender inequality may be perpetrated by different kinds of institutional action or inaction. For instance, Stromquist (2015), refers to schools as not always girl-friendly, and can create environments that are either unsupportive or explicitly hostile through the exercise of sexual harassment, a situation that is common in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. She further observes that schools as sites of violence have been documented in large-scale surveys in five Asian countries (Plan and ICRW, 2015 as cited in Stromquist, 2015). She adds that students report physical violence in which both girls and boys are victims and perpetrators. Stromquist observes that these experiences are often hidden from teachers and parents; a common student response to violence is to do nothing. Indeed, studies in the sub-Saharan African context identify a consistent pattern of sexual harassment or abuse, such as Gwirayi (2013) on Zimbabwe, The Human Rights Watch (2001) on South Africa, Muhanguzi (2011) on Uganda and Leach (2003) on Ghana, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Gwirayi (2013) reports girls in secondary schools in Zimbabwe being disproportionately the victims. Leach, (2003) claims that male-teachers and students, and some adult men nearby schools are reported as the main perpetrators. They further observe that sexual violence has a negative effect on the education system to the level that when it happens, and the perpetrator is a teacher, victims might feel distressed about coming to school and thus drop out.

Secondary schools in Zambia are not an exception to sexual violence and harassment. Evidence shows that the perpetrators of sexual violence against girls are boys and male-teachers, and the vice has a negative effect on the participation and academic achievement of the affected female learners in school (WLSA Zambia et. al., 2012). A recent study by Parkes et. al. (2017) conducted in four African countries including Zambia on school related gender-based violence (SRGBV), found various forms of violence including sexual harassment, bullying, intimate partner violence prevailing in the study countries. This study found, the poorest girls including those from rural schools are victims and encounter sexual coercion and that in Zambia, 1 in 6 girls had been sexually abused in 2016 and that some studies revealed that sexual harassment

---

[25] 'Gender Responsive Pedagogy Awareness and Practices: A Case Study of a Higher Secondary School under Thimphu Thromde, Bhutan'

of girls being normalised and hence making it difficult for the victims to speak out against it. Despite the above issues, ideal approaches preventing sexual violence in schools include i. Equipping teachers with the skills needed to prevent and respond to violence against girls in schools: Plan International's Building Skills for Life project, which helped to raise teacher and community awareness of the Teacher's Code of Conduct, equipping teachers with knowledge of alternative classroom discipline (Plan UK., 2014). ii. A global framework to address school-related gender-based violence, entitles 'A girl's right to learn without fear: Working to end gender-based violence at school' (Greene et. al., 2013). The framework includes eight principles[26] to guide policy makers and education practitioners: the need for an introduction of a sexual harassment policy.

Long distance to school

The long distance to school from the homes of girls is a concern as it is associated with issues of affordability, safety and affects punctuality especially among girls. Evidence has shown that the absence of a middle school or secondary school close to a girls' home could negatively impact parents' and girls' motivation to pursue secondary education (GPE and UNGEI, 2014). Further, the distance to school can compound the effects of poverty, with poor households often

distance is associated with opportunity costs: More time spent traveling to and from school implies greater loss of income. A study on the effect of long distance to school on girls, by UNESCO (2012) in four African countries including Zambia, found that it is a serious barrier to girls' education, particularly at the lower secondary level.

A range of qualitative studies in Zambia, have also confirmed the issue of long distance to school as a barrier to girls' education. Mwanza (2015) found long distance to school as a hindrance to girls in the rural schools of Chongwe, a district in Zambia. A study by Mann, Quigley and Fischer (2015) in other rural district of Zambia, found that it was common for girls

---

[26] The eight principles can be found at: https://plan-uk.org/file/plan-report-learn-without-fearpdf/download?token=HMORNNVk on page 8 (Greene et. al., 2013).

who lived far from school to exchange sex for transport to school to avoid punishment for reaching late. For this reason, together with a perceived low quality of education among community members, make some parents to refrain from committing their limited resources to support their daughters to remain in school. Hence, I will explore this issue by obtaining the views of girls and parents' representatives at the two case study schools.

However, promising approaches that can overcome the issue of long distance to school that girls face include: Establishing schools closer to learners' homes. For instance, introducing village or community based secondary schools that are safe and near students' homes (UNGEI and GPE, 2014; UNICEF, 2004). Expansion of boarding facilities with proper sanitation facilities (Bista and Cosstick, 2005; Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006). Introducing a mobile teacher training unit which allows women with at least ten (10) years of education to train as teachers without leaving their villages (Subrahmanyam, 2016). This approach is also applicable to the issue of inadequate women teachers in schools and is more long term. Another approach that has been found to be feasible in the short term is seeking donation for bicycles, which as revealed by a study done by the Zambian Ministry of Education in collaboration with World Bicycle Relief (Fiala et. al., 2018).   Hence, this problem of long distance is relevant to my study as I am focusing on issues affecting rural girls who are in areas where there are fewer secondary schools (MoE, 2016; Mwanza, 2015) and so they must access the nearest schools to their home which are not necessarily close. In so doing, the empirical data from my study will offer evidence to critically engage with these approaches.

Status of the two-tier system curriculum approach in the Zambian Education System

Another issue on the supply side of education, relates to the relevance of the Zambian Education system. The education sector, both primary and secondary levels, has been criticized as being too academic and does not provide adequate knowledge and skills necessary for social and economic development (International Youth Foundation, 2014). The curriculum is therefore, seen as orienting learners towards white-collar jobs which are very scarce in Zambia (Kakupa, 2017). In light of this, the Zambian government introduced a two-tier curriculum in

2014 (Tuchili, 2022; Kakupa, 2017), which provides an opportunity for students with ambitions and interest in technical and hands-on subjects that take the vocational pathway. The curriculum offers practical skills to learners from Grade 8 up to Grade 12. The reviewed curriculum was branded 'From theory to practice', designed to support learners through transformation and responsiveness to life and livelihood skills as well as future/transformative capabilities (Tuchili, 2022). A study conducted in a few schools where the two-tier approach is being implemented, Tuchili (2022), found that the implementation of the two-tier curriculum, does give an opportunity to learners to acquire and develop transformational competencies. She adds that the learners stated categorically that the guidance they received from teachers helps to enhance positive behaviour concerning acquisition of the various long-life skills.

However, a range of studies aimed at evaluating the implementation of the two-tier approach have been done in which challenges emerged on the use of the technique in the Zambian education system (Tuchili, 2022; Kakupa, 2017; Moono, 2013). These include inability by the government to meet the cost associated with its implementation, issues with the existing curriculum that prepare graduates for white collar jobs or formal employment. This poses a major concern as research shows that the Education system in Zambia was designed to produce workers for formal employment and not for informal occupations such as entrepreneurship (Mwamba, 2019; Central Statistical Office, 2017; Moono, 2013). Hence, lack of skills that come with the two-tier approach, will disadvantage some learners especially girls who are in the majority that are engaged in the informal sector (Tuchili, 2019; Edudzie, 2017; Kakupa, 2017). I will follow up on this issue later in the study.

2.3.2 Demand-side factors

Cultural practice generally refers to the broad range of traditional and customary activities displayed in behaviours and standards of a particular ethnic group (Taylor, 2006). These practices vary widely around the world and from one ethnic group to another. They cover many aspects of individuals' daily life including the entire society and this is where the aspect of people's identity is established. However, evidence in Zambia suggests harmful cultural practices, largely informed by unequal gender norms, expose girls to negative outcomes

including education (Mwanza, 2019; Moletsane, 2017; Tayler, 2006). Some theorists further claim that the unequal gender norms, which render the girls, unequal in intimate and social relationships, result in their inability to negotiate and make decisions about their lives and bodies. This negatively affects their chances of completing their education. Studies in Zambia show that cultural practices relating to early pregnancies, early child marriages, and gender stereotyping common in rural areas have hindered girls from completing school (Mwanza, 2019; McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). The Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MoGCD) reveals that, from Grade 10-12, out of the 29.3% rural girls who enrolled in 2012, more than half of them had dropped out of school whereas, for boy of the same grades, less 6.2% dropout from of 26.8% that were enrolled.

Previous literature on challenges to girls' education, indicates that early unintended pregnancy has been identified as a key driver of dropout and exclusion among female secondary school students in sub-Saharan African countries all (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2015). In Zambia, the rates of adolescent pregnancies in Zambia are higher in rural areas at 37% compared to 20% in urban areas (Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, early pregnancy is one of the main reasons for school dropout in Zambia (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). In Zambia, teenage pregnancy has been a big concern in relation to girls' participation in school since 2009 (Zambia EFA Review Report, 2014). The report indicates that in the last 9 years, over 15,000 pregnancies having been reported annually by the Ministry of General Education (MoGE), with 80 per cent of those pregnancies occurring in rural areas. The effects of early pregnancies among schoolgirls most often implies the drop out of school, resulting in non-attainment of education.

Nevertheless, promising approaches to early pregnancy include the need to: Facilitate/strengthen Comprehensive Sexuality Education in schools (Yakubu and Salisu, 2018; Parkes et. al., 2017; Eup, U.P. 2015). Facilitate parental counselling and guidance on sexuality issues, affordable or free education, girl-friendly school environment, adolescent-friendly reproductive health services (Yakubu and Salisu, 2018); Ensure the school and the family build a teenager's sense of self and of the future, as teenagers (especially girls) who see

a future for themselves are less likely to become sexually involved at an early age (Kenney, 2018).

Numerous studies have found child marriage to be a barrier to girls' education (McCleary-Sills et. al., 2015; Nguyen and Wodon, 2015). Research from sub-Saharan Africa suggests that each year of early marriage greatly reduces the chances of girls completing secondary school (Field and Ambrus, 2008; Nguyen and Wodon, 2015). Hence, lack of education is both a risk factor and an outcome of child marriage (Klugmanetal, 2014). Girls' education has the most substantial factors associated with age at marriage, with extensive literature recording lower levels of schooling as being connected to lower age at marriage (Wodon et. al., 2017). However, a study by Mann, Quigley and Fischer (2015) found that most of families in rural areas of Zambia were not able to send their children to secondary as the cost of schooling is beyond their means.

However, there are promising approaches to ending child marriage, including: Enhancing the accessibility and quality of formal schooling for girls through cash, scholarships, fee subsides, uniforms and suppliers as incentives for girl enrol and remain in school, building schools, improving facilities (especially for girls) (this is particularly important for Zambia as high cost of schooling and poverty seems to affect continued access to secondary education), Improving the school curriculum and training teachers to deliver content on topics such as life skills, comprehensive sexuality education and gender sensitivity (Stromquist, 2015; Malhotra et. al., 2011). This issue of child marriage is of interest to my study, considering the high rates of schoolgirls associated with early marriage in Zambia. It is also linked to early pregnancies as well as the issue of poverty. As it is linked to the other aspects that relate to other barriers to girls' secondary education, I make this a central concern in this thesis.

Another notable barrier to girls' education, is the higher cost of schooling for girls compared to boys. Studies show that schooling is more costly for girls as the direct costs (e.g., school fees where they exist, uniforms, transportation) and opportunity costs (e.g., time could have spent working or helping family) of school, which often impact boys and girls differently (King and

Winthrop, 2015; Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006). These theorists add that several non-experimental studies using household survey data find that girls' schooling is more sensitive to cost, than is boys' schooling. This situation is observable in Zambia, as evidenced by Mwanza's (2015) study, which found parents' greater hesitancy to send daughters to school without proper clothing raising the cost of their attendance, resulting in high absenteeism, poor performance and then dropping out.

Besides the issue of cost of schooling being higher for girls, research further found the girls who face multiple disadvantages are farthest behind. While gender accounts for observed disparities in education, poverty persists as the most important and pervasive factor for education inequality (UNESCO, 2010; Filmer, 2008). Data from 24 low-income countries show that poverty alone accounts for 38 percentage points of the gender difference between, but gender aggravates that educational weakness, accounting for about 10 percentage points of the difference (King and Nguyen, 2013). Education lags most significantly among people who face multiple sources of disadvantage, not only income poverty, but also place of residence, disability and/or ethno-linguistic background.

Studies on girls' education in Zambia show high levels of poverty, most prevalent in rural areas, which negatively affects the participation and completion of girls' secondary schooling (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015; Mwanza, 2015). These theorists further found that girls are far more likely to drop out of school, with the biggest disparities measured in rural communities, where 27 per cent of females have no education compared to 18 per cent of males. Studies by Mann, Quigley and Fischer (2015) in Zambia, also found that the financial cost of sending children to secondary school is prohibitive by most of the families in rural areas as the annual secondary school tuition costs more than the annual family incomes. Another study by Mwanza (2015), found absenteeism, poor retention and low demand for girls' education are due to poverty, as the main issue affecting girls' education. The study further revealed that direct and indirect costs of schooling were usually too high for poor families to afford.

Promising approaches to addressing the issue of the high cost of schooling include: Information campaigns highlighting the importance of girls' education (Subrahmanyam, 2016; UNICEF, 2004); Emphasizing the higher returns to secondary education enjoyed by girls compared to boys; Ensure girls' access to secondary education is improved (quality) as this is the issue that seems to affect parents' cost-benefit analysis of whether to send girls to school or not (SIDA 2016); Involving valued community members, religious leaders and other civil society representatives in designing and/or advocating policies and programmes aimed at overturning gender norms and harmful traditional practices (Subrahmanyam, 2016); Advocating for affordable education (UNICEF, 2004); Re-allocation of household tasks (UNICEF, 2004); Provision of a school feeding programme (UNICEF, 2004). However, some approaches to high cost of schooling require link to two or more approaches that aim at enhancing girls' education at the same time to be effective. For instance, the method on information campaigns on importance of girls' education needs to be linked to scholarships, stipend or other financial incentives for poor families to be convinced by them (Subrahmanyam, 2016; UNICEF, 2004). This issue of high cost of schooling is of interest to this study as it is focusing on rural girls who are in the category of those that are financially disadvantage. Since secondary education in Zambia is not free, it raises the issues of the cost of schooling. I therefore will investigate in this thesis how girls in the two rural secondary schools are coping with financial issues relating their education and provide much needed empirical data to further debates in this area.

2.4. Girls' Experiences of Secondary Education in Africa

2.4.1 Current Empirical Research

Recognition of the variations in the way issues relating to girls' secondary education affect different countries, is important. I will provide examples and indicate how girls experience secondary education in certain countries. As the focus of this study is on rural girls, I will limit the discussion to this category of students as much as possible. It is vital to differentiate the types of rural schools as I note that girls in rural schools situated close to urban towns, may not encounter challenges in the same way that girls in very remote rural schools.

A review of literature of girls' experiences of secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa

While the past two decades of educational development in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has been characterized by substantial gains in girls' access to schooling at all levels, there are obstacles in accessing inclusive and equitable quality education, especially for adolescent girls (British Council, 2021; UNESCO, 2022). For example, data from SSA found that in many countries, no more than 10 girls out of every 100 complete lower secondary school (British Council, 2021). Several studies show that girls especially from rural areas are more disadvantaged in accessing secondary education (UNESCO, 2022; Burns and Santally, 2019; UNICEF, 2019). Additionally, a recent study shows rapid increases in school participation and educational attainment coming at a cost of quality across Africa, thereby contributing to a serious shortfall of skills needed for productive employment (Eduzie, 2019). The theorist adds that many African learners are not acquiring the skills that provide the foundation for productive life because of the terrible track record of Africa's weak system in producing the required skills for the market.

Research also shows that gender disparities exist in 91% of SSA countries by the time the girls reach upper secondary school (Odhiambo, 2020). These scholars suggest that key inequalities in secondary school enrolment and access are attributed to geography, poverty and gender. Sub-Sahara is said to have the world's lowest girls' enrolment rate, though with wide variations among countries. For instance, the female gross enrolment rate of secondary education is as much as 100 percent in South Africa compared to 12 and 16 percent in Central African Republic and Niger, respectively (UNECA, 2017). These gender disparities relate to poverty and rurality. For example, in Malawi only 5 of every 100 poorest rural girls attending secondary school, hardly one completes the cycle. The low completion rate of secondary education is similar in Nigeria, where 3 percent of poorest rural girls complete the secondary school cycle, in contrast to 92 percent of the richest urban boys. Other examples include Zambia and Zimbabwe, with high primary school access for both rich and poor children, secondary school is far more accessible to the richest compared to the poorest. Other barriers in terms of access that appear to be common to girls' secondary education in African countries are early pregnancies, early marriages, long distance school, inadequate finances leading to families

prioritizing education for boys, and the poor quality of education, making it less attractive especially for girls (Burns and Santally, 2019).

Research further shows that in most countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, there is a shortage of trained secondary school teachers, especially in rural schools, which results in poor quality of learning (Burns and Santally, 2019). Bashir et al. (2018) suggests, most teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa receive no continuous professional development or support. The scholars add that teacher deployment across countries, teacher-to-student ratios, teacher management, and the need for specialized teachers in secondary education. Furthermore, many countries in the region lack qualified teachers in part due to conflicts, a "brain drain" caused by poor working conditions, low pay, a lack of professional development, and other pressing issues like AIDS and famine (Appleton et al., 2006; Educational International, 2018). This is a matter of concern as poor quality education considering the adverse affect it has on girls' education.

Although some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have adopted the Re-entry Policy that allows girls that fall pregnant while attending school to return after childbirth, school officials often fail to carry them out adequately or at all (Tibasima, 2017). Young mothers often lack support to re-enroll due to school fees and related costs, limited support from their families, stigma in school, and a lack of affordable childcare and related early childhood services. Despite most sub-Saharan African countries having made commitments to guarantee compulsory primary and lower-secondary education for all children, many exclude or expel pregnant girls and young mothers from school (Tibasima, 2017).

A range of qualitative studies have been conducted in the region focusing on girls that have dropped out of school, in order to understand their experiences and views about education (Buckler, 2022; Chenge et. al., 2017). These have been able to capture exceptional experiences of girls, which may be different from studies that have focused on girls attending formal schools. For instance, as school authorities may try to address issues that affect the learning of girls in school, they could overlook family factors that may be obstacles to the continued girls' attendance and participation in school. A study by Chenge et. al., (2017) on out-of-school girls, found that the lack of finances by the parents to support the girls' schooling leads to dropping

out. Another study by Buckler et. al., (2022) found that understanding more about how girls make decisions about their education, the reasons they advance for not continuing with education, is important as there could be other issues hindering them. For instance, one of the Hence, reviewing studies for both in-school and out-of-school girls is fundamental as it provides more holistic way of investigating challenges that girls face and how these can complement the standardized methods commonly used by most researchers including the present study.

2.4.2 Researching Girls' Education

A range of qualitative and quantitative studies have been conducted on specific barriers to girls' education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Most theorists have used common approaches such as qualitative studies using semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to find out issues that positively affect girls as well as barriers they encounter in their education (Burns and Santally; 2019; UNESCO, 2021; UNICEF, 2019). While these methods of research assist in obtaining results on experiences of girls' education they neglect certain important information that could contribute to getting a deeper insight on issues affecting girls.

However, one method that has been found to enable deeper conversation and understanding of meaning girls attach to their education experiences is storytelling. Research undertaken by Buckler et. al., (2022) using the storytelling method, revealed that this method dug deeper into research participants' issues relating to challenges girls encountered in school. For instance, the theorists found that girls' marginalisation is not characterised by persistent poverty, which standardized methods usually emphasize on, but by persistent unpredictability. The storytelling method also show how girls experience unpredictable shifts, and how and where they have agency to ease the impacts on them and those they care for. Another study by Khoja-Moolji (2015) also offers a creative way of collecting information from girls besides by emphasizing on the need to listen more to girls' voices. The theorist argues that the method of eliciting/allowing voice to marginalised groups (such as girls from the global south, in this case) involves doing the 'work of hearing'; and in the absence of this, the voices become a mere add-on. Focusing on an engagement with girls in Pakistan, Khoja-Moolji adds that the practice of hearing entails attending to the leaks and excesses of girls' voices or, that which

exceeds dominant codes that point to the multiplicity of their investments, commitments and visions of good life; being open to new terms of development that are identified by the participants themselves, terms that may not align with prevalent 'best practices'; and being cognisant of the weight that Eurocentric knowledges carry, which often makes the work of hearing indigenous knowledges difficult. Hence, reviewing various ways in which issues affecting girls' education are tackled is useful to complementing the standardised methods of qualitative research.

2.5 Theories underpinning this study

Initially when I began to plan for this study, I aimed to use social constructivist theory (Vygotsky, 1978). This theory argues that social interaction plays an important role in the ways boys and girls learn. Vygotsky (1978) believes that every function in the child's cultural development appears twice, first, on the social level and later, on the individual level; first between people and then inside the child. My research was not merely about the academic schooling and knowledge; however, I was interested in exploring how gender affects the girls' overall experience of secondary schooling. I resolved that social constructivist theory would not be suitable to examine the complexities linked to gender differences in school participation of boys and girls in the school procedures and processes within and outside the classrooms. Moreover, I discovered that the theory would not work in the Zambian context because of the traditional teaching methods used in the two case study schools. As a result, I had to drop social constructivist theory and search for other theories that might help shed light on the type of data that I generated in my field work. Hence, I decided to frame the study under schools' gender regime theory (Connell, 1996); social roles theory (Eagly, 1987) and cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1997) as the theories for organising, analysing and interpreting gender issues at the two case study schools.

The three theories above were selected on the premise that to explore the gender dimensions of an institution, it is necessary to understand the social structures and practices by which such an institution constructs gender among the teachers and students (Connell, 1996). Debatably, it is essential to have some form of understanding of their gender relations and their social

world. Gender involves relationships between people and the environment and how it interacts with other social identities in the environment. Therefore, one important way of understanding gender relations is to understand social behaviour and social setting (Connell, 1996). It is theorised that change toward gender equality is slowed by societal ideologies and status beliefs that legitimize social inequalities based on sex and other traits (Eagly and Wood, 2012). Hence, it is important to understand the roots of role asymmetries, as such understanding could facilitate social policy that opens paths for both men and women to occupy a wider range of social roles. In addition, social role theory offers a way to understand both stability and change in gender roles and associated behavioural sex differences (Eagly and Wood, 2012). Therefore, plans or outlines (frameworks) to reduce gender disparities in education need to recognize the ways in which gender norms inside and outside of schools, influence and are influenced by the school experience of girls and school personnel among others (Eerdewijk and Brouwers, 2014). I move to discuss the three theories in detail, starting with gender regime theory.

2.5.1 Gender Regime Theory

Kessler et al. (1985) in Liu (2006: 426) indicates that the "gender regime at work in every school can be defined as the pattern of practices that constructs various kinds of masculinity and femininity among staff and students, orders them in terms of prestige and power, and constructs a sexual division of labour within the institution". They further indicate that "gender regime is a state of play rather than a permanent condition and that it can be changed deliberately or otherwise but that it is no less powerful in its effects on pupils for that it confronts them as a social fact, which they have to come to terms with somehow" (p. 426). In support of the above, Connell and Pearse (2015:69) indicated that 'every institution has a regular set of arrangements about gender: who is employed to do what work; what social divisions are recognised; how emotional relations are conducted and how these institutions are related to others. The theorist added that such a pattern in gender arrangements may be called the gender regime of an institution.

Connell and Pearse (2015:70) also defined gender relations as a set of relationships existing between men and women in everyday school life and through them gender identities are

formed. Bradley (2007) says that gender is a lived experience and a set of sociological relationships (pp. 4 – 5). This definition emphasizes gender identity formation through daily gendered experiences through socialisation. As observed by Dunne (2007:502) gender regime is usually used to show how accounts of everyday life in a school can construct gender inequality through "normalisation" of specific forms of gendered behaviour and interaction. Further, Dunne (2007:502) claims that by normalising forms of behaviour and interaction in school life, gender regime is set up with which teachers and students identify and through which they play out their gendered identities. Connell and Pearse (2015:72) suggest that the theoretical work on gender allows people to sort out the different dimensions of a school's gender regime, which consists of four dimensions: power relations, division of labour, patterns of emotions and symbolisation. This theory provides a theoretical framework that explains how gender inequality might arise or be reinforced by educational organisations, in this case the two case studies schools. Below are the more specific details of the four dimensions of gender regime and their interactions with other social identities and how they relate to my research.

Firstly, Connell (1996:9) points out that power relations include supervision and authority among teachers and patterns of dominance, harassment and control over resources among students". According to Connell and Pearse (2015:72), power as a dimension of gender, brings with it the idea of men as a dominant 'sex class' and women as another sex class on whom men exercised their own authority on. This can be related to Zambia as men can be seen to dominate and control women. For instance, a study by Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA)-Zambia (2012), on '*sexual violence against girls in Zambia's schools'* revealed that female students reported that male teachers used their position of authority to force them into sexual relationships by offering leaked exam answers, in exchange for sexual favours. The study also found that other male teachers used their position of power by retaliating against girls who declined their advances or discontinued an affair with them.

According to Connell (1996:9), "a familiar and important pattern of the class structure is the association of masculinity with authority, and the concentration of men in supervisory positions in school systems". A Labour Force Survey (LFS) (2014) in Zambia shows 52% economically active women mainly employed as contributing family workers compared to 17% of men. In

the education sector in Zambia females are usually employed as junior teachers, home economics teachers and cleaners while males are found most in school manager positions (Central Statistical Office, 2015a). Thus, men appeared to belong to higher SES group while women belong to lower SES group in the Zambian society. Furthermore, power relations among the students are visible as (Connell, 1996:9) observes in how boys dominate and control the playground space for football activities informally and thus maintaining the hegemony of an aggressive, physical masculinity in the school's peer group life. On the other hand, as Dunne (2007:506) reveals, girls often gathered in small groups, mostly on the edges of the playing field and some on the footpaths for their informal playground activities. Consequently, boys are the dominant class of people utilising the gendered playground space while girls are the class of people managing the periphery. In my thesis, I examine whether power relations among the staff and students are the same as others have theorised.

Secondly, Connell and Pearse (2015:74) states that "in many societies, and in many situations, certain tasks are performed by men and others are performed by women". The theorist added that "such divisions of labour are common throughout history and across cultures but while gender divisions of labour are extremely common, there is not exactly the same division in different cultures or at different points of history" (p. 74). Connell (1996: 9) mentions that this includes "work specialisations among teachers, such as concentrations of women in domestic science, language, and literature teaching and male teachers in science, mathematics and industrial arts". Here gender interacts with work specialisations of teachers as well as with their socio-economic status and educational attainment. As Dunne (2007:505) observed, girls are often given the responsibility of cleaning the classrooms and offices while boys are loaded with the responsibility of performing heavier duties like tree cutting. Thus, boys are categorized as students who can do heavier duties while girls are in the category of those who can do light duties.

Thirdly, Connell and Pearse (2015:76) indicate that emotional relations are made up of expressive relations, attachments, or commitments. Connell (1996:9) indicates what most sociologists referred to as the "feeling rules" for occupations that are often found in teaching and are often linked with the performance of specific roles in a school. Connell and Pearse

(2015:76) reveal that emotional commitments may be positive or negative, favourable or hostile towards the entity. Furthermore, Connell and Pearse (2015) indicate a major area of emotional attachment is sexuality, which involves culturally formed bodily relationships. This study will be guided by studies on sexual violence that directly affect girls in relation to heterosexuality.

Fourthly, Connell (1996:9) claims that "schools import much of the symbolisation of gender from the wider culture, but they have their own symbol systems too: uniforms and dress codes, formal and informal language codes, and so forth". Connell, (1996) refers to another important symbolic structure in education as the gendering of knowledge by which certain areas of the curriculum are perceived by people as masculine while others as feminine. It is through such intersecting structures of relationships that schools construct institutional definitions of gender. Such definitions, Connell (1996) adds can be impersonal; they exist as social facts and teachers and students participate in this gender construction by entering the school and living within its structures. However, Connell (1996:9) claims the terms on which they participate are negotiable, that is, whether adjusting to the patterns, protesting, or trying to alter them.

Connell's argument above on symbolic structures in education, relates to gendering of the school curriculum, such that it is perceived according to masculinity and femininity and is supported by other studies. A study by Mutekwe and Modiba (2012) on girls' career choices in Zimbabwe , revealed that the unequal distribution of girls and boys in certain subjects was a failure by the school and teachers to ensure learning equity for the learners. UNESCO Global Education Monitoring report by Vaughan (2016) found the extent at which secondary school textbooks misrepresented key priorities currently known to achieve sustainable development including gender equality. The report further indicates that gender bias is still a significant problem, with less than 15% of countries integrating key terms such as 'gender empowerment' or 'gender-sensitive' in their curricula, while half mention 'gender equality'.

Connell's (1996) contention on gendering of school curriculum is observable in Zambia. A study by Evans (2014), found that teachers in Zambian schools with stereotypical beliefs would openly tell girls they were less competent in mathematics and science subjects. The researcher further witnessed a situation where teachers discouraged girls from taking subjects like

woodwork. This situation in which girls are deterred to take up science related subjects, likely limits them from taking up science related careers after they leave school. These issues, and the applicability of these theories, are critically investigated in this thesis.

While gender regime theories are useful approaches in analysing issues relating to gender inequalities in the school as discussed above, there are challenges in applying them. Research suggests that practices to balance or break an existing gender regime may have the paradoxical effect of reaffirming an unequal gender regime (Kornberger, Carter, & Ross-Smith, 2010; Fleming, 2007). For instance, a person seeking to counteract gender stereotypes always runs the risk of invoking and perpetuating stereotypes rather than removing them (Pilgeram, 2007). Likewise, while switching gender roles may challenge an existing gender regime, this practice has uncertain consequences, because differentiating and hierarchizing processes along gender lines are still in effect. Empirical evidence shows that comparing three selected cases revealed that such struggles were stronger in settings with a clear dominance of either men or women than in rather gender-balanced settings (Ortlieb and Sieben, 2017). The theorists further show that they follow distinctive patterns of pressure and counter-pressure, or attacks and protection. That is, each attack from one party will be responded to by the other party with similar or greater strength. They further indicate that practices challenging an existing gender regime are typically, accompanied by reaffirming practices that evolve within other areas of gender performativity.

2.5.2 Social Role Theory

Eagly (1987) proposed the idea of social roles theory arguing that 'social roles account for sex differences in social behaviour' (p. 10). She further argued that 'the sexual division of labour and societal expectations based on stereotypes produce gender roles' (p. 12). She defined the latter as 'shared expectations about appropriate qualities and behaviours which apply to people because of their socially identified gender' (p. 12). According to Eagly (1987) 'gender roles are germane to explaining sex differences which occur in typical research settings [school classrooms] and such gender roles are applicable to a large portion of people's lives, including that portion which might occur in the classroom setting' (p. 12). Eagly (1987) argued that

'gender roles do have a direct impact on social interactions that occur in schools. These gender roles are often established upon social norms which are 'the standards or rules of behaviour for men and women expected by a given society or culture' (Statt, 2003:145) Such social norms are usually perceived as 'stereotypes' which are 'shared beliefs that people hold about a group of people' (Archer and Lloyd, 2002:19). Moreover, 'gender roles are the social roles that a society defines for men and women while the stereotypes that people hold about men and women are gender stereotypes' (Eagly, 1987:6).

Eagly (1987) further makes a distinction between 'the communal and agentic dimensions of gender-stereotyped characteristics' (p. 16). The 'communal dimension describes a concern with the welfare of other people and women are believed to manifest this concern more strongly in women than men' (Eagly, 1987:16). The communal role therefore is categorized by attributes such as caring, nurturance and emotional expressiveness, and is commonly associated with women and domestic activities' (p. 16). On the other hand, the 'agentic dimension is characterized by attributes such as assertiveness and controlling tendencies, and is commonly associated with public activities, and thus, with men' (p. 16). Eagly (1987) therefore associates the stereotypes of the agentic role with masculinity and argues that these attributes are the results of men's roles in the public sphere. Similarly, she associates the stereotypes of the communal role with femininity and argues that these qualities emanate from their roles in the private sphere or in the domestic activities' (p. 21).

However, Eagly (1987) maintained that 'the gender stereotypes about agentic and communal roles do not represent men and women as widely separated categories because people do not believe that all men are domineering and that all women are submissive' (p. 17). She argued that 'instead, people believed that the sexes are somewhat heterogeneous, partially overlapping groups, possessing different average levels of various attributes' (p. 17). Therefore, using the distinction of Holmes (2009), masculine and feminine are not necessarily clear and opposite categories' (p. 2). Consequently, 'gender roles and physical characteristics are consistent or inconsistent with masculine and feminine roles' (Eagly, 1987:24).

The behaviours of school children are likely to be connected to their gender roles when the specific cultures approve gender stereotypes and hold firm expectations based on those stereotypes (Eagly 1987). As explained in chapter 1 of this research, gender roles in the Zambian context refer to socialisation experiences which girls and boys are taught in their homes (JICA, 2016). Such experiences often influence their behaviour, and they normally bring such behaviours into classroom settings during teaching and learning process. Eagly (1987) also suggests that 'skills as well as attitudes and beliefs learned from performing gender roles are often carried from one setting to another and therefore, men and women often bring with them such knowledge and skills into the research settings' (p. 28). As a result, the 'behaviour of men and women tends to differ in the classroom even though they are treated equally and are assigned the same specific role' (p. 28). Consequently, gender roles are relevant to this research because they do influence certain kinds of behaviours in Zambian girls.

As earlier noted, throughout the Zambian family socialisation, girls and boys learn and accept certain roles taught to them by their parents. For example, housekeeping and caring for children are the primary responsibilities of women; hence, men are not expected to participate fully in them. Similarly, girls help their mothers to keep their houses clean and to care for younger children, while boys do not. In many families, parents prefer to leave their younger siblings in the care of their girls. Furthermore, the Zambian women and girls take care of the largest part of childcare and character formation, including educating them and caring for them in every way. Hence, the socialisation of boys and girls in the Zambian cultures seems to be designed to making them isolated people with different capabilities, potentials, and constitutions' (JICA, 2016; Sandlane, 1989). For instance, girls are taught that a good woman must be obedient, submissive, gentle and modest carers of families (JICA, 2016; Mwanakatwe, 1968). However, most feminists argued that gendered behaviour is to some extent socially constructed, given that these behaviours and those assigned appropriate to one gender or the other, vary between cultures and historic periods (Mikkola, 2022).

Social role theory, like gender regime and cultural capital theory, has its limitations. Contrary to social role theory, gender differences in personality, character, values, and emotions are more pronounced in North American or European nations relative to Asian and African

countries (Guimond, 2008). Furthermore, social role theory cannot illuminate all gender variations, especially in relation to mate choice and sexual jealousy (Moss, 2016). For instance, unlike men, women tend to prefer colleagues who show the potential to earn a substantial income (Ataril, and Jamali, 2016: Wiederman and Allgeier, 1992). The theorists add that social role theory may predict that women who undertake a low status role might display this preference, perhaps to conquer her own constraints in power. They claim, this preference endures even when the women themselves earn large wages.

Connell critiques sex role theory on both empirical and theoretical grounds. 'Role' might be adequate to explain certain performances enacted in our occupations or public lives. However, the 'dramaturgical' specificity implied by it cannot incorporate something as extensive and multifaceted as gender (Connell 2009). Connell suggests it would be comparable to having a 'race' role or a 'class' role (Connell 1987). It is argued that role presentation cannot account for the persistently substantial and opposing realities of men's and women's lives (Herrett and Schofield, 2015). The theorists add that the idea of 'roles' in an analysis of power is negligeable. For instance, women's liberation in the 1970s was a stimulus for challenging sex role norms, however corresponding arguments about the equally oppressive impact of sex roles on men have since been advanced for different purposes. The socialisation process described in role theory is a fundamentally conventional process of accommodation of the individual and the social. The socialisation agencies, including family, school, media, churches, social groups, and institutions, are responsible for conveying appropriate sex-role norms. The developmental trajectory throughout childhood then is towards finding one's gendered place in the social problem. Connell argues that such a view adopts a consensus between the individual and these socialising agencies that is not corresponding in practice.

To conclude, I found Connell's (1996) school gender regime theory and Eagly's (1987) very helpful to my research, as her theory assisted me in examining gender regimes at the two case studies schools, while Eagly's (1987) social role theory was useful in exploring girls' secondary school experiences and the gender roles carried out during family socialisation and socialisation at school. Moreover, these theories also helped to reveal the effect of the gendered school environment on girls' learning opportunities, gendered segregation and on stereotypical

gender behaviour across the case study schools. Despite the critiques I have discussed, these two theories proved useful for investigating the gendered experiences of schooling among the girls that participated in the research at the two case studies schools. This because as I am aware of the challenges, and therefore, can apply them cautiously, bearing in mind the limitations.

2.5.3 Cultural capital theory

The third theory that underpins this study is Cultural capital. This theory is the work of the French Sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, developed in the early 1960s. He argues that cultural habits and dispositions inculcated in children from the family are fundamentally important to school success (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1999). Bourdieu maintains that those cultural habits and dispositions comprise a resource capable of generating 'profits', they are potentially subject to monopolisation by individuals and groups, and under appropriate conditions, they can be transmitted from one generation to the next. The theory thus points out that capital, habitus and field all work together to generate social action or practice (Bourdieu, 1984, cited in Dumais, 2002). The field is the setting in which practices occur (Dumais, 2002) or any structure of social relations (King, 2005:223).

In my study, fields refer to three places: household, and school. For domestic work, the field refers to households where parents and other extended family members socialise their boys and girls into family cultural activities, and each field [family] has somewhat similar or different domestic tasks assigned to their children through whom they acquired knowledge and skills for useful living within their society. Bourdieu and Wacquant, (1992) argue that capital does not exist or function except in relation to a field. In education, the field refers to the schools and classrooms and, in this research, specifically to the case study school. Bourdieu (1997) describes three types of capital, which are capital, economic and social. In this study I focus on cultural as it comprises forms of knowledge, skills, education and advantages that individuals have, which give them a higher status in society. Bourdieu maintains that parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the skills and knowledge needed to succeed in the current educational system (Bourdieu, 1973). For this research, cultural capital refers to the dispositional knowledge and skills that parents instil into their girls, through their participation

in domestic work and how that explains their differential involvement in the teaching-learning process in school. Hence, cultural capital is critical to my research as it assists me to think about how girls operate within the context girls' secondary education.

Dumais (2002) claims, 'Bourdieu distinguished among three forms of cultural capital: objectified cultural capital, which refers to objects that require special cultural abilities to appreciate, such as works of arts and music; institutionalised cultural capital, which refers to academic permits and the authorizing system; and embodied cultural capital, which consists of both the consciously-acquired and the passively-inculcated properties of 'oneself' (p.46). It is this embodied cultural capital that most researchers have tried to mystify in educational research. Dumais (2002) points out that institutionalised cultural capital develops because one is having embodied cultural capital and successfully transforming it via the educational system. In addition to capital and field, habitus refers to manifestations of cultural participation which are seen in daily practices and behaviours that 'go without saying' (Jordan, et al, 2008). Bourdieu (1997) argues that habitus should also include personal constructs, belief, and value systems as well as disposition. Dumais (2002) further claims, habitus is one's disposition, which influences the actions that one takes; it can even be manifested in one's behaviour, such as the way one perceives oneself or walks. It is generated by one's place in the social structure; by internalising the social structure and one's place in it, one comes to determine what is possible and what is not possible for one's life and develops aspirations and practices accordingly (Dumais, 2002). In this research, habitus is the product of everyday lived and homeplace experiences of girls acquired through cultural participation in domestic tasks assigned to them by their parents and other extended family members.

Dumais (2002) suggests, the importance of the development of habitus, which in my research refers to home place experiences of girls, is huge. Bourdieu (1997) argues that the reproduction of the social structure results from the habitus of individuals. Dumais (2002) contends based on class position that people are born into; they develop ideas about their individual potential. For example, those in the working class tend to believe that they will remain in the working class, unless the exceptional children from that class see the accumulation of cultural capital to overcome the obstacles, which are typical for those in their class position. She adds that these

beliefs are then externalised into actions that lead to the reproduction of the class structure. In terms of schooling, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), as cited in Dumais (2002), describe the school system as a field. Thus, participation within and outside school classrooms and doing the schoolwork assigned by the teacher are the types of practices taking place in this field.

Within this educational field, it is argued that the most valuable form of capital is cultural capital, and that academic success is directly dependent upon cultural capital and on the desire to invest in the academic market (Bourdieu, 1973: 96, cited in Dumais, 2002). Dumais suggests, both Bourdieu (1984) and DiMaggio and Useem (1978) found that within the dominant classes, teachers have the most cultural capital, value it and seem to reward students who possess it. Therefore, girls who have cultural capital instilled into them in their households tend to feel more comfortable in school, communicate easily with teachers and are therefore more likely to do well in school (De Graaf, and Krasykamp, 2000, as cited in Dumais, (2002). The habitus of girls also plays a role in student success in school, as the way in which they participate in schoolwork depends largely on their home place experiences of early socialisation (Dumais, 2002).

Bourdieu has been criticized by some scholars (e.g. Laberge, 1995, p. 137; McCall, 1992, p. 842; Skeggs, 2004, p. 22) for just focusing on class division when talking about institutional power, but this does not mean that Bourdieu was blind to gender, in fact, as Krias and William (2000, p. 58) argued, Bourdieu shows his concerns about the power of gender in indicating the impacts of habitus in *male domination* (1990). Nevertheless, when discussing the process of constructing gender, Bourdieu was inclined to analyse gender mediated by habitus at the individual level (Mennesson, 2012, p. 6), so that Bourdieu considered gender as a *'hidden'*, *'unofficial'* and *'secondary'* factor in social reproduction (Laberge, 1995, p. 137; McCall, 1992, p. 842; McLeod, 2005, p. 19; Smith et al. 2016, p. 4). In line with the discussion about gender relations and gender regimes above, gender itself participates in the process of distributing power and constituting social hierarchy (Acker, 1992, p. 567; Connell, 1987). In other words, gender is one socially constructed approach to distinguish men and women as two classes of people (Butler, 1990, pp.20-21; Schippers, 2007, p. 89). As institutions facilitate social structure and individuals through institutional habitus and institutional power

(Fleetwood, 2008, p. 261; Kenny, 2007, p. 94), no institutions are neutral, and they reflect gendered power relations, implying each institution is gendered (Franceschet, 2011, p. 65).

Furthermore, Bourdieu's theories contribute to analysing the process of reproduction of cultural/social inequality but failed to incorporate gender as one of the main structures in the process (Connell, 1987, p. 120). As Reay (1995, p. 359) emphasised, habitus is affected by power and social status so the concerns of gendered habitus in all categories of institutions help explain the dominance of hegemonic masculinity as well as the domination of femininity which are affected by the prevailing gender structure (Kronsell, 2005, p. 281). From this argument, schools, as cultural/educational institutions, have their own powers and methods to reproduce gendered power relations (Yang, 2012, p. 80; Wang, 2007, p. 8). Considering that institutional habitus can be seen as a product of its history and experiences (Doucet, 2008, p. 113), the ideas of the past and the present staff in the school on gender and the gender culture the staff help produce can be thought as part of gender habitus in school (Atkinson, 2011, p. 335). Since institutional habitus is more influential and constant than explicit rules in ensuring the relevance of practices (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54), gender habitus in school reinforces gender identities and gender relations through setting up norms and regulating practices in students' daily school lives (Dune, 2007, p. 502). Boeren (2016) contends a combined approach that draws from individual (Micro-level) and structural (macro-level) perspectives is commended. The theorist argues that work on structure and agency approaches is that the individual and society are interdependent, and thus both perspectives should ideally be included in research, as it allows for the consideration of critical perspectives that go beyond the level of the individual.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter has shown from the evidence that there are gender disparities hindering girls at secondary level especially in rural schools in Sub-Saharan Africa including Zambia. The chapter has also discussed various methods and approaches that have been used to get to the real issues hindering girls' education. It has also showed how, despite a robust Zambian education policy that is inclusive of all citizens being seen as equal regardless of gender, has not yet resulted in the expected success. The available literature on rural schools, shows that

the reasons why most of the girls that have dropped out of school are due to early pregnancies, and child marriages. The literature also indicates that schools are not free from sexual violence, and operate with teachers who have limited knowledge in gender responsive pedagogy, for instance, some teachers treat pupils according to their gender as well as hold the view that girls are less intelligent compared to boys in science subjects. This situation points to the need to explore issues relating to the girls', education personnel's and parents' views about girls' secondary education. It also shows that the school environment is not gender responsive and delivery of sexuality education is not eff3ective. Hence, the need to explore the barriers that girls experience in school participation and what has been done to try and address them.

This chapter further explores literature on gender and education and highlights three dominant theories including human rights, human capital and capabilities approach. It identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the different theories and how these relate to gender equality in education. The chapter draws largely on Connell's (1996) schools' gender regime, Eagly's (1987) social role and Bourdieu and Passeron, 1979). These theories would be used to understand, describe, and illuminate the qualitative data generated in two co-education case studies schools, by responding to three main research questions:

(1) What are girls' experiences of secondary education?

(2) What are teachers', school managers', parents' and district education officers' perceptions of girls' secondary education and importance to national development?

(3) What barriers to girls' secondary education have been experienced by girls, how is this mediated by gender and how have the barriers been navigated?

The subsequent chapters demonstrate how the issues and theories introduced in this chapter inform the discussion of the data in relation to the research questions.

Chapter Three

Exploring the experiences of Zambian girls' secondary education in rural schools: Methodological issues

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an outline of the methodology and methods applied in the study. It starts by discussing qualitative research and the pros and cons of this method. This is followed by a summary of the case study methods and a discussion on the feminist approach adopted by this study. It then looks at the researcher position in relation to 'insider and outsider' location, power relations, intersectionality and problems encountered in the field. The chapter then discusses methods used and their strengths and limitations in establishing the participants' perceptions about girls' secondary education and barriers that they encounter. This is followed by the research questions and methods that are used in obtaining the data. It further discusses the data analysis techniques adopted and why these were applied in this study. The chapter then looks at the reflexivity of the researcher in carrying out and analysing the research. Then, ethics guiding this study are outlined, followed by a summary of the Chapter.

3.2 Knowledge Generation and Methodology

This study has adopted qualitative research methodology as opposed to quantitative because it better facilitates an investigation and understanding of girls' experiences of secondary education. My decision is in line with the argument by Campbell and Schram (1995) as cited in Wambui, (2013), who claim that in the case of quantitative research, interests and concerns

of research participants could be overpowered by those of the researcher. In other words, the quantitative method does not consider the motives that participants have when sharing their opinion and there is no option to review answers with them (Miller, 2020). Hence, this option cannot measure the ways in which people interpret their actions, or that of others. Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach with its subject matter. It entails that qualitative researcher study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena, in terms of the meanings people bring to them (McLeod, 2019).

