

The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka

By

Nthembe Mbewe

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Department of Humanities Education

Faculty of Education

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

SUPERVISOR

Prof. Johan Wassermann

SUPERVISOR

Dr Raita Steyn

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PRETORIA



DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Nthembe Mbewe, declare that this study, titled 'The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka, which I hereby submit to the University of Pretoria for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Humanities Education, is my work and has not previously been submitted by me for any degree at this or other tertiary institutions. The sources I have used have been recognised.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Nthembe Mbewe', written on a light-colored background.

Student: Nthembe Mbewe

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Johan Wassermann', written on a light-colored background.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Raita Steyn', written on a light-colored background.

Supervisors: Prof. Johan Wassermann and Dr Raita Steyn

Date: 25.2.2021



DEDICATION

This thesis is lovingly dedicated to my two beautiful daughters Keziah and Tamika Maisiri.

May you commit yourselves to lifelong learning,

‘as a person who graduates today and stops learning tomorrow is uneducated the day after’.

Newton D. Baker

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ACRONYMS

APE	Alternative Primary Education
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DEBS	District Education Board Secretariat
DEO	District Education Office
EFA	Education for All
FOL	Focus on Learning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOGE	Ministry of General Education
PEO	Provincial Education Offices
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SES	Socio-economic Status
TLM	Teaching and learning material
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIP	United National Independent Party
USA	United States of America

ABSTRACT

One of the most pressing social and political problem facing primary education systems in developing countries is the universal provision of quality education to all. In the face of the non-realisation of universal state provision of education, the question of non-state providers comes to the fore. To cope with this need, countries such as Zambia, have adopted policies on decentralization and democratization of education. In turn, this has increased the impetus to the attention given to non-state providers in education provision. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand the contextual nature of learning in selected urban community primary schools of Lusaka, Zambia. Community schools are a non-state delivery of primary education in the low resource context that caters for poor and vulnerable populations who due to supply-side constraints, are unable to access free education provided by the state. The open systems theory and dimensions of learning theory were used as theoretical models from the multiple discourses to guide the inquiry. The study is based on an interpretive worldview, multiple case study design involving six urban community primary schools of Lusaka, Zambia. Thirteen participants consisting eight teachers and five headteachers were purposively sampled for the study. Data were gathered through semi-structured interviews, observations, photographs, document analysis.

The study found that the policy culture of the schools encouraged curriculum coverage and teaching for test. The teaching was mostly characterised by rote learning than on sense making and real-life application. While it is indisputable that this transmission model of learning is effective for some learners, maximising the potential of learners should be at the centre of the 21st century community primary schools. Most schools faced teacher shortages and poor school infrastructure leading to multigrading classes, overcrowding and double shifting. Furthermore, most teachers lacked teacher education and struggled to accommodate reforms initiated in the curriculum. With insufficient funding, it gets hard for the schools to implement proven reforms, for example, employing and retaining effective teachers. The funding weakens the schools' potential to develop the innovativeness of the up-and-coming age of workers and entrepreneurs. With community primary schools increasingly becoming a major feature of the education landscape in Zambia, I posit that the contextual nature of learning in community schools should increasingly become a conversation of local scene urban education. This is important as the disadvantaged communities' futures rely heavily on the nature of its schools.



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING AND CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Perhaps one of the most pressing social and political problems facing primary education systems in developing countries is the universal provision of quality education to all. Nonetheless, it is undeniable that developing countries have made enormous strides towards achieving this goal. Against the commitment to Education for All (EFA) and the wave of the global financial and economic crisis that has characterised this century, most governments grapple with declining revenue that puts pressure on national budgets and subsequently threatens funding for education. One area that constrained education budgets pose a threat to is the provision of education for all. The problem is dire, particularly when one considers that basic education is generally regarded as a state responsibility.

In the face of the non-realisation of a universal state provision of education, the question of non-state providers comes to the fore. To cope with this need, countries such as Zambia have adopted policies on decentralisation and democratisation of education. In turn, this has increased the impetus to the attention paid to non-state providers in education provision. Although Rose (2007) argues that these providers have always been involved in the delivery of basic education, this calls for an effort to analyse the education provision model of non-state providers.

This study focuses on the non-state delivery of basic education in a low-resource context that caters for poor and vulnerable populations which, due to supply-side constraints, are unable to access free education provided by the state. In Zambia, community primary schools are such an example of non-state providers of basic education – they are the second-largest primary education providers. As early as 2002, Miller and Yoder (2002) saw community schools as an essential part of the education landscape in developing countries. Supporting this claim, Glassman, Hoppers and DeStefano (2008) also see community schools as a successful intervention that is attempting to expand access to basic education and enhance the standard of education where the government fails to cater. Community primary schools are commonly viewed as cost-effective, having a comparative advantage over state provision (Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016; Rose, 2009). Conversely, Rose (2007) argues that there is a limited

robust analysis to support this assertion. Previous research has suggested that, despite operating with substantially fewer resources, community primary schools outperform government schools. Significant evidence even shows that, in some cases, learners in community schools outperform those in mainstream public schools (CSO, 2012). This assertion is, however, countered by Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout (2016) who argue that, on average, community schools' performance only provides part of the picture, masking substantial variation that exists among community primary schools regarding quality, with some far exceeding national average, while learning for others is truly minimal. It further necessitates the need to look at how the unique characteristics of these schools affect the learning environment and consequently the actual learning that takes place.

This study thus seeks to explore the phenomenological issue of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka. The study endeavours to gain an understanding of the frames of learning in community schools and emergent patterns of interactions with and between levels of activities that would explain the nature of learning in these schools. In this study, I conceptualise learning as an interaction with learners and their contextual environment. Thus, the study focuses on learners and learning in relation to the nested structures and operations of community primary schools.

The goal of this chapter is to provide readers with an overview of the study. I commence by presenting the context and relevant background and by situating community schools within urban education. Following this, I discuss my positionality in the study, which connects with my rationale and motivation of the study. I also show the statement of the study, the purpose and focus, and the research questions. I end with a chapter-by-chapter description as they appear in this study.

Community schools cannot be thoroughly understood without first understanding the intentions of the very forces that entwine them. A variety of global and national policies encapsulated the development phenomenon of community schools. Thus, in the following section, I discuss these forces. Community schools are an offshoot of local policies and conditions brought about by global education and economic forces. I commence this section by reflecting on the international education policy that anchors community schools and the politics surrounding its implementation. First, I briefly discuss the declaration of education as a human right policy and the politics surrounding its adoption in different countries. Second, I look at the inclusion

of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that culminated in the universal primary education policy. I discuss these education policies and goals in light of the global economic policy of structural adjustment programme and its subsequent policies. I find it imperative to look at these economic policies as they impacted countries' ability to provide universal access to education.

The World Nations asserted, through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that everyone had the right to an education. This was declared in 1990 at a world conference on education for all in Jomtien, Thailand. The conference brought together representatives of governments, international agencies and non-governmental organisations and leading personalities worldwide. However, despite significant efforts by countries to ensure the right to education for all, the reality of out-of-school children persists. The problem was compounded by threats of economic stagnation and decline, rapid population and civil strife in some areas, leading to major setbacks to education for all. Torres (1999) notes that, despite its currency, Education for All. This emphasis over showered the concept of meeting basic learning needs as it received much less attention than the effort to provide a school place for every child. Although the curriculum is designed to meet these needs, very few countries have reported their efforts to define it. The goal of education for all was to ensure survival and the development of learner abilities. The objective of Education for All was to empower individuals and lay the groundwork for lifelong learning. It was mandated to provide universal access and promote equipment while focusing on learning and strengthening partnerships in education provision.

In 2000, at a World Education Forum, held in Dakar, the international community reaffirmed its commitment to ensuring universal primary education of high quality by the year 2015. This collided with the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals to enhance the education right to all. Millennium development goals (MDGs) were a United Nations (UN) list of seven common goals that the world was committed to achieving by 2015 (Fehling, Nelson and Venkatapuram (2013). Despite assertions that the goals were agreed upon by all member states, developing countries and civil society had minimal input in creating the MDGs. Furdada in this vein, it is argued that the MDG framework's underlying political and conceptual agenda carries the doctrinaire suiting the interests of cooperating and high-income states, such as neoliberal globalisation. These arose from the Millennium Declaration's poverty goals and later

incorporated into the MDGs in 2000 (Fukuda-Parr, 2017). The goals were the main methods of achieving consensus on the intention development agenda. Of these goals, only goal number two related to education. The goal focused on the achievement of universal primary education. Due to insufficient resources and a lack of focus, developing economies have struggled to meet their commitment to providing universal access to primary education. () contends, for example, that the MDG goals were overly ambitious and ignored the limited local context and implementation capacities.

In this regard, Lewin (2011) agrees that education for all children is still a long way off in many low-income economies. Even as late as 2011, despite advances in enrolment linked to Education for All, enrolment statistics revealed that at least 65 million children were not enrolled internationally (Lewin, 2011). According to UNESCO (2004), at least 104 – 121 million children of primary school age are not in school, with Africa, South and East Asia and India having the worst shortfall. Similarly, school completion was an issue. Shanker, Marian and Swimmer (2015) describe out-of-school children as those who have never attended school while being of school-age or dropped out for various reasons. Some of these children were not attending primary school for reasons that include conflict, gender discrimination, child labour, social, institutional, and environmental challenges aggravated by home poverty (Shanker, Marian and Swimmer, 2015).

The statistics above illustrate that, despite the global progress towards universal primary education, it was evident that some countries could not do it alone. As a result, an alternative form of provision through multiple pathways was necessary to uphold the right to education of out-of-school children. One of such pathways was non-formal alternative education that targeted children who otherwise would not access formal education. Muskin (1999) observed that while developing countries and their international partners raced to achieve the goal of universal primary education, the international partners began to pay attention to alternate models for formal education delivery. Muskin further noted that as the global movement to decentralize national school systems and embrace local level initiatives accelerated, so did the need for schools to serve more diverse goals. The term alternative denotes any initiative that appears to instigate a different arrangement for teaching and learning (Hoppers, 2005). Alternative education has a long history in many developing countries, especially in Asian countries. Alternative education was popular in these countries due to a higher number of out

of school children than anywhere else in the world (Mwalimu, 2010). Glassman et al. (2008) observe that Anglophone African countries tend to develop contemporary forms of non-formal alternative education to improve equal access to formal primary education. On the other hand, Francophone countries tend to develop and expand parallel non-formal education programs. The policy preference in Francophone countries is to support unschooled and dropouts by instilling knowledge and competencies in them to lead productive and meaningful lives in their communities. In the context of high visibility of missing learners from pastoralist groups, one example of alternative education is the formal and nonformal education delivery modalities. One example of alternative education is the formal and nonformal education delivery modalities in the context of high visibility of missing learners from pastoralists groups in Kenya.

The structural adjustment program was associated with public sector austerity due to growing poverty and increasingly unequal distribution of income in many countries. It was done to avoid economic crises and imbalances caused by internal and external shocks and past financial mismanagement (Carnoy, 1995). Structural adjustment reduced government funding for public education programs, lowered personal income and budgets available for education and encouraged private education initiatives. Some authors believe that structural adjudication SAP has harmed public education spending, teacher purchasing power, educational quality, access to education, and the gender gap in education provision at all levels (Babalola, Lungwangwa, and Adeyinka, 1999).

The decrease in adult income makes it more difficult for parents to bear the direct costs of education, such as tuition, fees, books, supplies, uniforms, and private tutoring. It also harmed education outcomes because the children either withdrew from school or were ill-prepared. Examining the performance of Sub-Saharan African countries that were adjusting, Reimers (1994) observed a decline in the learning conditions stemming from per capita income which constrained the household to contribute to the work of schools. Recognizing the importance of education in the face of limited educational opportunities, communities began providing education.

Structural adjustment put conditions on aid-receiving nations thereby fostered a neoliberal approach to economic growth. Despite rhetoric about the partnership, the IMF and World Bank emphasized governments' reduced responsibilities, multi-party democracy, and civil society's

duty in supporting development by promising debt relief. The global neoliberal approach has shifted the government's role from being a provider of social services to being a facilitator. It emphasized free markets, privatization, civil society partnerships, and creating social safety nets for the poor.

The structural adjustment also spearheaded other economic policies that were central to the emergence of community schools. Privatization was one such approach, which extended to education. Privatization is a global phenomenon with multiple manifestations. Here, I focus on how privatization manifested in the Global South and affected education supply. Verger, Fontdevila, and Zancajo (2016:7) broadly describe privatization as a process in which private organizations and people participate progressively and actively in a range of activities and duties that have previously been the purview of the state. They, however, stress that this does not mean a drastic transfer of ownership of education services from the public to private hands, in contrast to other sectors. They emphasize, however, that this does not entail an outright shift of control of education services from public to private hands, as has occurred in other sectors. Due to structural factors and government inertia in the face of rising educational demand, the global education privatization drive offered communities an opportunity to provide their education. According to Cordelli (2013), privatization in education takes the form of a voluntary sector formed by community-based organizations, philanthropists and charitable societies, religious and cultural associations to independently provide support to the disadvantaged, and contributed to the strengthening of social solidarity. Cordelli's example of privatization in education exemplifies the community school model of education.

Furthermore, structural adjustment occurred in many countries, including Zambia, because the government actively promoted it. It resulted in generations of students receiving some level of market dynamic education. While privatization was promoted to increase choice, improve quality, increase efficacy, or increase equity, others opposed it. Verger, Fontdevila and Zancajo (2016), for example, noted that privatization undermined labour conditions, the rights of their members as well as the status of the teaching professionals. Having looked at the global context of community schools, I now move to look at the national factors that influenced the emergence of community schools in Zambia.

1.2 Background and context to the study

Zambia, a former British Protectorate, got its independence in October 1964. Geographically, it is a landlocked country in Southern Africa, bordering the following eight countries: Angola, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Namibia, Mozambique, Tanzania and Botswana. See Figure 1.1.



Figure 1.1: The political map of Zambia

Source: TUBS (2014)

Zambia's population includes tribal groups as well as refugees and asylum seekers from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Zimbabwe and Rwanda. The country also has a stable group of Asian people, most of whom are Indian and Chinese. In recent years, several displaced White farmers from Zimbabwe have been integrated into the country. They joined the small number of existing Whites who were resident in Zambia. Just like Zambia embraces population diversity, it also embraces religious diversity. Zambia is officially a Christian nation as proclaimed by the 1996 constitution. CSO (2010) found that 85 per cent of the population in the country was Christian. The minority religious groups included Islamic, Hindu and

traditional practices that are freely embraced and account for the 15 per cent centage is for other religious groups.

Regarding the social and cultural context, Zambia has 72 languages with others considered as dialects. Ethnic groups are concentrated in particular provinces. Tribal identities are significant in Zambia as they are linked to family allegiance. However, all ethnic groups are significantly represented in Lusaka and in the Copperbelt province. Due to the effects of urbanisation on linguistics, people assimilate words from other languages. Njanya is one such language, which despite not being part of the 72 languages is widely spoken in Lusaka among interethnic families. Of these languages, seven – Bemba, Chewa, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Lunda, and Luvale – are recognised regional languages and are taught in schools. The country's official language of communication and instruction is English.

Economically, Zambia is heavily reliant on copper production and agriculture, which has made it vulnerable to falling commodity prices and poor harvests weakened by drought (World Bank, 2016). This subsequently has led to a weakening economy, reduced household income and high-food income. This situation is dire when one considers that, over the years, Zambia has accumulated public expenditure arrears and that domestic borrowing at high yields impacts the private sector. This narrows the government's spending on social services such as education, which leads it to resort to cost-sharing. While cost-sharing is effective in sustaining the education sector, poor households are affected negatively. The financial cost of schooling becomes high, making it hard for poor parents to afford schooling for their children. In this vein, the financial cost of education is likely to limit the demand for education as poor households often need children to work in income-generating activities and domestic household work.

The political, economic and social heartbeat of Zambia is Lusaka, home to much of the population. This study was conducted in Lusaka district, the national capital, which is in Lusaka Province, one of the ten provinces of Zambia. Lusaka Province has six districts: Chilanga, Kafue, Chirundu, Chongwe, Luangwa and Lusaka itself. The city of Lusaka is the smallest of these districts, and yet the most densely populated. While the projected population of Lusaka Province in 2019 was 3 308 438, the projected population for Lusaka District for the same year was 2 627 716 (Central Statistics Office, 2020 This is as a result of people coming into the city

from many other places, both inside and outside the country. The city thus has people from diverse geographic and increasingly linguistic and ethnic groups.

Starting out as a village under Chief Mwalusakasa, Lusaka owes its development as a town in 1931 to its central geographical location. The district is now the centre of both commerce and government and connects to the rest of Zambia by three railways and four main highways heading north, east, west and south of the country. The growth of Lusaka as a city is associated with the building of infrastructure to provide transport, city council service delivery and communication links. This development attracted an inflow of people fleeing poverty and underdevelopment from rural areas and seeking an improved life. However, the provision of essential infrastructure and services failed to keep pace with the rapidly increased population in the city and as such many challenges have arisen. Urbanisation in Lusaka means living in an overcrowded area, struggling with inadequate funds to address the problems of unemployment, youth delinquency, and rising incidents of crime (Daniel, 2011). Furthermore, urbanisation has had an influence on the access to and quality of education.

1.2.1 Education as historical framework of the education development in Zambia

At independence in 1964, Zambia had a shortage of skilled workers. As such, the educational policies that followed were targeted at human resource development (Shizha and Abdi, 2005). This need called for educational reform that would increase access and provide equal opportunities for all children. The Education Act of 1966 was subsequently ratified by the Government of Zambia. In all instances of providing, financing and managing education in the country, this Act gave the state control of the education system thereby making it the sole decision-making power (Shizha and Abdi, 2005). Because of the Education Act of 1966, and later the National Development Plan Strategy that promoted nationalisation of previously private enterprise, the Zambian education system became so centralised that private institutions were forced to hand over their schools to the state. This policy implementation was motivated by a fear that private schools were likely to facilitate class structures and segregation amongst the people of various social strata (Mwalimu, 2014).

In the 1970s, as a result of the rapid population growth of Zambia, there was an increasing amount of rural-urban migration and diminishing national fiscal budgets and, as a result of the significant fall in copper prices, things started to change (Abdi et al., 2005; Mwalimu, 2014). For example, between 1963 and 1980, the urban portion of Zambia's

population rose from 20 to 45 per cent (Daniel, 2011). In the late 1980s and 1990s, this worsening economic condition was further compounded by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) policies. The public sector had grown considerably in terms of jobs, administrative responsibilities and service delivery based on high and increasing mineral revenues. Any contraction effort was likely to create opposition from workers and beneficiaries in the public sector. The combination of the general economic downturn, foreign-exchange shortages and sluggish agricultural growth led to reduced investment in social services like education. As a result, infrastructure was deteriorating at a rapid rate due to lack of maintenance. Therefore, in the mid-1980s, the United National Development Independent Party (UNIP), the government, adopted the SAPs as a prerequisite to accessing external finance from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These conditions led to a shift towards market-led reforms.

In 1991, Zambia was marked by a change of government from UNIP, with its socialist ideologies, to the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), which embraced democratisation. Inherent in the shift of these political ideologies were fundamental swings in the values that upheld public education. Subsequently, the change in government and the economic crisis advanced a paradigm shift in the policies that guided the education system. In this study, I believe that state-led debates on market-led reforms have had a far-reaching impact not just on Zambia's economy and foreign relations but also on the education system (Mwalimu, 2014). The transition to market-led reforms proposed citizen participation as a general solution to many public-service deficiencies. So, it comes as no surprise that Bray (2003) highlights that the promotion of community partnership became stronger as the financial and other limitations of government capacity gained more recognition. In this regard, Barnett (2013) sees community engagement in education as a necessity for efficient, accountable and sustainable education. This involvement is based on the disputed belief that communities can leverage local capital more effectively than the central government to meet local needs. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that community engagement is both conceptually and functionally quite difficult (Naidoo, 2009).

In the case of quality education, increased population growth creates excessive competition for the education space, leading to large class sizes and some children being left out of the education system. Equally, the population increase puts a strain on teachers and the provision for adequate learning materials. Thus, Lusaka is a site that offers many employment

opportunities, yet it can be a place of danger at the same time. It is full of poverty and privilege, and this is reflected in the education system. Education at the national level in Zambia is managed by the Ministry of Education (MOE). ‘At the lower levels, the Provincial Education Offices (PEOs), coordinate and supervise the District Education Board Secretariats (DEBS)’ (Zambia, S. A. Y.,2015:1). In relation to the goals of the Educating our Future education policy, the DEBS manage, maintain and monitor the schools in the respective districts. The system of education in the country has a variety of school types which are categorised as: government (public), private, grant-aided-run and community schools.

Since the adoption of the free primary education programme in 2002, public schools in Zambia are now entirely subsidised by the government. This was introduced to ensure that every child had access to education. However, due to the population growth rate and weak economy, not every child can be accommodated in the public schools. The grant-aid schools are mainly run by churches while receiving government a grant (Carmondy, 2015). Most Zambian schools, however, have reported that the grant is erratic and insufficient to meet the cost of teaching and materials and other operations cost. In this vein, at primary school level, the schools charge user fees. The private schools are independently funded, while community schools are community funded in addition to a government grant for the registered schools. Although community schools receive a government grant, they do not fall under grant-aided schools because the school operation and structures are different.

It is estimated that Zambia is one of the countries with the highest levels of poverty, with 58 per cent of Zambia's 16.6 million population earning less than \$1.90 a day in 2015. Major budget cuts aimed at reducing the budget deficit reduced household transfers and other social spending to a substantial degree, worsening the short-term plight of lower income groups (Agenor, Izquierdo and Jensen, 2007). One of the most profound problems facing the world today is poverty. Habitat for Humanity (2018) has indicated that 60 per cent of Zambia's population is below the poverty line. Poverty affects education because it has a direct influence on the opportunities available to learners in order to reach the same degree of academic success as learners who do not live-in poverty.

1.2.2 Historical and political context of education

Having looked at the economic context of Zambia, I proceed, in the next section, to look at the historical and political context of education in relation to the development of community

schools in Lusaka, Zambia. The contextual setting of the urban community primary school is an important one as it gives readers the picture of the ‘where’, ‘who’, ‘what’ and ‘when’ of research, making it easier to understand the background to the study (Abiolu, 2019). In what follows, I present background literature on the policy context of urban community schooling. I draw attention to how a range of policies and trends over time has led to the current urban community provision of education. In so doing, I give a macro level picture of the impact of various reforms and ideologies in Zambia on education provision. The historical synopsis contributes to the understanding of how the nature of learning is negotiated with others within the historical and situational contexts of community schools. Global as well as national experience has dominated the background of community schooling, leading to the present order of things. These include, among others: urbanisation, the SAP, decentralisation (Hoppers, 2005) and alternative education (DeStefano, 2006). Important to note, however, is that these phases do not fit into a systematic account but overlap and discontinue between the stages.

This section has provided a brief analysis of education provision against the framework of education policy leading to the establishment of community schools in Zambia. This led to a new wave of community schools located in marginal areas of poorer countries, such as the outlying suburbs of Lusaka, which are the subject of this study (Hoppers, 2015). To date, a push for providing access to basic education for all has progressively become an essential feature of education policy in developing countries. This has contributed to the growth of partnerships in the education sector as a vital resource to take care of disadvantaged out-of-school children (Shizha and Abdi, 2006). This trend emerged with the liberalisation–democratisation of states and the adoption of alternative means of education. Although the origins in the earliest days of extending school partnerships were in the human capital, there was a perceived shift to focus on the human rights perspective.

Currently, Zambia’s education system is framed within neoliberalism politics. Neoliberalism politics include extensive economic liberalisation policies such as unrestricted free trade, privatisation and fiscal austerity – cutting government spending and raising taxes. These are global phenomena that Mwalimu (2014) claims create inequality rather than quality by incapacitating the most vulnerable in schools. These agendas, which drive education provision in Zambia, argue that the economy needs an educated population that includes the now-marginalised young population that is either out of school or leaving school without the

necessary competencies. As Gutherson, Daszkiewicz and Davies (2011) noted, the costs of failing young people were significant, not just in the young person's life and their families but also for the nation. As such the task was then to develop policies that offered educational opportunities for all children. This trend is reflected in the Zambian government's initiative to recognise alternative and complementary education programmes as legal education entities, so as keep all children in school. This development of policies promoting a decentralised provision for education is not unique to Zambia. Rather, it is a global trend that in many developing countries increases the role of communities in education (Carney and Bista, 2009).

Most of the policy context surrounding the current increasing advocacy of community engagement in education is related to changes to the decentralisation of education obligations (Bray, 2003). Decentralisation enables the State to give up and entrust some of its control and power to the local district and school authorities (Shizha and Abdi, 2005). The decentralisation policies were largely a grassroots trend in the form of civic involvement (Hoppers, 2005). Its core objectives were to eliminate poverty and inequality and to empower local communities and civil institutions (Mainali and Semida, 2013). The process of decentralisation brought about changes in the way school systems in Zambia went about policymaking. Among the significant education policies that were launched after this transition of ideologies were the 1992 Focus on Learning and the 1996 Educating our Future policy documents. I have singled out these policies as they legalised the path for decentralisation that affected education provision in the country. The 1992 Focus on Learning policy document highlighted issues of resource mobilisation to support education provision, while the 1996 Educating our Future document emphasised, among others, issues related to decentralisation in the MOE. The goal of Educating our Future policy was to increase access, decentralise, increase equity, promote better partnerships and enhance primary education quality and coordination (MOE, 1996; Shizha and Abdi, 2005). Carney and Bista (2009) have concluded that the achievement of effective, accountable, sustainable education and community involvement in schooling by policymakers and practitioners is significant. Decentralisation was also intended to make government divest some responsibility for ownership, resources and influence over education and transfer these to voluntary organisations and private enterprises. This also aimed to grant local units legal and financial authority and to increase community participation in education (Shizha and Abdi, 2005). Arguing to the contrary, Fiske (1996) stated that while there were some reasons why national leaders decentralised, most reasons had little to do with the

improvement of learning. Following the 1996 Educating our Future policy document, the Government of Zambia released the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) covering the period 2006–2010 (Zambia self-assessment report: 1). Unlike Educating Our Future, the FNDP acknowledged the vital role of community and religious organisations in offering access to underserved urban and rural communities through alternatives to government education (Mwalimu, 2014). Following the political shift to the MMD, and with the aid of foreign aid and a peaceful climate, alternative schools started to build strong network systems in Zambia. Although the FNDP acknowledges the role of alternative education in expanding education access, Mwalimu (2014) states that the Zambian government fails to offer systematic provisions, coordination or assistance to alternative service providers. Even though the country's Education Act of 2011 established guidelines for the registration and operation of community schools (Education Act 2011, section 76), the guidance offered by the Act did not provide for a transition and integration plan for community schools to follow. Mwalimu (2014) claims that the neo-liberalisation policy creates inequality rather than quality by undermining the most vulnerable in schools. As such, the task would rather be to develop policies that offered educational opportunities to all children.

The Educating our Future policy document asserts that while the government should continue being the primary provider of education, it should provide more diversity, giving alternative paths for accessing education by strengthening community engagement and other collaborations with different stakeholders (Shisha and Abdi, 2005). In this regard, Naidoo (2009) proposed that NGOs could facilitate partnerships between government and the local community and help to delineate the roles and responsibilities of each. The resurgence of community schools is not attributed to one cause. The backdrop is more complex than many macro level policy documents usually assume. Zambia is not unusual in this promotion of policies supporting the decentralised provision of education. Instead, it is a global trend that promotes community engagement in education in many developing countries (Carney and Bista, 2013). This trend is reflected in the government initiative to recognise alternative and complementary education programmes for schools as legal education entities so as keep all children in school (Carney and Bista, 2009).

1.2.3 Provision of education of education

Access to quality education is a basic human right and a precondition for promoting social justice (UNESCO, 2010). In 2000, the international community's World Education Forum held in Dakar, Senegal, Zambia reaffirmed its commitment to ensuring access to universal free primary education for all children in challenging situations, especially girls and those from ethnic minorities. The emphasis on making primary education easy to obtain for all school-age children was partly due to powerful economic arguments (UNESCO, 2008; Belfield and Levin, 2007) and democratic arguments (Glaeser, Panzetto and Shleifer, 2007) relating to educated population national growth. Although it is undeniable that countries have made enormous strides toward achieving this goal, the commitment to EFA, together with the wave of the global financial and economic crisis that characterised this century, saw the Zambian government grapple with declining revenue (Bourdon et al., 2006). The crisis put pressure on national budgets and subsequently threatened the financing of education. Consequently, the constrained education budgets pose a severe threat to the provision of education for all. This problem is dire, especially when one considers that primary education is generally regarded globally as a responsibility of the state.

As part of the significant effort to create educational opportunities for some of the neediest children in the country, Zambia adopted community schools as an alternative to education provided to all. Hoppers (2005) describes community schools as a central meeting place, sometimes even without structures, where members of a community meet, organise and execute their educational activities of the national primary school curriculum for the out-of-school children, especially girls, orphans and vulnerable children between the ages of six and 18 years.

Like urban schools in the United States, community primary schools in Zambia represent the most imperial group of students at risk. The learners encounter higher rates of teenage pregnancies, broken families and drug use. Hoppers (2005) and Miller-Grandvau and Yoder (2002) note that community schooling has been practised in many developing countries for a long time. However, its idea of alternative education as a developing strategy is relatively new. Through support from local and international communities and the government's recognition of the critical role played by community schools in contributing to the realisation of EFA,

community primary schools in Zambia have grown into a national movement accounting for over 33 per cent of the net enrolment in primary schools (CSO, 2012; MOE, 2007).

It can thus be said that for poor and vulnerable children in developing countries like Zambia, who cannot access formal education, alternative and non-formal education programmes provide resources that offer vast opportunities to maximise the children's potential for development. The advocacy of provision for non-state education hinges on its ability to understand organisational structures, agendas and activities that are viewed as more creative, accountable and cost-effective (Rose, 2007). At the same time, Teamey (2007) sees them as having more awareness of community needs than that offered by the state. The popularity of alternative primary education (APE) can be attributed to a higher number of out-of-school children (Mwalimu, 2010). APE has gained importance due in part to the inadequacies and problems of the formal education system which manifest themselves in low levels of both the internal and external efficiency of the system, high dropout rates and incredible learning achievements (Thompson, 2001). In *Educating Our Future*, Zambia's policy document on education, APE is referred to as outreach learning programmes for children who cannot attend schools (MOE, 2006) and, more recently, has been described as an alternative provision of basic education by non-governmental organisations (Education Act 2011, section 76). Regarding management and objectives of community schools, many developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America reveal a variety of models. This is based on their premise that provision by NGOs is part of a process of mainstreaming children into formal systems.

This is compounded by the context of considerable budget constraints in the form of a large unserved and underserved population, limited capacity to provide quality services, and social norms and economic incentives that prevent full utilisation of education services (Riddle and Nino-Zarazua, 2015). Instead of focusing on equity concerns, neo-liberal policies have highlighted financial constraints. They have advocated the liberation of trade and the privatisation of public-owned enterprises as part of a programme to eliminate barriers to economic growth. This has changed the state of non-formal education. As a result, in 1991 Zambia was marked by the change of government from the UNIP with socialist philosophies to the MMD which promoted democratisation. Inherent in the transition of these political philosophies are fundamental shifts in principles that sustain public education. Justification

for this study centres on the following interrelated premises, the change in government and the economic crisis advanced a paradigm shift in the policies that guided the education system.

1.3 Rationale and motivation of the study

Based on the background and context, in this section I justify my reasons for conducting this study. Justification for this study centres on the following interrelated premises:

- Research scarcity on understanding education from a complex multidimensional perspective
- Most research focuses on understanding education in urban community schools from the performance perspective through the national examination
- Urban community primary school performance was done in comparison with the public schools

I base the justification of the study on my personal, conceptual, professional and scholarly reasons.

Personally, between 2004 and 2007, I volunteered with a group of education professionals, mostly from Michigan State University in the USA, who came on mission trips to Zambia through Campus Crusade for Christ Zambia annually. Part of the mission of the group was to offer in-service training to some community-school teachers in Lusaka. While volunteering in community schools, I constantly reflected on the opposing view of the effectiveness of community primary schools through my uncle's account and my grandmother's questions about the education offered in schools. Later, as I started a teaching career as a high school teacher, these questions weighed heavily on my mind. In most cases, my greatest challenge was how to navigate my desire to be an effective teacher in the face of negative internal and external factors that affected learning in schools to enhance the learners' life chances. To explore some of these issues, I decided to pursue a Master of Sociology in Education degree, hoping that understanding schools as organisations would help me to explain the nature of learning in community schools. As I read books and gathered information, I soon found that North American and European scholars highly influenced what I read and that there was a lack of analytical knowledge to explain the contextual nature of learning in schools that are mostly for children from disadvantaged backgrounds like community schools, particularly in the African

context. My drive in this study was initially inspired by this need. With the nature of learning being this close to my own experience, it laid the foundation of the thesis.

Although my experiences linked me to the schools and my research participants, this does not necessarily mean that I understood the nature of learning in community schools. I needed to understand my experiences more than simply being familiar with it. I need sociological, philosophical, educational and other disciplines to understand it. Over time, this stimulated a formal interest in the how the under-resourced schools are working towards facilitating education to help learners maximise their potential so that there are ready for skilled employment or higher education and be lifelong learners under constrained resources with untrained teachers.

I therefore bring to this inquiry process, the practical experience of working with community-school teachers and having both knowledge and understanding of the socio-political and economic contexts. This awareness of the context has provided me with some insight into the nature of these schools. While the experiences that I bring to this study are valuable in providing insight, I recognise that they could serve as a problem, based on my being a partial insider in terms of my research design and interpretation of findings. However, having declared my theoretical orientation of teachers in community schools throughout the study, I tried to engage in critical self-reflection by way of journaling. My overall personal inspiration was to explore the urban schooling nature of the processes of education in community schools from a critical, localised and participant-informed perspective.

Equally, I was conceptually motivated to conduct this study. During my master's programme, I did an assignment on school organisations. As mentioned above, there was not enough knowledge about learning in urban schools for the poor to enable me to answer questions relating within Zambia. This compelled me further to set out to explore the nature of community primary schools and urban schools. It flows that my research focuses on the contextual nature of learning in community schools.

Another justification for my study was professionally motivated. As a volunteer in community schools, my understanding of urban schooling in community schools was based on the education of individuals or groups rather than on the larger forces which frame education opportunities and dilemmas. This study steps back from the diagnostic and remedial aspects of

education characterising research in under-resourced schools or schools serving poor communities. It goes beyond the individuals and groups to focus on the culture which defines education in the schools. It is asserted that culture, rather than the individual or social group, must be the crucial analytic unit for education research. By understanding how the culture shared in community schools creates education dilemmas and opportunities, this study can potentially pave the way to solving the dilemmas or maximise the opportunities of learning, respectively. Through cultural analysis, this study has the potential not to solve problems or defend the victims but to reorganise society so that the kinds of challenges experienced in urban schooling does not come up again.

This study might provide policymakers with baseline data to identify gaps in learning performance in community schools against the government reforms of developing lifelong learners and then determine whether the gaps are worth addressing through an intervention. The study could further be used to examine the gaps and identify possible causes of the gaps which might be employed to determine an appropriate intervention. Additionally, by showing the disparity between what is expected in terms of desirable learning and the existing conditions in community schools, the study could inform policy around an effective learning environment in under-resourced schools.

Finally, my study is scholarly motivated. Despite a resurgence of the works of theorists of complexity and a renewed interest in the more complex view of education, researchers do so without necessarily embracing complexity theory (Opfer and Pedder, 2011). In the same vein, little has been done to try and understand the contextual nature of education in community primary schools from a complex perspective. Evidence from Hamusunga (2012), UNICEF (2012) and MOE (2007) indicates that most studies by local government and international organisations in Zambia that focus on learning concentrate more on measuring enrolment and completion rates than on learning achievement rates by concentrating on standardised testing and examinations. Studies by the African Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ), the World Bank and UNESCO, for example, further illustrate the focus on attaining desirable levels in mathematics and literacy comparing them to different countries across the continent (UNESCO: 2008).

The increasing emphasis on academic achievement in Zambia and the world in general has led to a search for the best ways to find out the effectiveness of learning. A great deal of this

research is quantitative, but there are frustrations with test scores and comparative assessment, as they tend to show uniformly high levels of satisfaction. The challenge at hand is that such studies deal only with one of the processes of education. However, this is not to say that these approaches are wrong as different processes of teaching and learning can be studied separately (Opfer and Pedder, 2011). Preferably it means that these studies do not cover an extensive field of education. It is for this reason that this study attempts to look at both the internal and external interaction process within a specific context of community schools. There is thus the need for research for different ways to understand education in community schools and a need for qualitative research in this area of study. This study therefore seeks to fill that gap by using qualitative case study methods to understand the contextual nature of learning within the community schools more fully, including an understanding of which inputs and factors are most significant in determining the nature of learning.

It is further imperative to explore a complex understanding of Zambian education. As in other countries, education is a complex system which involves processes, mechanisms, actions and multiple variables and interactions which might not be predictable on the onset. A study on the contextual nature of learning in Zambian community schools is essential for several reasons. First, understanding education within a context can reveal the underlying framework of community primary school learning activities and environment that might help organisational stakeholders evaluate teaching and learning strategies. Secondly, such an endeavour will hopefully contribute to the literature on addressing the nature and quality of education in community primary school systems by identifying areas that can improve the learning environment for the learners. Thirdly, the focus on the learning can identify patterns of interaction that could describe the contextual nature of learning in community schools and devise appropriate intervention if necessary.

1.4 Role of the researcher

Due to the importance of the research process and its multifaceted aspects, as a researcher I analysed the learning phenomenon from the viewpoint of the participants by the use of semi-structured interviews and field notes. For that reason, my role in the study entailed listening to the voices and experiences of community school head teachers and teachers and observing the teachers in their natural settings. I tried to discover the meaning that teachers and head teachers in the school ascribed to the concepts I asked about to develop an optic view (Ladner, 2012) of

education in community schools. I did this by first asking about concepts relevant to the research questions, theoretical and conceptual frameworks I developed in Chapter 3. I asked what the concepts meant to them, what needed to be improved and how it should be improved. Through observation, I reported on the daily experiences of the members of community schools involved in the process of what was being studied. I observed the experiences of the individuals involved as outsiders. My starting point in the study was that I had to position myself both as insider and outsider. As an insider, I had background knowledge and the previous experience with the field training teachers. At the time of data collection, my experience was with teaching at high school but never in a primary school nor a community school. I entered the field with formally specified research questions. Primarily, I wanted to know the nature of education in community schools.

My role was also to explain to participants the aim of research, get informed consent for their participation and explain that the interviews would be recorded and transcribed for analysis and photos would be taken. My role was not to manipulate the situation in schools but to catch the dynamic nature of education and seek trends and patterns. In deciding on what to focus on, I concentrated on large units of behaviour which were determined by my research goal and theoretical interest. I avoided the small groups of behaviour to avoid the risk of taking them out of context, such that their meanings would thereby be reduced. I also analysed and interpreted the data. I ensured that enough opportunity was accorded to participants to review the interpretation of the data to clear any misunderstandings. Equally, I tried to adhere to the ethical standards as stipulated in qualitative research.

In doing this study, I am hoping to contribute to empirical research on the contextual nature of learning in community schools which are mostly understood in terms of achievement using quantitative input–output analyses of data from large-scale surveys. I hope the study will identify a significant system-wide variable that provides a qualitative deeper-nuanced understanding of the contextual nature of learning.

1.5 Statement of the study

The task of providing quality, sustainable education for vulnerable children and youths in urban communities is a major challenge, both in national and international contexts. In Zambia, community primary schools, a form of urban schooling for the poor, is said to be comparatively advantaged over state provision (Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016; Rose, 2008). Previous

research has suggested that despite operating with substantially fewer resources, urban community schools often outperform public schools on the national examination. The CSO (2012) reached a similar conclusion and evidence shows that, in some cases, community school learners outperformed those in the mainstream public schools. The focus of this line of performance reporting (Ng, 2010) is premised on the school accountability model.

In the context of this study, the reliance on national standardised testing and performance-level data is problematic on at least two levels. One level of concern is that performance focuses solely on the aggregated level of analysis whose conclusions remain very broad. The other problem is that the variance in learner performance is done in comparison with public schools. The challenge with this approach is that it explores two education systems as identical samples when they are heterogeneous. Furthermore, some studies have found that standardized tests, which are commonly used to assess learning in community schools, do not accurately reflect achievement in authentic learning (Miller-Granvaux, 2002; CSO, 2012). Taken together, the arguments above remind us that as important as high stakes testing is, determining the quality of learning by alternative means are desirable. Therefore, the pressing need now is to understand the contextual nature of learning from multiple perspectives.

1.6 The focus of the study

The aim of the study is to explore the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka. More specifically, the focus of this study is to explore the major features of learning in selected community schools and suggest reasons why the contextual learning is the way it is. What must be emphasised at the outset is that although the focus of my study is on learning, teaching is a key facilitator thereof and thus I consider them to be two sides of the same coin.

1.7 The purpose of the study

The goal of the study was twofold. First, the purpose was to explore the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka, Zambia. Secondly, the study sought to understand how and why the identified learning traits occurred.

1.8 Research questions posed

The following are the primary research questions that guided my study:

- What is the contextual nature of learning in community schools Lusaka?
- Why is the contextual nature of learning in the selected community schools of Lusaka, Zambia the way it is?

Agee (2009) points out that qualitative research questions are significant in shaping study design and analysis. Likewise, during an inquiry, research questions serve as a tool for discovery as well as for clarity and focus. The research questions in this study served to articulate what I wanted to understand about the social and educational processes as well as the perspectives of those involved in the social interaction about the nature of learning in the urban community schools. I also used my research questions as an entry to the research field under study and to set the boundaries of this research. I also used them to determine the research methodology. My research questions were formed out of an interaction between the literature and my personal experiences which informed my general research interest. Taken together, the research questions helped me to develop a clear understanding of the predominant principals of teaching and learning in the urban community primary schools. This enabled me to appreciate the nature of learning in the schools and the reasons behind it.

1.9 Outline of chapters

Besides the orientation set out in Chapter 1, this study is organised as in Figure 1.2.

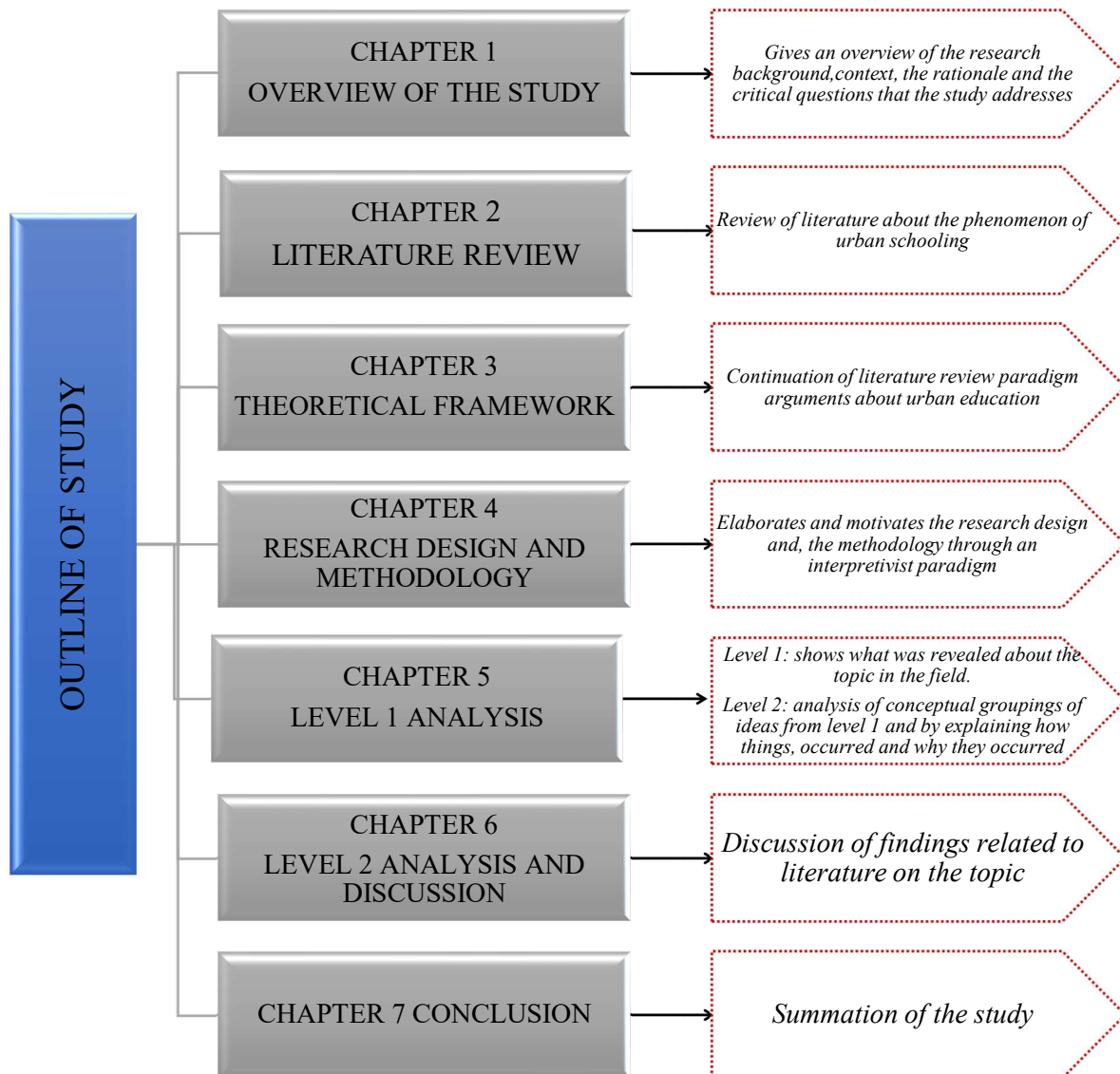


Figure 1.2: Outline of the study

Chapter 1 Introducing my study

This chapter offers background context that frames the study by giving a general overview that provides the research goal, rationale and potential contribution to the analysis. I also discuss the research questions and succinctly present the research design as well as the methodological choices I made.

Chapter 2 Reviewing the literature on urban education and community schools

In Chapter 2, I review the pertinent literature on urban education and community primary schools. It explores the literature to locate and ground my study and determine findings from significant debates in the field of study.

Chapter 3 Framing the study theoretically and conceptually

Chapter 3 details a theoretical construct of fundamental concepts in the form of a conceptual framework, which is a repository for the findings as well as a tool for analysis.

Chapter 4 Research design and methodology

It elaborates and motivates the research methodology and research design used in the study. The chapter also describes how the sample was selected and determined. The chapter further discusses the observation and in-depth interview as methods of data collection as these were the primary instruments of data collection. In addition to the processes followed in the analysis and interpretation of findings, ethical considerations relevant to the study have been addressed. In Figure 1.2, I present a visual summary of the research, which is addressed in detailed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 Level 1 and 2 analysis

I organise data into groups and interpret it in relation to what the study revealed. I present the findings which I foreground with a detailed presentation of each institutional biography to make sense of the findings. Hereafter, I evaluate the processed data and note the recurring trends. This helps me explain the operations of community schools and motivate why the learning occurred that way.

Chapter 6 Discussion of the findings

I consolidate and present the findings from the six institutional biographies. I re-visit literature and theoretical constructs that I found compatible with the findings of my study. I also provide a reflection on constructing literature and indicate the silences encountered.

Chapter 7 Conclusion of the study

Chapter 7 concludes my study and links the results to the research questions in Chapter 1 and the findings of this study are compared with the current literature in Chapter 2. The chapter

also presents the challenges and the input of the thesis and recommends further research, practice as well as professional development for teachers in community schools.

1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I introduced my study as well as the chapter. I did this to give the reader an initial focus and purpose of the thesis and offered a clear guide to the focus, purpose and structure of the chapter, respectively. I also explained the historical, social-economic and political background. I also looked at the purpose and research questions that guided my study. Following this brief, I offer a methodological and a general overview of the study. In the next chapter, I review literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, my review of the literature aims, (a) at understanding the pedagogical importance of my query about the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka and (b) at understanding the complexity of my research topic in the context of teaching and learning interaction. Newman and Gough (2020) and Hart (2018) assert the significance of a literature review by stating that without it one cannot acquire the understanding of their topic.

I have organised this chapter into three broad sections whereby I first discuss the rationale for the steps I took to conduct my literature review; secondly, I discuss the nature of teaching and learning globally and in the Zambian urban context; and thirdly I identify and discuss the gaps in the literature about my phenomenon. I used the nature of education and urban community schooling as the broadest body of knowledge to direct the theoretical and empirical development of the contextual nature of learning in urban community primary schools.

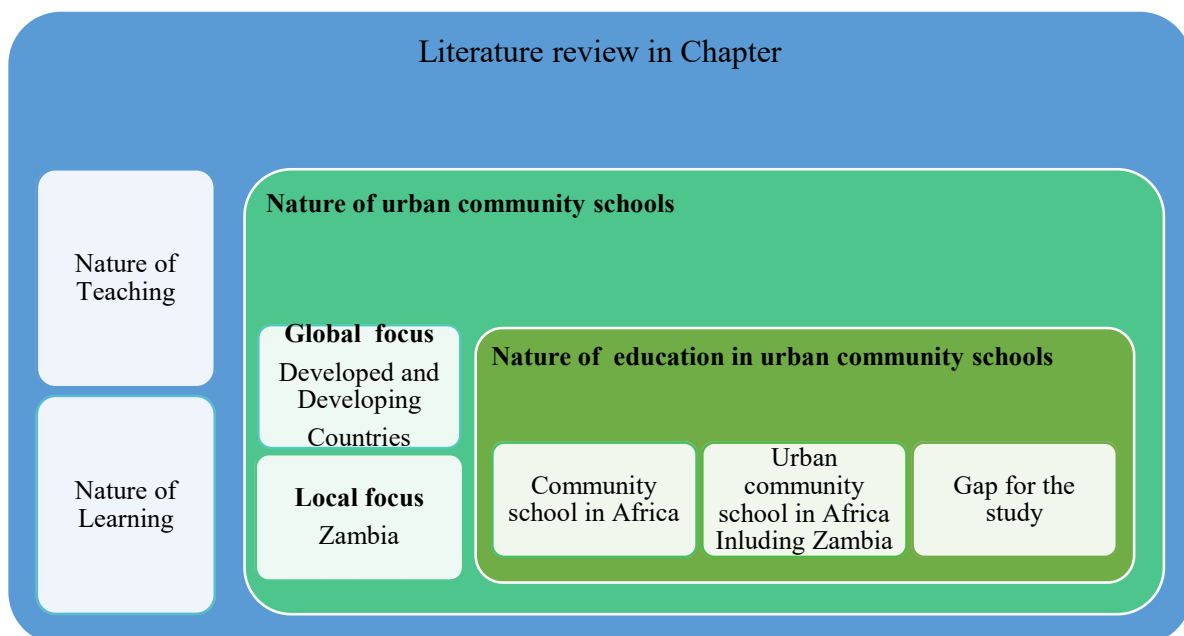


Figure 2.1: Interrelatedness of the sources of literature supporting my theoretical framework

2.2 What is a literature review?

A literature review is a scholarly analysis that provides an overview of the current scholar knowledge of the subject (Newman and Gough, 2020). It typically requires a systematic analysis of empirical observations and theoretical claims related to a phenomenon. It is further used to consider not only what research and theorisation have been conducted on a topic, but also what studies have yet to be studied (McEwan, 2017). I thus use the term ‘literature review’ to refer to what is known and what is relevant for my research phenomenon and also whether new research is needed to resolve unanswered issues (Newman and Gough, 2019).

