

A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION OF ORPHANS AND NON-
ORPHANS IN LUSAKA

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ABSTRACT

There are over 1 million orphans in the country, half of whom live in conditions of extreme poverty. These poverty conditions compromise children's futures because they cannot afford basic education despite the "Free Primary Education" policy.

This study was carried out in Lusaka. 180 orphans and non-orphans were compared to find out whether orphans were more disadvantaged than non-orphans. The study investigated the family structures of orphans, quality of education they received, how far orphans go in their education, government policy and its role in aiding education, the impact of free basic education policy, and the socio-economic aspects affecting educational performance and achievements.

3 types of schools were identified; private, community and government schools. 3 private, 3 government and 3 community schools were selected using systematic random sampling to come up with 9 schools in total. 180 pupils were selected from the 9 schools and a questionnaire administered to them. Of these pupils, 60 were from private, another 60 from community and the last 60 from government schools.

Data was analyzed through descriptive statistics using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS); Version 16.0 for Windows. The study found that orphans are absorbed into the extended family, that they receive a lower quality of education, that their chances of a secondary education are diminished because of the high costs of education and that they receive little to no help from the government for their wellbeing.

The study recommended that further study be done on orphan education in secondary school to investigate the completion rate of orphans, that deliberate government policy to enforce the Free Education Policy be formulated, that government institute structures in all schools and communities that cater to the emotional wellbeing of orphans and that support programmes be provided to guardians to care for their families.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AVERT:	AVERTing AIDS and HIV
CSO:	Central Statistics Office
GRZ:	Government of the Republic of Zambia
FPE:	Free Primary Education
JCTR:	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
MDG:	Millennium Development Goal
MoE:	Ministry of Education
PASEC:	Programme for Analysing Education Systems
PTA:	Parent/ Teachers' Association
PEPFAR:	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief.
SACMEQ:	Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID:	United States Aid for the People
ZOCS:	Zambia Open Community Schools

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DEDICATION

To my husband and children.

DECLARATION

I, Namasiku Samasumo, do declare that this dissertation is my original work. It has been presented in accordance with the guidelines for the award of a Masters degree in Sociology at the University of Namibia. It has not been submitted elsewhere for a degree.

Signed:

Date:

APPROVAL

The University of Namibia approves this dissertation for Namasiku Samasumo in fulfilment for the requirements for the award of a Degree of Master of Arts of Sociology of the University of Namibia.

SUPERVISORS' SIGNATURES

Signed:

Date:

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| 1. | |
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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Chapter 1 gives a brief opening about why this study was undertaken. In Zambia, orphans and education in the same sentence immediately piques one's interest. Over the years, there has been much deliberation and talk about the plight of orphans by several stakeholders; the government and non-governmental organisations being the major players. These have been necessitated by the large numbers of orphans in the country mostly due to deaths of parents from the deadly Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, AIDS. The interest of this study was to find out just what kind of education orphaned children receive and how far they go in their schooling, compared to non-orphaned children.

The Ministry of Education of the Government of Zambia (GRZ, 2010) recognises the importance of the quality of education that needs to be offered in schools:

Good quality education brings many personal, social, economic and educational benefits. It enables children to realize their potential, as they develop into complete and integral persons and are prepared for adult life. It promotes desirable attitudes, values, and ways of behaviour and opens the minds of pupils to new ideas and methods. It leads to all-round improvements in health and declines in mortality rates. It increases the productivity of the participants. This is as true of basic as of other levels of education; especially as basic education lays the foundation on which all further education must build (p. 14).

In support of this statement, the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) adopted the Millennium Development Goal “Education for All by 2015”, following the ratification of the Millennium Declaration at the 2002 United Nations Millennium Summit. The policy aims for 100 percent enrolment in primary education in the country, so in the 2002 school year, the Zambian government introduced free primary education. From grades 1 through 7, children are not required to pay any school fees to attend class.

However, the structural inequalities of contemporary Zambian society reflect the fact that levels of income still determine whether a child will afford to go school or not. They determine what type of school a child goes to. In turn the type of school determines the quality of education the child receives. Compared to government schools and community schools, private schools have good infrastructure, qualified teachers, up-to-date and relevant teaching aids and science, sports and information technology facilities. Government schools, compared to private schools, have run down infrastructure and little in terms of science, sports and information technology facilities. Community schools usually have no infrastructure at all, accommodating children in homes, churches or community halls and improvising for their needs. People on the higher end of the income scale take their children to private schools, while middle income people opt for government schools. Those living in abject poverty usually take their children to community schools. Orphaned and vulnerable children usually attend community schools although there are some who attend government schools because of the “Free Primary Education Policy”.

The population of Zambia in 2009 was indicated at 13 881 336 people. Out of these, 46.7 percent were aged between 0 and 14 years (CIA World Fact Book, 2010). The

number of children aged 0-17 years orphaned due to all causes in 2009 was estimated to be 1 300 000, approximately 10 percent of the entire population, a very alarming figure. Of these, children orphaned by AIDS were estimated to be 690 000 (UNICEF (2010).

Seventy eight percent of the population lives on less than US\$1 a day (Zambia Scholarship Fund, 2011), the situation is very dire. Such high poverty levels at worst impede educational progress or at best determine the quality of education one receives. This is the kind of poverty everyone is fighting to get out of. Some have a fighting chance as they have parents to make sure they get educated and break out of the cycle of poverty. Others seem to be stuck in a poverty rut that is ever spiralling downward with no end in sight. Maybe an important question that needs to be asked here is: Are orphans more vulnerable than other poor children living below the poverty line? Are orphans less likely to be in school compared to other children also living below the poverty line? Research (Case et al., 2004; UNICEF, 2009: p14) shows that even when orphans and non-orphans both are below the poverty line, orphans are still less likely to be in school than non-orphans. Poverty definitely plays a role in keeping them out of school but beyond that, Hamilton's theory comes into play that the closeness of biological ties governs altruistic behaviour (Odimegwu and Kekovole, 2014, p277; Case et al., 2004). Altruism in simple terms means an individual acting in a selfless way to put another's survival before their own. Families may very well resort to kin selection tendencies where parents would favour their own biological children over others (orphans) to spend money on.

The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) reckons that the average monthly income of a resident of a Zambian urban low cost area is K645 326. The

cost of basic food items and essential non-food items is K2 799 280 while the cost of senior secondary education for just one child is between K600 000 and K900 000. These figures relate to government schools (JCTR, 2010). Attending private school is even costlier. Data show that even disregarding the cost of food and essential non-food items, the average Zambian cannot afford to send just one child to school, let alone more than one.

Poverty levels also determine whether children will even be able to enrol into school, Despite the 'Free Basic Education Policy' in Zambia, the "hidden indirect costs of education like uniforms, transportation, packed lunches, and so on," (Ngwacho et.al, 2013, p103; Petrauskis and Nkunika, 2006) mean that a free education policy in itself is insufficient to achieve 100 percent enrolment of pupils in school.

The most serious crisis Zambian society faces today is represented by the 1 300 000 orphaned children. Paucity of research does not allow to exactly state where these orphaned children are found, whether abandoned on the street by their overstrained families, or whether they are absorbed by the extended family, or whether they live alone and fend for themselves. Further compounding this situation is the subject of whether they are in school, and if they are, what kind of education they receive. Of particular interest is the question of how far they actually go with their schooling because although free, primary education is still fraught with hidden educational costs.

By the admission of the Zambian Government itself, primary education, because it is free, may very well be the only education that most Zambian children will ever attain. But primary education alone is not enough to provide one with the necessary

skills and experience they need to survive the future. Receiving only a primary education sets them up to be unable to significantly contribute to the society they are a part of in any way that is significant. Without proper qualifications they will not be able to get jobs that pay them enough to get by. Without any source of income, they will not have access to basic needs and rights such as health care, education, good housing and other parts of their culture and community. These are people who may already be living below the poverty line. Receiving only a primary education will trap them in the downward spiral of the poverty they already live in with very little chance of breaking out. This will have them being socially excluded from their society. Social Exclusion “is a multi-dimensional concept, involving economic, social, political, cultural, and special aspects of disadvantage and deprivation (Kammerman, 2000). It is of the described as:

the process by which individuals and groups are wholly or partly closed out from participation in their society, as a consequence of low income and constricted access to employment, social benefits and services, and to various aspects of cultural and community life (Kammerman, 2000).

Social exclusion is difficult to deal with because it creates deep and long-lasting problems not just for the individual but for their family, for the economy, and for society as a whole. The statistics of the Zambian orphan population are too vast that any chances of their being socially excluded even further because of the education need to be nipped in the bud now.

1.1 GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

This study aims to compare the family structures orphans and non-orphans live in. Understanding the dynamics of the family structures will help shed light on whether compared to non-orphans, orphaned children progress less in their educational development.

Family in Zambia is synonymous with the 'Extended Family'. Culturally, the norm in Zambia is to live in an extended family system consisting of the father, mother and their children, and their relatives like grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews and sometimes even friends. The relatives are not considered outsiders but very much a part of the family. The aunts are mothers, the uncles are fathers and the cousins are brothers and sisters (Taylor, 2006: p107). In rural areas, the extended family circle is even wider encompassing several extended families making up a whole village. Everyone in the family has a responsibility to the wider family to take care of each other. When everyone does their part in taking care of each other, then it follows that the effects of tragedies like death of parents are not really fully felt. The orphan is just absorbed into the extended family s/he has already been living in. So (Taylor, 2006: p107) children are never really orphaned because they are absorbed into the larger family grouping. In urban areas, the dynamics of the extended family are slightly different as they are spread out over vast geographical locations. Also the cost of living is higher in urban areas, which means the family can only accommodate fewer relatives at a time. But with the surge in numbers of orphans due to death of parents by HIV/AIDS, the effects are beginning to exact their toll on resources available for all to eat, be sheltered, receive medical aid and go to school.

Considering that the extended family is already living below the poverty line, the question here is, is the extended family still able to absorb orphans and mitigate the effects of the deaths of their parents especially where education is concerned?

This study will also analyse whether the Millennium Development Goal of 'Education for all by 2015' is inclusive of the orphans in the country, specifically, Lusaka. It will analyse the quality of education orphans have access to, compared to non-orphans. It will assess how far orphans actually go with their education compared to non-orphans.

Prospects for the Research of Educational Progression of Orphans

1.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To determine what kind of family structures orphans live in compared to no orphaned children.
- ii. To determine how far orphaned children go in their schooling from primary to tertiary education compared to non-orphaned children.
- iii. To assess the differences between orphans and non-orphaned children in their enrolment into school and staying in school from primary to tertiary education.
- iv. To determine whether there is a difference in the percentage of orphaned children and non-orphans living below the poverty line.
- v. To assess the differences in the quality of education orphans receive in the schools they go to in comparison to non-orphans.

- vi. To determine how free “free education” is for orphans compared to non-orphans, in light of the indirect costs of education incurred.

1.3 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The study went with three assumptions which were that:

- i. Orphans’ chances of progression in education, despite the declaration and implementation of the goal of ‘Education for All’, are slimmer than those of non-orphans.
- ii. The quality of education orphans receive is lower compared to that of non-orphaned children.
- iii. There is still more that needs to be done to ensure the security and sustainable future of orphans are guaranteed through the educational sector from primary to secondary and tertiary education.

Conclusion

The government’s concern about orphans is very legitimate considering the vast numbers prevalent in the country. Introducing the “Free Primary Education Policy” was a great initiative which at the very least ensures all children, orphaned or non-orphaned, have a chance to receive a primary education. However, because of high poverty levels, a shadow has been cast over orphan education as it would seem orphans are sent to schools that offer a lower quality of education when compared to their non-orphaned counterparts.

2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Chapter 2 is an assessment of literature relevant to the study topic. It provides a context for which the study was done by analysing data from books, articles, reports and theses from a wide range of sources. It seeks to lay out a framework on the issues that directly affect orphans' progression in their education as data on educational progression of orphans is scanty. Much has been written on issues of orphans but very little on specifically, how far orphaned children go in the schooling. The major orphan concepts assessed in this are educational progression, family and social exclusion. Other issues looked at were the institutional context of education in Zambia, the location of orphans in the school system and lastly the prospects for the research on the educational progression of orphans.

2.1 MAJOR CONCEPTS AND FIELDS OF RESEARCH

2.1.1 ORPHAN

The Zambian government through the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development (MSYCD) defines an orphan as a child below the age of 18 years who has lost one or both parents. A single orphan has lost only one of the parents. A maternal orphan has lost their mother whilst a paternal orphan has lost their father (GRZ, 2006). A vulnerable child is one below the age of 18 years and has been in or is likely to be in a risky situation where he or she is likely to suffer significant physical, emotional or mental stress that may result in the child's rights not being fulfilled (Biemba et al., 2009).

By 2003, 19 percent of Zambian children under the age of 18 had been orphaned totalling 1 100 000 children, 710 000 of them under the age of 15 (Save the Children Sweden, 2002). These figures have been increasing since 1992 with no signs of abating. The figures suggest that in 2004, Zambia had the highest proportion of orphans in Sub-Saharan Africa, a proportion much higher than in any country in Asia, Latin America or the Caribbean (UNDP, 2004). Given an HIV infection rate of 15.6 percent for people aged 15 to 49 years, the Zambia Demographic Health Survey estimated that many more children would lose their parents in the near future (CSO, 2003). Zambian health authorities also project that “the number of infected adults will remain relatively constant through 2010, which means that orphan populations will not peak until 2020. As a consequence, Zambia will have a high orphan population, as a proportion of children under 15, through at least 2030” (UNICEF, 1998). This is consistent with the Avert findings in 2009 that the number of orphans due to AIDS, alive in 2009 was 690 000, and that this represented 53 percent of AIDS orphans as age of all orphans in 2009 (Avert, 2009).

A school census conducted by the Zambian Ministry of Education in 2007 estimated the total number of orphans at 1.3 million (Boston University, 2009). And, according to the 2007 Zambian Demographic Health Survey, 19.2 percent of all children living in households are vulnerable while 14.9 percent are orphans (CSO, 2009). A concern this fact raises is the danger of social exclusion and its effects; in 10 to 15 years, these children will be adults; where in society will they be and what will they be doing? What is happening to them now? Are they receiving any empowerment to see them through the rest of their lives?

Orphaning is crippling in terms of school enrolment, attendance and progression to the minimum requirement of a grade 12 certificate. Are orphaned children receiving the kind of education that will secure their futures through a grade 12 minimum requirement? Will they be equipped and empowered enough to be able to participate with dignity in the society and economy/ Where are they right now? Are they in school; what type of school? Are they still living in a family set-up? Who is responsible over them/taking care of them, providing for them? Are they a forgotten people? There are so many concerns about them that just somehow do not make it to the public media so everybody can be made aware of just how big a dilemma the country is or could be in. So far it looks like the outside world knows more about the orphan situation in Zambia than the Zambians themselves because most media reports show how several foreign organisations have a stake in this and are doing something about it. There is very little in the media about what Zambians themselves are doing about it.

2.1.2 SOCIALISATION

Socialisation is the process through which infants become self-aware, knowledgeable people (Giddens and Sutton, 2012). They acquire social skills, language and knowledge of the norms that make up the culture they live in. This process takes a whole lifetime as a person learns the norms, customs and ideologies of their society. These supply them with guidelines for participating constructively in their society. Socialisation is aided by both primary and secondary agents. The family is the most important agent of socialisation because the family has a direct influence on a child from its infancy. The school is the most important secondary agent of socialisation in

most societies because outside of the family, school is where the child spends the bulk of the lifetime interacting with people other than their family.

When considering the educational progression of orphans, these two agents of socialisation, the family and the school, will form the backdrop of the study. How far a child goes in their education depends primarily on the family structure they live in and the school system they are educated in. Analysis of the family structures and school children in this study live in will therefore form the backbone of this study.

2.1.3 EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION

For the sake of this study, educational progression and/or attainment will refer to the maximum level of formal schooling a child achieves. In order for one to be assured of a secure future, a certain minimum level of quality formal education has to be attained. Most employers require prospective employees to have a Grade 12 School Leaving Certificate from a school that is endorsed by the Examinations Council of Zambia. A primary education (grade 1 to 7) just sets the stage for secondary education which is currently, the minimum one needs to have a chance in life. A child who has had a chance to go to school and accessed quality primary education has a better chance in life. If a child can read and write and can do basic arithmetic s/he is set up for continued learning and empowerment throughout life, hopefully on through secondary and tertiary education. A primary education alone has not been designed to empower one for life.

Education gives dignity to life as it helps one be productive and self-sustaining, have access to health care and good housing and generally be a contributing member of

society. People who cannot access education are crippled when it comes to becoming self sustaining, accessing health care and housing and having the dignity of being able to contribute to the society and the economy to which they belong.

This is why it is important to understand why educational progression matters so much. For purposes of this study, Educational Progression is defined as the pupils' advancement from one grade to the next through the receiving of quality education up until grade twelve of secondary school. Quality in education in this case is determined by factors such as availability of proper instructional materials, qualifications of teachers, number of pupils per class per teacher (teacher to pupil ratio), sufficient numbers of classrooms, desks and chairs, science laboratories and laboratory equipment, good sanitation etc.

Educational progression and the acquisition of quality education are usually assumed just because one is in the formal education system. But the reality on the ground looks very different depending on the type of school one attends. Some schools offer more quality education compared to others. The education system in Zambia has 3 types of schools namely private, government and community schools. Generally, private schools offer more quality of education followed by government schools and then community schools. Private schools have better infrastructure, good sanitation, well equipped science and information technology laboratories and better qualified teachers. They have lower pupil teacher ratios and their school fees are on the high side compared to government schools. Private schools are as the name implies, privately owned and funded.

Government schools are owned and funded by the government. They have solid buildings but are normally not well maintained and are quite run down. They may have laboratories but these would be run down with little to no equipment. The pupil teacher ratios are quite high; 50 or 60 to 1 teacher. Community ... schools are supported by individuals, businesses, farms and/or churches in the local area (Biemba et al., 1967) 2010). Community schools have no age restriction ... Teachers in community schools are normally volunteers that get paid by the community and/or the church. Community schools are created when state schools, otherwise known as government schools, are not enough to accommodate all the local children and in places where state schools are non-existent (Kadimba, 2010).

The community schools in Lusaka province cater to (Chakufyali, 2008, Pg 4) “out of school children due to various reasons, of which most of them were a result of being poor and could not afford to pay school fees in public schools and others due to being orphaned”. They are less costly with pupils not being required to buy and wear school uniforms or to pay tuition fees. Family Legacy Missions International, (2010) puts it this way, “the fee to attend a community school is significantly cheaper, but very often you get what you pay for”. They illuminate on this by saying, the daily learning period in community schools often only runs for two hours so that more children can be cycled in because more often than not, they have no school infrastructure of their own (Family Legacy International, 2010). They operate in community halls or in church buildings. They are little funded if at all and access to books, supplies, proper curriculum and quality teaching is often hard to get on a tight budget and is usually lacking (Family Legacy Missions International, 2010).

FAMILY

Among the various social institutions in any society, the family can be viewed as the hub of or the heart of life. This is because all social institutions consist of people who can be traced back to a unit that includes 2 or more people living together and related by marriage or birth and in some cases, adoption.

The family has several functions which include

- i. economic support: the provision of necessities like food, clothing and shelter;
- ii. emotional support: the provision of intimacy, companionship and a sense of belonging for the family member and
- iii. socialisation of children which is raising children and/or parenting.

There are several other functions of the family but these seem to be in the limelight the most.

The family is the primary socialisation agent of a child (Giddens and Sutton, 2012). This is why a child, orphaned or not, needs to grow, learn and live in the context of a family; people who have a vested interest in them, and are willing to do what it takes to prepare them (the child), for life in their society.

Like elsewhere in Africa, family in Zambia is not just a simple case of father, mother and their biological children. It is more complex than that. Ekeopara (2012) defines it as “a group of people closely related by blood” (p262). Everybody descended from the same patriarch, a grandfather, is said to be from the same family. The makeup of

the family in Zambia extends far beyond the nuclear family to include other relatives like aunts, uncles, their children, grandparents etc (Taylor, 2006: p107).

Everyone in the family has equal significance. Everyone has a responsibility to fulfil, from providing food to keeping house to taking care of children; everyone is needed. Most significantly, everyone plays an essential and active role in the raising of the children of the family.