To this regard, the current study is situated within the interpretative research paradigm. The latter is a distinctive model because it recognises people, and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings, and understandings, as the primary data sources (Mason, 2009). Hence, girls, teachers, school managers, district education officers and parents are the primary data sources in this study. I, therefore, seek their perceptions of girls' secondary education, the challenges they face and measures they envisaged to address the barriers encountered. But, Mason, (2009) maintains that the position of being an interpreter does not have to rely on 'total immersion in a setting' and that is why it can purposely support a study which uses interview methods for instance, where the aim is to explore people's individual and collective understandings, reasoning processes, social norms, and so on. Correspondingly, an interpretivist approach not only perceives people as a primary data source but seeks their insights. Consequently, Mason argues that despite the possibility of other data sources, an interpretivist would want to derive from what they say about or how they are constituted in people's individual or collective meanings. The data for this study generated through participants' interviews in two co-education secondary schools on girls' schooling experiences, is considered to build upon concepts that focus on process, meaning and understanding (Aspers and Corte, 2019; Merriam, 1998). Therefore, the product of a qualitative study is richly descriptive.

Dunne, Pryor and Yates (2005, p.77), argue that in qualitative research, the interpretation and analysis are often guided by two aspects: first, the research design which specifies the logic for the research and second, approaches to the analysis and understanding of research texts that emerge from the dynamic interplay of the substantive interests, theoretical frameworks and the

empirical experiences of the researcher. Hence, the explanation and analysis of this stage of the study were directed by my ethics, substantive concerns, choice of literature and theories, tacit fieldwork experiences and systematic involvement with data. Although there are many types of qualitative research (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2011), this thesis focuses on a case study of two schools, thus using a method often used to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved (Crowe, et. al., 2011; Merriam, 1998).

To successfully implement the qualitative research approach depends on several aspects, such as a solid understanding of its principles and values, effective use of the research tools by the researcher, the ability of the researcher to ask relevant questions, to remain flexible, to stay alert to non-verbal cues, as well as to record and analyse data effectively. Other challenges for qualitative research include: the willingness of the respondents to participate in the study, raising issues that interviewees are willing to discuss and what they are wary of discussing; reliance on the honesty of respondents to provide accurate information and the convenience of the respondents for interactions. Consequently, the continuous analysis of data and modification of data-gathering tools assisted my research in tackling these issues, which will be addressed later in the chapter. The next section features the importance of feminist research and its relevance to this thesis.

3.3 Applying Feminist Research

Some studies have found that the concerns, perspectives and experiences of women provide the base of feminist research (Willsher and Goel, 2017; Hussain and Asad, 2012). Scholars suggest that conventional social science research is considered as largely an expression of men which represent the male dominant voice in patriarchal society (Hussain and Asad, 2012; Willsher and Goel, 2017). Furthermore, Connell and Pearse (2015:72), state that power as a dimension of gender brings with it the idea of men as a dominant 'sex class' and women as another class on whom men exercise their authority. Therefore, the idea that the positions and powers of men and women are different in this social world is significant in the research process. The theorists further argue that the knowledge about women's lives and experiences are either absent or has been constructed by men from their own viewpoint. As a result, the

exclusion of women's voices and experiences in the production of knowledge are matters of concern in feminist research (Harding, 1987; Willsher and Goel, 2017). Hence, this study adopted a feminist approach by including girls and other women participants and ensuring girls' educational perceptive and experiences are explored.

Despite the Zambian government, through the Ministry of General Education, in collaboration with other stakeholders (as described in Chapter one), implementing strategies and programmes to enhance girls' secondary education both in rural and urban areas, the low completion rates among girls continues to persist. Thus, taking a feminist methodological approach is critical in exploring the factors influencing girls at secondary level, in terms of attendance and participation in Zambian schools. Evidence indicates that there is no single feminist method of inquiry approach relating to methods and methodology and theory to addressing various gender issues (Hussain and Asad, 2012; Krook and Squires, 2006; Harding, 1987; Maguire, 1987). While no single definition of feminist research exists, and some feminists argue that a universal definition is not desirable. However, there are three key features or attributes of feminist research that differentiate it from traditional social science research (Parry, 2020; Wilkinson and Morton, 2007).

It is theorised that the best feminist analysis maintains that the inquirer be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, therefore recovering the entire research process for analysis (Yin, 2011; Harding 1987). In line with this thought, I reflected on my own position as woman, coming from an urban set up, and considered the cultural practices of girls and women in relation to sexuality by using diverse practices involved in the fieldwork. I was, therefore, watchful of the different actions and reactions of participants and placed myself in a manner that made them continue to be receptive as they provided information that I was investigating on. With regards to issues of power and authority in research, feminist practice builds on the understanding of difference and emphasizes the integration of issues of power, authority, ethics, and reflexivity into the practice of social research (Hesse-Biber and Piatelli, 2014). In addition, feminist researchers are particularly keen to examine power dynamics in the entire research process (Grenz et. al., 2014; DeVault, 1996; Reinharz, 1992). Some scholars suggest innovative ways of addressing the issues of power between the research and the researched. For instance, interviewing should be a practice that takes interviewees' questions

and needs seriously (Oakley, 1981 as cited in Grenz et. al., 2014). This is essential in making women's voices heard and subjective experiences visible to others.

Furthermore, research suggests that men can also make important contributions to feminist research (Prasad et. al., 2020; Harding, 1989). Along these lines, this study extended its interviews to include men comprising of teachers, school managers and district education officers drawn from the two case study districts and schools. In this study, the male adult participants were purposively selected due to their familiarity in managing and teaching of students in the school. I noted that some male school managers spoke passionately about the importance of girls' education. In addition, I illustrate using the data collected during my fieldwork, how male participants in this study expressed empathy regarding the enhancement of girls' secondary education. I am aware that feminist researchers acknowledge the importance of one's position, gender and identity in fieldwork experiences as the basis to address power imbalances (Berger, 2015). Hence, identifying researcher position is therefore crucial for researchers who get involved in fieldwork, and a significant level of reflexivity involves giving as full and honest an explanation of the research process as possible, clarifying the position of the researcher in relation to the researched (Dixon, 2020; Holmes, 2020; Reay, 1996: 443). Hence, in the next section, I discuss my position in this research.

3.4 Researcher Position

Interpretive phenomenology (Smith and Osborn, 2015), necessitates the researcher to be positioned in the participants' setting to enable research discussion and to get close to having an insiders' perspective, bearing in mind that this can never be fully achieved as the researcher cannot totally understand the world of the respondent. Even though the context and gatekeepers[27] in the research sites were somewhat known to me, due to my previous involvement with the Education Ministry, I still did not assume I fully understood the context in terms of the cultural nuances and practical realities of life. Initially, I perceived myself as an outsider, regardless of my position as an educationalist and professional supporting the enhancement of girls' secondary education. I was at a distance from research participants, not

---

[27] Person who stands between the data collector and a potential respondent.

an adolescent girl, not a high school student, not a parent of a girl attending any of the secondary schools in Lusaka or Zambia, not a member of the community in the research sites. In addition, I was cautious that I did not have insider knowledge about the gender cultural practices that prevailed in the case study schools. I kept a distance from the interviewees, hence I viewed them as 'experts' in their contexts, perceptions and experiences, thereby enabling them to speak freely about their perceptions of girls secondary schooling as well as what they perceived as challenges. I was hopeful that this would eventually result in generation of detailed and wide-ranging data.

Henceforth, I created a situation that enabled me to obtain comprehensive responses by minimising the interviewees' reservations of being judged and raised queries that another researcher may not be able to. Considering that girls and other adult participants seem to be more willing to speak out in smaller groups, I facilitated interviews with a total of 14 girls from the two case studies schools, individually. Furthermore, as part of the process of seeking their consent to participate in my research, I made it known to each one of them that their responses will remain anonymous and not be shared with anyone. This is important as it helps the girls to speak freely without fear (Altinisik and Guibreteau, 2019). While some girls displayed behaviour that pointed to shyness, I ensured not to make them feel rejected due to their edginess by recognising their strengths or what they are able to do well in (Morin, 2021: Reyes-Acosta, 2018). For instance, I complimented the girls that I interviewed for any responses that they were able to give without difficulty, to encourage them to speak out more (Morin, 2021). It is argued that shy girls often grow out of much of the social anxiety they deal with throughout adolescence (Reyes-Acosta, 2018). Hence, in this study, I acknowledged the few girls who still did not speak out as much as I expected them to, bearing in mind that this was a passing phase in their lives. I also ensured to preserve a critical space from data I was gathering.

While conducting various interviews with the participants, I was cautious that one is neither entirely in one position of outsider nor insider (Milligan, 2016). Hence, during the process and beyond gaining access to research participants and navigating my research, I sensed I had changed from being an outsider to outsider-within (Milligan, 2016) and an alongside(r). My social position or influence in relation to respondents in the research was therefore not fixed or

static; rather it was continually changing and penetrable social position from outsider, outsider-within (Milligan, 2016) to a researcher who is alongside. I was engaged in oscillating between outsider, outsider-within and alongside as I moved in and out of likeness, awareness, change and individuality, both within and amongst observations, interviews, and focus groups.

I was conscious that perceptions of me by the education personnel at the two education district offices was of a fellow educationalist who was working to support better quality education. I also found that the subject area of my research was appreciated by the district education personnel as illustrated by the remarks made by one of the managers of Kafue School:

> *"It is good you have taken up this study because I have no doubt that as a woman you are well placed to understand the negative effect of not having toilet facilities at a girls' dormitory, which is the situation we have at this school." (School Manager, Kafue)*

Similar sentiments were expressed by the focal point for the Ministry of General Education in Zambia, whom I included in the interviews of my fieldwork exercise. Hence, this 'outsider looking inside position' made me to reflect on differences between myself and the research participants. I further examined my own experiences, values, beliefs, and assumptions about girls' secondary education. I reflected on how my researcher and professional position could influence my interaction with participants. I was cautious of bringing my own interpretations of girls' secondary education to the research, and so to ensure a careful perspective on my own actions, I maintained a research notebook to enable me to be more reflexive (Palaganas et. al., 2017).

3.5 Research Design and Methods

Studies show that there are several types of case studies: collective, explanatory, exploratory, intrinsic, descriptive, and instrumental (Cherry and Lustik, 2021; Grandy 2010). Multiple case

or collective studies use information from diverse studies to formulate the case for a new study. The use of past studies allows additional information without requiring spending more time and money on additional studies. The explanatory case study focuses on an explanation for a question or a phenomenon. An exploratory case study is usually the precursor to a formal, large-scale research project. An intrinsic case study is the study of a case (e.g., person, specific group, occupation, department, organization) where the case itself is of primary interest in the exploration (Mills, Durepos and Wiebe, 2010). These theorists further state that a descriptive case study is one that is focused and detailed, in which propositions and questions about a phenomenon are investigated and formulated at the outset.

The case study's goal is to prove that further investigation is necessary. The importance in intrinsic and instrumental case study, is that it gives the opportunity to learn (Grandy, 2010). Hence, this study includes aspects of some of these types of case studies because it seeks a better understanding of issues that affect the attendance, participation and completion of girls schooling at secondary level and provide insight on the importance of gender equality in schools. I believe that understanding the issues in the two case study schools in Chilanga and Kafue Districts, will result in more nuanced theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases potentially in the future. The present study involves a collection of data on girls' experiences and will result in more in-depth theorising than hither to on girls' issues and will inform future policy studies in Zambia.

Research has confirmed that qualitative case studies in education are often outlined with the notions, models and theories from anthropology, history, sociology, psychology, and educational psychology (McLeod, 2019; Merriam, 1998). It is further affirmed that: "these would all be educational case studies as well, since the focus is on some aspect of educational practice" (Merriam, 1998 p.19). In addition, the essential features of a qualitative case study are particularistic, descriptive, heuristic and inductive (Merriam, 1988:11). It is argued that qualitative research involves finding out what people think and how they understand things (Aspers and Corte, 2019). Likewise, this study accomplished this by using various research methods in examining the participants' perceptions on girls' secondary education. I am aware that the lived experiences of people are a product of the ways that their society is organised

which in turn shapes them into certain kinds of men and women (Holmes, 2009). This means that in qualitative research, the researcher attempts to observe, interview and review documents to obtain what Patton (1990: 55) refers to as an "empathic neutrality" while focusing on the experiences and meanings that people bring to them to analyse and interpret how and why people behave in certain ways (Daher et. al., 2017). This qualitative research is also concerned with lived experiences of the girls and their teachers such as those in both case study schools of this study.

The role of case study method in research is an approach that uses in-depth investigation of one or more examples of a current social phenomenon, utilizing a variety of sources of data (Rashid et. al., 2019). I note, however, that single events in case study research are difficult for researchers to cross-check information from the source (Bell, 2005). None-the-less, having well provided for contextualised knowledge of some aspects of human experience through intensive study of cases, is good enough (Polit and Beck, 2010). A case study is said to be mainly concerned with the interaction of factors and events (Bell, 2005). In line with this understanding, I adopted the case study method to explore the perceptions of girls' secondary education in Zambian Schools, and made use of questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and review of documents as methods of collecting information.

It is argued that the enormous strength of the case study method is that it permits the researcher to focus on a specific instance or situation and to determine its merit (McLeod, 2019). The theorist adds that the methods may also try to identify the various interactive processes at work, as they might remain concealed in a large-scale survey while being crucial to the success or failure of systems or organisations. For example, this study has assisted in finding out how girls' perceptions about their teachers' expectations from them as female learners, and how this affects the gender responsiveness of the environment at the two case studies schools. This was done through administering of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews used to capture the data from the participants.

Evidence shows that case studies are in-depth investigations of a single person, group, event or community (McLeod, 2019). They could include classes, offices, or hospital wards; they can be institutions – such as schools. Henceforth, the cases of the current study are two

coeducational senior secondary schools while the sample consists of female students and teachers, school managers, parents that participated in the study and hence a study of multiple cases. It is further argued that the qualitative methods in a case study enable the researcher to investigate situations where little is known about what is there or what is going on. Therefore, the investigator is able "to get under the skin of a group or organization to find out what really happens - the informal reality which can only be perceived from the inside." (Gillham, 2000, p. 1). Indeed, in this case study, the use of the methods (administering of questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions) have enabled me to investigate situations where little is known about what is there or what is going on in schools in relation to girls' secondary education. Hence, this study has generated information relating to multiple hindrances to girls' secondary education in the two case study schools by using the different methods indicated earlier. For instance, administering of questionnaires and conducting semi-structured interviews has led to obtaining the views of girls on the value of secondary education and including perceptions of barriers faced.

3.6 Access to the two Case Study Secondary Schools

To commence my fieldwork, I followed the schedule (See Appendix B) by meeting with the relevant officer at the Ministry of Education headquarters to seek permission to conduct the research. This was followed by courtesy calls to the two districts of Chilanga and Kafue where I presented the letter of permission from Ministry of Education headquarters. For this thesis, two research sites, that is, two co-education secondary schools in one in Chilanga District and the other one in Kafue District in Zambia were chosen on a non-probability sampling approach. The two schools were selected because they are in the rural areas of the case study districts, which is the focus for this study. In addition, the two schools are found in one of the provinces (Lusaka) in Zambia that have recorded high gender disparities to the disadvantage of girls at secondary school level (UNICEF, 2014). While the two schools are in the rural part of the districts, they were different on the status of the physical infrastructure, which made it easier to do a comparative study between the two schools. Hence, the two schools would provide useful information to this research.

The fieldwork programme at each of the two secondary schools began with introduction of myself to the participants of the study. This was followed by an explanation on the purpose of the research. I personally handed out the research information forms to the heads of schools and teachers. Subsequently, the purpose and benefits of the research was spelt out to all the participants at different times of meeting with them. Following government policy and the ethical guidelines from University of York, consent from all selected participants was obtained. The participants included teachers, school managers, parents or guardians of female students and female students who were eligible to give consent. The focal points persons assigned to coordinate the study at each school and all participants, were involved in deciding the locations where the interviews and focussed group discussions were held. The reason was to ensure participants were safe and free to express themselves without feeling intimidated, insecure but maintain confidentiality (Barrow, Brannan and Khandhar, 2021).

3.7 Selection and recruitment of research participants

The school population in the two case study schools of Chilanga and Kafue Districts was 1,140 people, comprising of students, teachers, and school managers. Table 1 below reflects the actual numbers during the time I conducted my fieldwork:

Table 1: School Population

Name of School	No. of girls	No. of boys	Total no. of students	No. of women teachers	No. of men teachers	No. of School heads	No. of Deputy School heads
Chilanga	384	377	**761**	17	16	1 (Male)	1 (Female)
Kafue	157	163	**320**	8	14	1 (Male)	1 (Male)

Source: Produced by Author: (Mbewe)

My aim was to get a sample of girls from grades eight to twelve from the two schools. The reason being that I wanted to gain insight from a sample of the girls of various grade levels. Hence, the school authorities of both schools assisted me by random selecting the students from

the class registers. This arrangement was in line with my ethics approval from the University of York. I also recognise that this random sampling is a technique in which each member of the subset carries an equal opportunity of being chosen as a part of the sampling process (Lavrakas, 2008). As stipulated on my research schedule, purposive sampling was used to recruiting the teachers, school managers, Parent/Teachers' Association members and parents for this study.

Evidence further suggests that the non-probability sampling method is the best for qualitative research because it tends to solve qualitative problems such as discovering what occurs, the implications and the relationships linking occurrences (McCombes, 2019). It is argued that the most common form of non-probability sampling method is purposeful sampling (Palinkas et. al., 2015; Merriam, 1998). The latter is 'based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned' (Merriam, 1998: 61). It is argued that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study (Benoot, Hannes and Bilsen, 2016). Evidence suggests that 'information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling' (Merriam, 1998, p. 61).

I realised that the PTA members and educational personal were persons that had experience in the provision of secondary schooling for girls and were familiar and interacted with the members of the community where the schools are located. Hence, the final composition of the participants for this study where twenty-eight female students 13 to 22 years age range (15 from Kafue District Secondary School and 13 from Chilanga District Secondary School). I did not anticipate finding some girls aged above 17 years, but from both schools, some girls were above this age with the oldest being 22 years old. I therefore decided to be flexible in the use of terms such child marriage and used early marriage depending on the age of the girls I interacted with. The sample size of teachers was six (4 from Kafue School and 2 from Chilanga School), school managers were five (3 from Kafue and 2 from Chilanga), the PTA members comprised (8 from Kafue and 6 from Chilanga). These numbers depended on the participants that were available to take part in the study. The demographic data of all the participants that took part in the study is outlined in Tables 2 to 4 below:

Table 2: Personal profile for the 28 girls

Number of interviewees	Age	School	Grade level	Occupation of parents/Guardians
1	18	Chilanga	12	Teacher
2	18	Chilanga	12	Nurse and truck Driver
3	14	Chilanga	9	Nurse
4	13	Chilanga	8	Retailer
5	15	Chilanga	9	Self-employed/ entrepreneur
6	18	Chilanga	12	Businessman and manager
7	13	Chilanga	8	Retailer
8	16	Chilanga	11	Subsistence Farmer
9	15	Chilanga	10	Both parents are teachers
10	14	Chilanga	8	Clerical Officer
11	16	Chilanga	11	Civil Servant
12	15	Chilanga	9	Teacher
13	18	Chilanga	12	Civil servant
14	19	Kafue	12	Deputy head teacher
15	18	Kafue	12	Subsistence Farmer
16	19	Kafue	12	Police Officer
17	16	Kafue	9	Casual Worker
18	16	Kafue	10	Safety manager
19	18	Kafue	11	Subsistence Farmer
20	18	Kafue	10	Subsistence Farmer
21	22	Kafue	12	Street Vender
22	18	Kafue	11	Street Vender
23	16	Kafue	9	Subsistence Farmer
24	17	Kafue	10	Pre-school Teacher
25	14	Kafue	8	Subsistence Farmer
26	19	Kafue	11	Street Vender
27	14	Kafue	8	Subsistence Farmer
28	19	Kafue	12	Police Officer

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

The research tools were designed to capture the age, school, grade level and occupation of parents of the girls that participated in this study. The parents of most of the girls from Chilanga School that participated in this study, have moderate occupations compared to the 15 girls from Kafue School where about 66 % of the parents are either subsistence farmers or street venders. This information is important for this study that is focusing on enhancement of girls' education. It is argued that educated parents, are particular about their children's education compared those that are not (King and Winthrop, 2015). In the next section, I provide personal details for school managers and teachers.

Table 3: Personal details of the teachers and school managers

Interviewee No.	School/District	Sex	Age range	Occupation	Qualifications
1	Chilanga	Female	40 – 45 years	Teacher	Master's in Education
2	Chilanga	Male	35 – 40 years	Teacher	Bachelor of Education
3	Chilanga	Female	50 – 55 years	School manager	Bachelor of Education
4	Chilanga	Female	45 – 50 years	School Manager	Bachelor of Education
5	Kafue	Male	45 – 50 years	School Manager	Master's in Education
6	Kafue	Male	45 – 50 years	School Manager	Bachelor of Education
7	Kafue	Male	45 – 50 years	School Manager	Bachelor of Education
8	Kafue	Female	40 - 45 years	Teacher	Bachelor of Education
9	Kafue	Female	40 – 45 years	Teacher	Bachelor of Education
10	Kafue	Male	30 – 35 years	Teacher	Bachelor of Education
11	Kafue	Male	25 – 30 years	Teacher	Bachelor of Education

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

Table 3 above, shows that all the school managers and teachers comprising both genders have the appropriate qualifications for their positions. This points to purposive sampling of participants, in which Merriam, (1998), argues that the research must select a sample from which the most can be learned.

Table 4: Profile of the 15 parents

Interview no.	District	Sex	Occupation	Highest education attained
1	Chilanga	Female	Marketer	Grade 9
2	Chilanga	Female	Hairdresser	Grade 9
3	Chilanga	Female	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 12
4	Chilanga	Female	District Officer	Degree
5	Chilanga	Male	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 7
6	Chilanga	Male	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 12
7	Chilanga	Male	Subsistence Farmer	Degree
8	Kafue	Male	Bricklayer	Grade 9
9	Kafue	Male	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 10
10	Kafue	Male	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 12
11	Kafue	Female	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 10
12	Kafue	Female	Street Vendor	Grade 2
13	Kafue	Female	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 1
14	Kafue	Female	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 7
15	Kafue	Female	Subsistence Farmer	Grade 7

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

Table 4 above shows that the education levels of the parents that participate in the study as well as the nature of their occupations. This is useful information as this study as research suggests that parents educational levels have an effect on whether they will support their children's education (King and Winthrop). Hence, this information can be reffered to when analysing issues affecting the girls' education at the two case study schools.

The sampling selection criteria comprised the following: First, both schools accepted to be part of the study. Second, they were both located in rural areas where certain facilities were lacking compared to urban schools. Third, both schools are in the rural parts of Lusaka province which

is one of the provinces with high gender disparities at secondary level with girls more disadvantaged compared to boys (Educational Statistical Bulletin - Zambia, 2012). See Figure 4 below which includes Lusaka Province.

Figure 4: Gender Parity Index (GPI) in all Schools by Grade and Province

	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
National	**1.02**	**1.01**	**1.00**	**1.00**	**0.99**	**0.98**	**0.98**	**0.94**	**0.94**	**0.84**	**0.77**	**0.80**
Provinces												
CENTRAL	1.02	1.02	1.02	0.99	1.01	0.97	1.47	0.94	0.85	0.77	0.83	0.77
COPPERBELT	1.00	1.03	1.05	1.06	1.04	1.01	1.01	1.04	0.97	0.90	0.87	0.97
EASTERN	1.07	1.04	1.03	1.01	0.99	0.98	0.86	0.88	0.78	0.74	0.59	0.63
LUAPULA	0.99	0.99	0.98	0.97	0.98	0.94	0.89	0.86	0.76	0.72	0.74	0.69
LUSAKA	1.07	1.04	1.05	1.08	1.08	1.05	0.97	1.00	0.95	0.95	0.78	0.82
NORTH WESTERN	1.01	1.00	1.01	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.89	0.90	0.78	0.81	0.76	0.67
NORTHERN	0.98	0.97	0.95	0.93	0.90	0.88	0.77	0.91	0.87	0.73	0.58	0.71
SOUTHERN	1.08	0.99	0.91	1.00	0.98	0.98	0.93	0.90	0.84	0.80	0.78	0.77
WESTERN	0.99	1.00	1.00	0.99	0.98	0.97	0.91	0.89	0.82	0.88	0.84	0.82

MoE, 2013

Gender Parity Index (GPI) in the table above, represents the ratio of girls to boys in school. A GPI lower than one means that there are more boys than girls in school, while a GPI greater than one means there are more girls than boys in school as indicated in the Ministry of Education in Zambia, 2012 Educational Statistical Bulletin (MoE, 2013). A GPI of 1 is desirable because it means that there are an equal number of males and females in school. Hence, Grade 8 (in Lusaka on the table above) from where secondary level starts, there is no gender disparity between the girls and boys they are at par, indicating 1.00. However, as indicated in the table, the disparities for Lusaka Province, where the two case study districts are located, emerge with increase in grade levels up to Grade Twelve. For this reason, the two co-education[28] secondary schools, as stated above, provided the case study sites. Hence, in selecting the two schools from the two districts, the Education authorities and I agreed that the schools would provide a good comparison for the focus of my research. Both co-educational schools are in farming block areas of the districts, however, one of the schools, south of Lusaka is located right up in the bush[29]. The main tarred road is about fifteen kilometres from the school. The road leading to the school is gravel and no public transport goes to the school, raising issues of girls' access to the school.

---

[28] Schools comprising both female and male learners
[29] Bush in this context means surrounded by forest.

3.8 Data collection methods and analysis

This study attempted to obtain required information by using different methods of data collection from diverse sources. Therefore, the raw data had to be organized into different data files. Female student questionnaires, school head and teacher questionnaires were few and so the required information was used directly. Interviews and focus group discussions were classified, and discussants were used as entries. As far as data from interviews and focus group discussions were concerned, ethnographic and narrative approaches were used, including quotations from respondents. Henceforth, the methods are discussed based on the works of Wilkinson (1998); Milner (1999); Krueger and Casey (2000); Bell (2010); Denscombe (2010), Cohen et. al. (2011); Clough and Nutbrown (2012) and Clegg and Stevenson (2013), and Adams (2015). Table 5 below outlines the advantages and disadvantages of the methods.

Table 5: Advantages and disadvantages of the research methods

Method	Advantages	Disadvantages
Questionnaires	- The responses are gathered in a standardised way, so questionnaires are more objective, certainly more so than interviews. - Generally, it is relatively quick to collect information using a questionnaire. - Potentially information can be collected from a large portion of a group.	- Occur after the event, so participants may forget important issues. - Are standardised so it is not possible to explain any points in the questions that participants might misinterpret. - Open-ended questions can generate large amounts of data that can take a long time to process and analyse. - Respondents may answer superficially especially if the questionnaire takes a long time to complete. - Students may not be willing to answer the questions.
Focus Group Discussion	- Quick and cheap - Allows a permissive environment, especially with young people - Allows for diverse views - Encourages participants to share perceptions and points of views - Facilitates openness and disclosure (Wilkinson, 1998) - Provides access to participants' own language and concepts	- Cannot be anonymous - Are conducted in an artificial environment - Discussion is not always successful – requires great skill of moderation - One or a few participants may dominate discussion, leading to the underrepresentation of other participants - Difficult to ask probing questions as all participants need to be given time to speak.
Semi-structured interviews	- Can target specific participants - Structured to allow comparisons - Have a formal style - Participants' own words can be recorded - Participants not influenced by others - Provide deep information - Interviewer can ask probing questions - Ensure relevant information is collected	- Cannot be anonymous - Questions may be prescriptive - Researcher/participant power relations may be affected by authoritative institutional teacher/student power relations - Time consuming in collecting and analysing data - Requires deep knowledge of local culture - Danger of interviewer not distancing own views from those of participants

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

Acknowledging the advantages and disadvantages in Table 5 above, I then mapped the method on to the participants, see Table 6 below:

Table 6: Overview of participants and research methods

Participants	Methods	Number	Comments
Girls (Female students)	Questionnaires	28	Drawn from grades 9 to 12 of the 2 case studies schools (Chilanga/Kafue).
	Semi-structured Interviews	14	8 girls interviewed were from Kafue school and 6 were from Chilanga School.
School Managers, teachers	Questionnaires, Semi-structured interviews	11	Administered questionnaires and interviews to all 6 school managers 6 teachers from both schools.
PTA Members of the 2 schools (Chilanga/Kafue)	Questionnaires and focus group discussions	14	8 PTA members from Kafue and 6 from Chilanga participated in this study.
District Education Officers (Chilanga/Kafue)	Questionnaires and focus group discussions	9	5 from Chilanga and 4 from Kafue schools respectively completed questionnaires and participated in interviews.
Parents	Focus group discussions, questionnaires	14	8 parents were drawn from Chilanga and 8 from Kafue schools.
Coordinator Comprehensive Sexuality Education	Semi-structured Interview	1	Purposively chosen from the Ministry of Education headquarters in Lusaka

Source: Produced by Author (Mbewe)

Research methods used are available in the Appendices: Appendix G– Questionnaires for girls, Appendix H – Questionnaires for School heads, Appendix I – Questionnaire for teachers, Appendix K – Interview guide for girls at the two case studies schools, Appendix K - Semi-structured interview guide for school managers and teachers and Appendix L – Focus group discussion guide for PTA members and district education personnel. Each method was used in administering of questionnaires to all participants of this research, conducting a meeting for each of the four focus groups, and conducting in-

depth interviews with 14 girls, 6 teachers, and 5 school managers. I move to describe the different methods used in this study, beginning with questionnaires.

3.8.1 Questionnaires

A questionnaire is a research tool comprising of a series of questions for the purpose of gathering information from respondents (McLeod, 2018). As in Table 6 above, the questionnaire method in this study was applied to all the participants. There were four sets of questionnaires for girls, teachers, school managers and parents. The female students' questionnaire was designed to suit the secondary school level of adolescents and the language, use of terminologies that they are familiar with. (See appendix IV). Similarly, the questionnaires of the educational personnel and parents were also designed based on the kind of issues they were familiar with and were likely to provide information on. For instance, questions relating to the dropout rates of girls from the school were posed to school managers. I initially piloted the questionnaires among few girls and adult participants at one of the schools before administering them to the rest of the participants that featured on my schedule. Subsequently, the necessary changes that included rewording to familiar terms that the participants were accustomed to, were made.

The questionnaire for parents warranted putting in brackets some terms in the local language so that I was able to explain and mention to them certain words in the local language. Hence, amendments were taken on board and the questionnaires updated in readiness for administering them in the actual fieldwork. As the responses were written on the actual questionnaires, I collected and went through them before the team dispersed so that I managed to seek clarification from individual participants in relation to their responses. I applied this approach to participants from both case study schools. The use of questionnaires in this study was very helpful, however, I experienced a situation where a few important questions were left blank, especially on issues related to sexuality and reproductive health. It raised issues as to whether the problems are not perceived as problems or have been normalized.

3.8.2 Focus group discussion

Focus groups are defined as group collective conversations or interviews (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2011; Wilkinson, 1998). Höijer (2008), states that focus groups are rewarding for a several reasons as indicated in the table 6 above. In recognition of the advantages, I conducted four focus group discussions with District Education Officers and Parent/teacher Association (PTA) members and from the two case study district schools. The discussions were aimed at getting their views in relation to girls' secondary education and the obstacles the girls experienced, and how they have handled them. The first two group discussions were held with the district education officers from the two case study districts. The reason for starting with the district office staffs was because they were available at their offices despite the Cholera outbreak, although the pupils had not yet started classes. This helped me to save on time of my fieldwork schedule. The third focus group discussion meeting was held with ten members from the Kafue School. The venue for the meeting was about five hundred metres from the school premises under a tree. The fourth focus group discussion was held with six members from Chilanga School, at the School's Resource Centre with the school premises.

In terms of gender balanced representation of the PTA members at this meeting, four females and four males were in attendance. The chairperson of the Association was male, while the secretary was female. A similar meeting with the PTA of Chilanga District School was also held two weeks later at a Resource centre Library of another school within the district. As was the case with the Kafue PTA members, the Chilanga PTA team comprised a gender balance team of three males and three females with a male chairperson. With both teams, I had prepared a guide of questions that I used to discuss with the members. The two groups of PTA members were purposively selected, as I wanted to obtain information that was useful to the focus of my study as quickly as possible. This is in line with Crossman's (2020) advice that purposive sampling is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study. Furthermore, I ensured there was gender balance in the representation of PTA members from the two schools. I did this by heeding to Bell's

(2005) suggestion that interviewees need to be carefully balanced in relation to age, sex and ethnic status. For instance, if women are disproportionately fewer numbers in the group, they may feel socially constrained and not contribute freely to the discussion. There were situations in the discussions when a few members of the two groups tried to dominate the debate and it resulted in some members not participating. However, I intervened by applying what Law et al. (2003:300) referred to as periodic checks to ensure all group members agreed with pronouncements that were made in the discussions. Hence, I resolved this issue by posing questions: 'Is that what everyone assumes?' and 'Does everyone agree with a b c?' Thus, the discussions went smoothly and ended according to the time that was allocated, and this was one hour for each of the two groups. I was aware that the primary consideration of a focus group interview schedule (See Appendix IV) is that it permits the interviewer to ask questions relevant to the research focus, in ways appropriate to the interviewee, and at suitable points in the developing social interaction of the interview (Mason, 2011).

In conducting the four focus group discussions, I ensured all participants sat in a circle facing each other. This was in line with my understanding that most participants feel more comfortable when seated around a table, as a table provides a protective barrier and gives less secure or more reserved members a sense of security (Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook, 2007). In addition, the table provided a shield for the legs, as the groups consisted of both men and women. However, for one of the PTA Groups, I had to apply an additional approach of ensuring some members who talked less, were given a chance to speak, I called on them by their names and asked for their individual opinions (Sim and Waterfield, 2019). The four meetings lasted for about two hours each. The purpose was to get the participants' perceptions on the value and barriers experienced by of girls in the two schools.

3.8.3 In-depth Semi-structured Interviews

In this study, I interviewed 14 girls using an interview guide. (See Appendix A attached to this thesis). The girls were outspoken on issues like gender stereotyping practices that

they experienced in their interaction with teachers. I also observed that interviews are extensively used in feminist research as they are claimed to "convey a deeper feeling for or more emotional closeness to the persons studied" (Jayaratne 1983 as cited in Truman, 2015). Indeed, in this study, I really felt disturbed when I was told in interviews with school managers and teachers that there were no toilet facilities at the girls' dormitory. Mindful that a researcher's methods are influenced by several variables such as sensitivity of the subject and gender, I as a woman personally conducted the interviews with the girls. I heeded Trueman's (2015) advice, which suggests that in the event you are using a structured/unstructured interview as a method, you would be careful to choose the interviewer wisely. For instance, if a group of girls were being interviewed about a sensitive subject such as menstruation, it would be preferable for a female to conduct the interview.

The interview approach enabled me to be focussed and flexible with my questions for the interviewees. They further helped me to prompt information from knowledgeable female students, school managers, teachers and parent/teachers' association members and education officers. I also used the method with fourteen girls (eight from the Kafue District School and six from the Chilanga District School), out of the total of twenty-eight that participated in this study. The reason for this number was because I did not want to take up much time from the school schedule, as schools opened late due to the cholera outbreak as indicated earlier.

Lastly, interviewing, like any other data collection method, has its own limitations. Interview data can be very time-consuming to transcribe and to analyse. Yin (2003) suggests that interviews should always be considered as verbal reports solely and hence are subject to the problems of bias, reactivity, poor recall and poor or inaccurate delivery. In this study, I tackled these complications by validating interview data with information from other sources.

3.8.4 Interview procedure and guide

The interviews were planned to provide information on girls' experiences of secondary education in the two case study districts of Chilanga and Kafue in Zambia. As a result, the following procedures were followed. A single interview session for the girls lasted on average for thirty minutes whereas for teachers, it lasted from forty-five minutes to one hour. The assembly halls and resource centres available in the schools were conducive to data gathering, as the seating arrangements allowed relaxed interaction between me and the interviewee at a ninety-degree angle to each other, enabling "eye contact without the hostile feeling arising from sitting directly opposite." (Denscombe, 2003). The interviews for the girls, educational personnel were conducted in the English Language because this was the language of instruction in the two schools and as such the interviewees did not face any difficulty in discussing freely in English.

An interview guide was a list of questions that I proposed to use to explore gender issues during each interview. The questions (listed in Appendix J) were divided into three sections: those dealing with the girls, school managers and teachers, and the Coordinator for Comprehensive Sexuality Education. Although a guide was prepared to ensure that roughly the same issues were explored with each interviewee, there were no fixed responses, because in semi-structured interviews, the interviewer is free to investigate and explore within the programmed areas of interest. Interview guides ensure good use of limited time; they make interviewing multiple subjects more systematic and comprehensive; and they help to keep exchanges focused (Adams, 2015). In keeping with the flexible nature of qualitative research designs, interview guides could be modified over time to focus attention on areas of particular importance or to exclude questions that I found to be unrelated to the aims of my research.

3.8.5 Data Analysis

In this study, data were analysed on an on-going basis throughout the data collection process. Patton (2001), suggests that there is no point at which data collection ends and

analysis begins, the two activities overlapped. My data analysis started informally as I began to read, review and draw out emerging themes while making observations, meeting and interacting with the girls, educational personnel and parents. Miles and Huberman (1998) describe data analysis as involving three sub-processes, namely data reduction, followed by data display and then assembly of the information into some workable format. According to Merriam (1988:145), this can be done by 'arranging transcripts, field notes and documents chronologically according to when they were collected or according to the logical chronology of the case.' This author suggests that all the information related to the planning phase of a project can be arranged first, for example, followed by the implementation phase and so on. Merriam further suggests that data can be organised according to the persons interviewed, places visited, and documents obtained. According to Merriam (1988), this body of material forms the case record or case study database. In terms of the organisation of the data, I used a manual method to arrange interview data according to the persons interviewed while field notes were organised chronologically according to when they were written.

The three theories (Gender Regime, Cultural Capital and Social Roles) helped me to make sense of what I found. Without doubt, the notion of gender regime theory assisted me to explore pattern of practices in the two case study schools that constructed masculinity and femininity among the teachers and students, ordered them in terms of power and prestige and constructed gender division of labour. Similarly, Cultural Capital theory assisted me to explore the cultural context and of the girls' cultural capital derived from petty businesses with their mothers whose occupation included street vending helped me to make sense of the data about the girls.

In most cases, observation, focus group and semi-structured interviews yielded different kinds of data. Observation data was useful in understanding the physical context – sanitary facilities at the two schools for students and staff, number of classrooms and the conditions of the school buildings, if at the schools had incinerators (place where girls could dispose of sanitary towels. status and number of toilets. The questionnaires and focus groups yielded data on benefits and barriers of girls' experiences of secondary education. As with the semi-structured interviews, the live conversations also revealed the perceptions of

girls, teachers and school managers in relation to secondary education, what concepts and implicit theories they used to answer the questions that were posed for them. Semi-structured interviews yielded data about the value of education for girls and how they addressed barriers they faced.

I undertook a thematic analysis of the data following the principles of cross-sectional and categorical indexing delineated by Mason (2002). As proposed by many scholars like Mason (2002), Silverman (2005) and Merriam (1998), the analysis started at the time of the interview, and during my transcription through highlighting main phrases, sentences and/or paragraphs that seemed to be relevant with my research question. Reading the transcripts at least five times as well as listening again and again to the interviewees' actual voices assisted me to identify key emergent categories and themes. As Marshall and Rossman (2006: 158) point out "reading, reading and rereading through the data once more forces the researcher to become intimately familiar with those data". Therefore, constant comparative method was used to explore the categories and the themes as well as to look at the relationship between all of them (Robson, 1993). This process was extended to the whole transcriptions of the interviews, and I explored common features to group the themes in broader categories. I used the manual method of data analysis throughout the study working with the transcripts to identify key repeating themes in the data. The above procedure shed light on the following themes: (i) Gender inequalities in the physical structures in the two case study schools; (ii) Positive perceptions of an ideal girls' secondary education; and (iii) Barriers to girls' secondary education. Regarding the first theme, the analytical data showed that there were major categories and minor ones that included "Ways to ensure gender sensitive school environment" as a major category and co-education system; responsibility sharing; gender balancing of management staff; gender balanced PTA representatives as minor categories. The second theme centred on participants' positive perceptions of girls' secondary education and how it was valued in terms of quality of life and poverty alleviation for example. Hence, accounts of what was valued by the participants in relation to girls' secondary education assisted in answering the first two research questions and contributed much of the text for chapters 4 and 5. Furthermore, the participants' responses pointed to distinguishing the value of education from a human capital perspective. A third theme that emerged from the analysis of the data were the barriers that existed to girls' education, these were sometimes physical but

also related to negative perceptions about girls' abilities. See Table 7 below on Themes and categories:

Table 7: Themes and categories

Themes	Major categories	Minor categories
Gender structure in the two case study schools	Measures taken by education authorities to enhance girls' education	Co-education system, Responsibility sharing; Gender balancing of management staff; Gender balanced PTA representatives.
Perceptions of girls' secondary education	Value of girls' secondary educatiom	Employment, good quality life; financial support to family; ending poverty,
Barriers to girls' secondary Education	Gender stereotypes	Perceptions, gendering of subjects, expectations of staff; Perceptions - girls less intelligent in Science Subjects; male teachers teaching Physics and Chemistry; lack of gender responsive pedagogy among teachers
	Sexual health	Pregnancy, sexual harassment, early marriage, silence on reproductive health issues; poor delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education
	Physical structure	Poor sanitary facilities: inadequate toilets, lack incinerators Lack of library and Science laboratories

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

These findings are discussed in chapters 4, 5, and 6 of the thesis and are supported by extracts from the students and teachers as well as from documents. However, in chapters 4, 5 and 6, I present the accounts of gender regime as I observed in all the schools surveyed.

3.9 Interview with the Comprehensive Sexuality Education Coordinator

I had an interview with Coordinator for Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) from the Ministry of General Education in Zambia, whose role is to coordinate activities related to the integration of CSE into the school curricula. I am aware that the CSE Framework for the Ministry of Education in Zambia, covers grade five to twelve level content. However, my interest for this study is the secondary school level which is from grades

eight to twelve. I therefore began the interview by briefing the officer about the purpose of the study and then gave her the information sheet to read through and sign it. This was followed by her signing of the form before proceeding to the actual interview. Since I knew her as a professional acquaintance in the education sector, she did not take up a lot of time to read through the information sheet due to trust that she had in me. The advantage of having known the officer was that the rapport could easily be built as mutual trust pre-dates the research project (The Open University, 2016). As a result, the interview was carried out more efficiently as less time was needed for warming up stage.

However, in conducting this interview, I was conscious that although my position as an insider-researcher allows special sensitivity, empathy and understanding of the matters, it may also lead to greater bias or to a research direction that is more important to me as a researcher (The Open University, 2016). I note that as an outsider-researcher would be more detached, less personal, but also potentially less well-informed. Hence, in my capacity as a researcher coming from the UK, I was in a position of an outsider in this regard as well as an insider in others.

Although I was familiar with the focal point professionally, I was careful not to assume I fully understood the context in the implementation of CSE at secondary school level. Hence, I viewed her as an expert in her context, perception and experience, to enable her to talk freely about the integration of CSE in secondary schools. I maintained a critical space from data I was gathering. While conducting the interview, I was vigilant of not maintaining entirely one position of outsider nor insider (Milligan, 2016). As mentioned earlier, researchers take on different positioning depending on the situation that they may be in (Milligan, 2016). For instance, in this study, I reflected on my identities as an adult, woman, education and gender specialist and how these influenced constructions of data and what information will be disseminated (McNess, Arthur and Crossley, 2013). I was eventually introduced to the school authorities and the other participants of the case study schools by accompany staff from each of the two-case study district education offices. Hence, the research was well accommodated in the schools. The two education officers were more acquainted than me with the specific tribes and cultures of the two schools and

communities. While I wanted to understand research participants' experiences and views, I was conscious of the possibility of educators in the school, influencing the girl's experiences and views.

3.10 Interviews with school heads

During my fieldwork, I was able to interview the two school managers from Chilanga and Kafue case studies schools. The purpose was to find out their perceptions about girls' secondary education, as well as get more clarity on issues that were not well explained in the questionnaires. In my interview with the school head for Kafue, I noted that the school he was heading had a lot of issues that affected girls. Despite this situation, the head although being male, was able to give a detailed account of the issues that particularly affected girls. I was impressed because, years back, my interaction with school male heads on the Re-entry Policy[30] for instance, showed that these males did not appreciate the policy. Hence, I assume the lack of support by men then could be due to a lack of gender awareness of school managers at the time. Owing to my previous experience as an educationalist, I was advantaged when interviewing the school head as he perceived me as 'one of them'. I was therefore (an insider) able to engage with him such that he felt feel free to share information about the school with me. Consequently, he gave an account of issues that he perceived as those that are affecting girls' secondary schooling. This was because I heeded Laforest's (2009) suggestion of referring to statements made in other interviews based on other data sources I referred to another interview conducted at another forum with similar discussion on issues affecting girls in secondary school, which encouraged him to express himself. However, watchful of my role as an interviewer, I ensured our discussion remained focussed by constantly reminding the interviewee of the issues we were deliberating on. Furthermore, I did not give answers, neither ask leading questions, nor avoid slowing the pace of the interview (Laforest, 2009).

3.11 Interview with girls

---

[30] Policy that allows girls that get pregnant to return to school after childbirth.

The fourteen girls from the two case study schools that took part in the interviews, comprised six from Chilanga and eight from Kafue. I was given this number of participants by the two schools, has ones that could spare sometime for the activity. The purpose was to get more information on their perceptions of secondary education. The interviews were held in private places in the school vicinity as the two schools are in the forest and there is so much space and trees, which are convenient and private. Arrangements were made in way that the students were interviewed away from their homes to avoid influence of their parents in the exercise. Although they were interviewed close to the school premises, there was no contact with staff and a lot of privacy was maintained. The participants were assured that the information they provided would remain anonymous. During the interview with some girls, I observed that they were a bit slow in responding to some questions. However, I allowed them to take more time in order that they did not feel disregarded, and this resulted in more time spent in conducting the interviews. Although I wanted to interview eight students from each of the schools, two did not turn up. Among the fourteen who participated in the interview from the two schools, four were too shy to speak and probably this could have been compounded by the sensitivity of the subject that touched on issues relating to menstruation and sexuality.

Although my decision to conduct interviews with the girls in this study was aimed at obtaining their perceptions with regards to secondary education, I did not manage to get all the responses I needed. Specifically, I could not get the views of the girls on issues relating to reproductive health. The girls did not respond to questions relating to sanitary facilities, they appeared not to be comfortable to discuss issues related to reproductive health more generally. My assumption in relation to the silence that emerged was that of local cultural practices in Zambia that prohibit young girls to speak openly on issues pertaining to sexuality and reproductive health. Besides, as a researcher coming from outside, I thought this too had a bearing on the silence expressed. To confirm this, I reviewed literature of similar studies done in Zambia that had detailed information relating to participants' silence to topics on sexuality and menstruation (Ministry of Education and UNICEF, 2017; Person, Kayula and Opong, 2014; Warenius et. al., 2007). Besides this

discovery, I have learnt that there could be other reasons for silence among the girls other than culture, that is discussed in the next chapters.