Therefore, we can assume that a literature review requires exploring existing studies using an explicit level of analysis and a secondary research which puts together the results of the primary research for the question to be addressed. A comprehensive analysis of literature is essential to the quality and usefulness of the research (Boote and Beile, 2005). Hart (2018) argues that a literature review must provide an understanding of how and why it is conducted as well as how it is used in a study. Likewise, Newman and Gough (2019) argue 'how' significant is the process of carrying out a research review, because the use of established evidence in research can contribute greatly to its validity, and hopefully, guide the education decision-making authorities towards better application of pedagogical policies and practices. Boote and Beile (2005) also found that many of the literature reviews in dissertations were poorly conceptualised or weakly articulated. They argue that, if the literature review is flawed, the rest of the dissertation can also be faulty, as the researchers cannot undertake significant research without first studying the literature in the area. Therefore, to ensure the rigour of my review, below, I highlight the approach I took to conduct my literature review.

2.3 Conducting and presenting the literature review

I conducted this systematic review using the University of Pretoria’s library system to identify, critically evaluate, and summarise the relevant studies describing urban and community schools as well as the nature of education in general and in these schools. I used a systematic literature review to interpret and integrate published work within the academic context and web-based sources. I then brought the material from these different sources together to critically interpret each piece of evidence and create an integrated whole.

The systematic review differs from a narrative one, which appears to be primarily descriptive and typically follows a subset of studies chosen based on the availability of selection and thus

often contains a bias factor. The primary goal of this review is to locate and frame my research and find a basis for the interpretation and discussion of my final findings. Furthermore, the literature review is a significant part of the study, as it highlights both the scholarly knowledge about my subject matter and the degree of its relevance to my inquiry. It has thus allowed me to understand what has been studied together with their strengths and shortcomings (Hart, 2018).

Since my research questions were central to shaping my review of the literature, I determined explicit criteria to detect my data selection (Randolph, 2009). My primary aim was addressed mainly through primary sources, although the secondary sources were important in shaping my understanding of the topic. My review also helped explore the second question that centred on why certain factors may influence the nature of education in community primary schools. I thus looked at literature in English on urban education, community schools, and features of education in community schools in developing countries and excluded studies outside the area of focus.

My data collection of the reviewed literature started with an indistinct electronic search of databases and the internet. Following this, I carefully recorded the searched information that was consistent with the main issues in my research questions and the inclusion criteria. I also searched the references for the literature retrieved to decide which ones were significant for possible inclusion. After this interactive process, I extracted the information in the articles that met the inclusion criteria and the goal of the review. I also searched for contrary findings and rival interpretations. I followed this by developing a data schema and reduced the information in the relevant documents. Once I extracted the literature, I started to analyse, interpret and synthesise it.

As such, I structured my review thematically as there were many facets to my research questions. I first considered each strand of concepts separately before summarising and condensing them at the end of the chapter. In conducting this literature, I was mindful of the requirement to use information that is as current as possible. In most cases, I used sources that were less than ten years old, though, in some cases, I also used dated literature, the importance of which was to show how perspectives have changed over time, and corroborated current sources.

I structured my literature source by publication chronology and not by order of significant trends. I also organised the review around the topics rather than on the progress of time, though in some instances, I followed the progression order as it was inevitable. Within each section, I shifted between periods based on the points made. I also included the current situation to offer information necessary to understand the topic or the focus of the literature.

2.4 The nature of teaching and learning

To understand the interacting dynamics between teaching and learning and specially to assess the nature of learning in urban community schools in Zambia, it is essential to initially understand the acquisition, development and transmission of knowledge in education.

Depending on the goals that teachers try to achieve, teaching is defined in a variety of ways. On close examination, these variations only reflect the differences in the balance among the different goals, such as information acquisition, skills and value criteria development (Hollins, 2015). This argument is in line with the general description of teaching as deliberate actions undertaken to facilitate learning through the imparting of knowledge, skills and values (Taber, 2016).

Loughran (2013), who considers teaching and learning as interlinked, cautions against independently viewing teaching and learning as unintentional, thus promoting a narrow view of teaching. Biesta (2017) illustrates how a focus on learning narrows the view of teaching by citing Ranciere's work on an ignorant schoolmaster. Biesta argues that it is a misinterpretation to imply that everything in education depends on the learning making meaning and that the 'schoolmaster' can only facilitate the process, thus having nothing to add to it. In so doing, this relationship brings to the fore the interplay between teaching and learning and vice versa. According to Loughran (2013), this approach gives insight into the science of educating.

In today's society, however, there is a rise in the broader use of the language of learning in educational discourse and practice. For example, the study of the interpretation of politics learning by Biesta (2017) found that the language of learning considers education as teaching and learning, students as learners, and teachers as facilitators of learning. Biesta explains this stand as mainly being due to new constructivist theories of learning, which concentrate more on learners and their activities than on teachers and their input. On the other hand, this change of focus was due to a greater emphasis on the development of competence in modern society

as well as to ever-evolving, performing-oriented learning, and thus towards a more active role for learners (Sá, Cardoso and Alarcao, 2008). The above descriptions of teaching show a shift from teaching to learning.

In this study, I agree with Nuthall (2004) who believes that teaching is an interactive process in which teachers frequently have to adapt or change methods to meet the curriculum requirements as it relates to the particular needs and skills of their learners at unique times.

Learning is the primary goal of institutions of education (O'Banion and Wilson, 2010). Despite being a dominant topic in research, researchers rarely explicitly state what they mean by the term learning (De Houwer, Barnes-Holmes and Moor, 2013). Meanwhile, Matheson (2014) and Säljö (2009) have captured the difficulty of defining learning. As noted by De Houwer et al. (2013), the struggle in defining learning is rooted in its being a broad concept and lacking general agreement on its definition. Conversely, in the face of this view, De Houwer et al. (2013) have cautioned against ignoring the definitional issues of learning. Elsewhere, Alexander, Schallert and Reynolds (2009) tried to develop an adequate definition of learning. In so doing, they further tried to distinguish learning from maturation, development or accidental changes in a person's capabilities (Säljö,2009).

In trying to develop this adequate definition of learning, Alexander et al. (2009) were of the view that learning should be explored in the context of the 'what', 'where', 'when' and 'who' of learning in practice. This suggests that the nature of human learning draws on several disciplines that include biology, the social sciences, psychology and the humanities. Drawing a dichotomy at a biological level, Middlewood, Parker and OBE (2005) found that individual learning is intricately linked to three different perspectives, namely (a) the cognitive, which focuses on learning as a function of the brain; (b) the empirical, based on individual perspectives that stem from learners' circumstances such as contextual perspectives, gender, developmental stage, age, experience and context; and (c) the contextual perspective that concerns learning as a product of socio-cultural context.

Another avenue from which to view learning is through philosophy. Jarvis (2012) demands that we recognise the philosophical underpinnings of all theories of learning. People's awareness of learning lies in the framework of epistemological and ontological differences between practices (Schunk, 2012). Observing learning from a philosophical perspective,

Schunk (2012) shows that it is profoundly epistemological in that it creates and determines realities, truths and forms of knowledge.

The concept of epistemology alludes to the study of the origin, nature, limits and techniques of knowledge. For Schunks (2012), epistemology poses the following core questions about knowledge: (a) how can we know; (b) how can we learn something new; (c) what is the source of knowledge? Fundamental to how knowledge is acquired are two prominent positions, rationalism and empiricism. Nielsen (2008) describes rationalism as the idea that knowledge derives from reason through the mind with recourse to the senses. The postulation behind rationalism is that nothing exists or has meaning without perceiving it by the mind and that innate true knowledge is inherent and is brought into consciousness through reflection. Rationalism thus regards the mind as designed to reason and act upon information acquired from the world, offering meaning to incoming sensory information.

In contemporary thought, rationalist and empiricist traditions have developed into the two poles of the nature–nurture debate (Matheson, 2014). The discussion on nature–nurture has a long tradition and whether the mental ability is defined by genetic descent or the human condition that can be changed by schooling and social intervention is central to the debate (Bremer, 2017; Salkind and Rasmussen, 2008). Joshnson, Im-Bolter and Pascual-Leon (2003) regard mental capability as crucial in the cognitive function of a person as it determines the ability to activate relevant information, the efficiency of inhibiting irrelevant information and the speed of processing it. According to Rasmussen and Salkind (2008), there are three major sources of mental capacity: biological, domain experience and reflective. The authors argue that while biological-based mental capacity may be difficult to change, both domain experience and reflective thinking are subject to significant environmental influences. From his viewpoint, Bueno (2019) acknowledges that the influences of genes and the environment are not independent, but interdependent. The environmental factors affecting cognition include nutrition, family size, Socio-economic Status (SES) and home background. Bremer also found that when a child’s environment is changed either to a more or less advantaged one, development moves towards the changing environment and to adaptation of the change and the shift. Matheson (2014) also notes that the rationalist and empiricist traditions have a bearing on several education theories. Based on various epistemological viewpoints, both old and modern learning theories are on how the mind acquires knowledge. Most of the learning

theories' epistemological strands are affected by the rationalist and empiricist traditions (Matheson, 2014; Schunk, 2012; Nielsen, 2008).

In trying to invite a fresh perspective on learning, I posit that this is a task that calls for the already existing, direction-finding maps. In this context, I emphasise the review of theories as versions and generalised thinking of the world (Flick, 2009). Matheson (2014) argues that elements from a variety of their and their associated practices are frequently combined to help understand learning. Thomas (2017) construes theory as a description of a phenomenon and interaction of its variables that can explain its nature or predict it occurring. Therefore, in this study, I explore the established views of learning theories because I consider them as vital for offering a better explanation of the phenomenon of learning and, for my quest, a better understanding of the nature of learning in community primary schools in Zambia. Learning theories underline much of the instructional decision-making and transmission of knowledge in education.

2.4.1 Learning theories

Pritchard (2017) and Schunk (2012) have suggested three main theories of learning: behaviourism, cognitivism and constructivism. The learning theories highlight different facets of learning and so each is useful. Wenger (2009) argues that these differences show different assumptions about the nature of knowledge, knowing, the knower and subsequently about what matters in learning. Therefore, the goal of the next section is to give an overview of the major theoretical approaches to learning. I begin by providing a succinct description of each learning theory and identifying their central principles in learning and understanding. From there, I provide a link between their theoretical principles and the practice of teaching and learning in schools. I discuss these learning theories in the order of their development.

Behaviourism is the most well-known of all learning theories and is drawn from the works of Pavlov and Skinner (cited by Jarvis, 2003). Pavlov developed classical conditioning theory, which suggests that learning starts with a stimulus–response relation. Jarvis, Holford and Griffin (2003) points out that Skinner established operant conditioning theory, which maintains that response accompanied by stimulus reinforcement is enhanced and is thus likely to recur (Pritchard, 2014). The emergence of this theory dates to a period after the enlightenment and is a product of science which premises learning on the understanding that only scientifically gathered human data can be a measure tool of behaviour. Schunk (2012) and Pritchard (2009)

found that the theory of behaviourism explains learning in terms of environmental events, focusing on observable behaviour while neglecting mental activity to explain the growth, maintenance and generalisation of behaviour.

Two understandings underpin behaviourism. One is that it is possible to measure knowledge, and the other is that learning is measured by testing and examination. Both perceptions give a clear picture of what skills learners acquire. This teaching approach is seen as indoctrination, as focusing to achieve results, and where the teacher seeks to control the learning. Teachers may feel pressured to use anything, either negative or positive reinforcement, to promote accurate outcomes. To a large extent, the approach takes away the learners' autonomy. Some rote learning may be useful in helping several learners to cope better with various aspects of their work that they find difficult. It is also efficient in establishing classroom behaviour (Pritchard, 2014).

Central to behaviourism is the idea of conditioning individuals by training them to respond to a stimulus (Wilson and Peterson, 2006). Jarvis, Holford and Griffin (2003) observe that behaviourists focus on any form of response to a stimulus with measurable behavioural outcomes rather than with knowledge, values and beliefs. Advocates of the behaviourist approach argue that rewards can be a great incentive to work hard and behave well with punishments, such as a loss of privileges. According to Pritchard (2009), however, a positive approach is likely preferable to a behaviour management approach focused solely on punishments. Pritchard (2009) describes learning as the acquisition of new behaviour due to experience, and that through rewards and reinforcement, behaviour change is accomplished. Meanwhile, De Houwer, Barnes-Holmes and Moors (2013) refute the view of learning as a change in behaviour but rather see it as a determinant of behaviour change. The central concern is that learning is just one of many behaviour-determining mechanisms which are neither necessary nor enough to infer the presence of learning. One limitation levelled against this premise is that it only focuses on the aspect of the measurable behavioural outcome of learning rather than on knowledge, attitude, values and beliefs.

Like images of work on an assembly line, consisting of mechanical operations on individual parts of learning and leaving the worker with little comprehension of the totality of what works, is part of what shapes behaviourist theories. (Nielsen, 2008). This line of thought regarding

the learning is consistent with the characterisation of surface learning by Roman and Bran (2015).

Based on this line of reasoning, behaviourist theory is driven by direct teaching with an emphasis on the transmission of information. It focuses on learners' motivated behaviour as directly depending on the ability of teachers to maintain the attention and interest of their learners by speaking clearly (Wilson and Peterson, 2006).

However, to some children rote learning may be a more useful way to cope better with various aspects of their work that they find difficult. Behaviourism is also problematic as it is likely to produce automatic conformist behaviour since learners are not encouraged to think for themselves. In these terms, learning entails the acquisition of information frames and production rules, whilst knowledge remains independent of instruction; thus, teaching relies on using tests to probe the mastery of knowledge. Due to the problems associated with behaviourism and the development of the science of the mind, cognitivist learning theories took root.

With its roots extending to the late 1950s, cognitivism developed from many contributions by theorists such as Tolma, Piaget, Vygotsky, Bruner and Gestalt who propounded the core ideas of the theory (Nielsen, 2008). In this study, however, I only focus on Vygotsky's and Piaget's main principles and assumptions of cognitivism. Since Vygotsky is considered the most influential proponent of the behaviourist approach to understanding learning, I have avoided reflecting on a broader spectrum of cognitivism.

Education was structured as an industrial and hierarchical organisation of society during the development of cognitivism and it is considered as technologising human relations in education during this time (Nielsen, 2008). Here, both behavioural and cognitive learning have developed from de-contextualised and de-subjectivised social practices. The influence of industrial and bureaucratic paradigms is persistent and ingrained in current educational patterns against the characteristics and needs of the present postmodern society. Therefore, the existing knowledge is insufficient to prepare learners for the demands of an unknown future (Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh, 2009).

As reinforcement and part of behavioural and cognitive theories, the feedback approach to the learning process was developed, including the law of consequence. Feedback underlines an

organisational approach to reinforced learning. In his methodology of feedback, Mory (2004) reveals that both reinforcement and motivation learning approaches overlooked errors.

Like behaviourism theory, cognitivism relies on the role of environmental conditions to facilitate learning. Examples of cognitivist instructional approaches include cognitive apprenticeship, anchored instruction explanations, demonstrations and illustrations and all are instrumental in learning processes. Yilmaz (2011:209) holds that ‘cognitive apprenticeship is a method of helping learners grasp concepts and procedures under the guidance of an expert such as a teacher’. Yilmaz relates cognitive apprenticeship to phases of instruction involving modelling, coaching, articulation, reflection and exploration. It focuses on Vygotsky's theory of the zone of proximal development. This is a zone a person can move to, from the actual to their potential level of development (Shokouhi and Shakori, 2015). Additionally, Shabani, Khatib and Edabi (2010) indicate that the zone of proximal development mediates through environmental tools and capable adult or peer facilitation. The thought is that individuals learn best when working along with others during collaboration and that it is through such collaborative endeavours with more skilled persons that learners internalise new concepts, tools and skills.

Despite its persistent recommendation to be used in schools, behaviourist theories, cognitivism theory has been the target of critical scrutiny (Arponen, 2013). Criticism of the theory considers the essence of human activity as dwelling in personal mental processes at the cost of the role of social surroundings of this activity (Arponen, 2013). Unlike the behaviourist approach, Yilmaz (2011) aligns cognitivism learning theories to the processing of information systems. His paradigm also focuses on using tests to probe the mastery of knowledge. Yilmaz sees an advantage in cognitivism theory as it is being attentive to differences in learners' cognitive structures and their prior knowledge, to help them incorporate new knowledge into the understanding they already have.

From their viewpoint, Jarvis and Parker (2006) think of learning as an existential phenomenon and the product of a combination of processes whereby the whole person, as body and mind, is in a social situation that assists the person to construct experience and be transformed cognitively, emotionally and practically. The combination of all these aspects of an individual's experiences are integrated in one's biography. In this view, learning is seen as a human process through which the whole person is transformed. Consequently, Jarvis and Parker (2006) discard

the idea of cognitive intelligence and intelligent tests in support of the notion that we grow in intelligence through our learning, which indicates that we can be intelligent. This view is supported by Gardner (2011) who argues that Jarvis and Parker's (2006) rejection of cognitive intelligence is based on the proposition that as one learns to respond differently to occurring situations in the world, they can behave more intelligently, due to their learning from experience. They thus consider education to be essential not merely for transmitting knowledge but for individuals who gain knowledge through learning and grow through the development of their own personal qualities.

Kvale (1977), cited in Nielsen (2008), has argued that the information-process thinking of human cognition and learning represents the development of organisational bureaucracy in late modernity, characterised by fixed structures and stable elements. According to this view, education is a linear, sequential, controllable and quantifiable structure with clear beginnings and definite ends (Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh, 2009). It presents knowledge and pedagogy as constant and unchanging, transmitted through facts, concepts and principles. It suggests that teachers can pass on knowledge, the success of which can be measured by standardised testing of learners (Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh, 2009), thereby creating teacher-centred education.

Many of the cognitive theories of information processing are the foundation of other objectivist groups. Duffy and Jonassen (2013) note that behaviourism is not the only objectivist group of theories, but there are also cognitive theories that underlie much of information processing. In line with this, Deubel (2003) argues that prior experience and mental processes play an important role in guiding learning theories and models from cognitive science, such as information processing and problem-solving, rather than stimulation. Cognitivism depends on the investment in mental constructs and mechanisms to describe learning and changes in behaviour. It stresses knowledge acquisition and internal mental processing by directing the perception and interaction of the learner with the instructional design. In this context, learning entails the acquisition of information frames or production rules, whereby knowledge is dependent of instruction; thus, it focuses on using tests to probe the mastery of knowledge.

The basic trends of classroom teaching in cognitive theories are thus defined by their common focus on the active participation of the learner in the learning process. It also emphasises meta-cognitive training, where the use of hierarchical analysis helps to describe and clarify the relationship between conditions. The focus is also on structuring, organising and sequencing

information to facilitate optimal processes creating environments that allow and encourage learners to make a connection with previously learned material (Yilmaz, 2011).

Bearing in mind that the theory of cognitivism considers how instruction is structured and how learning occurs, I have broadened my analysis to include such aspects in identifying and classifying the nature of education in community primary schools. I found this theoretical framework useful for this study because it presents a lens to analyse the different education practices in community primary schools which determine the nature of the applied educational approaches.

Over the past twenty years, constructivism has grown as a philosophical, epistemological and pedagogical method (Garcia and Pacheco, 2012). The historical stimulus for the growth of constructivist theory and its application links to Brown, Collins and Duguid's 1989 situated cognition. Brown et al. (1989) describe situated cognition as an awareness of the socio-cultural environment and the instruction-content place and the product of the learner's interaction activity with the sources in which instruction occurs. Therefore, constructivism theory sets emphasis on the significant role of context and the relational and practical nature of knowledge and learning. This situated view is one of the defining characteristics of the constructivist system, which distinguishes it from the prevailing information-processing view of learning, which consists of concepts, procedures and facts. From this perspective therefore, Tobias and Duffy (2009) argue that the interest in constructivist learning was not so much in building a learning theoretical base but in the need for a new approach to meet learning demands.

More recently, however, Duffy and Jonassen (2013) have argued that the current interest in constructivist theory is mainly due to the impact on the educational demand in the context of the information age. They explain that traditional learning and instruction models, which emphasise ways to master knowledge in a controlled content domain, are no longer feasible in terms of time, due to rapid changes and space, as a result of the continuous increasing volume of information.

Constructivism thus lies upon quite a different epistemology from the theories discussed above. It takes a more ecological, holistic approach to learning that opposes the dualistic separation of mind from body, learner and learning (Light, 2008). Under constructivism, Light (2008) claims that learning is not limited to what is consciously visible but includes the vast range of implicit knowledge enactment. Equally, Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh (2009) argue that learners

under the constructivist theory consciously construct their conceptual reality based on previous experience and mental constructs as they attempt to make sense of their experiences. Consequently, this viewpoint places greater responsibility of learning on learners (Sungur and Tekkaya, 2006). Similarly, Sharan (2015) postulates that the constructivist approach goes beyond what the teacher does. It fosters interactional meaning, negotiation and knowledge construction from the experiences, feelings and exchanges with the learners. The focus is on how to construct knowledge based on the premise that reality is in the mind of the knower. Meanwhile, the teachers continue with the task of monitoring and stimulating the learners to achieve their objectives (Ivan and Pacheco, 2012), a concept termed as facilitating learning (Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh, 2009).

Although consenting to constructivism as a useful theory of learning, Mayer (2009) warns against seeing it as a prescription for teaching in which learners must be behaviourally active during lessons. Mayer (2009) argues one cannot conclude that active cognitive learning entails teaching methods that encourage hands-on physical interaction during learning or that direct teaching methods cannot promote active cognitive learning. Reviewing the literature on worked examples, Wise and O'Neill (2009) argue that experimental high versus low guidance studies are inadequate to provide a valid basis for making inferences about the fundamental merits of constructivist teaching. They find it problematic to meaningfully gauge the amount of guidance across such a broad spectrum of its instructional moves. Instead, they propose that the context and timing of the guidance offered needs consideration.

Kintsch (2009) also suggests that this form of instruction is vital when it comes to directional issues in teaching. From a philosophical perspective, Savey and Duffy, cited in Tobias and Duffy (2009), view the constructivism perspective under three primary propositions, which can be linked to instruction principles and used to design learning environments. The first principle is that understanding, which they identify as a central component of constructivism, is part of our interaction with our environment. They claim that what we understand is the product of content, the context of the learner's activity, and, more importantly, the goals of the learner. The second principle, which is also supported by Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh (2009), is that cognitive conflict incites learning and determines the organisation and nature of learning. The third principle is that knowledge progresses through social collaboration and an exploration of the feasibility of individual understanding.

Rasmussen and Salkind (2008) state that constructivism is not a unified theory, but rather a combination of different positions that define knowledge in different ways and hold up various models of learning as being ideal for the classroom. Constructivism is both at cognitive (individual) and social (community) levels. The underlying assumption of the objectivists' view of learning has several implications for instruction. One of the factors that distinguish the constructivists' approach to teaching from that of the objectivists' is their greater focus on the transfer of learning (Wise and O'Neill, 2009). They see retaining a great deal of authenticity of the target learning task as critical to maximising the chances that good transfer will occur. Therefore, under constructivism, the emphasis moves from a teacher-centred approach to a learner-centred approach (Liu, Cho and Schallert, 2006). Furthermore, distinguishing between the above two paradigms, Reigeluth (2016) argues that the main difference is the positive aspect of the learner-centred approach whereby the problems become challenging motives that drive the learning rather than when they are solved as part of the teaching process.

The debate created the following two streams: cognitive constructivism and social constructivism. Cognitive constructivists, according to Garcia and Pheco (2013), are interested in one's reaction to experience and to the process through which to form understanding. While Akyol and Garrison (2010) claim that in constructivism reality is more in the mind of the knower, Duffy and Jonassen (2013) argue that this view does not preclude the presence of external reality. They explain that each of us constructs our reality by interpreting the perceptual experience of the external world. In pedagogy, this model expects meaning to develop through the learner's active and constructive participation by enhancing knowledge and developing meaningful experience throughout the learning process.

As for the social constructivism influenced by Vygotsky, it focuses on apprenticeship learning based on situated learning theories that involve meta-cognition (Sulkind and Rasmussen, 2008). Tobias and Duffy (2009), citing Von Glaserfeld (1989), argue in favour of the promotion of social constructivism on the basis that other individuals are the most outstanding source of various points of view to challenge our present point of view and thus serve as a source of ambiguity that encourages learning.

There is no doubt that the rich arguments put forward for constructivism as an effective instructional methodology create strong controversies. For instance, Tobias and Duffy (2009) note that constructivist theories are not specific about what constitutes constructivist

instruction. This disparity is captured by Kirschner et al. (2006), who argue that constructivist-based instructional approaches are not efficient enough, given our understanding of human cognitive architecture. From the information-processing perspective and consideration of the constructivist paradigms, where the learner has minimal guidance, Kirschner, Sweller and Clark (2006) claim that learners, especially novices, are unable to process information due to limited working memory adequately. Hmelo-Silver et al. (2004), however, challenge the argument of Kirschner et al. (2006) on the basis that it is too focused on its theoretical orientation and cannot adequately account for many or most cognitive activities, as it does not account for considerable contemporary research in psychology.

Taking his cue from critical psychology and situated learning, Nielsen (2008) conceptualises personal learning as an integration of the intra-psychological, cognition and the person's participation in various social practices. Klaus Nielsen (2008) considered this distinction problematic for some reason, based on his reflection on the difference between personal and meaningful learning in everyday institutionalised practice. Nielsen (2008) suggests that the disparity is a dualism by which the perception of the learning situation of the person is of greater importance than the practice in which it presents itself. He finds that dualism should root the subject of meaningful learning in the individual and not in social activity. This therefore implies that personal and meaningful learning is achieved outside of the institutionalised practice of practice. Constructivist approaches in education link to presumption, particularly of learner-centred views. Since the 1990s, most pedagogical reforms in developing countries have centred on the rhetoric of constructivism (Tabulawa, 2003). It is usually labelled as a child-centred or learner-centred approach. Learner-centred instruction is also used interchangeably with problem-solving, discovery-based learning.

Kullberg (2010) accounts for the difference in focus on the teacher's and researcher's interpretation of the theoretical perspective on learning into acts of pedagogy. Starr-Glass (2018) alludes in this vein to two ways of knowing to teach. The first view is that teaching is a teacher-centred activity in which information is communicated to new learners by someone who has gained that expertise. Advocates of a teacher-centred approach generally proceed from the behaviourism approach that I look at in detail in Chapter 3 of this study. Kullberg (2010) argues the transmission model premise that the subject consists of a fixed collection of facts and procedures and that teaching focuses on telling others how to carry out those procedures.

Mtika and Gates (2010) maintain that teacher-centred education is responsible for the rote learning that makes fewer demands on the learners. This approach of teaching has been sharply criticised in design experiments and lesson study, but Kullberg (2010) believes that it can promote learner learning.

In this vein, there is a growing body of research that calls for a shift from teacher-centred to learner-centred approaches. For instance, O'Neill and McMahon (2005) note that there has been a paradigm shift in focus from teaching to learning in the past few decades. This shift places the learner rather than the teacher or knowledge content at the centre of the teaching and learning process. Schweisfurth (2013) notes that there is a significant difference in the perception of teacher- and learner-centred education. O'Sullivan (2004) argues that the learner-centred approach has generated an expanding interest in the use of a variety of active learning strategies that focus on teaching, like collaborative learning and problem-solving. Mascolo (2009) indicates that learners active in the concentration of knowledge usually implies a diminishing role for the teacher in the learning process with the teacher taking up the role of coach or facilitator. Moscolo advocates for a view of learning as a form of 'doing' and calls it 'guided participation'.

In the framework of my study, regarding the developing nations, several pedagogical changes have focused on the rhetoric of constructivism (Tabulawa, 2003), which is associated with various practical applications like learner-centred or child-centred approaches.

In this context, the relationship between teaching and learning has been analysed in various ways and from various viewpoints. Harpaz (2015) explains the link in the following three ways: (a) it is influenced by cognitive psychology, which is based on the teaching-learning debate; (b) derived from the teaching-learning debate, it is based on the philosophy of learning and (c) it is based on the circular communication process between teaching and learning, and the mutual benefit they both gain from the circular interaction of the two dynamics.

The implementation of learner-centred models can be challenging (Mascolo, 2009). Kaymakamoglu (2018) found that teachers maintain controversial beliefs; while they believe in learner-centred learning and teaching, their perceived practice remains traditional, namely teacher-centred. Learner-centred education critics challenge whether the approach is suitable in all cultural and resource-based settings (Schweisfurth, 2013). Similarly, the concern is expressed as to whether learner-centred education approaches make sense in countries where

various types of teacher interaction prevail (O'Sullivan, 2004). This argument highlights the history of learner-centred education that has been troubled by claims of major and minor deficiencies (Schweisfurth, 2013). A similar observation was made by Tabulawa (2013) who, in addition, points out that research appears to attribute the lack of institutionalisation of learning-centred pedagogy to the failure of teachers to adapt instruction creatively due to technical problems that hinder teacher preparation. In turn, significant investment is made to improve classroom practice, which has unfortunately seen no substantive change (Tabulawa, 2013), and consequently leads to a questioning outlook on classroom performance research that puts technical problems at the centre of innovation failure.

From his point of view, Schweisfurth (2011) explores the nature and implementation of learner-centred education. The findings of this study indicate concern about the application of learner-centred education reform and the barriers to material and human resources. The topic of power and agency was also one of the issues established by the use of learning-centred pedagogy. Consequently, Tabulawa (2013) concluded that the introduction and adaptation of innovative pedagogy are greatly encouraged by social structures whose framework is consistent with that of the innovation. It reflects the need to understand the rejection suffered by learner-centred education and the framework that embodies and assesses its fitness with the host-context (Thompson, 2013). Thompson has called for the cultural translation of learner-centred education. Similarly, Tabulawa (2013) found that specific forms of learner-centred approaches can be more effective in developing countries when introduced through small-scale institutional relationships with cultural translation being the core at the level of implementation rather than through a large school contract with its national government where the socio-cultural context is overlooked.

2.4.2 Problems: Theory versus practice

While Coldwell, Maxwell and Jordan (2018) advance the influence of professional development on teachers' knowledge enhancement, Korthagen (2017) observed that it was difficult to transfer what they learnt in professional development into the classroom, thereby explaining the disparity between theory and practice. Korthagen also found that the relation between teacher education and professional development is generally too theoretical and abstract to practice. They therefore recommend a practical approach that will make a difference to teachers in practice and allow the meaning and theory of knowledge through experience. In

a longitudinal research study, Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin (2011) found that professional development which focuses on teaching methods improves the use of these techniques by teachers in the classroom. The study also found that the fundamental characteristics of learning opportunities in the field further the impact of professional growth. Supporting the role of professional development in transiting to a learner-centred approach, it is important for teachers to fully understand the complexity yet significance of their role as knowledge builders rather than as transmitters of knowledge (Dole, Bloom and Kowalske, 2016).

Teachers and learners do not just inhabit classrooms but also live within a broader culture of their schools and society. Slabbert, de Kock and Hattingh (2009) have showed that the world of today has been rapidly changing and continues to. At the same time, Felten et al. (2016) state that the qualities of the environment go far to stimulate and scaffold, or to hinder and distract learners in the underpinning of the work of learning. In the next section, my goal is to explore how the changing realities and context of our world influence the vision of education and subsequent learning.

2.4.3 The challenging demands of a rapidly changing world on the community schools of the 21st century

Education is taking place in a world dominated by change, uncertainty and increasingly by complexity (Aspin, Chapman, Hatton and Sawano, 2012). The world as it is known today has rapidly changed from the earlier century to this century. Over time, there have been vast changes brought about as a result of scientific developments, technology and globalisation. Equally there have been changes in education during this time. According to Fisher (2005), these changes include the use of new technology, changes in curriculum content, tests, examinations, in school- and home-environments as well as social-political changes. All of these have an influence on how the learner is viewed and how the academic actions of the teacher are conducted.

Jarvis (2007) describes how incidents sparked by change and globalisation have put enormous responsibility on education to provide stability and ensure humanity's corporate survival. These rapid changes have a significant implication for the functions and types of jobs which education should prepare for, thereby imparting the principles and practice of learning. Because the social, economic and technological changes pose challenges to education, Wang (2012)

argues for an understanding of the broader, changing context of society as it is critical to defining the goal of education. Bentley (2012) found that the information age provides an array of distractions, such as television, social media, internet, teen magazines and alternative pursuits with which formal education must compete. Since these distractions compete with teaching and learning, Bentley thus argues that preparing and motivating young people to learn for the rest of their lives and not just for a few years, becomes a pressing priority and raises the question about how education can motivate young people to concentrate, work purposefully and learn for themselves.

The above outlook supports the notion that education does not exist in a vacuum but is part of the fabric of life. Therefore, Slabbert et al. (2009) argue that education must respond to any changes in its environment to remain efficient and relevant. The mandate of present society is thus to prepare young people for both the world today and the future. Notably, Barnett (2013) points out that the unknowingness of the future is neither information nor abilities but being. Barnett further describes that the pedagogical role of the unknown future is to invoke a mode of being. A being who can not only bear the unwavering burden of understanding knowledge.

In the context of a rapidly changing world, the objective of education should not only position the importance of content learning. It also has to include learning skills such as conceptual, self-directed and cooperative learning, which are not measured by an achievement test, to lifelong learners and people in a knowledge society (Hmelo-Silver, Duncan and Chinn, 2007). Learning, it is said, should be realised in a context that promotes the real-life application of knowledge; learning that is based on more than what the teacher transmits. It also encourages knowledge construction by the learner and exchanges with those outside the classroom. The idea is that learning activities should mimic real-world situations and promote open-ended inquiry and metacognition. More commonly, learning is interdisciplinary and learners participate in complex tasks or higher-level cognitive skills such as inquiry, synthesis, design and manipulation of information; learners need to be empowered through the choice to direct and own their learning. It seeks to actively engage learners in activities and shifts emphasis in teaching from product and content to process and developing learners' skills (Sharan, 2015) This education view is considered a constructivist approach to learning.

Today, the field of authentic learning is particularly cited as being important and tailored to meet the new demands concerning the key competencies of learners from this knowledge-based

society that calls for learners to acquire skills to learn effectively both in school and later in life (Herrington, Reeves and Oliver 2014). Rule (2006) and Callison and Lamb (2004) describe authentic learning as those classroom activities and tasks that make learners explore the world around them, ask questions, identify information resources, discover connections, examine multiple perspectives, discuss ideas and make informed decisions that have real import. Learners are asked to question, interpret and apply information and ideas that have value in a larger social context. Mims (2003:1) describes authentic learning as a ‘pedagogy approach that allows learners to explore, discuss and meaningfully construct concepts and relationships in context that involve real world problems and projects that are relevant to the learner’. Such a pedagogical approach is rooted in constructivist theories of learning and situated in cognition theory (Rule, 2006). These theories generally embrace the idea that when learning and context are separated, knowledge itself is seen by learners as a final product of education rather than a tool to be used dynamically to solve problems. Additionally, Sharan (2015) notes that real-world problems provide the opportunity for collaboration associated with high-level discourse required for deepening learning. It further supports reflection on both content that is learned and the learning process.

Authentic learning is based on more than what teachers transmit, but also promotes learners’ construction of knowledge and exchange with others or the audience beyond the classroom. It seeks to actively engage learners in learning and shifts the emphasis in teaching from product and content to process and developing learners’ skills (Sharan, 2015). Looking at the characteristics of authentic learning, Rule (2006) notes that learner’s tasks should be ill-defined activities that have real-world relevance.

The other characteristic was that learners should be encouraged to explore different perspectives and that teachers should empower learners through open-ended inquiry, critical thinking, self-directed metacognition and cooperative learning to solve a problem together or create a product. Slabbert, De Kock and Hattingh, (2009) point out that the authentic learning process needs to be initiated by a continuous challenge to the learners’ living of real life so that uncertainty is proved, and anxiety not necessarily excluded. The authors see the role of challenges as exposing the current state of the being as redundant in the face of the challenging demands of real life, thus creating psychic entropy. This, according to them, leaves the learner with the realisation that existing knowledge, skills etc. cannot provide a resolution to the challenge. The challenge could be either be a problem that already exists in the learner’s real

life, thus creating a problem where none existed. It should be confronted with a real-life challenge; such a problem represents real life in its uncompromising holistic complexity. Only such a state will create that state of disequilibrium and discomfort in the human being that will provoke a yearning to abolish it, because it is intensely personal. It exposes personal deficiencies and areas that need growth and improvement, which subsequently demand personal transformation in those domains through increasingly acquiring those human qualities that manifest practical, creative, spiritual wisdom – it is a situation of having. For example, a survey conducted by Labone, Cavanaugh and Long (2014) revealed that several structural changes need to be put in place for successful authentic learning to be implemented. The survey showed that for authentic learning to be implemented successfully, the role of a teacher needs to shift from the traditionally teacher-centred methods where knowledge is transmitted as a collection of facts and procedures from teachers to learners to assume the role of the facilitator and enable the learners to take responsibilities for their own learning.

While this notion of authentic learning has the potential to enhance learning for a changing world (Slabbert et al., 2009), such an unconventional approach can be both socially and intellectually challenging. The other factor that changes the implementation of authentic learning is the policy of primary schooling. Due to changes and uncertainty in the world, as alluded to earlier on, schools and teachers, in general, are faced with technical, social and economic challenges which lead to self-contradictory demands. Today's teachers are, for example, faced with a lot of contradiction in education policy on primary schooling and lifetime learning. On the one hand, being a lifelong learner requires young people to leave school inspired to pursue learning and optimistic in their abilities to have the best motivation to set and reach their own learning goals. On the other hand, primary schooling is typically formulated in terms of following standardised courses of study against high-level achievement targets, with limited opportunity to participate in goal setting or self-directed learning. Since these learning goals are more manageable for some to accomplish than others, the proportion of each age group emerges without confidence in themselves as learners. In addition, Day (2009) suggests that those who are effective in the school setting may not be well-suited for learning in other environments where there is less formal support for learning. Similarly, Ojiambo (2009) notes that the education system has been accused of adopting irrelevant and rigged curricula for embracing anticipated teaching and learning techniques that stifle initiative and curiosity and produce docile and dependent minded learners. This inhibits learners from

developing their full potential and leaves them unprepared for the uncertain and unknown future. This is compounded by the heavy reliance on standardised testing as a measure of achievement in schools. Although there are many benefits of authentic learning for individuals and society, this study does not imply that a direct link between education and social and economic benefits is automatic. UNESCO (2008) notes that the benefits of education are more likely to be greater in a context marked by broad-based economic growth and a strong political commitment to poverty reduction, high levels of equity in access to basic services and a commitment to democracy and accountability in governance.

2.5 The contextual nature of urban community schools

In this section, I will look at the nature of the urban version of community schools in global and local contexts in developed and developing countries, with special attention to Zambia. Since the topic of this study focuses on the contextual nature of learning, based on my literature review, I sought to understand how the context of urban community schools is formed, and especially how urban education speaks to the nature of urban community schools. Education in itself is a complex phenomenon that is shaped by diverse social, economic, political and ecological contexts which, in the case of a community-initiated school primarily serving poor children, the complexity becomes more apparent and worthier of attention.

Navigating through urban school discourse, Milner (2012) observes that there is a disparity between the conceptualisation of urban education in developed and developing countries. Referring to the United States, Milner (2012) points out that schools characterised as urban are associated with the schools' and their residents' identity, and not with the broad social context in which the districts are situated. In high-income countries, the notion of urban education is conceptualised beyond geography, with the assumption that urban centres have high populations, poverty and crime (Milner and Lomotey, 2013). In contrast, the concept of urban schools in the African context denotes the physical location. This view refers to urban schools as a localised endeavour, placing education in a specific geographical context to which schools belong (Noblit and Pink, 2007), in this case Lusaka in Zambia as a developing country. With urban areas expanding and demographics changing over time, there is renewed interest in what counts as 'urban' in education.

Today urban schools are organised around public schools, state-managed non-profit schools, and privately-owned for-profit schools, according to the configurations specific to each country

and even relations between the state and private sectors (Languille, 2016). The unique public–private combination has characterised urban education (Khan, Fauzee and Daud, 2016). Factors that led parents to opt for affordable private urban community schools contribute to the conditions of education in government schools (Khan, Fauzee and Daud, 2016). Yet, as pointed out in existing literature (Akaguri, 2014), affordable school fees fuel the vulnerability of the most fragile segments of this heterogeneous social category (Khan, Fauzee and Daud, 2016). A qualitative study of teacher performance in private and public sector schools concluded that while the government is making efforts to raise the quality standards of public sector schools, they still remain comparatively behind the private schools in terms of quality education (Khan, Fauzee, and Daud, 2016). A study by Alcott and Rose (2016) on inequalities in learning outcomes between public and private schooling found that in Kenya and Uganda, private schooling appeared to improve the chances of children’s learning relative to their peers in government schools, whereas in Tanzania, private schooling did not seem to improve poor children's learning, as it did for richer children. These findings raise caution about the extent to which provision can help narrow learning inequality.

Underfunded government public schools do not provide the emerging middle class with learning conditions conducive to the consolidation of their upward social mobility. At the same time, sending one’s children to a private school has become a central ingredient of a middle-class social status. Baum, Cooper and Lusk-Stover (2018) provided a detailed review of the policies governing private schools in 20 countries in sub-Saharan Africa. The study found that current regulatory systems are failing to resolve negative externalities and shortcomings in private education markets in an appropriate manner. The study also found that inadequate government capacity leads to unequal policy implementation and generates opportunities for rent-seeking and corruption. Furthermore, complicated market entry regulations allow for limitations on the growth of official private education markets but promote growth in non-official markets. Similarly, in Zambia, Mulenga, Daka and Kapambwe (2018) found that one of the main challenges faced by some private primary schools were the complicated requirements for school registration. The study cited excessive registration fees, unclear registration guidelines and lack of funds to register schools.

2.5.1 The context in which the learning in urban community takes place

In the context of developing countries, urban schooling is considered a privilege or an opportunity for parents and children alike compared to rural schools (McJessie-Mbewe and Nampota, 2007). McJessie-Mbewe and Nampota (2007) found that urban schools were privileged to be located in districts where advisory services are, thereby making it easier to visit the offices and seek assistance. The study also found that many parents in urban areas were able to read and write compared to those in rural areas, thus making it possible for urban parents to help their children academically. Equally important is that the school curriculum reflects the culture of urban families where learners reside.

Initiated internally or externally, community schools put their management in the hands of communities comprising local community members (Hoppers, 2005). Glassman et al. (2007) argues that while there are many definitions of community schools, the core elements are that they are initiated and maintained in the hands of the local community and its representatives. Glassman et al. (2007) further describes community schools as an alternative to the government, which would otherwise not be able to provide education for all children. Like Glassman et al. (2007), Lindhoud (2012) defines community schools as being initiated and operated by the community, thus depending solely on the community and being severely under-resourced.

Many developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America reveal a range of models in terms of management and objectives of community schools. Their different education models come under the umbrella of community schools, but in this study the focus is on newly founded community-run schools. Particular attention is on community-run schools resembling public schools in terms of curriculum, textbooks, schedules, examinations, teachers, teaching styles and those that function as an alternative system in all or any of these areas. One version of a community school is the one in India, studied by Raval, McKenney and Pieters (2010). Raval et al. (2010) observed that NGO schools offered educational assistance to children from slums whose average family income ranged from about \$50 to \$100 per month and teaching was conducted within their residential areas in learning centres. The schools are models of replication for supplementing mainstream education, especially in urban cities. Furthermore, Raval et al. (2010) noticed that the NGO schools were self-driven organisations with more flexibility than the country's centralised government education systems.

Another model of community schooling is the one observed in Kenya. In his study, Fyfe (2007) found that community schools in Kenya are known as non-formal education institutions in urban slums and represent more than 18 per cent of primary-school enrolments in Nairobi. Fyfe explained that the great number of community schools at the end of the 1980s was due to the rapid development of cities and suburban areas, which outpaced public provision. Therefore, community leaders, parents and, in some cases, non-governmental organisations filled the gap by establishing new schools. Evident from the above three models of community schools is that although the rationale for establishing them was different, they were all developed to meet the educational needs of children who were disadvantaged in particular communities (Nkoshah and Mwanza, 2009). These models also show that several factors combine to influence the function and development of community schooling. The literature review shows that community schools take the form of alternative education in most developing countries. The term 'alternative education' aligns with the notion of APE, which signals a shift from single-supply models and strategies that have shown effectiveness based on resources, skills and alternatives (Naidoo, 2009). In the terms of predominantly underserved communities, alternative education is often compounded by severe resource constraints that fail to provide quality services, social expectations and economic incentives and consequently prevent the full use of education resources (Riddle and Nino-Nino-Zarazua, 2015). It could thus be reasonable to argue that alternative education will continue to be an option in most developing countries, given that there are national budget constraints and high levels of poverty. In this study, I use the term alternative to mean any programme that tends to lead to a new teaching and learning arrangement (Hoppers, 2005).

2.5.2 Educational system in Zambia

One of the main challenges of the education system in Zambia is the provision of education to all their children, which Lindhoud (2012) attributes to a lack of money and capacity. Lindhoud argues that it is against this background that the development in Zambia fits and pushes schools to find solutions for the problem the education system is facing.

In the context of Zambia's long history of urban schooling, urban community schools were founded not earlier than the 1990s. It is evident that community schools in Zambia are not an extraordinary and isolated activity, but rather a trend across the continent (Lindhoud 2012).

In *Educating Our Future*, Zambia's policy document on education, APE refers to 'out-reach learning programs' for children who cannot attend schools (MOE, 2006). However, the more recent Education Act 2011 describes APE as the alternative provision of primary education by organisations outside government structures (Education Act 2011, section 76). The above definitions of APE signify a shift from seeing community schools as a non-formal alternative to primary education. The change in premise is that the provision of education by NGOs is necessary for the integration of children into public education systems. This model is evident in the cases of Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Zambia, where community school graduates can enter public education systems (DeStefano, Hartwell, Schuh-Moore and Balwanz, 2007).

2.5.3 Sustainability and funding of community schools

Economically, funding is a prerequisite to providing access to education. The bulk of the budget in community schools is from donors. The schools are thus tasked to be proactive in sourcing external funding (Kalemba, 2013). External funders, such as churches, NGOs, individuals and international donors have continually played a critical role in community school development and support, not only in Zambia but in other developing countries as well. In addition, Kalemba (2013) found that community schools in Zambia rely heavily on external funding to run. Support takes many forms such as training of teachers and Parents Community School Committee (PCSC) members; investment in infrastructure, including sanitation and water facilities; and provision of teaching and learning materials (Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016). On the other hand, a review by Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout (2016) revealed that donor support in Zambia is uneven across community schools, resulting in some schools being highly resourced but most being under-resourced.

Although community schools in Zambia rely on support, the Ministry of General Education (MOGE) policy commits to providing community schools with access to funding to all registered community schools (Mwansa, 2006). The District Education Offices were ordered by the MOE in 2005 to devote 30 per cent of their funds to community schools and the remainder to government schools (CSO, 2012). Besides financial support, the MOGE policy promises several other forms of support. This support includes the periodic deployment of qualified teachers to community schools, the provision of financial and material services, the professional development of teachers and school leaders, and the supervision and assessment of teaching and learning in community schools. Kalemba (2013) states, however, that in many

cases MOGE funding for community schools in the country is motivated by the goodwill of the district MOGE office rather than the relative needs of community schools or MOGE policy. Studies by Mwansa (2006) conducted on community schools in Zambia indicate variation in the type of MOGE support.

Public funding in Zambia generally flows from the Ministry of Finance to the headquarters of the MOGE, PEOs, the DEBS and finally to schools in a top-down hierarchy. The Auditor General's report (2015–2018) found this bureaucratic financial disbursement was the basis for high risks of misappropriation or simply non-disbursement by recipients of higher offices to recipients of expenditure. This finding is corroborated by Chrine, Correia and Gertrude-Mwanza (2020), for example, who observed that the state of the economy in Zambia has negative effects due to declined government expenditure on education service delivery and increased external borrowing. Kalemba (2013) found that most community schools in Ndola, Zambia, face critical financial problems due to inadequate government allocation. Kalemba found that the inadequate government funding was partly responsible for limited teaching and learning materials, equipment, furniture and a shortage of trained teachers at many community schools.

Furthermore, training of teachers in Zambian community schools is provided primarily through donor-funded agencies. The education policy stipulates that public-school teachers may sometimes serve as mentors for urban community school teachers, have close collaboration with community teachers and share instructional and teaching resources (DeStefano et al., 2007; MOE, 2006). The policy also, when possible, allows for one or two government teachers to be sent to a community school while continuing to pay their salaries. Even then, technical assistance to and supervision of community schools is rare (Kalemba, 2013). This results in inconsistent educational quality and a lack of qualified teachers and suppliers (DeStefano et al., 2007).

There are various ways to improve the quality and performance of teachers, like recruiting graduates with rich content knowledge. However, recruiting graduates to community schools is a challenge as they are often inadequately funded (DeStefano, 2006), and salaries are closely linked to teacher qualification. Early et al. (2007) highlighted teachers' salaries as one of the biggest expenditures for any education programme. Darling-Hammond (2012) argues that the

success of this education reform mainly centres on the qualifications and effectiveness of teachers.

There are several ways to increase the quality and efficiency of teachers, such as hiring graduates with a wealth of content knowledge. Teacher qualification is associated with learner achievement (Early et al., 2007; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Strange et al., 2011). However, the difficulty of hiring graduates to work at community schools is that they are often underfunded (DeStefano, 2006) and wages are related to teacher qualifications. Early et al. (2007) stress that the salaries of teachers are part of the substantial expense of any educational programme. Darling-Hammond (2012) argues that the success of this education reform mainly centres on the qualifications and effectiveness of teachers. For example, untrained teachers are valued for their community insider insight and ability to relate to the unique needs of children in difficult circumstances (Raval, McKenney and Pieters, 2014; Fyfe, 2010). Hiring untrained teachers is also seen as a cost-saving means of rapidly expanding enrolment in schools. However, concerns exist about the lack of professional training of these educators that threatens to dilute the quality of teaching and learning (Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaqueet, 2014; Raval et al., 2014; Fyfe, 2007). Therefore, the public debate on the employment of untrained teachers is mixed.

2.5.4 Teacher expertise in developing countries, including Zambia

In this section, I provide a description of the nature of teachers based on current literature and explore what specific contextual characteristics influence their teaching and how it plays out in society within community school settings. My focus in this section is both global and local contexts in developing countries.

Teacher expertise is one of the essential factors in determining learners' achievement (Darling-Hammond, 2012). However, governments and other stakeholders in education provision fight against the odds of teacher shortages and lack of resources to achieve universal primary education. Consequently, there is more reliance on untrained teachers in place of qualified teachers in community schools (Raval et al., 2010).