The extended family is important in Zambia because it is the place of safety and provision, the place of security, refuge and rest. Extended family members are responsible for protecting the vulnerable, caring for the poor and sick and passing on traditional social values and education Strobbe et al., (2010. p2). When a member of the extended family has trouble of any sort; social, financial, emotional, physical, the family is there to help. It is the place of insurance and assurance or as has been so aptly put (Ekeopara, 2012, p264; Zhou, 2012. p6; Strobe et al., 2010.p2 and Eloundou-Enyegue and Shapiro, 2007), it is to Africa, what the State Social Security System is to the west. Cox and Fafchamps (2008) also share the same sentiment; “extended families are important just about everywhere, but especially so in poor countries, where social safety nets are incomplete or nonexistent and households must cope with an unforgiving environment of severe poverty and shocks to economic and physical wellbeing” (p3714). This safety net provided by the African extended family has traditionally been the basis for the assertion that “there is no such thing as an orphan in Africa” (Foster 2000).

That is why the assertion and concern that orphans in the extended family system may be disadvantaged in their education compared to non-orphans, is raising so

many questions. The extended family is where they (orphans) are supposed to be taken care of, to be educated. If that is not happening, then what is the problem? Why is there a growing concern that this extended family system may be breaking apart?

Two crises that are hounding the present day extended family system in Zambia have been pinpointed as reasons for this. As Strobbe et al. (2010, p1) put it. Chronic poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic have put this safety-net under severe strain. The first is the economic crisis where more than 2 thirds of the Zambian population are said to be living below the poverty line (Zambia Scholarship Fund, 2011). The second crisis is the HIV/AIDS pandemic that has been claiming the lives of parents, depriving families of breadwinners and leaving vast numbers of children orphaned. Throughout the 1990s, this pandemic has put additional strain on the sustainability of families and households.

This first crisis the extended family is facing has to do with the fact that the cost of living is just too high compared to the incomes they earn. For example in Lusaka, the monthly average income is K645.32 while the total cost of basic food items and essential non-food items for a family of 6 is K2 799.28 (JCTR, 2010). The monthly average income is just a quarter of what an average family of 6 needs to survive. This (Eloundou-Enyegue and Shapiro, 2007) compromises the ability of middle-class (breadwinners)... to render assistance to needy relatives.

The livelihood of families is stretched and everyone is feeling the pinch of the high cost of living. Ideally, the extended family is supposed to provide a cushion for such issues and (Eloundou-Enyegue and Shapiro, 2007) “permit frequent exchanges of resources and children across nuclear family units in ways that are presumed to

reduce socioeconomic inequality” but this seems not to be the case. According to Beegle et al. (2009), “children can no longer rely on the support of the traditional extended family system, which provided care and support for the ... disadvantaged family member”. As the number of adults getting infected by HIV/AIDS and dying or just getting affected increases, the family networks begin to feel the pressure of taking care of the ensuing vast numbers of orphans (Strobbe et al., 2010. p2; Beegle et al., 2009. p5 and Stover et al., 2007). The results of this are disastrous as people adopt survival mechanisms above feelings of kinship. Families now make their decisions based on how well they can afford to live on their incomes and not kinship. As a result, children have sometimes gone into homes that are already overstretched and where they are really not welcome (Beegle et al., 2009), households which may not have the capacity to meet their (orphans) needs (p5). The argument here is that when resources are scarce, caregivers will favour their own biological children to spend money on for things like education. Studies (Case et al., 2004) have shown that even when resources are available, orphans still fare badly compared to non-orphans; are not enrolled in school even when the household can clearly afford to send them to school.

In Zimbabwe, as far back as 1996, Musengeyi (1996) reported that “due to economic hardships some people ... deliberately avoid extended families and do not want their addresses known to relatives”. So these concerns about the capacity of the extended family to act as a safety net for the vulnerable are not unique to Zambia. Perhaps something to consider is, how is capacity of the extended family to care for the increasing number of orphaned children holding out? Can they afford it? Are they

willing and ready to take in extra people as part of the financial responsibility, let alone social and emotional? Or are they avoiding this responsibility at any cost?

Closely related to the economic crisis is the second crisis, the HIV/AIDS pandemic. With high morbidity rates due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, there is increasing concern that firstly, the number of orphans is beginning to exceed the capacity of the extended family to absorb them. Secondly, AIDS affects the most productive family members in the prime of their productive and reproductive lives. (Beegle et al., 2009. p5), the people who are dying are the very ones in the extended families who need to be taking in orphans. So there emerges a difficult situation where the extended family's coping mechanism is beginning to stagger and crumble meaning orphans now have fewer options in terms of who to live with who can also afford to take them to school and meet all their school needs. Taking care of distant family members beyond your own small family unit used to be common in Zambia, like in most African cultures. No matter how poor one may be, people were still expected to take responsibility for others in their extended family (Meulenbeek, 2011). Strobbe et al., (2010) reiterates what others have said, that as the number of orphans and vulnerable children increases and an even larger number of adults is affected by HIV/AIDS, these family networks have come under severe strain... giving rise to an increasing number of orphans and vulnerable children and, in the extreme, to street children.

Yet it is not merely these two major crises that have been eroding the capacity of the family to act as a social safety net to orphaned children. The character and organisation of the family has also been changing because of labour migration and

urbanisation as people have been moving from rural areas to urban areas in search of work to escape rural poverty. In 2006 (Cheelo, 2011.p2), rural poverty was estimated to be at 80 percent of the population in Zambia. The general perception in the rural areas is that urban areas have better opportunities for work and livelihoods so they move to urban areas. Migration is not a new phenomenon. Extended families in some rural parts of Zambia practiced semi-nomadic farming where they moved together to find better farmland. In this practice, the traditional households collectively played a role of distribution and redistribution of food and other goods among members to ensure that every member was taken care of and benefited from the product of communal labour (University of Pretoria, n. d). But the current labour migration is seen as individualistic rather than collective. It brought about the weakening of family ties and the need to redefine the functions of the extended family (University of Pretoria, n. d.).

On top of that, modernisation through industrialisation and the westernised educational system penetrated many communities and individuals in Africa nudging them to embrace a lifestyle that is previously unknown to traditional African societies (University of Pretoria, n.d.). Slowly the value of the extended family system began to diminish or as Maduagwu (1999) put it, “the age-long communal life of the Africans, which is generally known as extended-family system, is being looked down upon as primitive”.

Slowly people are choosing to adopt the nuclear family system and its values, and abandoning the extended family system with its values. With the onslaught of the western culture and its values which is widely regarded as the ideal way of life by most of the developing world Maduagwu (1999), it would really not be surprising if even

without the 2 crises (HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the chronic poverty) the extended family system still died out. The 2 crises may just have accelerated what was inevitable. Orphans would still have lost their social safety net and it would have disintegrated albeit at a slower pace. They would still be faced with the dilemma of whether or not they can be assured of receiving an education that would equip them for their futures. Not having a proper formal education impacts one's life in very profound ways. People with low education levels more often than not will live in poverty that encompasses every aspect of day to day life. The effects of poverty due to low education levels are devastating to say the least because social exclusion quickly becomes a part of their lives. When social exclusion occurs, then people are marginalised from their own society, where they live.

2.1.4 SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Social exclusion is “a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live” (Chirwa, 2002. p95). Amartya Sen developed an approach to understanding social exclusion, which has to do with one's basic capabilities. According to his approach, effort has to be made (Klasen, n. d.) “to ensure that people have equal access to basic capabilities such as the ability to be healthy, well-fed, housed, integrated into the community, participate in community and public life, and enjoy social bases of self-respect” (p2).

A different scope of understanding social exclusion is from the human rights point of view. This view contends that social exclusion is the (Klasen, n. d.) “denial or non-realisation of civil, political, and social rights of citizenship” (p2). A more detailed

definition from a human rights perspective says social exclusion is (Thorat and Sabharwal 2010):

a social process which involves denial of rights and opportunities, which the majority/privileged enjoy, resulting in the inability of individuals from excluded groups to participate in the basic political, economic and social functioning of the society, thereby causing high human poverty and deprivation among them (p3).

An advantage of understanding social exclusion from a human rights point of view is that it highlights the fact that all people need to have a sense of identity and belonging to society, and that all people need to have the choice and ability to take part in all societal activities. Or as (Klasen, n.d.) puts it: “the inability to participate in, and be respected by, mainstream society is a violation of a basic right that should be open to all citizens (or residents) (p2)”.

When exclusion becomes about the violated rights of a person, (Klasen, n. d.) it “strengthens the case for society to ensure that it enables participation and integration of all its members” (p2). This way, the misfortune of the victims of social exclusion is not blamed on them as they did not choose it. This is helpful when it comes to figuring out policies that could help eliminate the exclusion. It also highlights the (Klasen, n. d.) “role of political, economic and social arrangements in generating exclusion and the role of solidarity among members in overcoming it” (p2).

Social exclusion can be passive or active. Quoting Amartya Sen, Thorat and Sabharwal (2010,) say:

Active exclusion is the deliberate exclusion of people from opportunities through government policies or other means. Passive exclusion works through the social process in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may result in exclusion of people from a set of circumstances (p3).

Molden et al, (2009) defined the same two concepts by giving some synonyms: active exclusion is that which is explicit and direct (i.e., when one is rejected) while passive exclusion is one which is implicit and indirect (i.e., when one is ignored) (p1). Lewkowicz (2011) says of the same,

Active exclusion integrates political action as a systematic denial of citizenship, while passive exclusion involves a societal development of alienation and separation. The difference lies in intent as well as manifestation of the exclusion. Active exclusion is legitimised through government action while passive exclusion remains through discriminatory practices and everyday interactions (p21).

Sen (2000) gives an example of immigrants or refugees who are not given a usable political status, as an act of active exclusion as experienced/suffered by minority communities in Europe and Asia (p14 to 15). Related to this is another good example of active social exclusion; what happens to immigrants and expatriate workers in many European and Middle Eastern countries. The European governments (Ahmad, n. d.) deliberately discriminate against them with regard to their political rights, terms and conditions of work and housing (p2). The European Council on Refugees and Exiles, ECRE (2013) says the government of Italy for example lacks a

comprehensive integration strategy for asylum seekers, no proper housing is provided so there is an increasing number of refugees living in homeless people's shelters or squatting in abandoned buildings with highly diminished chances of becoming self sufficient (para2).

When, however, the deprivation comes about through social processes in which there is no deliberate attempt to exclude, the exclusion can be seen as a passive kind. A good example is (Sen, 2000) provided by poverty and isolation generated by a sluggish economy and a consequent accentuation of poverty (p 14 to 15). A specific instance of this is what happens to a people group in Morocco, the Berbers. The Berbers are an ethnic people group who are marginalised and socially excluded from the places they live in Northern Africa and Diaspora communities concentrated in France. They are (Lewkowicz, 2011) essentially just ignored as they live on the fringes of society pursuing completely separate lifestyles from the rest of modern Morocco (p21).

Sen, (2000) emphasises that both active and passive exclusions may be important, but they are not important in the same way.(p14 to 15). So, social exclusion is passive, active, or a combination of the two.

Social exclusion is one of those phenomena that cannot be traced back to just one cause but to a compound of causes. In a lot of ways the causes of social exclusion are similar to characteristics of poverty, for instance “persistently low incomes, lack of job opportunities, lack of access to education, to health care, and to other public services” etc (Kamerman, 2000. p2; Kamerman and Kahn, 2003. p2). When these come together, they ensnare people into situations of severe difficulty. A life without

proper health care and education, with no proper prospects of things getting better, is a life of constant defeat and misery.

Although poverty and social exclusion are so closely intertwined, they are distinctly different in that poverty (Klasen, n. d.) “is often seen as a ‘social’ or ‘welfare’ issue” (p2) while social exclusion (Kamerman, 2000) is about a “constricted access to civil, political, and social rights and opportunities” (p3).

Because the two concepts are so closely related, sometimes they are wrongly used synonymously. But Social exclusion is (Kamerman, 2000) “more than income poverty and joblessness and includes, in particular, being cut off from the social and economic life of their community” (p9). It is increasingly (Kamerman, 2000) “distinguished from financial poverty and focused rather on constricted access to civil, political, and social rights and opportunities” (p3). In contrast for instance to (Klasen, n. d.) “poverty and unemployment which focus on individuals or households, social exclusion is primarily concerned with the relationship between the individual and society, and the dynamics of that relationship” (p2).

Thorat and Sabharwal (2010) contend that social scientists and policy makers have progressively become aware of the association between social exclusion ... and poverty (p3). This puts them in a better position to understand the plight of different social groups which have suffered from social exclusion and discrimination of various types through the ages and how best to help them. This understanding is important for the development of public policy as it highlights the truth that (Magrab, n. d.) “social exclusion represents a process” while poverty represents a state of being

(p1). When understood this way, planning and implementation of mitigation measures are made easier.

Social exclusion in any society manifests itself through several signs. Individuals that are excluded more often than not experience these. One of the obvious signs is low income. In addition to that, a 2001 British report called *Preventing Social Exclusion* (Kamerman and Kahn, 2003) distinguished a chain of negative signs:

- i. workless households
- ii. teenage out-of-wedlock pregnancy
- iii. drug use among youth
- iv. high rates of adult illiteracy
- v. school drop out
- vi. homelessness (p4)

For different stakeholders, a manifestation of any or all of these things is like a tip off and a prod in the direction of mitigation; to have them do something about it. If no mitigation measures are taken, social exclusion and its effects turn into an unstoppable vortex that transcends generations of different families. It starts with the oldest members of the family and reaches down to the youngest helpless ones, the children.

Social exclusion wreaks havoc on children's lives. When they begin to experience it in the early years of their lives, they are blocked from (Kamerman and Kahn, 2003) "experiences they need to start right: access to health care and to preschool

education, for example” (p1 and p2). After that, breaking out of that rut is highly dependent on whether or not the circumstances of their guardians/caregivers change. Most important is whether or not their guardians/caregivers are able to take them to proper schools and have them receive good education. This is the only major guarantee that their futures will be secure. It highlights the reality that education, income and social exclusion are inextricably interconnected.

The association between social exclusion and education is such that one directly affects the other. Klasen (n. d.) reports how a survey shows that:

Students achieving less than a completed secondary education earn between 7 and 36% less than those with a high school degree. Those with a university degree earn between 80 and 200% more than those with less than secondary education (p18).

Klasen (n. d.) further adds:

As income increasingly determines the ability to be included, the lack of income generated by poor education helps foster the many ways poverty can generate social exclusion, only some of which can be reduced through social welfare programs that transfer resources to the poor (p18).

Guardians/caregivers who are socially excluded are most likely those who earn little because they do not have the educational qualifications it takes to secure a well paying job. Children in a family where the guardians earn very little are themselves most likely to not go far in their education and would end up in the same economic circle as their guardians/caregivers. It is probable that children of socially excluded

parents will themselves be victims of social exclusion, giving credence to an earlier sentiment in this study that social exclusion will transcend generations and keep recurring in the lives of different families. In a study by Magrab (n. d.), results showed reasonably that: “children of parents with low-income, unskilled occupations had lower levels of school performance and achievement compared to children of parents with semi-skilled or skilled professional occupations (p2).

This highlights why parents must themselves be well educated so that they can give their children the opportunity to receive quality education also, and progress all the way to tertiary education, have access to services their society has to offer and basically have a choice in the kind of life they live (Magrab, n. d.)

When neither parent had graduated from high school, academic adjustment and socio-emotional adjustment were significantly worse than for those children whose parents had higher educational levels (p2).

Education is for children one of the most important basic needs they require. It affects the very core of their development and with time empowers them to choose a life they would want to live. That is perhaps why it is a human right. That is why no child should ever have to be in a position where they have no choice but to stay out of school. That is also why the thought that orphaned children may be staying out of school should not be treated lightly but should be investigated. Everybody needs a chance to be empowered to be a participating member of their society so they can experience respect and a sense of belonging to their society.

One of the most significant aspects of social exclusion is its association with unemployment and educational outcomes. Unemployment is easily one of the most noteworthy outcomes for a low and/poor education; one of the most significant symptom of social exclusion as adults. Klasen (n. d.) has this to say:

People who have suffered from childhood social exclusion in education are at risk of being poor and unemployed for longer and more often than others... They are associated with lower health outcomes, poorer access to housing, poorer access to food, and poorer access to health care (p20).

Social exclusion of children, in whatever form, whether direct or indirect, is damaging to children's lives. It has several perpetrators ranging from family to institutions to society as a whole. Children can be socially excluded by the education system. This occurs for instance when (Klasen, n. d.):

The standards called for in the Convention of Human Rights for Children are not met: 'development of the child's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential'... It can also be exclusionary if the process of education fails to promote equal participation and access by all children (p9).

So when some less privileged children like orphans, are unable to go to school because the system has not made provision for people like them who cannot afford to bear the costs of education, then the system has excluded them from their human right to education. Any educational system that fails a portion of its students not only leads to (Klasen, n. d.) "social exclusion through denying them this basic right of

citizenship in sufficient quality, but also through fostering social exclusion as adults” (p18).

In addition, educational policies can actively promote (or fail to halt social exclusion as children become adults. This (Klasen, n. d.):

can happen through educational policies that promote social exclusion among children which then translates to social exclusion as adults, or policies that are not necessarily exclusionary but fail to prepare some disadvantaged children adequately to be well-integrated in the economic and social life of adult society (p9).

When education policies cause any children to be excluded socially, it has far reaching effects on their future as adults. As adults, the same people will more than likely still be experiencing the same social exclusion. Quite a bit of this relates to (Klasen, n. d.) “issues of drop-out, failure to graduate, and poor achievements of the educational system (p15), because as these results have negative aftermath for social exclusion when they are adults.

Schools (Kammerman, 2000) can also be agents of social exclusion of children. They exclude by failing to provide the proper standards of education for the child to learn and by expelling of students (p8).

Expulsion places the child in a position where they are alienated or cut off (excluded) from the place of empowerment for their future. Not only does this exclude them in the present but can also contribute to the exclusion in the future.

Parents/guardians can also be agents of social exclusion of their children. If parents are excluded then their children will be too. Kamerman (2000) says parents' "lack of skills and resources contributes to exclusion of their children" (p8). The children still have no choice or control over what course their lives take. They are fully dependent on their parents for their livelihoods. So if their parents are excluded for any reason, as long as they remain with their parents, they will be excluded too.

Kamerman (2000) gives different examples of possible agents of social exclusion of children:

- i. Employers may exclude by barring youth from labour markets. Employers may exclude children and young people, either directly through their decisions in the youth labour market or through the jobs held by parents.
- ii. Governments, both local and national, can exclude by providing inadequate public services (health, education, housing, etc) and interventions. Governments, both national and local, can exclude. They may fail to provide adequate public services – schools, health systems etc – whether through inadequate investment, inadequate current funding, or poor organisation.
- iii. Finally, there is the possibility of exclusion by other children and of self-exclusion resulting from a child's own behaviour. Being 'sent to Coventry' – the explicit decision of a group of children (e.g. a school class) not to talk to one member of the group – is an obvious form of exclusion from a particular.

To sum up this section, social exclusion has diverse characteristics and causes because it is a wide concept and people can be excluded from a wide variety of

things. Sen (2000. p1) gives a list of “a few of the things ... people may be excluded from”:

a livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; property, credit, or land; housing; minimal or prevailing consumption levels; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfilment and understanding.

This list of things people can be socially excluded from (Sen, 2001. P 1) reads like a glimpse into the future if orphaned children’s progression into the schooling is curtailed for whatever reason. This is why according to Chirwa (2000. p 95), social exclusion is:

a useful concept to use in the analysis of the plight of orphans, not just because of the degree of these people’s deprivation, but more so because of the multi-dimensional character of the process of orphan-hood, and the causes and effects of the situation.

Understanding this wide concept could inform families and stakeholders about the dangers of not taking orphaned children to school or letting them stay out of school. To echo Kamerman’s words (2000. p3), “social exclusion is particularly devastating for children because if encountered when very young, they are deprived of the experiences they need to start right — access to health care and to preschool education”. Add to that a proper primary education which is foundational for all learning afterward. Add to that secondary and tertiary education which are what determine just where on the on the socio-economic ladder one will end up. Being socially excluded is a most un-desirous outcome for anyone desirous especially

because this is something that just happens to a person, not something a person chooses for themselves (Kamerman, 2000. p4).

2.2 POLICY ISSUES

2.2.1 SOCIAL WELFARE

The 2 crises facing Zambia's social safety net, the extended family, are too complex for the extended family to deal with alone. Somehow the state has to come in with policies that will alleviate this looming situation and mitigate its effects. Some form of strategy needs to be devised to cushion the effects of the economic and HIV/AIDS crises on vulnerable children. Chirwa (2002) notes that the state is responsible for providing childcare through a series of measures that include laws, social policies and various welfare programs with the guidance of the international regime, which gives a legal framework (human rights) within which countries can work. Countries in the west offer social welfare by offering cash aid, housing aid, child care assistance, health care assistance, food stamps etc. This help is offered to eligible vulnerable people such as orphans, the disabled, senior citizens, the unemployed etc.