Another issue that I noted during interviews with the girls, relates to failing to obtain complete data from the girls in the study, about emotional relationships that existed between girls and boys, other than through assumptions from other data that I collected. For example, from the responses to the question relating to why girls dropped out of school, early pregnancies and early marriage were mentioned and these are linked to either positive or negative emotional relations. As I indicated in the literature review in Chapter 2 of this study, heterosexual relationships are common practice among secondary students in Zambia. As school prohibit such casual relationships, they are done privately, some resulting in early pregnancies. It is therefore difficult through such a study to capture information on actual relationships apart from reports alluding to early pregnancies or early marriage as outcomes of such relationships. Besides there was limited time in which to conduct this study (See Fieldwork Schedule Appendix B), due to the Cholera outbreak in Lusaka Province in January 2018, hence schools opened three weeks later than scheduled. The other limitation is because this is a PhD funded study for only three years and so has time limits on conducting fieldwork. For this same reason, the study could not extend the investigation to include the perception of male students to girls' secondary education. My initial fieldwork schedule included interviews with girls that dropped out from the two case study schools. However, I had to adjust my plans in the field because of the unavailability of respondents in this category. (See attached fieldwork schedule – Appendix B). Similarly, in the data obtained from questionnaires, on the hindrances to education, the girls did not indicate poor sanitary facilities. Surprisingly, even girls that were drawn from the school with poor sanitary facilities, did not even respond to the questions, they left the space blank.

Since I applied semi-structured interviews in this study, I thought that it was going to be automatic to get the voices of the girls on every issue. My assumption was wrong as with issues related to sexuality and reproductive health the girls did not raise issues as I as already mentioned. I also noted that some girls from the two schools were evading the

discussion on sexuality by either not responding, leaving the space blank on the issue on the questionnaire or giving a low rating to it being a problem. This made me wonder whether the problem was normalized, or it was due to the cultural practice of silence on issues related to sexuality, for example. Before I engaged in this study, my perception about such the cultural practice of silence was more theoretical and outdated. However, this study made me realize that the practice was still prevalent. Fortunately, due to the inclusion of other participants in the study, such as teachers both female and male and school managers, they were able to provide detailed information on, for instance, poor sanitary facilities. Moreover, interviews with the girls and adults of the Chilanga District School, allowed me to confirm that beside inadequate physical facilities, there were other issues girls encountered in their attendance and participation in school, which included the way activities were organised and delivered. For instance, the limited awareness among teachers on gender responsive pedagogy, which resulted in gender stereotyping from teachers to the disadvantage of girls. that affected girls' education are not enough to prevent other issues that girls encounter in their attendance and participation in school, but it is the way activities are organized and delivered. However, interviews with the adult participants generated detailed information on difficulties faced in families affected by the death of parents and the effect of this on continuation of schooling for the girls.

3.12 Documents

Yin (2011) suggests, documents are a valuable source of data collection in qualitative research as they are very important when corroborating and augmenting evidence from other sources. In this study, revision of documents on formal studies related to promotion of girls' secondary education, challenges encountered by girls and measures to address them, provided a valuable comparison. The formal studies included those done in Zambia, Sub-Saharan Region as well as international ones. I paid attention to studies done in other developing countries like Zambia. Documents from the Ministry of General Education headquarters and district education offices in Zambia, which included the National Education Policy, Educational Statistical Bulletins, and the Re-entry Policy document were obtained and reviewed. Furthermore, information from the University of York

Library and Internet were also obtained and reviewed. Hence, the information gathered, is used to corroborate, complement, and contrast with the findings of this study.

In this research, records on students' information, for example, dropout rates of girls and reasons for dropping out, including the trends in the two case studies schools were not readily available, let alone the availability of written profiles of the schools. Most of the statistical information that was provided was from the Ministry Headquarters and the District Education offices. I noted that record keeping was a problem in both schools. Hence, questions in the questionnaires and interviews requiring statistical trends of pregnancy rate of girls as well as dropout rates, were in most cases left blank by the respondents. Consequently, the issue of obtaining documents with updated information proved problematic in this study. Researchers typically review prior literature as part of their studies and incorporate that information in their analysis. Likewise, I reviewed the relevant literature on girls' secondary education. I specifically paid attention to information regarding girls from underprivileged rural communities like the ones I am focusing on in this study. I considered information from the University of library, the internet and documents from the Ministry of Education in Zambia and other organizations, both local and international, that focused on girls' secondary education. These diverse sources are discussed in Chapter two of this research.

The analytic practise entails finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesising data contained in documents (Labuschagne, 2003). Likewise, I have been able to find, select and make sense of the data I collected from the field and continued to synthesize data from the documents and included the relevant information in relation to the research question and topics. For instance, information on the participants' perceptions of girls' secondary education have been categorised separately, while hindrances to girls' education have also been put in a different category depending on whether they are female students or teachers and school managers as well as parents. Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation - the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Denzin, 2012). For example, I have been able to confirm similar hindrances to girls' education both

locally (Zambian) and globally that relate to high cost of schooling, long distance, early pregnancies, and early marriages as the most common ones affecting disadvantaged girls through document review and analysis.

It is theorised that documents of all types can help the researcher discover meaning, develop understanding, and locate insights relevant to the research problem (Merriam, 1988). For instance, in this study I reviewed the government of Zambia reports related to the implementation of the re-entry policy, the Education Policy document, to find out how the focus of my research aligns with the goals of the policies. In addition, I reviewed reports on schools at district and school levels relating to dropout rates, pregnancy rates, as well as attendance rates of girls in the two case study schools. The district offices had reports on dropout rates and pregnancy rates, while schools did not have proper records on the rates. In the case of Kafue District School, poor record keeping had to do with inadequate facilities such as lack of computers, and lack of electricity at the school.

3.13 Data processing and writing up

Researchers have concerns during transcription of data such as ignoring small details by erasing certain words to perfect data collected and more comprehensible (such as ers, ohs or pauses during interviews) (Bailey, 2008; Edwards and Ribbens, 1998; Standing, 1998). I ensured not to leave out all the detailed information in my transcriptions including facial gestures, laughter, and other expressions by putting them in brackets. I transcribed both interview scripts and focus group discussion and gave pseudonyms to safeguard their confidentiality. I went through all the transcripts and selected the quotes and grouped them according to the questions they were responding to. However, I kept the transcripts that remained for further use in my analysis chapters of my study. For example, many participants talked about the barriers to girls' education that related to either the supply-side (school factors) or demand side of education (home factors) and so I was able to group them according to the two categories.

Another significant task in research is interpreting data from participants (Lebied, 2018). While some participants were interviewed in English as the official language in Zambian Schools, other participants (parents, PTA members) that could not fully understand English or read, I had to translate in the local language. I therefore, used a local language (Nyanja), which was neither all the interviewees' mother tongue, nor my mother tongue, but one which we were all fluent in. As my interviewees told me about their stories in the local Zambian language (Nyanja), I was not only able to gain a good understanding of their stories, but I also translated the data into appropriate English after I had fully understood the information behind it. When translating the quotes, I constantly avoided using formal language to avoid removing the individuality of each participant. I tried to keep the linguistic diversity while retaining the original meaning of my data to gain 'conceptual equivalence or comparability of meaning' (Birbili, 2000). It is inevitable for the interpreter to pick certain words to reinforce or reduce the impact of data or impose their own feelings on certain issues through translation. Hence, there was always a struggle between being professional and standing by the side of my participants during the translation process.

The above action revealed the following varied groupings: (a) general perceptions of girls' secondary education by various participants; (b) girls' perceptions of their relationships with teachers; (c) girls' views of teachers' expectations of them in relation to education; (d) teachers and school managers' perception of educational differences between girls and boys; (e) girls' and education personnel's perceptions of sexuality education; (f) education personnel and parents' perceptions of women teachers; and (g) participants' perceptions of challenges to girls' secondary education. Hence, the analytical data was shown for all these groupings.

3.14 Reflexivity

To trace my influence on the research and to ensure the credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), I kept a diary throughout the research process to track my reflexive position (Annink, 2017). I recorded my thoughts and reactions to participants' interviews and focus group discussions. In the first focus group discussion, I held with PTA members from one of the case studies schools, I nodded my head twice in that meeting in approval and disapproval to issues that were raised, overlooking the fact that this would comprise the production of information I was trying to obtain. I was more cautious at the second group discussion with the other case study school.

Reflection and reflexivity in the analysis stage is another significant issue that is always mentioned by feminist researchers. To avoid conflicts with my participants during the interviews, I followed the suggestions of Millen (1997), hence, I constantly had to 'forget' my identity as a feminist researcher when my interviewees (female students) were silent on issues that affected them, which included of lack of the toilet facilities at the girls' hostel at the Kafue case studies school, as well as lack of an incinerator (facility for disposing of used sanitary towels at the two case study schools. As Millen (1997), indicated that individuals may not have a full awareness of the systems which surround and constrain them, and as researchers, we have a responsibility to illuminate these systems using their experiences and illuminate their experiences using these systems. Although I could not confront their cultural belief of being silent during the interview, while doing data analysis, I was able to interpret the data critically. Besides, as many researchers have found, feminist research involves not only the stories of the researched, but also 'telling ourselves a story about ourselves' (Steier, 1991, p.3; also, Graham, 1984).

Owing to time constraints, I could not interview girls that dropped out of school and their parents, nor could I extend my investigation to urban schools. Furthermore, engaging the urban schools meant that I use up more of the school time from the participants, which was not possible. As I mentioned earlier, the Cholera outbreak resulted in all the schools in Lusaka Province opening later than scheduled. To avoid doubt about my personal account, I used multiple research methods within the qualitative methodology. While the colleagues with prior experience with the topic of this research were independent persons

and insiders, I sought the views of outsiders who had limited exposure to the topic to ensure maximum value of the response (Roller, 2013).

3.15 Ethical Considerations

To ensure confidentiality in this study, I assigned made-up names to all participating schools, teachers and the students which only l could link to them. In a qualitative case study, ethical issues concern the protection of the schools generally as informant, as well as the teachers and students who participate in the research project. Thus, the documentation of this study was kept in a safe place to which only I had access-on password protected PC. In addition, as researchers we have a moral responsibility to protect research participants from harm (McLeod, 2015). I recognise that as researchers, we have responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of research participants is not adversely affected by the research. I therefore prepared all research tools and kept the contact information for the relevant institutions so that I could resolve any issues that may arise during and after my fieldwork. Moreover, as part of the process for obtaining informed consent, I ensured potential participants were aware of their right to decline to participate, understand the extent to which confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and be reminded of their right to renegotiate consent during the research process (McLeod, 2015). In this regard, I was reflexive about the possible consequences of my work and ensured to guard, as much as possible, against detrimental consequences for participants.

I hold the view that researchers should be honest and do the best to protect the rights of the research participants (Barrow, Brannan and Khandhar, 2021). Hence, in this study the written consent was obtained from the girls (above 17years) and from parents with girls attending school below the age of eighteen, teachers, school heads, district education officers and parents that were involved in the research project. Details of the study were explained to the participants before the fieldwork started. Privacy and confidentiality were upheld before, during and after the fieldwork. Participants were assured that they could freely express their concerns without their identity being exposed to others and that they

might freely withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, the participants' information sheets were read to the girls (female students) and adult participants (See Appendices C and D). In my data presentation, the identity of the case study schools was protected (Kaiser, 2009). Throughout the data collection process, enormous care was executed to ensure the confidentiality and individual privacy of the participants.

3.16 Conclusion

My fieldwork was constrained by time in being able to interview more girls due to the Cholera outbreak as I have mentioned. None-the-less, I was able to capture some useful data from the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with girls, education personnel and parents. The issue of the culture of silence among the girls, was not only detectable in the interviews with the fourteen girls but also in the lack of responses in the questionnaires on issues related to reproductive health. However, from this experience, I acquired more knowledge about my role as a researcher, including ways of handling silence and gaining other skills to conduct successful interviews. While finding interviewees was not a problem in this research, there were other issues, such as obtaining statistical data on the dropout rates of girls, power balance, and creating reciprocity. I was impressed by the determination and resilience of some girls, especially the older ones aged above seventeen, to reach the highest grade at secondary level despite the impediments that they encountered throughout the years of being at school. In the next chapter, I present the findings and analysis of the data in relation to girls' experiences of secondary education, which includes their views about the value of education, teacher student relationships, their perceptions about interacting with boys in joint activities, and their perceptions about sexuality education.

Chapter Four

Girls' experiences of secondary education in Zambia

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss and analyse girls' experiences of secondary education as it is perceived by female student participants from the two case studies schools of Chilanga and Kafue districts. I start my analysis with contextual information about the two case study schools. This is followed by an analysis of the girls' general perceptions of secondary education, which includes other elements in the school environment that influence their learning. These include how they perceive their relationships with teachers and whether the teachers have different expectations from them compared to boys at their schools, their views on joint activities with boys, and sexuality education. Hence, the analysis includes the views of the 28 girls that completed the female students' questionnaires, and interview transcripts from the 14 girls with whom I held semi-structured interviews. The chapter specifically addresses research question 1: *What are girls' experiences of secondary education?* The chapter overall highlights where appropriate, how my research findings reflect, differ from, and extend current knowledge of girls' secondary education.

4.2 Contexts of the two case study schools

Before I discuss and analyse girls' perceptions of secondary education from the two case study schools, I shall provide rich context for experiences. I do this by discussing the physical conditions, school population and the occupation of the female students' parents. These aspects will be explored, elaborated, and expanded in chapters 5 and 6 of this research to provide a complete picture of the settings of the case study schools. In addition, I provide an analysis of the key dimensions of gender regimes that I observed at the two schools using Connell's (Connell and Pearse, 2015) gender regime theory as described in Chapter 2 of this research. As the two case study schools are implementing a co-education system facilitated by the Ministry of Education, I explore the system for its gender

responsiveness (Durrani, 2019; Evans, 2014; Reddy, 2016). This is important for this research, which aims at exploring the girls' experiences of secondary education, which includes the extent the school environment enhances girls' education.

One of the case study schools in the Chilanga District, established in 2008 and is in the rural part of the district. However, it is at least one kilometre away from a main tarred road that leads to the western province from the capital city of Lusaka. The other case study school in the Kafue District, is located 35 kilometres from the Kafue district education offices and about 15 kilometres to the nearest tarred road that runs from the capital city Lusaka to the southern province of Zambia. The Kafue School is in a very remote area from urban city of the capital Lusaka, making it unattractive especially for women teachers who prefer to be deployed in urban schools, or at least close to tarred roads for easy accessibility to other social amenities (MoE, 2016a).

The physical infrastructure of the Chilanga District School comprises a building that was put up using cement blocks and is modern and well painted. There is no fencing around the school, but it has some good landscaping at the school premises. The school building has a total of seventeen classroom blocks, with six administrative offices, which includes offices for the school head, deputy school head and other general administration offices including a staffroom. There is a school hall where school assemblies and other activities are held. The school has thirteen girls' toilets at the main school building to cater for 384 female students. It has accommodated ninety-two girls in boarding with two girls' dormitories and twelve toilets near the area. However, the school does not have an incinerator where girls can dispose of their used sanitary napkins. Nonetheless, the school is more advantaged compared to the Kafue Case Study School. It has accommodation for staff comprising twenty-two staff houses. Hence, the availability of staff accommodation makes the school attractive to women teachers, to accept deployment at the school. There are 16 women teachers compared to 8 at Kafue School as shown Table 1 later in this Chapter. Furthermore, the enrolment of more girls (384) compared boys (377), could be attributed to the presence of a reasonable number of women teachers at the school. Evidence shows a correlation between the number of women teachers and girls'

enrolment, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Kirk, 2006).

In relation to the second case study school (Kafue District School), the building is surrounded by forest with no fencing around it. It was recently put-up using cement blocks and has a total of four classrooms, three administration offices, and one staff room. The premises are not yet painted as the school authorities are still waiting for assistance from the Ministry of Education and other donors. The number of students' toilets in the school comprise six latrines for male students and only four latrines for girls. Four latrines cater for the 157 girls and there is one dormitory for female students comprising thirty-six bed spaces. The number of female students enrolled in boarding are thirty-eight, which is more by two students compared to the thirty-six bed spaces that are available in the single dormitory. Consequently, two students were having to share bed spaces with two other students at the time when interviews with study participants was held. As the dormitory does not have toilet facilities, the occupants must use the four female latrines situated some 500 meters at the main school premises. It seems the toilet facilities are inadequate for the learners at Kafue School. This is disturbing considering the adverse effect inadequate school infrastructure has on the girls' education. It is theorised that girls are more sensitive to differences in school infrastructure than boys (Cuyvers et. al., 2011; Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006). I will therefore follow up on this issue in Chapter 6 of this research, as I discuss the barriers to girls' education there.

The challenge with regards to the physical infrastructure of the Kafue case study school, includes lack of staff accommodation at the school premises. As a result, all the teachers employed at this school must commute to and from school daily. The teachers spend an equivalent of four to five United States Dollars per day towards transport as part of their own expenses. Although the Ministry of Education as the employer provides each teacher with an equivalent of fifty to eighty-four United States Dollars per month as accommodation allowance, it is insufficient to cover the cost of decent housing to match with their status. In interviews with educational personnel, some teachers complained about this situation and were looking for an urgent solution. This is a cause for concern considering that the wellbeing of women teachers influences their motivation to work

effectively and continue offering their services especially in rural schools. Research suggests that availability of housing with good sanitation is especially critical in attracting women teachers to accept to serve and stay on in rural schools (Mulkeen and Chen, 2008; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016).

Many of the girls' parents from one of the case studies schools (Kafue) that participated in this study, were predominantly subsistence farmers and a few street vendors and very few of other occupations. This is the school that is more remotely situated from the urban compared to the other case study school (Chilanga), situated very close to a tarred road. In the case of the Chilanga School, the parents/guardians for girls enrolled, possessed varied occupations comprising teachers, nurses, traders, subsistence farmers and a few other parents in other professions like Police Officers (See detailed table of parents' occupations in chapter 3). The total school population in the two case studies schools of Chilanga and Kafue Districts was 1,140 people, comprising of students, teachers, and school managers. Table 1 in Chapter 3 on school population reflects the actual numbers of students and educational personnel during the time I conducted my fieldwork.

The school population in Table 1, shows that Chilanga School with 16 women teachers, which is almost at par with men teachers (17), and had more girls enrolled at the school compared to the enrolment of boys. Furthermore, Chilanga School had a gender balance in the school management positions, which may have impacted on the enrolment of girls, as research suggests a correlation between the number of women teachers present at a school and the increase in girls' enrolment (Kirk, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016).

To appreciate aspects of gender in the schools' contexts, I used the conceptual framework of 'gender regime', which argues that gender is ingrained in the institutional arrangements of an organisation in this case the two case studies schools (Connell, 1996). I used Eagly's (1987) social role theory to analyse the roles assigned to girls at the two case studies schools. In the next section, I therefore move to analyse the gender regime in which girls,

educational personnel and parents played out their gender across all the case study schools in terms of power relations, division of labour, patterns of emotion and symbolisation.

4.3 Key dimensions of gender regime

In this research, I found gendered work specialisation among teachers, even though there were a few women maths teachers in the two case study schools. The situation on the delivery of the various subjects at the two case study schools showed that some subjects were taught by male teachers only and others by women teachers. For instance, the Chilanga School had the subject 'Natural Science' and 'Physics' delivered by male teachers only and 'Civic Education' delivered by only women teachers. However, in English Language, there was a gender balance in the teaching of the subject as two men and two women teachers taught it at one of the case studies schools. The informal specialisation among the students in the two-case study schools was practised through the involvement of students in gender specific duties in the schools. For example, girls took up roles like cleaning and sweeping, while the boys had to dig pits for disposal of waste.

During my fieldwork at the two case study schools, I observed that boys dominated playground space for informal football games and thus maintained the hegemony of an aggressive, physical masculinity in the two case study schools. As a result, girls in all the schools played their games on smaller fields. On the other hand, girls appeared to frequently assemble in small sets and on the boundaries of the playing field, while some met at the causeways for their casual activities. As a result, boys are the dominant class of people utilising the gendered playground space while girls are the class of people dealing with the edge.

I further discovered that girls perceived both women and men teachers to be welcoming and were encouraged by them to continue attending school. Furthermore, most girls appreciated interacting with boys in joint activities, while a few of them held opposing views, pointing to negative attachments with the boys. It is argued that emotional

commitments may be positive or negative, favourable, or hostile towards the entity (Connell and Pearse (2015). In addition, almost all the girls from the two case studies schools held the perception that teachers usually portrayed gender stereotyping attitudes towards them, relating to their academic performance. I discuss these issues in more detail later in this Chapter.

4.4 Awareness of secondary education

Research question 1 in this study is: *What are girls' experiences of secondary education?* It relates to exploring girls' perceptions about secondary education. This is important as girls are said to be the experts on their own desires and their lived realities, they just require to be given the opportunity, skills, and support to make their voices heard (Tiessen, 2016). Hence, in the context of exploring experiences of secondary education, it is significant to listen to girls' voices as they are well positioned in knowing and articulating their desires. Part of my findings of girls' encounters of education include i. their general views of secondary education, ii. perceptions of their relationships with teachers and what their teachers' expectations are of them as female students; iii. their views about co-existence with boys and engagement in joint activities.; and iv. their views about sexuality education. It is important to note that the girls had diverse views about these factors, both positive and negative views, which lead to either valuing education or not. Although, I have a separate chapter on barriers to girls' education in this research, I will include in this chapter both positive and negative perceptions. For instance, some girls' perceptions of their teachers are that the teachers viewed them as less intelligent than boys, resulting in gender stereotypes, which may have a negative impact on their learning. I move to discuss and analyse the findings, starting with girls' general perceptions of secondary schooling.

The responses from interviews with the girls suggest diverse perceptions they had about the value of education, and how they could make use of the rewards to their secondary education. Hence, from the findings, most of the girls assert that education leads to a better quality of life, as it enables graduates to get employment and be financially secure,

resulting in their ability to support their family members including parents and siblings. This understanding of education points to their perception of its benefits from a human capital perspective, as it is concerned with economic rewards (Unterhalter, 2009). As explained in Chapter 2 of this research, this approach to women's and girls' education, results in the reduction of mortality rate, creates more educated families, and contributes to economic growth by fostering their participation in the economy (Unterhalter, 2007). On the other hand, this perception of education by the girls validates the notion that when a girls' education facilitates the education of the next generation (Johnson, 2018). As testimony to this perception, one of the girls remarked as follows:

> *"I like school because it can help me in the future together with my family. I know that when I finish school and start work, will support my family. I know of some people who have finished school with good jobs. Our teachers at this school are an example" (Irene - 15 years old, Grade 9, Kafue School)*

Irene's account points to being inspired by women teachers who are working as role models to herself and other girls at the school. This understanding refers to teachers as an effective indicator/example for motivating girls to appreciate the importance of education. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this research, several studies have confirmed that women teachers provide effective role models to girls' education (Kirk, 2006; Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). However, it is argued for the need to be cautious against disproportionate reliance on same-gender teachers for role-modelling, particularly when these teachers also belong to a marginalized group (Morley, 2019). This theorist believes the livelihoods of such girls and women cannot be improved if the responsibility is left to them alone. I, therefore, argue that unless the school programmes emphasise gender relations, and not perceive the value of women teachers in isolation, they may not acquire substantive gender equality in education. Another girl from Chilanga School also had similar views to Irene about the value of education as she said:

> *"I like school because I know that when I finish my secondary school, I will have a certificate that will enable me take up a good career like teaching and be able to own a good home, support my parents in their old age and my siblings*

to pursue their education as well." (Hilda, 17-year-old, Grade 12, Chilanga School)

Hilda's remarks point to perceiving education as an assurance to a quality of life when one successfully completes the cycle and sees the teaching career as an opportunity. She also perceives education as an enabler to support her family financially. This is one way of distinguishing education from the human capital standpoint as alluded to in the literature review of chapter 2 in this thesis. As discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, this theory underlines on the economic value of schooling and economic empowerment, with the emphasises on delivering graduates for the labour market (Unterhalter, 2009). Another girl's account of education as a valuable undertaking, is from Chilanga School who stated:

"I like school because of the convenient studies that are offered. For instance, I can make use of my knowledge in English language to read instructions on my parents' medication at home whenever they ask me to and translate into our local language, so they take the required dosage. Teachers at our school are very determined to make sure that all the students get the information they need and prepare them for examinations" (Sandra - 16-year-old, Grade 11, Chilanga School).

Sandra's remarks allude to perceiving education as a medium that can provide survival skills to enable one to cope with life even at present apart from the future. While it relates to offering care to parents by ensuring they take the right dosage of the medication, it includes an element of making use of survival skill of reading that one acquires from school. Hence, Sandra's view of education points to a capability theory perspective, as she identifies the skill of reading that is acquired from being educated. It is argued that gender equality in education can be measured through this approach, by the nature of schooling valued by individuals and whether they can achieve their valued beings and doings through education (Unterhalter 2007). Hence in this research, Sandra as a girl recognises the skill she has acquired from school and how it is enabling her to support her family, resulting in her contribution to the well-being of the household.

Generally, Irene, Hilda and Sandra's comments point to an understanding that education leads to a better quality of life. This meant that the girls would be able to get employed and earn an income which will enable them to support their families. It was also intended to provide better well-being for themselves and family members. This notion of a good quality of life came across as a powerful and frequent reason to go to school from most of the girls, as revealed in questionnaire transcripts. In analysing several responses from the girls, the general view was that secondary education would assist them to live a better life in the future and enable them to support their siblings and other family members as they attain a qualification that will help them secure employment. This perception by the girls is in line with the human capital approach to education (Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash, 2014; World Bank, 2019). While this human capital approach of perceiving the benefits of education is worthwhile, it is not enough to ensure a gender responsive school environment for the learns as it does not pay attention to gender stereotypes, it is just concerned about equality of access, and the numbers of girls and boys, that will contribute to the economy of the nation and not how the process of education affects girls and boys. Hence, equity of access is neglected, for instance, girls have complained about gender stereotyping from teachers of the two case studies schools towards them, a situation that makes girls feel not appreciated in terms of their academic performance. Furthermore, evidence suggests that there is a relationship between economic growth and education, which is that the quality of school and its ability to improve students' intellectual skills, increases gross domestic product (GDP) (King and Winthrop, 2015). Hence, in the absence of quality education that is responsive to girls' needs (such as ensuring they are encouraged and motivated that they can perform as well as boys in science subjects), they are likely to be deprived from attaining maximum economic benefits (Griselda and Megalokonomou, 2020; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). Research further shows that maths and science studies lead to occupations such as engineering, physics, data science and computer programming, which are in great demand and usually pay a high salary (Griselda and Megalokonomou, 2020). Hence, turning away from STEM may have a long-lasting impact on girls' future life earnings.

It is worth noting here that girls that participated in this study, were drawn from the rural population in Zambia, which is associated with high levels of poverty. This could be the

reason they have raised the issue of supporting their families. Furthermore, there is limited social security in Zambia, consequently there is no guarantee that all citizens can access it in the event one is not educated. Hence, education is the common cultural norm to settle the social security issues such as those of the family (Day and Evans, 2015). Consequently, parents support and encourage their children to acquire education so that when they grow up and complete their education, they can in turn support their families financially and socially.

Besides the perception of education for employment purposes, the girls shared stories about their perceptions of school in terms of the school atmosphere. Their comments both from questionnaires and interview transcripts, pointed to aspects of safety, cleanliness, and other health conditions as well as teachers' attitudes towards enhancing girls' education, which are contributing factors to the creation a girl friendly school environment (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). In the absence of exploring these aspects in this research, could result in neglecting an important part of quality education that enhances gender equality (King and Winthrop, 2015). Three girls, comprising of 1 from Chilanga and 2 from Kafue school commended their schools for maintaining high standards of cleanliness:

> *"I like school because it is clean, and we are taught how to clean and maintain cleanliness of our surroundings. Also, the teachers teach well, and many pupils pass and go for further training." (Josephine - 16-year-old, Grade 9, Kafue School)*

Josephine's reason for liking school points to ensuring conducive learning environment, which is just one of the requirements to attainment of gender equality in education. She does not seem to consider other issues that may emerge in terms of human right and capability approaches, without which could result in non-attainment of gender equality in education. I, therefore, argue that while school hygiene is a prerequisite to achieving gender equality in education, it is not enough to make the school responsiveness to the learning of girls and boys. Another girl from Chilanga School also alluded to the good

sanitary facilitates at her school and the importance of hygiene:

> *"I am proud of our school as it is spotlessly clean and looks neat even as you view it from the main roadside. No one can throw litter anyhow. Being at this school has helped me to apply the cleaning skills that I have been taught by my parents at home. The cleanliness motivates me to stay on for longer hours at school and hence my performance has improved." (Inonge, 17-year-old, Grade 10, Chilanga School)*

Inonge's remarks relate to the high standards of the cleanliness of her school, which contributes to making the school conducive for learning. This is significant because her remarks further point to her motivation to keep up with the hygienic standards and promoting cleanliness at her school. While the cleaning skill is associated with domestic chores that are confined to females as suggested by the gender regime Connell and Pearse (2015), social role Eagly (1987), and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron's, (1979) theories described in chapter 2 of this research, it seems to enhance Inonge's motivation to pursue her academic work. Another girl who alludes to cleanliness of the school environment as an important undertaking towards positive learning, is a student from Kafue School:

> *"Although our school lacks certain physical facilities, I appreciate the school management's effort to make sure high standards of hygiene and cleanliness of the school surrounding are maintained. The Matron in charge of our girls' dormitory, keeps an eye on all of us that are in boarding at the school. We have to get permission for all the errands that we make and are compelled to sign in the register book." (Mary, 17-year-old, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

Mary's account, points to cleanliness and strictness of her school. In this case, both hygiene and discipline imply that the school management is concerned about the learners' well-being, which are important pre-requisites for good quality of education that enhances gender equality (UNGEI and GPE, 2014).

The comments from Josephine, Mary and Inonge, are important indicators that the two case study schools are adhering to the Zambian policy of ensuring cleanliness, safety, and health of the environments, a pre-requisite for the attainment of gender equality.in education (Chinyama et. al., 2019). Although the girls have commended their schools for fulfilling the sanitary pre-requisite to education, it is just one part of the elements towards accomplishment of gender equality in education. As stated in chapter 2 of this research, quality education that contributes to gender equality include girl-friendly school environment which is free from gender stereotyping from school personnel, hence providing for all learners. While poor quality of schooling and low learning levels are problems that affect both girls and boys, research suggests that improving quality may be even more important for girls to succeed in their education and future lives (Hunt, 2008; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). The theorists add that this may be because marginalised girls, face higher obstacles to getting into school, poor quality can compound the challenges they already encounter. In this study, some girls had alternative views with regards to the suitability of the school environment for their learning at the two case studies schools. I discuss and analyse the different perspectives later in this chapter and Chapter 6, where I focus on barriers to girls' secondary education. I now move to discuss and analyse girls' perceptions of their relationships with teachers at the two schools.

4.5 Girls' perceptions of their relationships with teachers

Teachers are an important starting point for promoting gender equity at school as their gender stereotyped beliefs and instructive practices, greatly influence gender differences in students (Gunderson et al., 2012; Heyder et al., 2020). In line with this viewpoint, I explored the girls' perceptions of their interaction with teachers and obtained varied opinions from them. Hence, some of the questions that were included in the female students' questionnaire were designed to find out the extent to which the 28 girls were able to describe their teachers. The questions included, examining the extent to which the teachers were perceived as friendly, approachable, or welcomed them at the two case studies schools. Responses from the girls are verified in two categories: i. Teachers were friendly and welcomed them at school; ii. encouraged them to continue with school. The girls were given six options on which to base their responses as follows: Strongly agree,

Agree, slightly agree, disagree, slightly disagree, and strongly disagree. The ratings show that 20 girls out of a total of 28 that completed the questionnaire from both Chilanga, and Kafue case studies schools indicated either 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed' that their teachers were friendly or receptive to them. While a total of 8 girls out of 13 from Chilanga school stated that their teachers were friendly to them. In the case of Kafue school, the rating was higher than Chilanga school, as 12 out of 15 girls, indicated their teachers were friendly. To some extent, it challenges the notion that the presence of women teachers at school guarantees the girl friendliness of the learning centre, as the Kafue School has fewer women teachers compared to Chilanga school. This is an issue I will discuss later in this study.

Besides, the girls' rating of their teachers' relationship with them through questionnaire transcripts, I conducted semi-structured interviews with some girls on the same issue. Hence, the responses from semi-structured interview transcripts were in most cases like the ones I acquired from the questionnaires. One girl who spoke positively about the attitude of her teacher, was from Kafue School. This is what she had to say:

> *"My teacher is so welcoming to all of us in my class, she likes to spare some time in the morning before we start formal lessons, to find out how our families and we are doing. She is very caring just as our parents at home. I really look forward to that time in the morning with our teacher; she also encourages us to work hard". (Takondwa - 19 years, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

The comment from Takondwa points to a learner friendly school environment from a woman teacher. It corroborates with previous studies that argue that women teachers who are caring and conscious about learners, provide a role model for girls, motivate girl pupils to continue learning because of their presence (Kirk, 2006; Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). However, the women teachers' receptiveness as described by Takondwa in the quote above, is just one aspect to contributing to girls' stimulation to perform well in school. A second girl from Kafue made a comment on her teacher's

attitudes:

"My teacher welcomes us in the morning in a nice way, she is very motherly and reminds us to always greet our parents and any other adult every morning and not wait for parents or elderly people to greet us first. I really feel at home when I arrive at school" (Kapolyo - 19 years, Grade 12, Kafue School).

The comment from Kapolyo shows that she is satisfied with the way her teacher welcomes her at school. It further demonstrates that the school atmosphere is one that is accommodating to all learners including girls. Kapolyo's describes her teacher who is female as caring. This finding points to Zambian cultural norm in which women and girls take the largest part of childcare and socialization of the young, including educating them and caring for them in every way (JICA, 2016). While this may help the girls as strengths that have been instilled in them by society such as kindness and caring are recognised, the supposition about the teachers is still based on gender stereotypes. Another girl from Chilanga had this to say:

"We are warmly welcome by our teacher every morning at school. He is approachable and helpful . He makes us feel at home and encourages us to work hard so that we complete school and assist our families in future when we start working". (Sandra - 16-year-old, Grade 11, Chilanga School)

Sandra's perception of her male teacher points to roles such as caring and nurturing are not just those women teachers can show, even if they do so more through socialisation, men can too. Hence, this pupil's experience undermines essentialist gender stereotypes in this instance. This finding further points to a school environment that is safe for all learners including girls. This is in line with the promotion of education as a human right that both girls and boys are entitled to. In addition, the pupils are stimulated to put in more effort to attain the education and support their families, which is in line with the human capital

approach as described in Chapter 2 of this study. A second girl from Kafue remarked as follows:

> *"I must confess my teacher is very accommodating and friendly to all of us in class. He even likes cracking jokes and encouraging us girls not to be shy but talk freely. I feel encouraged to continue coming to school every day. Even my friend Sarah from another class says she has interacted with him and found him to be approachable". (Mutale 17 years old, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

The comment from Mutale, points to a protective and safe school environment for learning, in that the teacher appears to be conscious that girls do not speak out as much as boys do in class. Hence, he tries to encourage girls to feel freer. This teacher tries to resolve this by giving equal opportunities to girls as boys to respond to questions that she puts forward to them as students. These findings on teachers' receptiveness to students seem to conform to the requirements by the Zambian Law through "The Teaching Profession Act, 2013 (Act. No. 5 of 2013) in terms of the teaching profession code of ethics, regulations (Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2018).

4.6 Girls' views of teachers' expectations of them in relation to education

Besides the girls' comments concerning interaction informally with their teachers, I explored the girls' perceptions of teacher expectations from the two case studies schools. My findings are that about 38% of girls interviewed from Chilanga School indicated that they perceived teachers' expectations from them as girls, as being less intelligent compared to boys, indicating that they did not experience any stereotyping from their teachers. With regards to Kafue School, 13% girls that participated completing the female questionnaire, perceived teachers' expectations of them as being less intelligent compared to boys at their school, while another about 27% of the girls did indicate that their teachers perceived them as promiscuous rather than focused on academic work. This implies that

40% of girls from Kafue School experienced gender stereotyping from their teachers. It is therefore evident from these findings that Kafue School has a slightly higher number of girls that have experienced gender stereotypes compared to Chilanga School. I further noted that 40% girls did not experience gender stereotypes from Kafue School, while about 38% of the girls from Chilanga reported not experiencing the same.

Despite, the slight difference in numbers of the girls that experienced gender stereotypes, this situation points poor levels of girl friendliness of the environments at the two schools. For instance, there is limited equality in participation in class as girls are not given equal chances as boys, girls appear to be discouraged by teachers to perform well in science subjects, the teachers have different expectations for girls and boys in learning performance to the disadvantage of girls. This situation at the two schools point to teachers that have limited knowledge in gender responsive pedagogy. This includes approaches that encourage respect for girls and boys equally; making sure that girls can participate in class equally with boys; encouraging girls to study subjects such as mathematics and science, where fewer girls than boys have done so; expressing similar expectations for boys and girls in learning performance; and suggesting non-traditional occupations for girls (Arnot 2006; King and Hill 1993; UNICEF 2001 as cited in Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). It is argued that quality education includes school environments that are responsive to the needs of both girls and boys (Unterhalter, 2019). I argue therefore that unless teachers are trained further in gender responsive pedagogy, the girls at the two school will continue to be disadvantaged in their schooling and may not maximise their potential in education. I move to discuss and analyse the views of the girls from the semi-structured interviews with some girls on the teachers' expectations of girls at the two schools.

The quotes from the girls I interviewed in relation to their teachers' expectations from them could be categorised under three themes: i. achievement, ii. Sexuality and iii. Subject. I therefore, focus my analysis on these themes. With regards to expectation from teachers that pointed to girls' achievement, was the account made by a girl from Kafue School is testimony of her gratitude for the teachers' expectation:

"The teachers encourage girls and boys to concentrate on school. They believe that all learners should be supported in their education. they are determined to help us to complete our schooling and progress to higher education. They expect us to continue working hard so that we secure a very bright future and assist our younger ones." (Mwada - 22 years, grade 12, Kafue School)

Mwada's comment seems to verify that the teachers at her school are gender sensitive as they support the education of both girls and boys. In addition, her comment implies that the teachers view education from a human rights perspective, as they illustrate receptiveness to all learners irrespective of their gender. Furthermore, the reference by Mwada to acquisition of education as a qualification to assisting her siblings in future when she is employed, validates the notion that girls' education will have a generational impact. Numerous empirical studies have shown that a mother's education is critical for investments in the human capital of the next generation (King and Winthrop, 2015; Sutherland, 2015). Hence, I contend that in the absence of girls noticing comparable support from teachers to them as to boys, is likely to lead to girls being less motivated than boys in their learning. A second account was from a girl from Kafue School who said:

"Some teachers believe girls have the capabilities to perform well in school as I noted from the way they encourage girls to put more effort in school in order to succeed in their education and have a better future." (Mailes - 18 years, Grade 10, Kafue School)

Mailes's account, shows positive perceptions of the girls from their teachers, which could yield academic achievement on the part of the learners. It is argued that a student who perceives her teacher as having high expectations of her academic achievement is likely to try to meet those expectations and perform better academically, than her peers, who perceive low expectations from their teachers (Macabudbud et al., 2009). Besides, the comment is an example of a positive emotional attachment made up of expressive relations, attachments, or commitments which could either be positive or negative (Connell and Pearse, 2015). An additional comment that pointed to girls' perceptions of their teachers' views of their academic work was as follows:

"As a girl child, you feel encouraged to study more so that you should be the first girl to erase homestead ideas and thoughts. Hence I will surely be an example to the world." (Mavis - 18 years, Grade 12, Chilanga School).

Mavis's comment alludes to girls being inspired to maximise their potential to challenge the misconception by others at school and home that girls cannot perform as well as boys for instance. Such discernments from teachers at Mavis's school is an indication of a gender sensitive school environment, as it stimulates learners to continue pursuing school and ultimately succeed in their academic work. The fourth interviewee revealed that teachers openly supported girls by inspiring them to work hard in school as she remarked:

"Some teachers encourage us girls by verbally telling us to put more effort in our school work. They do not want us to lag behind boys in our education, so that we can have a better future. This motivates me to work hard in all the subjects, as I feel inspired by the teachers' support." (Mailes - 18 years, Grade 10, Kafue School)

The comment from Mailes, refers to teachers who appear to be supporters of gender equality in education. It demonstrates that Mailes's school observes to some extent a gender responsive school environment due to the positive teachers' attitudes towards girls at her school. Mailes's comment further validates the notion that teachers' high expectations of their students' academic achievement, leads learners to being more inspired to meet those expectations and hence perform better academically than their peers who perceive low expectations from their teachers (Macabudbud et. al., 2009).

In contrast to the perceptions held by some girls in the previous section, I found that a few girls had thought-provoking experiences on teachers' expectations of them because of their gender. Hence, the account of one girl from Chilanga School is a typical example of the perceptions most of the girls held about their teachers:

"Some teachers look down on girls in simple terms they degrade us because we are girls, they feel we do not have the potential to be successful in future, and they think a girl child's place is in the kitchen and not school." (Kaluba - 16 years old, Chilanga, Grade 11).

Kaluba's sentiments suggests her concern about the adverse perceptions of some teachers of girls at their school. It seems girls are considered inferior compared to boys hence, Kaluba appears hopeless and lacking inspiration due to this situation. Such a feeling is a cause for concern because she may lose interest and not put in more effort towards her academic work. Hence, in the absence of a girl friendly school environment that motivates girls rather than dishearten them, their participation in school may be adversely affected (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). Another girl's comment from Kafue School, alludes to teachers' expectations of better performance from boys and compared to girls as she states:

"You find that teachers mostly expect good marks from boys rather than from girls, because they say girls will only waste their time in school whilst getting pregnancies afterwards. This is what I have noticed from some of our teachers at this school, for them boys are the ones to get high marks, not girls like us." (Kapolyo - 19 years, Grade 12, Kafue School).

Kapolyo's comment point to perceiving boys as better performers in academic work than girls. This is again not an inspiring attitude from the teachers, as it does not support enhancement of gender equality in education of the learners and therefore creates an environment, which is not friendly for the girls' education. Another girl from Chilanga School also made comments on gender stereotyping at their school:

"Some teachers have different expectations because they think that boys are more intelligent compared to girls. Hence, they expect more from boys compared to girls. They also think that us girls are in the habit of just hanging around with boys, flirt with them (have sex), hence they end up saying girls are prostitutes which lowers girls' participation." (Jessie – 18 years, grade 12 Chilanga).

Jessie's account points to a similar situation that she has observed from some of the teachers at her school. This finding may adversely affect her motivation in academic work and socialization in society. Furthermore, it is an indication of the lack of a gender responsive school environment at her school. Evidence, suggest that a girl friendly school environment is one where both girls and boys feel safe and free from intimidation (UNGEI and GPE, 2014). I also noticed more comments from other students on the low expectation of girls' performance in academic work that were related to science subjects and scoring of lower marks compared to boys in their schools generally. One girls' account from Kafue School can attest to this:

"In terms of subjects such as Mathematics and Science some teachers expect boys to do better than girls. I get the impression from our teachers that it is natural for boys to do better than we in science subjects. I wonder why they think girls cannot do as well as boys." (Takondwa - 19 years, Grade 11, Kafue School).

Takondwa's account alludes to her teachers' expectation of boys' abilities as natural, which is not the case. This situation sends an erroneous signal to learners and other persons that intelligence is inborn. Girls are likely to lose interest in science subjects, and this could affect their moral to put in their best in this field, which seems to be considered a preserve for boys (Zachmann, 2018). This is a matter of concern and needs argent attention as it could lead to under-representation in the field and affect career options that the girls intend to pursue in future after they complete their secondary education. I will therefore

126

pursue the issue in chapters 6 and 7 of this research. The comments of a girl from Kafue School, points to teachers not being receptive towards girls in school as she bemoans:

> *"To the extent that they see the girls as if they are not good in some of the subjects, especially mathematics and natural sciences. For example, when we are having maths lessons, the teacher mostly picks on boys to answer most of the questions, while girls answer fewer questions in the classroom."* *(Kate - 17 years, Grade 11, Chilanga School).*

Kate's account relates to her view of teachers' gendering of subjects as she observes that they portray some subjects as preserve for boys, and how this influences the way they engage the students in class. It is argued that teachers interact with boys more often than with girls, as boys tend to speak up more often, hence the teacher may be compelled to pay more attention to them (Seifert and Sutton, 2009). This behaviour from the teachers has potential to discourage the girls from working hard in science subjects. Hence, it is important for teachers to be conscious about the effect their behaviour can have on the girls. I will follow up on this issue in Chapter 6 as I discuss and analyse the barriers to girls' schooling.

Generally, the remarks from the three girls above, are an indication that the teachers at the two schools do not have the same expectation from the girls and boys with regards to academic work. The girls are mostly seen as less intelligent compared to boys, not as committed to their academic work compared to boys and in some instances perceived to be promiscuous. These perceptions of the girls relating to their teachers' attitudes are likely to result in lack of motivation among them to participate in academic work and ultimately lead to poor performance (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014; Workman, 2012). I, therefore, argue that unless teachers reflect on their attitude towards girls at the two schools and facilitate a learning environment that ensures girls and boys are treated fairly at the two schools, the girls may continue to be disadvantaged in their education. I will discuss this issue in detail later in Chapters 5 and 6, as I analyse the educational personnel and parents' perceptions of secondary education and barriers to girls' education. Considering that some gender stereotypes were related to

sexuality, it is important to find out the girls' perceptions of this subject. Hence, I move to discuss and analyse girls' perceptions of sexuality education taught at the two schools.

4.7 Girls' awareness of sexuality education

Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) is an essential part of quality education that promotes safe and gender equitable learning environments and improves education access and achievement (Fonner et. al., 2014; Giannini, 2019). Hence, considering the importance of knowledge in sexuality education and access to information being key in securing girls' sexual health, I explored the perceptions of the 28 girls on sexuality education. I therefore, analysed the integration of CSE curriculum that the Ministry of General Education in Zambia is implementing at secondary school level (CDC, 2013).

My findings revealed several issues relating to their perceptions of sexuality education. The general view held by the 28 girls (15 from Kafue and 13 from Chilanga School) is that it is an important subject for their health. All the girls agreed that topics related to reproductive health including menstruation, pregnancy as well as sexually transmitted diseases are taught at the two schools. However, when asked about their source of information about sexuality, the girls gave varied responses from the three options (School, home, friends) that I presented to them. The majority (18) out of 28 girls from the two schools, indicated that they got their information on sexuality only from school, 7 of the girls indicated their sources as only from friends, 2 from Chilanga school mentioned all three sources (School, home friends), while 1 from Kafue school mentioned school and friends as their sources of information.