Due to the critical shortage of teachers, there are changes in the aims and methods of teacher education taking place worldwide (Korthgen, 2004). In community schools, for example, short-track teacher education has been introduced with teacher education taking place inside the

school through the introduction of new teachers and, in some instances, in-service training. Muralidhara and Sundiraraman (2013) concluded that the inevitable shortage of teachers represents a problem at the heart of developing countries, that is, not all learners are obtaining equal education. A study by Chudgar, Chandra and Razzaque (2014) on alternative forms of teacher hiring in developing countries also found that the shortage of teachers and a limited budget in many developed countries have contributed to the adoption of lower teacher credentials to fill vacant teaching positions. Similarly, Hoppers (2005) notes that under-resourced schools in developing countries depend on alternative means of hiring teachers to cope with technical shortages of teachers. In a study on lessons learnt in the use of contract teachers, Duthilleul (2005) found that in Nicaragua, teachers' salaries remain a challenging issue and contributor to the teacher shortages.

In Indian community schools, it was also found that large-scale expansion of primary schools in the country had led to increased use of non-civil-service, contract teachers employed locally without professional training (Muralidhara and Sundiraraman, 2013). Most studies show that community primary school teachers have lower qualifications in education and are employed under less favourable terms than regular ones. Fyfe (2007), for example, found that community school teachers in Kenya are not civil servants and their salaries tend to be lower than that of civil servants – from less than one-half per average earned (Fyfe, 2007). Then, in West-Africa, Burkina Faso community schools, with a net primary enrolment rate of only 32 per cent, has begun to pay salaries of newly recruited teachers contracted by the schools (DeStefano et al., 2007).

Govmda and Josephine (2005) have observed that alternative tract option of teacher recruitment is passed on to the poorest sections of Indian society. They found that the quality of teachers depends on several factors, like their motivation and willingness to apply themselves to the task effectively. They argue, however, that the basic necessity for good teaching is their mastering of the subject concerned and their professional pedagogic skills. In context, Govmda and Josephine (2005) argued that while academic credentials and professional preparation do not guarantee consistency, sacrificing the minimum harmed the very basis on which the teaching profession is organised. They found that while a few of the studies showed that teachers with lower qualifications working in poorly equipped schools performed better than the qualified teachers. They found that the levels of children's learning in government-managed schools are universally weak irrespective of whether they are para-

teachers or fully qualified regular teachers. They concluded that the issue of academic and training qualifications should be highlighted, as issues of and training to show through ill-designed, comparative evolution studies that underqualified teachers were good enough.

In the framework of teacher expertise in Zambia, studies on teachers at community schools have shown that the schools often rely on inexperienced, uncertified high school dropouts from local communities (Bamattre, 2019; Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016; Mwalimu, 2011; Nkosha and Mwanza, 2009). These studies have also shown that teachers have less experience teaching specific curricula than their public-school counterparts. In addition, teacher shortages in Zambian community schools have resulted in larger than average classes, multi-grade classes, and teaching taking place in multiple shifts which has led to reduced interaction between learners and teachers (Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout, 2016). Mayata (2010) showed that while most of the public primary school teachers in Zambia had attended teacher training college, only 16 per cent of community school teachers had. Mayata further reported that 90 per cent of community school teachers were untrained, and most of them were not on the government payroll. The teachers were recruited voluntarily, with promises of occasional in-kind compensation.

My conclusion here is that while there is a need for considerable flexibility in implementing centrally sponsored programmes, it is crucial to encourage the state government to view investment in education, including the development of a strong community of professionally qualified teachers, as a measure of creating assets rather than liabilities.

2.5.5 Community participation in community schools: Problems, advantages and disadvantages

Another characteristic of the community primary schools is community participation, which is the political influence of decentralisation. Naidoo (2009) observes that community participation is central to the success of community schools. DeStefano et al. (2007) further captures the significance of community participation in their definition of community schools. They describe these schools as community-based learning institutions, involving the active participation of the local community in their areas of operation in terms of management and organisation of the school. Edward (2011), in his study, found that decentralised efforts in Nepal, at least as they manifest as policy prescriptions aimed at involving the diverse type of community members, was highly problematic if not paradoxical. They facilitated processes of

social inclusion but only via an appeal to local elite groups that had limited interests in widening democratic engagement.

Due in part to the enhanced effort that nations have made to increase education access, many governments are overwhelmed, in terms of lack of both access and quality. In response to these access constraints, three main streams of urban education have emerged: government, private and community schools. Bamattre (2019) found evidence that Zambia's government and community schools serve similar populations, but learners who attend community schools have a lower performance – even after accounting for contributing factors that may explain the disparity. Conversely, Bamattre (2019) argues that government schools are not necessarily high performing either, as they have a shortage of available textbooks, exercise books and relatively large class sizes. At the same time, there are additional inequalities in these parallel systems related to the location of the school and the household socio-economics of the learners. Similarly, in another Zambian context, Nkosha and Mwanza (2009), as illustrated in their report, found neither community nor regular government primary schools offered what could be considered adequate or decent quality education. The picture emerging from the findings was, however, that the situation was marginally better in regular primary schools than in community schools. They concluded that it would not be possible to provide good quality education in either community or regular primary schools for several reasons such as the lack of qualified teachers, especially in community basic schools. Edward (2010) also argued that complementary education stems from a proliferation of possible decentralisation policies that focus on markets, competition, and efficacy. They further argue that the decentralisation of public education management from the central to the local, community and even school levels is as a result of the problems faced by the struggling education systems. Therefore, the campaign for community participation tries to extend the burden of resourcing the education system and increasing the volume, relevance and impact of schooling. Sharing a similar sentiment, Bray (2003) noted that as the financial and other limitations of government capacity gained wider recognition, advocacy of community participation became stronger.

In Zambia, some of the recent critical policy stimuli for decentralisation and community participation were the 2011 Education Act (Ministry of Education, 2012) and Guidelines to Community Schools (Ministry of Education, 2007), which laid out the administrative parameters of community schools whereby a system of the school management committee was at least created on paper, in order to create an increased leadership role within community

schools. These reforms are reflective of the broader discourses on educational development targeting quality, access and equity in schooling, and they sought to address issues that democratise policy mechanisms that foster community ownership and responsibility for schools (Carney and Bista, 2009)

While there are various ways of enacting participation to aid education service delivery, in this study, I focused on a form that is involved directly in education provision with the sole purpose of providing educational opportunities to those children excluded from government schooling (Rose, 2009). Community participation in this approach has the advantage of understanding the critical community concerns of education provision. Oakley and Clegg (2001), who showed the benefits of community involvement in the provision of education, indicated that community participation encourages self-reliance by helping individuals break the dependency mindset through the promotion of self-awareness and trust in individuals to analyse their issues and think about solutions positively. Secondly, he noted that community participation expands coverage to bring in individuals with a direct effect of development activities. It also raises the number of individuals who could potentially benefit from schools that could be the answer to expanding the mass appeal of such programmes. Thirdly, Oakley (2001) found that community schools are often intrinsically driven, unlike externally motivated development projects, to guarantee local survival after the initial levels of projective funding or inputs wither or removed.

The positive effects of community participation are nevertheless questioned and debated by many critics, and some studies suggest there is no automatic linkage between community participation reforms and improved learning. The theoretical assumption that local authorities have sufficient autonomous decision-making skills and the necessary technical, financial, human and social resources to carry out their new responsibilities has, for example, been challenged in the study by Pellini (2005) in Cambodia. Pellini (2005) found that school-cluster design includes committees at various levels that aim to promote participation, but they do not seem to work. Pellini found that despite the amount of support and resources provided, communities seemed to be excluded from the school's education decision-making process. The case of Cambodia has shown that the lack of involvement is compounded by the lack of a clear sense of community, the trauma caused by the civil war which reinforced individualism, and further reduced the sense of community.

In the Zambian context, Mwalimu (2011) found that there was no community participation in community schools in Zambia due to heavy reliance on outside facilitators. The teachers, for instance, complained that donors made decisions such as spending money on feeding the orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs) as a priority without looking at issues of teacher welfare. Furthermore, the study indicated that the community members did not have real power and were sometimes confused about their role. The study revealed that this was because the policy environment lacked consistent institutions of support to community schools and clarity about the upgrade process.

Looking at types of community participation, Rose (2003) distinguished between genuine- and pseudo-participation. Rose (2003) argues that more successful genuine community engagement will result in a bottom-up process in which community members, through participation in decision-making, have complete authority in making decisions. The benefits of this strategy are that it enhances the members' sense of autonomy, community empowerment and self-confidence in influencing events that affect their lives (Zhang, Cole and Chancellor, 2013; Tosun, 2006). From this point of view, local communities can be empowered to initiate the plans, although they would require assistance from government, political and other advocates to succeed.

Despite participation generally being promoted as an indisputable benefit, Rose (2009) found that participation was a scarce resource. She highlighted that any real cost-effectiveness assessment would need to take the cost side of the stakeholder into account. Rose further explained that the lack of participation may also be due to social obstacles, such as the historically ingrained mindset of dependency that is in the lives of most disadvantaged communities (Oakley, 1993). A study by Pryor (2005) found that community participation is not an easy task. As such, there is need to pay attention to the structural issues that might prevent it, along with a practical analysis of people's motivation for participation. Pryor highlights two necessary preconditions for participation: some engagement with schooling and recognition of its importance and the perception of the quality of schooling. Whether transferring more decision-making authority and responsibility offers a higher level of participation and subsequent accountability to parents and members of the community is essentially a matter of empirical examination in the specific micro and macro contexts in which such reform is implemented.

Overcrowding is another factor that results from the economic and political factors in community schools. Despite being advantaged, schooling in urban areas faces a number of challenges that make their opportune status questionable. Among the challenges identified are overcrowded classrooms and the inclusion of street children. Overcrowding is a state in which the number of learners exceeds the optimum level such that it causes hindrance to the teaching–learning process (Khan and Iqbal, 2012). Overcrowding in urban areas influences urban education and the participation of learners in schools. A study by Khan and Iqbal (2012) on the problems faced by teachers in overcrowded classrooms in Pakistan found that successful teaching was not possible in overcrowded classrooms. They found that most teachers faced instructional challenges as well as discipline, physical and assessment problems. Similarly, in South Africa, Marais (2016) found that overcrowded classrooms had a detrimental effect on discipline management. Marais’ study found that the classrooms appeared to be noisy, making it difficult for those learners who wanted to pay attention and engage actively in the class as well as to have learners participate.

The misinterpretation of multiparty democracy in urban schools in Malawi has affected discipline issues (MacJessie-Mbewe and Nampota, 2007). They point out that before democracy, Malawi was autocratic, and a part of Malawi’s cultural capital that transferred to all institutions, including homes and schools. The study showed that this gave head teachers influence over teachers and, in turn, had the power to compel others to do something, regardless of their resistance to authority. Teachers are now reluctant to punish their learners for fear of parents, activists and courts that tend to uphold human rights without empathising with duty.

Finally, there are several significant findings in the literature on the challenging demands of a rapidly changing world of education. One of the most significant socio-cultural, non-directly educational factors that pose a formidable challenge to the community school system is poverty and HIV/AIDS. Sub-Saharan Africa, where Zambia is grouped, is one of the most highly affected regions of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. This means that children born in sub-Saharan Africa are at a greater risk of being affected by the epidemic than their counterparts born elsewhere. Lombe and Ochumbo (2017) reported that data indicates that HIV/AIDS accounts for half of Zambia’s estimated 1.3 million orphans and vulnerable children. The death of a parent also results in a living rearrangement. Considering the high poverty rates in the country, the risk of orphans put under the care of older or unemployed relatives without social

security or retirement benefits is high. Consequently, this leads to the likelihood that children under such care will be vulnerable.

While orphaned children are historically seen as one of the most marginalised in the population, Rody, Erickson and Nagaishi (2015) argue that the orphan status does not inherently indicate a need for school-related assistance. MaMahan, Mufunde and Lombe (2016), for example, argue that the proportion of children who are orphaned in a group does not impact on school participation. Hampshire et al. (2015) found that orphans were not substantially educationally disadvantaged in Ghana, having a long history of fostering kinship rather than the non-orphaned. A related line of research suggests that the lack of a consistently negative effect on African children in current work can be due to the strength of the extended networks of family and community which provide for orphans (Evans and Miguel, 2005). While orphanhood and fostering may be associated with an educational advantage in sub-Saharan Africa, some studies have found equivocal results that are sometimes contradictory. For example, Clacherty (2008) found that extreme poverty may restrict their ability to access education, despite positive kin and child attitudes about education. In this view, financial limitations for those placed in a poor household can decrease investment in education. HIV/AIDS reduces the capabilities of households to contribute to financing schools. Murphy (2008) in MaMahan, Mufunde and Lombe (2016) highlighted how the epidemic threatened traditional resource management systems because adult labour was often lost or decreased in income due to a caregiver's inability to work.

Concerns about the growing number of orphans and household poverty are what led to the formation of community schools in the first place. The high incidence of orphans and poverty puts a great deal of demand on community schools due to the policy of enrolment in government schools and inadequate inputs for enrolment. If one considers the constrained financial and resource background of these schools, the need for community schools is dire. This is compounded by the number and condition of the school facilities, leading to overcrowding, multigrade teaching, inadequate teaching and learning resources, and a shortage of teachers in certain cases.

2.6 The nature of teaching and learning in urban community schools

My goal in this section is to look at the different features of urban education from a comparative viewpoint. Bush, Joubert, Kiggundu and van Rooyen (2010) argue that three main criteria are

required for the development of successful teaching and learning at school: sound classroom practices; adequate and acceptable learning materials; and sound, constructive leadership and learning management. In this section, I combine each of these three dimensions described by Bush et al. (2010), focusing mainly on studies from the global south, including Zambia. Therefore, this section centres on these emerging themes from the literature. I begin by looking at teaching and learning in community primary schools by looking at teaching and learning in community primary schools.

The quality of teaching is a crucial variable in educational improvement (Sokel and Martin, 2016). Sokel and Martin note that while educational activities that are defined as successful have been presumed generic in the past, it has become increasingly clear that the concept of what constitutes teaching in a given context is more likely to be driven by the identification of contextual practices. However, in my area of focus, I have found that the literature on the nature of community school education is not well established. For example, in my recent literature search (September 2020) from academic databases, a small number of articles have been found.

My observation is supported by Nagendra, Bai, Brondizio and Lwasa (2018), who reported that urban problems in the global south are plainly and statistically distinct from those in the global north, but that existing urban knowledge is dominated by studies in and from the global north.

In this study, I chose not only to concentrate on urban community schools but also to include literature on general urban education in low-income environments, as some reports indicate that community schools have adopted a public-school approach and pedagogy. Although formal teaching and many teaching activities in the studies are interlinked, here I isolate and discuss each practice. Accepting that teachers direct teaching and learning mainly through instruction and assessment (Newman and Wehlage, 1996), my focus in this subsection will be on these two aspects of teaching and learning.

2.6.1 Classroom practices in urban community schools

The practice of direct whole-class teaching is considered teacher-directed, and structured material was most prominent in urban community schools. Mitana, Muwagga and Sempala (2018), in an empirical review of pedagogical renewal studies globally, found that in most low- and medium-income countries, classroom practices were authoritarian, rigid and formal. They warn that such pedagogical practices have given rise to a phenomenon in which learners hardly

nurture creativity, imagination, critical thinking or problem-solving, which learners require for life and beyond. Most teachers in India's community schools arbitrarily selected subject-matter concepts from textbooks based on criteria such as a sequence of particular difficulties articulated by children with the content of an impending assessment, or to convey their comfort level (Raval et al., 2010). In the study, the teachers used multiple coping mechanisms to address complex expectations in the classroom, such as telling the child to memorise a portion of the book and then assess just how much the child was able to reproduce or resolve a particular mathematics problem. There was, however, a lack of verbalisation of problems in mathematics to help address teaching problems.

In reviewing the literature on dominant educational practices in schools, I agree with Barnett (2017) that debates on teaching in low-income countries seem to suggest that pedagogy as a teacher-centred and learner-centred conceptualisation is over-simplistic. It will have to step beyond the polarised understanding of pedagogy if the theory is to address the dynamic challenges of raising the quality of teaching in the context of under-resourced education (Barnett, 2017). Similarly, Haberman (2005) argued that ritualistic education practices tended to influence high poverty schools, describing these practices as a pedagogy of poverty. Muckinney, Chappell, Berry and Hickman (2009) argue that multiple assessment techniques should be used in high poverty, elementary urban schools, depending on the purpose of the assessment, and use it to enhance learners' learning. Muckinney et al. (2009) concluded that while no specific teaching approach is the primary factor in motivating learners of under-resourced urban mathematics, practices that include hands-on and research-driven lessons have shown success in helping urban learners to achieve.

In Tanzania, Barnett (2017) found that the mode of classroom practice in primary schools offered learners equal opportunities but not equal acquisition in characterising competence pedagogy. The study showed that most teachers believed that the purpose of their instructional practice was learners' conceptualisation of the subject matter, which encapsulates a focus on the transmission of knowledge. The beliefs of teachers about teaching and learning and relationships with learners lay within the competence model. Likewise, the literature reviewed on teaching practices in urban community schools shows that the transmission paradigm was a dominant theme in almost all of the studies. In Zambia, for example, Hennessy, Haßle and Hofmann (2015) found that the emphasis in community schools was not typically on studying. They found that the standard was a transmission-based paradigm of teaching and lacking

intellectual depth with little focus on sense-making or real-world application. The model was apparent in countries with a policy culture that allowed curriculum coverage and teaching for testing. Altinyelkens (2015), in a study on democratising Turkey through the opportunities and pitfalls of learner-centred pedagogy, highlighted that global reform talk on pedagogy focused on learner-centred pedagogy. The study indicated that there was a radical appeal in the rhetoric of learner-centred pedagogy in Turkey, although the practice appeared to be failing to fulfil standards. Teachers, textbooks and the centralised examination nature of school tended to be a firm foundation for learning in this regard. The study further showed that the construction of knowledge with the learners was harder than envisioned by curriculum designers, often causing confusion instead of substantive and transformative learning. Effective mediation of pedagogical proactivity assumes and demands changes in adult–child relationships. However, in a cultural context, teachers find it difficult when losing authority and acting democratically.

2.6.2. School-based assessment

Sultana (2018) has observed that there is growing concern among the academic and research community because of the increasing influence of tests and examinations on stakeholders, society and education policy. Ahmad and Rao (2012) argue that a teacher-centred pedagogical approach is used as teachers rely on end-of-cycle examinations as the purpose of teaching and learning in school. Utaberta and Hassanpour (2012), however, suggest that assessment, conducted after the learning process, should not only be seen as independent from teaching, but also as a robust instrument for fostering deep learning practices. I, therefore, see assessment as an inherent component of instruction.

In Uganda, Mitana (2018) found that the primary school curriculum officially encourages teachers to give many sets of examinations and tests to prepare for the primary school leaving examination instead of informing the daily teaching and learning process. Whereas the official curriculum is comprehensive in terms of knowledge and skills, the study discovered that the assessment framework is restricted to a few skills and superficial information. It revealed that the current education assessment in Ugandan primary schools mainly relies on traditional pen-and-paper-measuring of rote learning at the expense of higher-order questions. In Kenya and Nigeria, Hardman, Abd-Kar and Smith (2008) found that teachers' questions were mostly closed, demanding a recall of knowledge. Follow-up questions usually challenged learners to expand their thinking, although they consisted of low-level assessment of the

learners' responses. This feedback offered little opportunity for learner engagement in classroom discourse and in higher-order reasoning.

Chanda (2008) who refers to the teaching and learning of English in Zambian secondary schools, found that many questions asked by teachers in the classroom were mainly lower-order questions that involved the recollection of facts. The study found that higher-order questions led to failure in examinations and that passing required more repetitive and conformist skills of learners. In the Zambian context again, resources around community schools vary widely and significantly affect the learner environment (Mwalimu, 2011). Frischkorn and Falconer-Stout (2016) found that externally funded community schools that were well-resourced with strong constructions and permanent structures, while internally sourced schools were missing the main facilities, infrastructure, and teaching and learning materials. Nkosha and Peggy Mwanza (2009), for example, found that in most of the community schools they visited, the school buildings were few, dilapidated and disadvantaged or non-existent. In most cases, the researchers found pupils learning in church buildings, uncompleted buildings, or under trees.

Hoque's (2011) doctoral dissertation, focusing on the mismatch between the objectives of the curriculum, classroom teaching and tests in disadvantaged Bangladeshi primary schools, revealed that Higher Senior Certificate examinations had a strong negative influence on classroom teaching of the syllabus, curriculum, teaching content, methodology and learning. The test triggered a direct change in classroom teaching content but was unable to change teacher attitudes and behaviour towards teaching methodology. The curriculum content was narrowed to the test-related items, thereby increasing teacher-centred pedagogy. The findings further showed that most teachers and learners were not even aware of the aims of the curriculum. Tests did not check on everything in the syllabus and textbooks and remained ignored.

Hoque's (2016) study found that teachers highly relied on commercially produced guidebooks and test papers for assessment. Hoque further found that teachers did not distinguish between teaching to the test and teaching to the syllabus. It revealed that most of the teachers had not grasped the value of knowledge about the curriculum. There was thus a mismatch between the objects, the curriculum and classroom teaching produced.

In Nigeria, Abonyi (2014) found that certification took priority over competence, which, he concluded, had contributed to the weak development of human resources and existing examination malpractices in Nigeria. He also highlighted that the national examinations faced many problems, including inadequate coverage of educational goals, overemphasis on qualifications, and malpractices of examination. Mitana (2018) also concluded that when there is a high stake in assessment, it encourages malpractice which, in turn, indicates a spirit of dishonesty and cheating which ultimately negatively affects the life of the individual child. Sokel and Martin (2016) argued that the process–product model fails to provide a validated consensus on efficient instructional practices that teachers and schools can use to direct their work intelligently.

2.6.3 Feedback approach

Ambrose et al. (2010) identified targeted feedback as a learning principle. However, I found that studies focusing on feedback in low-income and community schools was limited, fragmented and on a small scale. A prevalent view reveals objectivist roots of feedback with the teacher as expert, tasked to match external learning outcomes to the learners' current observable performance on a prescribed task. In their conceptual analysis of feedback and evidence relating to its effects on achievement, Hattie and Timperley (2007) showed that feedback primarily affects learning, and the type of feedback, and how to provide it, may be differently efficient. Therefore, Hattie and Timperley (2007) proposed a feedback model that describes the basic properties and situations that make it efficient. They also discuss issues of timing and the effects of positive and negative feedback. This study makes it clear that both teachers and learners need the skill to know how to provide and receive feedback. It implies that teachers need high proficiency in developing a classroom climate and deep subject matter to offer valuable feedback about tasks or facilitate self-regulation and having exceptional timing for feedback. Research shows the critical roles that the field of teaching and learning resources play in the teaching and learning processes. It is in the light of this perception that I explore the availability and use of learning and teaching materials in urban community schools. Ombajo and Ndikus (2017) found the selected materials linked to the central content of the lesson make the learners understand it in depth. The study also found resources make lessons attractive to learners, thus attracting their attention and motivating them to learn. Overall, the study found that adequate supplies of teaching and learning materials had significant effects on learner performance.

Highlighting the value of teaching and learning materials, Mwonga and Wanyama (2012) reported that the use of adequate teaching and learning materials eased teaching. Kyeremeh and Osei-Poku (2020) conducted a study focusing on uncovering problems that learner-teachers faced regarding the use of teaching and learning materials (TLMs) as a catalyst to induce learning in Ghana. The study showed that learner-teachers lacked the requisite knowledge and skills in TLMs' design and usage. It was proposed that learning skills in the design and use of TLMs needed integration into teacher education in Ghana. The study found that while teachers knew the benefits use of TLMs in classrooms, they faced difficulties in designing and using TLMs. This was due to the lack of demand for knowledge and skills in the making and use of TLMs. As a result of the learner-teachers in the study incorrectly used illustrative chalkboards instead of concrete materials because they were deterred in the making and using of TLMs. They further found that the TLMs made by the teachers were difficult to hang on the wall, were not durable or flexible, showed poor drawing and lettering, and were not attractive. These characteristics made their TLMs inappropriate and ineffective to use. The importance of the role of TLMs in the classroom is demonstrated by case studies from Rwanda and South Africa by Milligan, Koornhof, Sapire and Tikly (2018). These authors revealed that there were supporting factors that affected this, including motivating teachers to use TLMs-and making materials accessible to all learners. They concluded that TLMs, educators and learners might become equal partners in teaching and learning by using an effective language and other pedagogical support structures.

2.7 Conclusion

In this study, I used the literature review as both a process and a product (Dangert-Drwons, 2004). The approach included a systematic exploration of previous research, evaluation studies and scholarships to address theoretical, policy and practical issues. On the other hand, I was able to incorporate new knowledge synthesis from existing studies by reviewing literature as a product. Its postulates lie in the opportunities it offers to convey similarities and contradictions among different studies, to reflect on the consistency of normative understandings and processes, and to promote dialogue between research and evaluation communities that do not interact directly. To better understand actual events, I used inferences from individual studies to create more systemic frameworks and identify the strengths and limitations of the traditional theory. All through this process, I was aware that literature reviews

call for a disciplined balance, recognising both the consensus and inconsistencies of the studies, and knowledge creation in the context of criticising current understanding and practice. It required me to pay attention to the essential issues with the versatility to provide new perspectives from studies. Equally, I continued to welcome ideas and counterproposals from different sources to refine the quality of the evidence. Subsequently, this also helped ensure rigour, integrity and transparency to draw new perspectives from previous studies (Bangert-Drowns 2005). Having looked at the rationale and methodology of my literature review, I proceeded to systematically explore the main concepts of my research question, starting with the general nature of education. In the paragraphs that followed, I explained the general nature of teaching and learning. I began the next subsection by examining the general nature of teaching.

I also tried to conceptualise the urban community primary schooling and the nature of its education. I addressed how we might understand the community school system. I approached this objective in conversation with alternative education. My aim was to show how the concept of community schools has evolved into what it is perceived as today. I also tried to show how evolution of pedagogy is related to different national and international events. While there are many possible opportunities for community schools, many obstacles still exist in exploiting the potential of these schools and reaching out to children who are still out of school.

Outsiders have carried out several studies on community schools for outsiders. Therefore, Oakley (1993) supports the need for indigenous networks, both within and between countries, to engage in local stakeholders' participatory research and advocacy initiatives to strengthen community schools. The other task, however, is to allow society to concentrate on its present and changing learning needs and practices and translate this reflection into social change. Although not always comprehensive, several studies have been conducted on community schools in Zambia that have both practical and theoretical relevance for the current study. In the next chapter, I will be proceeding to theorise the nature of education of education in urban community schools.

CHAPTER THREE: FRAMING THE STUDY THEORETICALLY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the theoretical and conceptual overview that forms the foundation for the study and anchors its theoretical framework. I used theories to interpret and bring understanding of the contextual nature of learning in urban community primary schools to the fore. The overview of the chapter is captured in Figure 3.1 and discussed below.

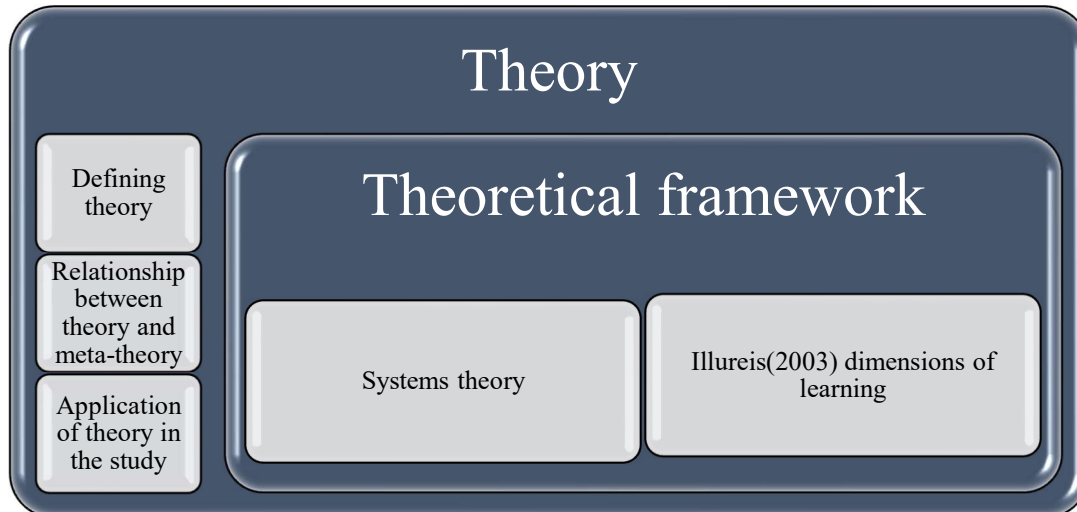


Figure 3.1: Theoretical framework

I divided this chapter into four sections. In the section following this introduction, I discuss what theory is and its significance in my study. Thereafter, I clarify the theoretical framework for the analysis of my research. Following this, I address systems theory and Illeris's (2003) dimensions of learning theory, which culminates in my discussing the contribution of my two theories in the study. I end the chapter by summing up the discussion about the contextual nature of learning.

3.2 Some views on theory

A theory is a complex and ambiguous concept because, among other things, it is defined as models, frameworks and paradigms (Hammersley, 2009). Sunday (2008), for example, describes a theory as a model or framework for observing and understanding, as it forms what we see, and how we see it. Further, Dillow (2009) captures 'theory' as paradigms of human constructions that characterise the role taken against the main principles of ontology, ethics and epistemology. Considering theory as a critical element of any research, Nelson, Groom and Potrac (2014) argue that the academic community hold theory in research in high regard.

Wright (2008) even points out that debates on educational research are mostly theoretical. Epistemological and ontological positions are seldom made apparent. Wright has argued that no one can research anything without theory because theory forms how we perceive the research problem and how we frame the research that will solve it, whatever type of research it is. In this case, I see a theory as the general principle that provides explanations for the empirical phenomena (Hammersley, 1995), and this is the meaning of theory that I will be primarily concerned within this study. I hope the explanatory theory will assist me in understanding the contextual nature of learning in my study.

While highlighting the goal of theory in education research, Ball (1995) asserts that it reveals and mines what is most invisible in practice. Ball explains that theory seeks to de-familiarise current experiences and categories to make them seem less obvious and relevant and to open spaces for new ways of knowing to intervene. Charmaz (2014) points to two types of theory: positivism and interpretivism, which I discuss further in Chapter 4. In this study, I use more than one theory to explain my phenomenon, as I could not substantially research it within a single theory. This approach has offered me a merged angle to view my research questions. Thus, in my theoretical framework, I put together different theories to explain and provide an extensive view of the nature of learning in Zambian urban community schools.

3.3 Using theory

In this study, I see theory as taking place both in the sense of discovery and justification. Swedberg (2016) argues that there are a variety of theories and that while they are very different, they also share essential properties. These properties allow one not only to tell if a given item belongs to a class but also to compete for the value of those that do. In this study, I use Swedberg's terminology of a theory that represents the distinct meaning of the term. I based my thesis on two of Swedberg's theoretical definitions. The first is that of a theory being a perspective from which to see and interpret the world. The goal here is not about the nature of learning per se but how to look at, group and represent its features. To guide me here, I used the selected systems theory to say something about the empirical phenomenon in a school system. My goal was how to make sense of the phenomenon and make original interpretations that looked for causes. System theory helps shed light on the research problem and helped me understand and make sense of the social processes that provide a better interpretation of the nature of education in urban community schools. The theory thus gives me the schemas

independent of experience before contact with the social phenomenon. In this sense, I use theory to mean a general proposition of logical connection that establishes relationships between two or more constructs. Bearing in mind that this approach to theory is difficult to establish, the exact nature of this interpretation might strike one as being conceptually vague and methodologically problematic, so I adopted another use of theory to mitigate the above shortcoming. My second use of theory is the meaning that it explains a particular social phenomenon. I used this approach through my use of dimensions of learning model. The explanations helped me identify several conditions which posed some of the counterfactual tests for causal relevance, and I took the interaction effects into account. From this perspective, I used three different theories of learning to explain the nature of education. I also used the theories of learning.

I based the theories I use in this study on my understanding of the research problem. I looked at the study's guiding concepts and positioned the research inside them. I selected the theories to meet the study's goals and ascertained the primary concern for my investigation. Following this, I read and reviewed existing relevant literature on the subject using principal search words. The reading deepened my understanding of the theories following the research questions set out in the study. It also helped me consider rival views as well as the benefits and weaknesses of the theories before I chose them. Consideration of the constrictions related to the selected theories explored by the problem provided a logical explanation of the phenomenon.

In addition, I used Sefotho's (2015) combination of theory, philosophy, paradigm and the metatheory framework. I found that Sefotho's framework provided crucial insight into understanding the relationship among the constructs. Here, I posit philosophy as assuming the role of the position of research philosophy that links well with the ontology, epistemology and methodology. The paradigm guides me into looking at the natural reality, knowledge, the relationship between the knower and what is to be known, purpose, and approaches to methodology (Sefotho, 2015). This aligns with Hanson et al.'s (2005) description of research design as philosophy, that is, what researchers consider knowledge to be. Philosophy is useful as it communicates the research stance and helps others to understand the context (Burke, 2007). It is also said to provide a means to articulate the results of research as it influences the study and interpretation of knowledge. Highlighting the importance of philosophy in research, Vokey (2009) and Sefotho (2015) explain how philosophy seeks to organise and guide the

research process by presenting paradigms, frameworks and models that address universal questions about life. Hart (2010) defines worldviews as cognitivist, perceptual and effectual maps that people cautiously use to make sense of the social setting and find ways to whatever goal they seek. It is from these worldviews that beliefs about the phenomenon are structures and subsequent practice follows (Huitt, 2011). My main focus here is on meta-theory, as it relates directly to my theoretical framing of the study. As far as meta-theory is concerned, I use it to guide my theoretical framework to a variety of decisions on what to do with research and what kind of theories to explain the education activities and processes in the urban community schools in Lusaka.

3.4 Theoretical framework

A theoretical framework is an aspect of a structure that guides the researcher. Imenda (2014) describes a theoretical framework as the implementation of a theory or collection of principles based on the same theory, to provide an interpretation of an occurrence, or to elaborate on a phenomenon or research issue. Likewise, Grant and Osanloo (2014) highlight that a theoretical framework is based on the current theory of research in the area of investigation. According to the above description of the theoretical framework, Adom and Hussein (2018) draw a connection between the theoretical framework and all aspects of the research activity beginning with the problem statement, the literature review, the methodology, presentation and discussion of findings and also conclusion drawing.

The theoretical framework therefore provides a general lens to help in how to think about research problems and interpret data (Grant and Osanloo, 2014). Imenda (2014) argues that theoretical frameworks are necessary for each thesis, as without them, the analysis lacks the appropriate guide and structure for conducting a literature review and describing and explaining the findings of the investigation. Rocco and Plakhotnik (2009) caution that there is a misconception that because qualitative studies are typically inductive, there is no place for theory. Within a given field of study, a theoretical framework represents an integrated understanding of the issues that allow the researcher to solve a particular research problem, postulating learning to a better-guided literature review and defining suitable research methods for interpreting findings (Imenda, 2014). This means that several researchers might be working on the research problem but investigating it from different theoretical points of view and, ultimately, they obtain accurate findings and enriched knowledge. The theoretical framework

also helps to demonstrate that my research was not focused on personal intuition, but deeply embedded in the collection of existing theories, thus enhancing the study's trustworthiness (Akntoye, 2015). The theoretical framework helps to situate and contextualise formal theories that serve as a focus for the research related to my research questions.

3.4.1 Setting the stage for the theoretical framework

I am implementing two theories, the system theory and Illeris's (2003) dimensions of learning as a lens in this analysis to guide my exploration of the contextual nature of learning in urban community primary schools. I discuss these theories in the next section and explain how I applied my theoretical framework.

3.4.2 Application of theoretical framework in the study

It is beneficial to have a clear understanding of the kind of theory that one wants to develop and its degree of analysis. I link the exploration of the nature of learning in urban community schools to the process of interpretation, theoretical and functional ranges, and constraints of the study (Abrams and Hogg, 2004). When looking at this phenomenon, I realise that there is an inexhaustible sense of what processes are involved. Realising that my phenomenon has several potential fronts, none of which is universally privileged, I partially concentrate it on theoretical perspectives on the ideas that produce it (Hammersley, 2009). The goal is to translate raw data into a cohesive description of urban community schools as well as their education developments. This step is in line with Hammersley's (2009) argument that as the basis for a theoretical account of the setting, the interpretation process requires the data coming to stand for and represent the arena of reality.

The first theory I chose for the theoretical framework for this study is systems theory which I used to understand the embedded nature of learning in education systems. Perhaps a more significant reason why systems theory warrants a more central role in organisational studies is that organisational theorists have struggled with many of the same conceptual issues that complex theories have been trying to address. As a result, the system theory provides a rich context to analyse. The second is a learning theory, which I used to theorise insights into educational actors and activities of the nature of education in urban community schools in Lusaka, Zambia. In the next section, I give an overview of systems theory. I explain how I used systems theory to address the core contextual issues of structure, behaviour, and interaction.

3.5 Systems theory

Systems theories emerged from general system theory, which is both a transdisciplinary area of study and a theoretical framework in which various micro-level methods develop (Whitchurch and Constantine, 2009). Cumming (2013) attributes the origin of the system theory to the biologist Ludwig von Bertalanffy's wide range of work in the physical, biological and system sciences. It emerged in the 1950s with the view of developing a theoretical construct to examine the empirical world. Systems theory goes by different names such as complexity theory, the open system, general systems theory, and complex systems theory with each built on the same premise with slight variation in emphasis (Meadows, 2008). Gupta and Gupta (2013) describe systems theory as a study of simple and complex systems, their structure and their behaviour.

Systems thinking is an aspect of looking at the world where things are interconnected (Keshavarz et al., 2010). Hmelo-Silver and Pfeffer (2004) provide a framework for understanding the dynamic nature of structure, behaviour and function in a system. They describe structures as the components of the system and define behaviour as ways in which systems structures produce their effects. Furthermore, they see a function as a component of a system. After analysing different definitions of system theory, Meadows (2008) argued that a system consists of three things: elements, interconnection and a purpose, showing that the human system is complicated in that it consists of many diverse components whose interactions and relationships change over time. Education is a dynamic system rooted in a political, cultural and economic context (Ross and Genevois, 2006). Systems theories are, however, not comprehensive in evaluating phenomena and deliberating on what needs to be done. Furthermore, critics of systems theory claim that its development in the physical and natural systems limits use in the social context. Levy and Wilensky (2011) argue that, in the social world, results typically show complex underlying relationships that include interaction through a chaotic system. However, over the years, systems theory has been applied in fields such as education (Mead, 2013). Overall, the nature of learning rarely receives comprehensive treatment concerning the whole.

In the context of this study, systems theory helps explain interrelationships and alignment between the various parts and processes of learning in community primary schools. It allows for an understanding of how schools structure themselves and function to achieve particular results (Cumming, 2013). I thus used systems theory as a lens on teaching and learning

practices and context to help me understand the contextual nature of learning in urban community primary schools and to account for factors that influence it. In essence, my intention for using system theory was to explore the nature of education more holistically and bring an understanding by insight into the influences of learning and not just symptoms in the dynamic school context in the study.

From a spectrum of systems theories, I selected the open system model (Meadows, 2008) because it is a system thinking approach that is in contact with its environment, inputs and school outputs across the boundary of the system. An open framework acts as a management tool, as reported by Gupta and Gupta (2013), allowing all aspects of the organisation to be analysed, interlinking the effects of a set of decisions or interactive behaviours with others and improving the understanding of my phenomenon. Consequently, this thesis focuses on understanding the changing nature of schooling in a dynamic school system. Based on this understanding, I have established that open system theory is significant to this study, as it criticises the reduction of the phenomenon as a consequence of the behaviour of individuals with their objectives and characteristics.

Figure 3.2 shows the diagrammatically represented open system model. Using system theory in my study might contribute to the existing literature on rules governing human and organisational behaviour that influence the nature of dominant education practices in community primary schools.

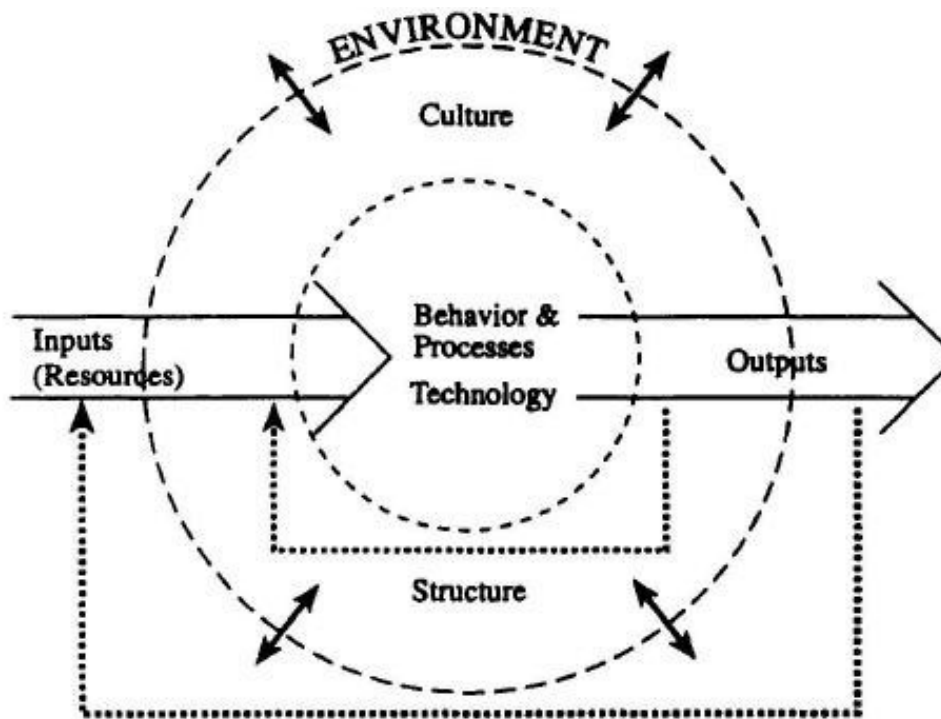


Figure 3.2: Open systems framework.

Source: Harrison and Shirom (1998)

Figure 3.2 offers five interconnected macro lenses on the open system model: (a) inputs, (b) organisation processes and structure, (c) environment, (d) outputs and (e) feedback.

(a) Inputs

These inputs, which are related to macro lenses, consist of elements incorporated into the school system, such as learners, teachers, school administrators, monetary resources and infrastructure.

(b) Organisation processes

The organisation aims to transform inputs into outcomes that are distinguishable from inputs. In this case, I assume that inputs and outputs are the two main components of the interaction between teaching and learning situations and their environment (Gupta and Gupta, 2013). There are, however, other factors that come into play that constantly influence the teaching and learning process. On the other hand, outcomes are complexes discharged from systems into the external environment of the school.

(c) Environment

As indicated earlier, the environment is one of the elements of the open system. Hall and Fegan in Chikere and Nwoka (2015) described the environment of a given system as a set of objects that may affect the operation and performance of the system. The environment is both internal and external, with an emphasis on its climate and culture. These environments tend to be rather broad, and as such I imposed a limit on the elements to make my study manageable. I am aware that limiting aspects of the environment in my thesis can lead to some vital relationships being overlooked in the process. The immediate environment entails the organisation's climate and culture. Fullan (2007) describes school culture as beliefs, traditions, policies and norms within a school. These guiding cultures are evident in the way schools operate. Therefore, by observing the way the school functions, the school climate and culture can be established. The education requirements of schools influence the beliefs of teachers about what happens in the classroom, how they should or should not act, and how learners should act. Fullan (2007) observes that culture is developed and is not forced on a social organisation by the mechanism of interaction. School culture is affected by teachers and school leaders. The external environment of a school system consists of human organisations in which education functions and consists of those systems that expect to receive output from the community schools. Chikere and Nwoka (2015) argue that the state of the educational environment in community schools is related to the state of the organisation's environment.

(d) Outputs

Outputs are attainable goals in the education system. Although the results differ considerably, my focus in this study is on how different outcomes get to influence the learning outcomes. In light of an external variable, I premise this on the pretext that schools turn inputs into outputs.

(e) Feedback

In Figure 3.2, feedback is represented by the double arrows between the structure and environment. Feedback is essential to the success of school operations. Citing an example of negative feedback, Lunenburg (2011) argues that feedback can be used to rectify transition or input deficits that, in turn, affect potential school outputs.

As alluded to earlier, in undertaking this study, I also applied Illeris's (2003) dimensions of learning theory. Therefore, having looked at open systems theory and its application to my study, in the next section I explore the dimensions of the learning theoretical model.

3.6 Illeris's (2003) dimensions of a learning model

To inform debates around learning in school, Illeris (2003) developed a model on dimensions of learning. This model is an exploratory tool used to identify and explain key elements embedded in human learning. Illeris argued against the backdrop that it is no longer enough to merely conceive of learning as the acquisition of a curriculum but as a dynamic matter (Illeris, 2009). I relied on this understanding when I applied the open systems theory in an attempt to explain the contextual factors that account for the nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka. I found it relevant for my study, as it paid detailed attention to what learning entails. To provide a more systematic and comprehensive view of human learning, Illeris (2003, 2007, 2018) proposed a theoretical three-dimensional model of learning. In Figure 3.3, I present a visual representation of Illeris's conceptual dimension of learning.

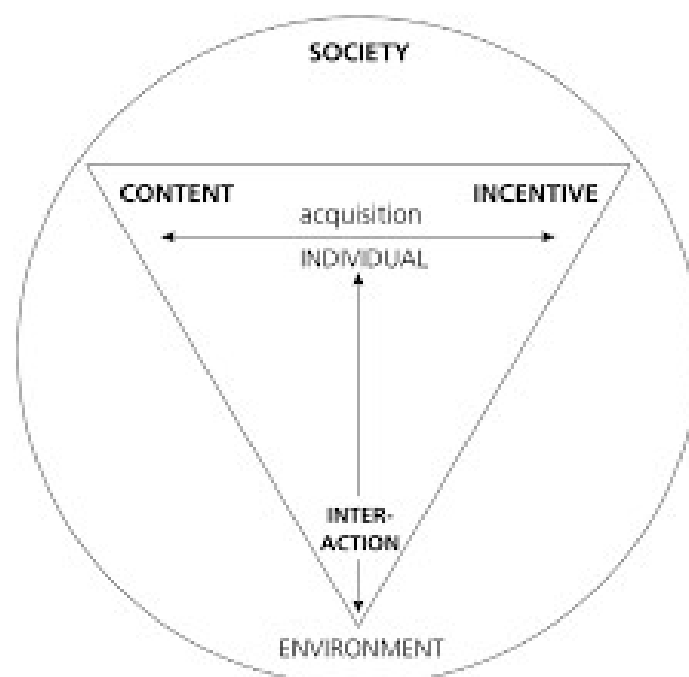


Figure 3.3: Dimensions of learning model

Source: Illeris (2017:26)

According to Illeris (2003), learning is centred on two basic assumptions. The first assumption is that all learning consists of two fundamental processes, acquisition and interaction, as shown by the double arrows within the triangle. The horizontal arrow denotes the internal psychological process of the learner while the vertical one depicts the interaction. The interaction process is between the learner and their social, cultural and material environment, thus signalling the relationship between the learner and the environment. The internal psychological process of acquisition is an elaboration in which new instincts are connected with the results of prior learning.

The second assumption is that all learning includes three dimensions, namely the cognitive dimension of knowledge and skills, the emotional dimension of feelings and motivation, and the social dimension of communication and cooperation, all of which are embedded in a societally situated context. The content dimension of learning concerns what is learned. It contends that learners do not simply stop at acquiring knowledge and skills, but they try to create meaning and understanding out of learning situations they encounter (Illeris, 2007). Illeris endeavours to construct meaning and the ability to deal with the challenges of practical life and thereby an overall personal functionality is developed (Illeris, 2018).

The second dimension of learning concerns the incentive dimension and he posit that learning is concerned with key terms such as motivation, emotions and volition (Illeris, 2007). Illeris mentions that this dimension is closely connected to the content dimension, with the two dimensions usually being activated simultaneously by impulses sparked by interaction between the learner and the learning environment. Illeris's (2018) assertion is that at the incentive stage the amount of learning material depends on the 'energy' boosted by the incentive dimension. Illeris argues that a new understanding or enhanced ability can encourage or change the old emotional and motivational patterns of the learners. It entails incentive offering and guiding the mental energy necessary for the learning process to take place. It contains components such as thoughts, emotion, inspiration and volition. The overall role of incentives is to constantly maintain the mental equilibrium of the learner and establish a personal understanding at the same time. Content and incentive dimensions are often driven by the impulses of interaction systems and incorporated into the internal process of elaboration and acquisition. Therefore, the content of learning is, so to speak, always concerned with the incentives at stake.

Interaction is the third dimension of learning which provides the impulses that initiate the learning process. This may take place as perception, transmission, experience, imitation, activity or participation (Illeris, 2007). Illeris (2007) argues that learning does not happen in a vacuum but rather is always situated in a concrete social and societal context. I support the idea that learning is shaped and transformed by various factors. Illeris notes that this interaction dimension has two levels, the social and societal, with which the learner interacts directly. Learning reflects these social and societal conditions with which the learner can interact. Having presented the three dimensions of learning independently, Figure 3.4 brings together a graphically illustrated model. In highlighting the principles of learning as a basis of my understanding of learning, I try to distinguish between learning and achievement, two concepts that are often used interchangeably in school learning literature. Alexander et al. (2009) argues that achievement test scores measure performance and not learning per se, as it includes measures of factors not representative of learning either as a process or product.

The forms of dimensions are the way in which learning manifests, depending on the kind of interaction taking place and thereby influencing the nature of learning. The effects of the influence may be visible, hidden or invisible. The internal psychological or acquisition process is characterised by the interaction between two more dimensions of learning: the content dimension, which is what is learned, and the incentive dimension, which is the motivation to source and direct the mental energy required to participate in learning.

First of all, my justification for applying the dimensions of the learning model relates to the fact that most learning theories offer a monolithic approach to understanding human learning as a function of mind or experience. They define learning as either a relationship between learners and their social environment or as the production and acquisition of psychological processes. It shows that they are not sufficiently detailed to cover the broad field of learning (Illeris, 2018). However, this does not mean that the theories are flawed because one can study them separately, but the core of this study requires a more holistic understanding of learning and Illeris's (2003) model provides a dualistic approach to learning.

Secondly, the model sets out fundamental components which must always be considered when exploring the nature of the learning. Thirdly, most learning theories interpret learning as linear with a single optimal endpoint, making it restrictive and difficult to objectively explain its impact in school. It might even have different endpoints. Finally, the processes and dimension

of learning in the model provide an opportunity to account for the occurrence of learning. By using the Illeris model, the research can potentially contribute to the existing literature on learning and learning experience in urban community primary schools in a Zambian context, thereby allowing one to recognise particular aspects of community school learning.

3.7 Conclusion

In this study, I hold that philosophy underpins the function of science (Seal, 1999) and that research relies on assumptions about the phenomena studied. Therefore, in this chapter, I used my philosophical orientation as my study entry. I established my philosophical foundation and ascribed philosophical significance and a broader purview. Thereafter, I discussed the theoretical framework that guided the analysis of my study. Because of the material scope of the study, I developed an interdisciplinary approach that focused on paradigms from education, psychology and sociology. Also, the multifaceted nature of learning made it difficult for me to find one compact theory adequate to explain it. Therefore, in this study, I combined more than one theory to enhance my understanding of the phenomenon under exploration and also possibly increase the validity of my explanation. In summary, my conceptual framework identified two theories that guided the study: systems theory and Illeris's (2003) dimensions of learning theory. These theories are interdependent, with each mutually sustaining and needing the other to develop a successful frame for understanding the contextual nature of learning in schools.