Formal social welfare can be broadly defined as governmental programmes or measures that aim to provide economic assistance to people who are financially vulnerable due to old age, disability or other dependency (University of Pretoria. No Year). The main aim of providing social welfare is usually so that the vulnerable can be provided with access to health care and an income for every day livelihood.

Social welfare as provided by the state is difficult to achieve in poor countries like Zambia because the main source of those finances is tax payers money. In many

states, the majority of people are employed in the informal sector with low wages. In low-income developing countries, nearly 85 per cent of the work force is employed outside of the formal sector (University of Pretoria. n. d.).

In these countries, the majority of the population is extremely poor and lives off the land by subsistence farming, a conventional social security system, which relies on the contribution from the formal sector of economy, is difficult to sustain. Income-related taxes are difficult to impose when the majority of the population does not have a sufficient and regular income (University of Pretoria. n. d.).

One thing that is obvious is that the Zambian government cannot afford to provide such a social welfare system for each vulnerable person in Zambia. That means the burden of sending orphaned children to school falls back on the extended family. If the extended family is and can still act as Zambia's social welfare system, then there is no problem. But if the extended family system is crumbling under the weight of the high cost of living and the vast number of orphans to take care of, then the state definitely needs to move in. Therefore understanding the issues orphans face in the extended family pertaining their education is crucial because it informs policy formulation on the part of the state. As Case et al., (2004) puts it,

Understanding the risks that orphans face is important for policy: if extended families insure each other, then governmental policies may not need to target orphans specifically. Households could be singled out for help on the basis of other indicators (income poverty, for example). On the other hand, if holding all else equal, orphans are (still) at risk, then governments may be well

advised to target orphans specifically when they design policies to improve such outcomes as school enrolment.

2.2.2 EDUCATION, A HUMAN RIGHT

Every person is entitled to a good life; everybody should be given a chance to make something of their life. No person should ever have to go through life on the fringes of their own society, unable to access or participate in services that bring dignity to their lives. That is why education is a human right; to give EVERYBODY a chance to do something tangible with their lives. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 reads”

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit...” (United Nations, 1948).

And a report by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO and The United National Children’s Fund, UNICEF (2007), addressed the issue of education from a rights-based approach. Three interrelated rights were specified and must be addressed in concert in order to provide education for all:

- i. THE RIGHT OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION - Education must be available for, accessible to and inclusive of all children.

- ii. THE RIGHT TO QUALITY EDUCATION -Education needs to be child-centred, relevant and embrace a broad curriculum, and be appropriately resourced and monitored.
- iii. THE RIGHT TO RESPECT WITHIN THE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT - Education must be provided in a way that is consistent with human rights, equal respect for culture, religion and language and free from all forms of violence.

These along with the Millennium Development goal on education must be implemented in the process of policy formulation for all-encompassing education in Zambia.

2.2.3 MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL

Zambia boldly ratified the United Nations Millennium Development Goal number 2 which reads, “Achieve universal primary education; Ensure that by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling” (United Nations, 2000). The ratification was done despite a very grim outlook on Zambian education by the government of Zambia itself, because through the Ministry of Education (GRZ, 2010), it stated that the salient facts about basic education in Zambia are that:

- i. For the foreseeable future this is the only education that the majority of children may receive;

- ii. Two-thirds of the children cannot proceed into the upper basic level, while a significant number do not have access to lower and middle basic education;
and
- iii. The standards are generally low.

Still, in keeping with the Human Rights Declaration and the Millennium Development Goal, the Zambian Government is implementing its goal of “Education for All by 2015”. It aims for 100 percent enrolment in primary education in the country.

2.3 THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

2.3.1 SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ZAMBIA

There are significant differences in the 3 types of schools in Zambia. The type of school one attends correlates with the income of their guardian, the quality of education one receives and the infrastructure available. Teachers in community schools have less formal education and less experience teaching specific curricula than their government school counterparts. Government school teachers are officially required to have a primary teacher certification, which requires a two-year course at a teacher training college. Teachers who have a primary certificate are eligible to upgrade to a diploma or Bachelor of Arts degree. Teachers in community schools are only supposed to have completed senior secondary school through grade 12 (DeStephano, 2006).

Community ... schools are supported by individuals, businesses, farms and/or churches in the local area (Biemba et al., 2010). Community schools have no age

restriction ... Teachers in community schools are normally volunteers that get paid by whoever is running the school. Depending on who runs the community school (churches, the community, NGO etc), remuneration of the teachers varies. The common feature amongst all of them is that the teachers are lowly paid. For example, data from the CARE International project in Kopano show that their community school teachers were per month paid K169.20 (US\$26) in 2006 (DeStephano, 2006).

Pupils who do well in these schools eventually enter the formal school system because community schools and government schools offer the same syllabus to their pupils. Community schools in Zambia are educational institutions designed to cater for the education of the poorest and the underprivileged, including essentially the Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC). They are created when State schools, also called public schools, are not enough to accommodate all the local children and in places where State schools are non-existent (Kadimba, 2010).

Private schools on the other hand usually command the highest fees and offer the best services and/or facilities not just for infrastructure, qualified personnel, teacher-pupil ratio and teaching aids but also for science, sports and Information Technology (Biemba et al., 2010). These include international secondary schools and some of them use internationally recognised curricula leading to secondary school qualifications such as International General Certificate of Secondary Education, IGCSE, General Certificate of Education, GCE and the International Baccalaureate, IB (Biemba et al., 2010). Private schools generally have good infrastructure; classrooms, music and art rooms, roads, hostels, parking lots and properly equipped science and information technology laboratories. Their pupil teacher ratios range

from between 15 to 20 pupils to one teacher. Their teachers usually hold teaching degree certificates from university so are well qualified. These schools are well funded so have up to standard teaching aids. Private school fees are quite high, as high as K43 930.

Government schools are run by the government. Most of the government schools were built just after Zambia gained independence from British colonial rule in 1964. They were built to support the then population of 4 million people. In the 2002/3 National Census, the Zambian population was estimated at 10.8 million, with 6.2 million people being children below 19 years of age (Save the Children Alliance, 2005). This means the available education facilities are now not enough to cater for the existing population of over 6 million children because they were built to cater for a much smaller population. On top of that, since independence, there has been little money for expansion and maintenance on these schools so they are now not only inadequate but generally quite run down (GRZ, 2004). There have also not been many new schools built.

Characteristics of government schools include large teacher to pupil ratios, lowly paid and generally unmotivated teachers, lack of proper facilities and services such as science and computer laboratories, desks and chairs. Because of the large numbers of children that go to government schools, the teaching staff is overwhelmed. So the schools divide the pupils into two or more streams for example, a stream comes in from 7am in the morning to 12 pm at noon. The second would then come in from 12pm at noon to 5pm in the afternoon (GRZ, 2004).

Because of financial implications, the types of schools determine who goes there. People on the higher end of the income spectrum take their children to private schools and middle income people to government schools and those living in abject poverty usually take their children to community schools. Orphaned and vulnerable children usually attend community schools although there are some who attend government schools because of the “Free Primary Education Policy”. Income is the biggest determinant of what type school one attends. Informal settlements usually are not planned by the city planning arm of the government so will usually not have any government schools there. But churches and individual efforts have buffered this lack by running community schools.

2.3.2 EDUCATION IN ZAMBIA

Riddell (2003) reports, in the 2002 school year, the Zambian government introduced free primary education for grades 1 through 7 where children are not required to pay any school fees to attend class. Although this has improved entry to primary education, the quality of basic education has not improved also. Education statistics show high repetition and low completion rates. Particularly at risk are orphans and vulnerable children (OVC), who remain disadvantaged and often excluded from educational opportunities (Swallow, Nielson and Chakufyali, 2009). Quoting the Ministry of Education, Kalaba reiterates that lower basic level or primary education may be the only formal education that the majority of children in Zambia may receive, that two-thirds of the children cannot proceed into the upper basic level, that a significant number do not have access to lower and middle basic education and that the standard is assumed to be low (Kalaba, 2010). The Irish Aid Education Policy

and Strategy, (2008), adds “though there is justification on the focus of primary education, it has been observed that too much emphasis on one education sub-sector ignores the other essential linkages between the various sub sectors and can lead to an overall imbalance in the system”.

Granted, this (Free Education Policy) is a noble venture to embark on, but the effects of a free primary education would only be felt and appreciated if there was surety of continued advancement after primary education. Eliminating the risk of social exclusion present and future, can only be assured if there is continued progression in quality education from primary school to secondary and even tertiary education for everybody. Proper preparation for the child to not stall in their education after primary school should be made. If this is not done, the child is set up for failure and quite a bleak future because a primary education does very little in terms equipping one for life in the real world. Similar sentiments were expressed by the JCTR (2011) “... the kind of education being offered in primary schools does not empower those that complete with skills that can be helpful in making sure that one is self reliant even without accessing secondary education.” The Irish Aid Education Policy and Strategy (2008) put it this way, “Universal primary education can best be realised in the context of a well functioning and comprehensive education system that includes all stages of education; early childhood, primary, post primary, vocational and tertiary level” This is what begs the question, (Kalaba, 2010), “does Zambia have a ... functional educational system that will meet all levels of education to cater for the mass population of school going age children?” Secondary and tertiary educations are not free and require students to pay the full fees to attend, and therein

lies a problem for a vulnerable group of our society, the children, and among these, the orphaned children because (Bryant, 2011) being orphaned or made vulnerable due to the death or acute illness of one or both parents plays a role in whether a child goes to school. So then the crunch is, granted they have access to primary school because it is free, but what about secondary and better still, tertiary school?

So if a primary education is all that orphans may receive, and if it does nothing to equip them for a productive and sustainable future, then in a few short years the country will begin to experience not only the burden of supporting a large number of adults who have no way of survival, but also the unfortunate vices that come with the rise of an unproductive segment of the population, crime, drug use, violence, more vulnerable children born in conditions of acute poverty etc, the list is endless. There could not be words more appropriated than Freshman's as he, in his report warns about what would happen if orphans do not receive a good education:

You have a society where kids haven't been to school and therefore can't fulfil even basic jobs ... a society where a large proportion can have anti-social instincts because their lives will have been so hard. You have a generation of children who will be more vulnerable to exploitation and to disease because they won't have the same sense of self-worth" (Freshman, 2001).

2.3.3 QUALITY OF EDUCATION

The Introduction of free primary education was (and still is) a very welcome idea but it arrived fraught with quite a few challenges. Very little is documented on the planning, implementation and the impact it has had on improving and raising literacy

levels. Outside of heightened enrolment, very little else is documented as an impact the Free Education Policy has had. The sustainability of the programme is so far not yet proved and/or documented. Much of the documentation found is on what led up to the implementation especially about the ratification of the Millennium Development Goals. Nishimura et al. (2009) found a similar challenge when they documented: “the current UPE (Universal Primary Education) policy is devoid of analytical studies on its impact and challenges beyond school enrolment in Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Uganda”. They added that (Nishimura et al., 2009) from their comparative study on Universal Primary Education Policy in Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Uganda “the results show that effective policy implementation would require considerable consultation with key stakeholders and a baseline survey that will enable systematic implementation and consideration of equity (Nishimura et al., 2009).

A plausible interpretation of such sentiments is that the free Primary Education Policy was not planned for properly, hence not transitioned into seamlessly. There were no proper measures put in place to accommodate the magnitudes of changes that were to come. Especially, there is no suggestion that proper measures were put in place to ensure that all the children who could and were now enrolling into school, would be helped to stay in school, in other words, its sustainability is questioned.

Because education became free, almost overnight, classroom sizes doubled and in some cases tripled as enrolment soared. And equally almost overnight, the delivery of quality education was compromised. In Zambia as of 2006, (JCTR, 2011) the

national average pupil: teacher ratio was as high as 57 pupils to 1 teacher. In such an environment, it is difficult for a teacher to pay attention to the needs of every pupil.

In Kenya, when the government “eliminated fees in 2002, 1.2 million additional students entered primary school”. In some cases, student enrolment rose above 120 per class (UNICEF, 2009), implying pupil teacher ratios of 120 pupils to 1 teacher. And not surprisingly, “schools reported that a significant proportion of those who came were orphans and vulnerable children” (UNICEF, 2009).

They may have stayed away initially because of the costs involved, but with abolition of these costs, a door had now been opened for them. This is not a surprising trend because quite often, the people who find themselves without a choice but to either not enrol or drop out of school are orphans. They are often at the bottom of the line in terms of accessing any education at all, let alone a good education. UNICEF (2009) paints a similar picture in its sentiments:

- When fees are abolished, the supply of education of any real quality is likely to become even more limited than previously.
- As those who frequently find themselves with the least ability to exercise choice, orphans and vulnerable children are likely to find themselves among the worst placed in terms of accessing the limited supplies of quality education.

Again, issues of social exclusion emerge here where the exclusion in this instance is from quality education and also from not accessing education at all.

Ideally, introducing free education should bring about increased enrolment and opportunities for all to receive quality education and be equipped for the future. In reality though, rapid increases in school enrolment are not always followed by equally rapid increases in capacity of the schools to take in the extra pupils (more classrooms, more teaching resources, and so on or employment of more trained teachers). As a result, even where fees have been abolished, the provision of quality education may be quite inadequate. An increase in the supply or provision of education (from Free Education Policy) should always come after proper planning on how the implementation will be done, including all eventualities like the need for more infrastructure in the schools over time, the need to employ more teachers, the need for more teaching resources and how all these would be funded. All stakeholders (the government and the community) need to be involved at some level of the planning so that ownership of the policy is fostered and implementation made seamless. As Nishimura et al. (2009) put it, “mutual accountability and a responsibility mechanism between the government and parents/communities is ... a key to the sustainability of the UPE policy”.

If this (proper planning) is not done, the very objective of introducing free primary education is undermined, the very target group of people being helped becomes excluded; they become victims of their help:

Consequences were borne by the pupils themselves and the teaching staff. Many schools experienced a lack of adequate water and sanitation facilities, especially toilets, to meet the needs of a larger school population. Schools

also suffered from a lack of desks, books and other materials for pupils to use (UNICEF, 2009).

Of course, government action alone will not end poverty for children. However, by ensuring universal access to basic social services of good quality especially basic and secondary education, the government of the Republic of Zambia can provide the foundation to ensure that all children get the best possible start in life (UNICEF, 2001).

2.3.4 HINDRANCES TO EDUCATION

Schooling for orphans is so fragile because it can be cut short so easily. There are too many serious and a lot of times unavoidable factors that come into play like opportunity costs to education, for instance, the need for domestic labour and the need for income generating activities in a family, etc., or as Shann et al. (2011) simply put it, orphaned ... children may lose access to school for several reasons including poverty, need for domestic labour, need for income-generating activities, stigmatisation, and parental sickness or death.

- i. Opportunity costs of course, aid in families keeping orphaned children out of school because they are out there earning some form of income for, or providing a service to the family. UNICEF (2009) in giving a similar picture says orphans may be unable to attend school full-time due to the need to earn a living, or care for siblings or sick parents.
- ii. Poverty (and all related to lack) is another factor. Poverty entails that the orphans may not afford the other costs of education outside of tuition fees.

- iii. Stigmatisation is yet another. Stigma and any form of inequity is a recipe for increasing violations of children's rights, such as their access to education.
- iv. A fact that casts another shadow on this seeming plight of orphans' education is that even with free primary education, levels of enrolment and rates of attendance of school for orphans is lower compare to non-orphans. Studies (Shann et al., 2011) show that orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Africa generally have lower rates "of enrolment, attendance, and school performance than non-orphaned and less vulnerable children". Sometimes, even before the death of a parent, children may miss out on educational opportunities; research in Kenya suggests that children of HIV-positive parents are significantly less likely to attend school than other children (AVERT, 2007). In many African countries, half the children enrolled at the end of primary school do not continue to the secondary level.
- v. On top of that, secondary schools are rarely free and students must pay their full tuition as well as books, uniforms, examination fees, and other school-related expenditures. So the ones that are enrolled still go through more attrition as they drop out of school due to the high cost of education at secondary and tertiary levels. Studies (Shann et al. 2011) have shown that school enrolment inequities among all types of orphans have been documented throughout sub-Saharan Africa. One estimate suggests that orphans are approximately 13% less likely to attend school than non-orphans (Shann et al. 2011).
- vi. Although poorer children are less likely to attend school, the lower enrolment of orphans is not only as a result of their poverty. Sometimes orphans are less

likely to be enrolled than are non-orphans with whom they live. Consistent with Hamilton's Rule, the theory that *the closeness of biological ties governs altruistic behaviour*, outcomes for orphans depend on the relatedness of orphans to their household heads. The lower enrolment of orphans can also be explained by the greater tendency of orphans to live with distant relatives or unrelated caregivers (Case, Paxon and Ableidinger, 2004).

2.3.5 NEED FOR GOVERNMENT AND STAKEHOLDERS SUPPORT

In a study (Shann et al. 2013) that investigated the relative effectiveness of various educational delivery service models to orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in two East African countries ravaged by the AIDS pandemic, some interesting results were generated:

“Dropout rates for orphaned... children in general were higher than for non-orphaned.... Never-supported orphaned ... children had a higher dropout rate than ever-supported orphaned children. Perhaps most importantly, both male and female never-supported orphaned ... children were almost twice as likely to drop out as other children. We conclude therefore that the support provided to OVC was protective against dropping out for both boys and girls”.

Even though the extended family system has been working to absorb orphans, the system has been bursting at the seams because of poverty. The Zambia Scholarship Fund (2011) states that “78 percent of the population lives on less than US\$1 a day” in poverty. Their ability to provide for the orphans who come to them is strained. Some form of assistance by stakeholders is required to meet these children's needs.

Their major needs, (the support that can be offered) are enough nutrition, health care, education, clothing, and psychosocial support. Some of the support they need is vital for their very survival, such as nutrition and health care, and some of their needs directly impact the success and sustainability of their futures, for example “education, psycho-social support and economic self-sufficiency” (Stover et al., 2007). These are also the areas in which if they do not receive help, they will be victims of social exclusion and will be marginalised from their own society. If they experience any social exclusion, they will be deprived of the very essence of life; they are stripped of their right and opportunity to identify with the society in which they are born and in which they live. In an ideal world all children would have access to all types of high quality services. In the real world many children, especially the orphaned, are malnourished, sick, without shelter and cannot access education.

Research (Shann et al., 2013) has demonstrated that providing support to orphans... to attend secondary school is not only important, but effective. They demonstrated that supported children performed at least as well as their non-orphaned peers and in some cases better. Clearly all they need is someone to come in and render their support and the orphans will thrive.

Grants and scholarships can increase access to secondary and tertiary education for orphans who do not have the financial means to attend school. After all secondary and especially tertiary school is really where most if not all the equipping for the future is. When these grants and scholarships are given though, proper recording and documentations of progress needs to be done so that there is evidence of whether or not the support is effective and relevant. Supporting orphan education is a sure way

of ensuring they not only enrol and attend school, but that they do not drop out because of financial pressures. Shann et al (2013) reiterated that the most significant factor in improving attendance at school (especially for girls) is payment of school fees....

There are also other societal factors that affect the educational outcomes beyond paying school fees, such as (Shann et al., 2013) nutritional status, psychological wellbeing, and physical safety. These need to be addressed systematically as school support is provided as they combat low enrolment and high dropout rates. Ultimately they fight against possible social exclusion of the orphan.