About 18 girls from the two schools indicated that they obtained their information on sexuality from school, an illustration that sexuality education is delivered at the two schools. However, 2 girls mentioned that their source of information included home. This is not surprising because the Zambian culture does not permit parents to discuss issues of sexuality and reproductive health with their children, it is a taboo (Isaksen, Musonda, and

Sandøy, 2020). Hence, none of the girls from Kafue school mentioned home as part of their source, as this is the school that is in the remotest part of the district, where parents are very culturally oriented. I also found that some girls who indicated friends as their only source of information, were from senior grades that is 11 and 12, which were at completion level of secondary schooling, but only learnt about sexuality from friends. This raises issues about the mode of the delivery of sexuality education at the two schools. I follow up on this issue later in the study, as I analyse findings from educational personnel.

With regards to girls from Kafue School's source of information, I found that they got their information on sexuality from friends as the only source, again they were drawn from grade 12, which is the final grade. This is another cause for concern as it raises issues as to whether the actual topic on sexuality is taught I, therefore, argue that lack of early compulsory sexuality education delivery at the two schools, is likely to deny the girls the required knowledge and their right to sexual reproductive health. I will follow up on this issue in Chapter 5 and 6 as discuss the perceptions of educational personnel and barriers to girls' secondary education.

I further explored the frequency the subject is delivered to the students in the two case studies schools. I found that about 8 girls from Kafue school, said that sexuality education lessons were delivered to them once a month, 6 said more than once per week, while about 2 said once a week. In the case of Chilanga school, 8 indicated once a month, while 2 indicated once a week. As 16 of the girls from the two schools indicated the subject is delivered once a month, is cause for concern, as it is an indication that the subject is not taught regularly, which could result non coverage of some important topics. Furthermore, in the Zambian culture parents are not permitted to discuss issues of sexuality and reproduction with children as it is unthinkable (Isaksen, Musonda, and Sandøy, 2020). Hence, the learners may be left with school as their only main source of information. I, therefore, argue that unless more regular class of CSE are held, the learners will be denied of adequate information on sexuality. The cultural issue of parents not permitted to speak

to their off springs about sexuality, seems to be deepened by the culture of silence by adolescent girls on aspects of reproductive health, which I discuss in the next section.

4.8 Silence on reproductive health issues

An astonishing issue that I found in this research was the silence characterised by the girls that participated in this research. The silence was notable on aspects relating to reproductive health issues. For instance, the issue non availability of toilets at the girls' dormitory at the Kafue School, was very evident of poor sanitary facilities that I fought was an issue to be mentioned as an issue by the girls, was not brought up. There was no mention or indication by the girls from Kafue School, in both semi-structured interviews and in the questionnaire transcripts. While some girls brought up the issue of sexual harassment, the inadequate sanitary facilities were not mentioned. The Kafue school's lack of toilets at the girls' dormitory, was brought up by the teachers, when I held interviews with them and not the girls. Another matter that was raised by the school manager of Chilanga school was that they school had no facility for disposing of used sanitary towels and that the girls in boarding at the school had nowhere nearby to purchase sanitary towels.

As alluded to in Chapter 3, I had to review literature relating to silence among girls on reproductive health issues in Zambia. The few studies I reviewed categorically mentioned that menstruation was a secret and that girls were not allowed to discuss the topic openly (Isaksen, Musonda, & Sandøy, 2020; Person, Kayula and Opong, 2014). I discovered that girls in other studies of secondary school age too illustrated the same attitude as my participants in remaining silent on the same, or similar, issues. However, the girls' silence on this subject area left me in suspense of their potential views. My findings from the studies done in Zambia, showed that the girls in this situation appeared to follow what they have been moulded to do by keeping silent (MoE, 2017; Person, Kayula and Opong, 2014). For instance, Person, Kayula and Opong, (2014), in their study that included girls of school going age's stance - see excerpt from the study report:

'Consistently participants reiterated that menstruation is a "secret" that no one is supposed to talk about' (Person, Kayula and Opong, 2014:11)

Another excerpt from a study by MoE (2017), entitled 'A Formative Study on Menstrual Hygiene Management in Mumbwa and Rufunsa Districts of Zambia,' pointed to the same perception of secrecy on matters relating to menstruation:

'Female teachers held discussions on health issues but did not discuss menstruation in detail due to cultural teachings that emphasized secrecy around menstruation. Female teachers also stated that it would be especially worse for male teachers to discuss menstruation even though they have received professional training in Science and Biology' (MoE, 2017:26).

Hence, the two studies confirmed that menstruation was a sensitive topic, leading very little discussion on it and ultimately silence, which is attributed to cultural restrictions attached to menstruation. In the next section, I discuss girls' interpretations of the relationships with boys at the two schools.

4.9 Girls' perceptions of their relationship with boys

I explored girls' perceptions of their interaction with boys at the two case study schools, as socially interactive learners are engaged learners (Vacca et al., 2011). Routman (2005) contends "students learn more when they are able to talk to one another and be actively involved" (p. 207). Furthermore, the importance of the co-education system that the Ministry of Education has implemented at the two case study schools cannot be over-emphasised. It is said to be key in enhancing gender equality in education, as girls and boys, share in the joy of learning together, developing mutual respect and understanding for each other (Reddy, 2016; Teys, 2017). The theorists add that it facilitates an environment where boys and girls work and learn together in natural settings and promotes

131

gender equality and opportunity, in both academic and co-curricular activities, hence reflecting the most realistic and authentic learning environment. As this study is exploring girls' experiences of secondary education with a view to enhancing gender equality in schools, I considered it is necessary to find out girls' views about their interaction with boys.

As I explored girls' views on their involvement with boys, I captured diverse views from them relating to interaction with boys, and their responses came in three categories: (i) those in favour, (ii) those not in favour and (iii) those that did not take any position. My findings were that around 62 per cent of girls from Chilanga school were in favour of joint *activities* with boys, while 60 per cent of girls from Kafue school were in support of the idea. These numbers in favour of interaction with boys, shared various reasons for their options. These included responses from semi structured interviews with girls on this issue, as some responses were like those that appeared in the data compiled from the female questionnaire transcripts. I found that the ones that indicated in favour of joint activities in the questionnaires, were the ones who justified their support for interacting with boys. One of the testimonies of this outcome, from a Chilanga School girl was as follows:

> *"As girls, when we are involved in joint activities such as sports, the boys can teach you how to play other sports like football. Boys seem to be more energetic and good at doing sports. I feel as girls, we always have a lot to learn from boys in our school." (Chileshe 17 years, Grade 12 Chilanga School)*

Chileshe's account above, seems to appreciate interaction with boys to enhance diversity among learners. She appears to value interaction with boys in terms of learning new skills and sees this as an advantage for girls to learn from boys. Chileshe's statement, points to her freedom to interact with boys and strive to be at the same level in the event she learns the skill that is perceived as a domain for boys. This is testimony that Chileshe has opportunity to fulfil her capability through education (Robeyns and Byskov, 2020). On

the other hand, her comment points Eagly's (1987) social role theory, which indicates that gender roles are the social roles that a society defines for men and women. Hence, this implies that Chileshe has been oriented to believe that boys are more energetic that girls with regards to activities like sport. Another girl from Kafue School also endorsed learning with boys:

> *"Boys encourage and motivate us to do more exercise. This is why I like to engage in activities with the boys at our school, as you can become strong like them. Each time I interact with the boys, I become more confident to do different activities." (Mutale 18, Grade 10 Kafue School)*

Mutale's comment, points to perceiving boys as possessing more physical strength and therefore capable of stimulating others to gain such prowess. However, in doing so, she appears to portray boys as being more energetic and stronger physically than girls and so can assist girls. Mutale's remark implies that engagement with boys can challenge gender stereotyping of boys being stronger than girls, as girls can learn and become as energetic as boys if such inaction is encouraged. However, more needs to be done by school authorities in making the school environment more gender responsive. I, therefore, argue that unless more girls are inspired like Mutale to appreciate the importance of engaging with boys and learning from them, some girl may not benefit from the freedom of relating with the opposite gender. Another girl from Kafue School made a positive remark on joined sports activities with boys:

> *"I feel there is no segregation if we all take part in joint activities as we learn some other ways of doing things from boys. It means that even though we are girls, we can also do as well as boys because we learn different types of skills." (Janet, 17, Grade 10 Kafue School).*

The comment from Janet, points to girls' association with boys in education as equals,

which enables girls to feel at equal level with boys. This way of Janet's perception of boys at her school, points to development of mutual respect, self-esteem and overcoming fear of the opposite sex on her part, which is an indication that these advantages of co-education are being achieved at her school (Reddy, 2016). Furthermore, it is an indication of a school environment that promotes gender equality and therefore education as a right for all learners, regardless of their gender (Aurora, 2016; UNICEF, 2007). I also observed that some girls I interviewed were of the general view that their engagement with boys in different fields was valuable. The quote below is testimony of this argument:

> *"When I am involved in joint activities with boys, it gives me the sense that we are all equal and I feel that in our capacity as girls can reach great heights and do great things like getting high marks in Mathematics and other Science subjects just like boys do." (Mavis, 18-year-old, Chilanga School).*

Mavis's comment implies that engaging in joint activities with boys, enhances collaborative skills like self-esteem in both girls and boys (Durrani, 2019). As self-esteem refers to the way a person views oneself, it follows that personal confidence has emotional, physical, and social benefits (Ferkany, 2008). Furthermore, Mavis's remarks allude to a school environment that encourages social and emotional relationships between girls and boys at her school. Hence, in the absence of I argue therefore, that unless school authorities strengthen joint activities between boys and girls, not many girls like Mavis will maximise their potential in learning through interacting with boys.

Besides demonstrating the value of joint activities in school, I note that the comments from Chileshe, Mutale, Janet, and Mavis all point to the benefits of the co-education system that Ministry of Education in Zambia is facilitating at the two case study schools. Hence, in the absence of school authorities in the two-case study school taking advantage of the benefits of the co-education system, the girls may not be able to maximize these rewards. I noted however, that there are other alternative perspectives to engaging in joint activities with boys that are not totally and unproblematically seen as positive by girls.

The questionnaire transcripts on this issue revealed various reasons that the girls provided for opting for joint activities with boys including mutual respect between girls and boys, healthy competition among peers which enabled them to learn how to cope with your failures early in life no matter who the winner is, helped to overcome fear of the opposite gender, self-esteem and no space for discrimination. These results reflect the purpose of co-education systems of education, as stated earlier. However, 3 of the girls from Chilanga school and about 4 of the girls from Kafue were not in favour of joint activities for varied reasons, including sexual harassment from boys when involved in joint activities with them. Hence, the results are not reflecting most of the girls supporting joint activities an indication that the co-education is yielding to a certain extent the desired purpose as earlier defined. Meanwhile, I am aware that girls and boys tend to participate in different types of extracurricular activities, representing traditional areas of gender dominance (Vleuten et. al., 2016). I therefore argue that a more accurate assessment as to whether the purpose of co-education is being attained fully is possible when different joint activities of girls with boys of the two schools other than sport are equally examined. I discuss more on this issue in Chapter 6, where I deliberate and analyse the barriers to girls' secondary education. I move to discuss and analyse.

4.10 Conclusion

Girls in this study seemed to have different views about the value of education. Their interpretations of schooling include their recognition of education as a conduit to a better life that will enable them to support their families and address issues relating to poverty. This view as described in my literature review is perceived from the human capital perspective, which focuses on economic empowerment of individuals for the labour market (Unterhalter, 2009). The girls found that most teachers at their school were friendly and accommodating, pointing to a school environment that is girl friendly in this context. This type of teacher pupil relationship is in line with one of the characteristics of a gender responsive school environment by Dorji, (2020) as stated in the literature review, Chapter 2 of this research. However, some girls interviewed had opposing views about engaging in joint activities with boys, alluding to sexual harassment. As earlier stated in this research, schools as not always girl-friendly, and can create environments that are either

unsupportive or explicitly hostile through the exercise of sexual harassment (Stromquist, 2015). I discuss the details of this in Chapter 6, where I deliberate on barriers to girls' education. Almost all the girls were silent on issues relating to reproductive health. It appears they were influenced by the Zambian cultural norms, as established by studies done in Zambia focusing on issues of sexuality and menstruation. In Chapter Five, I explore the experiences of adult participants including teachers, school managers, parents, Parent/Teachers' Association members and other partners in relation to their perceptions on the importance of girls' secondary education. These groups play a significant role in the education of learners, as they can contribute to the creation of a gender responsive school environment that enhances girls' education, with appropriate measures in place. It is therefore critical to get their views on girls' secondary education and see how they compare to the voices of the girls. Such data contributes to the understanding of the needs of girls in education, which is one of the prime focuses of this research.

Chapter Five

Education personnel and parents' perceptions of girls' secondary education

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss and analyse the educational personnel and parents' perceptions of girls' secondary education in the two-case studies schools of Chilanga and Kafue. The data analysis involves transcripts from questionnaires, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with 5 School Managers, 6 teachers, 15 Parents/Teachers' Association (PTA) members, 8 District Education Officer and 1 Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) Coordinator from the Ministry of Education. The chapter responds specifically to the research question 2: *What are teachers', school managers', parents', and district education officers' perceptions of girls' secondary education?* I discuss the contexts of the two case study schools in line particularly with Connell's (1996) theory, on the importance of understanding the social structures and practices by which an institution constructs gender among the teachers and students. I further discuss and analyse these participants' perceptions of girls' secondary education. This includes what they perceive as the value of education, the perceptions of teachers and school managers in terms of educational differences of girls and boys, and value of women teachers to girls' education. Furthermore, an analyse of teachers' perceptions of sexuality education is discussed.

5.2 Gender regime among educational personnel and PTA members

At district level, I found that the two positions of the District Education Board Secretary, which is the highest designation at district level, were headed by men at the Chilanga and Kafue District Offices. However, there was nearly a gender balance among key staff of Chilanga District Education Office with four women and three men. In the case of Kafue District Education Office, there was a gender balance among key staff with three women

and three men. The fields of personnel varied and these included Guidance and Counselling Coordinators, Statisticians, Human Resource Officers, Resource Centre Coordinators, and Planners. Support personnel at the two district offices, were predominantly women.

In relation to school management positions at the Chilanga case study school, I found that the school head was a man, while the deputy was a woman. However, in the case of Kafue case study school, I found that both positions of school head and deputy were occupied by men. This lack of gender balance in the top management positions of Kafue School was not surprising to me, as I have always known from experience that women teachers or managers in Zambia shunned postings to rural schools, because of lack social amenities like hospitals, banks as well as poor staff housing and sanitation. This has resulted in many rural schools having fewer women teachers compared to men (MoE, 2016a). Evidence shows that in some Sub-Saharan African countries where women constitute only 20% teachers, the boys outnumber the girls when it comes in enrolment (Kirk, 2006; UNESCO, 2003). Hence, the underrepresentation of girls tends to be greatest in rural areas and the most disadvantaged communities (Mulkeen and Chen, 2008). This could be the reason I found Kafue School with a smaller number of women teachers (8) compared to men (14), with 163 boys and 157 girls enrolled at the school.

In terms of teaching personnel, the number of women (16) and men teachers (17), at Chilanga School were almost at par, compared to Kafue school, which had more men teachers (14) than women teachers (8). I am aware that women teachers in Zambia are reluctant to serve in rural schools due to poor amenities (Ministry of General Education, 2016). This appears to corroborate with the situation I found in the Kafue case study school. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, Chilanga School has better infrastructure such as staff housing and is located closer to the main tarred road, making it easily accessible to town. Hence, the Chilanga School environment has attracted more women teachers compared to the Kafue School that did not have housing for staff. (See the numbers of teachers by gender in Chapter 4 of this research under the sub-heading: Population). Previous studies suggest a strong association between the availability of housing and high

motivation of women teachers to serve and stay on in school (UNESCO, 2018, 2019). These studies found lack of suitable housing especially in rural schools, as a key factor to lowering the motivation of women teachers.

With regards to delivery of subjects by teachers at the two case study schools, I found a gender balance in the number of teachers in mathematics at Chilanga School, that is three women teachers taught mathematics and three men teachers were also assigned to teach the same subject. However, at Kafue School there were three men assigned to teach mathematics, while two women taught the same subject. Although there was no exact equal numbers of women and men teachers in the teaching of mathematics at Kafue School, the discovery of women mathematics teachers in the two schools appears to be an indication towards enhancement of girls' motivation to do well in science subjects. Research suggests that a lack of women role models for girls can result in the perception that STEM is not for them (Zachmann, 2018). Hence, availability of positive role models of the same gender (women) in science subjects to young girls, can maintain their interest and have a lifelong impact on their career paths (Zachmann, 2018).

I further found that both men and women teachers taught some art subjects, including English Language, Art, and Religious Education. However, only male teachers at the two case studies schools taught Physics, Chemistry and Natural Sciences subjects. I further found that women teachers only taught Civic Education as well as Art and Design subjects at Chilanga School. This situation points to a school environment that does not have adequate women role models in STEM subjects. This is a concern as a lack of women role models in STEM for girls can result in fewer girls taking up science related career choices (Zachmann, 2018). I therefore argue, that unless the school authorities at the two case studies schools ensure measures to motivate and attract more adequate women role models in STEM subjects are put in place, fewer girls will be confident to perform very well in the subjects.

As a way of enabling the engagement of community members in the operations of the schools, each of the two case studies schools has a Parent/Teachers' Association (PTA) comprising of ten members each that were carefully selected. I found representation of one student and one school manager on each of the two PTAs. This was to ensure issues affecting students were raised and decisions, including policy related matters made by the PTAs relating to the school, were disseminated to students and other personnel at the school. I further found that both PTAs at the two case study schools were chaired by men, while other members who included women occupied other positions that included secretary and vice-secretary, vice-chairperson, treasurer, vice-treasurer, and ordinary committee members. However, despite the two Associations being chaired by men, there was a gender balance in the general membership as each had five women and five men. Therefore, the only contentious gender issue in the membership of the two PTAs appeared to be the lack of women in the highest positions of chairperson. However, when I was identifying PTA members to participate in this research; there was no problem in getting a gender balance representation from the two associations of the two case study schools. The gender balance among the membership of the Parent Teachers' Association (PTA), is important in enhancing girls' education, especially because the two schools are in rural parts of Zambia, where there are fewer women role models (CAMFED, 2019, Malasha, 2021). In the next section, I discuss and analyse the education personnel and parents' perceptions of girls' secondary schooling.

In this section, I have analysed the gender regime issues affecting the two case study schools in relation to power relations, division of labour, and symbolisation as suggested by Connell and Pearse (2015) and described in Chapter 2 of this research. It is evident that the PTA of the two schools were headed by men, even though the representation of the members that participated in this research were gender balanced. This is an indication of measures taken by the administration at the two schools in putting into practice the knowledge and skills acquired by educational personnel and PTA members from some workshops in gender awareness that they indicated having attended. With regards to subjects taught at the two school, science subjects including Chemistry and Physics, were delivered by men. This finding points to prevalence of gendering of subjects as described in chapter 2 of this research, an issue that that could impede gender equality in the

education that is offered at the two schools. I move to discuss and analyse the perceptions of educational personnel, PTA members and parents, in relation to girls' secondary education.

5.3 Awareness of girls' education

The interview transcripts that I compiled from of the girls, showed that the attitude of teachers, school managers, other educational personnel, and parents towards the education of girls in the two case studies schools was a significant factor. It is essential to note that educational personnel and parents can either nurture and create an enabling environment to motivate learners or can disadvantage the education system with their indifferent attitudes. It is therefore necessary to explore their views on girls' secondary education. I found that the six teachers' perceptions about the rewards from girls' secondary education, were diverse but had a common aspect, which was that schooling would lead to a good quality of life in future as the graduates would get employed and earn an income, resulting in support to their families. I later share quotes to support this in this chapter. This human capital way of thinking about education was shared by all the other participants of this study. Boyle, (2021) suggests, human capital is the economic value of the capabilities and qualities of labour that influence productivity, such as education. Despite the participants' narrow perception of the value of education, I noted that the benefits were broader as evidenced by some of the remarks from the participants, which I will further discuss in this Chapter. Hence, one teacher from Kafue School commented on what she perceived as the value of girls' education stating:

> *"Girls' secondary education is very important, as it prepares girls for a good quality of life which will enable them to live well and to support their siblings. Personally, I, an example of a woman who pursued secondary education and completed successfully. As you can see, I am working as a teacher and able to support my family."* (Woman teacher, Kafue School)

The Kafue teacher's account alludes to the significance of girls' education in facilitating a decent life in the future and equipping them with the capacity to support their families. Her comment points to her recognition of the importance of education and the benefits graduates can accrue for themselves and support to their families. Her account includes rewards of education from a human capital perspective as she points out on the ability of the graduate to support their family members. This is in line with studies that show that an extra year of secondary schooling for girls can increase their future wages by 10 to 20 percent (UNGEI and GPE, 2014; World Bank, 2012). I, therefore, contend that the absence of women teachers to inspire girls by recognizing their own achievements, is likely to deny girls from having equal opportunities to secondary education as boys, resulting in non-attainment of their full potential. A teacher from Chilanga School also added his voice in support of girls' education as he said:

"Girls' improved access to education creates a cycle of increased development in society and across generations. With equal access to education, a woman has a route towards her full potential. This results in waves beyond her personally, whereby families and communities are equally privileged of their full capacity, economically and socially." (Male teacher, Chilanga School)

The Chilanga school teacher's comment suggests girls' education has a multiplier effect in society that is from one generation to another. The teacher acknowledges the spill over of rewards of knowledge and skills to her future families and others in the same community, which points to perceiving education from the human capabilities approach. Hart (2012) suggests, the capability approach offers a re-orientation in the positioning of education in terms of both its intrinsic value and its instrumental role in wider societal development. However, these encouraging sentiments by the teacher do not match with the girls' views relating to gender stereotyping from teachers to the disadvantage of girls at the two case studies schools. As explained in Chapter 4, girls had opposing views relating to gender stereotyping from teachers that pointed to hindering their learning at the two case studies schools. I, therefore, argue that unless teachers avoid labelling girls as having inferior academic performance compared to boys, girls may not attain their full

potential of secondary education. A second teacher from Kafue, also commended girls' education as he said:

If a girl is educated, they will have a profession, which will enable her to bring home a salary, resulting in the whole family honouring her more than if she was just a full-time housewife. Furthermore, education provides relevant knowledge and skills for girls to better understand and deal with life challenges." (Male, teacher, Kafue School)

The teacher from Kafue School, acknowledges the difference between the additional benefits of an educated girl compared to a non-educated, pointing to the honour availed to her due to increased capacity to support her family and contribute to the society at large. Hence, an educated girl is more at liberty to have gained various ways of supporting the family and more effectively. It is argued that when girls go to school, they develop into women who have more say over their lives, are less likely to be subject to domestic violence, participate more in decision making in households, and have an increased sense of their own worth and efficacy (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). Hence, I contend that in the absence of teachers motivating girls to attach importance to their education, some girls are unlikely to attain full potential of education as boys. A third teacher from Kafue shared her perception of girls' education by drawing attention to the health rewards in her remarks:

Education involves social interaction, hence, not only permits girls to feel that they are not alone, but also to feel healthy by their peers and educators. With increased health education, they can take better care of their families' health and well-being. (Male teacher, Kafue School)

The Kafue teacher's account, points to perceiving education as a unifying factor for learners, it allows girls to benefit from the company of others and enable them to share

their emotions. The teacher's comments further implies that education facilitates knowledge and skills on health, resulting in enhanced wellbeing of families. Such realisation by the teacher is likely to enable him to create a girl friendly school environment if put into practice. Hence, in the absence of broad knowledge of the multiple benefits girls' education provides, teachers at the two case study schools are not likely to deliver the required knowledge and support that enhances gender equality in education. A fourth teacher's account from Kafue, also alluded to the health benefits girls' education provides for the family as she stated:

> *"If a girl is educated, she will have better understanding of nutrition, hygiene, and rearing of her children. What I have observed from experience, is that a child born to an educated mother is much more likely to survive past the age of five, as well as be encouraged to go to school, learn well and succeed in school. I have done so with my children, and they are healthy." (Woman teacher, Kafue School)*

The Kafue teacher's comment alludes to the knowledge and skills in health that are beneficial to the family. Again, the knowledge and skills in health if applied are likely to trickle down to the family. Indeed, the knowledge and skills are important, that is why the teachers should be competent enough to be able to impact the needed education to their learners. I, therefore, argue that in the absence of all teachers' ability to impart knowledge and skills relating to nutrition and health and other important skills to learners in a gender responsive manner, the girls' may be denied education to cope with lives in future. It is argued that although the economic aspects of educational investment constitute an important part of individual well-being, we should not neglect its other dimensions, such as the impact that education can have on self-worth, social integration, and political participation (Chiappero-Martinetti and Sabadash, 2014). Hence, a second teacher from Chilanga, shared his views on girls' education, pointing to an integration of a human capital as well as capability approaches of perceiving education as demonstrated in his remarks:

"If you educate a girl who becomes a mother, you educate a complete household, and you increase the economic earning potential too with healthier and more carefully productive family members, as they are well guided by the educated mother in the home." (Male teacher, Chilanga School)

The Chilanga teacher's account, suggests greater rewards that are amassed in girls' education, hence, extending to the household. In addition, he acknowledges the extra income and capacity in knowledge and skills to the family associates. The teacher's recognition of education from both the human capital as well as capability perspectives has potential to enhance gender equality in education if only, he can re-evaluate his gender responsiveness towards the learners at the school. This is because the teachers at the two schools seem not to be aware of their biases against the academic performance girls compared to girls.

The schoolteachers' accounts above point to education as a means towards alleviating poverty by supporting other members of the family, hence reducing the burden from parents as they get older. This human capital approach to education is one that is inclined to providing some form of social security to the family. Hence, the teachers seem to echo the traditional custom in Zambia, which expects graduates to support the family in future when they get employed (Day and Evans, 2015). This narrow view of the value of girls' education by the teachers, could result in disadvantaging girls as on account of gendered social norms that view unpaid care work as a female prerogative, in addition to their paid activities, consequently producing the "double burden" of work for women (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka, 2014). Furthermore, this approach overshadows other benefits to education for girls such as, it as an entitlement to them and whether it is an education that they value, and one that enables them to exercise their freedom (Unterhalter, 2019). I, argue therefore, that unless teachers become acquainted on the broader value of girls' education, they are likely to mislead the girls on their rights and benefits to secondary education.

5.4 School managers' perceptions of girls' education

I further explored the school managers' perceptions on the same subject and found a common understanding as with the girls and teachers views discussed in Chapter 4 and earlier in this Chapter. Hence, I move to discuss and analyse the school managers' perceptions. One school manager's remark about girls' education, was focussed on support to the family as he said:

"The education of girls is paramount because when they graduate, they become very useful citizens in our society, can render support to their parents, siblings and other family members. When you educate a girl, you education the rest of the family and as you know, girls are very caring." (Male School Manager, Kafue School)

The school manager's view points to education as a means towards easing basic needs that addresses the welfare of graduates' siblings and other family members including parents. The manager further recognises the feminine caring role that has been ascribed by people in the Zambia culture, an indication that he has maintained his belief in this custom. While the manager's recoveognition of the caring role of females is positive, experience has shown that this caring role is not highly valued as compared to other responsibilities that women undertake in the future (Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka, 2014). Furthermore, in the absence of perceiving the value of girls' education beyond caring for the family, other benefits risk being neglected and go unrecognised. A second school manager from Chilanga school, stated that:

"When you educate a girl, you educate the nation. To develop this nation, we require both males and females as we have different roles that are needed to complement each other. This includes health care, hygiene, and nutrition for the family. Women make good managers in the home, but also it is an

additional income to the family as well." (Woman School Manager, Kafue School)

The school manager's account alludes to the importance of education for both boys and girls if there is to be meaningful development for the country. This way of thinking about education is an indication the teacher recognises the rights-based approach to education, which emphasizes on education for all humans regardless of gender (UNICEF and UNESCO, 2007). In addition, she recognises the caring role that is inculcated in girls from home, as suggested in Bourdieu and Passeron's, (1979) capital theory, described in the literature review chapter (2) of this research. The teacher's views about education, points to her support to enhancement of gender equality in education, as the human rights-based approach distinguishes the presence of socially constructed gender differences (Vaughan, 2010). A third school manager also shared her views in relation to girls' secondary education as she stated:

"It is important for girls to get secondary education so that they can take up careers which will enable them to make a greater contribution to our nation. For example, I had to complete secondary education for me to take up the teaching career at degree level. It is for this reason that I am now a school manager at this school. Hence, we no longer live in an era where academic contribution of women and girls are overlooked." (Woman School Manager, Chilanga School)

The school manager's remarks above, point to the need for girls to attain the level of education that can enable them take up management roles. She perceives education from a capabilities approach (as defined in Chapter 2 under the sub-heading 'Gender and Education'), as she acknowledges the intellectual contribution that girls can make to society, and their right to co-exist with others. The manager realises that high level education, like secondary level is necessary for one to make a more valuable contribution to the nation. Research suggests, better-educated women are more likely to contribute to

volunteer and elected decision-making bodies at all levels (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). The theorists further found that in these roles, women are much more likely to serve as promoters for decisions and policies that benefit family and community life, such as improved social services. I therefore, argue that without educational personnel encouraging girls to acquire leadership skills, the learners will not be able to take up leadership roles in their future lives.

5.5 Parents' perception of girls' education

With regards to parents' perceptions to girls' education, all the of them including 8 from Kafue and 7 from Chilanga case study schools that participated in this study overwhelmingly supported it. The main reason for their support pointed to the fact that girls provided social security to their families after completing school. Girls were perceived as important by their parents because they were more likely than sons to take care of their parents as soon as they are employed and begin to earn an income. From the two focus group discussions held for parents of Chilanga and Kafue case studies schools, I learnt that girls were considered as providers of social security to parents, while boys paid more attention to the families of their wives when they marry. One focus group member from Chilanga remarks is testimony of this perception:

> *"Daughters are God sent, as we have seen from experience of girls that have completed their education in our community and have taken up the responsibility of looking after their parents. I know of a family where their only daughter in the family of 5, is the one who is keeping her old parents at her home and providing all their needs. (Woman PTA Focus Group Member, Chilanga School)*

The Chilanga Parents' Teachers' Association (PTA) focus group member's comment points to her acknowledgement of the importance of girls' education in relation to the community's expectations from the girl. The girl, after completion of school, is required

to support the parents and siblings financially and socially, she is expected to be employed and earn an income. This human capital approach to education was shared by all the members from the two PTA focus group members of the two case studies schools. A PTA focus group member's account on the significance of girls' education pointed to immediate benefits to the family as she said:

> "Sending a girl to secondary school, does not only yield benefits in future but even at the present time. I have noted my daughter is able to read instructions for taking medication for the father, myself, and the rest of the family. Furthermore, she can advise what food that is recommended for patients with different health conditions should take as she learns about health and nutrition at school. I feel my daughter is very helpful in making us cope with the well-being of the family." (Male PTA Focus group member, Kafue School)

The Kafue School PTA member's comment alludes to the importance of educating daughters as they are perceived as an assurance in terms of supporting their parents, unlike sons who would focus their support to their in-laws (parents and family of their wives). Furthermore, parents in rural communities are in most cases illiterate, hence cannot read instructions that appear on the medicines for treatment. This outcome suggests that the education of both girls and boys is important as the families and community members stand to benefit from both genders of the graduates. I note that parents' support of girls' education in this way is a positive approach towards equality of access to education. However, the expectation from parents from girls relates to their prescribed roles as females in Zambia, who are culturally associated to home management (Day and Evans, 2015). While girls are pursuing secondary education which is likely unable them get formal employment, there is a risk that they may end up being overburdened due to this cultural expectation from parents. I, argue therefore, that in the absence of government strengthening the social cash transfer support for the elderly in less privileged communities, girls may continue to be exploited. This is because girls as they become women and begin to earn an income, they still must engage someone (relative or carer)

whom they are obliged to financially support to care for their parents. Furthermore, if school authorities do not continue to support parents' backing of girls' education, by ensuring a girl friendly school environment, girls may continue to be less privileged in education compared to their male counterparts and may drop out of school. Evidence suggests, a girl friendly school environment guarantees a safety learning place free from gender stereotyping (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). I will follow up on this issue in Chapters 6 and 7 chapter of this research.

In this section, I have discussed and analysed the perceptions of school managers, teachers, PTA members and parents in relation to girls' secondary education. Their perceptions all point to supporting girls' secondary education, for various reasons including a better quality of life, support to their families, contribution to economic growth of the country, and such views can also be critiqued. However, their views with regards to promoting gender equality in education, are in contrast with the girls' perceptions of teachers' attitudes towards them. This is because the teachers' behaviours are characterised by gender stereotyping to the disadvantage of girls as described in Chapter 4 of this research. Hence, if teachers do not avoid gender stereotypes, girls may not have equal learning opportunities with boys, resulting in non-attainment of quality secondary education that enhances gender equality. I will follow up on this issue in Chapter 6, which is focusing on barriers to girls' education.

5.6 Teachers' perceptions of educational differences between girls and boys

As discussed in Chapter 4, many girls from the two case studies schools were critical of their teachers' expectations of them in relation to schoolwork. They were of the view that teachers had a tendency of underrating them with regards to their performance in school compared to boys or male counterparts. The girls alleged that teachers perceived them as girls to be less intelligent than boys especially in Mathematics and science subjects. Hence, I decided to find out the perceptions of the teachers themselves by administrating questionnaires, which included a question: *If you were asked to choose between boys and girls for teaching, whom do you prefer?* Most of the responses from the teachers to this

question, were in contrast with the girls' views on the expectations of their teachers from them described earlier. The responses are given in Table 8 below:

Table 8: Teachers' choice of the gender of student they prefer to teach (Total no. of teachers – 6)

No. of teacher	School of teacher	Gender of teacher	Gender of student preferred to teach	Reason for answer
1	Chilanga	Woman	Both girls and boys	Makes no difference
2	Chilanga	Man	Both girls and boys	Makes no difference
3	Kafue	Man	Both girls and boys	Makes no difference
4	Kafue	Man	Both girls and boys	Makes no difference
5	Kafue	Woman	Boys	Girls usually have a negative attitude towards women teachers
6	Kafue	Woman	Both girls and boys	Both boys and girls have the same capabilities and potential for further development of those capabilities

Source: Produced by the Author (Mbewe)

As shown in Table 8, a total of 83% of teachers indicated that they preferred to teacher both genders alleging there was no difference between them. The responses from all the teachers implied that both girls and boys have the same abilities, which do not match with the girls' perceptions that their teachers had different expectations from them as female students. Hence, as discussed in Chapter 4 of this study, the different expectations girls alleged from teachers, point to different forms of gender stereotypes, including perceiving them as less intelligent than boys at the two case studies schools (See Chapter 4, under the sub-heading: 'Girls' views of teachers' expectations of them in relation to education'). I note that teachers are also influenced by the culture in the community where they are coming from. For instance, in society females are considered as caring, loving, physically weak and less intelligent whereas, males are considered strong, intelligent, responsible, and breadwinners of the family (Wang and Degol, 2013). As a result, girls are likely to carry the perception that they are inferior to their male counterparts, as I described in Chapter 4 of this research. Hence, in the absence of teachers avoiding the gender stereotypes, girls will continue to be less privileged in terms of attaining their full potential of secondary education. I further explored details of their arguments and obtained varied explanations on the issue. One teacher's account from Kafue was as follows:

"Both boys and girls have the same capabilities and potential for further development of those capabilities; they both can do well if they really want to. I therefore see nothing that can stand in their way in as far as schooling is concerned". (Woman teacher, Kafue School)

The Kafue teacher's claim points to perceiving girls and boys as having the same competencies regardless of their gender. Hence, the teacher's view implies that girls and boys have the same schooling experiences. Evidence suggests that the assumption that girls and boys have the same competencies in academic work, ignores the evidence of gendered dispositions and preferences in learning, as well as differences in classroom conditions such as teacher-pupil interactions (Reay, 2001; Skelton et. al., 2009). For instance, a more recent study found that men participated more in an active learning course in science, technology, engineering, and math, while women reported lower perceptions of their scientific abilities, were more aware of gender identity and more likely to feel adjudicated based on gender (Blackwood, 2020). A second teacher's account on his preference to girls and boys is echoed in the quote as follows:

"In my view, whether I teach boys or girls makes no difference because all I aim for is to transform their lives. We do provide the same curriculum to them; therefore, depending on how much effort they put in, their performance is determined by that effort." (Male teacher, Kafue School)

The Kafue teacher's comment shows that though he recognises the importance of changing the lives of both girls and boys through education, he also does not seem to regard gender as an issue, and performance is seen in the context of individual effort and therefore not due to underlying causes, or the existence of the 'hidden curriculum'. However, the teacher's opinion points to lack of recognition of structural differences and inequalities between genders of learners (Measor and Sykes, 1992; Selfert and Sulton, 2009). For instance, teachers interact with girls less frequently than boys, as girls are found to be subservient and therefore speak less and may not interact in wide styles and

situations. I therefore argue that without teachers' awareness of the structural differences and inequities that could emerge in their schools, girls are likely to be less privileged in terms of equal opportunity with boys to education. This may ultimately result in non-attainment of more gender equality in education. Yet a third teacher from Kafue School commented:

"I think both girls and boys need education, regardless of other issues that affect them. Considering the different contributions, they are expected to make towards the development of our country when they start working, I, therefore, do not mind teaching both boys and girls". (Male teacher, Kafue School).

The Kafue teacher's response seems to recognize the importance of education for both girls and boys but appears not to not consider the different issues that boys and girls encounter in attaining education. So, at a surface level, he appears to subscribe to a notion of equality for both sexes but neglects any notion of equity that entails treating girls and boys differently or applying positive discrimination. It is important therefore, for educators to be aware of these differences through self-reflection, training, in gender responsive pedagogy[31], to be able to make girls' and boys' learning successful (FAWE, 2018). For instance, teachers can conduct a 'Gender bias self-assessment activity'[32], to be more aware of their gender bias and avoid it. A fourth teacher from Kafue School made the following comment:

"I prefer to teach boys because girls usually have a negative attitude towards women teachers. I find boys easier to interact with compared to girls. I have noticed this on several occasions at this school. Each time I have lessons with my class, the boys are more active than girls as for instance, they are the ones

[31] Gender responsive pedagogy is specifically important for teachers to create a gender responsive academic environment (FAWE, 2018).
[32] FAWE (2018: 45) Gender responsive pedagogy: A tool kit for teachers and schools

who answer most of the questions that I pose to them, hence my preference is teaching boys rather than girls". (Woman teacher, Kafue School)

It is evident that the Kafue teacher's response, is different from the responses from the other teachers, as her preference is to teach boys rather than girls. Her comment on girls having a negative attitude towards women teachers like herself, could be due to inadequate attention that the girls receive from them. Despite many exceptions, it is argued that boys and girls differ on average in ways that correspond to conventional gender stereotypes and that affect how the sexes behave at school and in class (Seifert and Sutton, 2009). The theorists add that the differences have to do with physical behaviours, styles of social interaction, academic motivations, behaviours, and choices. For instance, some teachers may feel that boys are especially prone to getting into mischief, so they may interact with them more frequently to keep them focused on the task at hand (Erden & Wolfgang, 2004). This finding is a concern, as it points to a situation where girls receive less attention compared to boys. At the same time, undesirable teacher-pupil relationship that could lead to work stress on the part of the teacher should they fail to attend to all the boys that are mischievous (Claessens et. al., 2017; Friedman, 2006). This is because problematic teacher–student relationships, which are characterized by conflict are sources of stress and negative emotions (Claessens et. al., 2017). On the other hand, the teacher's assertion about girls could be because of cultural influence, as in the Zambian Culture, girls are socialised to be submissive as opposed to being assertive JICA (2016), resulting in girls displaying this behaviour to school and in class. If, therefore, the teacher is unaware of this, she or he may perceive the girls as not being active deliberately. I, therefore, argue that unless teachers become aware of and respond to the ways boys and girls differ and see how that affects how the sexes behave at school and in class, they may encounter problems in enhancing gender equality among their learners. I will follow up on this issue in the chapter 6 of this research.

5.7 Teachers' perception of gender equality in education

Another issue I explored in interviews with the teachers, was their perceptions on the importance of gender equality that they should consider as educators. All the six teachers acknowledged the significance of reflecting on gender issues, however, they provided varied reasons, on their reflections of the concept. Hence, one of them held this perception:

"Gender issues are important for us as teachers to reflect on in our work, so that we can overcome the stereotyping by gender that the learners maybe experiencing in their homes/families. I have noticed that some girls in my class are quiet and shy, they do not speak out especially when they are mixed with boys. I therefore try to encourage them sometimes, to participate in class by calling on them to answer certain questions that I raise." (Woman Teacher, Kafue School)

The Kafue teacher's account points to her recognition of gender consciousness, playing an important role in enabling her to address the needs of learners. She demonstrates how her gender receptiveness helps to attend to learners in her class. Hence, her action ensures both girls and boys actively participate in class. This outcome is an example of gender responsive pedagogy. However, inconsistency in inspiring girls to participate, could result in them being less confident in responding to questions. A second Kafue teacher's account to her consideration of gender issues is that:

"There are specific gender aspects that have to be considered in girls' education, which I, as a teacher should pay attention to, when preparing my lessons and when interacting with the students. For example, I need to ensure that I avoid organising learners according to gender but ensure to mix the two genders in class activities." (Female Teacher, Kafue School)

155

The Kafue teacher's comment alludes to the importance of reflecting on gender awareness even in the methodology she as a teacher uses to accommodate equal participation. Indeed, she seems to have an appreciation of the gender sensitivity. Nonetheless, this finding is in contrast with the girls' perceptions in Chapter 4, in which girls alleged that teachers had gender stereotyping attitudes towards them. This situation is cause for concern as it points to a school environment that is not girl friendly, as it is not free from gender stereotyping, hence can adversely affect the education of the girls (Stromquist, 2015). I note that the teacher's perceptions do not correlate with her action. I presume that this could be due to unconscious bias on her part, as research suggests that in the classroom, unconscious bias can manifest itself in teacher–learner interactions (Institute of Physics, 2018). For example, teachers may be more likely to praise girls for being well behaved, while boys are more likely to be praised for their ideas and understanding (Lips, 2016). One Chilanga school teacher's account of her acknowledgement of gender sensitivity is:

"I feel it is necessary for us as teachers to reflect on gender issues as doing so, will enable us to understand and relate appropriately to our learners, bearing in mind they are females and males and may require different ways of attending to their needs (Female teacher, Chilanga School)

The Chilanga School teacher's account points to gender sensitivity as significant in guiding teachers responses to the different aspirations of the learners, considering that boys and girls have different interests and ways of learning. However, this perception from the teacher does not match with most of the teachers' arguments that there is no difference in teaching girls and boys as they have the same academic potential, as discussed in relation to Table 9, earlier in this Chapter. In addition, the teacher's view is in contrast with the sentiments that came from the girls on gender discrimination they experienced from the teachers as already noted. A second Chilanga School teacher's account on being gender responsive, is that:

"Gender reflections allow us as teachers to create an environment where learners regardless of gender can build their confidence. I realise the importance of ensuring confidence is built among learners as it is a valuable feature that will help them in their future when they complete school. This is what I occasionally bear in mind when interacting with the learners and teaching them in my class." (Male teacher, Chilanga School)

Again, the teacher's comment points to his view that girls and boys acquire confidence from their learning at school. While this is an important aspect, it is not enough not guarantee substantive gender equality. It is argued that the teacher should create a level playing by ensuring girls are made to participate actively in class as much as boys, due to differences in their learning (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). However, girls appear in this study to have a different standpoint about their teachers' expectations of them, which is that girls are not as capable as boys academically as described in Chapter 4. Hence, if teachers do not evaluate their attitudes towards learners and avoiding gender biases against them, girls may not to be able to maximise their full potential from education. A third teacher from Kafue School also shared his thoughts on the importance to consider gender matters in education as he said:

"As teachers it is paramount for us to reflect on the importance of creating an environment that is gender responsive in classes where we teach. This means that we treat girls and boys equally considering they have the same capabilities and ensure they attend school regularly and encourage them to work hard. (Male teacher, Kafue School)

While the Kafue School teacher's remarks point to acknowledging the importance of a gender responsive school environment, he does not provide ideal examples of the appropriate environment. The teacher does not appear to be aware of the differences between boys and girls in ways that parallel to predictable gender stereotypes and that show how the sexes behave at school and in class. Furthermore, this assertion is in contrast

with the assertions made by the girls in Chapter 4 of this research. Hence, in the absence of the teachers being aware of the difference between boys and girls in behaviour at school and avoid gender stereotypes, the gender responsiveness in the environment of the two schools is likely to be compromised. I will follow up on this issue in Chapters 6 and 7 of this research.

5.8 School managers' perceptions of educational capabilities of girls and boys

I further explored the school managers' perceptions in relation to the educational difference between girls and boys. I found that they had varied opinions on the same with the common, being that of not perceiving any educational differences between boys and girls. One school manager made a comment on his perception as testimony of this standpoint:

> *"Usually, boys perform better than girls, however, in the past three years, I*
> *have noticed that some girls have performed better than boys at this school.*
> *I therefore have no doubt that there is room for girls to do well academically*
> *at this school." (Male School Manager, Kafue School)*

The Kafue school manager's response points to the notion that although boys perform better than , he believes girls have the capability to perform as well as boys.. It could be argued that the attitude displayed by the manager of acknowledging the capabilities of girls, could be because of the training in gender awareness forums that have taken place as mentioned by district office representative in a focus group discussion earlier. One Chilanga School manager's account, relating to the abilities of girls and boys at their school stated:

> *"There is high competition between girls and boys at this school. Both girls*
> *and boys work very hard at this school, in all the subjects, basically. Hence,*

it is encouraging to us in authority as we feel the need to ensure we keep the performance of both girls and boys at a high level." (Woman School Manager, Chilanga School).