Therefore, in this chapter, I outlined and explained the phenomenon of human learning. By drawing from theories on aspects of the contextual nature of learning and by analysing its characteristics, I laid the theoretical foundation for necessary conceptual decisions in the analysis. From the synthesis of theory and literature, it was clear that learning seen in context is complicated. Studying the contextual nature of learning in schools as part of an empirical study, I remained aware of the primary elements related to the contextual interaction of learning as illustrated in the theoretical framework. Following this understanding, I proceed to explain my methodological decisions and approaches in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: DESIGNING AND CONDUCTING THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I reviewed literature, theories and models relevant to the focus of the study. In this chapter, I present and justify my research design, as well as the methodological choices I made. I also address the steps taken to ensure quality assurance with regard to the ethical integrity of the study. The purpose of the chapter was thus to explain and elaborate on the plan, structure and the systematic approach I followed, to explore the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools, and to provide a substantiated reason for all the choices made. Table 4.1 is an overview of the chapter.

Table 4.1: Research design and methodology

Research question	What is the contextual nature of education in Lusaka's community schools?	
Research design		
Research approach	Qualitative	Ontological and epistemological assumptions
Research paradigm	Interpretivism	
Research methodology		
Research methodology	Case study	
Selection of participants	Purposive sampling	
Research Methods	Document analysis Observations Photography Semi-structured interviews Field notes	

Data analysis and writing-up	Open coding
Trustworthiness of the study	Credibility Transferability Dependability Confirmability
Ethical considerations	Informed consent Confidentiality and anonymity Protecting participants from harm Reflexivity

Table 4.1 outlines the research design and methodology adopted in this study. In this study, I based my research design on the qualitative research approach and interpretivist paradigm. According to Maree (2007), a research design moves from the underlying philosophic assumptions to the selection of respondents, the methods of collection, and analysis of data. Thus, navigating through my research study, I was compelled to be introspective and identify ways in which I would construct knowledge to understand the phenomenon under study. Therefore, my paradigm, research approach, and ontology and epistemology formed my theoretical foundations in philosophy, which helped me create meaning as it related to the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools (Mack, 2010). At the same time, Maree (2010) encapsulates research methodology as an action plan for the selection and application of research methods (Maree, 2010). It is also here that I translate the guidelines on ontological, epistemological, axiological and rhetorical concepts into practical analysis (Goduka, 2012). With this in mind, in the next section I present the qualitative research design that informed the investigation.

4.2 Research design

Research design refers to a theoretical framework that unites all elements of research (Akhtar, 2016). There are four common types of research designs in social science: exploratory, descriptive, explanatory and experimentation. My goal in this study was to gain insight into the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools. This emphasis required multiple purposes to address the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of my research phenomenon. I, therefore,

chose an explanatory design in this study to plan the gathering and analysis of data while keeping the research focus and purpose in mind (Ditsa, 2016). The advantage of an explanatory approach is that not only does it answer why a phenomenon happens, but it also identifies and obtains data on it and explains ‘how’ and ‘why’ it occurs that way. Thus, the explanatory design often combines the exploratory and descriptive designs to a certain degree. The ‘what’ aspect of my research question required an analysis of learning in community primary school. I did that to develop a rough understanding of the phenomenon under study. Ditsa (2016) argues that the exploratory design is ideal when the subject matter is very little understood. In this context, I had little understanding of the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools. My research questions also required me to identify the characteristics of the nature of learning after exploring them. Therefore, to describe the features of my phenomenon, I used descriptive design principles. The second research question, on the other hand, was aimed at explaining the nature of learning in urban community primary schools. In the same vein, the purpose of this study dictated that I look through my phenomenon from descriptive to operationalisation. To accomplish all this, I used a qualitative research approach which I discuss in the next section.

4.2.1 Qualitative research approach

For this study, qualitative research emerged as central to the nature of the posed research questions. Qualitative research is an approach that aims to understand the meaning that people construct about phenomena under study in their natural settings (Holloway and Wheeler, 2010). The need for an interpretive and context-specific study focusing on the observation and explanation of a specific phenomenon spurred me to adopt a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research has several advantages, all of which are central to this study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Holloway and Wheeler, 2013). The strength of a qualitative research approach includes its ability to provide a rich narrative of a complex phenomenon as it is situated and embedded in the local context (Holloway and Wheeler, 2013). Qualitative research also leads to exploring why and how a phenomenon occurs and can thus be used inductively to create a tentative yet explanatory theory about a phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). However, by choosing the qualitative research approach, I risk criticism levelled against it by advocates of quantitative research, particularly on the issues of generalisation of findings, objectivity and value-neutrality (Rowland, 2005). Nonetheless, a focus on Denzin and Lincoln’s (2008)

insistence that qualitative research is a field inquiry in its standing motivated me to adopt it for this study.

4.2.2 Interpretivist paradigmatic lens

Whether stated or not, all research takes place within a paradigm (Cater and Little, 2007). A paradigm is described by Bogdan and Biklen (2003) as a loose collection of logically linked premises, principles or proposals that guide thinking and the process of conducting systematic investigations. In addition, paradigms set out the intent, motivation and expectations of researchers. Failure to first adopt a paradigm leaves no foundation for subsequent decisions on methodology and methods (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2005). Methods are widely seen and interpreted by various philosophical views of the world. The interpretation is based on their core ontological and epistemological positions. To expound this, I address how I used the interpretivist paradigm to direct my study while reflecting on the three aspects of ontology, epistemology and methodology (Scotland, 2012; Mack, 2010; Smith et al., 2006). In this study, I define ontology as what constitutes reality and what can be known about it (Grix, 2018). Under qualitative research, the reality is perceived as an individual construct dependent on different situations. My research design thus rests on the belief that realities are multiple (Kafle, 2011). Epistemology is considered to have common parameters and assumptions that are related to the way of investigating the nature of the real world. Epistemological assumptions cover how knowledge is created, acquired and transmitted (Scotland, 2012) and regarding what is acceptable knowledge in a discipline (Bryman, 2005). Finally, methodology is described as a mixture of various techniques that are employed in research to investigate different situations (Scotland, 2012).

Navigating through this chapter, I am informed by Cohen and Crabtree (2006) caution to remain within the chosen research paradigm in the study as no two paradigms share common ideologies, value or methods. To do this, I considered Sefotho's (2015) ideas on paradigm to be the overarching definition, and philosophy, ontology, epistemology and methodology to be the philosophical principles that uphold every research paradigm that must be implicitly and explicitly specified in the research process (Sefotho, 2015). Vokey (2009) and Sefotho (2015) illustrate how philosophy attempts to organise and direct the research process by providing paradigms, frameworks and models that answer universal questions about life. In the same vein, Hanson et al. (2005) argue that research designs are based on philosophy, that is, what

researchers believe knowledge to be. Similarly, Sefotho (2013) contends that although considered an abstract and a trivial pursuit by some, philosophy continues to be a foundational and epistemological base in addressing complex questions about life today. Highlighting the importance of philosophy in research, Mertens (2005) argued that it provides the means to clearly articulate the results of the investigation as it influences the study and interpretation of knowledge.

Since philosophy provides a framework through which people view the world in the study, I followed what Creswell (2011) refers to as the interpretive paradigm. Interpretive research approaches aim at interpreting human experience and discovering different meanings or the fundamental meaning of different experiences (Anderade, 2009; Mertens, 2005). Interpretivism promotes the need to think of the world's contextual meanings and perceptions as the foundation for social phenomena to be understood (Creswell, 2014).

Therefore, by engaging in the research process from an interpretive paradigm perspective, I believe that there is a perceived reality with standard features and that a phenomenon can be understood by analysing concepts grounded in data. In Table 4.2, I present the ontological and epistemological assumptions stemming from the interpretive paradigm that informed the study.

Table 4.2: Interpretivist ontology and epistemology

Ontological Assumptions	Epistemological Assumptions
Based on human interpretation, reality is implicitly constructed and subjective	Knowledge generates from approaches which “respects the differences between people and the objects of natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action” (Grix, 2004:64).
Individuals understand and generate meaning from personal experiences	Inductively, knowledge was developed to construct an assertion.
An incident has multiple views	Reduced to simpler interpretation
Interpreted meaning and symbols determine causation in social sciences	Knowledge is acquired by personal experience.

Events are distinctive and cannot be generalised	
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Source: Mack (2010:10)

My decision to situate my study in the interpretivist paradigm (Creswell, 2011) was influenced by the nature of my research questions, which are inductive and context-specific (Creswell, 2011). At its basic level, the interpretive paradigm allows for discussion and questioning of assumptions. I used interpretivism because of how its assumptions fit the study. The central case is that material reality comes into being through acts of social analysis and meaningful sense-making (Mackenzie and Knipe, 2005). This premise confirms Karatas's (2007) claim that human interpretation is the starting point for gaining knowledge. I thus consider knowledge and meaning-making to be acts of interpretation (Holloway and Wheeler, 2013; Creswell, 2011; Hart, 2010). Interpretivism has been criticised for being subjective rather than objective in its ontological assumptions, however, Mack (2010) argues that through interpretivism, one can still be objective by bracketing assumptions and looking at the data thoroughly to inform the researcher. Thus, through interpretivism, I attempted to comprehend the phenomenon under study, that is, the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka via the meaning that people ascribe to them. My epistemological position regarding the study is that data is contained within the perspectives of the research participants in the community schools or having first-hand information on education in community schools.

4.3 Research methodology and methods

4.3.1 Methodology: Multiple case studies

There are many different types of qualitative research (Silverman, 2014; Creswell, 2011). One suggestion that has been put forward as a potential approach to guide a better understanding of a phenomenon in a real context is a case study approach using a qualitative model of inquiry (Creswell and Poth, 2016). Researchers primarily identify three types of case study: intrinsic, instrumental and multiple (Willig, 2008; Creswell, 2007). In this study, I utilised a multiple case study. The following section offers a discussion of the research methodology followed in the research study.

In this study, I conducted a multiple case study and drew on a single set of cross-case conclusions (Yin, 2009). I used the multiple case study as a research process to understand an issue beyond the case itself (Putney, 2010). In this case, my case was community primary schools, but with the intent of understanding of the contextual nature of learning. I used multiple sites in Lusaka City, each a case on its own, to gain a greater understanding of learning in these settings as well as to see how they functioned in different community primary schools.

A case study had several advantages for this study. It was my preferred choice because it enabled experiences and complexity of a process to be studied in-depth and interpreted in an appropriate socio-political context in which curricula and policies were enacted (Yin, 2009). Case studies can also help explain how and why things happen, as one can document perspective, explore contested points of view, and shed light on the particularity of a phenomenon or process (Putney, 2010; Simons, 2009). Although case studies have distinct advantages, they also have potential limitations. These limitations include the researcher's subjectivity, mass-generated data that might be difficult to process, and how to draw inferences from the cases (Simons, 2009). However, despite these limitations, a case study was ideal for this study as it allowed in-depth holistic engagement and had the potential to produce a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Yin, 2009). It was within this context that I adopted a case study to help in achieving the overall focus and purpose of my research. Furthermore, my choice of a case study in qualitative research was necessary, as it allowed me to determine the nature of learning in community primary schools within the broader social forces in which it is embedded.

4.3.2. Methods

I based this study on the idea that if you take a point of view, what would otherwise be unseen can be seen (Ladner, 2012). This means that people construct meaning about their world and, from my interpretive perspective, I tried to understand the meanings that the participants assigned to the context and nature of learning in urban community primary schools. Ladner (2012) has argued that insiders' meanings are not a given, but that it is the responsibility of the researcher to discover it. Therefore, to achieve this, I selected five primary data-generation methods: non-participant observations, taking photographs, field notes, document analysis and semi-structured interviews with teachers. My goal in this section is to explain the advantages and drawbacks of the methods I used and justify why and how I used them in the study.

Presentation of how I analysed and interpreted the data generated from the methods proceeds in a later section of the data analysis and interpretation of the chapter. The research interest in this study had many levels, so I decided to use these gathering methods to triangulate the data gathered (Denzin, 2012) and corroborate on the findings (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). I elaborate more on triangulation in the section under the trustworthiness of the study. I gathered data for the analysis during 2017. In this section, I explain the data generation and documentation strategies that I used and, as such, I assume that using multiple methods is appropriate (Serdman, 2005).

4.3.1.1 Non-participant observations

Observation as a data-gathering method involves studying people in their natural settings. I thus conducted the observation within the setting of the community school I was researching. The observation method is not only a matter of looking at something and then noticing the facts (Gray, 2013). Instead, there is a complex mixture of sensation (sight, sound, touch, smell and even taste) and perception involving systematic, close viewing of actions and the documentation of those actions (Gray, 2004). In the analysis, I used observations to identify, examine and interpret what I had seen. Of the many types of observation techniques, I used the non-participant to gather data.

Highlighting the advantages of observation, Chak (2014) states that observation pulls researchers into the complexity of the world of the participants. In this way, I was able to look at what was happening in the urban community primary schools' settings instead of depending solely on second-hand accounts. These first-hand accounts were critical, particularly because what people do may not always link with what they say, and observation may provide a reality check. It was, therefore, imperative to gather data through observation to corroborate and enrich data from other sources. Taylor (2006) claims that, when properly conducted, observations can help to clarify the policy of an entity and to identify issues for investigation more effectively. It also helped me to observe activities that had already occurred outside the natural settings. I found this helpful as it did not influence the reaction of the participants since I was not specifically observing them. Upon reaching this understanding, I proceeded to more focused observations where I conducted more precise interviews and focused on developing themes. It was for this reason that I only interviewed the teachers once – I observed at least six of their lessons. I wrote down all observations in my field notes. In the final stage of my

research, I went on to selective observation. Here I deliberately compiled several educational occurrences and experiences of the same kind and searched for consistency among them, while being open to discrepancies from emerging trends. Openness to new trends provided a fresh look at daily actions that would otherwise be taken for granted.

Nevertheless, the disadvantages of observation cannot be underrated. Taylor (2006) notes that in becoming an observer, it can be hard to adopt a fresh perspective if immersed in the organisation's ethos and attitudes, resulting in a research study that could be open to criticism of bias and subjectivity. Taylor also notes that in observation, the observer inevitably influences what is going on around them to the extent that their gender, social background and a host of other factors might affect the research being undertaken. In this study, I tried to counter this shortfall by bracketing (Dowling, 2005) through objectification. Bourdieu (2003) sees objectification as an innovative way of guarding against simplistic theoretical divides I tried to avoid impulsive interpretations by being informed by educational modes or just concentrating on the participants' accounts exclusively and uncritically. I thus decided to follow Bourdieu's (2003) advice of continually moving back and forth between scholarly practice, personal experience and analysis when interpreting the data. However, Given (2008) notes that it is not possible for one to be entirely impartial because we all bring personal values, prejudices and personal meaning to the account. I used an observation schedule to gather the data. Observation schedules (Appendix G) have the potential to help observation and analysis. I designed the observation schedule based on the data I was trying to capture and recorded it in the form of field notes. Instead of summarising what was going on, I decided to explain in-depth who did what and how, where and when everything occurred in relation to each incident. I wrote the observation notes during activities and tried to illustrate both the verbal and non-verbal expressions of group members' observations of their environment and experiences. I also made field notes on my methodology, recording complexity in implementing the research design to safeguard against pitfalls in the future (Finlay, 2013).

In general, I observed that what the participants said was not different from what I observed, except in a few cases. The observation approach enabled me to directly experience for myself both the ordinary routines of learning in community schools and the conditions under which the teacher, head teachers and learners conducted and facilitated learning. It helped me experience some of the constraints and pressures to which they are subjected. Using both the

observation schedules and unscheduled observations, I wrote down what I observed, experienced and learnt, resulting in accumulated field notes.

4.3.1.2 Field notes

To offset the limitations of observation methods, I used group activities to interpret what was taking place and recorded my analytic notes separately in my field diary (Taylor, 2009). I also used my field notes to record my feelings, emotions and thoughts so that I could use them at a later stage to determine if they influenced my observations – I was on the lookout for themes and recurrent patterns of behaviour related to learning in a community school context (Taylor, 2009; Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). I also used field notes to document my thoughts and experiences, observations, field notes and semi-structured interviews (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). Taylor (2006) argues that field notes must be as comprehensive as possible. Field notes are essential as they can enrich the study by providing useful additional information. However, Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008) note that in the development of field notes, the researcher is likely to add personal interpretation to the account, probably contributing to an excessively subjective account. It makes sense, therefore, that other methods of gathering data be used to reinforce the field notes. I used field activities to infer from or interpret what was taking place and recorded my analytic notes separately from my field notes (Taylor, 2009). To help me develop comprehensive field notes, I took cues from Taylor (2009) and Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008) to develop guidelines on making field notes, as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Guidelines for making field notes

Level	Description	When it was conducted
Raw data	observations made of people, the environment, the conversations, with dates, times	notes were made in the field as events were
Reflection and recall	expanded notes when I could add other significant information that came to mind central themes that would come to mind for discussion with the participants	

Themes and insights	a running record of analysis and interpretation recorded the nature and origin of any emergent interpretations	happening and after the event
Experiential data	log of how I felt about the research process or significant events that happened, feelings about the project and the direction it is taking.	

Source: Adapted from Taylor (2009) and Biggerstaff and Thompson (2008)

4.3.1.3 Documentary sources

For many years institutional and organisational documents have been a vital part of the analytical method in qualitative research (Bowen, 2009). Yin (2009) sees document analysis as a potential source of empirical data for case studies like mine. This seems to indicate that educational projects may require the analysis of documentary evidence. The most popular types of evidence needed for schools are written electronic or printed sources. The primary source materials and data used in this study included a lesson plan, learning tasks and the MOE's Guidelines for Community Schools and Education Act 2011. I used a systematic document analysis schedule to view the above documents. In the study, the documents reviewed served to identify contextual and structural factors and education practices in urban community primary schools through policy document on community schools and the 2011 Education Act. Bowen (2009) states that document analysis in qualitative case studies can provide the researchers with several benefits. Document analysis provides a rich description of a phenomenon which can enable us to understand and suggest the circumstances underlying the historical basis of a phenomenon. Historical data can also be a means of tracking change and development of the phenomenon. Thus, documents can provide the background and contextual sources of the phenomenon under study. Brown (2009) also indicates that documents can serve as additional evidence for substantiating findings from other sources. Equally, I found documents analysis useful in providing questions that could be asked or probed during the interviews.

Although I used the document analysis to gather data for the study, it has potential limitations. For example, Durton and Bartlett (2005) argue that document analysis does not increase understanding of why people behave the way they do. Another factor with the documents sampled for review is that they are generated for a cause other than research, which can lead to a lack of detail in addressing a research question (Bowen 2009). Despite its disadvantages, I went ahead and used it, as it could potentially allow me to directly see the lesson plan and what learning tasks were carried out instead of just focusing on what teachers had to say or do. The policy document and the education act that I selected to review were already in the public domain and could be accessed without the permission of the authors (Bowen, 2009). Consequently, as Bowen (2009:31) puts it, the documents ‘lacked obtrusiveness and reactivity, suggesting that they were unaffected by the research process’.

My document analysis was reiterative, involving skimming of the documents followed by carefully reading and interpretation (Bowen, 2009). Through the lens of interpretivism, I used descriptive and evaluative coding of my selected documents. I structured and coded the data as it applied to the four key categories of the open system model. Taking cues from Owen (2014), I organised codes that aligned and compressed them into groups that rationally and intuitively worked together. As a result, I used descriptive memo-writing and looked for relevant evidence that guided me to understand the perspectives, past issues and developments related to community school policy. I combined the codes with data from other sources that were later analysed using thematic analysis.

4.3.1.4 Photographs from the field visits

Adhering to Shacklock and Thorp’s (2005) recommendation, I also used photos as evidence of a non-written form to assist me in foregrounding the voices of participants with regard to their experience and knowledge of education in community primary schools. Taylor (2006) views photographs as evidence that may give important background information for the study or prove to be valuable sources of data in themselves. I used the photographs that I took with my cell phone camera to capture the physical infrastructure of the schools, teacher-learner ratios, general educational arrangements and the physical environment of the classrooms and schools. Cohen et al. (2011) caution against potential ethical and legal concerns in the use of visual data such as photographs. To safeguard against the ethical dilemma of identification and dissemination, I sought informed consent from the head teachers and teachers in the study.

Drew and Guilleman (2014) point out that in some research projects there was a trend to use visual images only as a novelty addition, with some researchers neglecting to describe their theoretical and interpretive approach adequately. Consequently, Drew and Guilleman (2014) indicated the need for research that concentrated on the theoretical nuances of visual photographs. From the perspective that data resides in an image, I analysed the photographs as a collective as it relates to learning. Guided by Shortt and Warren (2019), I explored the visual set for its manifest content beyond an individual image. I randomly grouped the digital photographs associated with a particular theme. I did this to reconstruct field-level meaning, by first establishing my motive for taking the photographs (Drew and Guillen, 2014). Subsequently, this generated textual data that were later coded, themed and interpreted, and triangulated with findings from other sources.

4.3.1.5 In-depth semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were another form of data gathering that I used in this study. I relied heavily on interview data to reveal the cultural elements of education in community primary schools. The stakeholders that I interviewed included teachers and head teachers in community schools. I conducted all the interviews at the participants' convenience at their respective schools. Interviews with teachers were conducted after classes so that the teaching and learning processes were not disturbed. Equally, I conducted the interviews with head teachers, and the deputy head teacher after class as I used the learning periods to observe the lessons. On average, the interviews took about 60 to 90 minutes each. It is essential to mention that I found a teacher and head teacher at a selected school in the study who were hesitant to reveal honest opinions on some questions. However, I later found out that the teacher and head teacher were related to the chairperson of the board. The chairperson was in school every day, and to all intents and purposes he ran the school autocratically. To resolve this situation, I stressed the intent of the research and ensured confidentiality and anonymity of the data to the participants. The interviews were conducted mainly in English, as all the participants were conversant in English. I audio-recorded all the interviews and transcribed verbatim responses to each question.

Although I developed an interview guide (Appendix A) to ask related questions and to collect similar types of data from all participants, the interviews were versatile in addressing spontaneously emerging issues and I asked additional questions where needed. The semi-structured interviews continued sequentially so that each case offered an increasingly better

picture of the learning that was taking place. However, different research participants were given a slightly different question, with each case yielding a set of results and a set of questions that informed the next (Wilson and Chaddha, 2009). The overall purpose was thus not representation, but the saturation of data. I therefore used the interview guide merely as the basis for a conversation; it was not intended to be prescriptive or limiting in the sense of overriding the expressed interests of participants (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008).

Semi-structured interviews, such as those I conducted, have advantages and limitations, as much as most data-gathering approaches. In this study, semi-structured interviews helped me encourage the participants to describe their experiences of teaching and learning in urban community schools and not merely their knowledge about their attitudes towards it. The interview questions were open and allowed me to seek clarification by encouraging the participants to reflect and elaborate on their initial accounts (Willig, 2007; Doody and Noonan, 2013). Doody and Noonan (2013) further noted that the open nature of semi-structured interviews facilitated depth and validity, which helped new concepts to emerge and provided rich data for analysis. One setback of semi-structured interviews, however, is that, as noted by Bryman (2016), interviews might be inconvenient for participants as they cannot complete them at their times and characteristics of an interviewer might affect the answers that they give. Nevertheless, in this study, the participants were, for the most part, able to set times that were convenient for them. In all, interviews helped explore the content in more depth, and I was able to have the participants explain an answer in more detail and allow new ideas to merge.

With permission from the interviewees, I conducted the entire interviewing process myself and audio-recorded interviews using a portable tape recorder. This process accorded me extensive personal exposure to understanding the depth of learning I was exploring (Yin, 2009). I organised all the appointments and conducted the interviews in English and, where necessary, code switched with Nyanja. One benefit of audio recording is that data can be reviewed and re-examined several times (Paulus, Jackson and Davidson 2014). Audio recordings can be valuable in providing a detailed record of formal interviews or informal conversations with either individuals or groups. Taylor (2006), however, cautions that the tape-recorded interviews need to be accurately transcribed before they can be analysed and that this takes time. I condensed the transcription by removing unnecessary words and phrases, leaving a simplified version but with precise words, and no additional representation was added. Although this method did not allow for the description of features of talk, I captured them through my field

notes. It is virtually impossible to write down everything that is said in an interview, therefore, to ensure I captured all the information from the interviews, I undertook to tape-record and subsequently transcribe what was said by all those taking part.

The interview guide for teachers and head teachers differed slightly, but the substance was similar. I divided the guide into four main domains of inquiry under the open system framework of community school inputs, outputs, organisational structures and processes, and finally the immediate and external environments of community schools. In summary, the first set of interview questions was to get participants' biographical data and develop rapport. These questions were accompanied by questions that focused on the institutional processes and structural systems of community schools and their effect on school learning. I focused the second set of questions on what was going on in community schools. I asked these questions to capture the main aspects of the participants' lived experiences as it related to learning in the community schools. Serdman (2005) is of the view that the core of in-depth interviews is to consider other people's lived experiences and the meanings they make of them. The questions that followed focused on establishing what the teachers and head teachers described as their work and the aim of education in their respective community primary schools. The final set of questions allowed the participants to add any other information about the interview that they felt was vital (see Appendix A). In instances, where a participant's initial questions did not cover some topic of interest, I probed them further on their primary responses by asking sub-questions (Guest, Bunce and Johnson 2006). I asked all the participants identical questions that I had developed as the guides by reflecting on the purpose of the study and the conception of themes for the theoretical and contractual frameworks.

My research methods enabled me to generate vast amounts of data that I then needed to code. From the start of data collection, I organised data on a case-by-case basis which I organised, managed, transcribed and analysed. In the study, I also used transcription as a method of analysis. My research focus was central in informing my choice of transcription (Kvale, 2007). I arranged the transcripts and subdivided the scripts from various data sources, such as audio-recorded interviews (Appendix A), observations (Appendix B), photographs and field notes. These transcriptions were representations of the observation and interview methods because, as Paulus et al. (2014) noted, it is not possible to document all the features of social interaction. I condensed the transcription by removing unnecessary words and phrases, leaving a simplified version but with precise words. I did not add any representation. Although this

method did not allow for the description of the features of talk, I was able to capture them through my field notes. One advantage of this type of transcription is that a higher level of interpretation occurs while transcribing (Paulus et al., 2014). In Table 4.4, I present the methods of data gathering used to answer the research question relating to the nature of learning in community primary school.

Table 4.4: Data gathering methods for the study

RESEARCH QUESTION	METHODS	DATA CAPTURING	WHO/WHAT
What is the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools?	Document analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notes in notebooks • Zambia’s policy document on education • Guidelines on community school operations • 2012 Education Act (Zambia) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom assessment paper • Completed teachers’ report on assessment instruments
	Observations analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field notes 	
	Literature review		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Printed resources such as books and journals or electronic resources, internet, e-journal, e-thesis and e-journals on the university website
	Reflection sessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notes in the notebook • Field notes 	
	Visual material: Photographic evidence		
	Semi-structured interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview schedules with space notes • Audio recording • Transcript of interviews 	

4.4 Data analysis and interpretation

The study and interpretation of my data sources proceeded inductively, following the interpretivist paradigm and the nature of qualitative research. In line with the interpretivist paradigm and the nature of the qualitative study, the analysis and interpretation of raw data from observations, the analysis of documents, photographs, semi-structured interviews and field notes were performed inductively. As alluded to earlier, the central theme of the interpretive paradigm is that meanings are socially constructed to show concealed facets of culture and worldviews (Sefotho, 2015; Andrade, 2009). In the study, I applied a multi-method approach to data analysis, which resulted in various approaches being adopted during the data analysis process. The different techniques used in the analysis are discussed in the subsequent sections. Table 5 shows the different approaches to data analysis that I implemented for data analysis and representation, which I later used to write the institutional biographies.

Table 4. 5: Summary of methods for data analysis and representation used in the study

METHOD	QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS	REPRESENTATION
Document analysis Observations: Field notes Photographic evidence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding and identification of themes • Triangulation with my own reflective notes and literature review 	Written report in a rich narrative style (institutional biography) supported by photographs, figures and tables.
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding and identification of themes • Triangulation with my own reflective notes 	
Reflexivity		
Literature review	Triangulation with different data sources	

This section on data analysis consisted of sorting, assessing and interpreting the data. It involved creating the meaning of the data regarding the description of participants' situations, while observing patterns, themes and categories. I discuss the different approaches used in the analysis in the section that follows. Qualitative research involves many levels of analysis (Given, 2008). My analysis in the study was iterative, building on ideas from the moment of selecting the phenomenon to study to the last word in the report (Given, 2008; Mertens and McLaughlin, 2005). Initially, in the field, I reflected on impressions, relationships and patterns which I recorded in my field notes. The reflections allowed me to see the supposition I was formulating, and I used them to probe the phenomenon further. The next level of analysis occurred when I organised and generated data gathered in the field to transcribe or produce detailed notes. Here I analysed the logic and correspondence of the data with initial field impressions. I generated and systematically built the findings as successive pieces of data generated.

To strengthen my analytical and interpretive strategy, I approached my data analysis from my conceptual and thematic analysis. In conducting the study, I believed that the nature of learning in urban primary community schools was created and maintained through repeated interactions among individual stakeholders within the immediate and secondary contexts. Through this perspective, I was able to focus my study on the insider's perspective on the negotiation of meaning, which was partly generated in schools by teachers and head teachers. I acquired the perspective from four vantage points: individual, interactive, structural and procedural (Rock, 2001 in Tan, Zhu and Wang, 2003). This approach helped me to

- (i) closely grasp the phenomenon
- (ii) understand the process of interaction between different sources
- (iii) develop concepts that were adaptive to the phenomena that could further comparison and contrast

In the section that follows, I look at the empirical and theoretical methods I found appropriate for analysing data in the study. Before highlighting the two phases, I show how I analysed the data from each data set.

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

I adopted thematic analysis in this study to investigate all my data sets. Braun and Clarke (2012) characterise thematic analysis as a tool for systematically defining, arranging and presenting insights into patterns of meaning or themes through a data set.

It served to produce a detailed and systematic record of the themes and issues addressed in the data. Through thematic analysis, I used a mix of inductive and deductive data coding and analytic approaches (Vaismoradi, Turunen and Bondas 2013). Inductive entails an approach where codes and the themes are derived from the data. Conversely, a deductive approach brings a series of concept ideas to the data that are used to code and interpret it. I then tried to make sense of the data by reporting the obvious meanings and interrogate the underlying assumptions and ideas that lie behind what was explicitly stated as meaning in the data (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Likewise, O'Reilly (2008) and Creswell (2014) argue that an etic view based on these inductive views provides a more accurate depiction of what happens and points to the social circumstances shaping what happens. On the other hand, O'Reilly (2008) depicts an epic perspective as an external social scientific perspective of reality.

In analysing the data for this study, I first relied on epically derived data. Here, I started by developing an open phenomenological attitude. Finlay (2009) explains the open phenomenological attitude as desisting from importing an external framework and withholding judgements about the realness of the phenomenon. From my phenomenological philosophical orientation, I sought to push through pre-understandings and natural attitudes and remain open to a new understanding to gain a fresh perspective of the nature of education in urban community primary schools (Smith et al., 2009). Initially, I employed this structure to condense the data to a single text. After I completed my fieldwork, I then drew all the themes from different sources together into a consolidated list. Consequently, my data analysis under thematic analysis proceeded in two stages: descriptive and interpretive.

Based on an inductive data codes, Stage 1 was characterised by the suspension of belief and employment of interest in experiential details (Finlay, 2013). The goal was to return embodied, experiential meanings and obtain a fresh, rich description of the phenomenon (Finlay, 2013). The stage sought the normative and essential structure of the phenomenon and its elements that were inter-reliant. It focused on the descriptions that participants gave to their routines and

daily lives as they experienced education in community schools. The stage proceeded through the following phases.

Finlay (2013) argues that in qualitative data, meaning must be mined, and layered themes must be shaped up through successive iterations. Here my attention was on passages of text, including non-verbal communication, which I expounded to pull out a more in-depth understanding. This phase involved immersion in data, and it revolved around close reading and re-reading (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). I achieved this by listening to the whole interview, reviewing the photos and documents, and re-reading the transcript script and field notes several times to get a sense of the whole (Finlay, 2013), the aim being to write institutional biographies for each school. I did this being mindful of Giorgi's (2009) argument that meanings from the data must be detected, drawn out and elaborated. I immersed myself in raw data to list the main ideas and recurrent themes.

To analyse and make sense of the data collected, I coded it. Finlay (2013:214) describes coding as 'labels that attach meaning to the raw data or notes collected during fieldwork'. The codes enabled to retrieve and organise chunks of text and to categorise it according to a theme. When coding, I was looking out for the following (Finlay, 2013):

- (a) How respondents understood, gave meaning to, and defined the phenomenon under scrutiny
- (b) The participants' description of the sequence of learning events and changes over time
- (c) Specific educational activities described in interviews, documents and photographs
- (d) The participants' relationships and social structures in their respective community schools.

The key focus of the codes was on the conceptual framework of the research questions posed in Chapter 3, which I revised in a close review of the field notes. I created the codes under three columns – on the right, I recorded the code assigned to the text, and I used the left margin to record my ideas about and reactions to what was being discussed. In the following table, I integrated Finlay's (2013) description of types of codes to demonstrate the steps I followed in generating the codes. In Table 4.6, I present an overview of the coding approach followed in this study. I display the type of codes, their focus and how I created them.

Table 4.6: Finlay coding approach

Types of code	How code was created	The focus of the codes
Descriptive codes: theme codes assigned to a segment of text	Codes mainly centred on the conceptual framework of the research questions in chapter three but were revised on close examination of the field notes.	Definition of the interview situation: The way in which respondents understood, gave meaning to and defined the topic under scrutiny.
Interpretive codes: these related to the reasons, explanations and the reasons behind the empirical data		Process: The respondents' description of the sequence of learning events and changes over time
Pattern code: Link the various parts of the text and help in creating a meaningful whole.		Event: Specific activities described in the interviews
Revising codes: these codes enable codes to be altered as data analysis continues being aware that some codes do not work to other become inappropriate.		Respondent's relationships and social structures.

Source: Adapted from Finlay (2013:13)

I completed the coding process when all data from the different sources had been classified satisfactorily and were saturated. While coding, I noted down all my thoughts, observations and reflections that arose while reading the transcript and engaging in the texts (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008) and recorded them in one margin of the transcript. From here, I identified points from each section of the transcript that best captured the needed qualities of the interviews and used fitting concepts and terms to describe them. One of the most important considerations I had to bear in mind while reading the data, was to put my assumptions on hold and use my judgment to concentrate on the content in the transcript data (Biggerstaff and

Thompson, 2008). Thereafter, I proceeded to the next phase to generate the initial codes. Putting my assumptions on hold called for momentary repression of any judgement which would phase in my views. In this phase, I integrated and summarised meanings while trying to stay as close as possible to the participant's actual words.

Afterwards, I coded the data to extract recurring statements. I achieved this goal through reflexivity (Dourish, 2014; Hancock, 2009). Reflexivity, as noted by Sloan and Dowe (2014), is crucial to qualitative studies as it can help in interpreting the meanings discovered and can also add value to those types of interpretation. Reflexivity issues are especially relevant for social research, in which the researchers' participation in society and culture is mostly close (Given, 2008). Reflexivity thus means to turn back on self the lens through which one is interpreting the world (Berry and Clair, 2011). Hancock (2009:16) argues:

[reflexivity] is not merely to report on the inner workings of social worlds based on close-up observation but also to help us break with intellectual and political hegemonies which are, with the reconstruction of the sociological object that obscures the underlying mechanisms of social domination and stratification.

Thus, I accepted and engaged in reflexivity as a way of focusing on my role in different orders. I addressed positions restricting the impact of objective data acquisition and explanation instead of seeing it as an obstacle to a clear view of what could be going on in the field (Voyer and Trondman, 2017). For Gobo (2004), the reflective view provides a means for ensuring the reliability and validity of the study and exploration of our activities in research. Through reflexivity, I was conscious of and reflective about how my questions, methods and subject position would impact on the data or the knowledge produced in a study (Sloan and Bowe, 2014).

I attempted to relate the identified codes into groups. I intended to arrive at groups of themes and identify link-up categories that suggested a hierarchical relationship between them (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). I categorised the core concepts and groups that I used to study the data and then created a detailed data index that classified the data for subsequent retrieval and exploration into accessible blocks. This meant that I was a step closer to being able to write institutional biographies composed of a blending of data sets for each school. Subsequently, I developed a list of statements that identified the main features and concerns identified by the research participants. I produced these features in a table with evidence from

the interview, using direct quotations, which I deemed best captured the essence of the people's thoughts, emotions and experience of the explored phenomenon.

Here, I revisited the data under the particular part of the thematic structure and formed charts. The goal was to ensure that I remained objective on the field site, with the participants, and with the methodological and theoretical constructs at implementation. Throughout the fieldwork and beyond, the charts provided a continuous logical review of all the categories (Hancock, 2009). Although at the descriptive stage one has the advantage of capturing data at the practice level, some grapple with its limitation of usefulness as a source of data that can stand on its own (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). To counter this shortcoming, I used a deductive approach, that is, the ability to reflect on and consider the intersubjective dynamics between the researcher and the data, which I addressed in the second level, thereby focusing on the epic interpretive element of qualitative studies.

Phenomenologists believe that research cannot be detached from researchers' conclusions (Smith et al., 2009). Wacquant in Hancock (2009) claimed that the categories of people were insufficient for sociological analysis. Although lay concepts from common-sense definitions govern daily life, we also need to construct theoretical concepts. Wacquant also argued against merely emulating the common sense of the participants by endorsing their field experiences. Bourdieu (2003) advised against depending solely on what people tell us of, but also to investigate how individuals work things out and how social life emerges in reality and in the context of the different fields. I achieved this by drawing on questions arising from the study's purpose and conceptual framework. After that, I systematically applied the thematic index (Pope and Mays, 2006) to all data in text mode by transcribing descriptions with numerical codes from the index, including brief text explanations, to discuss the index title.

This level focused on idiographic accounts and attempted to capture the experience as experienced by teachers and head teachers in the schools (Finlay, 2013). I did this through interpretive layers and reflexivity (Taylor, 2010). The premise of this stage was that people create meaning about their world and Ladner (2012) sees it as a function of the subject's own identity and cultural context. I used this stage as a means of understanding the limitation of particular theoretical projection about human education and activities in urban community schools. I used it as an objective way to capture the qualitative nature of community primary school learning, with comparisons to the school structure, to understand the best ways of

presenting it. I developed this phase through three distinct stages: fore-understanding, interrogation and reflection (Maggs-Rapport, 2001). Maggs-Rapport sees fore-understanding as an investigation of a phenomenon by analysing texts and comparing themes within the group to discover commonalities and shared ideas. I turned the object of analysis to systems of meaning where experiences were embedded because it is that the system of differences that makes the event, actions, experiences and moments meaningful (Biggerstaff and Thompson, 2008). Table 4.7 shows, the different approaches that I followed in the analysis and representation of the data.

Table 4.7: Data analysis and presentation followed in the study

METHODS	ANALYSIS	OVERALL ANALYSIS	DATA REPRESENTATION
Document analysis	Thematic analysis	Thematic analysis 1. Phase one: Familiarizing oneself with data 2. Phase two: Generating the initial codes 3. Phase three: preliminary themes identified 4. Phase four: review of potential meanings and themes 5. Phase five: themes tabulated in the summary table. 6. Phase six: Producing report	Written report (institutional biographies) in rich narrative style and supported by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tables • Photos

To better understand the elements that influence the nature of learning in community primary schools, I explored the main contextual factors found to affect it through institutional biography. Institutional biography tracks the history of institutional stakeholders and explores how they have influenced them and how the institutional forces, in turn, affect individual choices and decisions (Finch, Deephouse, O'Reilly, Foster, Falkenberg and Strong, 2017). Finch et al. (2017) noted that structures that people inhabit have a profound effect on them as

they create and maintain their organisations through the application of organisational practice. In this way, my institutional biography focused on a mix of academic, social and practical learning experiences in community primary schools. I aimed to understand institutional biographies of schools and their stakeholders and gain insight into how they preserved and possibly established, sustained or interrupted the nature of learning in the schools by shaping what is considered a priority and reinforcing how the learning is measured and evaluated. I explored how the various kind of community schools were affected by different biographical factors gained and cultivated by interaction with other institutions. I used it to explore how organisational behaviour was shaped and impacted by the macro social system (Clark, 2009).

To write up the institutional biographies, I separated and triangulated data sets for each school. I triangulated the data as I was mindful of the inherent biases and shortcomings of each research method. Therefore, the use of different techniques in the study of a common phenomenon helped me to gain an extensive and more detailed understanding of the phenomenon I was trying to explore (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). In Figure 4.1, I depict the illustrate the different data sets I triangulated to develop my institutional biographies.

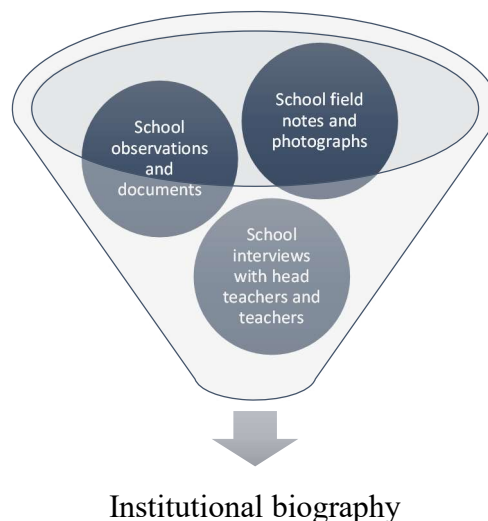


Figure 4.1: Institutional biography data triangulation

I analysed each data set in the school separately and then linked the main trends across them. Following this, I tabulated and consolidated findings on each of the schools and interpreted and generated the conclusions in relation to the research questions, literature review and theoretical framework. Finally, I recorded the descriptive and analytical findings of each school, which I presented in Chapter 5. Later, in Chapter 6, I consolidate the results of the institutional

biographies and concluded them in the light of current literature to answer my research questions.

4.5. Samples and sampling procedure

Using a qualitative research methodology, the emphasis of this study was the daily experiences of learning in community primary schools. As alluded to earlier, I based this study on interpretivist principles. Creswell (2014) and Mackenzie and Knipe (2006) argue that interpretivism focuses more on qualitative data gathering and interpretation methods. Qualitative methods include obtaining and reflecting on detailed information and perceptions inductively via interviews and observations from the viewpoint of research participants. In this section, I describe the selection of sites and participants, and the generation of data and strategies I followed to analyse and interpret the data. Seidman's (2006) views that social abstractions, such as learning, are best understood through the experiences of individuals whose work and lives are the study upon which the notion is built, influenced my rationale for selecting the participants. I thus chose internal community school stakeholders who shape the nature of learning in the schools. In this case, I focused on community primary school head teachers and teachers in Lusaka.

4.5.1 Selection of research participants

I chose head teachers and a deputy head teacher for their roles in running the community schools. I used data from the head teachers to corroborate the data gathered from teachers during the interviews and classroom observations. By design, I intended to select the head teachers in all six urban community primary schools. However, the actual data-gathering process proved impossible to have access to all six head teachers, as one of the schools had no head teacher. In another school, the head teacher was on leave during the period I observed the school, and I selected the deputy head teacher who was acting in his place instead. Four out of the five head teachers I interviewed were multi-tasking administrative and teaching roles. All the head teachers but one in the study had headed up the community schools since inception.

The sample also included community school teachers for Grades 5 to 7. Teachers were sampled for the study for their teaching role in the schools, which is a big component of education. I selected teachers with at least nine months of teaching experience in community schools. As is characteristic of a qualitative research approach to allow the researcher flexibility in the field,

I became aware as the approach unfolded of the realities on the ground which impelled me to make changes and adaptations to the researcher process. My initial plan was only to select teachers who had been in the school for at least a year. However, due to the high attrition rate of teachers, it was difficult to find Grade 5 to 7 teachers with more than one year of work experience in the school. When this was not feasible, I proceeded to change the selection criteria for teachers to include those that served for at least nine months. With the rest of the research process, I continued as initially planned. Eight teachers were selected, and they took part in the study. From here I proceed to discuss my sample size.

I only established the sample size after leaving the field as the objective was saturation and not representation (Small, 2009). I did this knowing that I had limited knowledge about the phenomenon under study and how many participants were needed to reach data saturation. This view is supported by Marshall, Cardon, Podder and Fontenote (2013), who argue that estimating adequate sample size is directly associated with the conception of saturation. Dworkin (2012) also points out that the concept of saturation is the most significant factor one should consider when contemplating sample size in qualitative research. Marshall et al. (2013), for example, highlight the fact that qualitative research should assume that too many interviews and other methods can be counterproductive. This assumption premises gathering an amount of data that can impair researchers from in-depth, rich analysis of the data. After reaching saturation, I conducted two further interviews with each sample group: school teacher and head teacher, to ensure that the datasets could no longer provide new insight into the subject.

4.5.2. Sampling strategies

I based the selection of research sites and participants on the focus and purpose of the study and the interpretive paradigm. From my interpretive orientation, I used subjective judgment in the selection of samples for this study. Sampling is the strategy of choosing a certain number of research units from a population (Lavrakas, 2008). I chose the participants through non-probability sampling. One benefit of using purposive sampling can enable the researcher to identify participants who are likely to provide comprehensive and appropriate data to research questions. While I adopted non-probability sampling for sample selection in this study, I was aware of the criticism that non-probability sampling was not generalisable to other settings. However, this shortcoming was not a challenge to this study because the aim was not to

generalise the findings, but to gain insight into the phenomenon of learning in community schools (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007).

The sampling plan proceeded in two phases. During the first phase, I utilised purposive sampling to select community schools where the participants were. The selection from the population was based on how expedient and readily available the group of participants, teachers and principals were (Salkind, 2010). Therefore, the proximity to where I was staying during the fieldwork somewhat influenced my sampling. I also used purposeful sampling to select urban community primary schools. I distinguished the schools in terms of location. Of the six community primary schools in the study, four were in informal settlements, while the other two were in informal settlements. I selected these groups of community primary schools for their varied backgrounds so as to enable me to compare the contextual nature of learning in the schools.

The second phase of sampling involved selecting participants from the identified urban community schools. To do so, I used purposive sampling (Daniel, 2012). In purposive sampling the researcher deliberately seeks out participants with specific characteristics, according to the needs of developing analysis and the emerging theory (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2003). In purposively selecting the research participants, my focus was on the depth and not the breadth thus, I chose participants who had direct, personal experience and knowledge of the nature of learning in community schools and by their ability to provide in-depth, thick data and a deep insight into what was going on in this regard. Since purposive sampling involves the intentional selection of participants, some argue that this could pose a risk to the trustworthiness of the findings of the study (Morse, 2010). Concerns about how I approached the study's trustworthiness issues are discussed in a later section of the chapter. I based my choice of a purposive sample on participants' oral proficiency to explain and focus on aspects of their lives and educational experiences in a community school. I hoped that the research participants would provide a detailed overview of their experiences of the nature of learning in community primary schools and the settings.

4.6 Trustworthiness of the study

Trustworthiness relates to the trust that one can put in the accuracy of research findings (Anney, 2014) to allow external judgement on the consistency of the procedures and the findings (Erlandson et al., 1993). Trustworthiness speaks to issues of research rigour. As noted by

several scholars, research rigour is an integral and explicit aspect of qualitative research (Ali and Yusof, 2011; Thomas and Magilvy, 2011). From the commencement of the construction of the research questions and data collection to the interpretation and presentation of findings, trustworthiness plays a central role in the phases of a research process. Guba and Lincoln (1989) suggest that credibility and confirmability are the conditions for achieving trustworthiness in a qualitative investigation. Other researchers like Schwandt, Lincoln and Guba (2007) add authenticity and confirmability to these criteria. In adopting this approach of trustworthiness, I was aware of the reluctance of some advocates from the quantitative research perspective to accept the trustworthiness of qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). Nevertheless, there is an availability of different frameworks that guarantees rigour and establish trustworthiness with some criteria that parallel the judging of quantitative research (Schwandt, Lincoln and Guba, 2007). According to Lewis, Ritchie, an Ormston (2003), trustworthiness is key to appraising the soundness of a study. It raises vital questions about how the researcher can ensure that these qualities exist and how they can measure them.

Since the interpretative paradigm underpins my study, I will demonstrate how I ascertained quality criteria related to this paradigm. I used Guba and Lincoln's (1989) five alternative standards to assess the rigour of my research. These five criteria include credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability and authenticity. Additionally, Guba (1994) included some additional criteria of authenticity for qualitative research. Table 4.8 below shows how I ensured trustworthiness in this study by using the stated criteria:

Table 4.8: Trustworthiness of the study

Quality Criteria	Possible provision made by me as the researcher
<p>Credibility: demonstrating that an accurate picture of the phenomena under investigation is being presented</p>	<p>To establish the credibility of my study, I:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • adopted research methods that were well established both in qualitative research in the general and case study; • used triangulation via different methods and sites and data source; • used of reflective commentaries; • used a thick description of phenomena under study.

<p>Transferability: usability of the findings</p>	<p>To ensure the usability of the results from the study, I used transferability to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provided adequate background information to assess the context of the study so that anyone can decide if the dominant setting is equivalent to the other environment; • provided a detailed description of the phenomenon in question in order to make a comparison possible.
<p>Dependability: how to account for the change</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I used dependability in order to allow a replication of the investigation, I used a detailed methodological outline.
<p>Conformability: steps to show that the findings emerged from data and not from the researcher's predispositions</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To ensure conformability, I took the following steps to show that the findings of the study emerged from data: • I used triangulation to reduce the effects of researcher's bias • I also admitted and outlined my beliefs and assumptions about the study. • I further acknowledged the limitations of study methods and their potential threats and • provided an in-depth methodological explanation to make it easier to analyse the integrity of study findings. • I also used diagrams to display audit trails.
<p>Authenticity Are different realities portrayed?</p>	<p>To enforce authenticity, I:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • acknowledged various interpretation through researcher reflectivity and adopted the qualitative design and interpretive paradigm for the study.

Source: Adapted from Guba and Lincoln (1989:110-111).

4.6.1 Credibility

Credibility is related to internal validity in quantitative research (Thomas and Magilvy, 2011). It relates to the assurance placed on the authenticity of the research findings. Its purpose is to allow external judgement on the consistency of its methodologies (Anney, 2014). I ensured that the research results reflected trustworthy information derived from the original data and that it was a valid representation of the initial views of the participants to ascertain the credibility of the study findings (Anney, 2014).

Furthermore, I attempted to ensure credibility through persistent observation which helped me immerse myself in the participants' world development so as to create an understanding of the significant features of the research setting. I interviewed the participants once or sometimes

twice after observing their classes and learners' work. This took place over a period of time. The prolonged research engagement promoted trust with participants who became forthcoming. Furthermore, I contextualised the analyses and interpretations through detailed descriptions of the sample of community primary schools that I did my research in. Finally, I continually compared data categories and concepts and checked this against the empirical material to make findings and conclusions credible.