2.3.6 HIGH COSTS OF EDUCATION

Apart from the question of how far orphaned children go in their education, there is also the question of whether they are even in school in the first place. According to a study by Petrauskis and Nkunika (2006), there are many indirect costs of education that parents and guardians still incur that may hinder their children from enrolling and/or going to school. After ratification of the Millennium Development Goal “Free Primary Education for All by 2015”, government through the Ministry of Education introduced a policy that children should not be turned away for not paying user fees; tuition and Parent Teacher’s Association fees, and for not wearing school uniforms. Parents/guardians however still have to spend money on school supplies like exercise books, text books, pens, pencils, paper, crayons etc. They also have to spend money on transportation and in some cases for school uniforms. A report by JCTR (2006), states that indirect costs (mostly uniforms and shoes, books and supplies) that can add up to an average annual amount of K440/USD88 for one child. What that

translates into for poorer households of four to six children is, obviously, a barrier from access to “free education”. In 2011, data (JCTR, 2011) showed that the cost of secondary education in Lusaka was:

Grades 8-9 (User + PTA/year)	K400 – K600
Grades 10-12 (User + PTA/year)	K650 – K1 000
School Uniform (grades 8-12)	K100 – K200

So in reality, publicly provided for free education still constitutes costs on the parents. There are a wide range of them depending on the needs of the school but some include “tuition fees, textbook fees and/or rental payments, compulsory uniforms, Parent Teacher Association (PTA) dues, and various special fees, such as exam fees, and community contributions to district education boards” (Kattan, 2006). Ideally, these are costs that government are supposed to be meeting but there is still dependence on parents to fund them. “Also parents are still required to contribute to the schools’ physical infrastructure and their maintenance” (Riddell, 2003). The Zambian government implemented the Free Education All policy in 2002, but eight years on in 2010, Ju (2010) reported that in Zambia, for children to attend a government school, they still need tuition fees, books and a uniform, which includes black leather shoes. For many, the shoes are too highly priced and very successfully *excluding* them from receiving any formal education at all.

Secondary school costs are even higher than primary school costs because education is not free there. Parents/guardian have to pay the full cost of education plus whatever other hidden costs of going to school. As mentioned elsewhere in this

study, these costs include “school-related expenditure such as books, uniforms, and multiple fees for buildings, maintenance, desks, and so forth (Shann et al. 2013). This is so effective in making sure that pupils drop out of school right at the end of primary school. This exclusion is quite inevitable because parents/guardians have no options but to pull their children out of school if the school does not beat them to it by sending the child home for non-payment of fees. Zoning in orphans, UNICEF (2009) reports that these (often unaffordable) costs are one of the “major reasons for orphans’ continuing lack of access to schooling”.

A similar thought is shared by Shann et al. (2013) that “the low transition rate into secondary schools is partially a result of caregivers not being able to pay for a child’s education”. Some countries such as Uganda have universal secondary education guaranteed by the government but even there, students must pay additional fees imposed by the schools. Again this leads to attrition as pupils lose their places in school because it becomes unaffordable. Again it must be stressed that this immediately casts a shadow over the futures of those who drop out of school especially orphans, because a primary education is just not enough to equip them for life. But “...grade progression is important because losing ground in school places children at higher risk for failing and dropping out. Africa has one of the lowest education completion rates in the world (Shann et al., 2013). Exclusion due to lack of or inadequate education has by far the farthest reaching consequences over time. There is an inability to function even just at the average because of the system on which society is built on. One needs a certain bare minimum of education to be

considered for employment and in Zambia that means a grade 12 school leaving certificate.

2.3.7 SIMILAR EXPERIENCES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Other African countries that have also introduced Free Education Policies have experienced hidden costs of education causing many to still feel the pinch on their expenses on education. A term that has been coined to explain these hidden costs is “Fee Creep”, “the persistence of some kind of fee and other private costs of schooling” (Oumer, 2009). The *Fee Creep* remains a worldwide phenomenon even when countries have officially and legally abolished fees.

According to Miller (2008), in Ethiopia, “only 25 percent of orphaned children attend school compared with 58 percent non-orphaned children....” Primary education in Ethiopia is free from grade 1 to grade 10. Despite free education policy, the *Fee Creep* has struck in Ethiopia also. Their requirements for one to attend school sound very similar to those prevailing in Zambia. They also incur the hidden or indirect costs of education such as costs of school uniforms, stationery, transportation and food. They also incur some “opportunity costs, money that children could be earning if not in school” (Oumer, 2009). So clearly abolition of school fees is not just about tuition fees which do not even constitute the main bulk of the cost of education (Oumer, 2009). This may not seem like too much of a cost for parents to bear but for many children already under the poverty line, it is the hurdle that will keep them excluded from school.

Kenya also has a Free Primary Education policy, and just like Zambia, according to Datta, Phillip and Verna (2009), both in-school factors such as... absence of uniform, and out-of-school factors such as caring for ailing parents, child labour, etc., hinder participation of orphan children ... in Free Primary Education (FPE) system in Nyanza Province, Kenya (para 1). In Kenya, the FPE was implemented twice, first before the mid 1980s where the government and parents/guardians shared the financial responsibility of a child's schooling.

Then in 2003, FPE was re-introduced and true to its form and just like in Zambia, indirect costs on what should be free primary education had and are still having an adverse effect on primary education given the poverty levels in the country. The parents' responsibility (hidden or indirect costs of education) is said to be "responsible for declining enrolment in primary... school" (Areba, 2013, p102). The findings of a study established that (Areba, 2013, p97) partially the hidden costs contributed to drop out rates as most parents were unable to meet the hidden costs of FPE.

Similar to Zambia, "the majority of Kenyans earn income which can hardly meet education expenses" (Areba, 2013, p102). The minimum wage for a domestic worker is 5,541.55Ksh (WageIndicator .org, 2013). It was established that (Areba, 2013, p97) "on average parents spent Kshs1674/21USD20 per child on these costs". The average family size in Kenya is 5 children (Nganga, 2009). Almost 1 quarter of the minimum monthly wage goes toward paying for only one child in school.

1United States Dollar = 85.40000 Kenyan Shilling.

When other costs of Living are taken into account, then it becomes clear very quickly that education is quite unaffordable.

2.3.8 INCOME LEVELS CORRELATE WITH EDUCATION LEVELS

If education is a human right, it has to be easily accessible to all. If there is anything at all that impedes this access, then it has to be addressed immediately. The high cost of education is one such impediment. Levels of education correlate with income levels ... (Baum, Ma and Payea, 2013, p9 and 15; UNICEF, 2001) so if their level of education is below par, they will not be able to get a good job/good income. If their incomes are low, the quality of their lives will be low. A low quality life is undesirable and must be avoided by receiving a good education. It is a cause and effect phenomenon that can be controlled to make sure orphaned children get a good education and get set up for a good quality life in the future. So what are their chances of receiving the kind of education that will steer them clear of the path that leads them to feeling under-valued; of having low self esteem; of having little or no sense of dignity; without any ability to contribute significantly to the society; an inability to contribute to their economy and society; of needing to go looking for retribution or justice; without a choice but to engage in criminal activities to survive; to experiencing ill health and discrimination; to having poor skills for work; to earning low incomes; to living in poor housing; etc. These are the effects of the social exclusion they will be experiencing if they do not progress up to a certain point in their education, the minimum being secondary school. This is what needs to be avoided at all costs.

This is why it is very important to understand the issues surrounding orphan education now, not only to avoid the vices looming ahead but also to protect the orphans from choosing or ending up in paths of life that will be harmful to them.

2.3.9 POVERTY AND EDUCATION

According to the research findings (JCTR, 2006), the average annual total cost of “free” primary education at a government school in Lusaka is K450... and an estimated average of K440 spent indirectly on purchasing items such as uniforms, shoes, books and supplies. “In other words,” said Petrauskis, “due to these ‘hidden’ indirect costs of education like cost of uniforms, transportation, packed lunches, and so on, a free education policy in itself is insufficient to achieve 100 percent enrolment of pupils in school” (Petrauskis and Nkunika, 2006).

Just to give this some perspective, the minimum wage for Zambia as a country now stands at K520 per month for domestic workers, a little more at K1 024 per month for general workers (Lusaka Times, 2012) The Basic Needs basket for a family of 5 in Lusaka by December 2011 stood at K2 904 per month. In September 2012 the Basic Needs basket for a family of 5 in Lusaka stood at K3 455 per month (JCTR, 2011). A family of 5 would probably constitute a father, mother and maybe 3 children, hardly any room there to include more children like orphans. It is simply quite unaffordable. The financial strain would be too much.

A factor at play in determining which schools children attend is the high poverty levels in the country.

About two-thirds of Zambians live in poverty. Annual incomes are well below the level at the time of independence and, at \$1 500 (K9750) a person, place the country among the world's poorest nations. Some social indicators have improved slightly with life expectancy at birth now at 39 years (up from 37) and maternal mortality down to 591 per 100,000 live births from 729. Yet, the country's rate of economic growth cannot support rapid population growth or the strain that HIV/AIDS related issues place on government resources (USAID, 2010).

The poverty levels have a direct impact on education. The Social Conditions Programme of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR 2010) published an article based on a survey they conducted. Their findings indicate that in Lusaka, the total cost of basic food items for a family of 6 is K 928.05, the cost of essential non-food items is K1 87.23 with a grand total of K2 799.28. On the other hand costs of secondary education per year, which included user fees such as Parent Teacher Association (PTA) fees, were as follows (JCTR 2010):

- i. Grades 8 to 9 (User fees and PTA fees/Year) were between K300 and K420
- ii. Grade 10 to 12 (User fees and PTA fees/Year) were between K600 and K900
- iii. School Uniform for Grades 8-12 were between K90 and K180

With a monthly average income of K645.33 in urban low cost areas, where the majority of the population live (JCTR 2010), the implications for orphan-hood and especially for their education become very grim.

Income levels are an important aspect in looking at orphan education. Inequality in income distribution is one of the factors that determine household expenditure and access to goods and services (Zambian Economist, 2008). According to a Zambia News and Information Services, ZANIS article,

the mean monthly income for a Zambian household in 2004 was K 511.38 while the modal income group for the country ranged from K150 to K300, representing 26 percent of the population... Only about one in every three households (35 percent) had mean monthly incomes that exceeded K 300; implying that the majority of Zambian households, or approximately 65 percent, had incomes below the basic needs basket (ZANIS, 2010).

The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections, JCTR (2010), published a table that gave examples of professions and their incomes as shown below.

Profession	Teacher	Nurse	Guard with security firm	Secretary in civil service	Average monthly income in Urban low cost area (CSO)	Pieceworker on a farm
Pay slip	K1 300.30 to K3 200.60	K1 300 to K3 450	K250 to K850	K1 390.50 to K1 900	K645.33 (between October 2004 and January 2005)	K5 to K15 per day

The monthly average income is K645.32. In Lusaka in the year 2010, the total cost of basic food items for a family of 6 was K928.05, the cost of essential non-food items was K1 871.23 with a grand total of K2 799.28. The cost of education per year just for grade 8 and 9 was between K300 and K420. From these figures, it is evident that most average Zambian families cannot afford to take all their children to school. Even without the added costs of other basic needs such as housing, health care and clothing, it is clear that the incomes of people are stretched beyond comfortable (JCTR, 2010).

Education and poverty have an impact on each another. When households become impoverished, older children are often pulled out of school to supplement family income and pay for the school fees of younger siblings. A study conducted in Togo, for example, found that in roughly half of the households in which the breadwinner became unemployed, at least one child was withdrawn from school (Okumu, Nakajjo and Isoke, 2008, p2; UNICEF, 2001). This lack of income puts extra pressure on ... orphans to contribute financially to the household, in some cases driving them to the streets to work, beg or seek food (AVERT, 2007). In Zambia also, poverty is a major factor preventing extremely poor and vulnerable boys and girls from enrolling and staying in school... economic barriers make even 'free' education impossible for poor families (Kalaba, 2010). Orphaned and other vulnerable children ... living in such situations are frequently at increased risk of losing opportunities for education, health care, development, adequate nutrition and shelter. (Okumu, Nakajjo and Isoke, 2008, p2; USAID/Zambia, 2002)

According to DeStephano (2006) most experts assumed that the implementation of free basic education (FBE) would draw students from community schools into public schools (p3). However, according to the Zambia Ministry of Education 2004 “Free Basic Education Policy Implementation Assessment,” more pupils moved from government to community schools since FBE, implying that community schools in Zambia were addressing other constraints that were equally or more important to families than the direct costs of schooling. It should be noted that FBE policies actually increased the cost of education in some cases because public schools often charge user fees despite the FBE policies.

2.4 LOCATING ORPHANS IN THE ZAMBIAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

2.4.1 ORPHAN EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION IS UNDOCUMENTED

For all intents and purposes it appears the orphans might not be doing that badly. There is a “free education for all” policy that encompasses all children in primary school from grades 1 to 7, where they are not required to pay school fees in order to be in school. There are bursaries being given to less privileged pupils by different stakeholders. Most of these are international non-profit organisations for example, The Zambia Scholarship Fund. The Zambian government is providing bursaries for undergraduate students at university (UNZA, et. Al., 2009). The economy is slowly growing (Global Edge, 2012) and yet questions about orphans’ education still abound;

- Compared to non-orphaned children, how far do orphans go or progress in their formal educational career?

- Are there differences between educational progression of orphans and non-orphaned children in schools?
- What kind of quality of education do orphans receive in comparison to their non-orphaned counterparts?
- What kind of help (from government and other stakeholders) do orphans in Zambia receive in their education and how relevant is it?
- Just how free is “free education” for an orphan in Zambia in light of the indirect costs of education that are there?

Data is scanty on how far orphans in Southern Africa and in particular Zambia, go in their education. There could be several possible reasons for this. One is that the extended family system could still be absorbing them, so orphans and their experiences are not exactly in the limelight for all to see. Another reason could be that the focus of research and aid organisations on orphan education has mainly been on avenues of paying for orphans’ education and not necessarily on how far they go in their education. Another reason data on educational progression of orphans is scanty could be that the focus of the media is on the aid organisations and their exploits with not so much focus on the long term results of the orphaned children receiving their support. There are few and far in between reports of cases of orphans who received support and where they are at now in life. Yet another reason could be that orphan educational progression is only now beginning to be a source of concern as the statistics of orphans and the implications, present and future, begin to catch society’s eye. A similar sentiment was expressed by Shann et al. (2013) when they

wrote, “Little evidence is available to assist policy makers and donors in deciding what kinds of programs in developing countries are more likely to be effective in supporting the entry and continuation of OVC in secondary schools”.

2.4.2 WELLBEING OF ORPHANS

It is easy to assume that just because one has lost one or both of their parents, then they are not doing as well as those who still have their parents. It is when you isolate different areas of well being that you can begin to see any disparities and patterns at all. A study was conducted by Musisi et al. (2007). It sought to look into emotional and behavioural problems of orphans in Rakai District in Uganda. Findings in different areas of well-being indicated that orphans are somewhat worse off compared with other children. Some of these findings are adapted below:

In the health domain, compared to non-orphans, double orphans were more likely to report worse health status and being very ill in the previous 12 months. For those who reported being very ill, maternal or paternal orphans were more than twice as likely not to seek care as non-orphans.

For nutrition and food insecurity, maternal or paternal orphans were more likely not to have eaten dinner and to have gone to bed hungry the previous night compared to non-orphans; Overall, recent school-aged orphans were disadvantaged in health and food insecurity within two years after the death of a parent, compared to their non-orphaned counterparts.

More orphans than non-orphans had more common emotional and behavioural problems e.g. more orphans reported finding “life unfair and

difficult”, 8.3% orphans compared to 5.1 % of the non-orphans reported having had past suicidal wishes and more reported past “forced sex / abuse”.

The orphans' social functioning in the family rated significantly worse compared to the non-orphans.

Qualitatively, orphans, compared to non-orphans were described as “needy, sensitive, and isolative with low confidence and self-esteem and who often lacked love, protection, identity, security, play, food and shelter.”

Most lived in big poor families with few resources, faced stigma and were frequently relocated.

Matters that affect children such as these above will definitely negatively impact on how far orphaned children go in their education because they border directly on whether or not these children perform well and whether or not they do not drop out of school. The findings in the study above point to probable cases of social exclusion from several angles the orphans may be going through presently. The study pointed to issues like ill health, food insecurity, emotional and behavioural problems like being suicidal, sex abuse, being rated second best, having low self esteem and confidence, lacking love and protection, having identity dissonance, facing stigma and being frequently relocated between families perhaps because of economic hardships.

The same study by Musisi et al. (2007), reported that the children's academic performance, was significantly associated with emotional and behavioural problems and those children with significant psychological problems fared badly academically.

2.5 PROSPECTS FOR THE RESEARCH OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION OF ORPHANS

So far, literature reviewed shows some intricately inter-connected cardinal points that necessitate this study:

The massive numbers of orphans in the country is first. With such numbers, alarm bells are ringing loud enough for one to wonder what this means for the country. Where are they found? Are they on the street, are they in institutions or perhaps absorbed in the extended family?

Poverty levels in the country are so high that most of the extended family lives below the poverty line. How does this affect their ability to take them in and provide for them? Do the family resources get redistributed equally to accommodate them and take them to school?

Their education very quickly comes into the limelight. Do orphans go to school? What schools do they go to? Do they receive quality education? Do the high costs of education keep them from school? How is it that most of them attend community schools? How has the Millennium Development Goal of Education for all by 2015 helped? Does the Free Primary Education Policy help? Just how far do they go with their schooling; do they get to proceed to secondary school?

Another aspect to consider is their emotional wellbeing. It is so easy to overlook this area of their lives. Having lived through the trauma of losing either one or both of their parents, how are they coping? Is there any support system out there that they can plug into to help them process things?

Most of all, how has the government responded to all this? Have they set up any structures that help orphaned children weave their way through the maze of finances, food, school, shelter, hidden costs of education etc? In other words, how does the government mitigate orphans' plight?

Lastly, if such vast numbers of people in the country live below the poverty line, is there really a difference in the experiences of orphans and of non-orphans who all live below the poverty line? Is the focus on orphans necessary or should it rather be a focus on all children living below the poverty line?

Conclusion

The literature reviewed showed that the primary source of care for the orphan in Zambia is the extended family which despite the massive numbers of orphans in the country, seems to be able to absorb them. However because of high poverty levels, this extended family is bursting at the seams trying to get all children into school. This negatively impacts education in that orphaned children end up in community schools which offer a lower quality of education compared to government and private schools. Because social exclusion quickly becomes a part of their existence, these children are marginalised from their own society. Literature also revealed that

specific data on just how far orphans go in their education is quite scanty despite the fact that much has been written about the plight of orphans in Zambia.

3. CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter lays down what type of study this was. It lays down the sample population targeted, the sampling methods employed and the data collection instruments used to collect the data. It also describes how the sampling was done, how the research instruments were administered, how the data were collected and finally how the data were analysed. The chapter also reveals some challenges faced during the study as well as highlight some ethical issues encountered.

3.1 TYPE OF RESEARCH

The study combined qualitative and quantitative elements of research. This methodological orientation was applied in order to allow for testing (verification and/or falsification) of the assumptions of the study. The quantitative element of the research by use of a questionnaire intended to find out the statistical components of the findings. This is because in the use of the questionnaire, some of the responses were close-ended and gave statistical answers. This part of the research asked the questions *what, where and when*. An advantage of the quantitative part of the study was that the data was easy to analyse because it involved statistics like percentages and frequencies that are easy to compute.

The qualitative element of the study intended to provide the research with more detailed, undirected type of responses where the respondents freely used their own words to express their views. It aimed at gathering an in-depth understanding of the lives of the orphaned children pertaining their educational progression or advancement. This qualitative data was obtained using open-ended questions in the questionnaires and an interview guide. Use of these two different types of research methodologies increased credibility and validity of the findings or results of the study.

For the questionnaire, different characteristics of the study (or variables) relevant to answering the study question were identified. The identified variables were the possible responses to questions in the research instruments. Then each variable was assigned a code. For example possible responses (variables) and their codes were: **Yes= 1, No= 2, Other= 3** (Response= Yes, Code for this response= 1). For the qualitative part of the study, the same identified variables plus any more new ones were looked out for in each of the responses from open ended. Finally using SPSS, the coded variables/responses from the questionnaire were then analysed to come up with information or statistics used to answer the research questions. Descriptive statistics in the form of frequencies were used mainly because they helped to present a basic picture of what was obtaining on the ground. Cross tabulations were also used to show the relationships between variables and how they interacted with one another, for example how a variable like *Income of a guardian* interacted with another variable like *type of school* the child goes to.

3.2 SAMPLING

3.2.1 SCHOOLS

The Zambian school system is divided into three types of schools; government, private and community schools. To get a better perspective on orphans' schooling, children had to be sampled from all three types of schools.

- i. A listing of all schools in urban Lusaka was obtained from the Zambia School Directory. These schools were then divided into three by grouping the types of schools together into community schools, private schools and government schools.
- ii. From each type of school group, three schools were randomly selected using the lottery method. To select the 3 government schools to include in the sample, each government school had its name written on a piece of paper. All the pieces of paper (with names on them) were then put in a jar and the jar was shaken to thoroughly mix them. Then without looking, the researcher picked out one piece of paper with a name on it. The jar was shaken again and the second piece of paper with a name on it picked out. The same procedure was repeated to pick the third piece of paper with a name on it thus selecting 3 government schools. The whole procedure was repeated to select 3 schools each from community and private schools. The end result was three government schools selected followed by 3 private school and then 3 community schools.