While ostensibly supportive of girls' education, the comment from the Chilanga Manager, points to the school not having issues that hinder learners based on gender. From this perspective, equality of gender is reduced to a competitive ethos, rather than seen as something that needs to be tackled at a structural level. This finding points to priming[33] with power method, which refers to the temporal internal activation of response tendencies by, e.g., making specific identities salient, activating feelings, and putting individuals in certain mind-sets (Balafoutas, Fornwagner, and Sutter, 2018). These theorists further reveal that priming has been found to close the gender gap in competitiveness and is inexpensive tool that has the capacity to generate a gender-balanced pattern in competitive behaviour. Contexts where the use of such priming-based tools would be applicable include, the educational system (particularly given the fact that gender differences in the willingness to compete have been shown to emerge early in life (Sutter and Glätzle-Rützler, 2014). It is argued that many studies have shown that men often react more strongly to competitive pressure than women, and that women are more likely to shy away from competition, even when they are equally qualified (Dohmen and Falk, 2010; Niederle, Segal and Vesterlund, 2010; Wozniak, Harbaugh and Mayr, 2009). Hence, research further suggests that men often react more strongly to competitive pressure than women, and that women are more likely to shy away from competition, even when they are equally qualified (Booth and Nolen, 2012; Wozniak, Harbaugh and Mayr, 2009). I therefore argue that unless methods including the priming as described above are applied in schools, girls will continue to be disadvantaged due to their attribute of shying away from competition. A comment from a second school manager of Chilanga also points to her perception that there is equality between girls and boys at the Chilanga School:

---

[33] Priming refers to the temporal internal activation of response tendencies by, e.g., making specific identities salient, activating feelings, and putting individuals in certain mind-sets

"There is no difference between boys and girls at this school when you consider academic participation; it is just the time of study that is available to each one of them and how they make use of it. This is what I think personally". (Woman School Manager, Chilanga School).

The Chilanga School manager's comment seems to imply that the girls at the school were able to participate without any interference and success is down to individual attitude and effort. The manager appears therefore to believe that the school environment is equally conducive for learning by both girls and boys. However, the manager's remarks point to lack of awareness in her case, of the gender differences in the learning of girls and boys. Evidence suggests that educational personnel need to be gender sensitive by ensuring both girls and boys in school are treated fairly (Selfert and Sulton, 2009; UNGEI and GPE, 2014; US AID' Office of women in Development and EQUATE Project, 2008). Further, this standpoint by the manager overlooks the structural factors such as gender stereotyping from teachers that work against girls and poor menstrual hygiene facilities that can affect girls' participation and educational achievement (Dorji, 2020, FAWE, 2018). A second Kafue School manager's remarks illustrate a different dimension of girls' abilities that is unique to that of boys:

"Girls should be sensitized and encouraged to work hard, so that they can contribute to national development, because I have noticed that they possess love and kindness. I, therefore, have no doubt that the nation stands to benefit from their caring and nurturing behaviour." (Male School Manager, Kafue School)

The Kafue manager's view about the traits that girls possess appears to reveal the influence that the Zambian culture has had on him. His comment points to his adherence to this culture, where girls and boys are moulded according to their gender, such that girls are seen to be humble and submissive while boys should be firm and aggressive (Evans, 2014; JICA, 2016; Sandlane, 1989). The Kafue manager's recognition of girls' love and

kindness is in line with other studies that suggest that women and girls make a difference to STEM fields due to their passion to work with and assist other people (Buhrman, 2006; Diekman, Brown and Clark, 2010; Gibbons, 2009). For instance, women and girls' desire to find out how STEM can be used to make a difference, has resulted STEM sub-disciplines have a clearer social purpose such as biomedical engineering and environmental engineering (Buhrman, 2006). However, these skills and knowledge are often premised on gender stereotypes. Hence, lack of support and encouragement of girls' unique skills, may result in their inability to maximize their contribution in certain fields.

In the data I have just presented, almost all the teachers and all the school managers do not perceive any ostensible educational difference between girls and boys. Furthermore, all of them appeared not to be aware of the gender stereotypes that girls alleged they experienced at the two schools, which may suggest that they were doing it unconsciously. As I mentioned earlier, the issue of perceiving girls and boys as having no differences in their learning, shows that the teachers may not to be awareness of girls' position in wider society and the importance of acknowledging wider structures that affect girls' learning experiences and attainment. This could be due to lack knowledge and skills in gender responsive pedagogy that can equip them with knowledge and skills in handling girls' and boys' educational needs (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). Hence, the absence of the education personnel acquiring training in gender responsive teaching on the diverse needs of the girls and boys in their learning, could lead to students not attaining their full potential in education. I will follow up on this issue in Chapters 6 and 7 of this research.

5.9 Education personnel's perception of sexuality education

Research suggests, school-based sexuality education makes teachers important gatekeepers of students' access to information about sexual and reproductive health and rights (Haas and Hutter, 2020). However, teachers' professional identities may go beyond, vary from or even conflict with the qualities required of sexuality educators. Hence, this research aims at investigating the views of the teachers with regards to sexuality education at the two schools, to find out the effect the subject has on the learners. As discussed in

Chapter two of this study, the Ministry of General Education in Zambia, have facilitated the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) into the secondary school curriculum. I therefore, explored the perceptions of the CSE Coordinator, of the Ministry of Education in Zambia and 6 teachers from the two case studies schools on sexuality education. Henceforth, in my interaction with the CSE Coordinator, Mrs. Gondwe, I learned that the school subjects in which CSE has been integrated at secondary school level, included English Language, Mathematics, Integrated Science, Biology, Social Studies, Civic Education, Religious Education, Home Economics, Zambian Languages, Art and Design, Business Studies, Commercial Subjects, Commerce, Agricultural Science and General Science. She further clarified the compulsory subjects taught in government secondary schools, including that two case studies in which CSE topics are covered:

"Among the subjects delivered in school, only five (Integrated Science, Social Studies, Religious Education, Biology, Civic Education) of them were compulsory and some content of CSE were not covered in the compulsory subjects." (Gondwe, 2018)

Mrs. Gondwe's comment above, meant that some students would miss out on learning certain CSE topics that were covered in subjects that were not compulsory. She further explained that the Zambia Education Curriculum Framework syllabi does not clearly indicate the carrier subjects that should be integrated in CSE. She added that the teachers were required to use the syllabi, stipulated by the CSE Framework of the Ministry of Education saying:

"Teachers are expected to use the CSE Framework in tandem with the syllabi for their subjects to find places where CSE can be integrated, and therefore develop schemes of work and lesson plans that include CSE components." (Gondwe, 2018)

The CSE Coordinator's remarks, point to teachers being at liberty to use the syllabi the way they saw fit within the subjects they taught. In other words, it was left to the discretion of the teachers to teach the CSE topics. This way of delivering on the CSE by the teachers, pointed to lack of guidance from the higher education authorities as to how they were to integrate CSE into existing subjects at the two-case studies school. This situation raised a lot of issues in the delivery of the subject, which I discuss further in Chapter 6 of this research, which is focusing on barriers to girls' secondary education.

In relation to the teachers' perceptions of sexuality education, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews with all the six teachers from the two case studies schools revealed that Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) is relevant because it helps learners to navigate relationships and protects them from unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections. All the teachers acknowledged that the subject was taught at the two schools. They further stated the topics that were delivered under CSE: i. "Reproductive Health." (Kafue School teacher), ii. "Comprehensive Sexuality Education." (Two teachers from Kafue school), iii. "Survival Skills, negotiation skills, diseases." (Chilanga School Teacher), iv. "HIV/ sexually transmitted diseases, prevention measures." (Chilanga School teacher). I further found that The Chilanga School teachers appeared to be more acquainted with the difference between CSE as the subject and topics taught within the CSE, compared to teachers from Kafue School. This finding points to the importance of the level of competencies of the teachers in the delivering of the subject. Further, the teachers demonstrated recognition of the importance of the subject for the learners at secondary level by emphasising the need for more focus on the dangers of early pregnancy and early marriage as well as the relevance of topics that can equip the learners with skills that relate to self-esteem and assertiveness especially girls. Two teachers from the Kafue School were of the view that topics such as 'dangers of early marriage, hygiene; maternal death/ maternal complications' should be highlighted in the delivery of CSE in their school. I further discuss and analyse sexuality education in Chapter 6, when I focus on barriers to girls' secondary education.

5.10 Value of women teachers at the two schools

In further exploring the perceptions of educational personnel and parents through interviews and focus group discussions, I found that they attached importance to having women teachers in the two schools. The educational personnel as well as the PTA members and parents from the two case study schools illustrated their support for women teachers at the two case study schools. One manager spoke on the importance of women teachers in enhancing girls' education:

"There is need for more women teachers as role models to encourage girls to emulate them. Some parents that have brought their daughters to this school have praised us in management for recruiting many women teachers. The parents admitted that they feel at ease to bring their daughter because of the availability of many women teachers at this school." (Women School Manager, Chilanga School)

The Chilanga School manager's account points to her belief in the importance of women teachers as role models for the girls. I observed that the manager in her remarks demonstrates her consciousness of the parents' views and appreciation of women teachers' presence in the school. Despite this support for the availability of women teachers at the two case study schools, the perceptions illustrated by some of girls in relation to their teachers' attitudes towards them, points to gender stereotyping behaviour. I, therefore, argue that unless the women teachers are equipped with knowledge and skills in gender responsive pedagogy and avoid gender stereotypes that impede girls' learning, they may not effectively support girls' secondary education (Kirk, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016). One Kafue manager's account on the importance of women teachers stated that:

"The presence of women teachers is important in a school as girls can easily talk to them about issues that relate to them, besides women teachers can easily advocate for policies to issues affecting the girls, such as sanitary

164

facilities. I, therefore, have no doubt that the women teachers play a
significant role in assisting girls at our school on certain issues that affect".
(Male School Manager, Kafue School)

The Kafue school manager's comment alluded to his recognition of women teachers' abilities to freely relate to someone of their own gender as they would be able to readily understand issues affecting girls. Indeed, this finding matches with what I found in this research, where the women teachers (Kafue School) and woman manager (Chilanga) were able to accurately explain the issues of menstrual hygiene facilities that I noticed at the two case study schools. Furthermore, the manager's perception on the importance of women teachers substantiates other studies that showed that girls are more likely to bring to the attention feminine related issues that affect them, such as menstruation when they are taught by women teachers (GPE, 2016; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). A second Chilanga school manager's account on the value of women teachers in a school, stated that:

"Due to the availability of women teachers at this school, girls are
encouraged to continue learning as the teachers act as role models to the
girls obviously. I am sure you have noticed from our records that we have
more girls than boys at this school, this is because the number of women
teachers is just one less than the number of men teachers". (Woman School
Manager, Chilanga School)

The Chilanga School manager's account points to her experience of the value of women teachers at their school, and probably the positive reaction from parents resulting in high enrolment of girls compared to boys. However, this outcome of support for women teachers should be accompanied by other interventions by the school, including adequate girls' toilets, women educators, at different levels that is teachers, managers and district and province educational personnel. In addition to the school managers' support for the presence of women teachers, some district education officers also endorsed this view. Remarks from one of the Kafue district officers is testimony of this recognition:

"It is important for us to support girls' secondary education for the development of our country. Both boys and girls need to acquire secondary education to take up good careers like ours. Besides, there is need for continuity in the operations of our country. Who will take over from us and from women teachers in schools in the future?" (Woman District Education Officer, Kafue)

The Kafue Education Officer's comment points to her support for girls' education and reflects on the future, as she realises that unless more girls in school are exposed to role models and encouraged to acquire education, they may not be motived enough to strive to accomplish academically. Evidence suggests that women role models are an effective strategy in enhancing girls' education (Kirk, 2006; Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). The officer also mentions that students need to be prepared to take up roles in education in their future lives. This viewpoint regarding the value of girls' education, points to an intergenerational benefit to society, the education personnel allude to support girls for future undertaking when they become mothers and support to their children (Johnson, 2018; Kings and Winthrop, 2015; UNICEF, 2010). Hence, the education officer's view justifies the importance of educating girls as having a multiplier effect and leads to sustainable development. A male education officer from Chilanga when interviewed, also shared his sentiments supporting women teachers saying:

"I think for development to take place in our country Zambia, both girls and boys should be encouraged by ensuring schools provide a level playing field. I have no doubt that one way to do this is to facilitate women role models for girls among teaching personnel. We are lagging in attaining sustainable development for instance, partly due to gender inequalities. I note that women contribute greatly to our decision-making process at district education level. It is therefore necessary for us to ensure that girls perform as well as boys at secondary school level of education so that we continue to have women representatives at district in the education level. (Woman District Education Officer, Chilanga)

The Chilanga District officer recognises the contribution made by women district officers they work with. This position alludes to an environment in the education system at district level that is gender responsive due to the presence of both women and men among the education personnel. As mentioned earlier, there was close to gender parity among staff at the Chilanga District that provides leadership to the Chilanga case study school. This is an advantage to enhancing girls' education at the Chilanga School. It is argued that gender parity in the teaching workforce, including staff and school leadership, is positively associated with education outcomes, especially girls' educational achievements (Jenkins, 2019; Kirk, 2006). Co-existence of both women and men, girls, and boys according to the officer's standpoint, appears to be a prerequisite for maintaining growth in society. However, the assumption by the officer that when girls perform well academically, this results in success, may not always be the case, as for instance, the assumption that educating a girl will result in decision making and control of resources depends on other factors outside the education system including change of social norms such as gender bias against women in society and availability of various opportunities for them (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2013; Rao and Sweetman, 2014).

As I further explored the value attached to women teachers in the two schools, I found that PTA members were also in support of this view. One reason given for this perception by PTA members, relates to women teachers being perceived as role model for girls in the teaching profession, while another has to do with safety from violence such as sexual harassment, which is common among between people of the opposite sex. Furthermore, women teachers are perceived as supporters for girls' rights. I collected some speech marks from focus group discussions with PTA members from the two case study schools. Hence, the remarks by one of the PTA members is testimony of the support for women teachers:

> *"Parents like it when they see women teachers at our school. They say their*
> *daughters talk about becoming teachers in future because of the women*
> *teachers at the school. Indeed, they are role models to girls at this school,*
> *as girls are fond of emulating them and even talk about methods, they have*

learnt from teachers that they will apply to teach their learners in future.".
(Woman PTA member, Chilanga School)

The PTA member's comment points to the presence of women teachers as an assurance of occupational prospects that education of girls can lead to. As the number of women teachers at Chilanga School, are almost at par with the men teachers, it seems this situation has inspired parents that have enrolled their daughter to this school, hence the school has more girls enrolled at the school than boys. Hence, in the absence of appointing more women teachers at a school especially in rural areas, the less effective it will be in enhancing girls' attendance, participation, and retention. A PTA member from Kafue also spoke of value of women teachers:

"As you may be aware, girls need to feel safe and free as the participate in the education provided at this school. There is no doubt that women teachers play a big role in curtailing issues of sexual harassments that girls may experience around the school and outside. Girls seem to feel free to approach a women teacher and report on such issues, compared to the way they would to a male teacher. It is important that the education Ministry improves conditions such as housing for teachers, so that we can get more women teachers for the safety of our girls at this school". (Male PTA member – Kafue School)

The remarks from the PTA member of Kafue School, point to his recognition of the important role women teachers play relating to a safe school environment for girls. Indeed, they are issues that require people of the same gender to be easily resolved such as those related to menstruation, considering that the women teachers for example are the ones that can provide accurate information to the girls. In addition, the girls are likely to feel free to approach women teachers on matters of this nature. As it argued that the presence of one or more women teachers may also ensure protection for girls from unwanted attention from boys or male teachers, and even from sexual abuse and exploitation (Kirk, 2006).

Another PTA member from Kafue also added her voice to the significance of women teachers, except with a different argument besides the issue of safety, as follows:

> *In addition to women teachers being role models for girls in school, they usually provide them with accurate information about their bodies and how to take care of them. In other words, the women teachers are as good as activists for girls. If only the Ministry of Education can even just pay them a good allowance towards their housing and transport for now, it will be a good idea, as more women teachers will opt to work at this school (Woman PTA member, Kafue School)*

The PTA member's comment points to women teachers standing in for girls as they are likely to better understanding issues affecting them compared to their menfolk. The PTA member further provides an idea of the type of incentives that can attract women teachers to rural schools. The motivation of women teacher appears in this study to be an important factor to consider for the retention of teachers in rural schools. It is argued that inspiration of women teachers to work in rural or remote areas is paramount in enhancing girls' educational attainments (Mitchell and Yang, 2012). But structural and economic factors help prevent this from happening, as noted from the issues that have been raised in this research such as lack of housing and proper sanitary amenities that have demonstrated to affect the number of women teachers at the Kafue case study school. Although there was enormous support for women teachers by educational personnel and PTA members at the two case study schools, other interventions are needed to yield the desired impact. I, therefore, argue that unless other factors that contribute to the academic success of girls besides the support for women teachers are considered, the impact due to the availability of women teachers may be minimal. I will follow up on this issue in Chapters 6 and 7 of this research.

5.11 Conclusion

In this Chapter, the educational personnel and parents' perceptions of girls' secondary education, points to perceiving girls as carers for their families in this case financially, as well as providers of social security, as evidenced by the popular state that when the girls complete their secondary schooling, they will be able to support their families. Education for girls is hence viewed from the human capital perspective for economic reward that is attained when graduates are employed. It is also perceived as a solution to eradicating poverty, considering that this study has been carried out in rural schools that are predominately part of the less privileged persons in the Zambian community. Although this claim is in line with my literature (Rihana, Psaki and Kays, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016) review, which refers to poverty eradication as one of the benefits to girls' education, it is a narrow perception as it overlooks the capabilities perceptive, and to some extent the rights-based approach to education as described in the literature review Chapter 2 of this study.

Another issue that has emerged from the analysis of this Chapter, is that there is lack of awareness among teachers and school managers the learning differences between girls and boys. The general assumption is that girls and boys learn in the same way, implying they always encounter similar issues. This is contrary to previous studies, which suggests that assuming girls and boys have the same competencies in academic work, ignores the evidence of gendered dispositions and preferences in learning, as well as differences in classroom conditions such as teacher-pupil interactions (Reay, 2001; Skelton et. al., 2009). This view, therefore, points to inadequacies among teachers and school managers in relation to gender responsive pedagogy, which could result in school environments that do not promote gender equality among learners.

In addition, the gendering of subjects as suggested by Connell and Pearse (2015), by which certain areas of the curriculum are perceived by people as masculine while others as feminine, appeared evident in this chapter. Chemistry and Physics are taught only by male teachers at the two case study schools, is cause for concern as it may send a message to

learners and other that the two subject are preserves for men and hence affect girls' career options (Zachmann, 2016). In the next Chapter, I discuss and analyse the barriers to girls' secondary education and measures undertaken by the schools to mitigate some of them.

Chapter Six

Exploring barriers to girls' secondary education

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss and analyse the perceptions on barriers to education that girls, educational personnel, and parents held relating to the two case study schools. The chapter responds particularly to the research question *3. What barriers to girls' secondary education have been experienced by girls, how is this mediated by gender and how have the barriers been navigated?* The analysis of the respondent questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions revealed multiple barriers experienced by the girls and how they negotiated these barriers. I have gathered girls' stories of their experiences as well as educational personnel and PTA members' perceptions of key barriers, which include gender stereotypes, early pregnancies, sexual harassment, long distance to school, inadequacies in the delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) and inadequate physical infrastructure at the two case study schools.

6.2 Awareness of risk factors

In my primary research, I found common themes on issues affecting girls' education that emerged from interviews with girls, educational personnel, and parents. They include early pregnancies, sexual harassment, and inadequate physical school infrastructure. Another theme that emerged solely from the girls, however, was the issue of gender stereotyping to the disadvantage girls from teachers. Over and above the other respondents' perceptions of barriers, girls revealed their reactions of discomfort from the gender stereotypes that they faced from some teachers as well as sexual harassment they encountered from boys. While some girls valued interaction in various activities with boys as discussed in Chapter 4, others alluded to it as a situation that galvanises sexual harassment. In addition, having to travel long distances to school was also linked to risk

of sexual harassment. Nonetheless, as my analysis indicates girls demonstrated agency in attempting to overcome some of the barriers they faced. Moreover, educational personnel and Parents/Teachers' Association members (PTAs) also introduced initiatives to prevent and resolve some barriers observed. I use Connell and Pearse's (2015) gender regime theory to further explore the structural and contextual issues raised by this research, relating to the barriers to girls' education. I also consider Eagly's (1987) social role theory, as it has a broad scope that applies to interaction in all contexts and addresses assertive, power related behaviours as well as supportive or feeling related behaviours (called socioemotional behaviours). Hence, it offers a way to understand both stability and change in gender roles and associated behavioural sex differences. I now move to discuss the barriers, starting with the gender stereotypes that girls experienced in diverse ways and contexts.

6.2.1 Awareness of gender stereotypes

The stories that girls shared during interviews, pointed to gender stereotyping from their teachers. This gender stereotyping comprised of three sub-themes relating to academic ability, subject competence, and sexuality. In some instances, girls' accounts of the stereotypes, hinged on a combination of two sub-themes. Hence, I discuss and analyse the gender stereotypes in line with the sub-themes. Remarks from a girl of Chilanga School illustrated how teachers stereotyped the academic ability of female pupils:

> *"Some teachers have different expectations because they think that boys are more intelligent compared to girls. Hence, they expect more from boys compared to girls. They also think that us girls are in the habit of just hanging around with boys, flirt with them (have sex), hence they end up saying girls are prostitutes which lowers girls' participation." (Jessie – 18 years, grade 12 Chilanga)*

Jessie's comment points to another gender stereotype that she has observed from some of

the teachers at her school, that the girls are stigmatised by teachers as sexually promiscuous. This, in turn Jessie suggests adversely affect girls' performance in school and career options. Indeed, research shows that gender stereotypes can have an adverse effect on all genders, as the victims are often exposed to messages about how boys and girls should look, behave and play (Alan, Ertac and Mumcu, 2017; Institute of Physics, 2018; Zachmann, 2018). For instance, in a school environment, such stereotyping can affect young person's classroom experience, academic performance, subject choice and well-being. Jessie's comment further corroborates with a study on teachers' attitudes towards adolescent sexuality in rural secondary schools of South Africa (Smith and Harrison, 2013). The scholars found young people's sexual behaviour and romantic relationships being perceived as negative behaviour and hence stigmatised by teachers and administrators. They further observed that these respondents considered learners' (mostly girls') romantic relationships and sexual activity as problematic, often stating that their 'love affairs' undermined learning and classroom instruction. It is theorised that these attitudes reflect deeply rooted and highly gendered beliefs and values among educators and reinforce a more general view of adolescents that sees them as 'problems' for adults (Apple and Campbell, 2000). This argument, further corroborates with another study on the effects of cultural practices on education in Zambia, suggesting cultural gender norms work to the disadvantage of girls, especially those in rural areas (Mwanza, 2019). For instance, girls are groomed for marriage to bear and rear children, while boys are oriented and considered to be more aggressive, leaders, providers and decision makers to their family and community (Taylor, 2006). Likewise in Jessie's school, teachers' attitudes towards girls are informed by wider cultural norms. I argue therefore that unless teachers circumvent negative cultural norms that hinder gender equality in education, girls will continue to be denied attainment of full potential to secondary schooling. A second girl's account from Chilanga School, also alluded to gender stereotyping from teachers related to academic ability as she stated:

> *"Some teachers look down on girls, in simple terms they degrade us because we are girls, they feel we do not have the potential to be successful in future, and they think a girl child's place is in the kitchen and not school." (Kaluba - 16 years old, Chilanga, Grade 11)*

Kaluba's sentiments point to her concern about the negative perceptions of some teachers of girls at their school. It seems girls are considered as inferior compared to boys hence, she appears not to be content and lacks aspiration. Such a feeling is a cause for concern because she may lose interest and not put in more effort towards her academic work. Previous research suggests this type of gender stereotyping adversely affects girls' behaviours and their academic performance (Alan, Ertac and Mumcu, 2017; Hill et al., 2010; Zachmann, 2018). Furthermore, this situation corroborates with other studies that suggest teachers carry with them patriarchal practices from the wider society to the schools, which are applied in everyday school life and through them gender identities are formed (Connell and Pearse 2015; Dunne, 2007).

Zambian society is informed by patriarchal norms, in which men are placed in dominant positions while women are subordinate to men (Evans, 2014; JICA, 2016). As discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, in most Zambian tribes, boys are groomed to take up leadership roles and become providers, while girls are socialised to aspire to become wives, mothers, and care givers. Such ideologies based on essentialist notions of gender inform the girls' experiences documented here. The remarks of a girl from Kafue School is testimony of the gendering of subject by some teachers at the school as she stated:

> *"In terms of subjects such as Mathematics and Science some teachers expect boys to do better than girls. I get the impression from our teachers that it is natural for boys to do better than we in science subjects. I wonder why they think girls cannot do as well as boys." (Takondwa - 19 years, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

Takondwa's comment points to stereotyping that relates to gendering of knowledge in the school curriculum. This finding is upsetting as it is likely to discourage girls from taking up science subjects. It is in line with studies that suggest an important symbolic structure in education is the gendering of knowledge by which certain areas of the curriculum are perceived by people as masculine while others as feminine (Connell, 1996). This way of

guiding the learners has potential to limit them, especially girls, from career options that have better remuneration when it comes to employment in their future when they complete their education. Research suggests that maths and science lead to occupations such as engineering, physics, data science and computer programming, which are in great demand and generally pay a high salary (Griselda and Megalokonomou, 2020; Zachmann, 2018). Hence, turning away from Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) subjects has a long-lasting impact on girls' career choices and life earnings. Likewise, Kate, a Grade 11 pupil, commented on her teachers' low expectations of girls' knowledge of science subjects compared to boys at her school:

"To the extent that they see the girls as if they are not good in some of the subjects, especially mathematics and natural sciences. For example, when we are having maths lessons, the teacher mostly picks on boys to answer most of the questions, while girls answer fewer questions in the classroom." (Kate - 17 years, Grade 11, Chilanga School).

Kate suggests that teachers give more opportunities to boys than to girls in subjects they think the boys are better in, which can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. This finding further corroborates with previous research that suggest, teachers interact less with girls than with boys in class and respond to girls and boys differently and perhaps unknowingly (Seifert and Sutton, 2009). Nevertheless, numerous researchers have found that negative stereotypes affect women's and girls' performance and aspirations in math and science through a phenomenon called "stereotype threat" (Hill et al., 2010, p. 38; TPT, 2013). It is argued that stereotype threat is one of being viewed through the lens of a negative stereotype or the fear of doing something that would confirm that stereotype (Hill et al., 2010). Hence, girls may attempt to lessen the chances that they will be judged in this way by saying they are not interested and by avoiding science fields. My interviews with female pupils indicate that girls encounter significant gender stereotyping in their schooling which acts as a barrier to learning. Hill et. al., (2010) suggest: "People with a fixed mind set are more likely to believe stereotypes, lose confidence, and disengage from STEM as a potential career when they encounter difficulties in their coursework" (Hill et

al., 2010, p. 21). I argue, therefore, that teachers can help minimize the effect of stereotypes by purposefully helping students with an attitude focusing on growth as opposed to one that is fixed. When a girl reflects that she can learn what she needs to know in STEM subjects, rather than thinking that a person is either born with science and math ability or not, she is more likely to succeed in a STEM field. Another participant expressed her displeasure of teachers' expectations of boys' higher achievement as she stated:

"You find that teachers mostly expect good marks from boys rather than from girls, because they say girls will only waste their time in school whilst getting pregnancies afterwards. This is what I have noticed from some of our teachers at this school, for them boys are the ones to get high marks, not girls like us." (Kapolyo - 19 years, Grade 12, Kafue School)

Kapolyo, who happens to be in her final grade of secondary school, seems to have survived the subordination of girls academically and moved on with her schooling. However, her remarks point to a gender stereotyping that not only links boys to higher achievements but also sees girls primarily in terms of their reproductive capacity Although she has in a way succeeded academically, she still is disadvantaged because she is not getting maximum support from her teacher. A girl's account from Kafue School likewise refers to teacher stereotypes about sexuality and subject competence:

"Teachers think that our interest as girls is just to date our fellow pupils, the boys. Therefore, when it comes to schoolwork, they claim that boys are more intelligent than we girls are. I have been trying very hard in all the subjects even in maths and science, but I get discouraged because boys are favoured more than us." (Beatrice - 18 years, Grade 12, Kafue School)

Beatrice's remarks point to several issues that girls' experience at her school, including being perceived as a weaker gender academically. This finding corroborates with a study

by Evans (2014), which found that teachers in Zambian schools with stereotypical beliefs could openly tell girls they were less competent in Mathematics and Science subjects. The researcher further witnessed a situation where teachers discouraged girls from taking subjects like woodwork. It appears that the teachers at Beatrice's school are influenced by the cultural norm, as they are coming from the Zambian patriarchal culture that is informed by dominance of men in all walks of life, including education (Evans, 2014; Gender Links, 2011; JICA, 2016). This situation further substantiates Eagly's (1987) claim that the behaviours of schoolchildren are likely to be connected to their gender roles when the specific cultures approve gender stereotypes and hold firm expectations based on those stereotypes. I, therefore, argue that in the absence of teachers becoming more conscious about the gender differences of girls and boys and be responsive to them, gender equality will not be attained in the case studies schools.

Furthermore, Beatrice's comment points to the ways in which the gender stereotyping of girls as being weaker academically demotivates girls and hinders their academic performance. Evidence suggests that students with negative emotions, such as fear or hate of their teachers, end up having negative attitudes towards learning and school (Connell and Pearse, 2015; Silva, 2020). Similarly, if a teacher shows a preference towards certain students, those not favoured can be demotivated in their academic work. My research points to the ways in which the gender stereotyping of girls as academically less suited than boys is a barrier to girls' learning and in turn impacts negatively on their educational attainments. The teachers perceive the girls' education as less important because they see girls' place primarily as mothers and in the home.

6.2.2 Early pregnancies: Girls' perceptions

Girls, educational personnel, and PTA's members all perceived early pregnancies as a barrier to girls' education, In this research with the girls, early pregnancies as an issue, that was frequently raised as a risk factor. In both the interviews and questionnaires, all the girls at some point indicated that early pregnancy was potentially a major barrier to girls' education. For some girls who were not shy to speak on this matter, offered diverse

responses. As one of my interviewees told me:

> *"Early pregnancy is common at our school among the girls that have stopped coming to school. About four girls from my class stopped coming to school because they were pregnant. Usually, many girls do not come back after childbirth, some get married". (Kapolyo 19 years old, Grade 12, Kafue School)*

Kapolyo's remarks point to pregnancies at her school as the cause of some girls dropping out of school. Furthermore, her comment implies that pregnancies among girls sometimes result in early marriage. I found that girls interviewed mentioned that their friends who fell pregnant ended up getting married. This result validates previous studies carried out in Zambia, which suggest that early pregnancy can lead to early marriage and that they are both barriers to girls' education (Mann, Quigley and Fischer, 2015; McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). Three other girls, two from Kafue school and one from Chilanga made similar comments alluding to early pregnancy:

> *"From my class, about three girls stopped coming to school because they became pregnant. One of the girls got married and is no longer coming back to school. I do not know whether the other two girls are coming back after they deliver". (Mutale 17 years, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

> *"About four of my classmates stopped coming to school because they became pregnant. Two of the girls among the four that left were close friends, so the teacher was asking me why they stopped coming to school. Later, I discovered they were pregnant". (Mavis 18 years, Chilanga School)*

> *"I am aware that two of my classmates, stopped coming to school last year*

and I heard that they were pregnant and have babies. I met one of them,
she told me she does not have anyone who is ready to look after her baby,
so does not think she will manage to return to school". (Stella 18 years,
Kafue School)

The sentiments from Mutale, Mavis, and Stella provide some information relating to theextent the girls were aware, or not, about the procedure for the Re-entry Policy[34]. It seems the procedure of the policy was not known to the students as Mutale appears to be uncertain as to whether the girls that fell pregnant would return to school after childbirth. This outcome supports previous research on the education sector's response to early and unintended pregnancies in Zambia, which revealed that the implementation guidelines of the Re-entry Policy were not well known to the implementers and beneficiaries (Birungi et. al., 2015). The study further showed that around 30 percent of the girls interviewed disclosed that they left school without following the guidelines. My research also suggests that girls who became pregnant often did not re-enter school after delivery. I argue that unless school authorities at the two case studies schools ensure both students and teachers get a thorough insight on the procedure of the policy, many girls that fall pregnant while attending school, may not benefit from it.

Furthermore, the comment from Stella implies that there are areas that may have been overlooked to enable the girls that get pregnant to return after childbirth. Previous studies have been done, revealing approaches that should accompany the re-entry policy to make it work in favour of girls (Chilisa, 2012; Omwancha, 2012). Despite the promising approaches from these studies, evaluations carried out in Zambia on the implementation of the policy, there are reports on issues that pregnant girls face in some schools, including stigma from peers when they attempt to return, and inadequate finances to meet extra costs for caring for the babies (Birungi et. al., 2015; McCadden, 2015). As Stella's comment suggests not being able to juggle childcare and school is a key barrier to returning to education for many girls. I argue, therefore, that more effort needs to be made to ensure

---

[34] The Re-entry Policy of 1997 is a Zambian government policy that allows girls that fall pregnant while in school to return after delivery. A description of the policy is provided in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

promising approaches that enable girls to continue after childbirth are put in place.

6.2.3 Early Pregnancies: Educational personnel and PTAs members' perceptions

In exploring the views of educational personnel, PTA members and parents through interviews and focus group discussions, almost all of them also mentioned early pregnancies among girls as a common barrier. One comment related to pregnancy came from one of the Kafue school managers:

> *"Once a girl goes into early marriage, what follows is that she is under pressure from her family and in-laws to demonstrate that she can give birth to a child. Hence, complications that relate to giving birth as a young girl are overlooked. It is therefore important that us as teachers make it known to our learners that it is a risk to go into early marriage and that this could lead to early pregnancy depending on the age of the girl at childbirth."* (Women Teacher, Kafue School)

The above comment from the teacher at Kafue School, illustrates her awareness of the issues that affect girls, which lead to early marriage and, in certain situations, early pregnancies. This assertion from the teacher, corroborates previous studies that found young married girls being under pressure to demonstrate fertility soon after marriage and who lack the personal autonomy to make decisions about their reproductive lives (Kabir, Jahan & Jahan, 2001; Yaya, Odusina & Bishwajit, 2019). Data from India shows that for these reasons, as well as the lack of options for effective temporary methods of contraception, significant proportions of young girls are either sterilized in their early 20s or resort to unsafe abortions (Mathur, Greene and Malhotra, 2003). This situation is observable in Zambia as the main effect of failed or non-use of contraceptives is the high rate of unplanned pregnancies, leading to increased cases of unsafe abortions and post abortion care at health facilities (Chikwashi et. al., 2016). A study conducted at the University Teaching Hospital in Zambia showed that most women reporting for abortion

services had no knowledge of the emergency contraceptive pill (Chavuma, Chanda and Vwalika, 2010). Records from the study indicate a high incidence of abortion among single women in the age group 15-45 years who are educated. It is, therefore, critical that teachers at the two case study schools put emphasis on birth control methods when they deliver Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE). Another comment on early pregnancy came from one of the Kafue school managers:

"Girls are a threat to getting pregnant and stop school coupled with early marriage, while boys could also get sexually transmitted diseases and impregnate girls. I think that both girls and boys are equally vulnerable in our society." (Male school manager, Kafue School)

The Kafue manager's comment points to both girls and boys having equal vulnerability. He does not seem to differentiate the extent of vulnerabilities of girls and boys. The manager's view is out of line with the results of previous studies that see more of a gender imbalance in education, and which suggest poverty and culture affect girls' education much more than they affect boys (Evans, 2014; McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015; Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). In Zambia, evidence further confirms that economic hardship or poverty and early pregnancies led more girls to dropping out of school than boys at secondary level (McConnell and Mupuwaliywa, 2015). These researchers found that in 2013–14 girls dropped out of school at more than double the rate of boys in grade 7 and three times the rate of boys in grade 11. In addition, a study on the effects of cultural practices on educational attainment of rural girls in Zambia, found that the cultural norm of a preference for educating boys rather than girls within poor families in rural areas of Zambia, is enshrined in the value systems of the Zambian culture (Mwanza, 2019). While both girls and boys could be vulnerable if measures to protect them are not applied, I argue that educational personnel should pay attention to the factors that affect girls differently from boys in their academic work. This is important, as doing so results in enhancement of a girl friendly school environment (Rihani, Kays and Psaki, 2006; Stromquist, 2015; UNGEI and GPE, 2014).

In my research I was also able to capture the district education officers' perceptions on this topic, which I now move on to discuss. One of the education officers also raised an issue, seen to instigate early pregnancies among students as she remarked:

"Initiation ceremonies are dominated by teachings related to roles in marriage at an early stage resulting in anxiety by adolescent schoolgirls to try out by dating men. This then results in girls getting pregnant while attending school. This is especially common here in rural areas than urban. There are certain cultural practices that need to be revisited and I am aware that our Ministry of Education, in collaboration with Ministries of Traditional Affairs and Gender and Justice, are working round the clock to address these issues." (Woman Education Officer, Chilanga)

The officer's comment above refers to common traditional ceremonies conducted by several tribes in Zambia for girls that reach puberty. The ceremonies are intended to orient the girls to prepare for this stage in their lives in terms of how they should take care of themselves with the onset of menstruation. However, the common practice, especially in rural areas, is to orient them towards marriage (Mwanza, 2019). She argues that the negative impact of initiation ceremonies on girls has not sufficiently been taken up in public and political discourse, resulting into the continuation of a severe reality for many school-going girls from this practice. Still on the discussion of early pregnancy, one of the Kafue District Officers remarked in a focus group discussion:

"According to an assessment done in our office, lack of teachers' houses in some secondary schools has led to an increase in early pregnancy cases at the schools in Kafue district. In schools where we have teachers' houses, teachers normally keep an eye on what students are doing and ensure discipline is maintained among all students, girls, and boys alike. Hence, students in such schools rarely find themselves in any mischiefs". (Woman Education Officer – Kafue District)

The education officer's remarks suggest that the presence of teachers residing in the school premises, provides oversight of the girls' behaviour that prevents them from unplanned pregnancies. This result is in line with previous studies, confirming the importance of teachers' role beyond the classroom (Kabeera, 2019; Kennedy, 2018). For instance, learners cannot hide from teachers who reside at the school premises as they easily notice issues affecting their learners. Hence, the presence of teachers inhabiting at the school premises is an effective strategy in enabling school personnel to appropriately monitor their learners' wellbeing.

In the context of the Re-entry Policy that allows girls that fall pregnant to return to school of childbirth, some district officers attributed lack of support for the policy by some school personnel. The comment below attests to this claim:

> *"Negative attitude from school managers when school records a high number of pregnant girls, the girls are not welcome back at their school and are treated harshly. Parents have complained to us about situations like this in some schools in our district. We have taken measures to address this and look forward to change in attitudes among the education personnel in our schools". (Male District Education Officer, Kafue)*

The remarks by the Education Officer, point to school managers not currently supporting girls that fall pregnant to return to school. This is disturbing as girls may not be able to complete their education as a result. This outcome corresponds with other studies that found lack of backing of the policy by some school personnel (Banda and Nowanga, 2017; Birungi et. al., 2015; Mutombu and Mwenda, 2010). I note that some teachers' lack of support appears to have been due to issues they faced when teaching the teen mothers. For example, evidence suggests that girls who had children were "difficult to teach" because they felt their status as parents put them at the same level as teachers (Banda and Nowanga, 2017; Mutombu and Mwenda, 2010). I, argue therefore, that unless the education authority ensures appropriate counselling of the affected students regarding this

situation that they find themselves in, the policy will not lead to the desired goal. Furthermore, there is need for increased and continuous extensive sensitization among education administrators, school managers, teachers and PTA's members and community on the benefits of the policy. This will assist them to work together and appropriately implement it.

In this section, it is evident from the girls and educational personnel that early pregnancy is a barrier to girls' education, as some girls that are affected have dropped out of school. Hence, in the absence of more measures to sensitize educational personnel and parents on the benefits of the re-entry policy and more support provided to the girls to re-enter, greater numbers of girls will not continue to complete secondary education. Furthermore, the lack of full knowledge of the procedures, will result in some girls discontinuing classes without informing the school authorities and hence, leaving them in suspense on girls' status of their education participation.

6.2.4 Issues related to the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education

As explained in Chapter 5 of this research, it was evident that the integration of CSE into existing subjects was characterised by many issues that would hinder learners from fully acquiring appropriate knowledge of the subject. Interviews with the CSE Coordinator of the Ministry of General Education, revealed that not all the subjects that were delivered at the two case studies schools were compulsory apart from five of them. As a result the pupils who opted to take subjects that were not compulsory, missed out in terms of knowledge in some topics on CSE. This is a matter of concern, as CSE is an important subject that equips learners in prevention of some common barriers to girls' education including early pregnancies, sexual harassment early marriages that appear to dominate the two case studies schools as discussed earlier in Chapters 4 and 5 and earlier in this chapter. Hence, it is the girls who were to be more disadvantaged compared to boys.

Another issue of concern is the irregular delivering of CSE topics as alluded to by the girls

in Chapter 4, where most of the girls indicated that the subject was only taught once a month. Furthermore, the Zambian culture prohibits parents from conversing with their families on issues of sexuality and reproductive health (Isaksen, Musonda, and Sandøy, 2020). This may result in learners getting limited information on CSE due to lack or inadequate information of sexuality education. Studies suggest, early sexual initiation culminating into teenage pregnancies, abortions and sexually transmitted diseases are consequences of lack of sexual reproductive health education (Herman et. al., 2013). Nearly all the participants in this research, have indicated early pregnancies as a major impediment to girls' education at the two case studies schools. It appears issues related to the delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) could have led to the high prevalence of early unintended pregnancies. I, therefore, argue that unless the problems associated to the delivery of CSE are addressed by the school authorities, issues that hinder girls' education such as early pregnancies and sexual harassment will continue to prevail.

With regards to relevant curriculum content to address the issue early pregnancies and early marriage, some teachers made suggestions on how best this could be done, as a teacher from Chilanga remarked:

> *"The school should ensure important subjects such as the dangers of early, marriage and early pregnancy are emphasized in sexuality education due to a lot of girls getting pregnant. I feel if this approach is considered, less girls will end up in these situations." (Woman Teacher, Chilanga School)*

The Chilanga teacher's comment shows recognition of the need for girls to be comprehensively equipped with knowledge on the risks of early pregnancy and marriage to overcome the dangers. It also points to inadequacies in the delivering of CSE to learners. The teacher's concern corroborates with evidence that found disparities in the approach used for delivering CSE in Zambian schools (Zulu et. al., 2019), where teachers used their discretion on what, how and when to teach. This study observed that such an

approach resulted in arbitrary teaching, which was characterised by holding back information, emphasizing only some aspects of information, or dropping classes on Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE).

Other studies also found that limitations in the content, implementation, and delivery of sexuality educational programmes, and the complex cultural embeddedness of sexual behaviours of young people could lead to moderately and weak effect on prevention of issues such as teenage pregnancies, Sexually Transmitted infections (STIs) (Doyle et al. 2010; Kirby 2007; WHO, 2011). It is therefore paramount that school authorities ensure that the right approach in the delivery of CSE is taken up in the two schools, so that learners acquire the appropriate knowledge. Related to the issue of early pregnancies, the education officer made suggestions of topics teachers should place emphasis on. I also observed issues around the delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education from an interview with a senior staff member and Coordinator for CSE in the Ministry of Education:

> *"The problem that we have detected with the delivery of CSE in schools is that the Framework does not include a guide on how the teachers should teach the subject. It only indicates that the teachers should fuse the Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) topics into existing subjects, hence the teachers must decide on their own." (CSE Coordinator Ministry of Education)*

The comments from the CSE Coordinator, point to the delivery of topics of CSE left to the discretion of the teachers. This was also confirmed by the teachers from the two case study schools. This finding corroborates with a study by Zulu et. al., (2019) conducted in Zambian schools on teaching CSE in school. They found that the CSE curriculum was treated in an arbitrary manner, leaving much room for the teachers to decide how, when and what to teach as well as what to leave out, with very little guidance, and that these choices ultimately depended on the individual teacher's judgement on what would be

appropriate to teach considering the time available, the age of the learners and the local norms about sexuality and sexuality education. The researchers also observed that the teachers reported struggling to teach CSE due to lack of proper guidelines. This raises a lot of questions on the effectiveness of this approach for the acquisition of knowledge among learners. This was also confirmed by some teachers from Chilanga and Kafue schools. The CSE Coordinator, she also admitted the challenges teachers faced in the integration of CSE:

> *"Another issue that I have observed with the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in secondary schools is that some subjects are compulsory while some are not. Therefore, if teachers cover a CSE topic in a subject that is not compulsory for instance, Home Economics, Art and Design, Agricultural Science, Commercial Subject, then students who are not taking a non-compulsory subject miss out on the lessons in the subject".* *(CSE Coordinator, Ministry of Education)*

The coordinator's comment confirms issues that the Ministry of Education personnel were facing in the integration of Comprehensive Sexuality Education. The sentiments made by the CSE Coordinator corroborates with the study by Zulu et. al., (2019) mentioned earlier, which challenges the method used by teachers in the delivery of CSE. I therefore argue that unless the issues in the delivery of the subject are revisited, it will continue to have a negative effect on the learners. Hence, considering that this is an important subject area in reducing pregnancy rates among girls, more effort by the school authorities is needed for a positive outcome.

6.2.5 Sexual harassment

Another risk factor that emerged from interviews and focus group discussions with girls, educational personnel and PTA's members was sexual harassment. Some responses from the participants revealed a specific link between sexual harassment and the long distances

to school that some girls had to walk.

With regards to girls' perceptions of sexual harassment, I found that some girls, who had to walk long distances to and from school faced sexual harassment along the way. For example:

> *"On two occasions, when I was walking back home from school since I must walk about 10 km, one boy from our school approached me and asked if we could be lovers. I told him that my parents do not allow me to have boyfriends while I am still schooling". (Bwalya, 18 years old, Grade 11, Kafue School).*

> *"Some of the boys from our school are fond of harassing us as my friends and I walk back home after school. They like saying you are beautiful girls; all you need are lovers like us to take care of you. We tell them that our parents do not allow us to befriend boys as a student at secondary school, because we will not be able to concentrate, and we will end up becoming pregnant. The other problem is that I live very far from school and so I must walk a long distance everyday as my friends live closer than I do to the school. I wish I could be assisted to sort out this problem". (Choolwe – 17 years old, Grade 11, Kafue School)*

The girls' accounts of their experiences chime with the results of other studies that also suggest long distances to school creates various problems, including threatening the security of girls, and the risk of sexual harassment (Parkes et. al., 2017; Suleman et. al., 2015). Choolwe's shared that the advice from her parents was to walk in groups but nonetheless this was not enough as she happens to reside further beyond the other schoolmates. The findings from my research are corroborated by previous research that shows that the distance between home and secondary school is a problem for girls, especially in rural areas (Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and

Kwauk, 2016). The studies further confirm that girls, often through walking in remote fields and forests away from the main thoroughfares, are more susceptible to sexual harassment and other forms of violence than boys.