4.6.2 Triangulation

Triangulation was another method that I used to establish trustworthiness. Triangulation is the use of multiple and different methods to obtain validation of research evidence (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). In this study, types of triangulation techniques were used in the study: data, methods and participant triangulation. I used triangulation that uses different sources to collect and analyse data to ensure trustworthiness. In this case, I used semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, documents, field notes and photographs. I also used different participants to enrich the quality of the data (Anney, 2014) and included persistent observation (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). I also used different participants to raise the quality of the data from the different schools (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007). Credibility allows the researcher to minimise bias and cross-examines the truthfulness of the responses of the participants (Anney, 2014).

4.6.3 Transferability

Transferability in qualitative research is the alternative to the external validity in a quantitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1986). The key to determining the transferability of research is to facilitate the judgment of a potential user of the suitability of how the research context fits with other contexts. I explored six types of community schools that varied in terms of location like different residential areas. This might help to reproduce the study under related circumstances in a different setting. I ensured the transferability by providing a detailed description of the population by presenting a thick description of the demographics and the context of the multiple sites of analysis (community primary schools) (Thomas and Magilvy, 2011). These thick descriptions of data related to the context and participants that were given in the form of introductory paragraphs and summary tables. I also purposively selected participants who were knowledgeable of the issues under investigation (Anney, 2014). Furthermore, I provided

interview quotes to support the theory generation process and accord the reader a chance to interpret the data themselves.

4.6.4 Dependability

Dependability ‘is the consistency of data over similar conditions’ (Cope, 2014:206). In this study, I used an audit trail and triangulation dependability approaches to ensure dependability at the similar but different community primary school contexts (Anney, 2014). Leaving an audit trail may aid someone to redraw how the researchers reached their conclusions – in the case of this study how I reached my conclusions on each school.

4.6.5 Conformability

Conformability authenticates that the interpretation of findings generated from the data are not inventions of the researchers' reasoning (Anney, 2014). I achieved this through an audit trail which offered visible evidence, from process to product. This helped to ensure that I as the researcher did not merely find what I set out to see. During the descriptive data analysis stage, I endeavoured to present the data and interpretation as closely as possible to the real words of the participants through ordinary language and member checking.

4.6.6 Authenticity

Authenticity is the capacity and degree to which the researcher communicates the experiences of the participants' feelings and emotions faithfully (Cope, 2014). In this study, I established authenticity by reporting using a descriptive approach to create institutional biographies to enable readers to grasp the core of the experience through, amongst others, quotes from the participants.

4.7 Ethical considerations

In this section, I describe the ethical guidelines I considered in the study. In conducting the study, I became aware of the centrality of the morality of human conduct in social research (Edwards and Mauthner, 2002). Ethics is the moral deliberation, selection and responsibility of researchers in the research process (Stutchbury and Fox, 2009). The authors maintain that there is an ethical element of all research done in the context of human experience. In this study, ethical issues of questioning private encounters and the possible effects of reliving educational experiences in under-resourced schools, which were nonetheless offset by

concentrating on the future benefit, emerged. For example, it might be interesting to reflect further on the teachers' profession as they advance because it might contribute to more studies being done on how best to gain an understanding of the nature of education in community schools or findings that may apply to practical problems. Stutchbury and Fox (2009) suggest that researchers can learn from models to better understand and predict ethical dilemmas and promote a large comprehensive analysis. For this reason, in this study, I used the University of Pretoria's code of ethics and Flinder's (2009: 494) ethical framework summarised in Table 4.9 below:

Table 4,9: Flinder's (2009) ethical framework

	Utilitarian	Deontological	Relational	Ecological
Recruitment	Informed consent	Reciprocity	Collaboration	Cultural sensitivity
Fieldwork	Avoidance of harm	Avoidance of wrong	Avoidance of imposition	Avoidance of detachment
Reporting	Confidentiality	Fairness	Confirmation	Responsive communication

Source: Stutchbury and Fox (2009:494)

Stutchbury and Fox (2009: 493) describe four ethical categories, 'utilitarian, deontological, relational and ecological' that provide a collection of different viewpoints from which to approach each level of a study. Each of these categories is described in three phases of the research process, namely recruitment, fieldwork and reporting. Utilitarian ethics aims to offer most of the benefits to the biggest number of people. On the other hand, deontological ethics, which alerts one to moral conduct, should not only be explained purely in terms of implications, but must also be consistent with values such as justice and integrity. Thirdly, relational ethics place our interests at the heart of our attachments to and care for others. Finally, ecological ethics speaks to the setting in which researchers work and conduct research.

First and foremost, I only proceeded with my fieldwork after receiving ethical clearance from the University of Pretoria's ethics committee. During fieldwork, I observed the ethical principle of avoiding imposition. To avoid imposition, I obtained permission from the participants,

representatives from the MOE and the head teachers of the primary schools. The participants had a choice of participating in the study or not. I made sure that there was voluntary participation in this study only and that it took place based on precise information about the goal of the investigation. As such the research process was transparent. I obtained all this information through the informed letters of consent (Appendix D) for the teachers and head teachers that they had to sign before the interviews and observations began. According to Flick et al. (2004), the principles of voluntary participation in an investigation and the requirement to inform potential respondents as fully as possible in advance, are necessary to enable them to decide appropriately about participation. A sample of the consent form is attached to this thesis as Appendix E. Informed consent in the study was an ongoing process.

4.7.1 Fieldwork

My focus here was to ensure that I collected trustworthy, valid data and at the same time, consider the values and norms of the participants. Equally important during fieldwork was the principle of avoidance of detachment. I ensured that no person who met the inclusion criteria was excluded from the study. Furthermore, there was no disparity in this study based on gender, culture, religion, or any sort of discrimination against any person. The participants in selected groups had the choice not to take part in the study. In conducting this study, I was aware that participants with different backgrounds, cultures and values inhabit community primary schools. I thus tried to represent this diversity to ensure the applicability and venerability of my findings. I also tried to uphold informed consent during the fieldwork.

4.7.2 Reporting

Confidentiality, which is closely related to the principle of anonymity, was crucial during the reporting stage. Reporting necessitated that no participant would be identifiable from the research data, the report, or any subsequent publications. In ensuring confidentiality, I did not detail information of place or participants that would identify them. I used pseudonyms for the schools and participants in the study. Also, in trying to uphold confidentiality, all the data collected from the document analysis, observations, photographs, interviews and field notes were carefully stored on my laptop, which is password protected. The data can only be accessed by those close to the study for academic purposes.

Ethical dilemmas, however, emerged during data collection. In trying to declare the purpose of the study, the participants had found out that I was conducting it for my PhD studies. Since most teachers in the schools had no teacher education, I got an impression that some saw me as an expert and felt driven to demonstrate their teaching and management skills. In two cases, teachers openly asked the learners to be on their best behaviour as I was going to be in their classes for the week. In another incident, I found that a teacher repeated a mathematics topic in her lesson from the previous week. I assumed that he might have wanted to show how advanced the learners were in their mathematical knowledge. I managed the situation by assuring the participants that I was not visiting their classes to evaluate them, but to learn from them. My being in a class for a week also helped ease the participants' need to impress me.

4.8 Methodological reflection on the study

In this section, I reflect on the methodology and methods used in this study to address my research questions. Conducting a research study that was purely qualitative study, I found the ethical responsibilities to be a daunting endeavour at first. One of the reasons I found it challenging was that some ethical principles are abstract, and I was not sure how they applied in given situations. I held a strong belief that the explicit declaration of one researcher and her intentions would deter some people from participating in the study. I thought that the process of obtaining permissions also delayed the process. With a lot of reading, it became apparent to me that ethics in research protected the rights of the participants. It also guided my actions in the field so as not to cause harm to anyone Flick et al. (2004). I therefore heavily relied on the University of Pretoria's code of ethics and Flinder's (2009) ethical framework paradigm to ensure that I covered major areas that called for ethical consideration. These tools guided me in looking at what ethical considerations were necessary during the recruitment of participants, fieldwork and when reporting my finding. The University of Pretoria's Code of Ethics helped me see the value of ethical considerations and guided me on the processes to follow.

4.9 Conclusion

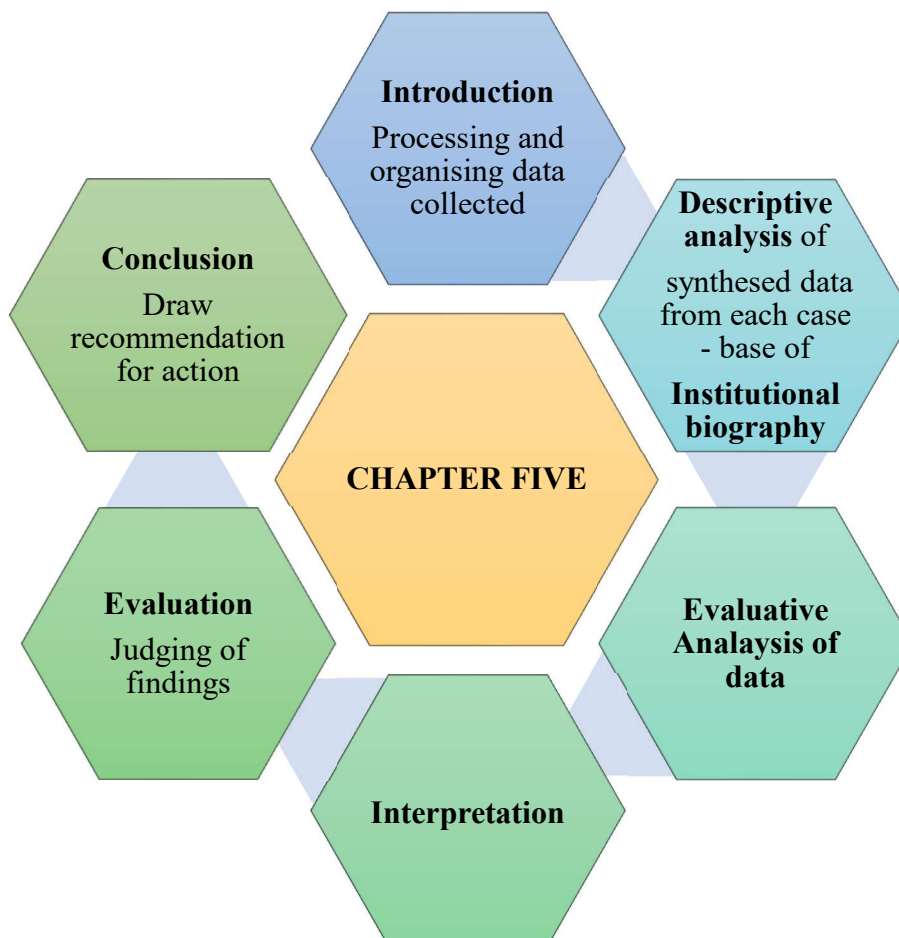
In this chapter, I detailed the research methodology and methods that guided my study. I highlighted the research that was designed to ensure a specific methodological stream of multiple case study principles. I outlined the meta-theoretical and methodological paradigms of the study. I used a multiple case study methodology to write up six institutional biographies on the nature of learning in community primary schools. I also detailed the research site, and

the participants sampled for the study. I gave a detailed account of the data-gathering procedures, approaches and analysis of data. I collected data through observation, semi-structured interviews, field notes, documents, and visuals such as photographs. I managed to identify potentially broader data trends in the data through cross-case synthesis. I interpreted the data through thematic and interpretive phenomenological analysis. I then introduced the criteria I used for determining the trustworthiness of the study as analogies to scientific principles of rigor. Informed consent, anonymity, and confidentiality, which I explored through Flinder’s framework were central to the ethical consideration of the study. In the next chapter, I present the findings of this research within the theoretical and literature control of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CONTEXTUAL NATURE OF LEARNING IN COMMUNITY PRIMARY SCHOOLS

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I unpacked the research design and the methodological approaches I adopted in this study. In this chapter, I present the institutional biographies of community primary schools,



where I conducted the study. I then report on the findings and provide an overview of the patterns that emerged. Following this, I analyse, integrate and interpret the findings in light of existing literature, highlighting the connections and discrepancies between them. Figure 5.1 below illustrates an overview of this chapter.

Figure 5.1 Overview of chapter

I organised data into conceptual groupings and then viewed it with regard to my research questions in each school to make sense of it. I did so by presenting my collected data under a two-level analysis of the conceptual groupings. The first level included a descriptive review of the narratives from all the data sets I used in the study. These included text data based on interview material, observations, field notes document and photographs taken at each school. Following this, I moved to the second level of analysis where I made a further abstraction of data to make a judgement and noted recurring ideas with regard to the research questions. I did this by representing elaborate abstractions of reoccurring patterns and worldviews. I further applied it to create a base for building a coherent interpretation of my data (Tuckman and Harper, 2012). My emphasis was to provide a discussion of the analysis and interpretations gleaned from the data. For me, this was crucial in finding explanations as to *how* learning trends were occurring and *why* they were occurring. My approach, therefore, highlighted both the operation of the phenomenon and the reasons for its occurrence. Although I present the analysis and interpretation separately in Figure 5.1, the process, in practice, was spiral and not linear. From the interpretation process, I proceeded to evaluate the data in conjunction with the literature review and the theoretical framework to reinforce the existing data set by invoking the analytical framework.

Subsequently, this helped me gain new insight into the nature of learning in urban community primary schools. Hereafter, I drew conclusions and made recommendations based on my new insight from the evaluation of the data. This chapter presents findings dealing, first, with the description of each school and the nature of its learning. The school narratives played an essential role in providing some background information and contextualisation of the study, setting the scene for the general presentation and analysis of the findings. Secondly, I present the consolidation of each school's findings to provide a holistic picture of learning in the

community primary schools. I hoped that the school narratives could help to clarify the nature of learning and provide links to the findings of the schools studied.

The closing section of the chapter is the summary and conclusion. I conducted this research in six urban community primary schools in Lusaka district. For confidentiality purposes, I used pseudonyms to describe the teachers, schools, and organisations in the study. The school names depict the mission of the investigated schools. I refer to the schools as Tariro, Chisomo, Chifundo, Chipego, Lumuni and Chitikuko community primary schools. The six schools had very diverse origins and funding, and the nature of the learning offered unfolded differently. However, although the context of the schools was varied, there was a substantial overlap in many of the experiences.

5.2 Institutional biographies of the community primary schools

An institutional biography is an exploration of the history of an organisation and how it has affected and been influenced by it. Therefore, in this section, I look at the schools in a similar way to the historical curve and the educational context created by it. With that, I postulate the importance of context in assessing the nature of learning in institutional biographies. Therefore, in reporting the nature of learning drawn from the data gathered from the teachers and head teachers, I concentrated on the person-process-context approach with special effort to understand it from these perspectives. My goal here is not to take a stand on the quality of learning in the schools but rather to provide relevant information to understand it at a deeper level so that one can develop their own informed opinions about the issue of quality.

5.2.1 Tariro community primary school

Etymology, infrastructure and history

The word Tariro, in the Shona language, means hope. It signifies the school's mission to offer hope through education to deprived children. The school was established in 2006 by Isubilo Christian Mission Organisation, which is affiliated to an evangelical church in the United States (US). Isubilo aims to empower societies economically, socially, and spiritually through education. Tariro was founded to improve access to primary education for the most vulnerable households that could not afford to send their children to local public schools due to distance. The school offers free education, lunch, books and uniforms to 700 learners. The school is funded through the international child sponsorship model, where Isubilo fundraises by

associating a donor with a child beneficiary. The sponsors receive updates from the child through photos and letters. In practice, however, the donated money is not directly spent on designated children but is instead pooled with other donations for various children to fund all school learners. The external funding of the school is critical, as Zambia's capacity to finance education for all is limited.

Tariro community primary school is a two-block building with four classrooms and the head teacher's office in one, and with the staff room and the deputy head teacher's office in the other. The study found that while the school had classrooms, they were insufficient to cover the seven classes that it hosted. As a result, double-shift schooling took place where the lower primary school classes, Grades 1 to 4, attended afternoon sessions and the rest of the grades attended in the morning. This allowed the two groups to make use of the same buildings and facilities, encouraging the effective use of infrastructure and educational resources. This raises the supply of the school place without severely straining the school budget. The afternoon group report during lunchtime so that they can share lunch with the morning session stream. Photograph 5.1 and 5.2 shows the classroom block and furniture in one of its classrooms.



Photographs 5.1 Tariro classroom block and 5.2: the furniture in one of the classrooms

The school also has a kitchen, used to store food and cooking utensils, and the actual cooking is done on the firewood outside. The school also has a borehole that provides not only the learners but the local community with clean drinking water. Furthermore, the school has six flushable toilets for learners and staffs, which are depicted in Photograph 5.3 below.



Photograph 5.3: School ablution block

The school has not been electrified but relies on a generator for its power supply. Although the school has a generator, Teacher Mumbi explained that:

We sometimes struggle to get fuel to run the generator and this affects our computer studies practicals as computers require electricity to function.

I also discovered from my analysis that almost all of the learners enrolled at the school generally come from low-income homes with little education. Commenting on the learners' family economic status, Teacher Mumbi pointed out that the school offered free education and provided school supplies as most of the learners' parents could not afford to pay for their children's school fees. The deputy head teacher, Ms Mtonga, also added that:

Some of our learners stayed far from the school as there are no nearby schools in their areas.

Some of the older learners, especially boys who stayed far away, rented out the area during the week and the school offered them weekly food parcels to cook for themselves after school. The above findings show that access to education is unequal and that children who are from impoverished households have a much harder time gaining access to it than those who do not possess these disadvantages.

Tario community primary school is headed by a qualified head teacher, seconded from a public school. The deputy head teacher, Ms Mtonga, whom I interviewed in place of the school head teacher, described her role as supporting and monitoring, teaching and learning, as well as

dealing with disciplinary issues and the needs of learners. Commenting on the quality of learning in the school, Teacher Mumbi indicated that:

The quality of learning in our school is good we are using/ the new curriculum was better than the old one. The old curriculum focused on preparing learners for white-collar jobs, while the new one is more practical.

In the same vein, Teacher Mumbi defined effective teaching in line with the vocational aspect of the curriculum. Responding to a question on the factors that influence effective teaching Teacher Mumbi explained:

Effective teaching is when you have at least every learner learn to read and acquire skills. For instance, through home economics and expressive arts, learners can gain skills that might earn them a living even without having a white-collar job.

Ms Mtonga, however, indicated that the inadequate supply of teaching and learning resources impacted teaching and learning in the school. She highlighted that although the teachers had textbooks for each subject, the learners did not. This was concerning mostly when teaching literacy as the learners needed books to read along. Ms Mtonga blamed the inability of learners to read for the poor year-end performance on the national examination. Ms Mtonga further indicated that:

Most of the learners do not understand English, and yet the exams are in English. We now try to teach and talk to the learners both in Chinyanja and English. With this strategy, we have seen improvement in Grade 7 pass rates.

Accounting for improvement in Grade 7 and end-of-year passes, the deputy head teacher pointed out that instead of one teacher teaching all subjects in upper primary, teachers specialised in teaching three core subjects which helped them better master their subjects. The study also revealed that there was a great demand for school spaces, but the school is challenged with the classroom to accommodate everyone. Deputy head teacher, Ms Mtonga, explained, ‘*We need money to expand the school to accommodate more learners. We have also ended up over-enrolling at lower primary, as it is difficult to turn away children in need.*’

The school also needed more classrooms for practical subjects like home economics as learners were forced to do the practical lessons outside and this was challenging during bad weather.

Teaching and Learning

The teaching and learning at the school embraced both teacher-centred and learner-centred approaches. Teacher Mumbi and deputy head teacher, Ms Mtonga, both indicated that the school encouraged group work to boost learners' self-confidence. Elaborating on group work, Teacher Mumbi highlighted that:

You see some of these children are slow learners. But if grouped with children of higher intellectually ability, they can learn from their peers and the shy ones are freer to contribute to small groups, thereby boosting their self-confidence.

Role of the government

Tariro community school was registered with the government and benefited from the government's community school grant. The school had a qualified head teacher who was seconded from a government school.

Conclusion of findings at Tariro community school

The analysis in the preceding sections of Tariro community school has highlighted some findings of the contextual nature of learning in the school. The nature of education was primarily affected by the external funding of the school. The interviews showed that donor prioritisation to community primary schools was a significant factor in influencing school financing. While the donor support produced excellent results, it is clear that the funding was inadequate as a resource to meet the infrastructural needs of the school. As a result, this created a shortage of classrooms leading double-shifting schooling which shortened instructional times to accommodate afternoon classes. Most of the donor support strongly aligned with learners and not teachers' needs, suggesting that there was no budget for the remuneration of teachers and the improvement of school facilities. Donor financing is insufficient for the complete range of systemic reforms.

5.2.2 Chisomo community primary school

Etymology, infrastructure and history

The word Chisomo means grace in the Chewa language and denotes the school's initial mission of providing dropouts with opportunities to get back in school. Chisomo community primary

school, depicted in Photograph 5.4 below, is located 4.5 kilometres from Lusaka's Central Business District (CBD).



Photograph 5.4: Chisomo community primary school

The school is situated in one of the largest townships in Lusaka, dominated by a high population density and low-cost housing. During the colonial era, the township developed as a legal settlement housing project for Africans working for White settlers. Later, however, it evolved as a self-help scheme that allowed people to build their own homes. Overall, this encouraged the unplanned settlement, which was often haphazardly organised. At the time of gathering data, water and sanitation services were inadequate in the area, with most people using pit latrines and boreholes. Additionally, the township has a high level of poverty, an inefficient garbage collection system and a lack of security and health services. In terms of security, the school neighbourhood has a high number of criminal activities such as theft and drug dealings and usage. The area also has a lot of illegal drinking places, and prostitution is predominant in the area resulting in many teen pregnancies.

Teacher Miti indicated that:

Most of the learners' parents are in informal business such as selling vegetables along the streets. In most cases, these businesses do not adequately sustain their livelihood.

The school neighbourhood not only house Zambians but also citizens of various backgrounds and nationalities. For example, there are a lot of undocumented migrants from other African countries, as the authorities fear to enter the area due to gang activity.

The school had degraded physical infrastructure. Photographs 5.5 and 5.6 depicts the state of school community housing and the water and infrastructural problems faced in the neighbourhood.



Photographs 5.5 and 5.6: School neighbourhood

The school neighbourhood had many bars, with three surrounding the school. Probably due to the levels of unemployment in the area, the bars opened in the morning and played loud music even during school hours. The noise was disruptive, as teachers sometimes had to shout for the learners to hear them. The study further found that there were significant incidents of substance abuse and alcoholism in the school neighbourhood. Consequently, some children dropped out of school, and others got hooked on drugs at an early age. It seems to suggest that demographics and the socio-economic distribution of the school neighbourhood alter the conduct of the learners. In this situation, the risk factors of the school neighbourhood adversely affected the abilities and resilience of the learners. Sykes and Mustered (2010) note that exposure to chronic stress and adversity and a lack of resources to mitigate the risk could lead to maladjustment and thus low learner resilience. Concerned that this restricts the children's economic and social well-being prospects in adulthood, a donor decided to set up a school in the area. Head teacher Mayaba indicated that:

Our school mission is to offer primary education to children in the community who drop out of school, especially due to alcoholism and drug abuse.

Being a no-go area for outsiders due to the violent nature of the school neighbourhood, the donor collaborated with some community members to form a school committee task team. The collaboration was built on mutual trust and a desire to work for the good of the community. Mutual trust was vital to the donor, who was an outsider. Also, community members vouched

for his motives and they served as the area's information brokers between the community and the donor through their networks. This process may suggest that the donor believed in the community's ability to engage and resolve social issues in their area.

Through negotiations by the school committee, community leaders donated part of the community park to build the school. The donor constructed and committed to funding the school for four years with the view that it would be self-sustainable by then. Chisomo community primary school was thus opened in 2004 and began with Grades 1 to 7, before including Grade 8 and 9 classes. The school started with a feeding scheme as a particular initiative to reach out and attract out-of-school children to school. Teacher Miti also noted that the purpose of the meal was to ensure that learners who had irregular meals did not stay at home but had soya porridge when they went to school. Some of the community's parents volunteered to cook for the learners. However, the feeding scheme ended after the donor left the school committee and diverted financial support to invest in other communities.

The School Administration

Chisomo community primary school was registered with the MOE as per statutory requirements. The findings from document analysis show that the relationship that the government had with the school was reflected in the specific structures emanating from the MOE and the District Education Office through school inspections, and the decisions about the operation and the curriculum to be followed in the schools. The role of the government was to provide grants, professional development and school inspection. Head teacher Mayaba indicated that the government gave the community school a term grant of K1000 (Zambian Kwacha), which was equal to \$100 at the time of data collection. The education system in Zambia has three terms. Head teacher Miyoba said that:

Our funding is insufficient in relation to the number of learners in the school. The funds are only enough to purchase stationery and do not even cover the allowances for teachers nor the school upkeep.

Findings in this school also showed that the government standard officers focus was on infrastructure and not on instruction practices. This type of inspection may be explained by the government's propensity to focus on high-profile test scores as a measure of educational quality. This nature of government spending on community school appears to concentrate more

on the national fiscal budget at the cost of the right to free education. Expressing the need for equity government funding models, Teacher Felix lamented that,

'children in community and government schools are the same, and yet the government is only supporting its schools and community primary schools are not adequately financed'.

In general, Teacher Miti expressed a vague faith in the government's plan to improve the welfare of community primary schools. Alluding to government support for the community schools she pointed to a potentially disrupting relationship with the sustainability of the schools. Teacher Flex noted:

The government comes to monitor, but it has no workable plan for school improvement. I hear it has plans to take over community primary schools because of some challenges facing the schools. I, however, wonder if it is going to work because there are many community primary schools. We need a feeling environment that this is a good school. Even when a child is dull, an environment can get a child motivated to learn.

In 2014, the government proposed to take over Chisomo community primary school, but the chairperson rejected it. According to head teacher Mayaba, the proposal failed because of a possible lack of returns of community schoolteachers, as the government refused to absorb them into the government system. This refusal by the school shows that the government was more interested in acquiring the infrastructure without caring about the unqualified teachers in the school.

Parent–Teacher Association

After the donor withdrew, the school remained in the hands of the school committee, which expanded to include teachers and parents but stayed as the initial team members appointed to lead the structure and function of the reformed committee. The team served as the school board of directors and members who were supposed to be volunteers, democratically elected for four years. Their role also changed from putting up with community leaders to fundraising and helping to resolve school problems. This underlying democratic principle did not, however, translate into democratic management systems. The school still had centralised management with power and the decision making vested in the school committee chairperson. Teacher Felix alluded to lack of democratic discourse in the school, explaining that the chairman had been

there since the inception of the school and no elections had been held since he had been elected. Teacher Miti lamented that:

the chairman of the school made all the decisions in the school and that he was not accountable to anyone.

There was also a lack of participation of teachers in decision-making. The lack of participation seemed to frustrate teachers, as can be seen from the comment by Teacher Felix below:

The chairman appointed a head teacher from nowhere without consulting anybody. The problem here is that just because someone was there at the inception of the school, he becomes everything, from being a financial director to say that you don't teach well without understanding what goes on in the classes in question.

Consequently, one can deduce that the voices of the teachers and other stakeholders concerned mattered less than that of the chairperson. Centralised management can limit the sense of ownership of school decisions by some. Potentially this can build friction between administration and teachers at the local school level. The act of the chairperson, as stated in the above quotation, is autocratic, as it goes against the democratic values of the school committee. This behaviour seems to epitomise self-interested behaviour that focuses on one's own goals and seems to suggest egoism at the heart of some of the school participation. This raises the question of the hidden motives of the chairperson, who joined the school committee as a community leader. Head teacher Mayaba noted that there was low meaningful participation of other members of the school committee. Teacher Miti attributed this to the disinterest of the members and lack of commitment to school affairs. On the other hand, headmaster Mayaba thought this was because:

'most of the committee members are in informal employment, and this means that each time away from their business is income lost'.

This finding raises the issue of low-income school volunteering, as it does not entail any monetary compensation. This understanding is essential, as it could affect the effectiveness of the committee. As far as family participation is concerned, Teacher Miti stated that they did not generally receive support from parents. The teacher also noticed that when called on, most parents did not often attend meetings for fear of leaving their goods unattended. The study also

revealed that most of the school-parent meetings concerned learner behaviour and the non-payment of school fees. Head teacher Mayaba pointed out that:

the school had no policy guidance on parental participation. For this reason, we cannot provide our staff with the expertise, knowledge, and dispositions to successfully integrate families and the community into the life of the school.

Financing of the school

In the beginning, the school was funded directly by the founding donor. The school charged no school fees and provided school lunch for all the learners. Things changed, however, when the donors withdrew from the school committee. Henceforth, the school started charging school fees of K15 per month, an equivalent of \$1 at the time of data collection. Fee charges are likely to leave some of the poorest households in the community with no real school choice because of their inability to pay the fees. I observed the chairman and Teacher Phiri going around the classes and chasing away learners who had failed to pay their monthly school fees. In its guidelines for community schools, Zambia is explicit in the view that no child should be denied education based on failure to pay fees. However, given that learners who failed to pay school fees were chased away from the schools until they brought the money, defines a practice likely to impact learners' school attendance.

This rationale implies that learning outcomes are a simple output process. This suggests that inputs such as smaller classes, higher pay for teachers, and more instructional content would lead to better school performance and improved learning outcomes for learners. However, this is only possible if there is an efficient use of resources in the sense that inputs are used in a performance-maximising way.

To try and cushion such effects, Chisomo community primary school allowed learners who could not afford uniforms to attend school in their home clothes. To keep the fees to a minimum and remain pro-poor, the school also extended its operations by providing competitive fee-paying Grade 8 and 9 classes. Although this move supplemented government grant and school fee funds, it also offered an alternative form of education as the government fails to meet all the children's educational needs in the community. Consequently, this has changed the learners' economic profile in community primary schools.

Buildings and infrastructure

Chisomo community primary school has three blocks, one of which houses the primary school, middle school and the administration section. The other block with two classrooms is used by the Grade 8 and Grade 9 classes. Due to the limited number of primary school classrooms, the Grade 5s were using a room meant to be a chicken coop. The room was dark and poorly ventilated as it had small windows. Classroom's physical layout affected the arrangement of the table and this could influence behaviour, concentration and the expected interaction. The implication is that the physical environment in the classroom is an essential factor in the creation and stimulation of the learning environment. Given this, due consideration and careful preparation should be addressed for future renovations to the school's physical environment, as the right environment can influence the learning atmosphere. Photographs 5.7 and 5.8 below, show some of the classrooms, furniture, teaching resources and infrastructure the school.



Photographs 5.7 and 5.8: School classrooms and infrastructure

Remarking on the topic of infrastructure Teacher Felix stressed that improving community primary schools' infrastructure at school level was compounded by problems of maintenance.

Learners

Learners in Chisomo community primary school tend to be overaged and came from low-income households as explained earlier. The drift of learners into and out of school is one of the potential reasons put forward by research participants for overage learners. Teacher Miti, in that regard, said that most of the learners in the school were old with the oldest in his Grade 7 class being twenty years and the youngest fourteen years. Teacher Felix also indicated that the non-discriminatory enrolment policy at the school led to overcrowded classes.

In addition, alluding to some of the problems of teaching, such the profile of learners in the school, Teacher Miti indicated that some older learners had behavioural concerns such as smoking marijuana and taking drugs that caused disciplinary issues.

Teachers

At the time of my research, Chisomo community primary school had six teachers for nine classes. The Grade 5 teacher had a certificate in early childhood education while the Grade 6 and Grade 7 teachers had a certificate in metal fabrication and a Grade 12 certificate, respectively. The findings reflect a flexible teacher recruitment process at the school. Speaking on school conditions of service, Teacher Felix indicated that the teachers' wages were poor relative to that of government teachers. Therefore, most teachers had alternative income-generating activities to supplement their salaries. The most common income activities included selling snacks and clothes. He explained that this greatly affected their concentration on schoolwork, especially when it came to lesson planning and conducting comprehensive assessments:

Teachers come to work but have divided attention. To tell the truth, I sometimes came to class only having read for twenty minutes but, what helps is that I have been teaching a long time. There are times when I do not even prepare at all as I have to make ends meet because when you sometimes expect to be paid, you find that there is no money. (Teacher Felix)

Talking about the in-service teachers' professional development, Teacher Felix acknowledged that they received professional development training once in a while. He highlighted that despite the professional development they received, most of them failed to take advantage of the training in real practice. He indicated, '*You train someone today; next week they leave and become taxi drivers. That makes the training difficult and is not viable.*'

This experience indicates the need for teacher professionals who should not focus on the process of teaching independently from the school system structure. Felix recommended that the teacher attrition rate could be reduced if the government adopted the schools, as some teachers were trained and only stayed in the community school because they could not get a job elsewhere.

The above comment seems to suggest that some of the teachers were in community primary schools out of necessity. Similarly, Teacher Miti explained that the problem of community

schools was that everyone wanted to leave. However, while some teachers in community primary schools left, others stayed due to intrinsic motivation. Teacher Felix, for example, indicated that he decided to work in a community school because he was inspired by a teacher who helped him when he was struggling in high school. He also indicated that he had a heart for vulnerable children. Non-possession of a Grade 12 certificate limits the selection of higher education studies, which might explain why some teachers like Felix, fall prey to enrolling with unaccredited colleges. Citing another challenge of teaching at the school, teacher Felix indicated:

Due to the shortage of teachers in the school, most of the teachers suffered burn out as they end up taking up a lot of roles, such as sports coaching, they by failing to be effective in anything.

Talking about the in-service professional development of community school teachers, teacher Felix referred to workshops organised by the government on teaching methodologies.

Teaching and Learning

The teacher-centred textbook approach dominated most of the teaching and learning practices in the school. The main teaching methods employed by the teachers included explanation, questioning, using the board, and providing examples of workout tasks. I, for example, noted in my diary:

The teachers increasingly adopt the transmission model of learning and rote learning. Repeating the responses given by the teachers and intervening peers characterises classroom interactions (Researcher's fieldnotes 23 September 2017).

Regarding assessment, it was mainly teacher driven and used to determine the learner's understanding of the subject content knowledge. The assessment also concentrated on a restricted emphasis on textbook exercises. I also observed that:

Teacher assessment required the recall of facts which did not sufficiently account for the current understanding of how the learners learnt the subject matter, the difficulties they encountered and how they overcame them (Researcher's fieldnotes 22 September 2017).

Through observation, the study showed that teachers used feedback to communicate with learners as to whether they were correct or not.

Conclusion of findings at Chisomo community primary school

The foundation of Chisomo community primary school was in the belief in the role of collective social cohesive in raising social control in a perceived rough neighbourhood. This cohesiveness adds to the knowledge base that stresses the relationship between community history of school and learners, and the social issue of youth. The findings tended to point to a dual perspective of the school context. One view is that the school context mirrors the school neighbourhood. The other thought is that the school context creates an environment to deter the youths from behavioural issues in the local community. The loss of the primary source of funding by the school offered alternative ways to extend and diversify the school's financing sources. The research participants thought that the government's financial expenditure on the community primary school was unreasonable, unrealistic and hindered the achievement of school goals. In the above findings, it is evident that the school was trying to reach out to children not catered for by the public education system. However, these findings require further investigation.

5.2.3 Chifundo community primary school

Etymology, infrastructure and history

I use the pseudonym Chifundo (meaning mercy) to describe a school set up to provide education to orphans under the care of the church. There was concern about the growing cost of education for children sponsored by the church orphanage and, subsequently, through funding from a US church which built Chisomo community primary school on its premises. The partnering agent sponsored the school for only five years and left, letting the school stand on its own. At the time of data collection, the school served approximately 1 000 learners from Grade 1 to Grade 7. At inception, the school targeted the enrolment of orphans on the pretext that orphans in vulnerable households were less likely to be able to afford education costs than their counterparts. Therefore, the mission of the school was empowering orphans and other vulnerable children through education. For example, Hampshire et al. (2015) found that orphans were less likely to enrol and attend school than other children. However, this finding requires careful interpretation, as while orphaned children in childcare is seen as one of the most marginalised populations, Rody, Erickson and Nagaish (2016) argue that orphan status does not inherently indicate a need for school-related assistance. The lack of clear negative impact can be due to the effects of extended networks of family and community who care for orphans (Evans and Miguel, 2005). However, in the case of this study, our focus is on

intergenerational disadvantaged families. Despite the effect of orphanhood and poverty, I believe that the attitude of a child to education is what ultimately affect their school results.

Infrastructure

Photograph 5. 9 below, shows the classroom blocks with the head teacher’s office connecting them.



Photograph 5.9: Chifundo school blocks (front) connected by head teacher’s office (back)

The teacher stressed the significance of infrastructure to the teaching and learning process. Due to limited space, the schools had morning and afternoon learning streams. There was a headmaster's office in the school, but there was no staff room or library. The school had three flushable toilets for girls and three more for boys. Photographs 5.11 and 5.12 offer a snapshot of the girls' toilets.



Photographs 5.11: Chifundo toilet

Photograph 5.12: Chifundo water tank for the toilet

Learners

Chifundo community primary school is in the heart of one of the largest constituencies in the Lusaka district. The teachers reported that most of the learners came from single-parent and step-family homes. The school neighbourhood is mostly faced with high unemployment and alcohol abuse. In light of the drug use problems, the school aimed at changing the learners' acceptability of drug use. The above is prone to create tension between schools that are seen to embody values that strongly oppose drug use and the community's tolerance for drug use, which is exacerbated by a lack of prevention services in the school. Teacher Esther pointed out that some of the learners had transferred their drug use behaviour to school. The learners also came mostly from disadvantaged backgrounds. Most of the learners were overaged as they had repeated some grades. Due to poverty, some of the older learners had to work to raise money for their school fees. The combination of school and work in certain instances called for a delicate balancing act. Teacher Phiri, for example, explained that:

Most learners find it difficult to balance between working and school and are thus tired most of the time. The challenge is that tiredness prevents them concentrating at school and thus they fall far short of achieving satisfactory learning outcomes.

Teachers

The school had three upper primary school teachers, with one being the head teacher, who taught the Grade 7 class. Faced with many challenges, some teachers reported that they stayed at the school because they perceived their job as a vocation. Teacher Phiri, for example, commented that:

I am not motivated to teach at a community school, but I teaching because of the commitment made with God. With or without pay, I will continue to teach the poor and the orphan. I cannot rescind my decision as I would sin against Heaven.

Teacher Esther also emphasised that, while teachers at the school faced many difficulties as schoolteachers, they were all committed to faithfully teaching the learners. They dedicated

themselves to their jobs despite not being on a regular salary, despite not being paid on regular basis.

This comment indicates that the teachers were more internally motivated due to their sense of vocation and the desire to make a difference in the lives of vulnerable children. Teacher Phiri's explanation suggests self-sacrifice and a discard of personal feeling about teaching in the school. Based on this finding, one can argue that teachers' sense of vocation encourages their moral dedication to teaching. It seems to suggest that Teacher Phiri derives satisfaction from her work by serving others. Teacher Phiri's sense of dedication points to teacher resilience. Conversely, a sense of vocation can be problematic as it might detract stakeholders' effort to improve the employment status of the teachers.

School Administration

Following the Education Act 2011, Chifundo community primary school was headed and run by a head teacher and a board of church elders. The role of the school board was to determine school policy and rules by which to organise, control and govern the school. The school administration responsibilities of the School Board also included the monitoring and control of school finances. The headmaster stated that:

The school board side-lines me in the decision-making process as they sometimes convene meetings without inviting me, and only to notify me after they make decisions.

The head teacher's comment indicates the dysfunctionality of the School Board.

It is evident from the above narrative that this bureaucratic structure had alienated and bred dissatisfaction in the head teacher. This finding seems to suggest that decision-making is centralised at the top in the hands of the church elders. The head teacher felt that some of the school board members lacked care and understanding of school administration and fundraising. It can be argued, however, that the assumption that the church elders lacked interest in the school could be due to the elders being forced onto the school board by being on the church board. The board members are on the school team by virtue of being church elders and not because they are natural consumers of education. The challenge with this is that most of them might be unlikely be able to acquire the information necessary to make informed education choices.

While the head teacher was responsible for teaching and learning in the school, the District Education Office (DEO) had a mandate to ensure quality control of the process. According to the guidelines for community schools, the DEO's responsibilities included monitoring the standard of infrastructure and learning in the school (Operation guidelines for community schools, 2008). Although irregular, the DEO provided standard inspectors to monitor and evaluate the schools. The study revealed that school monitoring and evaluation was a matter of routine duty. According to Teacher Esther, officers appeared to focus more on infrastructure and sanitation than on the teaching and learning process. Teacher Phiri also claimed that:

The school inspection by the standard officers does not help improve learning in the school. The standard officers usually announce their visits, and, as a result, schools prepare and pretend to work hard, making their monitoring superficial.

These arguments seem to suggest that the teacher regarded the nature of school inspection as being narrow and failing to perform a comprehensive school review. The teachers could have also felt like passive participants in the evaluation as they reported that the standard officers never interacted with them.

Teaching and learning

Findings from the collected data show that teachers in the school believed that they had the ability to support learning. Despite a possible range of perceived challenges such as a lack of inadequate teaching and learning resources, there was a high teacher efficacy. This could be explained by the long teaching experience of teachers in the school which ranged from six to 11 years. This illustrates that teachers with long-standing empirical knowledge are more likely to persist in achieving teaching goals in the face of obstacles.

Community school guidelines recommend a learner-centred approach in the schools (Operation guidelines for community schools, 2008). Although teachers at Chifundo community school claimed to have used a learner-centred approach, the classroom observations revealed another view as classroom practices were dominated by a lecturing method. The head teacher reported multigrade teaching, which is having classes with more than one grade level, as one of the practical barriers daunting the teaching and learning process in school. One possible cause might be the limited teacher capacity to handle multigrade teaching. It was also likely that the teachers themselves might not have experienced learner-centred

learning to facilitate it. I also observed that direct instruction teaching, consisting of explanation and lecturing, was commonly used in used in this school. The study further showed that the teachers used feedback to communicate to learners on the correctness of their work and accordingly offer them a second try. Teacher Esther indicated that ‘when learners fail a given task, I tell them that this is not the right answer and go to redo it.’

Teachers relied on textbooks for class assessment. They rarely made allowances for diversity in hands-on experiences that reinforced the content taught. Commenting on classroom feedback, Teacher Phiri stated that the school used feedback to address a lack of understanding of subject content. In this case, some teachers reported re-teaching the topic.

The assessment was also used to support learning by offering learners a chance to show the knowledge and abilities they had learned. Teacher Easter reported that they gave multiple-choice questions and questions that required the learners to explain their responses. These approaches were convenient and eased the burden of marking as the classes were overcrowded. At the same time, assessment was administered to test if the learners understood the content. The school valued academic achievement because it is regarded as significant in determining the learners’ academic and career trajectories.

This illustrates that accountability measures affected both the way and means by which the school and teachers approached their education system. It could also clarify why the school’s dominant education strategies lean towards traditional high-stake tests as they concentrate on learners’ knowledge and test scores. Findings from the school showed that teaching and learning were affected by the nature and content of the public examination. Head teacher Moono reported that the school had one of the highest pass rates in the area. This seems to correlate with what the teachers said. Schwarzer and Hallum (2008) indicate that self-efficacy standards dictate what operational action will be initiated and how much energy will be invested, and its sustainability in the face of obstacles and failure. In essence, one can take this to mean that a deep feeling of self-efficiency for specific task influences the level of accomplishment. The findings also showed that teacher resilience was a result of both adaption and a set of individual attributes. Head Teacher Mwiinga saw the mission of the school as improving the lives of as many children as possible and securing them a better future. In the meantime, Teacher Phiri explained the aim of education as having as many learners as possible to pass their Grade 7 examinations.

Schools Resources

School resources play a significant role in enhancing the standard of education. The dominant teacher practice in the school was teachers writing up notes taken from the learners' textbook. Teachers used learners' textbooks instead of teachers' manuals which they did not have. The head teacher showed me readers and other books bought at the inception of the school that were uncovered but looked new, a potential indication of their rarely being used. Besides, I did not see any class where the learners used the textbooks. Van der Berg (2008) suggests that school resources do not inherently make a difference, but a key element is the school's ability to convert resources into outcomes.

Furthermore, due to the enormous strain that teachers' salaries put on the school and its effort to cater to the education demands of orphaned children, the school ends up recruiting unqualified teachers. The teachers came from the neighbouring school community and faced various challenges including insufficient teaching materials, such as stationery, books, teaching aids and professional support from outside the school. Furthermore, due to the enormous strain that teachers' salaries put on the school and its effort to cater to the education demands of orphaned children, the school ended up recruiting unqualified teachers. The school had six teachers and only two had teacher education, one in early childhood education and the other a diploma in primary education. Professional competence was broadly conceived, not in terms of academic qualification but on the actual performance of learners on final examinations. One difficulty was that the head teacher faced limited power over the teachers, given that teachers allowances were infrequent and held up for some months at times. Teachers claimed that their pay did not meet the basic household needs forcing some to take up second jobs. Through donor support, the teachers were sometimes paid in kind with welfare such as clothes.

School funding

Chifundo community primary school mainly relies on school fees as well as on a government grant for funding. Head teacher Moono, however, reported that the government was averse to funding community schools as evidenced by the limited and irregular disbursement of funds to the schools. Seemingly, this suggests that government funding was more linked to the amount of money allocated to the DEO than to the cost of operating the school efficiently to serve the mission of the school. Teacher Mwinga lamented,

We need to get the government fully involved in community schools. Perhaps that way, the school can grow, and they might start paying us. We can be more motivated; you know if they start paying us.

This comment links teacher remuneration to their motivation.

With the departure of the partnering agent, the school stopped providing free education and introduced low fees. This introduction could be rationalised partly on the basis that some of the children now being enrolled were not vulnerable but were those who failed to secure spaces in local government schools due to overcrowding. Other learners were the Grade 7 repeaters from government schools who did not get placement in Grade 8.

The school fees were equivalent to \$1 per month at the time of data collection. The transition from a non-fee-paying to a low-fee-paying school posed a challenge of continued fee debt for the school. The non-payment of fees ultimately negatively affects the running of the school. As observed during my data collection, the school resorted to turning away defaulters from the school until they had paid the fees or until a parent came to commit to paying. By the number of learners that remained in class, it was evident to me that many parents failed to pay school fees on time. Head teacher Moono explained that every month the teachers spent a lot of time checking on defaulters to ensure that they did not attend class to avoid the accumulation of debt. Fundamentally, this can take away from the teachers' time to pursue other core business of the school. Reflecting on this, I recorded in my field notes that this measure was insensitive and harsh to the conditions of the learners. However, during the interview Head teacher Moono reported that when not collected, the debt adversely delayed the payment of teachers' allowances and led to shelved construction projects and the procurement of learning material.

The official guidelines on community schools and the Education Act 2011 stipulate that the school should not bar learners who fail to pay fees from attending classes. This stipulation therefore suggests that in trying to reduce the school fees debt, the school administration ended up contravening the Education Act 2011, thus ignoring each child's right to primary education (Education Act, 2011). While in violation of the Education Act 2011 directive, the head teacher insisted that the best option was to send the learners home until they settled their fees.

Conclusion of findings in Chifundo community primary school

The study shows that Chifundo community primary school was heavily focused on the academic achievement of the learners in the national examination. Academic achievement was premised as one of the most important determinants of life opportunities for employment, income, housing, and other amenities. Such a presumption means that there is a clear link between education and economic benefits. Tawil and Locatelli (2015) however, argues that the benefits of education are more likely to increase in contexts marked by broad economic growth and a consistent political commitment to democracy and accountability in governance.

By concentrating heavily on preparing learners for the national examination, the school is likely to implement the curriculum in a rigid way. While this instructional approach may enable learners to score high on national exams, such teaching and learning techniques might stifle initiative and curiosity, which Ojiambo (2009) notes produces docile and dependent-minded learners. This is likely to deter learners from developing their full potential and will leave them unprepared for an ever-changing world. The goal of school should therefore be to develop young people who are motivated towards further learning and confident in their abilities and who, through appropriate assistance, can set and achieve their own learning goals (Alexander and Potter, 2004).

5.2.4 Chipego community primary school

Etymology, infrastructure and history

Chipego community school is about 27 kilometres from Lusaka's CBD. It is housed in a small church building, pictured below in Photograph 5.13. Children from the local community attend the school which caters to Grades 1 through 6.



Photograph 5.13: Chipego school building

The school community was once a village that has now become a formal urban settlement, distinguished by its unfinished buildings. Most of the learners' parents were tenants working as builders in an area which had attracted several low-income families seeking jobs in housing construction. The subsequent influx of people has placed increased demands on a local primary school. A philanthropist who attended a local church in the area saw the need to provide education to disadvantaged children who did not have access to formal education through conventional schooling. The philanthropist provided capital injection while a local church provided the venue. The school was thus established in 2009 to provide education to learners who failed to secure places at a local government school and could not afford private schools. The establishment of the school seems to be based on the premise that household income dictated access to schools.

Recording in my field diary, I indicated that:

Low-income families who cannot find a placement in government schools and lack enough funds to afford private schooling get pushed to community schools. In turn, this could contribute to social stratification through private, government and community schools. In this scenario, school funding is a central factor in understanding the social and economic dynamics of community schools.

The inception of the school started with a feeding programme, which aimed to augment the learners' nutrition. However, the feeding programme eventually stopped due to lack of funds, which in turn lowered learners' attendance.

Infrastructure

According to the operational guidelines for community school document (Ministry of Education, 2008):

The following shall constitute minimum requirements for registration:

- Availability of teaching and learning infrastructure
- Safe learning environment, teaching and learning resources (syllabus, relevant textbooks, chalkboards, chalk)
- Toilets - at least in 1:20 ratio for girls and 1:25 ratio for boys
- Playgrounds
- Sitting facility
- Evidence of community support teachers

Although the above requirements were necessary before registering a school, Chipego community primary school did not meet them. The study showed deterioration in the school building and incomplete school facilities. The school was a small local church with benches clustered around a small, dilapidated chalkboard without a stand, and two pit latrines. The school also had no running water and inadequate classroom furnishing. Photographs 5.5 and 5.6 below show the school infrastructure (September 2017).



Photograph 5.13: Classroom



Photograph 5.14: Water and sanitation

One can potentially link the quality of the school building and facilities to the funding in the school. Asaaju (2012) confirms that the deterioration of facilities and the lack of periodic maintenance of school infrastructure are due to a lack of funding. I thus assert that, regardless of the socio-economic status of the learners, they deserve facilities of a higher quality if there are adequate resources. One possible challenge of the deteriorating conditions of the school infrastructure is that it can pose a threat to curriculum delivery as well as to the academic achievement of the learners. The inadequate classrooms in the school and the shortage of teachers prohibits a personalised environment that would address learners' individual needs and learning styles.

The limited supply of classroom space required multi-grade classes. Each grade level had no walled rooms but occupied its own opposite space in the open church hall, and each was regarded as a class. Learners were split into two groups, Grades 1 to 3 representing the lower primary and Grades 4 to 6 representing the upper primary leading to mixed ages at the same grade level. However, this still posed a challenge as the school classroom materials were limited.



Photograph 5.15: Chipego toilets at the school premises

The study found that there were no established criteria to ensure that the resources, practices and conditions required for learning were available. In terms of minimum inputs, Chipego did not meet the quality standards of facilities and educational materials. Owing to the multi-grade

nature of the school, teachers were responsible for coordinating the children's learning in more than one grade. Although this interaction helped, the national primary curriculum is intended for individual single and not multi-grades. When one teacher was away, the other took both groups.