The total number of schools selected was nine. The final school sample then, comprised three community schools, three private schools and three government schools.

3.2.2 PUPILS

To administer the questionnaires, permission had to be obtained from and granted by the headmaster/mistress of each school. The headmaster/mistress then gave advance warning to the teachers about the research. With a desire to not disrupt the whole school and their routine, the sampling and administering of research instruments was done one class at a time.

The pupil sample size for the study was 180. These 180 pupils were to be sampled from all the nine schools selected. Twenty pupils were to be sampled from each of the nine schools to come up with the 180 pupils. Random Sampling and Systematic Random Sampling were used to select pupils to participate in the study.

- i. To select the classes to be in the sample, Random Sampling was used. At each school, each class name was written on a piece of paper. The pieces of paper were then thrown into a jar, the jar shaken thoroughly and 1 name drawn. The jar was shaken again and a second class drawn. The jar was shaken again and a third name was drawn. This procedure was repeated until the sampled classes had yielded the 20 pupils to be in the study. This method of sampling was used to make certain the odds for bias were eliminated as each class had an equal chance of being selected. This helped to make sure the results generated from the research in these schools would be valid.

- ii. After selecting the classes, the pupils in those selected classes were sampled using Systematic Random Sampling. Since pupils in one class tend to adopt similar characteristics, pupils from different classes needed to be sampled to eliminate chances of there being any biases, hence the use of Systematic Random Sampling. To get the Systematic Random Sampling started, Simple Random Sampling was used first to select the starting point. The class drawn first (when selection classes to be in the study, illustrated in the paragraph above) was to be the one with the first pupil to start the Systematic Random Sampling. Once that class was isolated, the pupil to be the starting point was also selected. This was done through the lottery method where each pupil was asked to write their name on a piece of paper, and then all the pieces of paper with names on them were thrown into a jar which was shaken to mix the names thoroughly. Then one piece of paper was, without looking, randomly drawn. The pupil drawn was the starting point for the sampling.
- iii. Once the starting point (pupil) was selected, every 5th child in the sampled classes was then selected. When one class was exhausted, the counting and selecting of every 5th child then spilt into the next selected class and so on until the required quota of 20 pupils for that school was achieved. This procedure was repeated at every school sampled.

Systematic Random Sampling was used to select the pupils in order to be as certain as possible that the pupils would be evenly sampled. This method was used because an evenly sampled population would help to investigate the aspect of the odds of orphaned children accessing education.

These selected pupils were then asked to fill in the questionnaire. The questionnaire responses would later help determine which of these were maternal or paternal or single or double orphans, and which ones were non-orphans.

No gender criterion was used in the sampling of pupils so that the sample could be as representative as possible, of the target population.

3.2.3 TEACHERS

Teachers were also selected to be part of the sample because of their privileged position of observing firsthand, the orphans in their classes. They were better placed than anyone in the schools to give information about the key elements of the comparison between orphan and non-orphan schooling such as performance of the orphans in their studies, their wellbeing and the quality of education offered in the different schools etc. Their presence in the study acted to either validate or refute whatever findings would surface from the study of orphans and non-orphans under their tutelage.

From the 9 schools selected, 40 teachers were purposively selected based on their availability in the teachers' staff room. Purposive Sampling was used because probability was not a necessity as they (teachers) were not the major target group of the study. The researcher waited in the staff room for teachers who had free periods in between classes to come to the staff room. Those willing to take part in the study were then asked to be part of the study and the interview administered to them. The sample that resulted constituted 14 teachers from private schools, 12 from community schools and 14 from government schools.

There was no gender criterion in the selection of teachers either because that had no bearing on the research topic. Also no street children were included in the study because the target group was limited to orphaned and non orphaned children who were in school.

3.3 INSTRUMENTS

Two instruments were used, an interview guide and a structured questionnaire.

3.3.1 QUESTIONNAIRE

Through the use of a structured questionnaire, information was obtained from:

- i. non-orphaned children and
- ii. orphaned children in the sampled schools.

In the administration of the questionnaire, both close-ended and open-ended questions were provided. Close-ended questions helped in providing a specific nature of responses from the selected sample. On the other hand, open-ended questions were used to obtain more detailed, undirected type of responses so that the respondents freely used their own words to express their views.

In formulating the questionnaire, the 5 key research questions were used as a guide. Each section of the questionnaire consisted of questions that sought to shed light on the research question. First were basic questions to find out personal information about the child sampled. Then came questions about cost and affordability of education, next came questions on schools and the quality of education offered. After

that came questions on what kind of help is offered to children in the schools. All the pupils sampled filled out the same questionnaire. Their responses provided a platform to compare orphans and non-orphans in the sample.

3.3.2 INTERVIEW GUIDE

The interview guide was administered to teachers. It allowed them to give open responses. Tape-recording and transcription of the recordings were used to secure data from these interviews. This was done to allow for smooth flow of the interviews and accurate reporting of the results.

The questions in the interview guide were formulated in sequence going from the general to the specific. Basic questions about the interviewee were first. Next the questions were about the type of school they teach or work at, its characteristics in line with the quality of education offered there. Next were questions about their experiences working with orphans in their classes and comparing them to the non-orphaned counterparts. Lastly the questions were about what kind of needs they orphaned children in their class have and whether they are met in any way. All the questions were formulated with a view to have teachers bring in their point of view about orphans and the schooling compared to non-orphans.

3.4 FIELD RESEARCH

This involved extensive travel across town from school to school to collect the data. The schools were all located in different parts of the city. The field research was done over a period of 3 months from May 2009 to August 2009.

3.4.1 CHALLENGES DURING FIELD RESEARCH

During the field research, a problem encountered was the extensive travel across town from school to school. It took up a lot of time because of use of public transportation and it was also costly. Another problem was the reluctance of teachers to be part of the study. Most teachers did not want to take time out to be interviewed citing busy schedules. Others were only willing to be interviewed if they were paid some money.

Yet another problem faced during field research was some pupils sampled were too young to fill out the questionnaire on their own. They therefore had to be helped question by question. During the administration of the questionnaire, some pupils gave identical answers pointing to a single source from which some were copying their answers, or to the possibility of discussion of answers before responses were filled out in the questionnaire.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Data was analyzed through descriptive statistics such as frequencies with the aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS); version 16.0 for Windows.

3.6 ETHICAL ISSUES

The major ethical concern for the children was adult consent for them to take part in the research. It was imperative that the respondents understood fully the nature and reason for the research. The constraint there was that the bulk of the respondents were children who were not able to fully comprehend the scope of the research.

Therefore as Noret (2011, p1) puts it, researchers are often required to gain consent from appropriate adults and also gain assent from the child or young person. Because the research was being carried out at school, the persons in charge, in this case the heads of the schools, first had to give their consent for their pupils to be part of the research. A proper outline of what the objectives of the study were and what the actual involvement of the pupils, was given to them before they committed their pupils to be part of the research.

Apart from that, the prospective respondents, both pupils and teachers, were given the option to not get involved in the study if they did not want to. The child has to give some form of signal that they were alright with being involved in the study (Noret, 2011, p2). The aims of the study as well as what especially the children were required to do was explained to them verbally so they fully understood what they were about to get involved in. For this study, the children simply verbally said “yes” as they were willing to be a part of the research.

Further, absolute anonymity was assured them so they did not have to give their names either during the interview or on the questionnaire when filling it out. And lastly their responses were treated with absolute confidentiality in that none of their responses were repeated to anyone else. This was also made clear to them before getting them engaged in the study. Confidentiality is very important because disclosure of information can put the children and their rights at risk (Shaw, Brady and Davy, 2011, p33). In the case of this study, it was an absolute imperative as respondents were left feeling vulnerable when the study asked about issues to do with

their socio-economic status. Most did not want to freely speak about the poverty in their homes or the causes of deaths of their parents.

Conclusion

This chapter laid down what type of study this was. It laid down the sample population targeted, the sampling methods employed and the data collection instruments used to collect the data. It also described how the sampling was done, how the research instruments were administered, how the data were collected and finally how the data were analysed. The chapter also revealed some challenges faced during the study as well as ethical issues that were taken into consideration during the research.

4. CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections: section 1 is findings of the research from orphans using a questionnaire, and section 2 is findings of the research from the teachers using an interview guide.

Section 1 lays down the actual findings of the research in the form of frequency tables, graphs and charts. It lays down statistics as found by the research from the pupils as well as relationships between variables. These findings are analysed to see how orphans, compared to non-orphans, fare in their educational progression. The findings are then also related to literature gathered to see how consistent they are and close to other studies they are.

Section 2 lays down observations of the research as given by teachers. This data was responses teachers gave in their interviews. The findings from this data served to corroborate the findings from the pupils and also to shed light on the topic from a different angle or point of view.

These findings are also analysed to see how orphans, compared to non-orphans, fare in their educational progression. The findings are then also related to literature gathered to see how consistent they are and how close to findings of other studies they are.

SECTION 1: ORPHANS

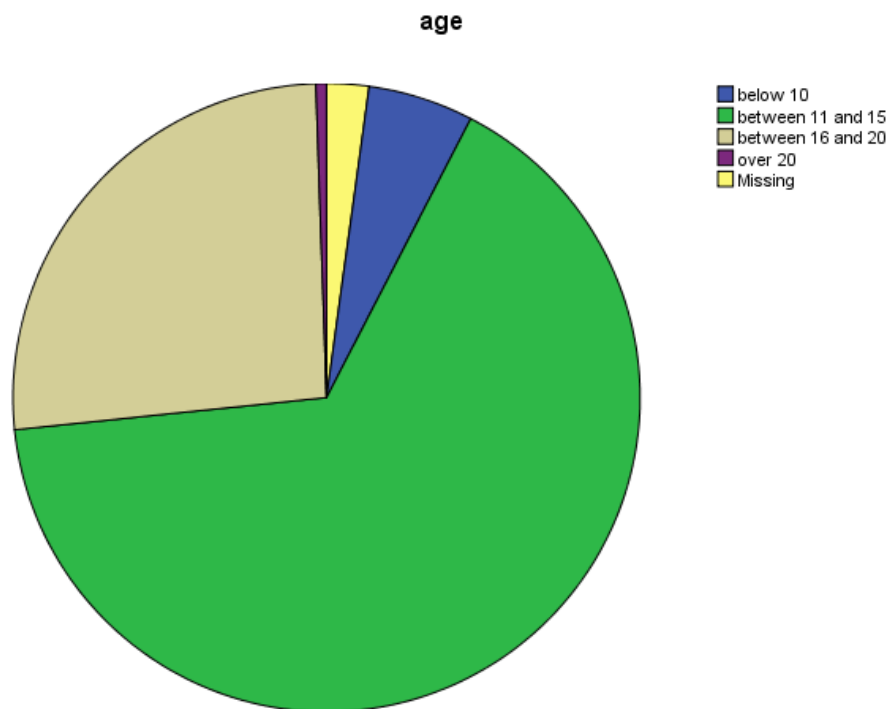
Overall, this chapter assesses and compares the educational progression of orphans to that of non-orphans in Lusaka. The chapter presents and analyses the findings of the study. It presents the findings on the family structures the sample lives in by analysing the households they come from. This sheds light on how that affects their education especially on how far in their schooling they go. It investigates whether there is a difference in how orphans and non-orphans progress in their education. It analyses the quality of education orphans compared to non-orphans receive. It analyses how inclusive the Millennium Development Goal of free 'Education for all by 2015' is, considering there are a lot of hidden costs of free education. Because of the widespread and far reaching effects of high poverty levels, this study also determines whether there is a difference between orphans and non-orphans living below the poverty line.

4.1 ORPHANS IN THE SAMPLE

The section gives information about the children (orphans and non-orphans) of school-going age in the sampled households.

Firstly the age distribution of the sample was looked at.

FIGURE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE



The bulk of the sample population was in the teen age years. Data show that the age “between 11 and 15” had the highest followed by the age “16 to 20”. The findings on “age distribution” were corroborated by the other findings that the highest frequency for “school grade” was for junior secondary at 48.3 percent followed by upper primary at 34.8 percent as shown in the table below. Ages 11 to 15 are normally the ‘school- going’ ages for upper primary up to junior secondary school.

TABLE 1: SCHOOL LEVEL OF SAMPLED CHILDREN

School Level of Sampled Children		
	Frequency	Percent
lower primary	12	6.5
upper primary	64	34.8
junior secondary	87	48.3
senior secondary	17	9.2
Total	180	97.8
System	4	2.2

The table below shows the distribution of the sample population by orphan-hood status.

TABLE 2: ORPHAN-HOOD STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Orphanhood Status		
	Frequency	Percent
single orphan	41	22.3
double orphan	58	31.5
Non-orphan	81	44.0
Total	180	97.8
Missing	4	2.2

Just over half of the sample was orphaned children. Slightly less than half the sample, at 44 percent, was non-orphans. The sample had more orphans than non-orphans. There are too many young people having to go through a difficult time of intense individual development physically, morally and intellectually (teen age years) without a mother or father or both. Even if they are taken in by the extended family, experiencing life without one's parents takes its toll on a young person.

4.2 ORPHANS IN THEIR FAMILIES/HOUSEHOLDS

The study analysed the kind of households the respondents were found in. A household in this study also stands for or represents a family unit. The assumption was that because the extended family was part of the Zambian culture, children who had lost their parents were absorbed into the extended family; live in homes of their relatives, are taken care of and are receiving an education because they attend school. To ascertain the existence of the extended family system in the study, the following factors were investigated:

- i. the guardianship of the respondents to show who has taken orphans in
- ii. the composition of the households of the respondents to give a cross section of who in the extended family lives in the household of the respondents

TABLE 3: GUARDIAN OF RESPONDENT

Guardian	Percentage of Orphanhood Status		
	Single Orphan	Double Orphan	Non-Orphan
Father and Mother	17.07	27.59	69.1
Father	12.2	1.72	3.7
Mother	48.78	12	8.64
Grandmother	2.44	13.8	2.47
Grandfather	0	1.7	0
Aunt	9.76	22.41	12.35
Uncle	7.32	5.17	3.7
Sister	0	1.72	0
Brother	2.4	6.9	0
Other	0	6.9	0

Data shows that all kinds of relatives are guardians of children. Grandmothers, grandfathers, aunts, uncles, sisters, brothers etc, all take in children who are not their own biologically.

- The study showed that aunts and grandmothers are the most common relatives that take in double orphans.
- The study also showed that mothers still remain guardians of single orphans when the fathers die.
- It also showed that brothers more than sisters could be the preferred guardians of siblings after both parents die.
- The findings also show that even where children are not orphaned, some live with the extended family.
- The anomaly where double orphans reported living with their father and/or mother could be because in Zambian culture, a guardian, especially an aunt or uncle, are a mother or father respectively. “Most Zambian languages do not even recognise the distinction between uncle and father, aunt and mother, or cousin and sibling” (Taylor, 2006: p107).

The custom that no one has one mother or father, that your mother’s sisters are your mothers and you father’s brothers are you father (Phiri, 2009. P 49), in a lot of ways saved the day when children lost their parents. “... if your biological father or mother died, the immediate brother or sister to your father or mother would take care of you without any complaint” (Phiri, 2009. P 49). This eliminated any potential destitution for the child. This is what the sample population of orphans is exhibiting, that all orphans belong somewhere, and they will be taken care of.

Composition of households/family unit of respondents was analysed next.

TABLE 4: COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

	Number Extended Family In Household		
	Yes	No	Other
Cousins	85	95	0
Niece/Nephew	30	149	3
Aunt	27	153	1
Uncle	19	161	1
Grandparent	21	159	1
Others	26	154	0

The study found that every household or family unit had an extended family member. None of the respondents reported not having an extended family member. This is quite normal as the family is the buffer everyone fall back on when they need help to go to school, need a place to stay as they wait to get employed or when they retire from work, need domestic help in their home etc. Every member of the extended family in the household has a role to play in the everyday running of the home. That is why the cross section of who the extended family comprises of ranges in age from the very young up to the very old. All respondents (orphan and non-orphan) of the study reported living with cousins, nieces or nephews, aunts, uncles, grandmothers or grandfathers and other relations.

The findings of the study have been consistent with literature (Taylor, 2006: p107) that family in Zambia exists beyond the “notion of a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, and children”. It exists as an extended family. The findings show that the extended family system is still very much alive in Lusaka, Zambia. They show that the safety-net that is the extended family is still taking in children who have lost their

parents. The findings confirm that the extended family remains not just the place of safety, security and rest, but a place of provision also. Children who have lost their parents simply just move in with their relatives and join or get grafted into an already existing family.

After ascertaining that the extended family is functional in the lives of the sampled children, a question that immediately came to mind was:

- a. Are the family's resources enough to accommodate extra members; are the resources redistributed equitably amongst all members of the family, new and old?

Literature (Strobbe et al., 2010: p1) suggests that there may be some weighty issues affecting family dynamics that come into play when answering these questions:

- i. Massive numbers of orphans
- ii. Poverty in the extended family

The 'massive numbers of orphaned children' to be taken in by the extended family denotes a strain on the extended family resources. There are simply too many children to take in by few families with the means/resources do so.

TABLE 5: SINGLE OR DOUBLE ORPHANS

	Orphanhood Status	
	Frequency	Percent
Single orphan	41	22.3
Double orphan	58	31.5
Non-orphan	81	44.0
Total	180	97.8
Missing	4	2.2
Total	184	100.0

As shown in the table above, a little over half of the sample population is orphaned. For a random sample, that is too many orphans and it justifies the need to find out if the extended family can cope with such numbers. Taking in orphans is not an issue, it is cultural, it is accepted. Taking in new members into the family is easier in the rural areas that subsist of farming. There is vast space live and plenty of work to do as one becomes part of the farming family. It is very different in urban areas where a family relies on a salary that only shrinks and live in a space that becomes smaller with the addition of new family members. The bulk of the Zambia families live below the poverty line so the implications for the extended family are disheartening. In the urban areas it means being crammed into a small space and sharing meagre resources amongst too many people.

Analysis of incomes to ascertain how strained financially households were proved hard. This was because respondents were unwilling to disclose their guardians' incomes. Analysis of their financial strain had to be done by proxy using factors directly affecting income levels like occupation of the guardian. Two orphanhood categories were used to analyse the financial strain of families just to make sure there was consistency in the data generated:

- i. Maternal/Paternal orphans
- ii. Single/Double orphans

TABLE 6: OCCUPATION AND MATERNAL/PATERNAL OF ORPHAN

Occupation of Guardian	Percentage of Maternal/Paternal Orphans	
	Maternal Orphan	Paternal Orphan
unemployed	22	22.22
self employed	20.33	26
casual worker	30.5	23.46
civil servant	11.87	16
professional	10.17	7.4
clergy	0	1.23
other	5.1	3.7

The “self employed” category is invalid in this case because respondents shared a wide range of businesses their guardians are engaged in which range from low to medium to high income businesses. But there are two revealing categories of occupations: “unemployed” and “casual worker”. They are revealing because they are low income occupations that have a high number of maternal and paternal orphans compared for instance to occupations like civil servants who are medium income earners, or professionals (like doctors and lawyers) who are high income earners.

When a young person is unemployed, it is easier to have hope that things could change. But when an older person heading a family is unemployed, the stakes are higher. The lack of an income increases poverty in the whole household or family as people lack the ability to purchase basic necessities; causes many to lack self-esteem and a sense of purpose for the many hours of each and every day but also drives them (the household/family) to extreme extents just to meet basic needs. Many get involved in vices such as substance abuse especially alcohol, prostitution, some violent crimes etc just to make end meet. An orphaned child growing up in such a

home is not immune to these devices and could themselves be drawn into the same kind of activity.

The same could be said for minimum wage workers. They give away the time for a wage that does not cover even just their basic food needs let alone other essential non food needs, commodities and services. They too become vulnerable to increased poverty in the household and all the vices that come with that.

The second angle was to look at the family's financial strain would by showing the relationship between the single/double orphanhood statuses again and occupation of guardians.