Apart from sexual harassment that emerged due to walking long distances to school by some girls, some girls narrated how they also suffered sexual harassment in joint activities with boys in school. The statement by one of the girls is a clear testimony:

> *"I do not like joint activities with boys because sometimes when I fail to do things properly like trying, for instance, in sport to catch a ball away from a boy while struggling, the boys are fond of touching my breasts and it makes me feel uncomfortable." (Cheswa - Grade 11, aged 16 years, Chilanga School)*

This view by Cheswa relates to the sexual harassment that she faced when she got involved in sports activities with boys at her school. This, therefore, points to a school environment that is not safe and offers a lack of protection for girls like Cheswa. This situation corroborates with other studies that suggest schools are not always safe learning environments for girls due to violence and sexual abuses against them (Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006; Stromquist, 2015; UNGEI and GPE, 2014). Another girl also narrated her discomfort about sexual harassment:

> *"I hate playing sport with boys because some of them like harassing girls, more especially when girls are in sports attires. They like commenting on the shape of us girls' hips and buttocks. Each time we are told to interact in sport with boys, I would rather stay away. I pretend to be sick and ask to be excused from any such sports related activities." (Skopo - Grade 12, aged 22 years, Kafue School)*

I noted from Skopo's comment that she used sickness as a defence mechanism to protect herself from sexual harassment. It was clear from my research that girls avoided sport to avoid exposure to the risk of sexual harassment. In an interview with another participant, the interviewee also commented on the risk of sexual harassment when girls participate in joint activities with boys:

> *"Engaging in joint activities, for example, sports with boys are a problem, because male pupils just like touching the body parts of the girls and sometimes harassing them or making them uncomfortable. I have experienced unpleasant situation and so I always avoid playing sports with boys." (Kaluba - Grade 9, aged 15 years, Chilanga School)*

It seems there was nowhere girls could report to on the issues of sexual harassment that they faced. I also listened to a third girl's comment relating to sexual harassment which raised further issues on this topic:

> *"I do not like joint activities with boys such as sport, because they start asking about sexual things. They like asking if we can meet at night, if they can hold my waist, kissing and taking a walk away from the school at the weekend." (Stella - Kafue School, Grade 12, ages 18 years)*

The girls' remarks substantiate the argument that ignoring and resisting gendered sport norms is a way that girls can exercise their own agency even if not in circumstances of their own choosing (McDermott, 1996).

Educational personnel and PTA members' perceptions of sexual harassment were varied. Hence, I collected the different views including how they perceived the issue in relation to the effectiveness of the Zambian law. Some also offered suggestions of what they

thought should be done to eliminate sexual harassment. The comments from one school manager are evidence of this obstacle:

"I am concerned that laws governing girls' protection against sexual harassment are weak in Zambia and therefore ignored by the perpetrators, who get away with offences freely. The girls are disadvantaged because of this vice; it is a critical issue and requires urgent attention. Such vices should STOP". (Male School manager, Kafue School)

The comment from the Kafue manager is of concern as the problem is not only the sexual harassment that the girls' experience, but the law appears not to be enforced. Previous studies, discussed in chapter 2 of this research, have also confirmed sexual harassment as a barrier to girls' education, both in Zambia and globally (Parkes et. al., 2017; SIDA, 2015; Stromquist, 2015; WLSA et. al., 2012). Some PTA Members from Kafue School also mentioned sexual harassment as one of the hindrances to girls' education. Indeed, the member spoke with emotion about it:

"It is saddening to each one of us, when we hear girls have been sexually harassed on their way to school. We understand that even if a boy utters words of wanting to have a relationship with the girls, it negatively affects the girls, they feel insecure and out of place. We constantly advise the girls to move as a group wherever possible, because when they are in groups the situation is better to handle compared to when they move in smaller numbers. It is an issue that together with the school authorities we are working to control. Some parents do escort their girls or even ask their older brothers to accompany them to school. (Woman PTA member, Kafue School)

The comment from the PTA member of Kafue is worrying as it could lead girls to dropping out of school due a hostile environment emerging between home and school but also because the onus is on the girls changing their behaviour in response to the boys and not on the boys changing theirs. Previous studies have also confirmed sexual harassment experienced by students on the way to school (PLAN, 2013; UNESCO and UN Women, 2016). Other studies further confirm that sexual harassment against girls can negatively affect school participation, learning levels and completion rates, and raises barriers to gender equality in education and wider society (UNESCO, GMR, UNGEI, 2015). The district education officers also described sexual harassment against girls as a common barrier to girls' schooling. One district officer explained that sexual harassment was a concern, requiring teaching personnel to check on the girls they teach and ensure they were safe:

> *"The challenge with sexual harassment sometimes, is that the perpetrators could be teaching personnel, school administrative personnel and other adults whom you would least expect to indulge in such vices. Hence, girls often have difficulty reporting when they find themselves in such situations. I suppose special teaching and counselling on assertiveness among girls, for their self-confidence is required. The problem is that culturally in Zambia; our girls are generally to be submissive in their behaviour, resulting in girls not being able to resist sexual harassment and abuse. We really have a task as district education officers to ensure girls are aware of their rights and resist negative vices against them (Woman district education officer, Kafue School)*

The district officer's sentiments are important, as she demonstrates that education personnel in the district are aware of challenges encountered by girls to report sexual harassment especially when the adults with power are harassing the girls. As well as the worrying fact that perpetrators can be those in responsible positions in relation to the girls' education, the officer brings up the issue of how cultural norm affects the girls' behaviour. This finding corroborates with other studies that show that parents instil gendered

knowledge and skills through making girls participate in domestic work and how that helps explain their differential involvement in the teaching-learning process in schools in relation to acceptance of gendered roles and norms (Bourdieu, 1997; Eagly, 1987). As explored in chapter 2 of this research, the sexual division of labour and societal expectations based on stereotypes produce gender roles (Eagly, 1987). It is therefore important for educational personnel to reflect on and acknowledge certain cultural norms, and explore if these can be changed, or at least recognise the structural challenges associated here.

Some institutional change is being attempted. The school authorities in both schools are looking into the issue of travelling long distances to school to protect the girls from sexual harassment and to try and resolve the associated problems. It appears there was no proper reporting mechanism of matters relating sexual harassment at the two schools, as some girls interviewed indicated they wished the problems could be attended to. Literature suggests absence of channels for people to report harassment and so a lack of ensuring victims are heard, their concerns validated, and complaints taken seriously, results in silence (Fernando, 2018). Other studies done on sexual harassments in schools found that even when girls who are sexually exploited, harassed or abused want to come forward, they are reluctant to report cases within schools for fear of being stigmatized or shamed (Martínez, 2017[35]). Therefore, unless more effort is made by the school authorities to introduce proper reporting procedures and facilitate greater collaboration with parents in assessing and tackling such issues, then the underlying patriarchal power and girls' continuing position in society, as demonstrated by the girls' experiences at the two case study schools will continue. Furthermore, channels to report sexual harassment that girls encounter at the two-case study schools be put in place by the school authorities to address the problem.

With regards to efforts made by the girls to prevent issues of sexual harassment, I found situations where, despite structural and relational gendered challenges, girls demonstrated

---

[35] 2017 Elin Martínez/Human Rights Watch: more information at
https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/report_pdf/hrw_senegal_etr_en.pdf

agency in trying to tackle the threat of sexual violence. As already noted, they used strategies that included avoiding activities that compromised their safety. For instance, they realised interacting with boys in sports activities may lead to them being sexually harassed. They weighed the value of interacting with their male counterparts and they noted how it would disadvantage them, though this was often at the expense of also curbing their behaviour and restricting their involvement with certain activities. However, while some girls avoided interacting with boys due to sexual harassment, others have optimistic views on interaction with boys are discussed in Chapter 4 earlier, regarding joined activities of girls and boys.

6.2.6 Inadequate physical infrastructure: Girls' perceptions

The issue of inadequate physical infrastructure emerged from interviews with girls and in focus group discussions with educational personnel and PTA members from the two case study schools that participated in this research. I begin discussions with the girls and then present the perceptions on infrastructure of the educational personnel and PTA members. Four participants who perceived education to be of poor-quality, provided responses that pointed to this issue. One of the girls remarked as follows:

> *"I dislike school because some of the important things are not there e.g.,*
> *Science laboratories, electricity, library etc. If only the school authorities*
> *can resolve these issues urgently because other students in other schools*
> *that have these facilities are doing better than us." (Melody - 22-year-old,*
> *Grade 12, Kafue School)*

Melody points to certain facilities that enable learning among students to take place not being availed to them. She views the inadequate facilities as a barrier to pupils' school performance. Melody's view is in line with evidence that suggests a bad school infrastructure, without renewed spaces, makes it impossible for children and youths that live in remote areas to study and reduces the attendance and interest of students in learning

(Development Bank, 2015). Furthermore, it is not surprising that Melody as a girl is complaining about the poor infrastructure at her school, as studies suggest, girls are more adversely affected if the quality of education including school infrastructure is poor (Hunt, 2008; Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006). The second one (Lillian) also gave the same reason for not liking her school:

> *"I completely dislike school because some of the things to do with our school, we do not have e.g., Science laboratories, Library and electricity. I wonder how we are expected to learn properly without the facilities, which I have talked about" (Lillian - 18-year-old, Grade 12, Kafue School)*

As I anticipated, the responses on inadequate facilities came from Melody and Lillian, both enrolled at the Kafue case study school, which was a school that did not have adequate sanitary facilities, and staff houses. Research indicates that one of the conditions for a quality school physical infrastructure is 'spaces for the development of rehearsals and practices such as libraries, and natural sciences, information technology, physics and chemistry labs' (CAP - Development Bank of Latin American States[36], 2018). Although, poor school infrastructure affects both girls and boys in the same way, as earlier mentioned in this thesis, research shows that girls are more sensitive to poor quality education compared to boys (Cuyvers et. al., 2011). I also note that Chilanga case study school (with better sanitary facilities) had more girls enrolled compared to boys at the school and almost at par the number of women teachers to male teachers. Two girls that had expressed happiness interacting with boys complained about the lack of proper sports facilities and equipment to enable learners to participate in organised sport at Kafue School. One of the girls shared her sentiments on the importance of sports facilities:

> *"The problem at this school is that important facilities to enable us to participate fully and maximise our potential as learners are not there. We*

---

[36]Details are found at: https://www.caf.com/en/currently/news/2016/10/the-importance-of-having-a-good-school-infrastructure/

do not have a library, Science Laboratory and even proper sports facilities and equipment. For instance, the sports facilities and equipment that we lack, include netball basketball and volleyball courts, let alone balls to play netball for example. I admire my other friends who go to schools that have all these facilities." (Mutale 19 years, Grade 12, Kafue School)

My research suggests that unless the school authorities work towards tackling the issues of inadequate infrastructure, girls will continue to be deprived of good quality education- which of course is also a wider economic issue, connected to available government funding for schools. Though the girls dislike their schools for the reasons specified, none of them in this study raised the issue of inadequate menstrual hygiene facilities. The girls were all silent on the issue despite the inadequacies that I found during my fieldwork, including lack of toilet facilities at the girls' dormitory at the Kafue study school. Previous studies have found that the absence of menstrual hygiene facilities in schools is a barrier to girls' education (Rihani, Psaki and Kays, 2006; UNGEI and GPE, 2014; UNICEF, 2004). Although girls in my research were silent on the issue of poor sanitary facilities at one of the case studies schools (perhaps because of the stigma surrounding menstruation), recent evidence from another study on menstrual hygiene done in Zambia shows that this is a critical issue especially in rural schools (Chinyama et. al., 2019). The study found MHM-related challenges, including use of non-absorbent and uncomfortable menstrual cloth and inadequate provision of sanitary materials, water, hygiene, and sanitation facilities (WASH) in schools. The study also found that toilets did not have soap and water or doors and locks for privacy and had a bad odour. Girls' school attendance and participation in physical activities was compromised when menstruating due to fear of teasing (especially from boys). I, therefore, argue that unless school authorities address the issue of sanitary facilities, girls will continue missing classes when they are having their menses.

6.2.7 Inadequate physical school infrastructure: educational personnel and PTAs members' perceptions

Regarding the perceptions of school managers, district education officers and PTA members on issues relating to physical facilities at the two schools. One Kafue manager remarked:

> *"The education system has not paid much attention to the girl child at this level – no sanitary facilities – napkins, running water, soaps toilets etc. I feel more needs to be done to ensure that these issues are addressed so that the girls are not disadvantaged. I have observed that the attendance of girls is affected by the poor sanitation." (School Manager, Kafue School)*

The Kafue manager's comment pointed to the conditions at the school he was coming from and expressed concern of the lack of a girl friendly school environment for the girls. Concerned about the issue he gave an account of the requirements that are needed to enable girls to participate in school more effectively. It is interesting that this information was coming from a male manager of the school. These are the issues that I anticipated to come from the girls from the two schools, but this had not been the case. However, from my personal experience of the Zambian culture, it is not surprising that the adult participants in this case, are the ones who have spoken on behalf of the girls on the issues of sanitation facilities and menstruation, - given their relative positions of power compared to the girls. Moreover, they have an overview of the situation and decision-making influence to try to effect change. As I explored in Chapter One, regarding an historical perspective of Zambia, young girls are moulded to adhere to what women adults teach them to do. They are not expected to argue or go against what they are taught (Sandlane, 1989). Furthermore, previous studies done in Zambia on menstrual hygiene in schools, revealed that the local culture does not permit girls to talk about menstruation, it is considered a 'secret' (Person, Kayula, and Opong, 2014). This cultural norm, therefore, could be the reason girls in this study-maintained silence on the poor sanitary facilities.

Another school manager for Chilanga School also remarked on the issue of a conducive school infrastructure of the school that is required to enhance girls' education:

"Girls need to be assisted to access schools which are girl-friendly with conducive sanitary facilities, adequate toilets, and incinerator for burning pads, and availability of sanitary napkins for them to buy for their menses." (Woman School Manager, Chilanga School)

The above comment is coming from a woman manager of Chilanga School, who appears to be familiar with the requirements of girls in the school in terms of menstrual hygiene requirements. She also mentions the supply of sanitary napkins for the girls considering that girls in boarding at Chilanga School need constant supplies of them. This corroborates with previous studies that suggest women teachers may act as advocates for girls, representing their perspectives and needs, and promoting more girl-friendly learning (Kirk, 2006; Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016).

6.3 Initiatives by the girls, educational personnel, and PTA's members to overcome some of the barriers

Interviews with fourteen girls in this research revealed various ways in which they attempted to prevent and/or eradicate their perceived barriers to girls' education. Amazingly, despite the structural and relational gendered challenges, the girls interacted in schooling, at times even confidently, and by having information to navigate and negotiate barriers. For example, they also used a strategy of avoiding activities like sport or walking to school in groups to minimise their exposure to sexual harassment. Many of the girls spoke confidently about many problems with their education and ways that it could be improved.

Furthermore, the girls taking part in my study said that most of the teachers from the two schools were friendly and accommodating to them, which I go into more detail on in Chapter 4. One of the characteristics of a girl friendly school environment is one that socialises both girls and boys in a non-violent environment and encourages respect for each other's rights, dignity, and equality (Baily and Holmarsdottir, 2015; Shaeffer, 1999; Stromquist, 2015). Hence, the teachers' friendly and approachable attitude towards students at the two case study schools, is a significant contribution towards a gender responsive school environment, that potentially enhances gender equality in girls' education.

Another initiative towards addressing barriers associated with early pregnancies among girls at school, came from the PTAs members of the Kafue Case Study school. In a focus group discussion with PTA members, I learnt that the PTA took up the responsibility to keep the bicycles of girls that fell pregnant at the Kafue school and handed them back to them when they returned from childbirth. The comments by one member of the PTA reveal this:

> *"As an Association, we are supportive of the Re-entry Policy that allows girls to return after childbirth. One of the responsibilities that we have committed ourselves to, is to keep the bicycles of girls that fall pregnant to safety and hand them back when the girls return to school after childbirth. Just to let you know that the parents of the girls have been elated with this task." (Woman PTA member, Kafue School)*

The comment points to the support the Association have for girls' education. I noted that this position of the PTAs' support for girls' Re-entry Policy, was different from the views the district education office personnel for Kafue, who held the perception that some school heads did not support the policy. The district staff indicated that some schools did not welcome girls that returned from childbirth as they treated them harshly. I was encouraged to find that the Kafue PTA members were in support of the policy. This suggested that the

School Managers comprising the school Head and the Deputy were taking some steps to endorse the policy as well. I was also inspired by an approach that teachers were using to prevent early pregnancy and other issues hindering girls' education, in which some teachers appeared to counsel girls against engaging in activities that will hinder their education by encouraging them to focus on their academic work and instilling a belief that they were also capable of doing as well as boys. Remarks by one of the girls alleging teachers encouraged them to pay attention to schoolwork is a clear testimony of this, as I note in Chapter 4.

6.4 Conclusion

The girls, educational personnel and parents that participated in this research provided evidence of structural, ideological, and interactional barriers that girls faced in their education. I have used research evidence to show how girls experienced institutionalised gender inequalities, resulting in schools that are not girl-friendly due to gender stereotyping and sexual harassment (Connell and Pearse, 2015; Stromquist, 2015; Zachmann, 2017). This further points to effective social exclusion from the idea of education as a right for all people (UNESCO and UNICEF, 2007). The girls experienced gender stereotypes relating to being perceived as less intelligent in academic work compared to boys at the two schools. Gender stereotyping meant that girls were often seen first and foremost in terms of their reproductive capacities, with childbirth and the raising of children seen as the first priority for girls and women thereby rendering their education as less important. The gender bias and inequalities faced by the girls due to gender stereotypes, reflect findings from research studies that elaborate how the unconscious and conscious bias among teachers in schools negatively affect girls' academic performance (Connell and Pearse, 2015; Zachmann, 2015). Nonetheless, girls, educational personnel, and PTA's members were all aware that early pregnancies were a key barrier to education as they witnessed pupils dropping out of school and being unable to return. The girls' experiences and fears of sexual harassment made some of them avoid participating in joint activities with boys. Some responses from girls on sexual harassment pointed to lack of organised sport and physical education, as this is significant for social skills development of learners (Stanford Children's Health, 2021). Importantly here, as discussed in Chapter

2, schools, and classrooms, are not always girl-friendly and can create environments that are either unsupportive or explicitly hostile through the exercise of sexual harassment (Baily and Holmarsdottir, 2015; Parkes et. al., 2017). In this context, it is difficult to support the argument that education can be used to disrupt the gender order and lead to gender equality and transformation. Furthermore, the inadequacies in the delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) are cause for concern and unless they are addressed, the problems of sexual harassment and early pregnancies will persist. Additionally, inadequate physical infrastructure had a bearing on the perceptions held by some girls of the value placed by others on their education as well as acting as an actual material barrier to learning. As discussed earlier, the girls who stated they disliked school connected it, in part, to a lack of some amenities at the two case studies schools. This outcome substantiates research that found girls as being more sensitive to school infrastructure than boys (Cuyvers et. al., 2011).

<center>**Chapter Seven**</center>

<center>**Discussions and Conclusions**</center>

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the data and analysis that came about in chapters 4-6 as well as emphasize the study's contributions to empirical, methodological theoretical knowledge about the enhancement of girls' secondary education. I discuss and analyse this chapter under the sub-headings: 'Key Findings', 'Contributions of the research', 'Limitations and Reflections, 'Future Research', 'Policy Recommendations' and 'Conclusions of the Research'. It also illustrates how these respond to the three research questions. It provides insights into what these tell us about girls' experiences of secondary education at the two case study schools of Chilanga and Kafue districts and consider how these findings were facilitated using different theories and approaches.

7.2 Key findings

This study used the literature review comprising gender and education, theories and approaches to frame three research questions which were composed to find out the perceptions of girls, education personnel and parents of girls' experiences of secondary education. The research questions were:

1. *What are female students' perceptions of secondary education?*
2. *What are teachers', school managers, parents', and district education officers' perceptions of girls' secondary education?*
3. *What barriers to girls' secondary education have been experienced by girls, how is this mediated by gender and how have the barriers been navigated?*

<center>203</center>

Two categories emerged from my analysis: those factors perceived by the girls and those perceived by adult participants as valuable to enhancing girls' secondary education. In addition, my research also captured the perceptions of the girls and adult participants in relation to the barriers to girls' secondary education. While the results are diverse, there are some similarities between the perceptions of girls, educational personnel and parents. A key contribution of my research is that I seek to understand the experiences of girls in school in Zambia from their own perspectives, as well as from parents and educational personnel.

7.2.1 Summary of key findings

This section provides a summary of the key findings from data analysis chapters 4 to 6. Hence, chapter 4 comprises of girls' experiences to secondary education and therefore responds to research question. This is followed by chapter 5, which focuses on findings from educational personnel, PTA members and parents, hence responds to research question. Chapter 6 consists of perceived barriers to rural girls' secondary education and therefore responds to research question. I now move to discuss and analyse in detail on how the findings and research questions relate.

In response to the first and second research questions on girls, educational personnel, PTA and parents' perceptions of girls' secondary education, this study found that almost all the participants largely perceived the value of girls' secondary education as useful in preparing girls for employment opportunities, which can help them support their families. Despite this narrow vision the girls experienced benefits relating to their mental, social, and physical development, through the various subjects they were taught. This perception of education by the participants is shared by several literature UNGEI and GPE, (2014), UNICEF, (2007), and Rihani, Psaki and Kays, (2006), which illustrate that girls' secondary education results in economic, social and health benefits. The literature further illustrates that economically, education is a tool for poverty alleviation, as it produces high returns in terms of wage growth.

The 2017 survey cited in Chapter 2 under the sub-heading 'The status of the two-tier curriculum approach in the Zambian Education System' points to a situation where the graduates are trained for formal employment that has limited vacancies and cannot absorb all graduates. This means that the girls may not secure the good quality of life that they have been anticipating for in the present study. I, therefore, argue that unless our education system is changed and more investment is made in technical, vocational entrepreneurial education that enhances innovation, there is no guarantee that the girls will all be employed.

As part of the response to the third research question relating to barriers to girls' schooling, this study found that gender stereotyping among teachers, early pregnancies, long distance to school, sexual harassment, inadequate physical infrastructure including poor sanitary facilities were the key obstacles (See Chapter 6). The study found three different forms of gender stereotyping: One of them is-associated with power as a dimension of gender that brings with it the notion of men as a dominant 'sex class and women as another sex class on whom men exercised their power on (Connell and Pearse, 2015). See examples of these stereotypes in Chapter 4. Another one is related to gendering of knowledge, where certain subjects such science subjects are perceived as preserves of males and non-science subjects as preserves for females (Connell and Pearse, 2015). The study found that Physics and Chemistry were only taught by men, at the two case study schools lack of women role models in these subjects (See Chapter 4). Research suggests that a lack of women role models in these subjects for girls can result in the perception that STEM is not for them (Zachmann, 2018). The study also learnt that some girls from Kafue and a few from Chilanga Schools revealed that teachers, were perceiving them as less intelligent compared to boys in science subjects. These findings raise concern as they point to school environments that are not girl friendly, which could lead to poor participation and academic performance among the girls (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016).

The study explored the extent at which the teachers were aware of the differences in the way the girls and boys experienced education and found that all six were of the view that there were no educational differences between the two genders. Some of them categorically indicated that gender was not a factor in the learning of their students as they

had the same capabilities. Empirical evidence shows that assuming girls and boys have the same capabilities in academic work, discounts the evidence of gendered dispositions and preferences in learning, as well as differences in classroom conditions such as teacher-pupil interactions (Skelton et. al., 2009; Reay, 2001). This finding, therefore, points to the teachers' lack of awareness of gender inequalities that affect girls and boys differently.

This research further detected the issue of teachers influencing girls following their own cultural beliefs, to behave and think in certain ways and carry out tasks that were expected according to their gender. For instance, some girls indicated that they were advised by their teachers to focus on their academic work and strive to perform as well as boys do so that they can complete school, get employment and be able to support their siblings and other family members (See Chapter 4). The guidance from teachers in this situation, points to encouraging girls to work towards becoming carers for their families. Hence, the girls shared the same perception of education as their teachers, which included an element of girls' roles as carers for their families. Holmes (2009) suggests: *"Socialisation is the process of teaching children how to behave"* (Holmes, 2009: 3). Holmes, (2009), and Eagly, (1987), argue that early socialisation of children within the family was particularly important in teaching them to act in ways thought appropriate for their gender. The theorists add that early socialization affects the girls' gender identities in certain ways and generates different roles and life expectations. In this research therefore, girls were familiarized to take on gender roles both at home and at school. In the absence of a gender responsive school environment, with teachers that are gender sensitive, the girls will continue to be socialised based on their gender.

Another component pointing to gender stereotyping that some girls interviewed in this study brought up, was related to teachers' perceptions that they are subordinate to boys in their academic work (See Chapter 4). This outcome points to teachers displaying the Zambian culture that is informed by patriarchal tendency. However, other girls that participated in the semi-structured interviewed, were in favour of interacting with boys as they perceived them to be more knowledgeable and physically stronger than them. These outcomes point to validating the argument that teachers carry with them attitudes that are

informed by the patriarchal culture in the wider society to the schools, which are applied in everyday school life and through them gender identities are formed (Connell and Pearse, 2015). Hence, teachers from the two case study schools exhibited limited awareness in their gender sensitivity.

This research also found that girls' perceptions of their relationships with the teachers were diverse and even contradictory. For instance, some girls on one hand perceived their teachers as friendly and supportive while on the other hand, they complained about gender stereotyping from them. It is argued that a positive teacher-pupil relationship that is free from gender stereotyping by teachers is especially important as it contributes to school environment that motivates both girls and boys to successfully attain their education (Aikman and Unterhalter, 2013; Aikman and Rao, 2010; King and Winthrop 2015, Oxfam, 2005 and US AID' Office of women in Development and EQUATE Project, 2008). Hence, the gender stereotyping that girls experienced points to school environments that are not girl friendly at the two case study schools.

Another concern that this research found in response to the third research question was associated with the limited gender awareness among educational personnel and PTA members. Despite overwhelmingly supporting the presence of women teachers in the two schools (See Chapter 5), they overlooked or were unconscious of the adverse impact gender stereotyping that the girls interviewed alleged teachers were exhibiting at the two case study schools. Research shows that when teachers fall prey to social biases, especially, concerning gender, it will be replicated in their attitude and behaviours towards the student (Sekhar and Parameswari, 2019; Stromquist, 2007). Hence, inconsistency in handling students based on their gender reflects on students' understanding of gender. Therefore, the limited knowledge on gender responsive pedagogy among personnel and administrators at the two case study schools, is a hindrance to the enhancement of girls' education. It does not contribute to the enhancement of gender equality in the school environment.

Gendering of subjects is another form of gender stereotyping that this study found at the two case study schools. Another element of gender stereotyping that this study found was

that science subjects particularly Physics and Chemistry were only taught by men, at the two case study schools. This pointed to lack of women role models in these subjects (See Chapter 4). Research suggests that a lack of women role models for girls can result in the perception that STEM is not for them (Zachmann, 2018). In addition, girls from Kafue and a few from Chilanga Schools revealed that teachers, were perceiving them as less intelligent compared to boys in science subjects. This is cause for concern as gender stereotyping of this nature, has potential to discourage girls from taking up science subjects and limit them in career options.

Data from semi-structured interview scripts with the teachers, this study found that all of them did not perceive any educational differences in the way girls and boys learn. Some of them categorically indicated that gender was not a factor in the learning of their students as they had the same capabilities. This understanding by the teachers, points to persons with lack of awareness of gender variations that affect girls and boys differently. Research shows that an assumption that girls and boys have the same capabilities in academic work, discounts the evidence of gendered dispositions and preferences in learning, as well as differences in classroom conditions such as teacher-pupil interactions (Skelton et. al, 2009; Reay, 2001). It is important to note that this finding responds to the second research question as it focuses on the teachers' views about the learners they teach.

The study further discovered that teachers were influencing girls following their own cultural beliefs, where they themselves were nurtured to behave and think in certain ways and carry out tasks that were expected according to their gender. For instance, some girls indicated that they were advised by their teachers to focus on their academic work so that they can complete school, get employment and be able to support their siblings and other family members (See Chapter 4). Hence, the girls shared the same perception of education as their teachers, which included an element of girls' roles as carers for their families. Holmes (2009) suggests: *"Socialisation is the process of teaching children how to behave"* (Holmes, 2009: 3). Holmes, (2009), and Eagly, (1987), argue that early socialisation of children within the family was particularly important in teaching them to act in ways thought appropriate for their gender. Hence, early socialization affects the

girls' gender identities in certain ways and generates different roles and life expectations. In this research therefore, girls were accustomed to take on gender roles both at home and at school.

In terms of navigating certain barriers that the girls faced in this study, the girls illustrated using their own agency to ignore or resist hinderances to their participation in school activities. For instance, those that felt that the boys were making them uncomfortable in certain activities through sexual advances, they avoided taking part in such activities. The discussions and responses of the girls in this study indicated that they were not passive victims or cultural targets but active learners who demonstrated their capabilities to navigate and negotiate obstacles to secondary education within the context they lived (See Chapter 6). This was in response to the second part of question three of this research. The study further noted that teachers at the two case study schools did in some situations provide counsel to the girls considering the different experiences they encountered from secondary education. For instance, one girl alleged that their teachers encouraged them as females to work extra hard in their academic work so that the perceptions held of them being associated to being carers is erased (See Chapter 4). The Parent/Teacher Association members also demonstrated support in addressing some of the obstacles to girls' education. An example of this was that the Kafue PTA members indicated they took up the responsibility of keeping bicycles for girls that fell pregnant while attending school and gave them back when the girls returned after childbirth. Indeed, by doing so, the Association members illustrated support of the Re-Entry Policy as well as addressing the issue of long distance to school for girls that were affected.

7.3 Contributions of the research

7.3.1 Empirical contributions:

The study provides insights in the experiences of rural girls' education without relying on common assumptions of what girls encounter in rural schools. Girls' experiences have been considered and analysed in relation to the rural environments in which they learn.

Girls' perceptions, values, agency and choices have been the focus of analysis instead of the challenges they face, or comments levelled against them.

Literature review showed that previous studies on barriers to girls' education included gender stereotyping, early pregnancies, sexual harassment, long distance to school as key barriers to girls' secondary education. This study has verified these same barriers without depending on assumptions and taking it for granted that these barriers may not exist due to the many interventions that have been implemented by relevant authorities. The research also illustrated that both supply and demand factors to education can contribute lito barriers to girls' secondary education. For instance, this study identified the gender stereotypes from teachers that the girls raised in interviews that were held, are testimonies of obstacles to girls' education. With regards to demand side barriers, the present study observed that the girls did not benefit from their parents, in relation to information on reproductive health or sexuality education due to the Zambian culture in which parents are not allowed to discuss such topics with children (Yakubu and Salisu, 2018). This is a barrier to girls' education, especially with the experience of the COVID 19 pandemic, which so a rise in adolescent pregnancies due to closure of schools (Rafaeli and Hutchinson, 2020).

Likewise, instead of assuming as is acknowledged in much of the literature that girls in rural schools are doubly disadvantaged in their learning due to the patriarchy culture of females being subordinate to males, the present study has focused on understanding how girls experience learning in rural environments and how their values intersect with these settings. Furthermore, this study importantly sheds light on the specific experiences of girls in rural communities to show how rural living impacts on girls education. The study has shown the extent at which girls can be influenced by culture as shown by the silence that the girls exhibited when interviewed on sexual reproductive issues. Previous studies show that girls especially those living in the rural areas of Zambia have encountered challenges in completing their education, because of the prevailing cultural practices as well as gender and social norms (Nanyangwe-Moyo et. al., 2020; Mwanza, 2019) Hence, the present study did not count on other studies but has pragmatically confirmed this issue.

210

7.3.2 Methodological contribution:

This study has used multiple methods to obtain and triangulate data obtained from the field. Rather than expect the participants to articulate their values of education solely from semi-structured interviews, this study inferred their values from across questionnaires, observations and focus group discussions. Hence, combining several methods in this study enabled me to obtain data that I would not have acquired using a single method. In addition, I have been able to triangulate certain information hence ensuring validity and reliability (Chako, 2017).

This research has also identified the teachers' professional training need as area requiring further consideration. It would be of great benefit to the enhancement of girls' secondary education if Gender Responsive Pedagogy (GRP) is included to the teacher training course. It is evident from this study that some of the teachers and school managers participating in this research, had limited acquaintance with information on the importance of gender issues and education, resulting in unconscious biases against girls at the two schools. For example, many of the teachers and school managers illustrated inability to distinguish between the educational different experiences of girls and boys in some important ways and, therefore, did not always appreciate the negative effect of gender stereotyping on girls' education. Hence, my data analysis suggests the need to enhance gender awareness among teachers and school managers.

The silence among the girls interviewed that emerged in this research on issues relating to reproductive health, has necessitated reflection of an alternative method and a creative way of collecting data from interviewees that can complement the conventional, empirical research methods. In particular, this study has identified storytelling as an alternative method, as it is helpful in accessing certain nuances of individuals' insight associated with their experiences, which might not be obtained through some more established methods of inquiry (Buckler et. al., 2021; McCall et. al., 2019; Moezzi, Janda and Rotman, 2017). In addition, the study as recognized a creative ways of using existing methods of research, which entails "attending to the leaks and excesses of girls' voices and being open to new terms of development that are identified by the participants themselves, terms that may

not align with prevalent 'best practices' such as modes of description that emphasise the long list of oppressions that African girls face" (Khoja Moolji, 2015:), which have proved to complement the results obtained from conventional, empirical qualitative research methods.

7.3.3 Theoretical contributions:

In chapter one I argued that in Zambia fewer studies have been done that go beyond focusing on measurement of exam results and consider the diversity of contexts in which schools operate and girls and boys live. Most studies that have been carried out on girls' secondary education, relate to the evaluation of the Re-entry Policy of 1997, which permits girls that fall pregnant will attending school to return after childbirth. While evaluation of the policy is an important approach to enhancing girls' education, it is limited to addressing the outcome of pregnancies rather than focusing on the root causes and measures to prevent it. The aim of my research is to fill in this gap by conducting a case study in two co-education rural secondary schools focusing on girls' experiences of education, which includes semi-structured interviews with the girls, in order get the lived experiences of the girls themselves. In addition, conduct an evaluation of the implementation of Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) that has been integrated into the secondary school curriculum. As earlier alluded to in Chapter One, CSE not only addresses prevention of early pregnancies, but other issues including gender relations and sexual reproductive health rights that are important in enhancing gender equality in education.

The use of different theories to frame and analyse girls' experiences of secondary education is a remarkable contribution to the field of gender and education. This study paid particular attention to the literature on gender regime in the two schools, which involves relationships between people and the environment and how it interacts with other social identities in the environment. Indeed, my aim was to see whether this study would produce similar findings of gender dimensions (power relations, division of labour, patterns of emotions and symbolization) as described in chapter 2. This study

identified issues in the gender power relations which involves association of masculinity with authority and concentration of men in supervisory positions in the school systems (Connell, 1996). At one of the schools, there was lack of gender balancing in the way the management positions of school head and deputy were filled as both were held by males. Similarly, the study found that the chairpersons of both Parents'/Teachers' Associations of the two case study schools were occupied by males. Hence, the study can confirm Connell and Pearse, (2015)'s gender theory. In addition, this research was able to test another dimension of gender relations that is symbolisation that includes gendering of knowledge by which certain areas of the curriculum are perceived by people as masculine while others as feminine (Connell, 1996). My findings show that the girls' perceptions of their teachers' attitude towards their academic work, were that boys were more intelligent in science subjects than them. This is a clear demonstration of gendering of knowledge.

This research further has been able to demonstrate understanding of a girl friendly school by recognising one of the case studies schools (Chilanga) as an example of a school with an environment that has adequate sanitary facilities and housing for teachers at the school premises and has more women teachers (See Chapter 4). Furthermore, the study has recognised educational personnel and PTA members' support of women teachers in the two schools (See Chapter 5). Similarly, the study has established that women teachers are not necessarily gender responsive, unless they are trained in gender responsive pedagogy.

7.4 Limitations and Reflections

7.4.1 Limitations

Several activities related to fieldwork were characterised by time constraint that affected the timely implementation. To begin with the Ministry of Education's approval process for fieldwork permits to the two case study schools did not coincide with the field work timeline as it took longer by a week. Hence, I delayed by a week to contact the school administration who were operating despite the Cholera outbreak. Secondly, there was a Cholera outbreak in Chilanga and Kafue districts where the fieldwork was conducted just

before the beginning of the programme. This resulted in delaying schedule by at least two weeks. Consequently, I was constrained with time to interview more girls than the sixteen that I ended up having a one-to-one interview with. Furthermore, I could have included interviews with some girls that dropped out and their parents from the two case study schools. I was unable to cover them because the girls' homes were located geographically far from the schools. Hence, I could not verify the reasons provided by the girls and other participants of this study on issues that led girls to dropout other than the assumptions made by the girls and adult participants (school personnel) that took part in this study.

Thirdly, it was difficult to opt for a bigger sample size beyond a case study in two districts for this study at design stage due to limited time in terms of the six months field work allocated. Statistical tests for this study would not be able to identify significant relationships with the data set. Hence, basing this study in a larger sample size could have generated more accurate results. Although a lot of issues emerged from the data through semi-structure interviews and focus group discussions with some participants of this study who included girls, school personnel and parents, the limited number of schools, the findings cannot be generalised to the other schools that were not included in the study.

Fourthly, continuing the research in my home country Zambia, led to emergence of issues that have affected the duration in completing the research. These included unforeseen circumstances including theft of my theft of the laptop intended for use to complete the task, bereavements in my family, illnesses and electricity interruptions.

The fifth issue is that the study is limited in scope as it did not include interviews with boys at the two schools. Studies show that during adolescence and young adulthood, there is a critical period of opportunity to engage boys and young men in understanding why gender equality is good for everyone and recognizing their role in promoting the empowerment of girls and young women (UN Women, 2014). Hence, including interviews with boys would have been useful in finding out whether the boys are engaged in promoting gender equality and the extent the school environment at the two case study schools are gender responsive. Nevertheless, in this study I included questions where girls

were required to explain their interaction with boys and whether the boys were supportive to them, this included their perceptions of teachers both women and men.

The silence in relation to reproductive health related issues exhibited by the girls that participated in this study, tempted me to make assumptions on their behalf on the topic. Maybe I should have spent more time and established a rapport with the participants at the two case study schools. However, the idea of including adult participants assisted me to understand the problems related to reproductive health that affected the girls as the women education personnel attempted to articulate issue of poor sanitary facilities as the girls were reluctant to discuss them with me. Though this may not have reflected in totality the perceptions of the girls on the subject matter.

7.4.2 Reflections

The process of designing and carrying out this study was also an important learning period for me. Not only were my ideas and assumptions about gender challenged, but also my understanding of research itself changed and expanded. As a result, I learnt three things that would inform any future qualitative research I carried out. These are i) I have become more comfortable with the nature of qualitative research as compared to my previous engagement in other studies; ii) As regards reflexivity, I have learnt the potential effect that my knowledge on gender issues could have on female students and educational personnel interviewees; and iii) I have strengthened my knowledge in the use of informal approaches to elicit responses from interviewees who come to my interview but are reluctant to talk. Consequently, I was able to apply greater reflexivity in this study as the researcher. For example, I reflected on the ways in which my gender, age and perceived status impacted on my interviewees, which led me to adopt a more relaxed style to create trust and confidence with the participants, which to some extent enabled me to generate the data that I needed from my respondents.

As earlier alluded to, the process of getting permission for this study to conduct fieldwork in state schools in Zambia, took longer than I had expected. If I had sought authorization earlier, I may not have lost out on time for the research. Hence, if I were to start this study again, I would send a request for permission ahead of time to the Ministry of Education and assign someone in Zambia to follow up on my request. I would further make a request to my sponsors, to consider extending the field work period from six months to eight months. In addition, it is advisable to leave the UK for Zambia in the month of February as commencement of the school calendar of the first term begins in January, rather than leave before the festive season.

The culture of silence among the girls from the two case study schools on matters related to reproductive health issues is cause for concern as their views are unlikely to be shared. I should have done more consultation and review of literature relating to approaches of managing such issues that has proved to facilitate time and building of a level of trust with the girls. If I was to start the research again, I would also contemplate engaging local people/adults that could assist in making girls to respond without hesitation on issues related to reproductive health issues, where possible.

As the writing and analysis of this research was characterised by the Covid 19 pandemic, I should have captured more information relating to the effects of the pandemic to girls' secondary education in rural communities. In addition, I should have focused more on approaches that could help address issues affecting rural girls' education that relate to calamities like the COVID 19 pandemic.

7.5 Future Research

The design of this study needs to include interview with boys, so that the study can obtain data on the effectiveness of the co-education system in the two case study schools. Hence, if I were starting again to prepare for the study, I would include interviews with boys besides the girls. Furthermore, I would ensure some time is included to at least interview

a few girls that dropped out and their parents/guardians from both schools. While the girls I included in this study were able to share their experiences of their interaction with boys, I could have gathered the perceptions of boys for a more holistic view of participants' lived experiences (Reay, 2001).

Key areas of interest for future research include: Research to capture views and experiences of boys enrolled in co-education rural secondary schools, as their views may be significant in understanding both their own and girls' gender inequalities; Research on girls enrolled and attending school in a co-education urban secondary school so that a comparison could be made on common issues and different ones; longitudinal studies of rural girls of diverse abilities and backgrounds to track and explain their experiences from onset of childhood to adolescence. Researchers need additional skills in engaging and working with vulnerable respondents and managing disclosure as well as dealing with silence on certain sensitive issues. Furthermore, future research should consider additional funding to accommodate methods of research such as storytelling and other creative ways of using standardised methods of research that facilitate listening to girls voices more, so that detailed information is obtained from them.

7.6 Policy Recommendations

My data analysis suggests the need for gender sensitivity training for teachers and students. Preferably, training that seeks to transform gender norms (Barker, Ricardo, and Nascimento 2007). Programmes' Intensity and length are also associated to their usefulness, with training for children suggested at 20 hours or more for 270 days or more and training for teachers suggested for at least 10 hours for four days or longer (CARE, 2014). Research suggests that gender sensitivity training programmes should focus on altering the unequal relations of power that perpetuate and tolerate both physical and psychological violence against girls. It is argued that these power dynamics manifest interpersonally as well as systemically within the community and in broader society (Michau et al., 2015). However, it should also be kept in mind that communication about the issues of sexual harassment need to be both tactical and all-encompassing and not

demonize or alienate innocent male teachers and boys. Instead, communication needs to balance negative images with positive and constructive ones (Fleming et. al., 2013; USAID, 2008).

In view of the aspirations of the girls to be employed or get into other occupations after they have completed schools and support their families better, my data analysis suggests that the Education authorities should consider investing in the two-tier approach in the school curriculum and ensure it is implemented in all the schools if possible. Short term solutions could include My data analysis suggests the need to include skills education in the already existing subjects. For instance, critical thinking could be emphasised in Mathematics and History, while entrepreneurship could be fused in Social Studies. In addition, schools to need to encourage girls to take science subjects by creating gender responsive school environments so that the girls may have more career options as well as be able to cope with issues of climate change considering that girls and especially in rural settings are usually the most adversely affected compared to their male counterparts (Sperling, Winthrop and Kwauk, 2016).

7.7 Conclusions on the Thesis

To complete the thesis this section offers some concluding views on the research and proposes how the study points to further pathways for analysis and study.

The study has shown how the different approaches have been used to understand the experiences of rural girls in pursuit of secondary level education in Zambia. It has also explored girls' experiences of education in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is a significant undertaking towards the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goal number 4 of the United Nations. However, some rural girls' education issues are universal and not limited to Sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, studies show that a loss of six months of education because of the Covid-19 pandemic will disproportionately impact school-aged

girls in "low- and lower-middle income countries" and this comprises, 50% of their total years of education that could be lost, which is half of what girls' education could be under normal circumstances (Witter, 2021; UNESCO, 2020).

This study found that more information on the experiences of girls' schooling would have been obtained if other methods or creative approaches besides the standard methods for collection of data were used. Furthermore, the difficulties in obtaining information from girls using standard methods of research not only affected Sub-Saharan Africa, but from other regions of the world including Asia. For instance, Khoja Moolji's (2015) idea of 'work of hearing' girls' voices was carried out in Pakistan. Additionally, the literature in Chapter 2 pointed to education that associates gender issues in education only to obstacles to schooling for girls, as weakness because it does not take into consideration other forms discriminations that affect girls in other sectors of society. Hence, this study offers alternative ways of obtaining information from the girls that lead to data that identifies other forms of gender disparities. For instance, Buckler et. al., (2022) through their storytelling method of the out-of-school girls found that one of the female respondents experienced another form of social exclusion at home from a stepmother.

Amother issue this study noted that points to the need to consider the storytelling method relates to its thoroughness in getting to the bottom of issues affecting respondents. Hence, the literature implied that common barriers to girls' education included poverty and rurality in the household, which have resulted in some girls not having access as well as dropping out of school. While the argument of poverty is a major possibility, research has shown that in some instances there are other grave issues that girls face, which have been detected with the use of non-standard methods of research as earlier alluded to in Chapter 2 of the literature review. For instance, in their study of the out-of-school girls, Buckler et. al. (2022) found that the girls' marginalisation is not characterised by persistent poverty, but by persistent unpredictability. The theorists revealed how girls experience unpredictable shifts, and how and where they have agency to alleviate the impacts on them and those they care for. They provide an example of how one of their respondents chose

to leave school because doing so meant she could pursue other, more urgent, capabilities (protecting her siblings).

The Ministry of Education Coordinator for Comprehensive Sexuality Education interviewed for this study (See Chapter 3 and 5) acknowledged that there are issues relating to the delivery of Comprehensive Sexuality Education in government schools. This assertion was confirmed by the findings in this research (See Chapter 6). Hence, my data analysis suggests the need for teachers to be retrained to so that they are become efficient in delivering in CSE. Furthermore, the subject should be made a compulsory stand-alone subject in the schools so that the teachers can commit themselves to delivery it, rather than leaving it to the discretion of the teachers to choose topics they were comfortable to deliver in and use their own methods of teaching (Zulu et. al., 2019). This is an important subject that is designed not only help in addressing unintended pregnancies and other issues related to sexuality that have been confirmed in this research, but contribute to tackling similar issues that have emerged as a result of the COVID 19 pandemic.

Although earlier in this study I indicated that too many studies have been done in relation to the Re-entry Policy, which only focuses on addressing the issue of girls' right to education, the rise in case of unintended pregnancies globally due to the COVID 19 pandemic has made it valuable again (Rafaeli and Hutchinson, 2020). It is therefore important for the Education authorities to focus on addressing issues that affect its implementation, which include provision of caring support to the teen mothers and ensuring the school authorities support the policy and do not stigmatise the girls who return from childbirth. This will ensure the affected girls enjoy their right to education and are not left behind by other students.

References

Adams, W. C. (2015) *Conducting semi-structured interviews* At: file:///C:/Users/lomliz2/Downloads/Adams-ConductingSSIs%20(3).pdf

African Committee on Human Rights and People's right (2019)

Aikman S and Unterhalter E (eds) (2007) Gender equality in schools. In: S Aikman and Aikman, S. and Rao, N. (2010) Quality education for gender equality. *Background paper for the Quality Education Stream, E4 Conference*, Dakar, Senegal, 17–20 May. Available at: www. e4conference.org.