School administration

The school had two teachers. Teacher Maria had a certificate in early childhood education, and single-handedly taught Grade 4, 5 and 6 learners. Teacher Joy had no teacher education and was responsible for the class of Grades 1 to 3. The endorsement of the *Zambian Education Act (Act No 73(1))* mandates that 'a community that intends to operate a community educational institution shall constitute a school committee'. The Act makes provision for the establishment of parent-teacher committees. However, findings from the school show that the school did not have one. The school founder and the pastor of the church that hosted the school made all the decisions regarding school governance and management. The school was funded solely by the founder. The school was unregistered and could not receive any subsidies from the government. In this regard, the school might need external aid as it has a long way to go with its limited capacity to generate enough funds to meet all the learning goals.

Highlighting the consequences of inadequate and inconsistent remuneration in community schools, Teacher Joy shared her dissatisfaction at how hard it was to keep teachers accountable when poorly paid and unpaid. The school struggled to provide teachers and head teachers in the system with the necessary backing and training to succeed. The study found that school leadership lacked the capacity needed to move in the direction of the school goal effectively. The lack of funding in the school threatened this process.

Teaching and Learning

In terms of the teaching approach, the teacher started the lessons by activating prior knowledge, mainly eliciting short answers that required finding the right response. This approach can potentially hinder reflection on the part of the learner and fail to tap into the understanding of concepts to the inventive processes that are key to the way of thinking and doing that characterise subject disciplines like mathematics and science. In an English lesson, for example, I observed that components of knowledge that were interdependent were in fact, treated as being separate from each other, as in the case of a dictation lesson. The teacher read

the sentences aloud several times, giving learners time to write each down accurately. Based on the teacher's feedback on the learners' work, I deduced that the goal of the lesson was to allow learners to recognise language in listening and writing. Spelling was, however, not seen as a core part of the activity. In a way, this approach suggests the use of one linkage scheme, thereby under-representing the richness of interconnection in the system and prompting a narrow viewpoint.

The teachers worked by teaching each grade in turn through the learners' textbooks. Teacher Maria taught fourth, fifth and sixth grades. She started with general instructions for each group each day. The multi-grade classes were taught and worked together through related grade topics but were given different activities depending on their grade level. The teacher expressed concern that it was difficult to control the class when the teacher was spending time with one group while the other grades worked on unsupervised activities. As a result, the teacher relied a lot on peer teaching and cooperative learning in the upper-grade classes. Although peer teaching and collaborative learning are significant to multi grades, the teacher did not effectively and frequently make the most of it. The limited use of these teaching approaches could be due to a lack of self-study material for the knowledge and commitment of the learners and teachers to facilitate collaborative learning. Multi-grade teaching poses specific challenges to teachers, such as teaching three grades to work together on the same curriculum level. Additionally, Teacher Maria reported that multi-grading increased teachers' workload.

Government's role

In turn, the reduced school budget can translate to lower teacher salaries and fewer resources. Teacher Maria lamented how the fiscal limits of the school prevented the range of educational experiences of the learners. Chipego community primary school, although it has been in operation for some time, is not registered with the government. The school would probably struggle with accreditation mainly because it cannot meet the requirements of the state, particularly the physical facilities. The non-accreditation, however, prevents the school from having the status it needs to qualify for a government grant. When the school was founded, the founder had money available to run the school. Her central source of income was from farm produce profits. Despite the founder's commitment to the school, consecutive crops failure due to drought entailed a tight budget. Having only one person to raise and make financial decisions does not allow constructive negotiations on budgets that could increase organisational

effectiveness and performance. There is thus a need to create and share budget decisions with a school committee which can make better choices about school costs.

Conclusion of findings from Chipego community primary school

To sum up, the central issue about the contextual nature of learning in Chipego community primary school is that learning and teaching were based on the available resources as evidenced by all learners using the church hall for a classroom. The findings showed that teachers organised learning in more than one grade within a national educational framework that separately prescribes the curriculum per grade level. Multi-grading teaching was a necessity given that the school had only two teachers. In terms of leadership, the founder of the school and the pastor who hosts the schools are the core source of leadership at Chipego community primary school. The challenge is that they concentrate on financial sourcing and school maintenance, while the instructional leadership is left in the hands of Teacher Joy, who teaches multi-grades and acts as head teacher. Mitgang (2010) argues that good schools rely on well-prepared principals to make school improvements and enhance education – not just concentrate on building and budget management. Adequate and quality leadership is required because the school curriculum has changed, requiring the development of creative and autonomous learners. The educational changes are different from what most teachers may have experienced at school, therefore quality leadership should be accomplished by appropriate accountability structures where there are various stakeholders throughout the system. Furthermore, desired school-level results are related to ongoing support for achieving performance goals and for integrating performance knowledge into the daily practice of teaching and learning.

5.2.5 Lumuni community primary school

Etymology, infrastructure and history

Lumuni community school is located some 26 kilometres from the CBD of Lusaka. The word lumuni, in the Tonga language, means light. It denotes the school mission of charting a bright future in the children in an uncertain future. The school serves approximately 1 000 learners, most of who come from largely improvised neighbourhoods around the school. A significant population of learners were orphans, children living with HIV/AIDS and vulnerable children. The school was established by a family foundation which runs the school through its executive committee. The Lumuni Foundation is a family, non-profit Christian NGO whose mission is to

emancipate and uplift disadvantaged people by providing humanitarian aid and sustainable empowerment to all, regardless of their religion or nationality.

The foundation started as a health care service through a home-based-care mobile hospice, encouraging healthy living, doing HIV/AIDS counselling, encouraging safe motherhood, and providing meals for people who are chronically and terminally ill. It started with sixty caregivers who were volunteers from the local community and were trained by a faith-based organisation in conjunction with the Ministry of Health. The role of caregivers was to connect patients to treatment centres, encourage HIV defaulters to resume treatment, and to educate family members about how to assist their relatives in adhering to treatment. The caregivers received a small remuneration from the faith-based organisation that trained them. Seeing a large number of orphans in the area, Lumuni Foundation launched Lumuni community primary school to provide education to out of school children orphaned by HIV/AIDS. A plausible cause of the adverse impact of parent death on education may be lower household income due to loss of parenthood and psychological factors. However, it is difficult to base the factors that drive school participation after parental death on the above elements alone, as they may also prevail among non-orphans. Equally, the ability of the extended family to cope with a substantial extra financial and household time burden might be influential with regard to the orphans' participation in education. The above relates to the motivational aspect, referring to learners' beliefs about the value of education, as well as the learner conviction that they can succeed in class.

The school started as a pre-school with a feeding programme to cater to the growing number of HIV/AIDS for the children. At the start, school funding was heavily depended on donor support, which provided learners with uniforms and stationery. With the withdrawal of the donor, the foundation could not maintain nor sustain the existing state of affairs of the school. Subsequently, this took its toll on the school, and it faced several challenges such as the abandonment of the building project in progress. To reduce the financial pressure, the school has fixed school fees. Head teacher Mayaba reported, however, that while many parents defaulted, she did not follow through on payments as she did not want to chase learners away from school. The school falls under a Christian family foundation. It was started in 2003 and registered in 2004. The school started in a rented house in the community, and when the school could no longer afford to pay for the house due to loss of income by the founder, the school

moved to a more dilapidated house in the area. At the same time, the demand for enrolment grew, but the school lacked funds to extend. However, through a church, the foundation found a church in the US that bought land and built the school structures for them. The school started a feeding programme for all the learners and supplied them with books and uniforms.

Infrastructure

The school consists of three unfinished classroom blocks, a borehole, and it is fenced. At the time of the study, there were only two pit latrines in the school. The state of the facilities was the product of funding shortfalls. This deterred maintenance that was required in large amounts to complete the classrooms and meet acceptable standards.



Photograph 5.15: Lumuni's school buildings

The school was extended to enrol vulnerable children from households where the parents were incapable of generating adequate income or care or were unemployed. The donor had a fallout with a Zambian with whom he was working, and the court froze all the donor bank accounts pending a court ruling. The court issue had been dragging on for over three years at the time of data collection. When the donor suddenly pulled out for financial reasons, the school faced financial setbacks. In turn, the school halted the feeding programme and the development/maintenance of the school building. The termination of the feeding programme saw a drop-in attendance, but through the caregivers following up on them, this changed. The role of the caregivers has now extended to engaging families in their children's education. The school thus solicited help from Christian bodies which began to provide basic necessities regularly to the school, like exercise books. It plays a compensatory role in the effects on the

children's environmental risk exposure. The school classroom teaching material and classroom furnishings were inadequate, with some learners sitting on the floor.



Photography 5.16: Multi-grade classroom 5.17: Seating arrangements

The school had an on-site borehole and one water tap which was, however, damaged at the time of data collection. Learners were then encouraged to take to school 2,5 litres of clean water to school. The school had two pit latrines – for one for the girls and the other for the boys. Photograph 5.11 and 5.12 illustrate the learners' toilet block and the girls' pit latrine.



Photography 5.18: Lumuni school Photography 5.19: Lumuni girls' pit latrine

The toilet block was located outside the school buildings and this was a concern during the rainy season. The girls' toilet was smelly with clear urine stains on the cement, which may be attributed to the inadequate supply of water. In addition, the toilet door was broken and provided little privacy, particularly for the older girls. The overcrowding in the school often

meant that during recess, learners had to anxiously wait in line for their turn to use the toilet. This is likely to be linked with learners avoiding the toilets or preferring to use them during class, implying class disruption (Greene et al., 2012). Although not confirmed in this study, Devnarain and Matthias (2011) found that a lack of privacy and poor access to water and clean sanitation affected the girls more during menstruation as their stress and discomfort – caused by the required coping strategies – reduced their ability to focus in class and therefore they did not achieve the full benefit of the teaching. Another finding from the study was that despite having poor sanitation, this school was registered.

Teachers

The school had five teachers at the time of data collection. From this school, I interviewed two, Teachers Alex and Moono, and a head teacher, Mrs. Kangwa. Teacher Alex, a male aged 22 years, had a year of experience working in a community school without any teacher education certificate. On the other hand, Teacher Moono a 30-year-old male with six years of teaching experience, did not have any teaching qualification.

Due to the school's limited budget and the unit cost of teachers' salaries, which were by far the largest proportion of the school's costs, the school resorted to recruiting unqualified teachers. They also resorted to increasing classroom size to accommodate the growing demand for community school education. Knight and Mendoza (2017) assert that finances impact on the core incentives, outcomes and goals of school education. All the volunteer teachers I interviewed possessed a Grade 12 school certificate.

The resultant influence of volunteer teaching is the struggle by head teachers to provide constructive discussions about teacher performance, choosing to ignore, defend and work around issues rather than work effectively with them.

Classroom observations showed that all teachers exhibited self-confidence when teaching. For those teachers, the experience of once working with children in a different capacity before their teaching career in a community school was their confidence booster. Teacher Alex, the Grade 5 teacher at the school, for example, revealed, 'I did not do any course after high school, but I dare to teach as I was a peer educator at school.'

Commenting on the limited professional education of the teachers, the head teacher, Mrs Kangwa, reported that they had inadequate subject knowledge and pedagogical preparation in most cases.

Head teacher Kangwa saw teacher education and in-service professional development as central to improving teacher practice and learner achievement. I, however, posit that the real success of professional development is when it increases teacher knowledge in ways that translate into enhanced learner achievement. On the other hand, Teacher Moono, expressed the value of teacher professional development in community school as a means to gain a certification that would potentially help him prepare him for selection to teach at a government school. Also evident from the study, was that the professional development took the form of a workshop that involved teachers in active learning. Teacher Moono indicated that professional development mainly focused on teaching methodology and not subject matter content.

The participants indicated that the main challenge facing the school was the issue of remuneration. Head teacher Kangwa highlighted the implication of low and inconsistent teacher remuneration. She highlighted the difficulty of keeping teachers accountable because they received inadequate and inconsistent payments. In turn, this contributes to the high teacher turnover leading to less stability in some classrooms. I indicated in my field notes that attrition made it difficult for learners to bond with teachers before new ones arrived.

Regarding job satisfaction, findings in the school show that the teachers had low levels of motivation and high levels of stress. Teacher Moono, for instance, revealed that given an opportunity, most teachers would leave community schools, citing issues of remuneration. Despite the desire to leave the school most stayed due to a lack of higher education to pursue other teaching jobs outside the school.

Teaching and learning strategy

The school had inadequate school materials due to financial constraints. When asked about the purpose of a school, Teacher Alex's sentiment and the school mission suggested that school is more than just teaching students to read and write but pushes for broad skills that are central to the mission of the school. However, the push for accountability in the form of test scores relates solely to knowledge in cognitively oriented domains. In addition, there is no consistency between the school's purpose and measurement, as the lessons revolved around the textbooks

prescribed by the MOE for learners. There is also a misalignment between the teaching methods and the type of teaching approaches needed to achieve the articulated school mission. This does not mean, however, that the cognitive domain should be abandoned, but there is a need to encourage and track progress towards the achievement of school objectives. The school has commonly used direct instruction in the school. Through observation, I noted that the teachers taught and directed the learning. Teacher Moono described her dominant teaching approach as giving learners notes on the blackboard and then explaining it afterwards. Although teachers claimed to use learner-centred methods through interviews, the observations revealed the traditional lecturing method in which teachers talk and learners listen dominated most classes. I further noted in my field notes:

The community schoolteachers largely espoused the transmission model of learning. The classroom interactions were characterised by pupils learning by rote and repeating answers provided by teachers and peers (Researcher's diary, 23 September 2017)

The study found that teachers spent time instructing learners about test-taking strategies. The emphasis was on drill and practice. Teachers in the community primary schools spent a substantial amount of time on final preparation activities. This was especially common in Grade seven classes. Teachers and learners spent a lot of time reviewing and practising for the final examination. Focused preparation for a test could be as a result of pressure from the District Education Office. The accountability pressure might account for the teachers favouring transmission instructional method that reprimand schools with performance and threaten to shut down ones with continuously low pass rates. Equally, this could stem from the perception that failure on national exams could in future lead to less income for their salaries in future. The challenge of this approach is that the schools might be preparing learners to excel in exams but not as individuals who are ready to live and contribute to the complex society. The study shows that examination scores are the primary criterion against which the quality of education is judged in community schools. Reporting on the challenges of having a big class, Teacher Alex lamented:

As you saw, I have a crowd of learners. They are much more than 82 today but, some of them have not come. It is challenging when you give an exercise, as it takes decades to mark.

By over-enrolling learners, the school overlooked the minimum basic package to ensure quality education and the general school input price.

5.2.6 Chitukuko community primary school

Chitukuko community primary school, as shown in Photograph 5.2 below, is located about 26 kilometres from Lusaka CBD.



Photograph 5.2: Chitukuko school block

Etymology, infrastructure and history

The school lies on church grounds, in a formal, medium-density area neighbourhood. It was established in 2005 through a local church partnership with a church in the United States that financially supported the school from its inception. The partnering church sponsors the meals, uniforms, school buildings, and teaching and learning materials. Successful learners were sponsored even after leaving the school. Chitukuko community primary school was established against the background that most of the community schools in the church catchment area had substandard infrastructure and facilities. Chitukuko is a Chewa word meaning development, depicting the school motto that education is key to development. The goal of the school is to provide education to children from disadvantaged households with limited access to education due to the cost of education. The school was thus established owing to the perceived role of education in breaking the intergenerational transmission of poverty. This view seems to suggest that education deprivation causes poverty which subsequently affects a child's life chances.

What was evident was that the school was premised on the human capital approach. Although in full operation, the school was unregistered. The head teacher attributed this to the cost of registration and the bureaucratisation of the registration process. Since its inception, Chitukuko community primary school has been running a feeding scheme for the learners. The school, as stated by the head teacher, was aimed at alleviating the effect of hunger and poverty on the learners' education.

Generally, the government demands that all community schools be registered officially. The main aim is to ensure controls on the provision of quality and insistence of minimum standards so that the conditions for learning are uncompromised. While Chitukuko community primary school has been in operation for some time, it has not applied to be registered. The headmaster alluded to the bureaucracy and red tape surrounding the registration process. Referring to the difficulties of registering a school, a study by Härmä (2019) in Nigeria also found that proprietors have consistently reported dealing with the government as one of the main barriers to registration. The consequence of such bureaucratisation of the registration process can encourage exterior motives to bribe inspectors to ignore grave deficiencies, as rumoured in the registration of private schools. As a result of not being registered, the school does not receive any government grants.

Physical Infrastructure

The school infrastructure and facilities were in good condition, although they were not adequate to cater for the number of learners in the school. The photograph below shows the infrastructure in one of the classrooms.



Photograph 5.2.1: Classroom infrastructure

The head teacher stated that infrastructure was the biggest obstacle to increasing enrolment in school. The school has flushable toilets and clean borehole water for the learners, which I present in Photograph 5.22 below.



Photograph 5.2.2: School water tower and ablution block

Learners

The social-economic hardships in the school neighbourhood saw the children in an underprivileged position. Owing to its mission, Chitukuko community primary school learners come from disadvantaged groups and includes orphans, children from single parents and those from deprived households. These groups represent a complicated layering of material deprivation. Despite the introduction of free education in government schools, the children in these categories still fail to afford the costs of education due to the strict demands of uniform

and stationery requirements in government schools. Therefore, the family school choice around affordability constitutes a reason for larger community school education demand. The school provides stationery, school uniforms and physical education attire to all learners. Teacher Chanda revealed that the greatest challenge for the learners was their home. The teacher highlighted while the teachers were willing to teach and learners were willing to learn, most children came from homes where they were overworked, resulting in them coming to school tired and unkempt. Teacher Chanda indicated that most of the learners came to school hungry, making it hard for them to concentrate. Teacher Chanda further indicated that teachers were always ready to teach yet some learners were not ready due to harsh social and economic impacts on them.

This shows the teacher transferred the blame for learner's performance from the school to their families and homes. One can deduct from Teacher Chanda's statement that she saw the background of the underprivileged learners from a deficit point of view. The problem with this view, however, is that it suggests there is little to help the learners in the school. Nevertheless, the real issue is that the subcultures associated with poverty are not deficit but are merely different and that the school might just not be equipped with work with it. On the other hand, this represents the school's goal to serve children from an improvised home and to provide extensive support services. Schools have offered scholarships for students who are going to higher grades.

Teachers

With regard to teachers, the school had three teachers for six classes. Teacher Chanda had a certificate in early-childhood-development education and taught Grades 4, 5 and 6. To address the problem of teacher shortage, the school adopted a multi- grading system. The Grade 6s had their own classroom while Grades 4 and 5 shared a classroom. Unless properly managed, multi-grading can reduce instructional time and individualised attention given to the learners. This takes place in the context of automatic promotion in the school that allows learners to continue to the next grade with the rest of their peers despite having met the minimum required standards and poses the risks of failure and learner dropout.

Results from the document analysis revealed that policy on community schools mandates the Ministry of Education to offer continuous professional development to teachers. The Ministry of Education in collaboration with other stakeholders shall develop a basic teaching skills

course for all unqualified community school teachers in the short term. In the long term, all community schools' teachers shall be expected to obtain their teacher training certificate (Government of the Republic of Zambia Ministry of Education (2008:28)).

Responding to this, Head teacher Mayaba argued the logic of community primary schools' teachers sponsoring themselves for training when they barely made ends meet. Head teacher Mayaba further indicated that teachers were committed to teaching, although they faced many challenges such as inadequate and inconsistent salary.

School Administration

The school is run by the church's pastoral team and conceptualisation of the headship appears to have developed along with the premise of having the longest-serving teacher taking up the role when open. Although the process of their appointment emerged in different ways with each head teacher, a common feature was they were all handpicked by the founder or by the school governing board. In all these cases, the role of the head teacher was characterised by a reliance on the governing body for making the final decisions.

Teaching and learning

Learning in the school was characterised by whole-class teaching, mainly by teachers transmitting knowledge to the learners through conventional teaching methods in which they gave notes on the board and explained them afterwards while the learners listened. Worked examples also dominated most of the classroom practice. In a way, the teachers acted as expert dispersers of knowledge. All decisions regarding the lesson processes and evaluating learners' performance was centred on the teacher. The dominant worked-example approach in the school has the advantage of providing a wide variety of guidance on the subject to learners because they may not have enough expertise to do so. Worked examples can also avoid unproductive problem-solving and, in the long run, can ease extensive guidance with the heightened understanding (Kirschner, Dwyer and Clark, 2006:80). The lessons also consisted of daily teacher-initiated question-and-answer sessions, spread throughout the lessons, especially during the introduction and conclusion. Most of the questions often required offering facts. The learners' responses were primarily choral answers, followed by a simple affirmation of the teacher. Learner's questions were rare, even when they were encouraged by the teacher. The questions focused mainly on the level of the learner's understanding of the lessons, particularly

in mathematics classes. Teaching was predominantly in English combined with Chinyanja, a common local language spoken in Lusaka.

The observation data revealed that the dominant role of teachers in the classroom was class management and dispensing expert knowledge. The teachers made all the decisions about lesson processes. The assessment was used as a method by which the learners demonstrated the skills and knowledge they had learnt. Learning seemed to centre on learners responding to the controlled stimulus with competence seen in terms of knowledge acquisition and skill mastery. The teachers stressed the acquisition of knowledge as their educational aim. The emphasis was on making sure that the learners did not forget what they had learned. Past examination paper revision was dominant in the school and seen effective in ensuring successful learning. The emphasis was on examinations. The school seemed to have focused mainly on cognitive intelligence over multiple intelligence.

Teachers and the head teacher claimed that assessment helped determine the gap between the learners existing understanding and what was intended to be achieved. An in-depth analysis of the teaching theory in use showed that classroom assessment was often offered as a necessity due to its recommendation in the textbooks. As far as feedback is concerned, it also acted as a comparison of actual results to some standard performance. In their practice, such input was also information that the learners could use to certify or alter their responses.

Conclusion of findings from Chitukuko community primary school

Demand and enrolment have increased with the introduction of free primary education at this school. However, the school struggled to balance the increased enrolment with the services and facilities that were available. Consequently, this resulted in overwork by large classes of teachers, insufficient teaching and learning resources, poor sanitation facilities, and inadequate classrooms. It demonstrates an increase in enrolment at the detriment of the quality of learning. Schools need to improve enrolment management strategies. They need to establish approaches to control enrolment ratios for human and material resources to ensure that the quality of learning is not affected by increased enrolment.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the findings that emerged from my classroom and school observations, document analysis, field photographs, narrative extracts from my field notes and

the participants' verbatim quotations in form of instructional biographies. The data from all these sources were merged and triangulated around the research questions and my theoretical framework. The chapter shows that the educational experiences of the six community primary schools were similar and different in some respect.

The above institutional biographies show that community primary schools in the study are a product of the government's failure to shoulder the cost of education for all. Thus, the community school model is a form of cost-sharing in education provision. The findings show that although community primary schools are beneficial, they are not without problems. However, it was clear from the chapter that community funding made the education accessible to some groups that would otherwise be denied an education. The results also showed that community support for education might pose significant equity concerns, with some schools being in a stronger position to help themselves than others which remain disadvantaged. In most cases, government policies seem to compound the problems instead of reducing the inequalities. The teachers seemed to assume that exposing learners to knowledge potential could emancipate the individuals involved. In the next chapter, I summarise all the findings of the institutional biographies and connection issues arising from the data to a wider range of theories.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented six institutional biographies of urban community primary schools in Lusaka. I provided a first-level analysis by describing the main findings for each school and offered, at the same time, interpretive insights into the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools. After analysing my data, I was drawn to reduce the findings into themes that could be developed in a chapter highlighting the similarities and differences among the schools. However, in the light of Pink and Nobit's (2007) claim about understanding urban schools, I found that such an approach was partially ineffective as it tended to exclude the context. I thus contend that learning differs in different places, and the focus in this study is to try and understand learning in the context of urban community primary schools.

In this chapter, I offer a synthesis of all the institutional biographies main findings and extend the descriptive analysis thereof. The chapter serves as a second-level analysis of data which I evaluate in conjunction with the existing literature and my theoretical framework, implying a back-and-forth reflection with Chapters 3 and 5. By invoking the theoretical framework, I hope to gain new insights into the findings. I organise and discuss the findings in five sections. The first looks at the internal stakeholders in the schools. These are the instructional players who negotiate teaching and learning in the schools. This section deals with predominant education practices in the schools. It was determined by looking at the in-classroom organisation, teacher–learner interaction, the beliefs of teachers regarding teaching and learning, as well as the nature and implementation of classroom curriculum materials. The third section focuses on the internal and external contexts of the community primary schools that influence teaching and learning. The fourth demonstrates how I addressed my research questions and how the results of the study reflect the relationship with existing literature in answers to them. Finally, I summarise and conclude the chapter by highlighting the key findings on the contextual nature of learning in urban community schools in Lusaka. I will start by first presenting the integrated findings and interpretation of the institutional biographies established in the previous chapter.

6.2 Integrated findings and interpretation of institutional biographies

In this section, I discuss the consolidated findings and interpretation of the institutional biographies. In doing so, I am keeping with open system theory, which covers a wide range of aspects of a school context. The findings fall around inputs, organisational structure and processes and environment components.

6.2.1 Learner profile

My analysis of the learners' profiles across the six institutional biographies revealed that learners mainly came from disadvantaged and deprived backgrounds. In the context of poverty and a lack of space in government schools, community primary schools were the only choice for most learners. The schools in the study emerged as a response to the overwhelming number of orphans, school dropouts and children in household poverty. Further evidence showed that admission to the schools was along social and economic lines. The admission requirements in all the schools prioritised targeted groups based on the original intent of the schools, in particular, populations not served by the government are provided with an opportunity for education in community primary schools. While the schools faced a big appeal for admission, they had limited resources. I observed this at Tario, Lumuni and Chitukuko community primary schools where they were enrolling more learners than school resources could sustain, which strained the already limited resources and infrastructure. The head teachers reported that they over-enrolled as it was hard to turn away children to whom community schooling was the only education system they could access or afford. Nevertheless, even if this school admission policy in community primary schools serves a social justice role, it does not ensure a diversity of learners, thereby segregating schools along social-economic lines. This means that the schools are for the desperately poor who cannot find placement in government schools nor afford private schools.

Despite the introduction of free primary education in Zambian government schools, there is still a great demand for community schools because in government schools' families need to pay for school supplies, which puts constraints on access for those who cannot afford to do so. In support of the above, Mihai, Titan and Manea (2015) found that most families living in extreme poverty could not afford to send their children to school.

Also, as encountered in a study by DeStefano et al. (2006), community primary schools enrolled over-age children, who were older than the official grade level age. The participants

identified several potential reasons for the concentration of over-age learners in the schools. Most of the participants suggested that this was due to poverty, late enrolments related to the opportunities cost of schooling, learners drifting in and out of school, and to learners repeating grades.

6.2.2 Teacher profile

In exploring the characteristics of teachers in the community primary schools studied, I found that the schools relied on volunteer teachers who did not have contracts and mostly lacked proper teacher education. The schools relied on untrained teachers to reduce the financial burden on their already constrained budgets. Even in cases of donor-funded schools, the aid did not cover teacher salaries. Thus, participants in the study highlighted how remuneration was a concern due to lack of funding. In turn, this triggered a high turnover leading to lack of stability in some classrooms. The high turnover made it challenging to develop and sustainably maintain teachers through training and mentorship as teachers were usually in and out of the schools. Teachers low pay also made schools struggle to attract qualified and experienced teachers. This led to teacher shortages as was evident in the Lumuni and Chisomo community primary schools and having large classes and teaching multiple grades at once in Chifundo, Chitukuko, Lumuni and Chipego community schools. In other instances, the low and inconsistent remuneration of teachers led to some relying on second jobs to supplement their income.

Most of head teachers in the study bemoaned the lack of qualifications of the teachers on their staff. The use of untrained teachers in schools seems to implicitly suggest that teaching could be mastered by anyone on the job through trial and error, thereby concealing the relevance of the pedagogical training of teachers. The use of untrained teachers would, however, ideally depend on the condition that one knows the subject area. A study in Rwanda found that many unqualified teachers were not competent due to a lack of proper training in teaching methodologies and managing learners' behaviours (Shyiramunda, and Bavugirije 2020). While these teachers are beneficial to community primary schools in many respects, the school leadership, in the context of poor remuneration, may have little control over them, making issues of quality control difficult. The study also found that most teachers were not comfortable, teaching, for example, technology studies because they did not have a good mastery of the subject matter nor the necessary technology.

Teachers in the community primary schools suffered numerous challenges. Materially, they had limited teaching resources and received minimal professional support. Additionally, the teachers enjoyed a lower status than government schoolteachers, largely due to their lack of teacher education. Despite all the challenges that the community primary school teachers faced, some still remained teaching in the schools for various reasons. These included a sense of vocation to teach vulnerable children, seeing their present jobs as a stepping-stone to a career in teaching, and others remaining as they had failed to secure other works. With regard to the professional development of teachers, participants agreed that in-service professional development was essential to increase the knowledge and skills of teachers. However, the participants indicated that in-service professional development for teachers was rare in community primary schools, despite the government's obligation to provide it. In cases where professional development was conducted, it was mostly in the form of workshops focused on what the teachers needed to know. This approach can be problematic as teachers pre-existing values and personal needs, which are a crucial requirement for successful professional advancement, were not considered. Hence, there is a need to engage some teachers in the preparation process to align professional development directly with community school experiences. Also, most of the workshops focused on pedagogical knowledge. What was missing, however, was the subject matter and the pedagogical content knowledge of teachers.

6.2.3 School leadership

The head teachers in four of the six urban community primary schools observed were full-time class teachers or acted as substitute teachers. The head teachers were generally underqualified as only two had teaching qualifications and they all had no training in management. The head teachers did not have guidelines clearly defining their roles as instructional leaders and administrators. Even in cases where all the head teachers agreed that their job included promoting and monitoring the quality of learning in the schools, they lacked the needed professional skills and resources to do so. The participants in this study pointed out the centrality of leadership to the teaching-learning in schools. Likewise, other studies on school leadership (Reynolds, 2017; Pourajab and Ghani, 2016) found that leadership is an essential element in improving the effectiveness of the school. This study also corroborates Leithwood and Riehl's (2003) finding that while the position of head teacher was an enduring feature in all the schools, in most cases, they did not have real decision-making power. Instead, other

stakeholders of the school like the school board, the Parent Teachers Association, founders and funders of the schools provided direction and exerted influence on the persons and things to achieve the school goals. It is for this reason that, in this study, I focus on school leadership and not just head teachers. Additionally, in confirmation of Spillane's (2002) study, this study revealed that the teachers' perception of the head teachers' role in learner learning concentrated on performance. Spillane (2002), however, sees this as a narrow definition of school success, believing that learning also encompasses the hidden curriculum.

6.2.4 School resources and infrastructure

The community primary schools studied had a variety of resources and, in this section, I focus on those related to infrastructure and teaching and learning materials. I refer to infrastructure, including potable water, electricity supply, and physical facilities, as an essential service for both teachers and learners. Furthermore, I consider resources and school supplies, such as textbooks, chalks and computers to be standard teaching resources (Murillo and Román, 2016). The study revealed resources inequalities within community schools. The externally funded schools such as Tariro and Chitukuko urban community primary schools had relatively better infrastructure compared to the those that were locally funded schools relying on a single source of financing. This finding corroborates Uline and Tschannem-Moran's (2006) assertion that the quality of school buildings can be linked to a source of funding in a school. The authors highlighted that where resources were adequate, facilities tended to be of a higher quality regardless of the socio-economic status of their learners. The overarching argument across all the schools was that resources and infrastructure challenged the teaching and learning process.

The study found that self-sponsored community primary schools, like Chipego and Chisomo community primary schools, had deteriorated school infrastructure. However, even donor-sponsored schools that had better infrastructure and facilities needed expanding to accommodate all the learners. Chitukuko and Chipego community primary schools, for example, only went up to Grade 6 and had Grade 4 and 5 classes combined in one room. The Education Act 2011 stipulates that:

76. (1) The Registrar shall not approve an application made under Section 75 unless

(d) the community education institution fulfils the prescribed minimum requirements of health and safety and conforms with any building regulations under any written law;

(e) adequate financial provision had been made or is guaranteed for the proper maintenance of the community educational institution for a reasonable period.

Notwithstanding the provision laid down in the Act, Chipego, Lumuni and Chisomo community primary schools did not comply with the requisite safety and health standards. These stipulations appear to represent an ideal, and many of their criteria are impossible to fulfil in real life. The deviation between the Act's requirements and the actual realisation in under-resourced community primary schools could be explained by inadequate school funding. Besides, the government's incapacity to implement the laws and administration regulation makes it difficult for the Act to influence the implementation and practice in schools. The weak adherence to the school facility requirement would partly suggest the complexity of policymakers' ability to micro-manage the different factors that impact the implementation of the policy.

6.2.5 Teaching and learning process

Regarding instruction, the study showed that teachers spent a lot of time instructing learners about test-taking strategies, resulting in teachers emphasising drill and practice methods of teaching and focusing on examination preparation activities. In part, emphasis on the preparation of tests and examinations can be due to the indirect pressure applied by the District Education Office which cautions low-performance schools and threatens to shut them down if poor summative evaluation performances persist. Accordingly, holding different actors accountable for learner's performance shifts the blame from low-performing learners to low-performing schools. In effect, this can put the personal and professional survival of teachers at risk and could subsequently impact the teaching methods used by schools. The challenge here is that the drive for survival might force schools to prepare learners that excel in examinations but not individuals who are ready to live and contribute to the complex society. This then poses the question of how to balance the achievement of school missions not measured in examination terms and the issue of accountability that pushes teachers to concentrate on examinations. Brkich (2011:13) argue that school achievement consists of developing new knowledge 'from previous knowledge through the process of disciplinary investigation that shows value outside school'.

The pressure of accountability could account, along with their lack of training, for teachers preferring transmission instructional method. In addition, the emphasis on examinations

stemmed from the teachers' premise that success in the national examinations was essential in determining the academic and career progression of the learners, while failure in the future would lead to less income. The study also showed the primary criteria by which the schools measured the quality of education was an academic achievement in examinations. This view presents what happens in the classroom as something objective, measurable, and transparent and allows community primary schools to be kept accountable for their assigned responsibilities. Some participants highlighted that the Zambian government provides monetary incentives to community primary schools that produce high pass marks in the national examinations. On face value, getting an incentive from the government for high achievement can be seen as an awarding strategy, yet, on close analysis, it can lead community schools to embrace accountability that did not always influence teaching practices positively. On the other hand, high pass rates attracted learners to fee-paying community primary schools and thus increased revenue generation. In the meantime, the extra teaching time that teachers put in to complete the curriculum seemed to help learners. However, the challenge is that this can lead to teachers coaching learners to perform better by following on elements of the tests and this may narrow the curriculum.

Textbooks were a central component of teaching in the community primary schools studied. They are officially published and prescribed by the Zambian government. In most cases, the government only published a single textbook per subject per grade. The study also found that the textbooks were central resources for teaching in the community primary schools. Despite its centrality, only teachers had copies of the textbooks and learners had none. The textbooks were exclusively adopted and were not supplemented through other teaching materials. The teachers based their teaching on the outline presented in the textbooks while working systematically through the content it contained. This appears to suggest that the textbooks prescribed what content to teach and how to do so. Without teacher education it is possible that the teachers might not possess interpretive skills needed for adopting and enhancing the suggested teaching and learning sequence, resources, and assessment in their textbooks beyond its obvious meaning.

One advantage of textbooks in the absence of teacher education and curriculum engagement is that the textbooks can structure the way learning is organised over time and within an individual lesson. This seems significant for the translation of subject and pedagogical theory into practice. Textbooks also provide structure and progression of the content without decreasing

the freedom of teachers (Marks, Barclay, and Harvey-Swanston, 2019). As mentioned above, this meant that the textbooks prescribed the content taught and how it was taught. The challenge is that without teacher education, the teachers may lack the interpretative skills needed to follow and improve the suggested sequence of teaching and learning, resources and assessment that may not be apparent in the textbooks.

6.2.6 Assessment

The field of assessment research is extensive (Broadfoot and Black, 2004). Therefore, in this section, I concentrate on the different purposes of assessment in community primary schools. I discuss these findings from the perspective of the teachers' assessment practices. It was evident from the analysis of the assessment that it served different purposes in the schools. First, the assessment provided stakeholders with a means to measure the effectiveness of the community primary schools. The stakeholders seemed to see the results of tests and examinations as a valued expression of academic success. The pressures to focus on high stake assessment was partly spurred by the expected and potential value of the national examinations for parents, the community and the collaborating partners such as government and donors. These factors may explain the correlation between assessment strategies and the type of accountability the assessment demanded. Murchan and Shiel (2017) advance that wider stakeholders need information on student learning and that teachers need to recognise them. This suggests that the schools have a responsibility to meet the varied quality needs of the stakeholders where applicable. In a way, this seems to indicate that society indirectly influences the operation of the schools and the work that schools should do. Although the public has generally supported the grading in schools, there is increasing scepticism about its fairness and accuracy (Earl, 2013). The challenge of heavily relying on assessment for education is that it fails to provide substantial evidence of mastery of specific concepts as the examination material is generally too narrow and the grading is too simplistic to represent the broad range of skills and knowledge covered.

This study also showed that almost all teacher participants espoused that they used assessment to measure the gap between the learners' present understanding and the desired curriculum outcomes. As a result, they often administered their assessments immediately after a topic was taught. However, a more detailed review of the specific assessment theory in use revealed that sometimes teachers offered assessments because the textbooks prescribed it. Furthermore, the

assessment seemed to be used to prepare learners for the Grade 7 National Certification Examinations. Even though the urban community primary school teachers sometimes used assessment to improve performance, dependence on questions from previous examination papers showed a push towards summative assessment, which is mainly used for grading and accountability purposes. The constant focus on the right answer to an examination question is likely to make learners commit a substantial time to memorise portions of information which might oppose learning approaches that do not focus on facts and information. Besides, a focus on examination does not cater to a variety of learners, especially in large and diverse classes found in the community schools studied.

The shortcomings of examination-orientation education led Zambia to widen educational aims and concentrate on developing well-rounded individuals rather than the only memorisation of knowledge and standardised scores. In this regard, the government affirmed the importance of continuous assessment in improving the standards of education, and in 2012 adopted a new curriculum framework. On the one hand, *Educating Our Future*, Zambia's current education policy promotes the use of school-based continuous assessment (MOE, 1996). It is clear from the study that community primary schools did not adopt a continuous assessment policy. The potential cause may be the lack of teacher ability to conduct an objective assessment as evidence has shown that teachers relied heavily on textbooks and past examination papers for teaching purposes. While most teachers at government schools are trained in continuous assessment, community primary school teachers are not. Also, absenteeism among learners, particularly in fee-paying community primary schools where learners were often chased for the fees before they paid up, challenged the continuous assessment implementation. Similarly, large classes and multi-grade classes, such as those found in the schools studied, can make continuous assessment hard to carry out and are likely to increase the workload of teachers.

On the other hand, the vision of the national primary school curriculum framework is to develop holistic learners who are lifelong learners, creative, innovative, connected to local and global development leaders, and are agents of change in the transformation of society (Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education., 2012). However, while Zambia's latest education curriculum framework seeks to develop holistic learners, teachers in the studied community primary schools have been largely left to enforce the curriculum on their own with little assistance from education authorities and with no psychological and

pedagogical preparation. Most of the teachers lack sufficient experience in the practical implementation of teaching methods and guidance on integrated practical activities that are needed to develop holistic learners. This lack of preparation may disconnect the teachers in the community primary schools from the curriculum with most teachers expected to adhere to rote learning and memorisation techniques while fostering little or no modification in classroom instruction. The assessment approach in community primary schools could be a result of the teachers' beliefs about the purpose of learning as the salient outcome in teaching.

6.2.7 Feedback

In this study, I espouse Shute's (2008) definition of feedback. Shute conceived feedback as information communicated to the learners intended to modify their thinking or behaviour to improve learning. A critical element of this is that information only becomes feedback when provided within a structure that can use the information to affect future performance. The study showed that the teachers were viewed as experts and were responsible for giving feedback. Learners mainly used the feedback to modify their answers. As in this study, Van de Ridder et al. (2008) noted that feedback contrasts between the observed learner performance and a standard for it to be considered to be good. To this effect, feedback seemed to have operated as a motivator to increase accuracy. Hattie and Gan (2011), however, warned that merely prescribing volumes of feedback does not imply that learning is taking place, rather it is understanding how to craft and deliver it effectively.

Like the purpose of feedback in Hattie's (2006) study, feedback in this study was based on the transmission model of education that captures feedback as information, thus corroborating Hattie's (2007) findings that feedback looks up an answer to assess the correctness of a response. Teachers in this study may have opted for this approach because of the focus on achievement in local and national examinations and their lack of training. While feedback methods in other studies might corroborate some of the community school practices as fair and encouraging learning, some of the findings caution against overgeneralising as contradictory results are found within the research in this area. There was no indication in this study that feedback information was used to improve teaching but was merely used to facilitate some form of rote learning. I maintain that despite the results of other studies supporting my findings on feedback, the knowledge and interpretation of feedback from community primary school

teachers, teachers' pressure and a lack of educational support can be a barrier to successful feedback. This finding has an important implication for in-service professional development.

6.2.8 Family involvement

Regarding the nature of family engagement, this study revealed that it was seen as a means of improving achievement. The dominant form of family involvement was that of the community primary schools asking parents to support learners at home and coming to school when requested to do so. In most cases, teachers and schools directed parental involvement in the schools by keeping an open-door approach to families. The dominant practice in involving teachers in community primary schools did not systematically foster family participation in most situations, and parents did not always participate when invited. Like in this study, Mapp et al. (2008) found that family involvement was widely overlooked in most schools, despite many teachers stressing its significance in teaching and learning success. One explanation for this could be that most schools underestimated the potential value of school-home partnership in the children's learning process (Mapp, 2008). The inconsistency may also be due to the teachers in this study having receiving little or no training in family engagement and might therefore possess limited knowledge and skills to work with the family (Ribeiro and Shelton (2012); Weiss et al., 2010). In this vein, McNeal (2012) and Hill and Tyson (2009) showed that the effects of family involvement on learning depended on both the school characteristics and the nature of family involvement. As with the study by Ferlazzo (2011), the findings from my study indicate that parental engagement merely involved advising families how they should participate in the school rather than seeking their suggestions on how to improve learners' learning opportunities and attainment.

The current education policy document in Zambia, *Educating Our Future*, recognises family involvement as a priority in enhancing the quality of education (MOE, 2006). Although the policy document alludes to the importance of incorporating families in education, it has no index entries about families. Therefore, there is a lack of a central mechanism to translate the policies on family involvement in general practices. Epstein (2013) argues that there is a large gap between knowing the importance of family involvement in children's success and doing it. Similarly, while the participants in this study underscored the importance of family involvement if children must succeed in school its potential was largely ignored in most of the participating community schools. However, some schools' support for family involvement was

symbolic, where the schools maintained an open-door policy with the family. Recently, it appeared that the nature of family engagement may be considerably different than previously conceived. Smith and Shinebourne (2012) argue that teachers may not be aware of invisible strategies, such as parents limiting children's chores to allow for study time, that family, especially those from low-income backgrounds, use to support their children's education.

6.2.9 Nature of the relationship with Zambian government

The study showed that the government dominated the relationship with community schools through the facilitation of registration, coordination and regulations of the schools. While some of the schools in the study did not meet the essential requirement for school registration, they were certified to operate as education centres. Furthermore, there seemed to be no established criteria to ensure that the resources, practices and conditions required for learning were available in community primary schools. Most participants reported that the standard monitoring practice primarily focused on infrastructure. The study also ascertained that the community schools in this study had no established channels that helped them demand that the government honour its responsibilities to the schools. I outline the findings on the distribution of responsibilities between the government, the MOE and community schools in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Distributed power and responsibilities between government, MOE and community schools

Ministry of Education	District Education Office	Community schools
Curriculum development	School registration	Establish, own, and manage school
Decide medium of instruction	Supervision and guidance	Enrolments
Provide legal statutes and policy guideline on community schools	Professional development of teachers	Infrastructure development
Determine the school calendar	Approval of community school's examination centres	Teacher allowance
	Technical assistance to the schools	The general philosophy of the school
	Review of school performance	

This category is dedicated to try and understand the funding system in the community schools in this study and its implication on teaching, learning and academic achievement in these schools. Issues of finances are significant as they affect the fundamental incentives schools face and, over a long time, the goal they pursue. Participants agreed that funding unpredictability was one of the most critical challenges facing community schools in Lusaka. Although the government directive is to allocate 30 per cent of the school budget to community schools, the money was often inadequate and rarely reached the schools on time. This has led to large disparities between the education available for the mainstream government schools in comparison to community schools. The schools thus relied more on the private sector for funding. It is, therefore, not unusual that schools, which relied on local resourcing and had minimal to no government subsidies, widely described school funding as one of the main obstacles to the provision and quality of education in schools. The locally financed community primary schools tended to have large financing deficits and little ability to mobilise donor assistance like Lumuni and Chipego community primary schools. Consequently, the participants felt that government financial spending on community school was not equitable.

This seems to suggest that government funding was not based on the unit cost of education. The study further revealed that while private financing had immensely helped to extend access to education in the school system, in other cases it made the provision acceptable standards difficult. This issue was more pronounced in self-financed community schools than in donor-funded community schools.

One similar characteristic between those externally funded and the internally financed community schools was that they all tended to rely on a single source of funding. The lack of multiple sources of funding seemed problematic for community schools, particularly in the face of inconsistent government funding. I observed this in community schools, where the withdrawal of the primary source of financing, undermined building projects and feeding schemes. In some schools, however, losing the primary sources of funding led the schools to diversify and look for alternative means of funding. Furthermore, while the government eliminated school fees in its schools, it left community schools out despite having a significant number of learners from disadvantaged backgrounds. In a way, this reflects systemic segregation at policy and practice levels, as all children are constitutionally entitled to free primary education in Zambia. As a result, the experience of many in this study reflects the intensified politics of government funding in the rhetoric of children's constitutional right to education.

6.3 Discussion of findings

In the section that follows, I analyse and discuss the findings against the backdrop of relevant literature that aligns with findings that emerged from my study as well as that which contradicts my findings. I organise the section in the following analytical categories: negotiating teaching and learning, organisational structure and processes, and the contextual factors affecting teaching and learning in community primary schools.

6.3.1 Negotiating teaching and learning in community primary schools in Lusaka

Negotiating teaching and learning in the sense of this study means using teaching and learning capacity of instructional procedures and the contextual factors to create environments that influence learning. Negotiating teaching and learning focuses on the human process and on the personal and emotional interactions and values that educational institutions form or maintain.

This implies that a learning environment can not only be specified, but that it is co-created by the learners, teachers and school administrators in a dynamic natural balance.

I arranged these findings using an open system model of human inputs in schooling. The study revealed three internal human inputs. However, I only discuss two of them in this section: learner and teacher profiles as I discuss the school administrators' profile later in the chapter. Understanding these profiles and the tension therein, as experienced by learners and teachers, allows me to see and explain how teaching and learning are negotiated within community primary schools, thereby forging a particular contextual nature of learning in these schools. I present an overview of these findings of this section below. The first finding is on the profile of learners in community schools. In looking at the learners, I focus, amongst others, on overage learners and learner's socio-economic status. The second finding deals with teachers' profiles relating to teacher education and their in-service professional development.

In the study, I sought to establish the influence of an urban community primary school learners' profile on teaching and learning in schools. The learners' profile in Chapter 5 showed that overage and low socio-economic status were some of the main characteristics that distinguished most learners across all six schools.

Regarding overage, for example, Teacher Felix, from Chisomo community primary school, explained that 'the typical age for Grade 6 is usually 12 [years of age] but look at those who look big, they would have stopped school at some point. Alternatively, they had never been to school.'

Seemingly concerned about enrolling overage learners, Teacher Alex of Lumuni community primary school indicated that 'it is sometimes difficult for them to concentrate in class as they have more responsibilities at home compared to the younger ones.'

Overall, while some researchers observed a strong linear relationship between older children and learning achievement, others do not. For example, Grissom (2004) reveals that the difference in the average test score between the oldest and the youngest is not as high as the positive linear relationship disappears when the learners enter the 10th grade. Grissom concluded that there was, on average, a negative linear relationship between overage and achievement in all schools. Studies that identify the advantage of overage learners in

achievement appear to concentrate on the age of school entry and not on the results of re-entering the school or repeating a grade as is the case for community schools.

With regard to the learners' social-economic background, in their study of 'access to primary education in Sub-Saharan Africa', Lewin and Sabetes' study (2012) found that education is closely related to household income. Comparable to the findings of other studies, participants in this study indicated that the learner's socio-economic status influenced their academic achievement. Similarly, other studies (Karbach et al., 2013; Stewart, 2008; Carbonoro, 2005) found that learners' socio-economic characteristics play a critical role in influencing the academic achievement of learners in school. Furthermore, An, Hannum and Sargent (2008) claim that social-economic status, family size, composition and home language equally influenced academic achievement in school. Likewise, research on learner educational achievement over time has shown that the status of their socio-economic background remains one of the causes of educational inequality since performance depends heavily on the socio-economic status of parents (Stewart, 2008; Xuehui et al., 2008). Learners from low socio-economic-status families, such as those in the schools studied in this thesis, are reportedly likely to experience lower rates of literacy, numeracy and understanding, drop out of school, experience disruptive behaviour, have trouble in their research and are unlikely to specialise in mathematics and science. In the same vein, higher socio-economic-status families provide their children with greater levels of psychological support through environments that facilitate the development of skills required for school success (Huitt and Dawson, 2011).

Nevertheless, an array of other contexts, such as family and individual characteristics, may mediate the effects of parental socio-economic status on the educational outcomes of the children. For example, by way of illustration, Schlee et al. (2009) concluded that while social and economic components are important, social factors in promoting academic achievement are more significant than economic factors. In terms of material resources, this suggests that what family members have will also be influenced by what family members do. Parents, for instance, may have low-income and low-status jobs, but offer their children high educational aspirations. This suggests that regardless of hereditary endowment and educational policy aiming to improve education, the role of the family in the childrens' education is essential. Together, these studies postulate that the profile of learners in community schools has several disabling factors on the facilitation of learning in schools.

The following findings and discussion indicate that learners are at the centre of the learning process in school. Learners' motivation is a factor that determines what and how much is learned and influences learners' emotional pressure, interest and learning goals. This shows that being in school is not the same thing as learning. Personal factors such as low socio-economic status, coping with HIV or being orphans can directly contribute to the complex motivational psychology of the learners. These stimuli can trigger the inherent propensity for learners to be either beneficial or harmful. As was noted by Teacher Chanda at Chitukuko community primary school, poverty can drive learners from being attentive in class and deter them from learning to reflect on their ongoing problems. Conversely, these challenges can propel some learners to focus more on learning to break away from resulting problems.