TABLE 7: OCCUPATION AND ORPHANHOOD STATUS
CROSSTABULATION

	Single Orphan	Double Orphan	Non-Orphan	Total
Unemployed	9	15	5	29
Self Employed	9	15	5	29
Casual Worker	9	12	12	33
Civil servant	9	4	20	33
Professional	3	5	16	24
Clergy	1	0	0	1
Other	1	5	9	15
Total	41	58	81	180

The relationship between occupation of the guardian and the orphanhood status of the respondents was such that the bulk of the orphans were under the guardianship of people with low income occupations. The reverse was true that the bulk of non-orphans were under the guardianship of people with higher paying occupations. The same variables were looked at in a frequency table and the results were the same as shown below:

TABLE 8: OCCUPATION AND SINGLE/DOUBLE ORPHAN

Occupation	Percentage Orphanhood Status		
	single orphan	double orphan	Non-orphan
unemployed	21.95	25.86	6.17
self employed	21.95	29.31	23.46
casual worker	21.95	12	14.81
civil servant	21.95	3.45	24.69
professional	7.3	8.62	19.75
clergy	2.44	0	0
other	2.44	8.62	11.11

The “self employed” category is invalid because of its wide range of incomes. But focusing on the categories “unemployed” and “casual worker” similarly revealed how single and double orphans are wards/dependants of guardians with low incomes. Most orphaned children end up with families that do not have enough resources for themselves in the first place. Non-orphans on the other hand came from households headed by civil servants (middle income) and professionals (high income). Their chances of getting drawn into social vices are definitely slimmer because of that.

The size of household orphans came from was important as it further gave an idea of the financial strain of families that took in orphans.

TABLE 9: SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

	Percentage of Number of People in Household		
	between 3 and 5	between 5 and 8	over 8
single orphan	12.2	41.46	46.34
double orphan	3.45	34.48	62
Non-orphan	12.35	51.85	35.8

The study found that orphans in the study came from large households/families whose incomes were stretched because of high poverty levels. Half of the non-orphans on the other hand came from medium sized families.

The average household size in Lusaka is 5 people (UNDP, 2013: p5). Going by the data that single and double orphans are wards/dependants of guardians with low incomes, coming from a larger than average sized household does present some challenges, costs of education being one of the most key.

Income is an important factor that determines accessibility to essential needs like education and other goods and services. JCTR (2010) reports that people's incomes are already stretched just with basic needs such as food, housing, health care and clothing, so the cost of education being what it is means education is unaffordable for most. For children, JCTR (2010) puts it this way, "the implications for orphan-hood and especially for their education become very grim". Primary education may be free but the hidden costs add up to what most cannot afford. More so, secondary education with its significantly higher school fees and also its hidden costs is beyond reach for most. This implies that most of the respondents would then end their education right after primary school. Therefore depending on the quality of primary education one has received, the future can look quite uncertain. Primary education may very well be the only education they receive ever, and it is not designed for empowerment but as a foundation for secondary education.

Income is the single most important determinant of the type of school a family takes their children to. People in the low income bracket take their children to community schools, middle income people to government schools and high income people to

private schools. So poor people receive a poor quality education and the rich receive a high quality education. This makes it very hard for the poor to break out of their cycle of poverty and social exclusion.

Literature (JCTR, 2011) lay out that the annual cost of secondary education at a government schools is:

Grades 8-9: K400 – K600

Grades 10-12: K650 – K1 000

Of course primary education is free, but the indirect annual cost of primary school is K440 (JCTR, 2011). When looked at in light of literature as well as findings of the study on incomes of the people, it shows that many families cannot afford to send multiple children to school.

Data in this study revealed that almost half of orphans compared to non-orphans come from homes that are in the low income bracket. Low income bracket for casual workers in this case implies the minimum wage which currently stands at K520 per month for domestic workers, and around K1 024 per month for general workers (Lusaka Times, 2013).

The cost of living alone (without adding the cost of education) is just too steep when weighed against the incomes earned. For example, in 2011, the Basic Needs Basket for a family of 5 in Lusaka stood at K3 455 per month (JCTR, 2011). The year before, in 2010 (JCTR, 2010), the monthly average income was K645.32 while the total cost of basic food items and essential non-food items for a family of 6 was K2 799.28. The monthly average income was just a quarter of what an average family

of 6 needs to survive each month. It follows then that if sending one child to secondary school costs a whole month's salary or more, then sending multiple children to secondary school seems like an impossible feat. Even if the cost of education is a once off annual cost, the guardians' monthly incomes are still too low to make much of a difference.

Apart from the massive numbers of orphans and poverty, kinship ties would be another weighty issue that would determine the redistribution of resources amongst new and old family members. Grafting new members into the family upsets the equilibrium of the distribution of family resources. Do kinship ties based on blood relations affect this distribution of resources? Quoting Hamilton's Rule, Greenaway and Heckert (2011: p8) say Hamilton's Rule states that "altruistic behaviour is associated with degrees of relatedness between persons". In other words, guardians/care-givers are more selfless in providing for their own biological children compared to the non-biological children living in their homes. Or as Greenaway and Heckert (2011) put it, "non-parental caregivers are universally more willing to invest in their biological children over the foster-children and orphans for whom they provide care" (p8). Does Hamilton's rule affect the chances of orphaned children progressing in their education?

One of the first telltale signs that there could be something not quite right is the age at which a child starts school. The assumption is that with the odds stacked against orphans (their massive numbers, the poverty of the extended family and parents favouring their own biological children); orphans would not be faring quite as well as

was expected just because they are absorbed by the extended family; that they would start school later than their non-orphaned counterparts.

TABLE 10: AGE AT WHICH THEY START SCHOOL

	Percentage of Age at Which they Started School					
	5	6	7	8	9	10
Single Orphan	4.8	24.3	29.27	17	17	7.3
Double Orphan	0	27	18.97	22.42	22.42	8.62
Non-Orphan	8.62	41.98	39.5	1.23	6.17	2.47

Seven years old is the official age of entry into Grade 1 (GRZ, 2007). The study found that:

- Half of all non-orphans started school early before the right age of 7. This could be because the trend with private schools is that they usually do not follow the official age of entry into school. They have a different selection criterion for enrolment in that once a child has passed gone through pre-school, regardless of age; they are eligible for grade 1. Besides, they are more interested in enrolling the right numbers of children to fill their classes so age is not a big factor they consider.
- About a third of single orphans started school at the right age of 7. An explanation for this is that single orphans still have a surviving parent who can easily get them set up in school; either government or community as these two are both free at primary level.
- Close to half of all double orphans started school well after the right age of 7. The delay in orphans starting school after age 7 shows how loss of one's parents can affect their education. The loss catapults them into a period of

uncertainty as their new family try to figure out ways of getting them set up in school. That could easily take years in the case of people living below the poverty line.

- There is a significant number of orphans who started school at the right age. The inception of free primary education could be the reason this trend is being seen. Orphans have a chance to also start school at the right time just like their non-orphaned counterparts because at this stage, education is still free.

Other factors that were examined to see if the massive numbers of orphans, the high levels of poverty and kinship ties affected the wellbeing of orphans compared to their non-orphaned counterparts were:

- i. Whether orphans had warm clothing
- ii. Whether orphans had warm blankets
- iii. Whether orphans had school shoes
- iv. Whether orphans had nice clothes (to wear to special occasions like church)
- v. Whether orphans felt like they belonged where they lived
- vi. Whether orphans got the same provisions as everyone else in the family of food, school needs
- vii. Whether orphans go to the same schools as their non-orphaned counterparts in the home

TABLE 11: DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY RESOURCES

Family Resources	Percentage of Orphans/Non-Orphans	
	Orphans	Non-orphans
Warm clothing	70.7%	88.8%
Warm blanket	70%	86.4%
Proper school shoes	70.7%	88.8%
Nice clothes for special occasions	64%	80%
Go to the same school as non-orphans in the family	79.7%	95%

These percentages were calculated in proportion to the number of both orphans and non-orphans in the sample. The percentages reveal that ultimately, non-orphans fared better than orphans: they had more warm clothes, more warm blankets, more proper school shoes, more nice clothes for special occasions and went to better school than orphans.

Other factors that were looked at were broken down as follows:

- Children who go to schools different from other others in the household: 20.20 percent
- Orphans who reported receiving less food to eat compared to their non-orphaned counterparts in the household: 24 percent
- About 11.11 percent are asked to sell goods at a market to earn some money, and give that money to their guardians
- About 19.19 percent never get school needs compared to other children in the household
- About 21.21 percent never get new clothes compared to other children in the household

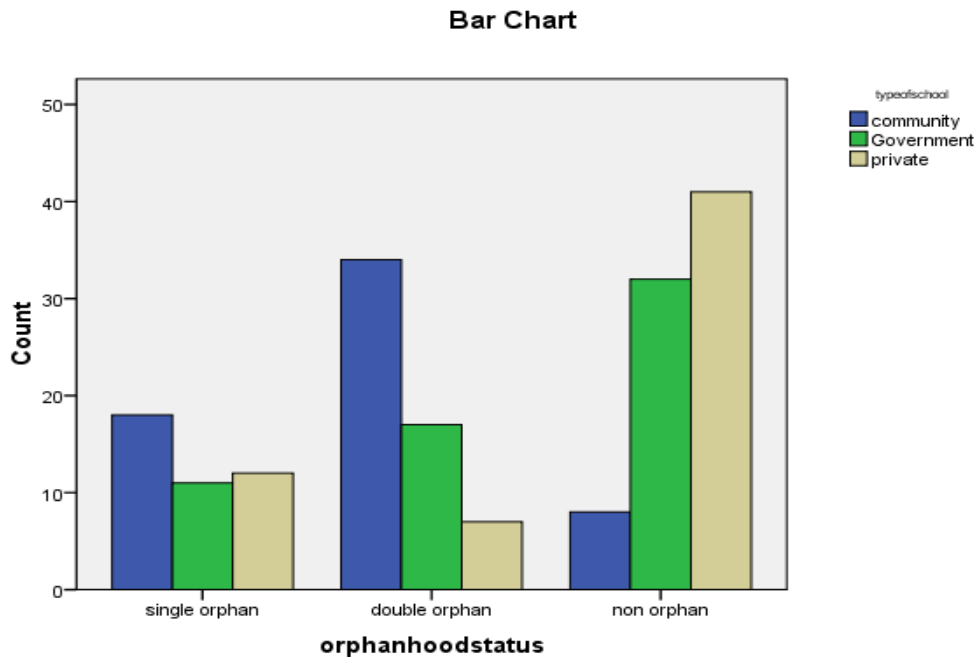
- About 61.6 percent of the orphans reported feeling a sense of belonging to their new family, 29.2 percent felt like they did not belong at all to their new family. 12.1 percent felt like they somewhat belonged to their new family.

It was found that orphans did not fare too differently from their non-orphaned counterparts. While there was a slight difference in favour of non-orphans, it was found that orphans also have access to resources of the families they were grafted into. The extended family system was managing orphan care even though it exhibited some fractures in some areas because of financial strains. This is a testimony to literature's assertion that the extended family has been/is a safety net that ensures children who have lost their parents have their physical and socio-economic needs met (Cox and Fafchamps 2008, p3714).

Even with the massive numbers of orphans to be taken in, the poverty the extended family lives in and the possibility of parents favouring their biological children over orphans in providing resources, orphans in the study did not fare too badly off. They had access to family resources even though they could not equally compare to the access that non-orphans had to family resources.

The only blight on this is that even if the extended family still acts as a safety net for orphaned children, it is strained in terms of resources because of the rampant poverty in the country as a whole. The fact that there are significant numbers of orphans in community and government schools than in private schools shows that poverty levels have affected where children go to school. That is why parents/guardians choose to take their children to community and government schools where education is free.

FIGURE 2: TYPE OF SCHOOL ORPHANS ATTEND



One of the signs of the financial strain of the extended family is that though they are managing orphan care, they can only afford to take the orphans to community schools. This is because the hidden costs of government school and the cost of private schools are just out of their reach. There are more orphans in community school than in government or private school. The opposite is true that there are more non-orphans than orphans in private school.

A cross tabulation (table below) of guardian occupations and types of schools respondents attended showed the same trend; that the bulk of lower orphans living with orphans with lower paying occupations attend community schools. The reverse is true of non-orphans as they live with guardians with higher paying occupations and attend either government or private schools.

TABLE 12: OCCUPATION AND TYPE OF SCHOOL CROSSTABULATION

	community	Government	private	Total
unemployed	13	11	5	29
self employed	18	17	10	45
casual worker	16	8	9	33
civil servant	6	9	18	33
professional	2	5	17	24
clergy	0	0	1	1
other	5	10	0	15
Total	60	60	60	180

4.3 QUALITY OF EDUCATION

The quality of education one receives is as vital as receiving the education itself because as mentioned earlier, it “brings many personal, social, economic and educational benefits” (GRZ 2010). But quality education costs money which many may not afford, hence the appeal community schools have for many because education there is free. Not having to pay for one’s education has its advantages but of course the down side to this is that the quality of education offered suffers.

Data from the study reveal a gross difference in a number of areas that determine the quality of education offered by the different types of schools as shown below:

TABLE 13: SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF CLASSROOMS

	Sufficient number of classrooms			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	7	53	0	60	11.67
Government School	59	0	1	60	98.3
Private School	58	2	0	60	96.67
Total	124	55	1	180	

Literature (Family Legacy International, 2010) contends that community schools do not have adequate or sufficient numbers of classrooms to house the pupils. As was expected, all respondents from private schools reported having a sufficient number of classrooms to house the pupils. All grades were catered for unlike their counterparts in community schools. Data showed that the opposite was true where almost all respondents reported not having a sufficient number of classrooms to house the pupils.

The Family Legacy International (2010) voiced their concerns about the quality of education in community schools. They lamented the poor quality of education offered there from church buildings and/or community halls, the tight funding that meant poor access to books and supplies and the overall poor quality of education offered.

Their fears were authenticated by finding of this study. Respondents from community schools reported learning from church buildings, community halls, homes and even outside under trees. They also reported sitting on the floor and/or sharing desks; 3 or 4 pupils sitting on a desk meant for 2.

Sitting on the floor or 4 pupils being crammed on a desk meant for 2 is not conducive for learning because it is distracting to the pupils; it lowers their attention and they miss out on their lessons. Sitting on the floor is particularly undesirable for girls as they begin to reach puberty and start their menstrual cycles. Such girls would rather stay home during the week of their menstruation than risk embarrassment from staining their uniform with blood. Some end up staying home indefinitely by quitting school altogether.

TABLE 14: SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF DESKS

	Sufficient Number of Desks			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	14	46	0	60	23.3
Government School	43	17	0	60	71.67
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	117	63	0	180	

Data in this table revealed the expected as detailed in literature (GRZ, 2004) that private schools have no shortages of desks, that community schools are quite badly off and that government schools fare better than community schools but still lag behind private schools.

More areas that showed gross differences in the quality of education the types of schools offered were:

- i. The availability of facilities such as science laboratories and equipment
- ii. The availability of text books especially for Math, Science and English
- iii. The availability of male and female toilets
- iv. The availability of running water
- v. Security around the school

TABLE 15: SCIENCE LABORATORY AVAILABLE

	Science Laboratory			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	0	57	3	60	0
Government School	20	40	0	60	33.3
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	80	97	3	180	

TABLE 16: SCIENCE LABORATORY EQUIPMENT AVAILABLE

	Laboratory Equipment			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	1	54	5	60	1.67
Government School	17	43	0	60	28.3
Private School	47	13	0	60	78.3
Total	65	110	5	180	

Literature, (Biemba et al., 2010) documents that private schools usually have available excellent facilities for teaching and learning for science and information technology. Findings of this study corroborate this assertion as it was found that community schools and private schools are at opposite ends of the spectrum in these two areas. Government schools lie somewhere in the middle; they are not completely without but pupils reported their facilities and equipment to be run down and in quite a state of disrepair.

Science is hard to assimilate with just chalk and a blackboard. It has concepts that a lot of times need physical experimentation to understand. Effective teaching of science involves engaging all five senses of human beings at some point. It involves seeing, “handling, and manipulating (or experimenting with) real objects and materials” (Millar, 2004, p7). Lessons that combine an instructional lecture and experimentation are the best at getting pupils to actually ‘learn’. So the presence of a laboratory and equipment definitely raise the quality of education offered.

Access to clean water and to proper sanitation facilities is of paramount importance. The Government of Zambia’s Ministry of Education (Chilobe, 2011: p17) groups community schools in the form of stages according to the level of development a school reaches.

TABLE 17: ACCESS TO CLEAN AND SAFE WATER

	Access to clean and safe water			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	48	12	0	60	80
Government School	60	0	0	60	100
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	168	12	0	180	

A look at access to clean water in the study revealed that 12 pupils representing 20 percent of the respondents from community schools reported not having access to clean and safe water. When asked to give a reason for their response, 8 of those 12 reported getting water from shallow wells.

One of these developments is access to clean and safe water, and sanitation (Chilobe, 2011: p 18). The Ministry of Education, MoE, in Zambia (GRZ n. d. p29) writes that “a large proportion of learners in Zambia’s basic Schools are severely disadvantaged through ...diarrhoeal problems brought on by lack of safe drinking water”. The water points are contaminated and cause a wide range of water borne diseases. One of the community schools reported having a shallow well which gets flooded in the rainy season. Such conditions are undesirable but most orphans who go to school there have to deal with it every day.

TABLE 18: AVAILABILITY OF A GIRLS TOILET

	Girls toilet			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	40	15	5	60	66.67
Government School	60	0	0	60	100
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	160	15	5	180	

TABLE 19: AVAILABILITY OF A BOYS TOILET

	Boys toilet			Total	Percent
	Yes	No	Other		
Community School	44	8	8	60	73.3
Government School	60	0	0	60	100
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	164	8	8	180	

A look at access to proper sanitation facilities in the study revealed that as expected, community schools were not doing as great compared to their private school counterparts. Over half of all respondents from community schools did not have sufficient numbers of boys' and girls' toilets. It is worth noting here that amongst those from community schools that reported having proper toilets meant pit latrines as what was available instead. This is in line with literature (Chilobe, 2011:p20) which states that "the great majority of community schools ... have lacked acceptable water points and sanitation facilities".

As is the case with clean drinking water, clean toilets that are tailored to the needs of children are also important. Also as is the case with unsafe drinking water, dirty, broken and full toilets are also a source of many water borne diseases. Dirty toilets also make learning undesirable for girls especially when having their menstruation.

Mathematics, English and Science are normally the subjects that determine career choice. Not excelling in these subjects causes one to not progress in their education beyond primary school. Entry into secondary and tertiary school is then curtailed causing them to be disadvantaged in choosing a career. It therefore follows that in teaching and/or learning these subjects, adequate instructional and learning materials

should be available in all 3 types of schools. The tables below show availability of Mathematics, English, Science and other text books in the schools sampled.

TABLE 20: AVAILABILITY OF MATHEMATICS TEXT BOOKS

	Mathematics Text Books				Percentage Available
	No	Yes	Other	Total	
Community School	33	0	27	60	0
Government School	23	11	26	60	18.3
Private School	0	50	10	60	83.3
Total	56	61	63	180	

TABLE 21: AVAILABILITY OF ENGLISH TEXT BOOKS

	English Text Books			Total	Percentage Available
	No	Yes	Other		
Community School	40	1	19	60	1.67
Government School	15	18	27	60	30
Private School	0	48	12	60	80
Total	55	67	58	180	

TABLE 20: AVAILABILITY OF SCIENCE TEXT BOOKS

	Science Text Books			Total	Percentage Available
	No	Yes	Other		
Community School	37	1	22	60	1.67
Government School	20	8	32	60	13.3
Private School	7	36	17	60	60
Total	64	45	71	180	

TABLE 23: AVAILABILITY OF OTHER TEXT BOOKS

	Other Text Books			Total	Percentage Available
	No	Yes	Other		
Community School	38	4	18	60	6.67
Government School	15	13	32	60	21.67
Private School	7	33	20	60	55
Total	60	50	70	180	

The results above point to just how badly off community schools are. Community schools have virtually nothing in terms of text books. Government schools were slightly better as most of the respondents there reported having to share the few text books they had as they were not in sufficient numbers to go round. Private schools however had sufficient numbers of text books.

Community schools, like the others (government and private schools), have an education curriculum to follow, but how can they without the necessary materials? More than that how are their teachers expected to teach and their pupils expected to learn the relevant material without these essential teaching and learning aids?

In this case the type of school one attends will more than likely give an idea where they end up on the socio-economic spectrum. People who attend schools that offer a good quality education will progress and reach high limits while people who attend schools that offer low quality education will either stagnate at some point or even regress as they will begin to hit hurdles of getting into secondary and/or tertiary education and indeed good employment.

Ironically for government schools, free education was the one policy that saw enrolment at grade 1 increase to levels never before experienced, but it was also one of the reasons their quality of education went down. High enrolment was not matched by improved quality of education. The anticipated surge in enrolment to be brought on by the Free Education Policy was not planned or prepared for. Basically there was just a huge increase in enrolment without any increase in the capacity of the schools to accommodate such an increase: no extra classes were built, no extra teachers were employed, no extra teaching and learning aids were provided etc.