Aikman, S. and Rao, N. (2010) Quality education for gender equality. Background Paper for the Quality Education Stream E4 Conference, Dakar, Senegal, 17-20 May.

Aikman, S. and Rao, N. (2012) Gender equality and girls' education: Investigating frameworks, disjunctures and meanings of quality education. *Theory and Research in Education*, 10 (3), pp.211–228.

Aikman, S. and Unterhalter, E. (2013) Gender equality, capabilities, and the terrain of quality education. *Education Quality and Social Justice in the Global South: Challenges for Policy, Practice and Research*, (January 2013), pp.25–39.

Aikman, S., Halai, A. and Rubagiza, J. (2011) 'Conceptualizing gender equality in the research on education quality',*Comparative Education,* 47(1): 45-60.

Alan, S., Ertac, S. and Mumeu, I. (2017) *Gender stereotypes in the classroom and effects on achievements* At: https://cepr.org

Albrectsen. L. and Giannini, U. (2020) *Resilience and Psychological Well-Being of Higher Education.* Vol. 2 Issue 1, p. 404.

Alison Buckler, Liz Chamberlain, Faith Mkwananzi, Caroline Dean & Obert Chigodora (2022) Out-of-school girls' lives in Zimbabwe: what can we learn from a storytelling research approach? *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 52:2, 195-215, DOI: 10.1080/0305764X.2021.1970718

Altinisik, S. and Guibreteau, S. (2019) What will it take to unlock girls' potential to speak out? PLAN International and math (STEM) classroom'. *Technology and Engineering Teacher*, *71*(3), 4-11.

Annink, A. (2017) Using the Research Journal during Qualitative Data Collection in a Cross-Cultural Context. *Entrepreneurship Research Journal,* 7(1), 20150063.

Apple and Campbell (2000) Constructing inclusive education in a neo-liberal context: promoting inclusion of Arab-Australian students in an Australian context. *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 36, No. 5 (October 2010), pp. 733-744 (12 pages).

Appleton, J.J., et al. (2006) Measuring Cognitive and Psychological Engagement: Validation of the Student Engagement Instrument. *Journal of School Psychology,* 44, 427-445. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2006.04.002

Archer, J. and Lloyd, B.B. (2002) Sex and Gender. 2nd Edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Arnot, M. (2000) *Gender equality, pedagogy and citizenship: Affirmative and transformative approaches in the UK*. At: https://doi.org/10.1177/1477806064539

Arnot, M. (2006) 'Gender voices in the classroom' in C. Skelton and B. Francis (eds) *Gender and Education Handbook*. London: SAGE Publications.

Arnot, M., David, M. and Weiner, G. (1999) Closing the Gender Gap*: Postwar Education and Social Change. Cambridge*: Polity Press.

Arruda, P., & Dubois, L. (2018) *A brief history of Zambia's cash transfer programme, Policy Research brief 62.* Brasilia, DF: International Policy Centre for inclusive Growth.

Asadullah, M.N. & Chaudhury, N. (2010). *Religious Schools, Social Values and Economic Attitudes: Evidence from Bangladesh.* Working Paper Number 139.

Aspers, P. and Corte, U. (2019) *What is qualitative in qualitative research.* Qual Social 42, 139-160.

Ataril, M., and Jamali, R. (2016) *Dimensions of Women's Mate Preferences:* Validation of a Mate Preference Scale in Iran. At: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1474704916651443

Ault, J. M. (1933) "*Making 'Modern' Marriage 'Traditional': State Power and the Regulation of Marriage in Colonial Zambia.*" Theory and Society 12 (2): 181–210.

Aurora, S. (2016) *Human rights and value in education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Bailey, J. (2008) 'First steps in qualitative data analysis: transcribing.' *Family Practice*, Volume 25, Issue 2, April 2008, Pages 127–131.

Baily, S. and Holmarsdottir, H. B. (2015) The quality of equity? Reframing gender, development and education in the post-2020 landscape. *Gender and Education*, 27 (7), pp.828–845.

Balafoutas, L., Fornwagner, H., & Sutter, M. (2018) Closing the gender gap in competitiveness through priming. *Nature communications,* 9(1), 4359.

Balog, N. (2018) *Impacts of the Learning Environment on Developer's Progress.* At: https://www.codingdojo.com/blog/impacts-of-the-learning-environment.

Banda, M., and Nowanga, S. M. (2017) Zambia, Ministry of Education. (2017) The Efficacy of Re-Entry Policy and its Implications on the Zambian Education System *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education* 2017,4(12): 83-95.

Barker, G., Ricardo, C. and Nascimento, M. (2007) '*Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health:* Evidence from programme interventions'WHO/Promundo, Geneva.

Barrow, J.M., Brannan GD, Khandhar PB. (2021) *Research Ethics.*Treasure Island (FL): StatPearls Publishing.

Bashir et al., (2018) *Facing Forward: Schooling for Learning in Africa. Volume 19*, Issue 4, April, 2014, pp. 47-54. www.iosrjournals.org.

Bell, J. (2005) *Doing your Research Project*. At: doi: doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8535.2006.00650_12. x.

Benoot, C., Hannes, K. & Bilsen, J. (2016) *The use of purposeful sampling in a qualitative evidence synthesis:* A worked example on sexual adjustment to a cancer trajectory. 16, 21 (2016).

Berry, M. A. (2002) Healthy School Environment and Enhanced Educational Performance. At: https://www.ciriscience.org/a_314-Healthy-School-Environment-and-Enhanced-Educational-Performance .

Birbili, M. (2000) *Translating from one language to another*. At: https://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU31.html

Birungi, H. Undie, C. Makenzie, I. Katahoire, A. Obare, F. Machawira, P. (2015) *Education sector response to early and unintended pregnancy: A review of country experiences in sub-Saharan Africa*. (July), p.44 pp.

Bista, M. B. and Cosstick, F. E. (2005) *Providing education to girls from remote and rural areas: advocacy brief*. Care, T. N. A. on S.-B. H. Promising Approaches to Preventing Teen Pregnancy.

Blackwood, K. (2020) *Study finds gender differences in active learning classrooms*. At: https://news.cornell.edu/stories/2020/06/study-finds-gender-differences-active-learning-classrooms.

Boeren, E. (2016) *Lifelong learning participation in a changing policy context: An interdisciplinary theory*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Booth, A. L. and Nolen, P. (2012) 'Choosing to compete: How different are girls and boys: *Journal of Economic Behaviour and Organization,* 18, 542 -555.

Bourdieu, P. (1973) Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In Dumais, S. A., (2002) Cultural Capital, Gender and School Success: The Role of Habitus. American Sociology of Education, Volume 75, No 1 (pp. 44 – 68).

Bourdieu, P. (1984) Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1997) The Forms of Cultural Capital. In Halsey, A. H., Hugh Lauder, Philip, Brown, and Amy Stuart Wells (Eds.) *Education: Culture, Economy and Society.* Pp. 46-58.

Bourdieu, P. and J. C. Passeron (1997) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. C. (1979)

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, Loic J. D. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. In Dumais, S. Cultural Capital, Gender and School Success: The Role of Habitus. American Sociology of Education, Vol. 75, No. 1.

Boyle, M. J., Nickolas, S. and Jackson, A. (2021) *What is the relationship between Human Capital and Economic Growth?* 3(5). 46- 58.

Broberg, M. & Sano, H. (2018) Strengthens and weaknesses in a human rights based approach to international development – an analysis of the rights-based approach to development assistance based on practical experiences. *The International Journal of Human Rights ,* 22:5, 664-680, DOI: 10.1080/13642987.2017.1408591

Brown, G. (2012) *'Out of wedlock, into school: combating child marriage through education',* The Office of Gordon and Sarah Brown, London.

Buhrman, J. (2006) Extraordinary Women Engineers Project (EWEP). *Mathematics Teacher*, *100*(4), 283.

Bulfin, M. and Jodlowska, L. (2012) *Zambia's Education System in Historical Context*. Spark Ventures and a Qualitative Analysis of Hope Ministries' Operational Environment, (September), pp.1–7.

Burns, M., & Santally, M. I. (2019) *Information and communications technologies in secondary education in sub-Saharan Africa: Policies, practices, trends, and recommendations* (Secondary Education in Africa: Preparing Youth for the Future of Work, p. 81). Mastercard Foundation. https://mastercardfdn.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/ICT-in-Secondary-Education.pdf

CAMFED (2015) Introducing Rural Africa's Change Makers – CAMFED. CAMFED

CAMFED (2019) Empowering young women to prevent early marriage of vulnerable girls in rural Zambia: Baseline report. At: file:///C:/Users/lomliz2/Desktop/CAMFED-Zambia-DFID-UKAM-Baseline-Report-August-2019-20210514040534%20(1).pdf

Campbell, R.P. and Schram, J. (1993) *Feminist Research Methods: A Content Analysis of Psychology and Social Science Textbooks*. Sage Journals.

CARE. (2014) *Addressing the Intergenerational Transmission of Gender-Based Violence*: Focus on Educational Settings. Geneva: CARE.

CEDAW (1994) Committee of CEDAW 13th Session Zambia Report. Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against. CEDAW.

CEDAW. (1987) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. Annual review of population law, 14 (September 2009), p.133.

Central Statistical Office (2009) *Labour Force Survey 2008.* Lusaka: Central Statistical office

Chako, T. (2017) *Triangulation in qualitative research! Why the use of triangulation necessary in social research*? https://www.academia.edu/36277240/Triangulation_in_qualitative_research_Why_the_use_of_triangulation_necessary

Chauncey, G. (1981) "The Locus of Reproduction: Women's Labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927–1953." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 7 (2): 135–164.

Chavuma, N. C., Chanda, O. and Vwalika, B. (2010) *Emergency Contraception Among Women with Abortion at University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka, Zambia*. Lusaka.

Chenge et. al., (2017) Effective behaviour change techniques for physical activity. Vol. 3 Issue 1, p. 101

Cherry, K., and Lustik, C. (2021*) What is a case study*? At: https://www.verywellmind.com/how-to-write-a-psychology-case-study-2795722

Chi, D. (2018) *The case for learned index structures.* June 10-15, 2018, Houston, TX, USA

Chiappero-Martinetti, E. and Sabadash, A. (2014*) Integrating Human Capital and Human Capabilities in Understanding the Value of Education.* At: https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/61800/ MPRA Paper No. 61800, posted 03 Feb 2015 06:23 UTC.

Chikwashi, B. C., Mulenga, D., Mazaba, L. and Siziya, S. (2016) *Knowledge and use of contraceptives among single women in Tertiary Education, Ndola, Zambia*. Int J Health Sci Res. 2016;6(8):276.

Chilisa, B. (2002) Gender and Education National Policies on Pregnancy in Education Systems in Sub-Saharan Africa: The case of Botswana. *Gender and Education*, 14 (1), pp.21–35.

Chinyama, J., Chipungu, J., Rudd, C., Mwale, M., Verstraete, L., Sikomo, C., Mutale, W., Chilengi, R. and Sharma, A. (2019) *Menstrual hygiene management in rural schools of Zambia:* a descriptive study of knowledge, experiences and challenges faced by schoolgirls. 19, 16 (2019).

Chulu, L. (2016) *The Effectiveness of the Re-entry Policy in government schools*: A case study of selected schools in Itezhi-tezhi District of Zambia.

Cin, F. M. & Walker, M. (2013) Context and history: Using a capabilities-based social justice perspective to explore three generations of western Turkish female teachers' lives. *International Journal of Educational Development,* 33(4), 394–404.

Claessens, C. A., Tartwijk, J., Want, Pennings, H. J., Verloop, N., Brok, P. J. & Wubbels, T. (2017) Positive teacher–student relationships go beyond the classroom, problematic ones stay inside, *The Journal of Educational Research,* 110:5, 478-493, DOI: 10.1080/00220671.2015.1129595

Clegg, S. and Stevenson, J. (2013) The interview reconsidered: context, genre, reflexivity, and interpretation in sociological approaches to interviews in higher education research. *Higher Education Research and Development* 32 (1), 5-16.

Clough, P. and Nutbrown, C. (2012) A student's Guide to Methodology. SAGE Publications Ltd. Third Edition.

Cohen, J., Sears, B. and Weaver, A. D. (2004) *Sexual health education: Attitudes, knowledge, and comfort of teachers in New Brunswick schools.* The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality. 2004; 13:1–15.

Compare: A Journal of Comparative Education 40(2): 167–83.

Connell, R. and Pearse, R. (2015) *Gender in world perspective* Third edition: Polity press.

Connell, R. W. (1996) *Teaching the Boys: New Research on Masculinity, and Gender Strategies for Schools.* Teachers College Record.

Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. and Whitehead, A. (2007) *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables*: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development. At: file:///C:/Users/lomliz2/Downloads/Essay20Review20Gender20Myths%20(4).pdf

Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A. (2011) The case study approach. *BMC Med Res Methodol* 11, 100 (2011).

CSO (2015a) *Labour Force Survey 2014 (LFS 2014),* Version 1.1 of the public use dataset (September 2015), provided by the Central Statistical office. At: https://www.ilo.org/surveyLib/index.php/catalog/1495

CSO, Ministry of Health (MOH) and ICF International. (2015) *2013-14 Zambia Demographic Health Survey: Key Findings*.

Cuyvers, K., Weerd, G., Dupont, S., Mois, S. and Nuvtten, C. (2011) Well-being at school: Does infrastructure matter? Institute for Educational and Information Sciences, *Instructional and Educational Science*, University of Antwerp.

Daher, W., Tabaja-Kidan, A., & Gierdien, F. (2017) Educating grade 6 students for higher-order thinking and its influence on creativity. *Pythagoras. 38.* At: https://doi.org/10.4102/pythagoras.v38i1.350.

David K. Evans, D. K., Akmal, M., and Jakiela, P. (2020) *Gender Gaps in Education*: The Long View. Centre for Global development.

David, D. and Gatti, R. (1999) *Gender Inequality, Income, and Growth: Are Good Times Good for Women?* Working Paper 1 for *Policy Research Report on Gender and Development*. Washington: World Bank.

Day, C., and R. Evans. (2015) "Caring Responsibilities, Change and Transitions in Young People's Family Lives in Zambia. Special Issue on The Family in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 46 (1): 137–152.

De Vault, M. (1996) *Talking back to Sociology:* Distinctive contributions of Feminist Methodology. 6(2), 19-42.

DeJaeghere, J., & Lee, S. K. (2011) *What matters for marginalized girls and boys in Bangladesh: a capabilities approach for understanding educational well-being and empowerment*. Research in Comparative and International Education, 6, 27-41.

Denscombe, M. (2003) *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. (2nd edition) Buckingham: Open University Press No. 2nd ed., 2003.

Development Bank. (2016) The importance of having a good school infrastructure. Donnelly, R. *Gender Equality a Toolkit for Education*. At: http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/7978/1/0052704.pdf.

Dilli, S., Carmichael, S. and Rijpma, A. (2019) *Introducing the Historical Gender Equality Index, Feminist Economics,* 25:1, 3157, DOI: 10.1080/13545701.2018.1442582

Dixon, B. S. (2020) *Dewey and design:* A pragmatist perspective for design research. Springer (2020)

Dorji, T. (2020) Gender Responsive Pedagogy Awareness and Practices: A case study of Higher Secondary School under Thumphu. Thumphu Thromde, Bhutan. *International Linguistics and Translation Studies,* 1(2), 100 – 111.

Doyle A. M., Ross D. A., Maganja, K., Baisley, K., Masesa, C, et al. (2010) *Long-Term Biological and Behavioural Impact of an Adolescent Sexual Health*. 2(8) 1051-1057.

Dumais, S. A., (2002) Cultural Capital, Gender and School Success: The Role of Habitus. *American Sociology of Education,* Volume 75, No 1 (pp. 44 – 68).

Dunne, M., (2007) Gender, Sexuality and Schooling: Everyday life in junior secondary schools in Botswana and Ghana*, International Journal of Educational Development*, 27: 499 – 511

Dunne, M., Humphreys, S. and Undie, C. (2008) *"Gender, sexuality and development:* key issues in education and society in Sub-Saharan Africa", Chapter 1.

Dunne, M., Pryor, J. and Yates, P. (2005) *Becoming a Researcher: A companion to the Research Process.* McGraw Hill (Open University Press).

Durokifa, A. A., and Ijeoma, E. C. (2018) *Neo-colonialism and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Africa:* A blend of an old wine in a new bottle, African Journal of

Science, Technology, Innovation and Development, 10:3, 355-366, DOI: 10.1080/20421338.2018.1463654.

Durrani, A. (2019) *Merits and demerits of co-education.* At: https://medium.com/@saduzaidurrani/merits-and-demerits-of-co-education-c2c28d179bcb

Eagly, A. H., (1987) *Sex differences in social behaviour*: A social-role interpretation. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Eagly, A. H., and Wood, W. (2012) "Social role theory," in *Handbook of Theories in Social Psychology,* eds P. van Lange, A. Kruglanski, and E. T. Higgins (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications), 458–476. doi:10.4135/97814462492 22.n49

Edwards, R. and Ribbens, J. (1998) "Living on the edges: public knowledge, private lives, personal experience", in: J. Ribbons and R. Edwards (eds.) F*eminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives*. London: Thousand Oaks.

EFA Global Monitoring Report (2015) *Education for All 2000 – 2015: Achievements and challenges*.

Erden & Wolfgang (2004) An exploration of the differences in preK, kindergarten, and 1st grade reachers' beliefs related to discipline when dealing with male and female students. pp.66–71.

Erden, K. & Wolfgang, L. (2004) *The Relationship among Self-Efficacy Beliefs, External Locus of Control and Work Stress in Public Setting Schoolteachers Open Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol.2 No.11, November 28, 2014.

Erlich, A. and McCormack, A. (2020) Elder, you're right! Age-group differences in social and political interactions in Africa.

Escalada, M and Heong, K. (2016) Focus group *discussion* 1. (May), pp.1–10..

European Institute for gender equality. (2020) *What is gender mainstreaming.* 22:1, 75-90.

Evans, A. (2014) Co-education and the erosion of gender stereotypes in the Zambian Copperbelt, Gender and Development, 22:1, 75-90, DOI: 10.1080/13552074.2014.889346

Evans, A. (2015a) Gender sensitisation in the Zambian Copperbelt. Geoforum, 59, 12-20

Evans, A. (2015b) History lessons for gender equality from the Zambian Copperbelt, 1900-1990. Gender, Place and Culture, 22 (3), Taylor & Francis., pp.344–362.

expectancy–value perspective to understand individual and gender differences in STEM fields. Department of Applied Developmental Psychology, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, United States.

Fatusi, M., and Fatusi, O. (2009) *'Adolescent and sexual and reproductive health in developing countries: An overview of trends and interventions.'*

FAWE. (2009) *"Centres of Excellence."* Available at: http://fawe.org/activities/interventions/

FAWEZA (2018) *Gender Responsive Pedagogy: A Toolkit for Teachers and Schools. 2nd updated ed. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists*. FAWE House Chania Avenue, off Wood Avenue, Kilimani P.O. Box 21394 - Ngong Road, Nairobi 00505, Kenya.

Ferkany, M. (2008) *'The educational importance of self -esteem'*. At: DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9752.2008. 00610.x

Fernando, D. and Prasad, A. (2019) *Sex-based harassment and organizational silencing: How women are led to reluctant acquiescence in academia.* Human relations 2019, Vol. 72(10) 1565-1594.

Ferrant, Pesando and Nowacka (2014). *Unpaid care work:* The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes.

Fiala, N., Garcia-Hernandez, A., Narula, K., & Prakash, N. (2020) *The impact of bicycles on Girls' Education and Empowerment Outcomes in Zambia* [Policy Brief]

Filmer, D., and N. Schady. (2008) *"Getting Girls into School: Evidence from a Scholarship Program in Cambodia."* Economic Development and Cultural Change 56 (3): 581–617. doi:10.1086/533548

Fleming, P. (2007) *Sexuality, power and resistance in the workplace*. Organization Studies, 28, 239–256.

Fonner, V. A., Armstrong, K. S., Kennedy, C. E., O'Reilly, K. R. and Sweat, M. D. (2014) *'School based sex education and HIV prevention in low and middle-income countries:* A systematic review and meta-analyses.' PLoS One, 9 (3). At: doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0089692.

Friedman, I.A. (2006) Classroom Management & Teacher stress and Burnout. In C.M. Evertson & C.S. Weinstein (Ed), *Handbook of Classroom Management Research, practice, and contemporary issues* (pp. 925 – 944).

Giannini, S. (2019) *Why children need Comprehensive Sexuality Education in a changing world.* At: https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/why-children-need-comprehensive-sexuality-education-changing-world

Gibbons, M. T. (2009) *'Engineering by the numbers. In profiles of engineering and engineering technology colleges'.* Washington, DC: American Society for Engineering Education.

Gillham, B. (2000) Case Study Research Methods. *Bangladesh Journal of Plant Taxonomy*, 22 (2), p.106.

Girls-Not-Brides, (2016) *The Role of Parliamentarians in Ending Child Marriage*: Capacity Building Seminar for African Parliamentarians on Addressing Child, Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM). Accra, Ghana.

GMR, U. (2016) *UNESCO Global Monitoring Report*. Gender and Education, 13(2), 153–166.

Goe, L., Bell, C. and Little, O. (2008) '*Approaches to Evaluating Teacher Effectiveness:* A Research Synthesis'

Gordon, S. (2017) *Why invest in teenage girls? Special report – Girls*: The path to gender equality. Financial Times At: www.ft.com

GPE, (2016) A green and environment-friendly gel polymer electrolyte with higher performances based on the natural matrix of lignin. pp.57–76

Grandy, G. (2010) Encyclopedia of Case Study Research Instrumental Case Study. *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, pp.474–476.

Green, D. (2015) Why is support for gender equality mainly growing in urban areas? From poverty to power - How active citizens and effective states can change the world.

Greene, M., Robles, O., Stout, K. and Suvilaakso, T. (2013) *A girl's right to learn without fear: Working to end gender-based violence at school. Woking*: Plan International.

Grenz et. al., (2014) Scope and precision of sustainability assessment approaches to food systems: Ecology and Society Vol. 19, No. 3 (2014) (15 pages)

Griselda, S. and Megalokonomou, R. (2020) *Girls score the same in maths and science as boys, so why they are less likely to pick STEM careers*? pp.44–59.

Gulsecen, S. and Kubat, A. (2006) *Teaching ICT to teacher candidates using PBL:* A qualitative and quantitative evaluation. Educational Technology & Society, 9 (2): 96-106.

Gunderson, E. A., Ramirez, G., Levine, S. C., and Bellock, S. L. (2012) The role of parents and teachers in the development of gender-related math attitudes. *Sex Roles* 66, 153-166.

Gwirayi, P. (2013) The prevalence of child sexual abuse among secondary school pupils in Gweru, Zimbabwe. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 19 (3), pp.253–263.

Haas, B., and Hutter, I., (2020) Teachers' professional identities in the context of school-based sexuality education in Uganda—a qualitative study, *Health Education Research*, Volume 35, Issue 6, December 2020, Pages 553–563.

Harding (1987) Feminism and methodology: Social science issues. No eBook available Indiana University Press.

Hart, C. S. (2012) The capability approach and education, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42:3, 275-282.

Hayes, N. (2000). Doing Psychological Research. Open University Press, p. chapter 10.

Hesse-Biber and Piatelli (2014) Challenges and Strategies in Feminist Knowledge Building, Pedagogy, and Praxis. Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis. DOI: https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781483384740.n24.

Heward, L. and Bunwaree, K. (1999) *Training in Feminist Research Methodology*: Doing Research on the Margins. pp. 25-28.

Heyder A.,.Weidingera, A.F. Cimpianb, A., Steinmayr R. (2020) *Teachers' belief that math requires innate ability predicts lower intrinsic motivation among low-achieving students*. Learning and Instruction Volume 65, February 2020, 101220.

Hill, C., Corbett, C., and St Rose, A. (2010) *Why so few? Women in science, technology, Engineering and Mathematics.* pp. 54-68.

Höijer, B. (2008) 'Ontological Assumptions and Generalizations in Qualitative (Audience) *Research.' European Journal of Communication.* 23 (3), p.275 to 294.

Holmes, A. G. D. (2020) Researcher positionality - A consideration of its influence and place in qualitative research – A research guide. *School of Education, University of Hull, Hull, England.*

Holmes, M. (2009) *Gender and Everyday Life*, London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Human Rights Watch (2001) *Scared at School: Sexual violence against girls in South African Schools*. At: www.hrw.org

Hunt, F. (2008) *Dropping out from school*: A cross country review of literature. 7 (4), p.75 -88.

Hussain, B. and Asad, A. Z. (2012) A Critique on Feminist Research Methodology. *Journal of Politics and Law,* 5 (4), pp.202–207. At: doi:10.5539/jpl. v5n4p202.

IIEP and UNESCO (2021) *Gender equality education*: Digging beyond the obvious. At: http://www.iiep.unesco.org

Isaksen, K.J., Musonda, P. & Sandøy, I.F. (2020) Parent-child communication about sexual issues in Zambia: a cross sectional study of adolescent girls and their parents. *BMC Public Health* **20,** 1120 (2020).

Jeffery and Basu (1996) *Unconscious gender bias in the workplace*. Improving Gender balance. Pp.1–33.

Jenkins, R. (2019) *Why we need more female teachers across all levels of education.* At: https://blogs.unicef.org/blog/need-more-female-teachers-across-levels-education/

JICA. (2016) *Country Gender Profile: Zambia final report*. Lusaka: JICA

Johnson, K. (2018) *Global advantages of female education (intergenerational success).* 8 (4), p.56

Kabeer (2000). Social Exclusion, Poverty and Discrimination Towards an Analytical Framework. *Journal of International Development.* 5 (4), pp.202–207.

Kabeer, P. (2018) Why a teacher's role should go beyond classroom interaction.

Kabir, A., Jahan, G. & Jahan, R. (2001) Female age at marriage as a determinant of fertility. *Journal of Medical Sciences*, 1:372-376.

Kaiser, K. (2009) Protecting respondent confidentiality in qualitative research. Qual Health Res. Author manuscript; available in PMC 2010 Nov 1. *Published in final edited form as:* Qual Health Res. 2009 Nov; 19(11): 1632–1641.

Kangas, A., Haider, H., and Fraser, E. (2014). *Gender: Topic Guide*. Revised edition with E. Browne. Birmingham: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, UK.

Kelly, M. (1996) *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia: From Pre-colonial era to 1996. A Book of Notes and Readings.* Lusaka: Image Publishers.

Kirby, D (2002) The impact of schools and school programs upon adolescent sexual behaviour. The Journal of Sex Research; 39 (1):27 – 33.

Kirby, D. (2007) Emerging answers 2007: Research findings on programs to reduce the problems of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted disease. Washington, DC: National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy.

Kirk, J. (2006) *The impact of Women Teachers on Girls' Education*. Advocacy Brief. p.11.

Kornberger, M., Carter, C., & Ross-Smith, A. (2010) *Changing gender domination in a Big Four accounting firm:* Flexibility, performance, and client service in practice. Accounting, Organizations and Society, 35, 775–791.

Krias, B. and Marston-William, J. (2000) The Gender Relationship in Bourdieu's Sociology, *Substance,* Vol 29 (3), 53-67.

Krook, M. L. and Squires, J. (2006). Gender quotas in British politics: Multiple approaches and methods in feminist research. *British Politics*, 1 (1), pp.44–66.

Krueger, R.A. and Casey, M.A. (2000) *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research* (3rd edn), Thousand Oaks, California, Sage.

Kwauk, C. and Braga, A. (2017) *Three platforms for girls' education in climate strategies.* 6 (6).

Laberge, S. (1995) Toward an integration of gender into Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. *Sociology of Sport Journal,* 12(2), pp. 132 -146.

Laforest, J. (2009) *Safety diagnosis tool kit for local communities: Guide to Organizing Semi-Structured Interviews with Key Informant charting a course to safe living] [.* 11.

Lavrakas, P. J. (2008) *Encyclopedia of survey research methods* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412963947

Laws, S., Harper, C., and Marcus, R. (2003) *Research for development, SAGE Publications, Ltd. London.* p.300.

Leach, F. with V. Fiscian, E. Kadzamira, E. Lemani and P. Machakanja (2003) *An Investigative Study of the Abuse of Girls in African Schools.* Education Research Report No 54, London: DFID.

Lebied, M. (2018) *Top 11 business intelligence and analytics trends for 2017.* At: https://www.techombay.com/news-article/top-11-business-and-analytics-trends-for-2017

Lee, S. (2019) *Girls' guide to health and happiness:* Resources to support physical, mental and sexual health for students.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. G. (1985) *Naturalistic inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lips, H. (2016) *A New Psychology of Women: Gender, Culture, and Ethnicity, 4th Edition.* Waveland Press, p.185.

Liu, F. (2006) *School Culture and Gender* At: DOI: 10.4135/978184807996.N31 Corpus ID: 184260858

Lloyd, C. B. (2013) *"Education for Girls: Alternative Pathways to Girls' Empowerment."* Integrated Approaches to Improving the Lives of Adolescent Girls Issue Paper Series. GirlEffect.org.

London, Sage.

Macabudbud, R. A., Alba, R. D., Jestony, D., Dadis, J. D., Diaz, J. S., & Ventura, R. R. (2009) Motivating factors of high performing BSN students in AUCN Legarda main campus for school year 2008-2009. *The Lamp, 1*, 19–34.

Machacha E. (2021) The Role of Social Capital in the Employability of University Graduates in Zambia: A Case of University of Zambia Graduates. *European Scientific Journal*, ESJ, 17 (35), 111. https://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2021.v17n35p111

Maguire, P. (1987) *ScholarWorks@UMass Amherst Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. (January 1987).

Malasha, P. (2021) *Breaking down employment barriers in Zambia*: Increasing opportunities for Female Community Scouts. 54–66.

Malhotra, M. Shankey V., Vipin N. Nair, Y. (2011) Economic impacts of child marriage: a review of the literature. *Journal of Loss and Trauma 0:0*, pages 1-13.

Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mann, G., Quigley, P. and Fischer, R. (*2015) 'Qualitative study of child marriage in six districts of Zambia'.* (April). Mason, J. (2011) Interview Guide: *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. pp.329–333.

Marshall and Rossman (2006) Understanding participatory action research: A qualitative research methodology option. Vol 2 (10), pp115-123.

Mason, G. (2009) *Employability skills initiatives in higher education: what effects do they have on graduate labour market outcomes*? Education Economics. Volume 17, 2009 - Issue 1

Mason, J. (2018) *'Qualitative researching'*. Sage. Third Edith. At: https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=Mason,+J.+(2002).+Qualitative+Researching.&hl=en&as_sdt=0&as_vis=1&oi=scholart

Mason, J. and Davies, K. (2009) Coming to our senses? A critical approach to sensory methodology. *Qualitative Research*, 9 (5), pp.587–603. At: doi:10.1177/1468794109343628.

Mbewe, E. (2003) *'Enhancing access and improving quality of education for girls from poor families:* A partnership between the Ministry of Education and NGOs in Zambia. Master's thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.

McCadden T D. (2015) *An Assessment of the Impact of Zambia's School Re-Entry Policy on Female Educational Attainment and Adolescent Fertility*. Washington, DC.

McCall B, Shallcross L, Wilson M, et al. (2019) *Storytelling as a research tool and intervention around public health perceptions and behaviour*: a protocol for a systematic narrative review. BMJ Open 2019;9: e030597. doi:10.1136/ bmjopen-2019-030597

McCall, L. (1992) *"Does Gender Fit? Bourdieu, Feminism and Conceptions of Social Order"* Theory and Society 21: 857-867.

McCleary-Sills, J., Hanmer, L., Parsons, J. and Klugman, J. (2015) *'Child Marriage: A Critical Barrier to Girls' Schooling and Gender Equality in Education.* The Review of Faith and International Affairs'*, 13:3, 69-80, DOI: 10.1080/15570274.2015.1075755.

McCombes, S. (2019) *An introduction to sampling methods*. At: https://www.scribbr.com/methodology/sampling-methods/

McConnell, C. and Mupuwaliywa, M. (2015) *Policy Brief: Zambia - Keeping Girls in School:* Situation Analysis for Zambia. (November), pp.1–4.

McCrary, J., and Royer, H. (2011) "The effect of female education on fertility and infant health: Evidence from school entry policies using exact date of birth." *American Economic Review* 101:1 (2011): 158-195.

McLeod, J. (2005) Feminists re-reading Bourdieu: Old debates and new questions about gender habitus and gender change. *School Field,* 3(1), pp. 11 -30.

McLeod, S. (2015) '*Psychology Research Ethics'*.   At: https://www.simplypsychology.org/Ethics.html

McLeod, S. (2018) *Questionnaire, Definition, Examples, Design and Types*.13(3), 49-60.

McLeod, S. (2019) Defence Mechanisms. At: https://www.simplypsychology.org/defense-mechanisms.html

Measor, L. & Sikes, P. (1992) *Gender and schools*. New York: Cassell.

Mennesson, C. (2012) *Gender Regimes and Habitus:* An Avenue for Analysing Gender Building in Sports Contexts, Sociology of Sport journal, 29 (4): 4-21.

Mensch, B.S., Bruce, J., and Greene, M. E. (1998) *'The Uncharted Passage: Girls' Adolescence in the Developing World'.* Population Council: New York.

Merriam, S. B. (1988) *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach.* Jossy-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. (1998) 'Case studies as qualitative research. Qualitative research and case study applications in education', pp.29–43.

Michau, L., Horn, J., Bank, A., Dutt, M and Zimmerman, C. (2015) Prevention of violence against women and girls: lessons from practice. Lancet 2015; 385: 1672–84.

Mikkola, M. (2019) "Feminist Perspectives on Sex and Gender", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2019 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2019/entries/feminism-gender/

Mikkola, M. (2020) "The Function of Gender as a Historical Kind", in *Social Functions in Philosophy: Metaphysical, Normative, and Methodological Perspectives*, R. Hufendiek, D. James, and R. van Riel (eds.), London: Routledge, pp. 159–182.

Milgram, D. (2011) 'How to recruit women and girls to the science, technology, engineering,

Millen, D. (1997) 'Some Methodological and Epistemological Issues Raised by Doing Feminist Research on Non-Feminist Women' *Sociological Research Online,* vol. 2, no. 3, http://www.socresonline.org.uk/2/3/3.html

Milligan, L. (2016) 'Insider-outsider-inbetweener? Researcher positioning, participative methods, and cross-cultural educational research'. *Compare*, 46 (2), pp.235–250.

Mills, A. J., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2010) *Encyclopedia of case study research* (Vols. 1-0). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412957397

Milner, J. (1999). *Questionnaires: Some advantages and disadvantages*. p.5248.Oakley, A. (1974). *The sociology of housework. London: Martin Robertson.* .

Ministry of Gender and Child Development – Zambia. (2014) National Gender Policy of 2014. At: https://www.gender.gov.zm/?wpfb_dl=51

Mirembe, R. and Davies, L. (2001) Is schooling a risk? Gender, power relations, and school culture in Uganda. *Gender and Education*, 13 (4), pp.401–416.

Mitchell, C. and Yang, K. (2012) Woman+Teacher+Rural: Bringing Gender into the Policy Framework on Teacher Deployment in Rural Areas. At: https://www.mcgill.ca/isid/files/isid/pb_2012_01_mitchell.pdf

Mitchell, C., Blaeser, M., Chilangwa, B., and Maimbolwa-Sinyangwe, I. (1999) Girls' Education in Zambia: Everyone's Responsibility: A Policy Framework for Participatory Process. *International Review of Education, 45*(5/6), 417-430. Retrieved September 13, 2020, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3445094

Mitchell, J. C. (1956) The Kalela Dance. The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, Number 24

Mitchell, M.M. (1976) Teacher Attitudes. *The High School Journal, 59 (7),* 302-312.

Mkumbo K. A. (2012) Teachers' attitudes towards and comfort about teaching school-based sexuality education in urban and rural Tanzania. *Global journal of health science*, *4*(4), 149–158. Doi: 10.5539/gjhs. v4n4p149.

Mlama, P., Dioum, M., Makoye, H., Murage, L., Wagah, M. and Rose Washika (2005) *Gender Responsive Pedagogy: A Teacher's Handbook* (Nairobi: FAWE).

MoE, FAWEZA and UNICEF. (2004) Guidelines for the re-entry policy. What happens if a schoolgirl falls pregnant? At: https://healtheducationresources.unesco.org/library/documents/guidelines-re-entry-policy-what-happens-if-school-girl-falls-pregnant

MoE, Zambia (2010) Education Sector National Implementation Framework III, 2011 – 2015: 'Education for All: Accelerating Poverty Reduction through rural investment, Human Capital, and Infrastructure Development'. Lusaka. At: https://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/sites/planipolis/files/ressources/zambia_education_sector_nif_iii_2011_2015_final_draft.pdf

MoE, Zambia. (2014). Education for All 2015 National Review. At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000231573

MoE. (1996) *Educating Our Future: National Policy on Education.* Lusaka: Zambia Education Publishing House. At: https://www.moge.gov.zm/?wpfb_dl=55

MoE. (2007) *Education Sector National Implementation Framework 2008-2010*. Lusaka: Government of the Republic of Zambia.

MoE. (2013) 'Educational Statistical Bulletin 2012 – Zambia'. At: https://www.moge.gov.zm/?wpfb_dl=46

MoE. (2016 a*)* *2016 Educational Statistical Bulletin – Zambia* At: https://www.scribd.com/document/488464984/2016-Educational-Statistical-Bulletin-pdf

MoE. (2016 b) Zambia report on the 1960 convention Against Discrimination in Education.

MoE. (2017) Advancing girls' education through WASH programs in schools: A Formative Study on Menstrual Hygiene Management in Mumbwa and Rufunsa Districts, Zambia. At: https://www.unicef.org/zambia/media/826/file/Zambia-menstrual-hygiene-management-schools-report.pdf

Moletsane, R. (2017) *Participatory visual methodologies: Social change, community and policy*. Participatory Visual Methodologies: Social Change, Community and Policy. *4*(4), 149–158.

Moono, H. (2013) Education and Employment in Zambia: Scoping Exercise. 2 (2), 324-331.

Moore, S., Neville, C., Murphy, M., and Connolly, C. (2010) *The ultimate study skills handbook.* Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Morin, A. (2021) 10 ways to help kids speak up for what they need.

Morley, A. (2019) Unravelling the 'female teacher effect': The positioning and agency of

Mortin, A. (2019) The dangers of putting too much pressure on kids. p.49–63.

Moss, S. (2016) Social role theory. At: https://www.sicotests.com/psyarticle.asp?id=77

Motala, S. and Dieltiens, V. (2010) Schooling Access in South Africa: Country Research Summary. Johannesburg: Schooling Policy Unit, University of Witwatersrand. CREATE.

Mubita, K. and Namafe, C. M. (2016) Safety and health issues at Sefula Secondary School of Western Zambia. International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education

(IJHSSE) Volume 3, Issue 9, September 2016, PP 91-99 ISSN 2349-0373 (Print) & ISSN 2349-0381.

Mulkeen, A. and Chen, D. (2008) 'Teachers for Rural Schools: Experiences in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Uganda'. Africa Human Development Series. Washington, DC: World Bank. © World Bank. At: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/6423 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO

Mumba, E. C. (2002) Education for All: Increasing access to education for girls in Zambia by Elizabeth C. Mumba Paper presented at the 2nd Pan-Commonwealth Forum on Open Learning 29th July – 2nd August 2002, Durban South Africa Professor. Elizabeth C Mumba is a professor. pp. 1–17.

Mumba, E., Chikalanga, I. W., Sikwibele, A. L., Nkhata, B. and University of Zambia. (1998) Advancing Girls' Education in Zambia: A Report on the Pilot Phase of the Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE). At: https://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/index_14403.html

Muralidharan, K. and Sheth, K. (2015) 'Bridging Education Gender Gaps in Developing Countries: The Role of Female Teachers, Journal of Human Resources'.

Murphy, P., and Elwood, J. (1998) Gendered learning outside and inside school: Influences on achievement. In Epstein, D., Elwood, J., Hey, V., and J. Maw (Eds.). Failing boys, issues in gender and achievement. Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Musambachime, M. (1984) "The Impact of Rapid Population Growth and the Economic Decline on the Quality of Education: The Case of Zambia." Review of African Political Economy, 1990: 81-92.

Mutekwe, E. and Modiba, M. (2012) Girls' career choices as a product of a gendered school curriculum: the Zimbabwean example. *South African Journal of Education*, 32 (3), pp.279–292.

Mutombo, M. and M. Mwenda (2010) Review of the Re-entry Policy. Ministry of Education. Lusaka: 1-85. .

Mwamba, E. (2019) Zambia's Education system designed to produce employees, not entrepreneurs. Volume V, Issue III, March 2021|ISSN 2454-6186

Mwanakatwe, J. M. (1968) *The Growth of Education in Zambia since Independence*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Mwansa, A. (2011) 'Re-entry to school after giving birth: An evaluation of the process used to design and implement policy in Zambia'. Create Pathways to Access, Monography No. 70, London: The Institute of Education University.

Mwanza, B., N. (2019) The effects of cultural practices in educational attainment of rural girls in Zambia. At: https://www.worldcces.org/article-3-by-mwanza/the-effects-of-cultural-practices-on-educational-attainment-of-rural-girls-in-zambia

Mwanza, P. (2015) The State of Girl-Child's Education in Zambia: The Case of Chongwe District. 17 (2), pp.95–110.

Myers, J., Harvey, R., Livesey, A. and Wong, A. (2011) 'Breaking Vows: Early and Forced Marriage and Girls' Education'. At: https://plan-uk.org/file/breaking-vows-efm-3462225pdf/download?token=RlE5iobL

Nanyangwe-Moyo, T., Moyo, N., Zheng, X. and Guo, C. (2020) Influence of cultural values on rural girls' education in Zambia: A pairwise case of the Bemba and Tonga ethnic groups. Vol. 15(11), pp. 668-678, November, 2020 DOI: 10.5897/ERR2020.4069 Article Number: E07ED5865524 ISSN: 1990-3839 Copyright ©2020 Author(s) retain the copyright of this article http://www.academicjournals.org/ERR

Nasser, A. (2016) The difference between girls and boys in learning. See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31185589

Navarro J. J., García-Rubio J., and Olivares, P. R. (2015) The Relative Age Effect and Its Influence on Academic Performance. PLoS ONE 10(10): e0141895. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0141895

Ndhlovu, D. and Shimishi, G. (2015) 'Teachers' Perceptions towards Physical Education as an Academic subject in Zambia's Primary Schools: A case of Kombaniya Primary School in Mansa district, Zambia.'

Nestour, A. and Moscoviz, L. (2020) Six things you should know about female teachers. At: https://www.cgdev.org/blog/six-things-you-should-know-about-female-teachers

New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division. Sales No. E.15.XVII.8.

Nguyen, M.M. C & Wodon, Q. (2015) Global and Regional Trends in Child Marriage, The Review of Faith & International Affairs, 13:3, 6-11, DOI: 10.1080/15570274.2015.1075756

Nkhata, M. C. (2014) Media Brief on Ending Child Marriages in Zambia, Panos Institute, Southern Africa Lusaka Zambia.

Nkosha, C., Luchembe, M., and Chakufyali, P.N. (2013) Girl-Child Education Campaigns and Enrolment/Retention in Zambian Basic Schools: Impact Analysis (SPECIAL ISSUE: Study Results of the Africa-Asia University Dialogue for Educational Development Network Second Phase).

Nonoyama-Tarumi, Y., Loaiza, E. and Engle, P. (2010) Late entry into primary school in developing societies: Findings from cross national household surveys.

Nour N. M. (2006) Health consequences of child marriage in Africa. *Emerging infectious diseases*, *12*(11), 1644–1649.

Nsemukila, B. (2015) "Assessment of the Regulatory Framework for Maternal, New-born, Child Health and Nutrition (MNCH&N) Services in Zambia." Millennium Development Goal Initiatives and Government of the Republic of Zambia.

Nussbaum, M.C. (2000) Women and human development: The capabilities approach. Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.

Oakley, A. (1981) Subject Women. London: Martin Robertson.

Oberio, P. (2009) Defending the weakest: the role of international human rights mechanisms in protecting the economic, social and cultural rights of migrants. At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000183910

Odhiambo. P. (2020). Improving Knowledge Gain in Secondary School Agricultural. Nairobi. Kenya.

Öhman, L. (2017) The Importance of Educating Girls: A critical discourse analysis of western development approaches to girls' education. At: http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1065300/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Okkolin, P. (2017) Theoretical Approaches to Multi-Cultural Positive. Page 300

Omwancha, K.M. (2012) '*The Implementation of an Educational Re-Entry Policy for Girls after Teenage Pregnancy*: A Case Study of Public Secondary Schools in the Kuria District, Kenya'.

Opaletswe, B. (2007) The importance of effective school leadership: A study performed in senior secondary schools in the southern region of Botswana.

Ortlieb, R., & Sieben, B. (2011) Balls, Barbecues and Boxing: Contesting gender regimes at organizational social events. At: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0170840617736941

Ostby, G., Urdal, H. and Rudolfsen, I. (2016) "What is the driving Gender Equality in secondary education? Evidence from 57 developing countries, 1970-2010", *Education Research International,* vol. 2016, Article id 4587194, 18 pages, 2016.

Oxfam. (2005) 'Gender equality in schools.' At: https://policypractice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/gender-equality-in-schools-120593

Palaganas, E. C., Sanchez, M. C., Molintas, M. P., & Caricativo, R. D. (2017) Reflexivity in Qualitative Research: A Journey of Learning. *The Qualitative Report*, *22*(2), 426-438.

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015) Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Administration and policy in mental health*, *42*(5), 533–544.

Parkes, J., Heslop, J., Ross, F., Westerveld, R., Nicholas, W., Unterhalter, E. (2017) Addressing School Related Gender Based Violence in Zambia: A Scoping Study. (March).

Parpart, J. (1988) "Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt: 1926–1964." In Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce, edited by Sharon B. Stichter, and Jane L. Parpart. Boulder: Westview.

Parpart, J. (2001) "'Wicked Women' and 'Respectable Ladies': Reconfiguring Gender on the Zambian Copperbelt, 1936–1964." In "Wicked" Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa, edited by Dorothy L. Hodgson, and Sheryl A. McCurdy. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Parry, B. (2020) Feminist research principles and practices. In S. Kramer, S. Laher, A. Fynn, & H. H. Janse van Vuuren (Eds.), Online Readings in Research Methods. Psychological Society of South Africa: Johannesburg. https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/ BNPFS.

Patton, M. (1990) Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 532pp. 00 (1 990), pp.73–74.

Peppen Vaughan, R. (2016) Gender equality and education in the sustainable development goals; Background paper prepared for the 2016 Global education monitoring report, Education for people and planet: creating sustainable futures for all. At: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002455/245574E.pdf.