It is evident from the study that schools play a crucial role in enhancing the inherent resilient potential of learners. Tario and Chitukuko community primary schools buffered the effects of hunger by providing learners with meals that helped with concentration. In the case of Chisomo and Chifundo community primary schools that had learners from violent and drug and alcohol zones, they provided learners with resources in terms of creating a safe school environment in the absence of supportive home environments. By enforcing school rules and a Christian school ethos, the schools helped learners know right from the wrong and provided principles of moral behaviours which are central to learners' self-development. Therefore, one can conclude from the above findings and discussion that while the risk factors of learners in community primary school can be perceived from a viewpoint of being in deficit, the schools tried to buffer the threats that would potentially adversely affect learners' resilience. By establishing a caring and safe school environment and enforcing and sustaining discipline through school rules, the schools were able to mitigate some of the factors that would reduce learner's commitment to the learning process. In this vein, schools served as socialisation agents – a form of hidden curriculum.

Teacher profile

Teachers are central to influencing the quality of education, particularly in developing countries where, due to lack of funding, education relies heavily on teachers. This is reinforced by de Koning et al. (2010), who argues that what teachers know and do in the classroom is increasingly dependent on the quality and effectiveness of teachers in the education system. As revealed in Chapter 5, the community primary schools relied on local teachers who mostly did

not have professional teacher education for the levels they were teaching. The schools have flexible entry routes for teachers. Nevertheless, findings from the document analysis show that the policy guidelines on community primary schools support the flexible teacher recruitment. The document states:

Have the required number of teachers for that level with minimum qualification of grade 12 certificate. Where the community has not been able to find someone with a Grade 12 certificate, a Grade 9 or equivalent shall stand (MOE, 2007: 28)

This study showed various perspectives of community primary school teachers on factors influencing the learning achievement of learners in community schools. While most alluded to teacher and learner efforts, others related it to innate abilities. Karbach et al. (2013) endorse both the effort-orientated views and the influence of innate ability on learning. The authors found that cognitive capacity is the most significant indicator of learning achievement, explaining 25 per cent of the overall variation in academic success. While not rejecting the existence of cognitive ability, it fails to account for a great deal of variation. Therefore, some studies supported opposing views.

These results on the experiences of teachers on issues impacting community school learning show that factors of the social and physical world are difficult to change and can thus be more educationally proven as essential. Relating these findings and its discussion shows that the process and classroom climate are as relevant to learning as the subject matter and content. This is significant as these elements are more alterable by the school than social and physical factors. This indicates that teachers cannot be the sole authority in the classroom. Instead, teachers should aim to motivate learners to see the value of the content as well as encourage them to learn from each other as well.

Findings like those relating to Chisomo community primary school shows that teachers presented a lot of resilience and expressed teaching as their vocation. Potentially, this indicates that some teachers could use personal and contextual resources to address the challenges of teachers. This finding is significant in the context of under-resourced schools, where it can be challenging to acquire quality input. The advantage of recruiting local teachers helps unearth valuable information about learners' interest and living conditions that provide a foundation for classroom activities that engage the learners. Uncovering the experiences of school children could provide teachers with a deeper understanding of the challenges experienced by some of

the learners in the classroom situation. Subsequently, this can help them build a nurturing classroom atmosphere that motivates and encourages urban learners to learn. I therefore recommend enabling teachers to find opportunities to integrate their knowledge of school learners' experiences into lesson planning and instructional activities.

Learners come to school with strengths that must be successful socially, culturally and cognitively. Working with learners' backgrounds can allow teachers to appreciate and value working with a diversity of learners in the classroom, and thereby try to create an enabling learning environment for all. The aim is not to justify the current ability or learning level of every learner, but rather to get learners to the desired learning goal, no matter what it takes (Swain, 2011). The use of untrained instructors, on the other hand, suggests that the way teachers teach may only be a result of the way they were taught (Herrington and Herrington, 2006). Consequently, the main issue is how teachers can develop a practice which is distinct from their learning experience.

Professional development of teachers

Professional development is used as a general concept in the field of education regarding teacher learning experiences and programmes. Although the term is defined differently, the core connotation is characterised by the understanding that it is about learning opportunities for teachers and about learning how to learn so as to refine their practice for the benefit of learning growth in schools (Ávalos and Valenzuela, 2016). The study found that professional development was mainly seen to improve the academic standing of teachers in addition to the acquisition of greater competence and efficacy in executing their professional duties.

This study revealed that the teachers were interested in advancing more for professional development and certification than advancing knowledge. In agreement with the results from this study, Komba and Nkumbi (2008) point out that the purpose of teacher professional development in less advantaged contexts, as in the case of the community primary schools studied, is to improve the academic standing of teachers. Contradictory findings by Ávalos and Valenzuela (2016), however, argue that the core connotations of professional development for teachers should be about learning opportunities for teachers and learning how to refine their practice for the benefit of their learners' growth. Important to note, however, is that the role of professional development in changing teachers' practice is not a simple one. Even when there is a body of research that supports that professional development enhances the academic

achievement of learners, the overall picture is debatable (Guskey, 2009). While some support the direct process – product-professional development can improve teaching – others like and Opfer and Pedder (2011) support the opposing view that there is no direct relation between the two. As noted by Opfer and Pedder (2011), the controversy on the impact of professional development on the achievement gains of the learners is mainly a result of studies having a different methodological preference for process–product designs. The majority of teachers’ professional learning focuses on a specific micro context (individuals, activities, process or programmes) in isolation from the influences from meso (institutional) and the macro (school system) contexts of complex teaching and learning environments in which teachers and learners live. Loucks-Horsley et al. (2009) observe that only when professional development is made more purposeful and is designed to improve learning and create learning opportunities that align to the teachers’ context and culture can it be effective. In turn, this would imply that carefully planned professional development enhances learning. Effective professional development embodies a situated-pedagogy focus, ongoing and sustained, self-directed and collaborative learning strategies (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Lydon and King, 2009). Although there is no formula for the scope and duration of professional development activities, the activities connected to teacher learning should be sustained and intensive (Postholm, 2012).

Based on the findings and discussion, I posit that structuring community school teachers’ professional development in facilitating learning on already existing models might not be ideal. This is because the existing models are mainly designed for professional qualified teachers with considerable experience and capacity to make a transfer of skill and knowledge from professional development (Raval et al., 2010). This raises the need for organised practices that can inform the creation of procedural skills in a manner that is practical within the cultures and resources of community primary schools. As a result, there is a need for professional development frameworks that can integrate techniques that are specifically suited to the social realities of schools with elements of effective curriculum implementation.

6.3.2 Dominant educational practices in community primary schools in Lusaka

This section discusses the integrated findings on the dominant education practices in community primary schools. Here I concentrate on three main findings that emerged. I first look at the teachers' belief about learning and how it influences their teaching methods and decision-making in the classroom. Second, I focus on the teaching strategies of teachers, as

well as the assessment and feedback practices in their classes. The third finding is the participants' perceived and the actual purpose of education. I focused on the vision reflected in classroom practice. Thus, I tried to bring out teachers' goals and beliefs about learning and teaching, and contrast against the rationale for their actions. The goal here was not to change teachers' beliefs or goals but to determine the impact of teachers' behaviour concerning their stated goals and beliefs. I placed the teacher's educational goals for their classroom interaction and lessons at the core of the practical argument structure. I then assessed the teacher's actions regarding their goals, and from there I reevaluated them against learning theories and philosophies in literature.

Teachers beliefs about teaching and learning

The study found that while teachers beliefs were compatible with their practices, they were not so in certain areas due to a variety of mediating factors. The most pronounced areas of misalignment were teachers' beliefs about group work and the aim of education. One example of alignment is where teachers believed that education aims to enable learners to acquire and master content knowledge and perform well in national progression examinations, and their practice focused on transmission methods and teaching, assessment and feedback which complemented their above belief. Conversely, the findings also highlighted a tension between the participants stated aim of teaching and learning and their practices, mainly relating to the teacher's ability to align intended outcomes to the teaching methods and assessment that promote it. For example, the study showed that teachers' beliefs about the transformative and functional purpose of education conflicted with the focus on teaching towards preparing learners for progression in the national examination. Instead, the study showed that the urban community primary school teachers tended to adopt practices that suited their classroom characteristics such as class size, classroom layout and instructional time.

The emphasis here is not only on comparing the stated beliefs of teachers with the practice observed, but rather to use insight into teachers' beliefs to understand the teaching practices that emerged. In this regard, I found explicit beliefs where teachers' beliefs appear to have an impact on their practices. Garret and Cots (2017), for example, noted that these teachers' beliefs had a persistent long-term effect on the teachers' practices. Equally, Corbett and Wilson (2002) emphasised the centrality of perceptions and behaviour to the beliefs of teachers. This is a

significant element in understanding the teaching strategies and decisions in the classroom that constitute the pedagogical nature of learning in schools.

It was evident in my analysis that the beliefs and practices of teachers on learning did not always align, with tension being more pronounced in cases relating to group work and the purpose of education. The community school teachers believed that education should enable learners to acquire and master content knowledge and perform well in progression examinations. Their practices in this regard focused more on transmission methods and teaching, assessment and feedback. The teachers' beliefs about the transformational and functional aim of education are overshadowed by the appeal and desire to teach towards preparing learners for progression on the national examination. This could relate to the teachers' ability to align their desired aim of education with corresponding teaching and assessment methods. Instead, the study showed that teachers tended to adopt practices that suited their classroom characteristics like class size, classroom layout and instructional time. In line with this study, Mansour (2013) found that the pedagogical beliefs of only a few teachers were consistent with their practices. Mansour also found that some of the teaching practices were in tension with the teachers' beliefs. Therefore, my study validates that studies which identify institutional constraints can prevent teachers from putting their beliefs into effect. This is corroborated by the work undertaken by Brooks (2006) who found that the teachers implemented their curriculum planning priorities in line with their constraints and context that they were in.

Teaching and learning practices

The findings on the dominant instructional practice mostly support existing knowledge regarding guided learning. Presenting knowledge that describes the concepts and procedures that learners need to understand is consistent with human cognitive architecture (Kirschner, Sweller and Clark, 2006). Clark et al. (2012) argued that individuals learn best when guided to discover and construct needed information for themselves. Conversely, Ojiambo (2009) argued against the kind of teaching methods persistent in community primary schools saying that they repressed initiative and curiosity and produced docile and dependent-minded learners. Another corroborating finding emanates from a study by Darling-Hammond (2012). Darling-Hammond (2012) notes that while the transmission model of teaching under the traditional method is successful for some, it leaves many others behind and is not adequate for a knowledge-based

society that increases the cognitive requirement of most employment and life in general. This is supported by Snape and Fox-Turnbull (2013) who argue that traditional methods should be traded for methods that promote learner's interaction, problem-solving skills and making decisions about authentic issues. Schmidt et al. (2007) argue for problem-based environments offering many types of scaffolding. Further evidence shows that problem-based learning can facilitate deep and substantive student learning and standardised tests as well as substantial gains (Hmelo-Silver et al., 2007). Equally, a study by So and Kim (2009) showed that problem-based pedagogy was beneficial to learners as it offers independent learning, metacognition and critical thinking, problem-solving skills, collaborative skills and transfer to real-life problems.

The findings of this study also showed that most of the schools had no access to the Zambian new curriculum. Teachers instead used learners' textbooks as guidelines and sources of content for the official government curriculum. These outcomes match those of earlier studies. In the context of mathematics, for example, Ayber and Tansili (2016) argued that textbooks are tools for implementing the curriculum and shows the instruction on objectives that can influence subject knowledge. Similarly, Kirkgöz (2009) found that textbooks provided the basis for the content of lessons and practice that the learners engaged in. One possible explanation for how textbooks are used is that community primary schools were implementing a new curriculum. This aligns with an argument by Kirkgöz (2009) that during educational innovation, textbooks function as an intermediary and the potential agent of change as a vehicle for teacher and learner training and offering psychological support to teachers. Some issues are, however, emerging from this finding on the appropriateness of the textbook in relation to meeting curriculum goals and objectives and learners' needs. Although the significance of textbooks as a teaching tool is undeniable, Ayber and Tansili (2016) argue that challenges of schools with limited budgets to finance the books for themselves without the government's help can be detrimental to the teaching and learning processes. The study, for instance, found that Lumuni and Chiwego did not teach subjects like technology and design studies as they did not have textbooks for them.

Negotiation of learning should also include prior knowledge and the transfer of knowledge beyond school use. Mayer (2002) registered the significance of the transfer of knowledge indicating that any conversation about meaningful learning must start with a thought of how learners can build on knowledge and cognitive processes that they can transfer to new problems and new learning situations. Regarding transferable knowledge, the National Research Council

(2012:5) highlighted that deep learning is a ‘product of transferable knowledge, including content knowledge in a domain and knowledge of how, why and when to apply this knowledge to answer questions and solve problems’. Rather than presenting content as discrete information or processes, such competencies should coordinate and interlink the knowledge and skills. While other types of learning may allow an individual to recall facts and concepts of procedures, deeper learning allows the individual to transfer what is learned to solve new problems. Failure for some learners to see the value of the subject or lacking the foundation of the content can cause them negative emotions state that might cause them to dislike a subject.

Assessment

Assessment forms an integral part of instruction. As indicated in Chapter 5, greater emphasis is often placed on summative assessment with school tests and examination scores being used as a proxy for the quality of education. However, the use of examination-oriented education to measure learning quality is limited as far as learning is concerned (Raval et al., 2010). Izcı (2016) argued for formative assessment that aims to support learning and contributes to learning gains and motivation. Izcı (2016:2774) defines formative assessment as ‘the use of assessment process and products to improve student’s learning’. This study found that teachers in Tariro, Chisomo and Chitukuko community primary schools used a system of punishment and reward in assessment. In this way, assessment is used as a means of grading rather than enhancing learning. However, this is likely to hurt the learners' self-perception and motivation. It might explain why some learners copied the work from others. Moreover, as observed in this study, relying on textbooks for assessment theoretically risks treating the assessment as little more than achieving a school ritual, not understanding which function or combination of them is performed.

This study, however, found that community primary schools rarely used formative learning to aid learning, but mostly to evaluate the level of performance. Like in this study, Schuwirth and van der Vleuten (2011) noted that the purpose of assessment is to determine whether learners have acquired sufficient knowledge and skills. This finding coincides with the literature reviewed on assessment in education (Murchan and Shiel, 2017; Black and William, 2010; Newton, 2007). For instance, Murchan and Shiel (2017) showed that contemporary approaches to assessment shared more frequent assessment embedded in regular classroom practice, allowing teachers and learners to monitor learning in real time and take corrective action as

part of daily routines. However, contrary to this study, Brown (2005) found that primary school teachers' assessments were used for improving teaching and learning, as well as student and school accountability. Like in this study, Stiggins (2010) found that the assessment was drawn from the material of past examination papers to show learners how to answer the questions. In both instances, the focus of the assessment was on correct answers instead of the process of learning. This could answer the teachers' concerns about the transfer of knowledge to new experiences. Contradictory findings by Black and William (2011) argue that concentration on tests weakens link to the learning experience. These authors instead advocate for assessment for learning which they argue connects to improving learning. However, this might be challenging in the community primary schools in question as teachers might lack the competence to sufficiently take account of the current understanding of how learners learn subject matter and the difficulties they encounter or how to overcome it (Murchan and Shiel, 2017). I contend this on the basis that untrained teachers might lack content knowledge needed in explaining certain concepts and thus end up re-teaching topics using the same methods that learners struggle to understand. Conversely, the above mode of assessment is often perceived negatively. Moon, Callahan and Tomlison (2005) showed that state testing in elementary schools with a high concentration of disadvantaged learners narrowed the curriculum, de-emphasised the curriculum depth, and abandoned constructivist practices that focused on meaning construction in learning. Moon et al. (2005) further found that the pressure of state standardised testing influenced teachers into the drill practice curriculum and instruction. Likewise, Cruz and Brown (2010) found that teachers altered their instructional methods to adjust to the pressure for accountability for the school performance.

Looking at the tension between traditional and contemporary teaching methods in primary schools in Ethiopia, Sebessa (2006) argued that the purpose of assessment is not just about rating the learner's performance but for encouraging independent learning and critical thinking. Earl (2013:13) is of the view that classroom assessment is

... a combination of purpose, format, audiences thus the need to maintain many goals: provide feedback to learners, offering diagnostic information for the teacher to use, providing summary information for recoding keeping, directing efforts at curriculum implementation and proffering evidence reports.

In concluding this finding, I argue that community school teachers need to integrate different assessments to enhance learning. This would mean that teachers' ability to develop and use formative assessment can improve learners' learning. Reliance on standardised performance scores is, on the other hand, seen as inadequate in preparing learners for life in society. This is because standardised test scores largely focus on assessing the cognitive skills acquired by the learners and yet acquiring both cognitive and non-cognitive competence are necessary for the child's overall development.

Feedback

In this study, the teachers gave feedback without referring to the particular achievement criteria for this assessment. This can be expected, especially in large classes like at Lumuni and Chisomo community primary schools and with lack of time, especially for teachers of multiple grades, Chipego, Chitukuko and Lumuni community schools might find it hard to provide extensive feedback. I recommend that the evaluative feedback that accepts or rejects answers should be supplemented by descriptive feedback that explains why an answer is inaccurate and how it can be improved. It is also important to note that the unbalanced power relations implicit in the assessment and feedback process risks invoking emotions that can form a barrier to learning. I suggest that feedback should not be judged in terms of input but on the identifiable impact on learning.

With regard to feedback, Adcroft (2011) and Hattie (2009) assert that feedback is a consequence of performance with multiple functions. Feedback is taken as a fundamental mechanism that can be used by teachers to develop and enhance learning and achievement. Feedback in community primary schools was premised on the behaviourist approach as it was for reinforcement. Van den Bergh, Ros and Beijaard (2014) affirmed that a response followed by a satisfying state of affirmation is likely to be repeated and increase the likelihood of learning by connecting responses to prior stimulus. While some might argue that feedback on new learning tasks as reinforcement is helpful to novice learners, its effect is limited.

Mory (2004) argued that incentives can distract learners from the feedback instructional content and result in little effort to interpret learning feedback. Mory (2004) also warned against interpreting feedback in a one-sided way where it is used only to validate or alter learner's knowledge as expressed by responses to practice or test questions. Instead, Mory recommends that feedback should be based on self-regulation and learner engagement. Hattie

and Timperley (2007) found that feedback from the process and self-regulation were more successful in improving learning, accompanied by feedback at the task level when used to enhance self-regulation or strategy planning by learners. As indicated before, feedback in community primary schools followed a receptive transmission, serving as an extrinsic function. Van den Bergh et al. (2014) argued against such feedback, suggesting that it undermines the responsibility of learners for self-regulation and increased involvement in learning. Learners cannot learn from feedback if they are only interested in the marks they receive on assessed work. This might signify a disparity in the understanding of feedback by the teachers and learners. Weaver (2006) is of the idea that feedback should establish a stimulating learning environment that will serve to motivate learners in both their present and future performance.

The teachers were the central providers of feedback in community primary schools. This seems to suggest that the focus was more on the content to the exclusion of classroom processes and the learning climate. Besides the role of skills and resources, the study shows that committing learners to active learning also requires considerable commitment and thought. Focusing on the right or wrong answer evokes emotions that might cause learners to fear taking risks.

Fundamental assumptions about education and the learning process can determine how teachers see the role of feedback. Teachers who emphasis content knowledge may approach feedback as the act of offering additional expert knowledge while facilitating focused feedback is likely to focus on improving metacognitive capabilities and learning processes of the learners. Information only becomes feedback when provided with a structure that can use the information to affect future performance. The discussions seem to suggest that merely prescribing feedback does not mean that learning is taking place, but it is about understanding how to craft and deliver them effectively. Ultimately, this seems to suggest that unless the learners can track and manage the quality of their learning, feedback, regardless of the degree of detail, is unlikely to enhance learning.

6.3.3 Influence of contextual factors on teaching and learning in community schools

Teaching and learning develop within interdependent complex systems of relationships affected by multiple levels of the surrounding environment. Thus, in this section, I present and discuss the main findings relating to the contextual factors that affect teaching and learning in community primary schools. The study showed that both internal and external school factors affected teaching and learning. The immediate environment included the organisational

structure and processes as well as school resources and the external environment consisted of family engagement and financing of the schools. I drew on both these areas of focus from the open system model. While the findings in this section are grouped under separate headings, I acknowledge that their interaction is complex, and I simplify it in this presentation to better understand how each influences the teaching and learning in the schools.

Immediate Environment

The immediate environment offers a bottom-up understanding of teaching and learning practices of community primary schools. I arranged the findings with the main insights focused on the school structure and leadership practices and its significance for learning in the schools. The internal organisational structure and processes of each community primary school are determined by their respective goals. While the MOE formulates national policies and practices, the schools are decentralised. This means that every community primary school integrates the national policy prescriptions in its own way, and thus the organisational operations in each school are unique. This study found that the local leadership also lacked the capacity needed to move in the direction of the school goal effectively. However, further findings from the study show that community primary schools failed to provide teachers and head teachers in the system with adequate support to succeed. Head teacher, Kangwa, at Lumuni community primary school explicitly expressed this view by stating:

I have a passion for children, but that is not enough in running the school. The school can benefit from a qualified head teacher, but where do we get money to bring in a qualified person and which one would accept to come and work for nothing when they have family responsibility?

The study also found that community primary schools were based on a high level of financial and administrative decentralisation through self-financing by the school or external partners. Findings in this study support the idea that school leadership is the driver of student learning. Collaborating this finding, Vance and Robert's (2006) study of the teachers' perception of their head teacher's effectiveness, found education leadership to be a significant determinant of efficient learning. Equally, other studies (Pourajab and Ghani, 2016; Mulford, 2011) support the influence of these practices on student learning. Nevertheless, Reynolds (2017) reports discrepancies between leadership practices and student learning. In the case of Australia, for example, Mulford (2011) reveals a dynamic link that demonstrates that school leaders are not

the designers of achievement, but rather that learning achievement is a product of teachers working together in an atmosphere where senior leaders build a learning culture. The study thus indicates the need to create a clear connection between the degree of collective responsibility of teachers for teaching learners, learning community in the school and the strength of leadership on pedagogy. Equally, Hallinger and Heck (2009) explain that a direct-effect model of leadership shows no significant difference between school leadership and learning achievement. The authors instead found that collaborative leadership can directly influence student achievement when controlling for contextual factors. Similarly, Reynolds' (2017) study identified school climate as one of the variables central to explaining academic achievement. For disadvantaged students, Hopson and Lee (2011) found that a supportive school environment served as a protective factor. Hopson and Lee found that high-poverty learners had lower academic performance, which increased when disadvantaged learners had a better school setting that was more associated with peers from higher-income families. Like, Loukas (2007), Raymolds (2017) found that although a high-quality school climate was advantageous to all, it was particularly beneficial for at-risk learners. Likewise, Raymolds (2017) links the effectiveness of the principals to the school climate created for organisational improvement and empowering others to share and implement the vision.

Kanten, Kanten and Gurlek (2015) indicates that is a significant consequence of leadership which affects and is affected by the organisational structure and conditions. This could be a result of seeing the organisation structure as a useful tool that school leaders connect and coordinate individuals 'behaviour within the framework of their role, authority, power, and shared values and goals' (Liao et al., 2017:601). This study showed that the structures in community schools are versatile and adaptive to the environment and are organised following their internal and external conditions. As suggested by Spillane (2012), the contradiction between the findings of research on school leadership and student learning may be due to the conceptualisation of leadership as well as the fact that different research designs can produce mixed results. Consequently, Hallinger and Heck (2009) argue for longitudinal data and the feasibility of using systemic modelling to monitor and analyse cycles of change in schools over time. Spillane (2002) concluded that studies that conceptualise the same phenomenon in different ways can draw different and contradictory conclusions about the nature of the relationship between leadership activities and student learning. Also, Spillane criticises school leadership surveys that concentrate on achievement rather than learning. Spillane argues for a

focus on learning as it is the most proximal cause of students' opportunity to learn that school systems can manipulate.

School Profile – Resources and Infrastructure

The study shows that learners in community schools faced difficulties due to the lack of availability of resources. For example, the background noise of the classroom in multi-graded classes or poor classroom lighting and high temperatures due to poor ventilation or class size can impact the learner's mood, then the learning facilities are not favourable to study in. While this study found that the effects of deteriorating conditions and maintenance of school infrastructure were a threat to curriculum delivery and academic performance, a body of research across different contexts highlights conflicting evidence. This study also showed that externally funded schools had relatively better infrastructure compared to schools that had a single source of financing. This finding corroborates Uline and Tschannem-Moran's (2006) assertion that the quality of school buildings can be linked to the source of funding in the school. The authors highlighted that where resources were adequate, facilities tended to be of higher quality, regardless of the socio-economic status of the student. Also, consistent with this study, Asaju's (2012) study found that infrastructure decay and lack of periodic maintenance of school infrastructure in school was due to inadequate funding.

In Latin American countries, Murillo and Román (2014) found that the quality of infrastructure and the availability of educational resources had an impact on teaching and learning in the classroom. These authors concluded that the findings suggested a revision of school efficiency models, at least in Latin America, and countries with similar circumstances institutions. In South Africa, Spaul (2013) found that school's socio-economic status influences performance and that individual learners in higher socio-economic status perform poorly in disadvantaged schools, while learners attending well-resourced schools improve in reading and mathematics. Similarly, Juan and Feza (2015) in South Africa, found that the condition of school infrastructure and availability of school resources positively influenced learning while class size did not. Despite the consensus on the link between school resources and learning outcomes, others like Busingye and Najjuma (2015) are of the view that problems posed by learning and teaching materials are not very relevant in the process of learning. This means that the factors influencing learning outcomes are compounding and cannot be viewed in isolation

but should be seen as a holistic framework. Therefore, the use of a single input is an inadequate description of school productivity (Busingye and Najjuma, 2015).

External environment

In this section, I address my findings on the influence of the external context of learning in community primary schools in a dialogue with existing literature. In the study, external context entails operations outside the schools that propel the contextual nature of learning in the schools. Analysis of the data generated three factors that were seen as contributing to or occurring as a result of the schools' external environment: learners' home engagement, schools' relationship with the government, and funding of the schools. I discuss these environments from the perspective of how they influence teaching and learning.

Family involvement

While the school is responsible for the experiences that make up a learner's life during school periods, families and home activities also influence learners' psychological, emotional, social and economic states, as they are the first socialising agents in a child's life. Today, however, schools and families forge partnerships and share responsibilities for children's schooling in the face of increased accountability and pressure for children's achievement (Hill and Taylor, 2004). Family engagement is the key focus of new policies and initiatives aimed at improving learning outcomes for learners at risk of academic underachievement (Altschul, 2011). This call has also been adopted in other countries in Europe and Africa. Increasingly it is clear that family involvement is a strong predictor of a child's development and school success as it helps a child appreciate the value of schooling, which contributes to more responsible school efforts (Epstein, 2013). A focus on family engagement in their children's education calls on the connection between a learner and the social context in which learning is taking place. Weber et al. (2013) noted that there is low role of family involvement due to the presence of more parents in the workforce and the general pace of modern life.

This study focuses on family engagement as a desirable variable to enhance learning achievement because the primary responsibility for children's well-being lies with their families and, as a point of intervention, it is easier to influence than other sources of inequalities that are better manipulated at the macro level (family income) than by school policy (Belfield and Levin, 2007). Epstein (2005) also attest that school practices involving parents are alterable

and that school intervention policies and programmes can influence the amount and quality of family engagement.

The role of family engagement in enhancing academic achievement has been a subject of debate in several studies (McNeal, 2012; Hands, 2012). While some studies found a significant relationship between family engagement and student academic achievement (Jeynes, 2011; Siraj-Blatchford, 2010), others have not found any significant difference (Fan 2001; Chrispeels and Rivero, 2001). Researchers attribute the controversy over family participation and learners' academic achievement to a variety of reasons. These include research using various methodological designs; a lack of separation of family engagement effects; the inconsistent definition of family engagement as well as a non-objective family engagement indicator and a data source used to measure family involvement (Domina, 2005; Chrispeels and Rivero, 2001; Fan and Chen, 2001). Learners' ages can also lead to contradictory findings in the sample.

Research by Jeynes (2007) and Hill and Tyson (2009) on the impact of various forms of family engagement strategies found that how families demonstrate the importance of school to their children is the strongest predictor of learners' achievement. These include practices such as parents' high expectation of their children's performance in school, discussing aspirations for the future, fostering their children's accountability for learning, and talks about the value of education. Furthermore, Jeynes (2011) reported that parenting style also was a strong predictor of students' academic achievement. A study by Altschul (2011) on the type of family involvement in education that matters the most to academic achievement concludes that home-based family involvement has significant importance in a youth's academic achievement compared to the other forms of family participation in children's education. In addition, Altschul found that financial support for the educational stimulation of children through extracurricular training and home education resources have a greater effect on achievement than the type of engagement that reflects an investment in the time of parents, such as participating in shared enrichment experiences and discussing school-related matters.

As also reported in Auerbach's (2007) study, the participation of families in decision-making in supporting achievement, except in negative examples, is notably absent in this study. This is not surprising in light of the dominant leadership style in the community primary schools which failed to appreciate the parents' participation in school governance. Overall results in this category show that community primary schools took family involvement as a means to an

end, mainly as a tool for increasing learning achievement and resolving behavioural issues. Contrary to this goal, Auerbach (2007) claims that family involvement needs to be treated as an end in itself and that it is ultimately worth fostering as a feature of school democratic cultures, regardless of its effects on achievement.

The participants also noted barriers to family involvement. Some of the identified barriers were parents' conflicting schedules and teachers having limited time to spend with individual learners during class time or their family members outside of classes. Jeynes (2010) corroborates these findings in this study by noting that parents do not always participate even when they are encouraged. Also, other studies (St George, 2010; Harris and Goodall, 2008) found more barriers – like more parents being in the workforce, the fast pace of modern society as a whole, and a lack of adequate time – to be barriers to family involvement. Jeynes (2011) concluded that obstacles to successful parental involvement are more likely to be maintained in an educational setting that places little importance on the training of teachers and administrators and participation of parents. Literature shows that effective partnerships need to consider the diversity of teachers' and parents' cultures and values, including background, socio-economic class and educational level; forces such as technology, characteristics of the workplace; and shifting family structures (Whitaker and Hoover-Dempsey, 2013).

Relating the above findings and discussion on family involvement to Illeris's (2003) dimensions of learning, I agree with Weber et al.'s (2013) assertion that although learning involves cognitive process that take place within each individual, motivation to learn also depends on the student's participation in the network of social relationships that support learning. These benefits include promotion of an improved school readiness, better social skills and behaviour, increased likelihood of high school graduation, higher grades and test scores, better attendance and more homework completed (Hands, 2012). Practices like parents having high expectation of their children performance in school, discussing the learners' aspirations for the future, fostering their children's accountability for learning, and talks about the value of education can help learners focus on school.

Subsequently, this would indicate that teachers' beliefs, expectations and interpretations of parent roles, responsibilities and abilities can have an effect on their family engagement practices. This means that income or social status might not be the most accurate prediction of a student's achievement in school, but the degree to which the learner's family is able to create

a home environment that encourages learning, communicates high but reasonable expectations for their children's achievement, and participate in their children's education at home and at school. Equally, families could have social capital that can support learning but is not used. However, if schools have information on developing and encouraging teachers' capacity to productively engage with families, they can help to address early socio-economic inequalities factors amenable to outside intervention that cushions against the risks to families associated with poverty. Having looked at the influence on family involvement on learning, in the next sections, I present some of the findings on funding in community primary schools and its effect on teaching and learning.

Funding

This study shows that the participants held the belief that increased funding to community schools would improve learning outcomes. One of the controversial concerns in scholarly literature is whether rising school spending increases educational results. Knight and Mendoza (2017), for example, observed that for decades scholars have debated whether increasing funding for schools improves learning outcomes. This view is confirmed by Johnson, Jackson and Persico (2015) who found that 10 per cent of the funding for all 12 years of primary and secondary school experience raised the probability of high school completion by 11.5 per cent and adult income by 12.3 per cent. The study also showed that improved funding in higher-needs districts maintained over time increased learner test scores, graduation rates and labour earnings later in life. As far as primary schools are concerned, an example from a developed country has demonstrated that a rise in education spending in the United Kingdom has consistently had positive impacts on grades at the end of primary school. The study found a higher effect on learners came from socially deprived communities. These results complement those of Lafortune, Rothstein and Schanzenbach (2016) who noticed significant increases in the absolute and relative achievements of learners in low-income districts. In this vein, funding discussions should always consider the broader education policy aimed at improving learning achievement.

In contrast to these findings, some studies have found no systematic relation between school expenditure and student performance. Hanushek and Rivkin (2007), for example, are of the view that it is impossible to improve student achievement by merely providing more funding or distributing funds differently. Also, Lafortune, Rothstein and Schanzenbach (2016) see the

main difficulty as estimating the causal impact of school funding associated with other variables that influence school financing or realised learning outcomes. As in other developing economies, amidst government-wide state budget shortfalls, the chances of a significant increase in the educational budget for community schools is unlikely for a few decades to come. This study indicates that due to fiscal constraints, community schools in Lusaka do not solely rely on grants from the government. The schools try to address this challenge by charging school fees. This entails the community school generating its funds through cost-sharing. However, even schools that were donor-funded charged school fees.

One unanticipated finding here was that bureaucratic corruption deterred the teaching and learning process in these schools. This study found that bureaucratic corruption contributed to the erratic and inadequate funding in community schools, as some participants claimed that successive Zambian governments have stolen or misused taxpayer money, which crippled the district education office's capacity to support community schools. This result is significant as it augments funding issues in community school beyond the government's mere deficit fiscal budget, as is often the case, to identify another independent variable contributor of funding. This finding is significant because it shows the relationship between corruption and human rights, revealing that corruption restricts states from compliance with their human rights commitments. Subsequently, this indicates that corruption is likely to reduce government revenue and decrease the standard of education.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the findings that emerged from my analysis of classroom and school observations, document analysis, field photographs, narrative extract from my field notes, and the participants' verbatim quotations constructed in Chapter 5 as institutional biographies. In this chapter, I also engaged the compatible and contradictory findings in the current study with the existing literature review and my theoretical framework. I analysed and triangulated all the data from all sources and around the research questions. The chapter described the schools immediate and external environment which learners, teachers and head teachers related, to reconstruct the social reality of community schools. Following the above discussion on prevailing educational activities in community schools, the study found that the nature of learning in the schools was defined by a routine that led to memorisation that focused on literacy and computation. However, this is likely to stifle the creativity of teachers.

The lack of teaching and learning resources, as well as physical facilities in the schools, perpetuates their work and the transmission model of education. This calls for a more progressive philosophy that would allow for different viewpoints, the use of prior experience, and the involvement of learners in knowledge generation.

The behavioural approach does not usually involve personal or practical engagement in real-life realities. This hinders the critical mental assessment of the actions involved and the subsequent construction of meaning from experience of resolving real-life challenges, a view supported by proponents of problem-based and inquiry learning (Clark, 2009). However, exploration by active participation in real-life action enables one to acquire knowledge, skills and attributes that would ensure that those acquired subsequently would improve performance and cause the desired improvement on learning tasks. With the schools not having access to the curriculum, they are likely unaware of policies and prescriptions. This suggests that the curriculum prescription would not influence the teaching and learning practices in schools, thus the pedagogical and instructional skills development would possibly not change. Although most participants conveyed confidence in their teaching abilities, they also expressed their frustration regarding various changes. These challenges included limited or no financial assistance for resources.

The analysis of findings also suggested that the nature of learning in the community schools is characterised by essentialist approaches to teaching as viewed through the lens and use of standardised national examination to justify their instructional practices. What this highlighted is the need to improve the professional development of in-service teachers that focuses not only on general pedagogical knowledge but also on subject pedagogical knowledge, building the teachers' capacity to use this knowledge to guide their teaching practices and analyse their learners' experiences to evaluate the effect of their teaching on learning. These recommendations should, however, consider the moral issue of expecting a lot from teachers who are poorly remunerated or taking time from those who take up fall-back jobs to supplement their incomes. Equally, they should be interpreted in the context of sustainability due to the high teacher attrition as well as the financial implication for such professional development schools with a history of erratic and inadequate funding. The presentation, analysis and interpretation of findings in this chapter paved a way to the formulation of the research

conclusion, answering research questions and subsequent recommendations which are compiled in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

7.1 Introduction

In this study, I set out to explore the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools of Lusaka. In this chapter, I summarise Chapters 1 to 6, followed by a final overview of my findings and conclusions on the research questions set out in Chapter 1. I also discuss the potential contribution of the study to education in terms of socio-cultural and politico-economic awareness, as well as the possible limitations of the study itself. Finally, I suggest recommendations for further research and practice. In general, the chapter highlights new knowledge generated by the study by the development of new insights and truths.

7.2 Summary of the preceding chapters

I structured this study into seven chapters. In Chapter 1, which served as an introduction to the study, I presented my area of interest and explained my rationale for pursuing my research. I linked my decision to my personal and professional interest, which resulted in my initial fascination with the topic. In addition, because of a lack of literature on the subject, I highlighted the importance of my study and the need for ongoing research on the contextual nature of teaching and learning in Lusaka's community primary schools. I also specified the purpose of the study and formulated the research questions, based on my introductory orientation and discussion of the rationale for my study. To give an account of the broad background of the community primary schools, I gave a brief overview of the geographical position of Zambia and then Lusaka, as well as the social, economic and political situation and the history of the education system that led to the development community primary school system in the country. I also presented a brief synopsis of the research design, the methodological considerations and the quality criteria for the study. I concluded Chapter 1 with an outline of the thesis.

In Chapter 2, I explored related literature to my research focus as a background to my study. I sustained the literature review throughout the thesis. I began my review by examining the literature on teaching and learning. I then explored the nature of the community schools, concentrating on their key characteristics. After that, I reviewed the literature on the nature of education in community schools. Here I noted that despite the amount of research on community primary schools, very little or nothing was carried out on the nature of learning,

creating a gap for my study. The arguments in this chapter provided an arena for the discussion of my findings in Chapter 6.

In Chapter 3, I continued the review of the literature and I introduced my theoretical framework based on the open system and Illeris's (2003) three dimensions of learning theory, which I used to direct and locate the study in its theoretical perspective. I also used the open system to identify the dimensions of a community school as an organisation system, and Illeris's (2003) three dimensions of learning, which offered a set of provisional constructs of learning, to be investigated. Thus, the theoretical framework offered a basic outline to guide my interpretation, analysis of the data and it enabled me to draw conclusions later in my thesis. I also pointed out how I would use my theoretical framework to provide support for my methodological approach. It guided me in making sense of what was going on in the field and ensured that I integrated key issues into the study.

In Chapter 4, I explained and justified the research design and methodological approaches that I used. I was inspired by the interpretive paradigm that I used as my worldview and frame of reference in the research process. To gather my data, I used a qualitative case study and observations, in-depth interviews, document analysis, field notes and photographs. I alluded to both the advantages and risks of the chosen approaches and the difficulties they presented in my discussion. In an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of my research design, I discussed the methods I used and emphasised the value of reflexivity. I concluded Chapter 4 by presenting the ethical standards I embraced and how, in terms of quality measures, I tried to enhance the quality of my research.

In Chapter 5, I presented the findings from the study and interpretation of the various data methods employed in the six schools. As in Chapter 6, I interpreted and discussed the findings in the context of current literature and my theoretical framework. In discussing my findings, I found that most corroborated previous ones in various contexts. This suggests that the nature of learning in community schools was not unique to Lusaka but is global. However, the discussion also showed that there were some contradictions with the literature. In addition, I identified new insights in Chapters 5 and 6.

This overview showed the process I followed to answer the research questions, which were guided by the goal of the investigation. In the next section, I provide a theoretical-philosophical

summary of the research findings by addressing the research questions posed. I do this to demonstrate how well the study has achieved its purpose.

Revisiting theoretical framework to answer the research questions

Themes based on the Open systems theory

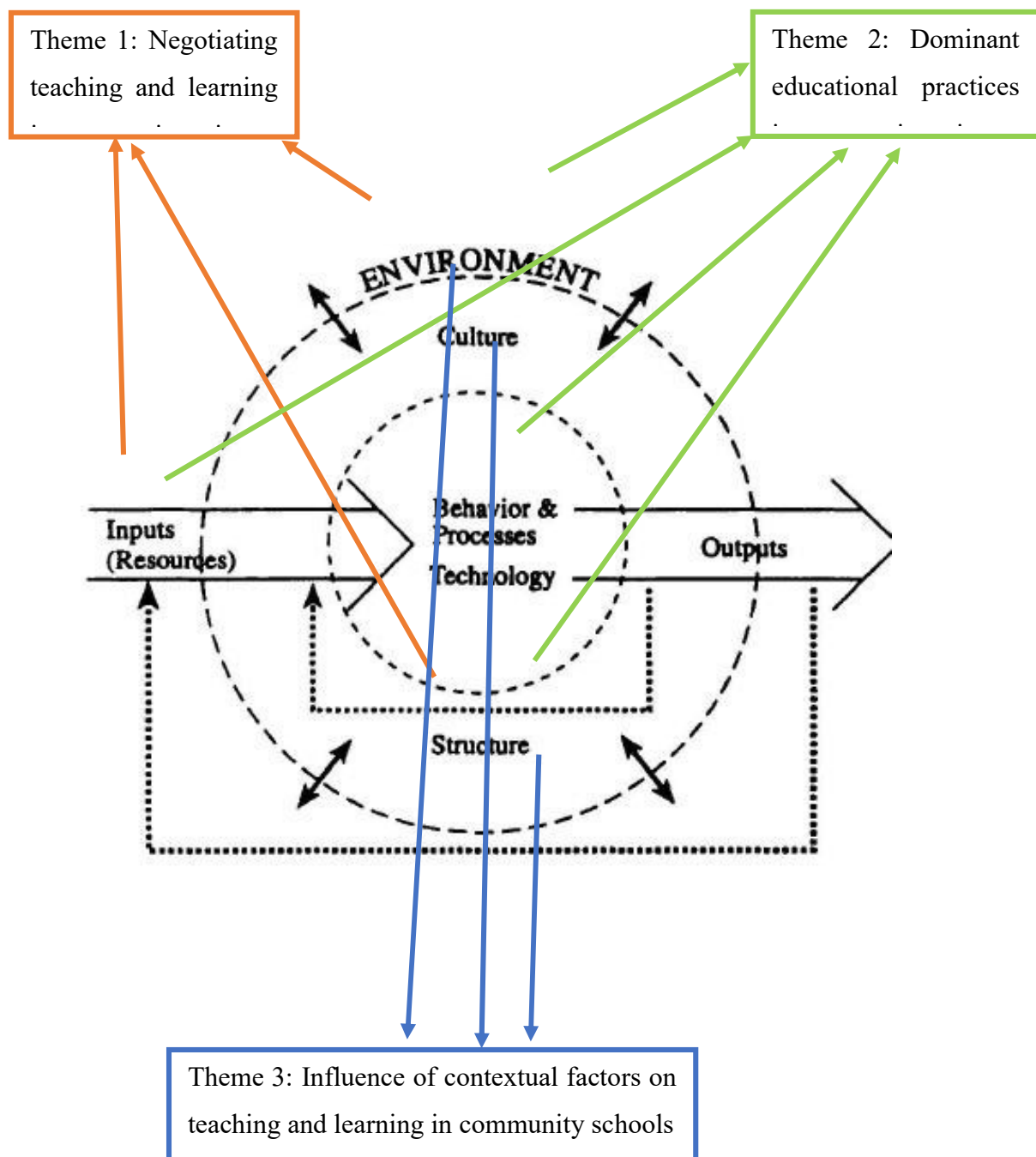


Figure 7.1 Themes and Open system

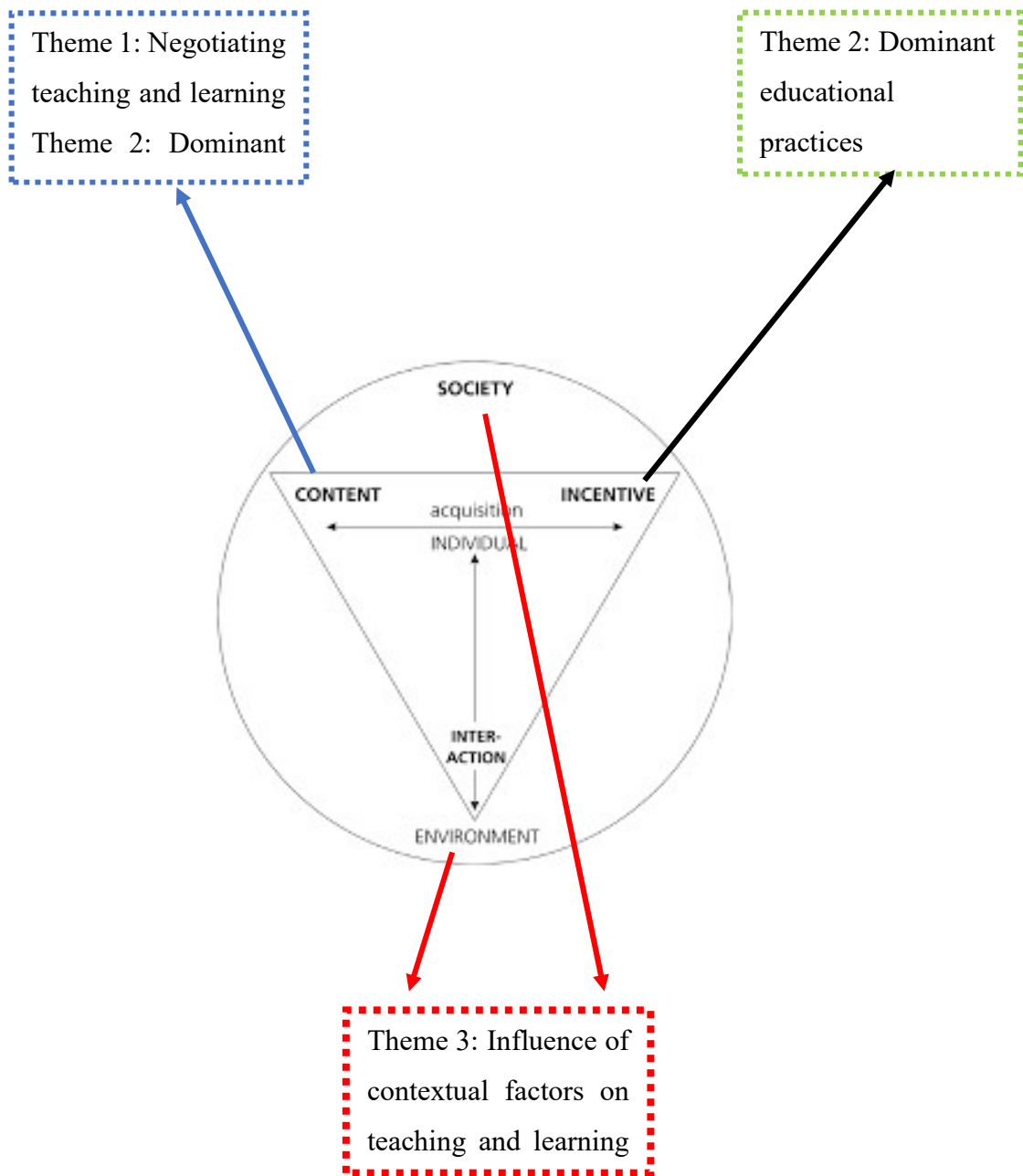


Figure 7.2 Themes and Illeris dimensions of learning

Reflecting on the possible answer provided by the theoretical framework

Drawn from the concepts which form the open system theory, Illeris dimensions of learning model and the three themes that emerged from the data in the inquiry, I attempted to establish links to respond to the primary research questions of this study. I saw how the findings led me to either adapt constructs in the theoretical framework or moderate those that were not evident in the data.

I commence with Theme one (negotiating teaching and learning in community schools) of the finding. Using findings, I argue that a learner's interaction with the content and incentives influence learning across the Illeris dimensions of learning. It was evident in the study that content was more for initiating learning and, in most cases, was an end itself. With teaching relying more on rote learning, it becomes challenging to use content to activate learning. Consistent with the behaviouristics learning identified in the study, some learners did not want to learn and had to be persuaded to repeat a pattern of activity in order for learning to occur. Equally, the assessment approaches in the schools focused on student performance. It reduced academic learning to numerical measures of achievement that fails to capture the complexity of learning that occurs and subsequently distort the focus of the learning process intended in the Zambia national primary school curriculum framework. Furthermore, the assessment focus in the schools might restrict opportunities for learners to attain broader goals like the school mission and overall aim of the curriculum framework.

Furthermore, findings showed that learning in the selected community schools was motivated by qualifications. The acquisition premise is appealing because it equates to the future possibility of further learning and better-paying jobs. The findings also indicate that the secondary environment contributed to the increased interest in performance. This could be because of society's view of national examination scores as indicative of the quality of education (Samoof, 2007). However, Alexander et al. (2009) argue that achievement test scores measure performance and not learning per se, as it includes measures of factors, not a representation of learning either as a process or product as stressed in the dimensions of the learning model. Furthermore, learning took place in an environment with inadequate infrastructure, teaching and learning resources. Subsequently, this might threaten learning as learners are less likely to exchange ideas, ask questions, and assist each other to grasp the content in a meaningful way.

Theme two (dominant education practices in community schools in community schools) reflects how the inputs interact to create the environment and the structure that produce the outcome. As a result, I contend that dominant educational practices were outcomes of the education inputs, external environment, organizational structure, and processes. In some ways, the concentration on national standards may be a barrier to learning as it leads to an overemphasis on obscure parts of standards, limiting instructional approaches. It undermines the rich conceptions of authentic learning and educational goals. Another obstacle to learning is that teachers' views of the goal of education did not align with how teachers saw learners and pedagogical practices in the classroom.

Theme three (influence of contextual factors on teaching and learning) aligns with the open system constructs of environment, culture and school structure. These constructs, I argue, explain the interaction of conditions that influence learning in school. The study indicates that engagement with the environment contributes to intellectual growth and subsequent learning achievement. Weber et al. (2013) found that although learning involves cognitive processes within each individual, motivation to learn also depends on their participation in the network social relations that support learning. As a result, one must explore a child's learning achievement not just in connection to the immediate environment but also with the wider environment in which a child develops (Lewthwaite, 2011). Furthermore, the findings revealed that families played a significant influence in developing learners' motivating characteristics necessary for successful learning. Conversely some learners were reported, like their parents, to be uninterested in learning.

This study provides evidence to show that the context in which learning occurred was more central in establishing the aim of education than the national primary school curriculum. It was clear that diverting attention away from the curriculum makes understanding and transferring complex cognitive skills to an increasingly diverse set of real-world contexts and settings difficult. I thus posit that due to its limitations, the aim of education from society might reduce learner motivation and confidence in school learning and threaten investment in education. My postulation lends support to Illeris' assertion that learning is a product of social context. In this context, society and community were central in determining the purpose of education and subsequently influencing the instructional practices in schools. Young (2010), on the other hand, contends that the curriculum should not be used as a tool for reaching goals such as economic contribution but as an integral part of why we have schools at all. Teachers'

pedagogical activities include motivating learners and assisting them to engage with the curriculum, making it meaningful. Therefore, this debunks the direct input-output model, where learning outcomes are understood purely as transforming measurable input into measurable output.