School resources like textbooks and learning aids are important in enhancing learning achievements of pupils. Barret et al. (2007) says resources do matter and the single most important cost-effective input is the textbook (p20) . Barrett et al., (2007. P20), furthers shares on 3 different studies that revealed the same sentiment that:

- i. A World Bank review on the “*determinants of education quality in developing countries*” ... confirmed textbooks ... as key contributors to school effectiveness at the primary level in developing countries.
- ii. The Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality SACMEQ data found that students in better physically resourced schools achieved higher.
- iii. The Programme for Analysing Education Systems, PASEC data on primary education ... found that the availability of textbooks had strongly significant and positive impact on learning outcomes.

Yet in Zambia today, provision of text books is appalling. Observation suggests that “at its most generous, the book: pupil ratio is around 1:4 but 1:40 is not uncommon. In many

cases the only text book is in the hands of the teacher who uses it as the basis for lessons...” (The World Bank, 2008. p39). In a similar sentiment, Nsapato and Chikopela (2012), report on Zambia that on average “about 3 to 4 learners (59.9% in English and 58.4% in Mathematics) shared one textbook in most of the subjects ... the targeted pupil-book ratio of two learners per textbook is still far from being achieved” (p 30).

The case for sufficient numbers of textbooks is clear. Pupils need them to achieve better and score higher. Using textbooks as learning aids makes for good quality education. If community schools were offering a lower quality of education because they lack textbooks, have no teaching aids etc, then an analysis needed to be done to ascertain who exactly attends community schools/ is receiving this low quality of education.

TABLE 24: ORPHANHOOD BY TYPE OF SCHOOL

	Type of School		
	Community	Government	Private
Orphan	52.5%	11.1%	12.1%
Non-Orphan	9.88%	39.5%	50.61

A little over half of the orphans were found to attend community school. The rest were spread out between government and private schools. Half of the non-orphans were found to attend private school. Only a tenth were in community school while the rest were government school. The findings were indicating that orphans and non-orphans were receiving education with quite vast differences in quality. Orphans received low quality and non-orphans received good quality education going by the schools they attended.

4.4 COST OF EDUCATION

Community schools were birthed out of necessity because families could not afford to take their children to regular school. Community schools in Lusaka make available education to children who otherwise would not be in school mostly for financial reasons. As the next 2 tables below show, community schools cost next to nothing because children there are not required to pay school fees or wear school uniforms (Family Legacy Missions International, 2010). They basically just show up for school.

TABLE 25: TYPE OF SCHOOL AND PAYING SCHOOL FEES

	Pay School Fees				Percentage paying School Fees
	Yes	No	Other	Total	
Community School	2	57	1	60	3.33
Government School	11	49	0	60	18.33
Private School	60	0	0	60	100
Total	73	106	1	180	

From this table, data reveal that community schools in the sample were no exception. Pupils here are not required to pay school fees. Government schools show a similar trend where only about 18.33 percent of respondents reported paying school fees. These were the ones in junior secondary school because government secondary school is not free. All of the pupils in private schools reported paying school fees.

TABLE 26: TYPE OF SCHOOL AND SCHOOL UNIFORM

	Wear School Uniform				Percentage paying School Fees
	Yes	No	Other	Total	
Community School	7	53	0	60	11.67
Government School	59	0	1	60	98.33
Private School	58	2	0	60	96.67
Total	124	55	1	180	

From this table, data reveal that almost all respondents from government and private schools are required to wear school uniforms while the opposite is true for community schools.

The fact that community schools do not require their pupils to pay school fees or wear school uniforms attracts a lot of children who would otherwise not be in school because they cannot afford it. Primary education in government schools is also free but there are too many small hidden costs there that eventually add up and make a government school education inaccessible as it becomes un-affordable for many.

TABLE 27: PAY OTHER FEES AT SCHOOL TABLE

	Percentages		
	Community School	Government School	Private School
Field Trip Fees	23%	100%	100%
Club Membership Fees	8.33%	100%	100%
Cleaning Supplies Fees	0%	100%	33.33
Construction Fees	0%	68.33	0%

Apart from school fees, pupils from both government and private schools reported paying other school fees as well. Only 10 respondents from all 3 community schools reported paying other school fees. The study revealed that some of the other fees that required paying were:

The results show that apart from school and uniform fees, there is a whole lot that pupils from government and private school have to contend with. Basically any extracurricular activity required pupils to pay before engaging in the activity.

In the wake of high poverty levels, one of the biggest deterrents of education is hidden costs of education. When harsh economic conditions render a family

vulnerable to hunger and destitution, the cost of sending children to school is perceived to be too much. It becomes a contest between one to 2 children's education and food on the table. The inevitable that happens is that food on the table takes priority number one and children get pulled out of school.

Of course add to these, forgotten costs like school socks and shoes, sportswear for physical education, lunch, transport money and the bill goes even higher (Shann et al., 2013). This is why community schools have seen a surge in their enrolment. The poverty levels in the country just do not allow for better education because evidently "free education" is not so free after all.

4.5 EDUCATION AND POVERTY

Indirect costs of education so far have been an unwanted cloud hovering over the "Free Basic Education" policy. Examining the indirect costs of education in light of occupations and incomes of the guardians of these children shed light on just how dire this situation is. Also when one considers that education in secondary and tertiary school is not free, an even darker cloud is cast on any chances of higher education for the sampled children. As literature indicates, the cost of secondary education is between K650 – K1 000 per year (JCTR, 2011), which when examined against standard incomes of the occupations of the guardians in the study, very few families can afford it.

There appears to be no buffer for secondary and tertiary education like there is for primary school where community schools can meet that need. So basically, if one cannot afford to pay for secondary and/or tertiary education, then that is the end of

the road for their formal education. But again as literature indicated, a primary education alone is not designed to and is not sufficient to empower one for skills to earn a living.

The study has already established that even with free primary education in government school, there are still more orphans in community schools than in government, let alone private schools. And as has also been established, people send their children to community schools because community schools are free.

Analysis of guardian incomes (to see if low incomes were the reason most orphans went to community schools,) gave inconclusive results as most respondents were not willing to disclose how much their parents/guardians earned. They were more willing to disclose other aspects though that pointed to the income bracket their guardians fell under, such aspects as occupations of guardians and residential area. Adding the 'type of school' their wards attended to the aforementioned indicators of income gave a good picture of the income bracket the guardians feel under. Were the orphans in community schools from low income families? Were the non-orphans in private schools from high income families?

Firstly the occupations of the guardians were analysed as shown in the table below.

TABLE 28: GUARDIANS' OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Percentage of Guardians of Orphans/Non-Orphans	
	Orphans	Non-Orphan
Unemployed	24.24	6.17
Self Employed	26.26	23.46
Casual Worker	21.21	14.81
Civil Servant	13.13	24.69
Professional	8.98	19.75
Clergy	1.01	0
Other	6.06	11.11

- There are more orphans living with unemployed guardians than there are non-orphans. Unemployment or to be specific being 'wage-less' is worse than belonging to the low income sphere.
- The opposite is true; there are more non-orphans living with professional guardians than orphans. Being a professional in Zambia means having a specialised occupation like engineer or medical doctor. That normally translates into belonging to the high income sphere.
- There are more orphans living with guardians who are casual workers compared to non-orphans. Being a casual worker usually implies earning the minimum wage or just slightly over (if employed by a private company) or less if one is a domestic worker.

It would appear the assumption that orphaned children come from the low income bracket was true of this sample. This sheds light on why the study reveals that there are more orphaned children in community schools than non-orphans. The reverse being also true, that there are more non-orphans in private schools than there are in community schools.

When the extended family assumes responsibility over one or more orphans, this increases the dependency ratio on the income. While the income remains static, the number of persons it sustains increases causing a thinner distribution of resources amongst all family members. Since the bulk of the Zambian population lives below the poverty line anyway, some families become poorer to the point that they cannot meet basic food needs. Education needs do not rank high on the priority list when this happens. That spells the end of education for some people.

Residential area is also mostly determined by income. A high income denotes a nice residential area while a low income denotes a poorer residential area. The assumption here is that since there are more orphans in community schools, there will also be more orphans in low income/high density residential areas.

TABLE 29: ORPHANHOOD BY RESIDENTIAL AREA

	Percentage of Orphans in Residential Areas	
	Orphans	Non-Orphans
High Density/ Low Income area	41.41	11.11
Medium Density/ Medium Income area	36.36	41.98
Low Density/ High Income area	22.22	46.91

The study found that:

- The bulk of non-orphans live in low density/ high income areas followed by medium density/medium density areas.
- The reverse was true that bulk of orphans in the sample live in high density/ low income areas followed by medium density/medium income areas.

These findings seem to be suggesting that orphans come from lower income homes when compared to their non-orphaned counterparts, also corroborating the findings that more orphans attend community school compared to their non-orphaned counterparts. High density/ low income residential areas have cheaper housing that a poorer family can afford. The housing itself is usually in a state of disrepair. Such housing will probably have an outside communal toilet and bathroom servicing more than one household. It will have no running water and residents will probably have a communal tap, hand pump or dug up well to get water from. The residential area is overcrowded and cases of crime are not absent. They are basically not the best or the safest place to raise a family but that is home for the poorer families.

In looking at where orphans lie with the economic crisis, a quick look at finances shows how the situation is for the sampled children. The cost of living is so high. When looked at in light of the cost of education, the outcome is not very encouraging. When there are multiple family members all needing to go to school, then the situation looks even more austere.

Data from the study show that most of the sampled children come from an extended family. As already shown in this study, data revealed that all respondents reported living with cousins, nieces or nephews, aunts, uncles or grandparents and other relations. Investigating the sizes of the families revealed the following:

TABLE 30: SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD

	Number of people in household			Total
	3 and below	between 3 and 5	over 5	
Single orphan	2	10	29	41
Double Orphan	1	9	48	58
Non-Orphan	2	10	69	81
Total	5	29	146	180

These figures show that the extended family is big, and has multiple people to distribute resource among. But the extended family alone is too overwhelmed by large households and widespread poverty. Orphans get absorbed into families that are already vulnerable to poverty. Increasing the number of people in such households only increases their vulnerability. Lanjouw and Ravallion (1995, p1415) put it this way: “there is considerable evidence of a strong negative correlation between household size and consumption (or income) per person in developing countries”. It should therefore follow that government policy should come in as a buffer for the extended family. Policies that deal with empowering and supporting the guardians and alleviating children’s vulnerability should be formulated and implemented

4.6 HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT

Overall, because education is a human right, everyone needs to be given a chance to make something good of their lives. Everyone needs to be given an equal fighting chance to decide what their future should look like. Part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights reads “*Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit...*”(United Nations, 1948). Government needs to make accessible to all, secondary and tertiary education, because these are not free or cheap. This will cut

out the high dropout rates from primary to secondary school. It will also reduce the erosion that goes on throughout secondary school. Most of all it will especially reduce the inability of most to further their education through to tertiary school.

Secondary and tertiary school should be a given; should be easily attainable and should be the aspiration and achievement of every child. The children have all sorts of desires and ideas about what to do with their lives, it should never end at just being a dream. When asked what they aspired to do after school, the responses the respondents of this study gave were to become nurses, teachers, doctors, engineers, business entrepreneurs etc. These are not just ambitions, they are dreams of better lives, lives of dignity, lives filled with purpose, lives that give them a sense of identity and meaningful contribution to their society, lives that give them relief from poverty etc. No one should ever be denied a shot at such a life.

Assuming that orphaned children need any form help is one thing but actually getting their perspective about what forms of help would ease their lives is another. Help rendered has to not only be welcome but relevant as well. Help rendered has to be informed by the needs of the recipients. From the study, a quick probe about the perceptions of the sample on what kind of help they needed revealed that they needed help in several areas. The common ones identified were:

- i. Finances for general upkeep
- ii. Education support (school fees)
- iii. Food at home
- iv. Skills training
- v. Medical support

- vi. Socio-Emotional support
- vii. Emotional well being after the death of parents

Ascertaining whether or not government helps out in any way to meet any of these felt needs yielded dismal findings.

TABLE 31: HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT

	Percentage of Orphans and Non-Orphans	
	Orphans	Non-orphans
Finances for general upkeep	0%	0%
Education support	0%	0%
Food at home	0%	0%
Skills training	0%	0%
Medical support	0%	0%
Socio-Emotional support	0%	0%
Emotional well being after the death of parents	0%	0%

None of the respondents, orphan or non-orphan, reported receiving any kind of support for all of these areas that would be considered vital areas of life. Information such as this would help inform policy formulation by relevant stakeholders.

Some respondents did report receiving help from the church though:

- About 21.2 percent of orphans and only 3.7 percent of non-orphans reported receiving financial help from the church.
- Next, 25.2 percent of orphans and only 8.1 percent of non-orphans reported receiving support for their education from the church
- Because of the church feeding programmes in community schools, 35.3 percent of orphans and 6.1 percent of non-orphans reported being fed at school.

One more vital area that did not appear to be too important but is very essential is psycho-social counselling to help children adjust to life without their parents or indeed to life with a new family. Investigating whether the respondents received this service revealed that:

TABLE 32: PSYCO-SOCIAL HELP

	Percentage of Psycho-Social Help Entity		
	Government	Church	School
Single orphan	0	0	0
Double orphan	0	0	0
Non-orphan	0	0	0

- None of the respondents received any psycho-social counselling from any government institution sanctioned by the government
- None received any psycho-social counselling from the church and
- None from the school they attended

When a child loses their parents, they experience trauma which makes it difficult for them to adjust psychologically and socially to their new life. This affects their learning at school and their interpersonal relationships. Orphaned children's emotional, mental, spiritual, and social needs can be addressed by establishing structures that meet these needs in groups and/or one on one. While the family that takes the orphan in provides some measure of relief, the orphaned child needs a deliberate support system that helps them deal with their loss in a healthy way.

This is where government could come in and formulate policies that sanction such support systems for the orphan both at school and at home. In advocating for psycho-social support for children, the USAID, AIDSTAR-One, PEPFAR (2007) put it this way, "Basic and

ongoing support from those within the child's sphere (e.g., family, relatives, friends, teachers, etc.) plays an essential role in ensuring emotional development as the child matures". Stability in a child's emotional wellbeing is key in their learning processes at school. Without it, they child will stagnate or regress in their education because they just cannot cope.

SECTION 2: TEACHERS

Teachers are the people who have the privilege to observe the lives of children in school unfold. They have the opportunity every day to observe how pupils get affected by experiences of life. Apart from perhaps the guardians at home, teachers spend more time with the children than any other adults. As such they are a profound source of information on how orphaning affects the educational progression of children.

Asked about the presence of orphans in their schools,

- Community school teachers reported that the majority of children in their classes were those that had lost either one or indeed both of their parents.
- Government school teachers reported that their classes were large but even still, it was easy to spot the children who had lost their parents. They said there was a good mix of both orphans and non-orphaned children in their classes.
- Private school teachers reported that there could very well be orphans in their classes but sometimes it was hard to tell. This was because both orphans and non-orphans looked the same; no one stood out. They reported that the pupils and the staff led very separate lives so unless a pupil opened up about this area of their life, or unless they knew the pupil outside of the school environment, it was hard to tell.

The teachers in this study were interviewed on 3 major aspects of orphan education:

- i. Quality of education

- ii. Education and poverty
- iii. The role of the government

4.7 QUALITY OF EDUCATION

For this study, quality of education was defined by several factors among which were:

- Environments that are sanitary, safe and conducive for learning
- Teachers that are well equipped to use child- centred teaching methods and are well able to manage their classrooms

When these are made available, they more or less guarantee that the end results of the learning processes of children are linked to high achievements and significant contribution to their society. Quality education should be made available to everyone, not just a select few. It is not just for those who can afford it but for everyone hoping for a good chance at life and the future.

In this study, teachers were interviewed about factors such as availability of proper instructional materials, significance of qualifications of teachers, number of pupils per class per teacher (teacher to pupil ratio), sufficient numbers of classrooms, desks and chairs, science laboratories and laboratory equipment, good sanitation etc, to find out what kind of quality the sampled schools were offering.

4.7.1 QUALIFICATIONS OF TEACHERS

TABLE 33: QUALIFICATION OF THE TEACHERS

	Percentages of Qualification of Teachers			
	Certificate	Diploma	Undergraduate Degree	Untrained Volunteer
Community	50	0	0	50
Government	33.33	66.67	0	0
Private	5.89	88.24	5.89	0

Data from Table 33 revealed that community school teachers held the lowest teaching qualifications or no qualifications at all compared to their counterparts from government and private schools.

The majority of teachers in government and private schools are holders of certificates and then of diplomas. The one teacher who responded as being a holder of an undergraduate degree was from a private school. DeStephano (2006) alludes to this when he says “teachers in community schools are only required to have completed their senior secondary in order to be employed. On the other hand, teachers in government and private school are required to be holders of a primary teaching certificate or better, in order to be employed”. “The quality of teachers matters as it determines greatly, the kind of quality of education pupils receive” (Rice, 2003).

Asked how their lack of training affected their delivery of lessons, untrained community school teachers reported that:

Community School Teachers:

- This negatively affected how well they understood the curriculum because they had never been trained to deliver it. This caused them to sometimes just default to teaching what they know or what they think.
- They reported that their pupils missed out on vital information from their lessons as they (untrained teachers) did not understand it fully themselves. One teacher said this created problems for their pupils if/when they moved to mainstream schools like government or private schools because they (pupils) had learning gaps.

- Another teacher said it would be helpful if they had someone to walk them through the teacher's handbook or even a pupil's text book (because sometimes they had no teachers' handbooks) to show them what is require of them.

Government School Teachers:

Teachers from government and private schools had better qualification (no untrained teachers).

- They reported having no problems understanding the curriculum and/or delivering lessons to their pupils. Government school teachers said their problems were of a different kind; that they needed new and up to date teaching materials to be a little more effective in delivering their lessons.
- One teacher reported that it was easy to teach if one had prepared adequately by creating a lesson plan. She said the lesson plan was a good guide to follow because sometimes it was easy to get lost in your lesson as you try to make sure all the pupils in your large class understand the lesson.

Private School Teachers:

- Private school teachers reported that they had no problems.
- One of the teachers said she has a small class so preparing a lesson plan helped her to visualise how each pupil in class would respond to the lesson, and adjust accordingly.
- Another teacher said understanding and implementing their curriculum was easy because he had not only received training for it but had also been using it

to teach for several years now. He reported that because he had all the materials he needed, it was easy for him to deliver his lessons.

Understanding a curriculum and having the ability to deliver it are very important to a teacher. A curriculum tells the teacher exactly what they need to do and what order to do it in. It helps the teacher get creative in how to deliver his/her lessons. Eventually after much practice and use, the teacher can use the curriculum to tailor their lessons to the specific needs of each child. This entails really knowing one's pupils as one spends personalised time with them in class.

Not being able to understand a curriculum enough to deliver it creates dissonance in the learning processes of a child. So for community school teachers who have trouble understanding what they need to be teaching, community school pupils pay the price for it.

The opposite is true for the more qualified teachers in government and private schools. Their pupils are left in no confusion about what they are learning; their lessons are strung together with clarity; are cumulative and make sense. Their learning is definitely guaranteed, the educational progression a give.

4.7.2 TEACHING METHODS

Another way the qualifications of teachers affected quality of education offered was through the teaching methods they employed.

TABLE 34: TEACHING METHODS

	Percentage of Teaching Methods Employed			
	certificate	diploma	undergraduate degree	untrained volunteer
Lecture	25	62.5	2.5	10
Lecture with Discussion	25	62.5	2.5	10
Brainstorming	5	22.5	2.5	0
Guest Speaker	2.5	30	1.5	0
Class Discussions	2.5	2.5	2.5	0
Small Group Discussions	2.5	2.5	2.5	0
Videos	2.5	2.5	2.5	0

The bulk of the teachers reported that their most favoured teaching method was giving a lecture and/or combining that with a discussion. When asked why the “lecture” and the “lecture with discussion” were their most preferred methods of teaching,

Community School Teachers:

- Community school teachers reported that these were their default methods to use because they were the only ones they were confident enough to use.
- One teacher said she only used these two methods because they were the only ones she knew.
- Another teacher said it differently, that these were the only methods she had ever experienced, and that she had no idea there were other methods she could use.

Government School Teachers:

- One teacher reported that these was the easiest to employ compared to other methods because other methods required use of other resources that were sometimes unavailable in their school.