Person, C., Kayula, N. C. and Opong, E. (2014) *Investigating the Perceptions and Barriers to Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM) in*. pp.1–24.

Pfunye, J. and Ademola-Popoola, K. (2021) Gender Equity: Global Policies and Perspectives on Advancing. Vol.12 No 1, pp. 19-22.

Phiri, K. (2021) Safe boarding facilities a gateway to girls' education in Sinazongwe. At: https://www.wvi.org/stories/zambia/safe-boarding-facilities-gateway-girls-education-sinazongwe

Pilgeram, R. (2007) 'Ass-kicking' Women: Doing and Undoing Gender in a US Livestock Auction. At: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0432.2007.00372.x

Plan and ICRW. (2015) Are schools safe places for girls and boys in Asia? Research Findings on School-Related Gender-Based Violence. At: http://www.ungei.org/resources/files/SRBVAsia_ICRW_Plan.pdf

Plan International. (2020) *Educate parents and community*. Lusaka: Plan International.

Plan UK. (2014). Building Skills for Life 2012-13 Annual Report: Highlights and learning from our work on empowering adolescent girls. At: https://plan-uk.org/file/building-skills-for-life-annual-report-2013pdf/download?token=Xwqkp-61

Poku, N. K., & Whitman, J. (2011) The Millennium Development Goals after 2015, Third World Quarterly, 32:1, 181-198, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2011.54382

Polit, D. F. and Beck, C. T. (2010) Generalization in quantitative and qualitative research: Myths and strategies. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 47 (11), pp.1451–1458.

Population Council, UNFPA, and Government of the Republic of Zambia. (2017) "Adolescent Pregnancy in Zambia." Lusaka, Zambia. At: https://www.popcouncil.org/uploads/pdfs/2017RH_AdolPregnancyZambia_brief.pdf

Prasad et. al., (2020). What are men's roles and responsibilities in the feminist project for gender egalitarianism? At: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/gwao.12573

Psaki, S. (2015) As *a barrier to gender parity and equality in education and adolescent pregnancy as a barrier to gender parity in education*. p.3.Riaz, N. et al. (2016). *HHS Public Access*. 118 (24), pp.6072–6078.

Rafaeli, T. and Hutchinson, G. (2020) The Secondary Impacts of COVID-19 on Women and Girls in Sub-Saharan Africa. https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/15408

Raghav, T., Seema, S. and Merlin, M. (2014) *Understanding Gender: A training module for teachers*.

Raj, M., Nazir, A., Haq, I. and Ahmad, M. (2015) Childhood overweight and obesity in an urban population of Kashmir—a cross-sectional study.

Rao N. (2010) Aspiring for distinction: Gendered educational choices in an Indian village.

Rao, N. and Sweetman, C. (2014) Introduction to Gender and Education. *Gender and Development*, 22 (1), pp.1–12.

Rashid, Y., Rashid, A., Warraich, A., Sabir, S. S. and Waseem, A. (2019). Case study method: A step -by-step Guide: *International Journal of Qualitative Methods Volume* 18: 1–13.

Reay, 1996

Reay, D. (2001) 'Spice Girls', 'Nice Girls', 'Girlies', and 'Tomboys': Gender discourses, girls' cultures and femininities in the primary classroom, Gender and Education, 13:2, 153-166, DOI: 10.1080/09540250120051178.

Reddy, C. (2016) Advantages and disadvantages of co-education. At: https://content.wisestep.com/advantages-disadvantages-co-education-system/

Reilly, A. (2014) 'Adolescent girls' experiences of violence in school in Sierra Leone and the challenges to sustainable change,' Gender & Development, 22(1): 13-29.

Reinharz, S. (1992). Feminist methods in social research. New York: Oxford University Press.

Reyes-Acosta, G. (2018) 5 ways to help shy girls open up. At: https://trailhead.gsnorcal.org/ways-to-help-shy-girls-open-up/

Ridgeway, C.L. (2006) Gender as an organizing force in social relations: Implications for the future of inequality, pp. 265–287.

Rihani, M., Kays, L. and Psaki, S. (2006) Keeping the Promise: Five Benefits of Girls' Secondary Education. *Academy for Educational Development*.

Robert, A. D., Hobson, R. H. and Williams, G. J. (2020) Republic of Zambia. At: https://www.britannica.com/place/Zambia

Robeyns, I. (2006) The Capability Approach in Practice. At: https://doi.org/10..1111/j.1467-9760.2006.00263.x

Robeyns, I. and Byskov, M. F. (2020) The capability approach. At: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/capability-approach/

Roller, M. R. (2013) Qualitative Research Design: Selected articles from Research Design Review published in 2012.

Rowley and Anderson, (2016) *Perspective: the root of what causes gender-based violence*. pp. 137-155

Salim, A. S. (2015) The importance of giving students a voice. Publisher – The Express Tribune: https://tribune.com.pk/story/958685/the-importance-of-giving-students-a-voice/

Sampa, J. (2010) Evaluation Report. *Zambia: Evaluation of sensitization of traditional leaders on the importance of Girls' Education.* UNICEF Evaluation Database. Retrieved from: https://www.unicef.org/evaldata/index - 60353.html Scholaro pro. (Not dated). At: https://www.scholaro.com/pro/Countries/Zambia/Education-System

Schonert-Reichl, K. A. (2017) Social and Emotional Learning and Teachers. The Future of Children, Vol. 27, No. 1, Social and Emotional Learning (SPRING2017), pp. 137-155 Published by: Princeton University.

School Education Gateway. (2016) A brief guide to General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) for schools and teachers.

Selfert, K. & Sutton, R. (2009) Educational Psychology. Third Edition. ISBN 978-1-312-58845-5

Sell, K., Oliver, K. and Melksin, R. (2021) Comprehensive Sex Education Addressing Gender and Power: A Systematic Review to Investigate Implementation and Mechanisms of Impact. Sexuality Research and Social Policy. At: https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-021-00674-8

Sen, A.K. (2000) *Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny*. pp.55–76.

Shaeffer, S. A. and UNICEF. (1999) *Framework for Rights-Based, Child-Friendly Schools*. At: http://www.unicef.org/programmeme/lifeskills/support/cfs.html

Shahidul, S. M. and Karim, A. H. M. Z. (2015) Factors contributing to school dropout among the girls: a review of literature. *European Journal of Research and Reflection in Educational Sciences*, 3 (2), pp.25–36.

Shawn, F. D. and Firebaugh, G. (2010) Trends in global gender inequality (Forthcoming Social Forces) Published in final edited form as: Soc Forces. 2010 July 1; 88(5): 1941–1968. doi:10.1353/sof.2010.0040.

Shenila Khoja-Moolji (2016) Doing the 'work of hearing': girls' voices in transnational educational development campaigns, Compare: *A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* 46:5, 745-763, DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2015.1084582

SIDA. (2008) Sida Gender Country Profile – Zambia. At: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/a1201ac9cd75447ca13ecffe8475be9d/sida-gender-country-profile---zambia_338.pdf

SIDA. (2015) Gender Based violence and Education (Brief). At: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/a3950e8788ec48a78218358a0457fa63/genderbased-violence-and-education.pdf

SIDA. (2017) Gender Equality Toolbox: Gender Equality in the Education Sector – Focusing on issues of quality of education and Completion. At: https://www.sida.se/contentassets/8603ffb013ff4fb7a662c3f4f5d0cc5b/tool_gender_equality_education_sector_june-2017_c1.pdf

Sidanius, J. and Pratto, F. (1999) *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Silva, E.B. (2005) Gender, home and family in cultural capital theory. The British Journal of Sociology, 56: 83-103.

Sim, J., Waterfield, J. (2019) Focus group methodology: some ethical challenges. *Qual Quant* 53, 3003-3022 (2019).

Simposya, W. K. (2015) 'Educational System in Zambia, how it developed since independence on the 24th of October 1964'.

Skeggs, B. (1994) Review. *Feminist Review*, *47*(1), 105–106. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.1994.30

Skelton, C., Carrington, C., Francis, B., Hutchings, M., B. Read, B. and Hall, I. (2009) Gender 'Matters' in the Primary Classroom: Pupils' and Teachers' Perspectives Source: British Educational Research Journal, Vol. 35, No. 2 (Apr. 2009), pp. 187-204.

Smith, D. C., Wendt, H. and Kasper, D. (2017) Social reproduction and sex in German primary schools. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education,* 4792), pp. 240-256.

Smith, J. A. and Osborn, M. (2015) *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*. pp. 81-92.

Smith, J.A. and Osborn, M. (2008) 'Interpretative phenomenological analysis. At: file:///C:/Users/lomliz2/Desktop/IPA_Smith_Osborne21632.pdf

Smith, K. H. (2013) Teacher's attitudes towards adolescent sexuality and education in rural South Africa *in sexuality, Society and learning, 13:1pp 68-81*

Somani, T. (2017) 'Importance of educating girls for overall development of society: A global perspective.' *Journal of Educational Research and Practice* 2017, Volume 7, Issue

1, Pages 125–139 ©Walden University, LLC, Minneapolis, MN DOI:10.5590/JERAP.2017.07.1.10.

Sougou, N.M., Bassoum, O., Faye, A. (2020) Women's autonomy in health decision-making and its effect on access to family planning services in Senegal in 2017: a propensity score analysis. *BMC Public Health* **20,** 872 (2020).

Sperling, G., Winthrop, R., and Kwauk, C. (2016) What works in Girls' Education? Evidence for the world's best investment. Brookings Institution Press Washington, DC

Stake, R. E. (2005) Qualitative case studies. In Edited by: N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The SAGE handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 443 - 466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Standing, K. (1998) "Writing the voices of the less powerful: research on lone mothers", in: J. Ribbens and R. Edwards (eds.) Feminist Dilemmas in Qualitative Research: Public Knowledge and Private Lives. London: Thousand Oaks.

Statt, D. A., (2003) *A Student's Dictionary of Psycholog*y, New York: Psychology Press. Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Steier, F. (1991) "Introduction: Research as Self-Reflexivity, Self-Reflexivity as Social Process" *Communication Faculty Publications 475.*

Strauss, R. (1992) *Levi-Strauss on Religion*: The Structuring Mind - Page 19

Stromquist, N. P. (2007) 'The Gender socialisation process in schools: A cross National comparison. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2008 Education for All by 2015: will we make it? At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000155587

Stromquist, N. P. (2015) 'Women's Empowerment and Education: Linking knowledge to transformative action'. *European Journal of Education*, 50 (3), pp.307–324.

Stromquist, N. P. (2017) 'Women Teachers in Africa. At: https://www.eiie.org/index.php/en/item/21908:women-teachers-in-africa

Subrahamanian, R. (2006) Mainstreaming gender for better girls' education: Policy and institutional issues. At: http://www.paddle.usp.ac.fj/collect/paddle/index/assoc/ungei013.dir/doc.pdf

Subrahmanyam, G. (2016) Gender perspectives on causes and effects of school dropouts from primary and secondary education in developing countries – an overview. At: http://www.ungei.org/Final_Paper_on_Gender_perspectives_C2.pdf

Sutherland, A. (2015) The many ways mothers' education matters. At: https://ifstudies.org

Sutter, M. and Glatzle-Rutzler, D. (2014) Gender differences in the willingness to compete emerge early in life and persist. At: https://doi.org/10.1287/mnsc.2014.1981

Teys, H. (2017) *Gender Responses in Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The teaching Profession Act. (2013) Subsidiary Legislation. At: https://zambialaws.com/subsidiary-legislation/teaching-profession-act-2013-subsidiary-legislation

The World Bank (2019) Helping Zambia invest in its human capital. At: https://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2019/08/30/helping-zambia-invest-in-its-human-capital

The World Bank Group. (2020) Economic growth Zambia. At: https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/zambia

Tiessen, A. (2016). Give girls a voice and let them change their world. At: https://www.devex.com/news/give-girls-a-voice-and-let-them-change-their-world-88900

Toegel, I. and Lanvanchy, M. (2019) How to beat gender stereotypes: Learn, speak up and react. Three tips for women in the workplace.

Trueman, C. (2015) *'Research Issues and Factors'. historylearning site.co.uk History learning Site*.

Uluc, F. (2017) How to approach teaching gender equality to boys and girls. At: https://www.britishcouncil.org/voices-magazine/how-approach-teaching-gender-equality-boys-and-girls

UNAIDS (2016) Comprehensive sexuality education in Zambia. At: https://www.unaids.org/en/resources/presscentre/featurestories/2016/november/2016110 9_zambia

UNDP (2019) *Demonstrated the importance of economies of scale in tackling the world's biggest development challenges*. UNDP. pp. 97.

UNDP. (2016) Leaving no one behind: A social protection premier for practitioners. At: https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/poverty-reduction/-leaving-no-one-behind--a-social-protection-primer-for-practitio.html

UNDP. (2018) Human Development Indices and Indicators: 2018 Statistical Update. Briefing note for countries on the 2018 Statistical Update – Zambia. At: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/Country-Profiles/ZMB.pdf

UNECA. (1999) United Nations Economic Commission for Africa – Report on Zambia.

UNECA. (2017). Informality and inequality in Africa: exploring the linkages. UNECA.

UNESCO (2010a) EFA Global Monitoring Report – Reaching the Marginalized, Paris, France: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2022) (2022) *Driving a global movement to transform education: Key moments of 2022*. London: UNESCO.

UNESCO and IIEP (2021) Gender equality in education: Digging beyond the obvious. At: http://www.iiep.unesco.org

UNESCO and UN Women. (2016) New UNESCO and UN Women resource aims to end school-related gender-based violence. At: https://www.ei-ie.org/en/detail/3874/new-unesco-and-un-women-resource-aims-to-end-school-related-gender-based-violence

UNESCO and UNFPA. (2018) Implementation of sexuality education in the middle schools of China. file:///C:/Users/lomliz2/Desktop/Implementation%20of%20CSE%20in%20middle%20schools%20report_final_eng.pdf

UNESCO, GMR, UNGEI. (2015) School-related gender-based violence is preventing the achievement of quality education for all. At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000232107/PDF/232107eng.pdf.multi

UNESCO, U. (2016) *GEM Report: Education for People and Planet*.

UNESCO. (1990) World Declaration on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand (1990). At: http://bice.org/app/uploads/2014/10/unesco_world_declaration_on_education_for_all_jomtien_thailand.pdf.

UNESCO. (2000) Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific and Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All. (2000) Increasing the number of women teachers in rural schools: a synthesis of country case studies: South Asia. Bangkok: UNESCO PROAP, 2000. 45 p.

UNESCO. (2009) International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education: An evidence-informed approach for schools, teachers, and health educators.

UNESCO. (2010b) *Levers of success: Case studies of national sexuality education programs Kenya: Growing up and sexual maturation*. Targeting the quality of education in rural primary Schools.

UNESCO. (2012) World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education. UNESCO: Paris

UNESCO. (2014) 'Girls' and Women's Right to Education: Overview of measures supporting the Right to Education for Girls and Women reported by Member States'. At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000227859/PDF/227859eng.pdf.multi

UNESCO. (2014) *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2013/14. Teaching and Learning: Achieving quality for all*.

UNESCO. (2015a)   *A Guide for Gender Equality in Teacher Education Policy and Practices*.

UNESCO. (2015b)   *EFA Global Monitoring Report: Education for All 2000-2015 Achievements and Challenges*.

UNESCO. (2016) Institute for Statistics. (2016) Atlas of gender inequality in education. Retrieved from http://www.tellmaps.com/uis/gender/

UNESCO. (2016) Strengthening comprehensive sexuality education for young people in school settings in Zambia: A review and documentation of the scale-up process.

UNESCO. (2017) *CSE scale-up in practice. Case studies from Eastern and Southern Africa | UNESCO HIV and Health Education Clearinghouse*.

UNESCO. (2018a) 'Why is comprehensive sexuality education is important' At: https://en.unesco.org/news/why-comprehensive-sexuality-education-important

UNESCO. (2018b) *International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education*. At: http://www2.hu-berlin.de/sexology/BIB/ITG2.htm.

UNESCO. (2019) Early and unintended pregnancy – What role for education? At: https://en.unesco.org/news/early-and-unintended-pregnancy-what-role-education

UNESCO. (2019) Reporting Violence against women and girls: A handbook for journalists. At: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000371524/PDF/371524eng.pdf.multi

UNFPA, (2017). Sexuality education offers life-saving lessons to Zambia's young people (Integration of CSE into the Ministry of Education curriculum in 2014)

UNFPA. (2012) From childhood to womanhood: Meeting the sexual and reproductive health needs of adolescents. At: https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/resource-pdf/EN-SRH%20fact%20sheet-Adolescent.pdf

UNGEI and GPE. (2014) *Accelerating Secondary Education for Girls: Focusing on Access and Retention*. (April), pp.1–8.

UNICEF (2019) *UNICEF Zambia Country Office Annual Report 2019*. Lusaka: UNICEF:

UNICEF (2021) *Study on Out of School Children in Zambia (2021).* Lusaka: UNICEF.

UNICEF and UNESCO (2007). A human rights approach to education for all. At: https://www.right-to-education.org

UNICEF. (2000) Defining quality in education. *Improving Educational Quality Project*, Biennial R (1), p.14.

UNICEF. (2007) Catalyst for Education and Gender Equality: Girls' Education as power for development.

UNICEF. (2009) *Child Friendly Schools: Monitoring and Evaluating*. p.302.

UNICEF. (2011) *What is Cedaw?* (June). At: https://www.unicef.org/gender/files/CEDAW_In_Brief_For_Adolescent-Web_Version.pdf

UNICEF. (2014) UNICEF Zambia 2014 Report. UNICEF

UNICEF. (2015) Girls' education and gender equality. At: http://www.unicef.org/education/bege_70640.html

UNICEF. (2018) An Everyday Lesson #END violence in Schools. At: https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/An_Everyday_Lesson-ENDviolence_in_Schools.pdf

UNICEF. (2019) 'Net enrolment for lower secondary school in Sub-Saharan Africa: Regional aggregates based on less than 50% population coverage. At: https://data.unicef.org/topic/education/secondary-education/

United Nations General Assembly. (1949) The Declaration of Human Rights. At: https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/

United Nations General Assembly. (1989) *Convention on the Rights of the Child Convention on the Rights*. Treaty Ser (September), p.3. At: doi:10.1177/0907568213481816.

United Nations. (2012) The Global Education First Initiative. At: www.flickr.com/globaleducationfirst

United Nations. (2015). *The World's Women 2015: Trends and Statistics*.

United Nations. (2016) Sustainable Development Goals Report. At: https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/report/2016/The%20Sustainable%20Development%20Goals%20Report%202016.pdf

University of Cambridge. (2019) Twelve years of Quality Education for All girls: A Commonwealth perspective report. Faculty of Education.

Unni, J. (2009). Gender Differentials in Education: Exploring the Capabilities Approach. *Economic and Political Weekly, 44*(9), 111-117. Retrieved August 16, 2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/40278559

Unterhalter, E. (2003) The capabilities approach and gendered education: An examination of South African complexities. Theory and Research in Education, 1(1), 7-22.

Unterhalter, E. (2005)' Fragmented frameworks: Researching women, gender, education and development'. In Book: Beyond Access: Developing Gender Equality in Education.

Unterhalter, E. (2007) Gender, Schooling and Global Social Justice. London: Routledge

Unterhalter, E. (2009) 'Education', in Deneuline , S. and Shahani, L. (ed)s, *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach: Freedom and Agency,* Earthscan, London, pp. 207-227.

Unterhalter, E., North, A., Arnot, M., Lloyd, C., Moletsane, L., Murphy-Graham, E., Parkes, J. and Saito, M. (2014) *Interventions to enhance girls' education and gender equality*. (June). (2019). Gender equality in education. At: doi:10.1787/g261f08b9e-en.

US Agency for International Development (USAID). (2008) Are Schools Safe Havens for Children? Examining School-Related Gender-Based Violence. Washington: USAID.

US AID's Office of Women in Development and the EQUATE Project. (2008) *Education from a Gender Equality Perspective*. (May), p.14. At: www.ungei.org.

Vacca, R.T. & Mraz, M. (2011) *Content area reading: Literacy curriculum* (10 ed). Boston: Pearson.

Vaughan, R. P. (2010) 'Girls' and Women's Education within UNESCO and the World Bank, 1945-2000', Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, 40: 4, 405-423.

Vinogradova, E. (2015) Comprehensive Sexuality in Zambian Schools: Why do Kids need it? At: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273903769_Comprehensive_Sexuality_Educat ion_in_Zambian_schools_Why_do_kids_need_it/stats

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978) Mind in **society**: The development of higher psychological processes Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Walker, J-A. (2013). Why ending child marriage needs to be an education goal: The case for improved coordination between ending child marriage and girls' education movements in West Africa. At: https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Women/WRGS/ForcedMarriage/NGO/Judith AnnWalker.pdf

Walker, M. and Unterhalter, E. (ed) (2007) *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education,* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Wambui, J. (2013) *An introduction to Feminist Research*. 1, p.7.

Wang, M. T., & Degol, J. (2013). Motivational pathways to STEM career choices: Using

Warenius, L., Pettersson, K. O., Nissen, E., Höjer, B., Chishimba, P. and Faxelid, E. (2007) 'Vulnerability and sexual and reproductive health among Zambian secondary school students'. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 9 (5), pp.533–544.

Wasike, A. (2013) Effects of Attitudes of Female Students on the Performance in Mathematics in Various Types of Secondary Schools in Teso. 4 (5), pp.148–161.

Werfhorst, H. G. (2010). 'Cultural capital: strengths, weaknesses and two advancements', British Journal of Sociology of Education, 31: 2, 157 — 169.

WHO. (2007) Engaging men and boys in changing gender-based inequity in health: Evidence from programme interventions. At: https://www.who.int/gender/documents/Engaging_men_boys.pdf

WHO. (2011) Preventing early pregnancy and poor reproductive outcomes among adolescents in developing countries. Geneva: WHO.

Wiederman, M. W., & Allgeier, E. R. (1992). Gender differences in mate selection criteria: Sociobiological or socioeconomic explanation? Ethology and Socio-biology, 13, 115–124.

Wilkinson, S. (1988) The role of reflexivity in feminist psychology. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11 (5), pp.493–502. At: doi:10.1016/0277-5395(88)90024-6.

Wilkinson, S. (1998) Focus groups on health research: Explaining meanings of health and illness, *Journal of Health Psychology,* 3, pp. 329-348.

Wilkinson, S. J. & Morton, P. (2007) The emerging importance of feminist research paradigms in built environment research.

Willsher, K. A. and Goel, K. (2007) Feminist Research Paradigms At: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/ 319327025

Wilson, D. (2003) Human rights: Promoting gender equality in and through education. Paper commissioned for the *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4, The Leap to Equality*. For further information, please contact efareport@unesco.org

WLSA-Zambia, Avon Global Centre for Women and Justice at Cornell Law School and Cornell Law School International Human Rights Clinic. (2012) "They are Destroying Our Futures". (October), pp.1–63.

Woden, Q., Montenegro, C., Nguyen, H. and Onagaruwa, A. (2018). Missed opportunities: The high cost of not educating girls. At: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/29956/HighCostOfNotEducatingGirls.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y

Wodon, C., Male, C., Nayihouba, A., Onagoruwa, A., Savadogo, A. (2017) Economic impacts of child marriage: Global synthesis report. (June). At: http://www.costsofchildmarriage.org.

Wodon, Q., Tavares, P., Fiala, O., Nestour, A. and Wise, L. (2017) Ending Child Marriage: Child Marriage Laws and their limitations. At: https://www.savethechildren.org.uk/content/dam/global/reports/advocacy/worldbank-child-marriage-laws-limitations.pdf

Women Deliver. (2019) *Women Deliver 2019 Conference*. 3-6 June 2019, Vancouver, Canada WD.

Workman, E. (2012) Teacher Expectations of Students A self-fulfilling prophecy? The Progress of Education Reform. Volume 13, Number 6.

World Atlas. (2019) Physical map of Zamia. At: https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/zambia

World Bank Group. (2019) Zambia Economic Brief, No. 12, July 2019: Wealth Beyond Mining - Leveraging Renewable Natural Capital. World Bank, Lusaka. © World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/32117 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO."

World Bank. (2012) World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development. World Bank. © World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4391 License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

Wozniak, D., Harbaugh, W. and Mayr, U. (2009) Choices about competition: Differences by gender and hormonal fluctuations, and the role of relative performance feedback. SSRN Electric Journal DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.1564895.

Yakubu, I. and Salisu, W. J. (2018) Determinants of adolescent pregnancy in sub-Saharan Africa: A systematic review. Reproductive Health, 15 (1). At: doi:10.1186/s12978-018-0460-4.

Yaya, S., Odusina, E.K. & Bishwajit, G. (2019) Prevalence of child marriage and its impact on fertility outcomes in 34 sub-SaharanAfrican countries. *BMC Int. Health Human Rights* 19, 33(2019.

Yin, R. K. (2011). Qualitative research from start to finish. A Division of Guilford Publications, Inc.

Zachmann, K. (2018) Women in STEM: Female Role Models and Gender Equitable Teaching Strategies. Retrieved from Sophia, the St. Catherine University repository website: https://sophia.stkate.edu/maed/272

Zambia Environmental Management Act (2011) Lusaka, Zambia. At: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/94960/111606/F693399618/ZMB94960%20Part%201.pdf

Zulu, J. M., Blystad, A., Haaland, M. E. S., Michelo, C., Haukanes, H. and Moland, K. M. (2019) Why teach sexuality education in school? Teacher discretion in implementing comprehensive sexuality education in rural Zambia. International Journal for Equity in Health. At: https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-019-1023-1

Appendices:

A: Letter of Research approval

All communications should be addressed to:
The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of General Education
Not to any individual by name

Telephone: 250855/251315/251283
251293/211318/251291
251003/251319

In reply please quote
No.............................

MOGE/6/7/30

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

P. O. BOX 50093
LUSAKA

27th December, 2017

Executive Director
FAWEZA
P. O Box 37695
LUSAKA

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH STUDY: ELIZABETH MULENGA MBEWE

The above subject matter refers.

Permission has been granted for Elizabeth Mulenga Mbewe to conduct her research in the schools within Chilanga and Kafue district. Her study has the potential to contribute information that would help in the fight against child marriages.

We wish her all the best as she undertakes the study.

Henry C. Tukombe
Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

ssk

B: Fieldwork Schedule

Below, I outline the schedule for my fieldwork. It includes meetings I had with Ministry of Education officials at the headquarters and the two case studies district education offices of Chilanga and Kafue. The schedule further comprises visits and meetings I held at the two secondary schools.

Fieldwork schedule

Period 2017/2018	Activity	Where
October	Trip to Zambia	
November	Meeting with Ministry of Education official at headquarters for permission to conduct fieldwork.	Lusaka
December	Collection of written authority from Ministry of Education to conduct fieldwork.	Lusaka
January 4	Meeting with district education official for Kafue and arrangement on fieldwork Focus group discussion with Kafue district education officials/transcribing/partial analysis	Chilanga and Kafue Districts
January 17	Meeting with district education Official for Chilanga District and arrangement on school fieldwork Interview with the Project Manager for World Vision/transcribing/partial analysis	Lusaka
January 18	Interview with the Coordinator for CSE for Ministry of Education/transcribing/partial analysis	Lusaka
February	Pre-testing of research instruments Focus group discussion with Chilanga District Education personnel and completing questionnaires/transcribing/partial analysis.	Chilanga School
March 3	Interviews with girls, school managers and teachers/transcribing/partial analysis	Chilanga School
March 13	Interviews with girls, school managers and teachers/transcribing/partial analysis.	Kafue School
March 28	Focus group discussion with PTA members/transcribing/partial analysis.	Kafue School
April 13	Administering of questionnaires among parents and PTA members Focus group discussions with Chilanga school PTA members/transcribing/partial analysis	Chilanga School

C: Information Sheet for female students

Title of Study: Exploring Zambian girls' experiences of secondary education and barriers encountered in rural schools: A case study of Chilanga and Kafue Districts

Investigator: Elizabeth Mbewe

Department: Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, UK

Contact No.: +260977718466 (Zambia) and +44(0)7469322683 (United Kingdom) and

Email: elmm500@york.ac.uk

Introduction

Through this field exercise, I want to interact with the girls and check on how they are learning and what is encouraging them to continue learning. I also want to find out how much their families are encouraging them to attend school. I want an opportunity to hear from the students what their expectations are from the education they are getting and what they want to become in future. What should be included in their learning at school in order to motivate them to fully participate and complete school.

Purpose of Study

What do I want to know? I just want to find out how girls are learning and what is motivating them to come to school. I will be interested in knowing what their favourite subjects are, what they dislike and what they think could be done improve on issues that hinder their participation.

Description of the Study Procedures

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to complete questionnaires at a community hall not far from the school. The interview is expected to last no longer than 20 minutes and is a one-off event. When I have completed the study, I will produce a summary of the findings which I will send to you as participants in this study.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

The study may bring up some issues that are sensitive and if so, you will be provided with advice on where to go for help, if needed.

Benefits of Being in the Study

As female students, your participation in this study will enable you to raise issues that you feel should be addressed to enhance your attendance and performance in school. This means that you will be free to indicate as females, specific issues that affect your participation in the school program.

Confidentiality

The information I will get from you will not be shared with anyone else. I will keep the information in a secure cabinet that will be locked up in a room. Research records including your interview will be kept as hard copies in a locked cabinet and all electronic information will be kept in

privacy. If audio recordings are made, only the University of York and I will have access to the recording. The information will be destroyed after the research is completed and the report produced.

Payments

There will be no payments for taking part in this exercise. However, snacks and drinks will be provided.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the study at any point during the process before transcription of the data; additionally, you have the right to request through email or telephone as indicated on this sheet above that the interviewer not use any of your interview material, before this time.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, [Elizabeth Mbewe] at [lomliz2@yahoo.com] or by telephone at [+260 97718466]. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigators, you may contact Professor Victoria Robinson, at the Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD, UK, Tel: +44 (0) 1904323671, email: vicki.robinson@york.ac.uk or vanita.sundaram@york.ac.uk

Subject's Name (print):

Subject's Signature: _____ Date:

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

D: Information Sheet for adult participants

Title of Study: Exploring Zambian girls' experiences of secondary education and barriers faced in rural schools: A case study of Chilanga and Kafue Districts

Investigator: Elizabeth Mbewe

Department: Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, UK

Contact No.:   +260977718466 (Zambia) and +44(0)7469322683 (United Kingdom) and

Email: elmm500@york.ac.uk

Introduction

You are being asked to be a participant in a research study that is exploring the impact of girls' secondary education in ending child marriage in two districts of Zambia You were selected as a possible participant because as a district education officer/principal/teacher/parent you are involved in one way or another in promoting the education of girls' secondary education who are the focus of this study. The study will examine girls' participation in school and the risk factors that lead some of them to dropout and not complete the secondary school cycle. Please read this form carefully and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study using the above contact address.

Purpose of Study

The main purpose of the study is to find out how girls can be assisted to continue schooling and complete their secondary education without hindrances resulting in dropping out of school. It will explore factors that either enhance and hinder girls' secondary education. It will seek the views of stakeholders on approaches can make a difference in enhancing girls' completion of secondary education. Ultimately, this research will be published as a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) research document that will be shared with the funder Commonwealth Scholarship Commission and the Ministry of Education in Zambia and Forum for African Women Educationalist in Zambia (FAWEZA).

Description of the Study Procedures

If you as District Education Officers, teachers, parents and partners agree to be in this study, I will arrange a time to meet, which is convenient for you and in your own home/school if that is appropriate. A focus group discussion will be arranged for Parents/Teachers' Association at the school while parents at a place of their choice. When I have completed the study, I will produce a summary of the discussions to send to you as participants in this study.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

The study may bring up some issues that are sensitive and if so, you will be provided with advice on where to go for help, if needed.

Benefits of Being in the Study

You may find the project interesting as you will be given an opportunity to provide your views about what you regard important in making the school environment conducive for learning as in

your capacity as a district education officer, staff of the school, parent, and partner. Once the study is finished, it could provide information that will enrich your approach in contributing to the promotion of girls' secondary education. You will learn more about what should be done to make the school respond to the challenge's girls face if any that makes them dropout of school before completing the secondary level cycle.

Confidentiality

The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. Research records including hard copies of your interview will be kept in a file and locked in a cabinet and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected on my own laptop whilst in Zambia and the University of York server. If audio recordings are made, only the University and I will have access to the raw data. After the study is done report produced, data will be destroyed.

Payments

There will be no payments for taking part in this exercise. However, snacks and drinks will be provided.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time without affecting your relationship with the investigator of this study or the University of York. Your decision will not result in any loss or benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely from the study any point during the process before transcription of the data; additionally, you have the right to request through email or telephone as indicated on this sheet above that the interviewer not use any of your interview material before this time.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, [Elizabeth Mbewe] at [lomliz2@yahoo.com] or by telephone at [+260 97718466]. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant that have not been answered by the investigators, you may contact Professor Victoria Robinson, at the Centre for Women's Studies, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD, UK, Tel: +44 (0) 1904323671, email: vicki.robinson@york.ac.uk and vanita.sundaram@york.ac.uk

Subject's Name (print): _____

Subject's Signature: _____ Date:

Investigator's Signature: _____ Date: _____

E: Consent form for female students

'Exploring Zambian girls' experiences of secondary education and the barriers encountered in rural schools: A case study of Chilanga and Kafue districts in Zambia.

Consent form for female students

Have you read the information sheet, or have you understood my explanation about this study?	Yes ❐ No ❐
Do you understand what the project is about and what taking part involves?	Yes ❐ No ❐
Do you understand that the study is confidential, and all data is anonymised and stored securely?	Yes ❐ No ❐
Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in future research?	Yes ❐ No ❐
Do you know that if you decide to take part and later, change your mind, you can leave the study any time without giving a reason before the transcription process of the interviews?	Yes ❐ No ❐
Would you like to take part in this study?	Yes ❐ No ❐
If yes – is it acceptable to tape-record your interviews?	Yes ❐ No ❐

Please write your name here (in BLOCK letters): _____

Please sign your name here: _____

If you are aged 17 or less, a parent/guardian also needs to give consent:

Parent/guardian's name (in BLOCK letters): _____

Parent/guardian's signature: _____

Interviewer's name: _____

Date: _____

F: Consent form for adult participants

Exploring Zambian girls' experiences of secondary education and barriers encountered in rural schools: A case study of Chilanga and Kafue districts in Zambia.

Consent form for adult participants

Have you read the information sheet, or have you understood my explanation about this study?	Yes ❏ No ❏
Do you understand what the study is about and what taking part involves?	Yes ❏ No ❏
Do you understand that this study is confidential, and all data is anonymised and stored securely?	Yes ❏ No ❏
Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in future research?	Yes ❏ No ❏
Do you know that if you decide to take part and later change your mind, you can leave the study any time before the transcription process, without giving a reason?	Yes ❏ No ❏
Would you like to take part in this study?	Yes ❏ No ❏
If yes – is it acceptable to you to tape-record your interviews?	Yes ❏ No ❏

Please write your name here (in BLOCK letters): _____

Please sign your name here: _____

G: Questionnaire for female students

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out perceptions of barriers and motivations from different perspectives for girls' secondary education in Chilanga and Kafue District in Zambia. Kindly respond to the following questions. Be truthful and honest to the best of your knowledge. The answers you will give will only be used for educational purpose only and the information will be kept in confidence. Do not write your name in this questionnaire.

A. **Personal details** *(Fill in the spaces provided or tick the choice of your answer)*

1. Name of your school _____ District _____
2. Age _____
3. Marital Status: Single _____ Engaged _____ Married _____ Divorced _____
4. What is the occupation of your parents? _____
5. How far is your school from your home? _____

B. **Economic issues**

6. Are you sent home because of fees*? (Tick one of the choices given below)*
Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how often?

____ Once per month, ____Twice per term, ____Three times per year
____ More than three times in a year

7. To what level do you relate dropouts from school with direct costs of schooling in your opinion?
_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Very high   High   Average   Low   Very low

8. Score the level to which the following factors below contribute to pulling and pushing female students out of school.
School payment:

	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low
Cost of uniforms	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Cost of educational materials	_____	_____	_____	_____	
Cost of transport	_____	_____	_____	_____	

Cost of accommodation   _____   _____   _____   _____
_____

C. Cultural factors and female participation

9. 5. Do you come to school late?
Yes ____ No ____

If yes give, how often?
____   Every day, ____Once per week, ____Once per month, ____   Twice per
month

____   Three times per month

10. To what level do you think the following cultural traditions and practices prevent the
completion of schooling by female students?

	Very high Very low	High	Average	Low
Early marriage	_____	____	_____	_____
Bride Price	_____	____	_____	_____
Pregnancy	_____	____	_____	____
Harassment	_____	____	_____	____
Home/parental services	_____	____	_____	_____
Employment in domestic market	_____	____	_____	_____

D. Female student participation

11. Do you like your school? YES/NO give reasons for your answer.

____ very much, _____ slightly , ____ dislike, ____ completely dislike

12. From your experience, rate the level to which the following school factors
contribute to the dropping out of females from school.

13.

	Very high	High	Average	Low	Very low
Lack of gender sensitive facilities	_____	____	___	____	
Risk of sexual assault/rape	_____	____	___	____	

School distance   ____ ____ ____ ____
____

Risk of sexual harassment by boys   ____ ____ ____ ____
____

Gender bias in school curricular

Materials   ____ ____ ____ ____ ____

Lack of comprehensive sexuality

Education   ____ ____ ____ ____
____

14. Do you know of any girls that have dropped out of school?
YES/NO, How many? _____
Did they drop because of:

__ pregnancy? ____ Marriage? __ distance?

E. Teacher factors and female student participation

15. In school, is your teacher friendly to you? YES/NO
To what extent would you describe your teacher?

____Very friendly, ____friendly, ____slightly friendly, ____slightly unfriendly,

____very unfriendly.

16. Do the teachers make you feel welcome at school?
____Strongly agree, ____ Agree, ____ Slightly agree, __ Disagree

____ Slightly disagree, ____ Strongly disagree.

17. Do your teachers encourage you to continue with school? YES/NO If no explain.
____ Strongly agree ____Agree, ____ Slightly agree ____ Disagree.

____ Slightly disagree, ____ Strongly disagree.

18. Is there a difference between male and female teachers? Yes ____ No _____
____ Very much, ____No difference; ____Slight difference.

19. Do you think that teachers in your school have different expectations from girls and
from boys? YES/NO.   If yes, to what extent?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

20. Rate the level to which teachers demonstrate differences in the various areas
between boys and girls in your classroom.

271

	Low	High	Average
Paying special attention		____	____
Giving better marks		____	____
Praising		____	____

F. Perception towards co-education *(Tick one of the given choices)*

21. To what extent do you agree with the statement below:

a. In education, girls could perform or achieve as well as boys.
_____Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree.

b. Educated girls are as equally as important as boys.
_____ Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree.

c. Girls should finish secondary schooling before getting married.
_____ Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree.

d. Girls should always pursue higher education after secondary schooling.
_____ Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree.

G. Perception on sexuality education

22. Is it important for you to learn how pregnancy comes about?
_____Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree

23. Do you know how pregnancy comes about?
Yes _____ No _____not much, ____very much, ____a little bit

24. When a girl stops having menstruation, usually it is a sign of pregnancy? True/False
_____

25. Syphilis is a sexually transmitted disease? True/False _____

26. Do you know about sex?
Yes/No _____

27. Where do you get information about sex?
School ____, Home ____, Friends _____

28. How often do you have sexuality education at school?
_____Once a week, _____More than once per week, _____Once a month

272

29. Is it important for you to learn about sex?
_____Agree _____Not sure _____Disagree.

30. Do you like learning about parts of your body?
Yes/No. _____

31. Have you learnt about menstruation here at school? Yes/No
32. What do you know about menstruation?

_____
_____
_____
_____

33. Do you agree that marriage is best after one completes secondary and higher education?
____Strongly agree ___Agree ___Slightly agree ___Disagree ___Slightly disagree ___
Strongly disagree.

H: Questionnaire for School Heads

Questionnaire for School Heads

The main purpose of the study is to explore the impact of girls' secondary education in ending child marriage. You are among those chosen to participate in the study. Thus, the Researcher requests you for information and will appreciate your eagerness to support this study. The researcher has no doubt that you will find the questionnaire interesting and looks forward to receiving your responses. All information obtained from you will be used only for this research and will be kept confidentially. Do not indicate your name on this questionnaire.

A. Fill in the spaces provided below or tick one of the given choices

1. School Name _____ District _____
2. Age _____

3. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

4. Level of qualification attained:
Certificate _____ Diploma _____ Degree _____

5. To what level do you rate your capacity to understand gender issues in education?

   _____   _____   _____
   Sufficient   Average   Insufficient

6. What do you perceive as the educational difference between boys and girls?

   _____

   _____

   _____

7. To what extent do you believe that the following learning environments prevent female academic attainment in your school?

	High	Average	Low
Size of Classrooms	_____	_____	_____
Equipment	_____	_____	_____
Textbooks	_____	_____	_____
Sanitary facilities	_____	_____	_____
Inadequate female teachers	_____	_____	_____
Teacher absenteeism	_____	_____	_____

8. What is your perception about child marriage among girls?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

9. What do you think causes girls to drop out of school and ending up in child marriage?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

10. Tell us the dropout rates of female students in your school over the last three academic years from 2014 to 2016/2017.

2014   _____

2015   _____

2016   _____

11. What have been the reasons for dropping out?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

12. How many teachers do you have in the school? Provide your answer by desegregating by gender.

_____
_____
_____
_____

13. What are your suggestions that will enhance female students' participation, retention, and completion of the education cycle?

_____
_____

_____

_____

I: Questionnaire for teachers

Questionnaire for teachers

The main purpose of the study is to explore the impact of girls' secondary education in ending child marriage. You are among those chosen to participate in the study. Thus, the Researcher requests you for information and will appreciate your eagerness to support this study. The researcher has no doubt that you will find the questionnaire interesting and looks forward to receiving your responses. All information obtained from you will be used only for this research and will be kept confidentially.

Fill in the spaces provided below or tick one of the given choices

B. Personal details
14. School Name _____   District _____
15. Age _____
16. Sex: Male _____   Female _____
17. Level of qualification attained:
Certificate _____   Diploma _____Degree _____

C. Teachers' perception on girls' education

18. If you were asked to choose between boys and girls for teaching, whom do you prefer?
    _____   _____   _____
    Boys   Girls   Make no difference

19. To what level do you rate your capacity to understand gender issues in education?
    _____   _____   _____
    Sufficient   Average   Insufficient

20. What do you perceive as the educational difference between boys and girls?
21. To what extent do you believe that the following learning environments prevent female academic attainment in your school?

	High	Average	Low
Size of Classrooms	_____	_____	_____
Equipment	_____	_____	_____
Textbooks	_____	_____	_____
Sanitary facilities	_____	_____	_____
Inadequate female teachers	_____	_____	_____

276

Teacher absenteeism _____ _____ _____

22. What is your perception about child marriage among girls? *(Both teachers and school heads Nos. 9 and 10)*

    _____
    _____
    _____

    _____

23. What do you think causes girls to drop out of school and ending up in child marriage?

    _____
    _____
    _____

    _____

24. Tell us the dropout rates this year of female students in the classes that you are teaching.
25. What have been the reasons for dropping out?

    _____
    _____
    _____

    _____

D. Teachers' perception on sexuality education

26. Is sexuality education taught in your school?
    YES/NO

i.   If yes, what topics are taught?

    _____
    _____

ii.   If not, what topics do you think should be taught to reduce the drop-out rates of girls, due to pregnancy and child marriage?

    _____
    _____
    _____

27. Does the school provide additional training for teachers taking sexuality education topics that appear in the subjects they teach?

    _____
    _____
    _____

    _____

28. Choose you best answer on the extent the topics below should be taught to enhance the participation and completion of girls' secondary schooling:

                                        Agree   Disagree Not sure

277

i.   Human Development   _____   _____

            _____

ii.   Sexually transmitted Diseases
Safer sex, Gender Issues   _____   _____

            _____

iii.   Developing healthy and equal
Relationship   _____   _____

            _____

| | Agree | Disagree | Not |

sure

iv.   Making responsible decisions
About sexual behaviour   _____   _____

            _____

v.   Self-esteem and assertive
Skills training   _____   _____

            _____

J: Interview guide for girls (students) at the two case studies schools

Interview guide for girls (students) at the two case studies schools

1. What do you like about your school?

2. Do you enjoy working with women or men teachers? Give reasons for your answer.

3. What do you like about your teacher?

4. Do you like schooling with boys? Give reasons for your answer.

5. What is your favourite subject?

6. Do you enjoy learning Mathematics, Chemistry and Physics and why?

7. From your experience, what has made girls in your school to drop out?

8. What work are you given by your teacher at this school besides schoolwork?

Semi-Structured Interview guide for teachers and school managers

1. How many students are females and males in the two case studies schools?

2. What is your perception about girls' secondary education?

3. From your experience, what is the attitude of parents towards girls' education?

4. From your experience, what issues do girls at this school face at this school?

5. What are your suggestions for improving girls education at this school?

6. What are the emerging issues of masculinity and femininity in the school culture?

7. Do you have a gender policy document in your school or department?

8. What are your views about the Re-entry Policy being implemented by the Ministry of Education?

9. In your own teacher preparation, did you have any training in gender? If so, please tell me about it.

10. Have you attended any workshops seminars on gender awareness organised by the Ministry of Education authorities? If so, explain the contents of the course.

11. Do you teach Comprehensive Sexuality Education at your school? If so, how is this done?

Semi-structured interview guide for the Coordinator Comprehensive Sexuality Education

1. How is the integration of CSE in secondary schools being implemented?
2. What has been the impact so far?
3. Have teachers been trained in conducting it?
4. What are the issues the Ministry of Education facing in the integration of CSE?
5. What issues are the teachers in schools facing that are related to the integration of CSE?

K: Focus Group Discussion guide for PTA members and district education personnel

Focus Group Discussion guide for PTA members and district education personnel

1. What is the composition of your associations by gender and occupation?
2. What is the gender of the Chairperson of the Association?
3. What is the role of the Association?
4. In your opinion is it important to educate girls up to secondary school level? If yes, explain the reason for your answer.
5. What are the problems related to secondary schooling that hinder girls from completing the cycle?
6. What are the environmental (social and cultural) issues hindering girls' completion of secondary schooling?
7. What do you think about the Re-entry Policy that enables girls that get pregnant while schooling to return after childbirth?
8. What measures have been taken by your school to encourage girls' schooling?

Focus group discussion guide for parents

1. Are girls important to parents in this area? If so, please tell us in what major ways.
2. Do you think that the community in this area believes that girls require education as much as boys? If your answer is yes, tell us the reasons.
3. In your opinion what are the major problems related to schools which may hinder girls to complete their education?
4. What major environmental (social and cultural) problems do you think affect girls' secondary education?
5. What can be done to make girls to be successful in education by schools, parents and the government?
6. What do you think about the Re-entry Policy that enables girls that get pregnant while schooling to return after childbirth?