One limitation of Illeris theory's application to this study is that it focuses on learning without emphasising the goal of learning. If the goal of education as encapsulated in the study is to liberate the mind, learning needs to be specially designed for that purpose. Furthermore, the undertone of Illeris theory is learning despite given that teachers are the drivers of quality learning. Teaching is central in the learning process as it imitates and maintains learning. It is intended to cause learning, and as such, it should be a fundamental aspect of understanding the nature of learning. This places not only the learners at the centre of learning, but the teachers as well. Teachers are central to the learning process. Integrating two theories to understand the contextual nature of learning in community schools involved a back and fore process. I thus believe that the two theories in the study can be combined to form a single framework for investigating the context nature of learning. I attempted to establish links to using constructs from the open systems and Illeris dimensions of learning, as well as themes that emerged from the data in the injury. In my proposed model, I use the purpose of education as the foundation for understanding the conceptual nature of learning and the systematic and structural frames that either support or hinder learning.

The deliberation of learning in the Illeris dimension of the learning model seeks to investigate learning processes and the conditions that influence them. The application of this model in this study indicates limitations for exploring the nature of learning as it lacks a dimension of the essence of learning. Without a focus on this dimension, it is possible to establish a system in which learning is predominantly content-focused, with other aspects of learning becoming lost in the world of school practice. As a result, it may be more challenging to use the model in evaluative studies.

Herman and Gomez (2010) acknowledge learning as the only significant outcome of education, claiming that all other aspects of school come second. Likewise, Slabbert et al. (2009:52) argue that learning is the single most fundamental aspect that qualifies education as education. In this regard, the centrality of a model on learning should be rooted in the aim of education. Given that learning is the intended result of education, the question is what goal of education should

anchor the learning. Consistent with this, Biesta's (2015) asserts that learning is about something to be learned for a reason and from someone. It centres on a learning dimension model on the purpose of learning and the importance of teachers. Thus, Biesta's argument addresses issues of content, purpose, and relationships. Biesta's argument thus engages with the questions of content, aim and interactions. Subsequently, the question of relationships alludes both to the psychological aspect of learning the content and the political and economic context of the school. Therefore, in my conceptual framework, I place the aim of education at the core. I lay it as the bedrock for exploring the context of the school and the basis of learning. Slabbert's argument that the entire process of learning should be embedded in the holistic concept of being human helped me conceptualize the basis of learning. They define holism as "learning beyond the mind," in which learning is intensely personal, primarily individual, and fundamentally a process of self-discovery and self-renewal. As a result, I consider the physical, mental, emotional, spiritual, and social dimensions of learning intelligence to be central to my proposed framework because they can optimise a learner's potential. According to Slabbert et al. (2009), each person has a unique combination and level of capabilities that comprise their potential and can only be accessed by the individual. According to my conceptual framework, the basis of the learning dimension should be.

Below is a model of my proposed conceptualisation for exploring the contextual nature of learning in a school. I will discuss the model after explaining core constructs aligned with my thinking and findings of the study.

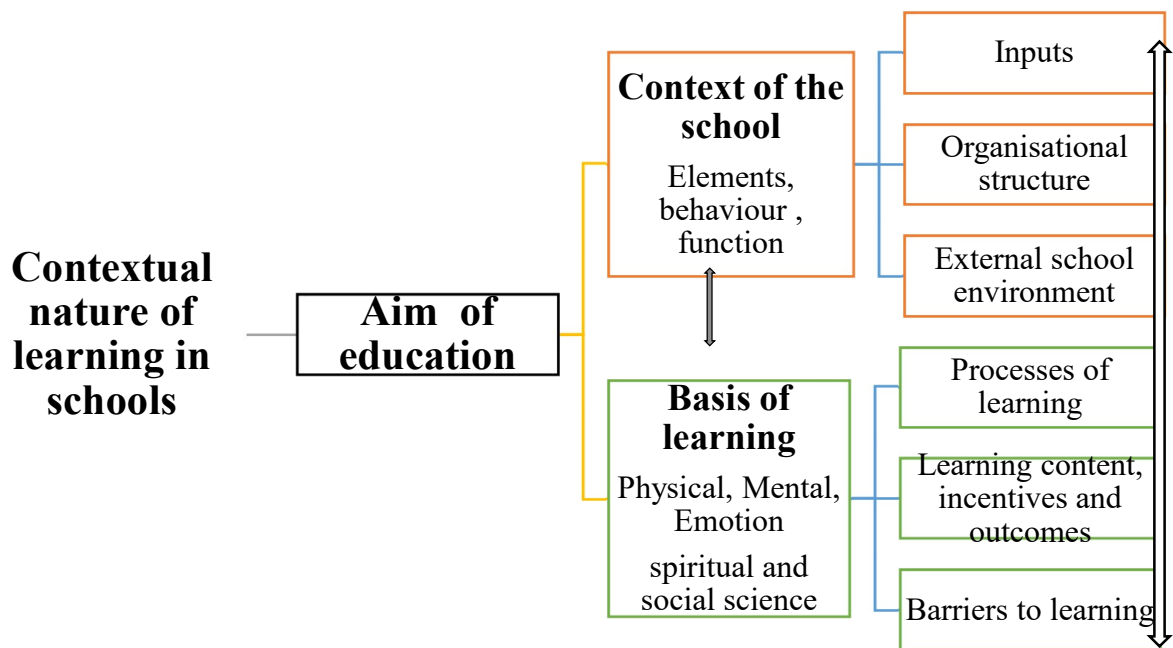


Figure 7.3: Framework modelling contextual nature of learning in schools

How I developed the framework

Within the constraints and scope of the study, I developed my conceptual framework by reviewing the core concepts of open system theories, Illeris dimensions of learning, and multidisciplinary literature that I thought was relevant to fully explain how the schools and learners interact to promote learning. First, I identified the learning concepts that provided networks of inputs and structures. These networks aided in gaining a comprehensive understanding of the internal and external environments of the schools and the nature of learning. To build my conceptual understanding, I employed mini-concept analysis methods of an organised search for literature that provided a network that would augment the phenomena I was studying (Jabareen, 2009). In identifying networks both within and across community schools, I brought together fragmented strands of literature on learning and organisations and how they interact, resulting in the emergence of a framework modelling the contextual nature of learning in a school. The concepts I identified and used to develop the framework constitute the following phases: school context and the basis of learning with spiritual intelligence

forming a base and point of departure for Illeris basis of learning while interacting with each other.

7.3 Concluding findings – Collective response to the research questions

In this section, I report and discuss the findings in relation to answering my primary research question posed in Chapter 1. Cohen and Crabtree (2006) comments on the advantageous nature of this approach, proposing that addressing the research questions connects all the related data for the exact issue of concern to the researcher and to ascertain the coherence of the material. Through that, one can ensure that all relevant data from various streams are integrated to provide a collective response to research questions.

Consistent with my desire to explore my phenomenon through an interpretive lens and the case study design, I will now propose responses to the research questions in the next section by drawing on the social interactions faced throughout my research journey. My qualitative approach is pertinent in addressing my research questions because in this study, I view learning as a social activity, whose observation cannot be objectively explored. In answering the two primary research questions, I decided to address them in two phases so that the first answer lay the foundation for answering the next one and eventually culminating in answering the primary research question. Building on this argument, the first goal of this section is to establish the dominant learning practices in Lusaka's community primary schools. In the second question, I go further to highlight the conditions and factors that influence and are influenced by the learning process. What, then, is the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka?

The findings that emerged on the dominant education practices are discussed in Chapter 6 and address this question. A classification of these practices highlights the learning process under the open system theory and Illeris's (2003) content and incentive dimension of learning. The findings of the dominant practices consist of instructional practices, assessment, feedback as well as the aim of education. I tried to understand the underlying learning philosophy and theories, the nature of learning tasks and the assessments that were used to produce teachers' practice. I achieved this by scrutinising a variety of learning theories to see which ones contributed to an overall understating of education practice. Looking at the learning discourse revealed in the study, I do not interpret it solely with regard to an individualisation process, rather I consider the learning theory that encapsulates them.

All decisions concerning the lesson process and assessing the learners' performance were teacher-directed. Assessment was used as means by which learners demonstrated their acquired skills and knowledge. It seemed to centre on learners responding in a certain way based on a controlled stimulus. In this regard, competence is interpreted in terms of knowledge acquisition and skills mastery. Relating to feedback, it is used to inform the learners of the correctness of their answers. Learning was characterised by revising past examination paper and was centred on demonstration through examinations but not much on engaging with the learning. Therefore, the community schools studied favoured cognitive over multiple intelligence. Cognitive intelligence is seen as a fixed inherent property that can lead to resignation among low achievers and lack of resourcefulness on the part of the high achievers. This may lead to producing school leavers who are unequipped for a rapidly changing world, which is unlikely to maximise the potential of the learners.

In looking at the purpose of the urban community primary schools' existence, the study engaged with the question of what education is for. The study captured the aim of education at three main levels: intended, manifest and hidden. The intended aim captures the participants' espoused view of education that they supposedly work towards achieving. This aim included education as a tool for qualification, social mobility and emancipation. Equally, the manifest aim showed that the actual nature of education was functionalist in nature. Qualification links to providing young people with the skills, knowledge and dispositions required in the economic domain and for learners to function more broadly in society. However, the challenge is where qualification is encouraged over other educational goals, as it drives the learning in community primary school to rely more on measurement and comparison of performance. Ball (2003), for example, suggests that emphasis on qualifications will only possibly change the focus on teaching and learning performance, making it impossible for teachers to develop learners on their own terms. This suggests that the conception of the aim of education as a qualification has an effect on teaching methods that can also affect the quality of school learning. Approaches to teaching provide implicit messages communicated to learners about the aim of education, which can then affect the way in which they grow to see education. Equally, the underlying belief of urban community primary school teachers about the aim of education could have an effect on the degree to which they are implementing education reform. Teachers' perception of teaching for examinations seems to be more about the teacher's perception of the aim of education and what it is about than on what they thought was the right way to teach.

Additionally, having proposed an answer to the research questions, the findings of the study have provided ideas and information on how teaching and learning functions in Lusaka's community primary schools. Drawing on the pretext that education happens in a social, political and economic context that influences education practice, I needed to look at both the immediate and external contextual factors that influenced teaching and learning. It helped in explaining the hypothesised relationships among the entities that affect learning at different levels. Looking at the external factors that influence learning in community primary schools, learning was organised in ways that suited the environment in which they are embedded and is dictated by its resources.

Another contextual factor influencing the nature of learning in urban community primary schools is the implementation of the curriculum. As indicated in the previous chapter, the schools used textbooks in place of the curriculum. The textbooks were taken as organisational tools that looked at coverage and methods that guided and controlled the routine classroom work of the schools. This approach resulted in teachers taking up the role of implementing the school curricula in a relative mechanical way. The curriculum was thus approached as an objective structure presented to the learners. In this way, the school curriculum is likely to be detached from culture and society as it is reduced to certain facts to be learned. In a way, this approach counters the new *Zambian curriculum*, which advocates independent learning that applies a subjective approach to social and cultural world, and where learners are encouraged to find their own path. In Figure 7.1 below, I illustrate some contextual factors that influence the nature of learning in community primary schools.

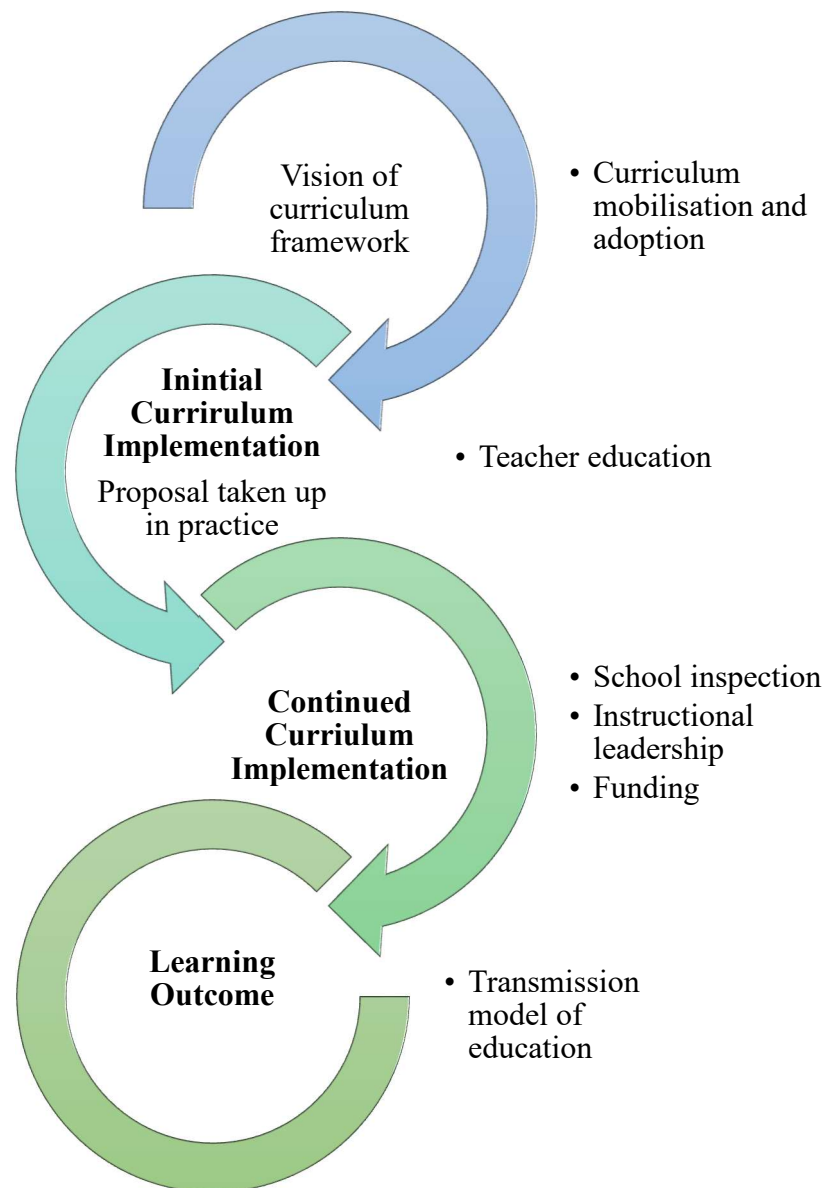


Figure 7.4: Factors influencing the nature of learning at different levels of curriculum implementation in community primary schools

The study found that the teachers in community schools did not have access to the current Zambian primary school curriculum. This might have been due to technical difficulties in the adoption of the new curriculum in community primary schools as teachers were likely not familiar with the vision of the curriculum framework that was expected to guide their practice. This would make it hard for the teachers to articulate the curriculum innovation implication for teachers' behaviour and the theoretical inadequacy with respect to identifying means for

achieving the intended learning goals. Therefore, there were problems with the articulation and implementation of the curriculum in community primary schools.

Furthermore, learning during the initial curriculum implementation process was affected by teacher education, school resources and facilities. The national primary school curriculum in Zambia is meant to direct the content to be taught in schools. However, due to a lack of teachers' resource books, teachers are not provided with tools they can use to achieve the curriculum goals. Also, inadequate training of staff, as well as teachers having side jobs to complement their income, can impede on their skills and their time to design and develop teaching and learning strategies that might align with their desired goals of education.

Using multiple lenses to describe the features of learning, the study revealed that the teaching and learning in community primary schools emphasised the recall of the content to the near exclusion of the knowledge generation process. A focus on factual knowledge entails focusing on content knowledge. Shulman (2004), however, argues that teachers must not just be able to define truths of the domain but also be capable of explaining why a particular proposition is worth knowing. Bearing in mind that the study showed that teachers in community primary school are mostly untrained, it is likely that they lack the different kinds of knowledge that are much harder to obtain without teacher education. In this case, a lack of subject pedagogical knowledge can lead to a focus on content knowledge as presented in the textbook and limited knowledge that is likely to reflect in the national Grade 7 examinations.

During ongoing curriculum implementation, the role of government officers in monitoring the schools' compliance with legislation and the role of head teachers as instructional leaders have an impact on learning. In this study, the focus of the school inspectors was not on the learning processes that stressed the principles and practice of good education. As indicated in Chapter 6, the District Education Office tracked the schools' outcomes of the achievement of learners on the national Grade 7 examinations. Presenting an inspection report on how the inspection was carried out could potentially shape the nature of teaching adopted in schools.

Based on the above conclusion of the study, it is evident that learning in the schools was characterised by teachers transmitting knowledge to the learners through lecture methods and worked examples. Acquiring knowledge seemed to be the key feature of learning as most participants highlighted it as the main goal of education that they were pursuing. The focus was

on ensuring that the learners did not forget what they had learnt. The teachers thus saw themselves as expert dispensers of knowledge.

One of the new insights generated from this study is that while community schools are currently seen as local practice, they are influenced by the global phenomenon that led to the resurgence and evolution of community schools which persist today and are great forces influencing the nature of learning in the schools. However, this conception is silent in the literature that looks at neo-liberal policies and privatisation in education in the context of urban schools. This suggests an ideological shift from a social focus of equity to a market conception of equity in education. Consequently, this must move education conversations in community schools from the question of efficiency to accountability. What this research allows us to see in a new and different way about the nature of learning in community schools is that the schools have the potential to cater for the educational needs of the poor as well as to highlight inequality and equity issues in education provision.

Community primary schools have been a central aspect of the educational landscape in Zambia over time. However, in this study, I see community primary schools increasingly becoming a conversation on local urban education scene. The demand for community schools will potentially increase due to the inability of the Zambian government to provide education for all due to its limited financial capacity. In urban areas, this is compounded by urbanisation as a result of rural-urban migration and general unemployment in the country. It seems that community schools present a particular challenge and opportunity for urban education in Zambia. The schools face compound risks when dealing with a developing economy as well as the associated education reform. With inadequate funding, it becomes difficult for schools to implement proven reforms such as hiring and retaining excellent teachers. The funding undermines the schools' capacity to develop the intelligence and creativity of the next generation of workers and entrepreneurs.

The future of deprived communities' rests heavily on the quality of their schools. Many schools in the study faced a shortage of teachers that led to teaching multiple grades in a single class, overcrowding and double shifting. The study also shows that inadequate and poor facilities, scarce funding and insufficient teacher education made it difficult for some of the teachers in these schools to respond to the reforms introduced in the curriculum. While previous studies have concentrated primarily on the aspect of increasing access, this research moves the

conversation to the teaching and learning process in urban community primary schools. However, one interesting finding that I allude to in Chapter 6 is that while some teachers dropped out of teaching because of emotional exhaustion, which might lessen their resilience, others chose to remain in the profession despite the chronic circumstances inherent in community primary schools. Community primary schools also offer the opportunity to educate by ensuring that learners learn in a medium of instruction they can speak and understand, and which makes the recruitment of local teachers easier.

In sum, while the *Zambian* government is mandated to provide education for all, its weak economy, combined with rapid population growth, particularly in urban centres, limits its ability to do so. Thus, despite the local initiative of community schools being welcomed, the government does not take up the full responsibility of funding them but transfers the burden to the poor that populate these primary school, leaving them highly segregated. Due to funding constraints, community schools focus on teaching learners to write, read, do math and prepare them for standard exams using rote learning. They also resorted to multiple grading, double shifts and recruiting untrained teachers. Therefore, despite the obstacles that community schools face, they try to build teaching and learning ecologies that optimise available resources. The schools create ecologies for teaching and learning that maximise available resources. They are prepared to act and move from passivity amid challenges. The schools are resilient and committed to the educational needs of the poor. Therefore, while community schools have a diversity of challenges, they fill a critical gap in the provision of education.

7.4 Implication of the study

The overarching interpretation of the observations and analysis discussed in the previous chapter is that government support to community schools is inadequate, infrequent and, in other cases, not there. The study revealed that inconsistent financing affects relevant resource availability therefore also affecting the implementation of the curriculum. The schools are thus expected to find their own financial support. Charity and philanthropy hence serve as a basis of support for most community schools. This study showed that community primary schools are positioned to attract support and get better human and material resources while struggling schools close their doors. As a result, the school leadership concerns itself with a challenging task of protecting the schools from external shock, while some of the schools that failed to attract donors and wanting to avoid closure have resort0

ed to low-cost fees. It was evident in the study that the transition of some community schools to low fee-paying schools for the poor contributed enormously to the survival of the schools after donors had removed their funding although markets were not ideal for everything. Future research can therefore explore the cost of commodifying community school education. Also, studies should explore the limits of markets that should be imposed on the commodification of education for the poor in the light of education as a fundamental human right for all children.

This finding shows that community school education is now diversifying from the non-formal free provision of education to include the market sphere of provision through the payment of school fees. This means that although still having the classification of a community school education system, some of the schools are turning into a low market private school model to raise funds for running the schools. This provides a choice between the modes of a provision that was not there before in community schools. This response seems to suggest that these schools offer flexibility to meet the learners needs through negotiations with parents, who in this case agree to the paying of fees.

The inevitable conclusion from the evidence at hand is that community schools are influenced both by the internal and external environment. There is an increased flow of ideas that make inventive resources accessible to individuals while contemplating their future. This shift seems to be characterised by the desire for social mobility and the ‘belief that education holds all answers to the world’s problems’ (Adams and Adams, 2003:31) for those who invest in education. This belief gives great hope for true opportunities and equality. However, due to global economic crisis, governments have the challenge of keeping the created desire. In the case of community primary schools, the government in Zambia, through its equity policy officially recognised the community schools, which raises the aspiration for education for those with low socioeconomic backgrounds. This agenda, which mainly emerged as part of the Education for All campaign, was motivational, widening access and participation in basic education. The goal was to help those disadvantaged learners engage fully in and benefit from the global economy, thus promoting education for all to the exclusion of no one. Although education aspiration is perceived as a way to social mobility, it draws on conditions of market completion that produce opportunities and barriers to education access. Sellar (2013) argues that the education aspiration is quickened by completion that gives a few uneven educational returns while stimulating many. Consequently, the uneven educational returns raise equity issues of proportional representation of socio-economically disadvantaged groups. Sellar

(2013) explains that the concept of Socioeconomic Status has displaced the language of class and tends towards individualised disadvantage and its solution. This individualisation can potentially create conditions where the rewards and opportunities of the global information only flow to a few, and others are left hopefully anticipating the social mobility only to find the remaining in their positions.

School proximity problems include the fact that some parents send their children to fee-paying community primary schools although they cannot afford to do so and their children are forced to stay at home until they make payment. This is against the Education Act 2011 of Zambia and causes these learners to slip behind others. On the other hand, this transition may prove vital in building more sustainable community schools, since it is motivated by the needs of schools and teachers and not just learners. The emerging market model of community primary schools must be overseen, so that it does not take over and squeeze out non-market options in cases of extreme poverty. This suggests that the policy ought to set limitations on preserving the emerging pluralism of community primary schools by implementing the 2011 Education Act enabling the government to finance the schools or subsidise learners who cannot afford their education.

This study also has implications for donor-sponsored schools. This calls for interested stakeholders to train community schools in fund-raising, entrepreneurship and grant writing. Equally this implies the dependence of community schools on charity for support. This is because donors have varying intentions, ranging from the purest philanthropic behaviour taken on behalf of the greater good to the most self-interested. Elliott (2005) stressed that whatever their reasons, donor actions are acts of kindness that are giving support to institutions. Caution must, however, be used when involving donors in education provision.

7.5 Possible limitations of the study

In this section, I reflect on and discuss the possible limitations that relate to the general difficulties I encountered while conducting the research. One potential shortcoming relates to the qualitative design that I used in the study. Qualitative research draws on personal experiences and observations, risking imposition, and it provides limited empirical evidence. However, despite the possible danger related to impositions, I believe that the thick description of the data I presented substantiates the trustworthiness of the study. Also, using a qualitative

approach offered me a first-hand, in-depth understanding of the context as well as the nature of learning in community primary schools in Lusaka.

Another possible limitation is the risk of concentrating on a single unit through a case study. Consequently, the findings of this study can only be inferred analytically and cannot be statistically applied to the population. However, my rich description of the participants and research context may assist with transference to other similar contexts. Also, the case study helped me analyse learning in community primary schools in an urban context to bring about an understanding that, in turn, is likely to influence and perhaps even improve practice. The case study methodology has presented me with a way of examining dynamic social units composed of several constructs of potential significance for studying the contextual nature of learning in community primary schools.

7.6 Contribution and significance of the study

The contribution of this study is multifaceted in four ways. The first contribution concerns the nature of learning in community primary schools. The study has provided an impetus for empirical research on the feasibility of this school system. In particular, over the past two decades, a substantial body of research has focused on community schools in terms of increasing access to education. Now with the ongoing drive toward quality issues in schools, this study provides a unique focus by exploring learning in community schools from an open system perspective. This study is significant as it helped observe the nature and flow of resources and information into the schools and its learning outcomes to society. The study thus helped to understand the external forces that affect urban community primary schools as well as some of its internal activities that have an impact on the nature of school learning. Consequently, this provides feedback about community primary schools.

Feedback is a fundamental concept in systems thinking and lack of appropriate feedback is often a cause of system failure. It reconciles the essential unpredictability of the school with the emergence of distinctive patterns through integrating theoretical synthesis. What this study adds to this picture is that it provides feedback on that nature of learning in urban community primary schools that is not based on school performance. It is also clear that whether feedback provided information that enables or prevents the schools deviating from the desired learning, it is significant in informing school operations. The negative feedback emanating from the study can address deficits in organisational structures and processes and inputs of the schools.

As a result, the findings of the study have implications for the future operations of the schools and learning output. For example, the study may provide policymakers with baseline data to measure the gaps between the achieved learning outcomes in the schools against the desired Zambian national primary school curriculum goals. The study could further be used to identify the possible causes of the learning gaps and suggest appropriate intervention where necessary.

The second contribution is that this study broadens our understanding of the nature of urban community primary schools in an African context. Understanding this from a systems perspective is central to knowing the learning context as the study may help in determining the strengths and limitations of these schools. School context offers both resources and limitations that shape the situation in which administrators lead, teachers teach and children learn. The multiple views of reflecting on issues relating to the nature of community schools can also ensure that some relevant ideas in planning learning processes and projects are not undervalued or taken for granted.

The third contribution is that given the conspicuous financial and material investments made in urban community primary schools, providing evidence on the key dimensions that should be targeted adds to discussions on the most effective growth strategies for years to come. This study steps back from the diagnostic and remedial approach characterising research in under-resourced schools or schools serving poor communities. The study looks at social groups and culture as an analytic unit of research. Understanding how culture is conveyed in community primary schools creates challenges and opportunities to learning that can potentially pave the way to developing learning opportunities. Wacquqnt (2004) argues that culture, rather than individuals or social groups, is the crucial analytic unit for education. Cultural analysis can help to identify and potentially address challenges that may impede learning or re-organise facets of culture so that the type of difficulty faced in learning does not recur.

The fourth contribution is to my professional development. I started a lecturing job during my PhD studies, and without planning my study journey became a moment of reflectivity on my professional practice. It made me engage in a critical reflection on what I do in my classroom and questioned its merit and functional relevance of the teaching. The study helped me explore my practices and underlying assumptions as a lecturer. This reflection also led me to focus on the set objectives of some of the modules that I taught. By examining the goals, I tried to understand how they fitted together to form a programme. I subsequently reflected on

programmes in terms of the purpose of higher education. The study ultimately helped me advance my scholarship on teaching by acquiring knowledge about teaching through reflection on my practice and research.

This study was founded on scholarly gaps in the literature on the learning environment discourse and the nature of learning in urban community schools. As a result, the study enhances our understanding of interactions between the community schools' inputs, immediate and secondary settings, and the resulting nature of learning. Hence the study connects the internal and external factors that influence learning to show and explain the context in which learning occurs. It also helps understand the larger institutions, systematic and structural frames of learning in community schools. In this regard, the study can serve as an essential tool for exploring and enriching hypothetical constructs such as learning threats and opportunities in community schools. This understanding is critical for decision-makers who often rely on long-term projections based on current trends to plan for school improvement.

Furthermore, the study highlights patterns of interaction within and between levels of teaching and learning activities, which led to the development of an explanatory theory of learning in the selected community schools. It shows the interpretation and enactment of learning in the schools. It thus reveals the nature, quality and experiences of learning in a fuller and detailed manner. Consequently, the study can potentially help identify the strengths and weaknesses of learning in community schools. It can serve as the foundation for building on these strengths and exploring opportunities or counter-threats to learning. In addition, by showing the disparity between the expected learning outcomes as stipulated in the national primary school curriculum reforms, aimed at developing lifelong learners and the current nature of learning in the schools. The study can thus potentially inform policy on creating effective learning environments in community schools.

7.7 My recommendations for future studies

While the findings in this study are broadly consistent with prior research and provide additional evidence on teaching and learning processes in community schools, the study has thrown up many questions that need further investigation. My recommendations are directed at future studies, practice and policy.

7.7.1 Recommendation for further studies

In this study, I recommend that further research be taken in the following areas:

- Research could be conducted to investigate the silences evident in the study, namely:
 - Research with comparative quantitative approach
 - Research with additional participants to include the District Education Officers, standard officers and the learners
 - Further investigation on the influence of teachers' sense of vocation
- After donors withdraw financial support, the transition by some community primary schools to low-fee-paying schools for the poor has contributed immensely to the sustainability of the schools. However, markets are not good for everything. Future studies can, therefore, investigate the cost of commodifying education in community primary schools.
- Also, studies can explore what limits of markets should be placed on the commodification of education for the disadvantaged in light of education being a fundamental human right for all children.

7.7.2 Recommendation for practice and policy

There is a need to equip teachers with sound learning theories and look for ways to help them translate their beliefs and theories into effective instructional practice to maximise learning outcomes.

- Civic organisations can play a vital role in advocating for children and parents and in holding local and national government accountable to their education commitments to poor and vulnerable children. They can thus engage in both lobbying and education delivery. The main policy goal for long-term care of strengthening the role of civil society organisations in community primary schools should be planned. To start with, civil society organisations should be recognised as legitimate participants in debates about the direction of the community primary schools' education system.
- In the wider political context where much stress is laid on learners' grades and test scores and where schools are ranked nationally on the numbers gaining certification, I recommend that the curriculum should be used not only as a form of accountability but

as a guide for teachers. Community school teachers need to see the curriculum having a purpose of its own, a holistic development of learners, and should not be seen as an instrument to enable the government to solve its social and economic problems.

- Zambia's fiscal capacity to improve the conditions of service for a teacher is limited. Therefore, increasing the 30 per cent allocated to community schools from the primary school budget as a solution, as indicated by some head teachers and teachers in the study, is not feasible. This, therefore, calls for a creative and alternative approach to fundraising in community school. One way this can be done is through the DEO, which can train school communities or existing individuals' philanthropist on how to diversify. There is also a need to establish a multilateral finance mechanism that can be accessed by community schools operating below minimum resourcing that can sustain quality education. This is important in widening the achievement gap in the community school system.
- Due to the financial constraints, improving the nature of learning in community primary schools through improved inputs is harder. Therefore, it is more sustainable to improve through the teaching and learning process, which is relatively more cost-effective. The government and collaborating partners should design professional development that target school head teachers, as the attrition rate is relatively low at that level; they can subsequently work with standard officers to improve the nature of learning in schools. This entails the role of standards officers shifting to focus more on the teaching and learning processes in the schools. In this vein, teachers need an easily accessible, affordable and valid tool that is uniquely tailored to the contextual realities of the schools to identify methods for facilitating learning.
- The government should provide support for community schools to create action plans and, where necessary, to apply for the needed external funding.

7.8 Conclusion and reflection

Although learners learn many things unplanned, generally learning in schools does not just happen by chance – it is planned and implemented. Community primary schools in Lusaka operate to teach and initiate children into the accepted knowledge and skills through the national curriculum, based on thoughts that are seen to be vital in helping them grow into citizens who can function and contribute effectively to society. Teachers and learners, however,

do not just inhabit classrooms but also live within a broader culture of their schools and society. Felten (2016) argues that the qualities of the environment go far to scaffold and stimulate or to hinder and distract learners in the underpinning work of learning. Therefore, treating schools as if they are independent of their environment would lead to some wide misconception of the driving factors behind their learning practices.

My argument, therefore, is that the aim of education and the context in which learning takes place should be at the heart of any learning analysis framework. The aim of education postulates school systems learning outcomes and answers the question about the why of schooling – What is education for? Herman and Gomez (2009) acknowledge learning as the only essential outcome of education, citing that all other elements are secondary. The study showed that learning activities determine the internal psychological processes of learners that will eventually manifest the kind of aim experienced in a school system. Furthermore, failure to focus school instruction on the larger purpose of education may lead to losing fundamental insight into the value of guidance in the world of school practices.

Thus, one needs an understanding of how to work through a combination of the learning processes and environmental support which can yield the desired learning outcomes that align with the educational goals. In this case, those stipulated in the curriculum followed by the schools. This will entail asking questions about what sort of pedagogical approaches are appropriate to the desired educational goals and how bodies of knowledge and cognition interact with theories and practice to promote it. I therefore believe that when teachers are equipped with the necessary expertise, skills and resources to cope with the demands placed on them by the curriculum, they can facilitate meaningful learning in urban community primary school contexts that can meet the vision of the curriculum framework.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letter of consent to Ministry of Education, Science, Vocation Training and Early Education



Department of Humanities Education
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0001

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Education, Science, Vocation Training and Early Education
P.O Box 50093
LUSAKA

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: Request to Conduct Research in Six Community Schools in Lusaka District

My name is Nthembe Mbewe and I am currently enrolled for my PhD (Humanities Education) at the University of Pretoria. I hereby wish to apply for permission to conduct research in Lusaka district at six community schools. My research topic is: ‘**The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka**’. The overall objective of the study is to gain an in-depth understanding of the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka and understand how and why it occurs.

Detailed activities to be performed:

- Gathering data on the nature of learning tasks such as the lesson plans, tests and individual and group projects in the selected community schools.
- Conducting in-depth interviews with the community school heads, teachers, learners on:

- The current dominating education practices in Lusaka's community schools
- The challenging demands of a rapidly changing world on the community schools of the 21st century education
- Inputs and context that influence learning in community schools

In line with the above, I write to kindly request your permission to conduct interviews with some headmasters, teachers and learners in Lusaka's community schools. The interviews will take approximately 60 minutes.

Kindly note that the information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and shall only be used for the purposes of the study. I hope that the information obtained from this research will bring out suggestions and/recommendations on how to develop lifelong learners in community schools.

I look forward to your positive response.

Yours sincerely

Name of student: Nthembe Mbewe
Contact number: XXXXXXXXXX
E-mail address: nthembembewe@yahoo.com

Name of Supervisor: Dr Raita Steyn
Contact number: XXXXXXXXXX
E-mail of supervisor: raita.steyn@up.ac.za

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form (Institutional)

Department of Humanities Education
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0001

INFORMED CONSENT FORM – INSTITUTIONAL

We, the undersigned, hereby agree that the study, as specified below, may be conducted by Nthembe Mbewe in the manner as explained and agreed below:

- **Title of the research:** The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka.
- **Purpose of the project:** To gain an in-depth understanding of the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka and understand how and why it occurs

Detailed activities to be performed:

Gathering data on the nature of learning tasks such as the lesson plans, tests and individual and group projects in the selected community schools.

Conducting in-depth interviews with the school-principals, teachers, learners and parents on:

- The current dominating education practices in Lusaka's community schools.
- The challenging demands of a rapidly changing world on the community schools of the 21st century education.
- Inputs and context that influence learning in community schools?

To be completed by the individual/person duly authorized to sign:

- **Name of the institution:**
- **Name of the individual:**

Do you grant full consent for the study to be conducted?



Tick your answer:

Yes _____

No _____

1. The undersigned parties further agree that no compensation will be payable and that all research associated cost will be covered by the researcher.
2. The undersigned parties acknowledge that participation in this research is through purposive selection, but the participant may choose to withdraw at any stage.
3. The undersigned parties understand that anonymity will be respected and that no names of participants and schools will be revealed.
4. The undersigned parties further agree that no material of any kind, including data and research findings, obtained or resulting from the study, would be passed on to any third party or used for any purpose other than that specified in this form, except with the written consent from the University of Pretoria.

Signature of researcher

Signature of representative of institution

Date: _____

Signature of Supervisor

Date: _____

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form (Individual)

Department of Humanities Education
Faculty of Education
University of Pretoria
Pretoria 0001

INDIVIDUAL INFORMED CONSENT FORM

My name is Nthembe Mbewe and I am currently enrolled for my PhD (Humanities Education) at the University of Pretoria. I would like to invite you to participate in a study aimed at gaining understanding on the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka and understand how and why it occurs. This letter aims to explain my study to you for you to make an informed decision as whether to participate or not.

Participation in this research project will involve the following:

In the first phase of the research, you will be requested to participate in a one-to-one interview with the researcher during which your thoughts about learning in community schools will be explored. This will be followed by a second interview to follow up on anything from the first interview that may need to be clarified. In this second phase I will request you to indicate your view of the relationships amongst the emerging themes. All interviews are to be recorded on audiotape so as to ensure accurate recording of participants' views and to ensure that no information is lost.

Providing data on the nature of lesson plans and assessment tasks such as the learners' class exercises, homework, tests and individual and group projects.

Observation of lessons

Participation in an in-depth, semi-structured interview on:

- The current dominating education practices in Lusaka's community schools
- The challenging demands of a rapidly changing world on the community schools of the 21st century education
- Inputs and context that influence learning in community schools

The research results will be used in the composition of a PhD, in fulfilment of the academic criteria for the PhD (Humanities Education) at the University of Pretoria. The results of this

study will as such become public domain for the scrutiny of examiners and the academic community.

Please note the following:

- The sessions will be recorded by means of audio-tape and verbatim transcriptions of the conversations will be typed, analysed and quoted in the final dissertation. Prior to processing the data, I will send the participants a copy of their typed interview and accord them an opportunity to review it if they choose to.
- Your identity will be protected and your privacy respected.
- Your responses to the interview will be treated confidentially.
- Participation in the study is voluntary and you are allowed to withdraw from the research at any time.

Declaration (To be completed by the participant)

Having read the attached request for consent, I declare that I am fully aware of the nature and purpose of the study conducted by Nthembe Mbewe and I consent to take part in the research project. I also consent to the publication of the research findings, subject to anonymity and confidentiality.

Signature of Researcher

Signature of Research Participant

Date: _____

Appendix D: Document Analysis

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Name of the researcher: Nthembe Mbewe

- **Title of the research:** The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka
- **Purpose of the project:** To gain an in-depth understanding of the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka and understand how and why it occurs

Data Needs	Document	What to observe
Policy documents	I will enquire for the specific professional development policy documents from the school heads.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do the documents reveal about strategies to prepare and further develop community school teachers to facilitate authentic learning? • What details do the documents offer in the form of curriculum frameworks and guidelines on the use of materials in teacher learning? • Is there more than one formal document that can be treated as policy documents? If so, what is the consistency of documents on supporting teacher learning?

Appendix E: Interview guide for teachers

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

I would like to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Nthembe Mbewe and I want to talk to you about your experiences of teaching at a community school in Lusaka.

Precisely, I would like to gain understanding on the nature of learning and the systematic and structural frames it in community schools. The interview should take about an hour and a half. Although I will be taking some notes during the sessions, I cannot possibly write as fast enough to get it all down, therefore I will be recording our sessions. Because we are on tape, please try to speak up so that we do not miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses can only be shared with the research team members and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you do not have to talk about anything you do not want to and may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you still willing to participate in this interview?

Date of the interview:

Place of the interview:

Name of the school:

Name of the teacher:

Grade Level:

Highest level education attained:

Work experience in community schools:

Gender:

Age:

Number of learners:

Contact details:

Duration of Interview:



Interview 1	Observations/Comments
<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Kindly tell me about yourself and if you may tell me a bit about your involvement in community schools?2. Kindly share with me your experiences as a teacher in a community school?3. Kindly describe your school for me.4. Please share with me your thoughts about the general background of learners in your schools.5. What overall education purpose do community primary school teachers work towards? Kindly support your answer.6. How do you interpret quality learning?7. What are some of the factors that influencing the quality of learning in community school?8. Please share your thoughts on factors that greatly affect learner's motivation and performance on community schools?9. Does the current teaching in community schools meet the learning quality?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. If your answer is yes, in what ways does it meet the learning quality?b. If your answer is no what makes it fail to meet the learning quality?10. What do you think must be done to further promote the learning quality in community schools?11. How well do you think you and other teachers in community schools are equipped to provide the learning quality you spoke about?<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. If the answer is yes, what helps teachers in facilitating the learning quality?b. If the answer is no what impedes teachers from facilitating the learning quality?12. How do these characteristics influence their learning in school?13. How can the capacity of teachers be improved to facilitate the learning quality?	



Interview 2

14. Kindly describe for me the administration style followed in your school.
15. What is your school policy on parental engagement?
16. What focus the focus of most teacher talk in the school?
17. Kindly tell me about the challenges faced by community school teachers in initiating learning.
18. What are your views on the professional development of teachers in community schools?
19. Kindly tell me about the availability and quality of resources in your school?
20. What kind of assessment do you normally use in school?
21. What are the dominant teaching methods used in your school?
22. How do you think the teaching in community school align to learning goals education in Zambia and the teacher capabilities in community school?
23. What is your confidence level about facilitating learning that would promote quality learning?
24. What coping strategies do you have in an event when inadequate knowledge and lack of preparation makes teaching easy for the learners to understand?
25. What is the nature of discipline in your school?
26. Is there anything more you would like to add?

Do you have any question(s) for me?

Thank you for your participation

Appendix F: Interview protocol – Head teachers

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – HEAD TEACHERS

- **Name of the researcher:** Nthembe Mbewe
- **Title of the research:** The contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka.
- **Purpose of the project:** To gain an in-depth understanding of the contextual nature of learning in community schools in Lusaka and understand how and why it occurs

I would like to thank you for taking time to meet with me today. My name is Nthembe Mbewe and I want to talk to you about your experiences of teaching at a community school in Lusaka.

Precisely, I would like to gain understanding on the professional learning and the facilitation of learning that maximises the potential of learners and prepare them to thrive in a constantly changing world, in order to capture lessons that can be used in developing an in-service teachers' professional development framework for facilitating learners' authentic academic achievement in community schools.

The interview should take about an hour and a half. Although I will be taking some notes during the sessions, I cannot possibly write as fast enough to get it all down, therefore I will be recording our sessions. Because we are on tape, please try to speak up so that we do not miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses can only be shared with the research team members and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you do not have to talk about anything you do not want to and may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you still willing to participate in this interview?

Date of the interview:

Place of the interview:

Name of the school:

Name of the teacher:



Grade Level:
Highest level education attained:
Work experience in community schools:
Gender:
Age:
Number of learners:
Contact details:
Duration of Interview:

How long have been heading this school?
Kindly tell me what your job as head entail?
Please tell me about your experience teaching in community school.

Part One: Input

Kindly describe your school for me.

1. Kindly tell me about the nature of funding and resources in your school?
2. What is the dominant management style in your school?
3. What is the general motivation of your teachers in doing their work and why?

Part Two: Organisation Structure and Processes

4. What aim of education do you try to achieve in your school and why?
5. How do you go about achieving this goal of education?
6. What are your views on the quality of learning in community schools in relations to maximizing the potential of learners and preparing them for the constantly changing world?
7. How in your option can learning be facilitated to maximize the potential of learners in community schools and prepare them for the constantly changing world?
8. What are your views on the learning taking place in community schools?
9. How enthusiastic are community schools is learning new things?
10. What factors in community schools affect the facilitation of such kind of education you have just describe?



Interview 2

11. What practices have you adopted as a school that align with the development and facilitation of an education that maximize the potential of learners in community schools and prepare them for the constantly changing world?
12. Do you think teachers in community schools are adequately equipped to facilitate such kind of education? Kindly give reason for your response.
13. Do you and your staff receive any professional development opportunities focused on improving teaching and learning?

(Probe informant and focus on the aspects of management/administration listed below)

- a. Who offers the trainings?
- b. What is the nature of the professional development?
- c. Is there a budget set for the professional development of teachers?
- d. Who offers the training?
- e. How long are the training?
- f. What is the mode of professional development?
- g. How often is it offered?
- h. How practical are the courses?
- i. Is there any monitoring done after the training?
- j. If so how is it done?
- k. Do you implement what you learn from the course?
- l. If so what motivate your implementation?
- m. If you do not, what prevents you from implementing what you learn?
- n. Have you ever received professional development on how you can use the current curriculum and syllabus to maximise the potential of learner in community schools?

Part Three: Environment

14. What is government's policy on community school?
 - a. What learning targets are set by the policy?
 - b. What teaching targets are set by the policy?
 - c. How is the content of the policy interpreted?
 - d. How is the content of the policy enacted in community schools?
 - e. How is the policy of the document interpreted and enacted in the classroom?



15. What factors influence learning in your school? Kindly explain how?

Part four: Output

16. What kind of learners does your school produce?

Part Five: Conclusion

17. Is there anything else I should know concerning this interview that you feel is important?

Do you have any question(s) for me?

I will be analysing the information you and others gave me and submitting a draft report to in about six months' time. I will be glad to send you a copy to review at that time if you are interested.

Thank you for your time

Appendix G: Observation schedule

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Name of the researcher: Nthembe Mbewe

Title of the research: An ethnographic study of learning in Lusaka's community schools.

Purpose of the project: to gain an in-depth understanding of the systematic and structural frames of learning in under resourced community schools.

School:	Gender:	Class level	Code Name:
Period:	Subject:		Date
Data Need	What to observe	Description /remark of observation	
Actors in the setting: Teachers Learners	Age		
	Gender		
	Work experience:		
	Education attainment:		
	Number of learners		
Research setting	Elements in the setting:		
	Context		



	Characteristics of the learning environment	
	Visibility of chalkboard	
	External noise levels	
	Adequate personal work space for learners and teachers	
	Punctuality of teachers and learners	
	School time table	
	a. Classroom rules b. Layout of the room	
Nature of interaction	Talk in the classroom	
	Nature of questions	
Learning task design	Is the learning task concert and meaningful real-life experience?	
	How is the learning task presented to the learners?	
	What type of approach is required to solve the task?	
	Modes of instruction	



	Nature of assessment practices	
	Feedback on learners' work	
Lesson enactment	Under what conditions was assignment given?	
	What was the purpose of the assessment?	
Learning feedback	Nature of feedback	
	Frequency of feedback	
	Timing of feedback	

Appendix H: Needs and contextual analysis semi-structured interview schedules for organisations supporting Lusaka’s community schools

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

- **Name of the researcher:** Nthembe Mbewe
- **Title of the research:** Professional development framework of facilitating authentic learning for teachers in Lusaka’s community schools.
- **Purpose of the project:** To outline a teacher’s professional development framework for facilitating authentic learning for community schools.

I would like to thank you for taking time to meet with me today. My name is Nthembe Mbewe and I want to talk to you about your experiences of teaching at a community school in Lusaka.

Precisely, I would like to gain understanding on the professional learning and the facilitation of learning that maximises the potential of learners and prepare them to thrive in a constantly changing world, in order to capture lessons that can be used in developing an in-service teachers’ professional development framework for facilitating learners’ authentic academic achievement in community schools.

The interview should take about an hour and a half. Although I will be taking some notes during the sessions, I cannot possibly write as fast enough to get it all down, therefore I will be recording our sessions. Because we are on tape, please try to speak up so that we do not miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses can only be shared with the research team members and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you do not have to talk about anything you do not want to and may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you still willing to participate in this interview?

Interviewee:

Date:

Place of Interview:

Duration of the interview:

Kindly tell me about yourself and if you may tell me a bit about your involvement in community schools:

Age:

Gender:

Work Experience:

Grade level:

Highest Level of Education attained:

Interview Questions

Section A: Learning quality

1. What aim of education does your organization hope to promote by its involvement in community schools and why?
2. What are your views on the learning taking place in community schools?
3. How in your option can learning be facilitated to maximize the potential of learners in community schools and prepare them for the constantly changing world?
4. What factors in community schools can affect the facilitation of such kind of education?
5. As an organization, what do you think should be the guiding principles and skills in facilitating an education that maximize the potential of learners in community schools and prepare them for the constantly changing world?
6. What practices have you adopted as an organization that align with the development and facilitation of an education that maximize the potential of learners in community schools and prepare them for the constantly changing world?

7. Do you think teachers in community schools are adequately equipped to facilitate such kind of education? Kindly give reason for your response.

Section B: Professional development (on-job learning/ in-service training)

8. How would you describe the professional development opportunities for teachers in community school?
9. How would you describe the content of the professional development in relations to providing the quality education in community schools?
10. What role does your organization play in supporting the professional learning of teachers in community schools?
11. What has been your experience in conducting professional development in community schools in terms of
- mode of delivery
 - duration
 - follow-up
 - teachers' implementation of the goals of professional development
 - others
12. What factors determine the facilitation the professional development of teachers in community schools?
13. What policy is there to support teacher development in community schools?
14. Kindly explain how policy on teacher development in community schools is interpreted and enacted in community schools? Is there anything more you would like to add?

I will be analysing the information you and others gave me and submitting a draft report to in about six months' time. I will be glad to send you a copy to review at that time, if you are interested.

Thank you for your time

Appendix I: Observation schedule for lesson plans

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE FOR LESSON PLANS

Class:

Teacher:

School:

Lessons:

Date:

Observation of Facilitation of Learning

Indicator: Teachers challenge: When learners are challenged to engage in learning tasks ill-defined tasks in real-life context that is above the current ability of learners to resolve.

Critical question: Are learners engaged in a learning task in form of a challenging problem in real-life context that is above the current ability of learners to resolve?

Criteria:

- Learning tasks are ill-defined activities that have real world relevance.
- Learners are encouraged to explore different perspectives.
- Teacher scaffold during cooperative learning to ensure that the challenge remain high.
- Teacher encourages reflection on group process.
- Teacher guides group interaction through self-regulated learning and metacognitive.
- Teacher Incorporates self-regulated learning.
- Teacher provides learners an opportunity to reflect on their learning.

Elaborations: (any relevant information clarification, puzzles, elaborations)

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Reflection

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Observation of Learning

Indicator: In effective classroom authentic classrooms learners participate actively in the lessons.

Critical question: Are learners actively engaged in the lesson?

Criteria: In effective classroom authentic classrooms learners.

- carry out individual tasks and then work together in small groups to achieve common goal of solving a problem
- interact in groups
- use procedural knowledge to plan, control and evaluate their own learning
- incorporate self-regulated learning

Elaborations: (any relevant information clarification, puzzles, elaborations)



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Reflection

Appendix J: Observation schedule

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

- **Name of the researcher:** Nthembe Mbewe
- **Title of the research:** An ethnographic study of learning in Lusaka's community schools.
- **Purpose of the project:** To gain an in-depth understanding of the systematic and structural frames of learning in under resourced community schools.

School:	Gender:	Class level	Code Name:
Period:	Subject:		Date
Data Need	What to observe	Description /remark of observation	
Actors in the setting: Teachers Learners	Age		
	Gender		
	Work experience:		
	Education attainment:		
	Number of learners		
Research setting	Elements in the setting:		
	Context		
	Characteristics of the learning environment		



	Visibility of chalkboard	
	External noise levels	
	Adequate personal work space for learners and teachers	
	Punctuality of teachers and learners	
	School time table	
	c. Classroom rules	
	d. Layout of the room	
Nature of interaction	Talk in the classroom	
	Nature of questions	
Learning task design	Is the learning task concert and meaningful real-life experience?	
	How is the learning task presented to the learners?	
	What type of approach is required to solve the task?	
	Modes of instruction	
	Nature of assessment practices	



	Feedback on learners' work	
Lesson enactment	Under what conditions was assignment given?	
	What was the purpose of the assessment?	
Learning feedback	Nature of feedback	
	Frequency of feedback	
	Timing of feedback	