- The teachers reported that other methods also required larger amounts of time to prepare for and to deliver which was not practical for large classes. They said to save time, and to cover all the required subjects per day, these two were the only practical methods.
- One of the teachers also reported that using a method like “Small Group Discussion” worked well but that it took too much time to organise the pupils into groups and to quiet down after the discussion because the classes were too big; there were too many pupils.

Private School Teachers:

- These teachers reported favouring the “lecture” and the “lecture with discussion” methods but also employed other methods of teaching.
- One teacher reported that she found it helpful when she brought in an expert guest speaker like a doctor to talk about a topic like the spread of diseases.
- Another teacher reported that playing a video provided the pupils with a break in the monotony of class everyday and got the pupils excited and energised for more lessons.

A good teacher uses multiple methods of teaching because all pupils in a class are unique and have different ways of assimilating information. Combining methods ensures that all pupils or learners are catered for and have equal opportunities to learn. Combining methods is also an indicator that the teacher understands the content and is well able to teach it. That is really what proper “teaching” and “learning” are. So if there are pupils who are “not learning” (community school

pupils) because their teachers are ill-qualified to “teach” them, then that is cause for great concern.

The inference here is that since the untrained teachers are from community schools and since the bulk of pupils in community schools are orphans, then orphans are not receiving proper teaching or instruction from their teachers. The opposite would then be true that pupils from government and private schools (with certificate, diploma and undergraduate degree holders) are receiving better teaching or instruction from their qualified teachers. The bottom line is children will not learn if they are passive recipients of lessons delivered by ill-equipped teachers.

4.7.3 TEACHER TO PUPIL RATIO

Teacher to pupil ratio also affects quality of education offered. Children cannot learn if they are crammed into classrooms because there are too many distractions. The teacher cannot monitor all the pupils and maintain proper control and discipline of the class.

TABLE 35: TEACHER TO PUPIL RATIO

	Percentage of Number of Pupils in Class		
	20 and below	between 21 and 30	over 40
Community	0	0	100
Government	0	0	100
Private	52.94	47.06	0

The data revealed that all community and government schools had 1 teacher to over 40 pupils per class. Private schools were the only ones with some classes with low teacher- pupil ratios. A low student-to-teacher ratio is always desirable for the quality of education delivered to be good. This is because it increases pupil achievement,

enhances a pupil's test scores and provides lasting academic benefits. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, (2011) states that classes of no more than 15 to 18 students ... provide students with the best benefits in terms of achievement in reading and Math (p392).

Teachers were asked how teacher- pupil ratio affected their delivery of lessons.

Community School Teachers:

- Community school teachers reported that large classes made it almost impossible for them to maintain personal contact with each of their pupils as some classes were as big as 60 or 70 pupils. They reported that they ended up focusing on the few who proved themselves to be exceptional and more willing to learn and hoped the rest would somehow keep up.
- Large classes made it impossible to maintain control and discipline in the class. They reported that the noisier and older pupils disrupted the class and some pupils slept through the lessons. They reported that they often times had to resort to capital punishment such as caning of the pupils, requiring the pupils to dig ditches or suspending the pupils. Some teachers reported just ignoring the unruly pupils and focusing their attention on the focused few.

Government School Teachers:

- Large classes made it impossible to employ more than one teaching method; they were limited to the “lecture” and the “lecture with discussion” methods because as mentioned earlier, these were the easiest to use for large classes.
- One teacher said large classes made it hard to administer proper classroom assessment be it in the form of class observations or giving tasks or tests.

They said this was because administering, monitoring and evaluating/marketing tests and other tasks given took too much time as their classes were large. They also reported how they were unable to monitor progress as such, were reduced to just delivering lessons and assessing/examining them at the end of the term.

Private School Teachers:

- Private school teachers who had below 20 pupils in a class reported that they had no problems teaching those classes, that they enjoyed those classes better and developed good rapport with their pupils.
- One teacher reported that a small class made it easy for her to have personalised time with each pupil and monitor their progress.
- Another teacher reported that having a small class made giving class tasks easy, that things like tests and assignments were easy to mark.

The experiences of the private school teachers are a far cry from the experiences of their counterparts in community and government schools. To relieve the overwhelmed community and government school teachers, some government and community schools run parallel classes for each grade where one set of classes runs from 07 00 hours in the morning to 12 00 hours noon. Then another set of classes runs from 13 00 hours in the afternoon to 17 00 hours in the evening. This though relieving to the teachers, further compromises on their ability to deliver quality education to their pupils (GRZ, 2004).

Again the majority of the pupils that bear the brunt of this comprise in education quality most are the orphans in the community school when compared with their non-

orphaned counterparts in private schools. They are the bulk of the pupils in community schools, so they are the ones to work with reduced contact hours with teachers; which further compromises the already not so good quality education they receive. The school days of their counterparts in private school look quite the opposite. Private schools have all morning sessions, a lunch break and an afternoon session filled with contact hours with teachers, the whole while receiving a good quality education.

4.7.4 SCHOOL INFRASTRUCTURE

A fundamental question the teachers answered here was, ‘does the quality of school infrastructure affect academic achievements of pupils?’ Responses from the teachers indicated that school infrastructure plays a very vital role in achieving better schooling outcomes for pupils.

Community School Teachers:

- Community school teachers reported how their schools do not have a laboratory or laboratory equipment for science or information technology. They said they had never done any experiments and never seen any equipment and would probably not know how to use it.
- All the teachers said their classrooms were not in sufficient numbers and for some of the schools, nonexistent at all. They reported that pupils often sat on the floor and in the dry season, some classes sat outside in the open under trees. They said outside lessons were very distracting not just for the pupils but for the teachers as well as there was too much stimuli and disturbances from passers-by. Some were in the process of building a classroom block so

used classrooms which still had no roof. They said because they are not funded by any church or non-profit organization, the funds trickle in and the building just takes forever. They reported that in such cases, when it rained, children could not attend class and school was cancelled.

- One of the schools was housed in a Catholic Church building. Teachers there reported that the church housed two classes, one in the front and one at the back of the church. This too was distracting for both the teacher and the pupils but at least they were sheltered from the elements
- One teacher reported that water and sanitation facilities were of poor quality.
- One of the teachers reported that their school had running tap water as it was housed at a church,
- One teacher reported that they had a hand pump at their school.
- Another teacher reported that they had a shallow well. She said in the rain season their neighbourhood floods up and the well is submerged.
- Two teachers from the same school reported that they used pit latrines which in the rain season were at risk of caving in because the area the school is located in floods and has a poor drainage system.
- Teachers from another of the schools housed at a Catholic Church reported that they had proper toilets except they were not in sufficient numbers to support the number of pupils in the school. As a result they were not very clean and pupils were at risk of catching a variety of water borne diseases like diarrhoea.
- Teachers from two of the schools reported that they had no staff toilets and had to share with the pupils.

Government School Teachers:

Responses from government school teachers show that government schools fared a little better than community schools. The teachers reported that:

- Government schools do have adequate or sufficient numbers of classrooms. The only issue is that they are usually quite run down by age and lack of maintenance. The windows are broken, the paint is peeling off and the doors do not lock.
- Two government school teachers also reported that they do not have sufficient numbers of desks in the classrooms. The introduction of the free education policy saw an influx in the enrolment of pupils which was not matched with an increase in the capacity of the schools to accommodate that influx. Of course this led to large classes/ high teacher to pupil ratios at the expense of quality education. This was followed by the introduction of multiple sessions of the same classes per day. Teachers said this allowed pupils who would otherwise not be permitted to be in school the time to work and contribute to family incomes and domestic responsibilities.
- All teachers reported that the introduction of multiple sessions of the same classes per day in turn led to the shortening of the contact time between the teacher and the pupils further degrading the quality of education delivered.
- All teachers reported that they do have science laboratories which were run down with age and lack of proper maintenance. The laboratories also do not have any equipment at all and that whatever remnants of equipment present were either broken or did not function very well.

- The teachers also reported that they do not really have information technology, IT laboratories or computers because that is a fairly new discipling in government schools. They did report however that the schools through their district and provincial education offices, recognised this deficiency and would start working on it. Some teachers though reported that this plan has been in the offing for close to 10 years and still the schools have not received funding to build and/or stock up the IT laboratories with computers.
- They said this deficiency has caused their pupils to have learning gaps in their mastery of their school work.
- lacking is equipments like sports items

Private School Teachers:

- Unlike their counterparts in community and government schools, teachers in the private schools sampled reported no shortages of classrooms. They had sufficient numbers of classrooms and desks.
- Private school teachers also reported that they had access to proper science and information technology laboratories and equipment that enabled them to have access to do proper research for their lessons. This helps the pupils grasp concept better than pupils in community and government.
- They reported that their pupils had access to clean drinking water and to sanitary toilets both for pupils and teachers.

According to responses of these teachers, the quality of school infrastructure definitely has a strong impact on academic achievements of pupils. Pupils (who are mostly orphans) from community schools are disadvantaged in that they have an

acute lack of infrastructure while their counterparts in private schools (mostly non-orphans) have all the facilities they need to excel in their academics and they do. Government school pupils are a mixture of orphans and non-orphans and the scales could tip either way for them depending on how well their teachers can improvise with what little infrastructure they have. Quality learning environments are important or else a mediocre type of education is delivered (Swallow, Nielson and Chakufyali, 2009). Such things as science laboratories and equipment go a long way in ensuring quality learning environments.

4.7.5 TEACHING/LEARNING AIDS

The availability of teaching aids makes a big difference in the learning processes of a child because teaching aids clarify the material being taught as well as make learning more stable and lasting. Ultimately, for there to be delivery of quality education, teaching aids are inevitable. They make sure there is very effective output in the child's learning processes because they are designed to engage the child, promote and increase interaction, and promote faster learning and better understanding of material being taught. The ability to see, hear or get involved in a topic creates a much better method of learning for a child.

TABLE 36: TEACHING/LEARNING AIDS

	Percentage of teaching Aid Available in Schools		
	Community School	Government School	Private School
Maps	0	73.3	100
Charts	0	40	100
Pictures	0	66.67	100
Projector	0	40	100
English Text Books	0	0	88.23
Science Text Books	0	0	88.23
Mathematics Text Books	0	0	88.23

Teachers were asked how the availability of teaching aids affected their delivery of lessons.

Community School Teachers:

- Community school teachers reported that they had to get creative and draw their own maps and charts.
- One of the teachers reported that delivering lessons when pupils have no visual to refer to left them helpless on how to explain their concepts. She said she could always tell that the pupils were not fully understanding her, hence the need to draw her own charts and maps.

Government School Teachers

- They reported that their college training involved them delivering lessons with teaching aids, so not having any available made their work harder than normal. They reported that they often times had to make their own teaching aids; draw their own maps, charts and other diagrams.
- They reported that making their own teaching aids was very helpful but took up too much time.
- Another teacher said without handbooks, it was difficult for her to even make lesson plans she could use while teaching, that she would just “go in live”, meaning deliver a lesson without much or adequate planning. She said the best she could do sometimes was to just read through the content a day or a few hours before.
- Two teachers reported that without teaching aids, explaining a new concept to a large class took more time than usual which cause them to slip behind in

their academic calendar. They said this meant that sometimes their pupils would go into national examination rooms with having fully learned the material.

- Two teachers reported that the hardest part about their work was the lack of text books and teachers' handbooks especially in Mathematics, Science and English because one improvising with text books was delicate and fraught with mistakes.
- One teacher said some of her teacher's handbooks were quite worn out and had missing front and back pages. She said often times she had to photocopy some books or pages of books using her own resources, in order to have teaching material.
- Another teacher said sometimes she had to borrow hand books and text books from another class when the other class was not using them. She said this was hard because she and the other teacher needed to work out a schedule where they were not delivering the same lesson at the same time. She said one of the disadvantages of this practice was that the text books share between 2 classes of over 50 pupils wore out very quickly.
- All teachers from government schools reported that they had a few teaching aids like texts books but that they did not go round as they were not in sufficient numbers. They said pupils had to share the available books in ratios of one book to three or four or even five pupils. This caused disruptions in the class as well as cause delays in the deliveries of lessons. They reported that a lesson that should take 45 minutes would end up taking close to 2 hours and even then, some pupils would still be having trouble assimilating the lesson.

They reported that even when they knew some pupils were still lagging behind, those could not be given personal attention as the class had to move on to the next lesson.

- Government school teachers also reported that in classes where the numbers of text books were more comfortable, delivery of lessons and assimilation of lessons by the pupils was much easier.

Private School Teachers:

Private school teachers reported how easy it was not just deliver the lessons but also to have every pupil keep up with the learning process. Because their size of their classrooms were a little more manageable, lessons times were shorter and those lagging behind could receive personalized attention from their teacher.

In a study on the *“use of teaching aids for teaching and learning mathematics in South Africa”*, it was revealed that “teaching aids have a positive effect on teaching Mathematics even in less than optimal circumstances, that is, under-resourced, rural, second language classrooms (Maduna, 2002. p iii). These findings corroborate the findings of this study that teaching aids go a long way in making a difference in the learning processes of a child.

One thing that is clear is teaching aids are important not just in the delivering of lessons by teachers, but also in the assimilation of lessons by pupils. Schools that have large classes or high teacher to pupil ratios (community schools) are the ones without teaching aids. Without teaching aids in such schools, learning is compromised as it takes longer, has pupils falling behind in lessons and gets pupils to

the examination room without adequate preparation. This sets them up for failure of examinations and quite possibly the end of their education.

Since the bulk of orphans attend community, by implication it means *‘their learning is compromised as it takes longer, they fall behind in their lessons and they get to the examination room without adequate preparation. This sets them up for failure of examinations and quite possibly the end of their education’*.

4.8 EDUCATION AND POVERTY

Several factors have a huge undesirable bearing on educational progression of pupils, but the most telling is poverty. It has a direct negative effect on academic performance and progression. It is a high determinant of whether children will get into school, whether they will stay in school and how they will perform in school. The major reason this is, is that education costs are just beyond the reach of much of the population in the country even with the introduction of free education at primary school level. The stakes become even higher when a child transitions from primary to secondary school because secondary school is not free. In light of the free primary education policy, teachers were asked to share how they observed poverty levels affecting education of the pupils in their schools.

Community School teachers:

- These reported that all pupils in community schools came from low income homes so were affected they same. They said all pupils struggled with the basic necessities of life for instance, some children clearly came to school without having had any meal; some children came barefoot because they had

no shoes and some had no exercise books and pencils to use in school as their guardians could not afford them.

- One teacher reported that that despite all children coming from low income homes, orphans among them seemed to fare worse than the non-orphans because they also were dealing with emotional issues such as loss of their parents, separation from their siblings (as some orphaned children from one family are taken in by multiple families/households) or living with a new family.
- Another teacher reported that most of the children especially orphans seemed unable to go past a certain stage in their learning; that they seemed overwhelmed and discouraged to learn anything more that they had learned and that they lacked hope and optimism for their schooling outcomes.
- Another teacher said that the low achieving pupils were mostly older orphans in lower grades but generally most orphans were low achievers. Teachers said the reason the orphans were low achievers was not because they were not as intelligent as their non-orphaned counterparts but because they had a lot of other issues on their minds; they were hungry and could not concentrate, they were grieving the loss of their parents or just had no inclination to be in school in the first place.
- The same teacher reported that it was mostly the low achieving children, again mostly orphans, who also showed signs of isolating themselves and not interacting with other children. Asked whether any of these children have ever made a turnaround in their situations, the teacher reported that when they (teachers) showed some interest in them beyond just their academics, the

orphans improved socially, emotionally and academically. The teacher said the only problem with showing interest in one of the children was that there were many others like that and that was overwhelming to the teachers because the children's issues went beyond just academics to their lives outside of school as well. So they preferred to not get involved in the first place.

- One teacher reported that all children but especially orphans came to school without having had any meals and without carrying any packed lunch. She said they were hungry and tired all the time. Lucky ones had a feeding programme, maybe the only meal they would have for the day.

Government School Teachers:

- These teachers shared how one could easily point out an orphan because most of the time they were late for school, were absent for school, looked unkempt because they had old and threadbare, torn or ill-fitting school uniforms and shoes that were either a couple of sizes bigger or smaller.
- Two teachers reported that some orphans exhibited anti-social behaviour and seemed to not fit in with the other children. They kept to themselves not because they did not like to spend time with other children but because they were embarrassed as their poverty and low school achievements made them stick out. The teachers also said the disadvantaged children, mostly orphans, were endlessly teased and bullied by their counterparts and subjected to shame because of their poverty and low school achievements.

- The teachers also reported that their low school achievements, their poverty or low socio-economic status and the consequent financial hardships show a relationship to depressive symptoms such as social isolation, high sensitivity to rejection and/or teasing, crying sessions, acts of violence like fighting, etc
- Some teachers also reported that over the years with tight funding for schools, other fees have crept up to make the cost of education even higher. Pupils have to “contribute” stationery for the running of the school; each academic year, each pupil is required to bring a rim of paper. Teachers reported that pupils were also required to contribute toward a building project of some sort, like extra classrooms or a wall fence around the school. They reported that pupils were also asked to pay for cleaning supplies. Teachers said together, all of these costs add up to a point that free primary education becomes quite costly. They also said this led to attrition as government school lose their pupils to community schools.
- One teacher reported how that orphans and some poorer pupils lacked concentration in class because they were hungry; they came to school without having had any meals.

Private School Teachers

- Private school teachers reported how there was little difference between orphans and non-orphans because they were all from more or less the same income bracket (high income).
- They reported that there was also little difference in the educational achievements of orphans and non-orphans; that they all performed the same,

that in fact in some cases, orphans were more driven and outperformed the non-orphans. .

- The teachers reported that the school fees for attending school were quite extravagant because they covered many areas of the running of the school like paying staff salaries, clean up and maintenance of the school, security, school supplies like stationery and cleaning supplies etc. Those who could not pay their fees were not allowed to attend class, they had to summon their parents to come and negotiate a payment plan for their child. Failure to pay school fees would result in sending the child back home.
- The teachers also reported that the cost of school uniforms was becoming higher and higher each year as the definition of what constitutes ‘uniform’ also changes. They reported that currently ‘uniform’ included a skirt/pair of trousers, a shirt, socks, a sweater and/or blazer, a scarf, a head sock, a track suit and a t-shirt and shorts for physical education. These were supplied by either the school itself or by a supplier designated by the school.

Comparing school experiences of orphans from community schools and non-orphans from private schools reveals a wide chasm in their education. Orphans have a higher number of absenteeism or leave school altogether because of various reasons like lack of finances, the opportunity cost of sending them to school, caring for sick ones at home, age (being too old to be in primary school) etc. Dropout rates of pupils who come from low income families are much higher than those from families with higher incomes.

Non-orphans enjoy the privileges of attending good schools that offer good quality education while orphans attend schools that offer them lower quality education. Orphaned children in community schools have very little access to reading material; they have fewer books in the home if any, inferior public libraries, inferior school libraries if any, and inferior classroom libraries if any at all. This means, of course, that they have fewer opportunities to read, and therefore make less progress in developing literacy and numeracy. So clearly children growing up in poverty are less likely to do well at school. This can put them at a disadvantage later in life which, in turn, can affect their children. It becomes a cyclic sequence of family generations living in poverty. A higher percentage of young adults without a high school diploma live in poverty, compared to other young people who finished high school. The gap is even wider when comparing young adults who do not have high school diplomas to those who end up going to tertiary institutions.

4.9 ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The power to provide accessible quality education for all, vests in the government. They are the source of funds and policy to bring education of both orphans and non-orphans to a good standard. When asked what kind of help teachers needed from the government, various responses were given:

Community School Teachers:

- Community school teachers unanimously all reported that they needed bursaries to go for teacher training. One of the teachers shared that the reason

she was volunteering at a community school was that she lacked the finances needed to go to a teacher training college.

- The teachers also reported the need for government to recognise their efforts and pay them some form of allowance for the services they rendered.
- All community school teachers also reported the need for government to recognise them as legitimate schools and begin to fund them and build the infrastructure need and provide the funding they needed.
- All community school teachers also reported the need for government to set up counselling centres to look into the emotional wellbeing of orphans.

Government School Teachers:

- Government school teachers reported the need for the government to consider rehabilitation some of the run down infrastructure like classroom blocks, the school library, science laboratories and recreation centres like the swimming pool.
- They also reported the need for government to consider increasing their funding and provide up to date teaching aids especially text books, teachers' handbooks and desks.

Private Schools:

- Private schools did not really need anything from the government. They reported that they had most of what they needed.

- Two teachers did share how the government needed to look into their work hours as they work long and hard hours but were not paid salaries befitting that kind of work.

The different areas of focus for how government can help show the different needs the schools have. The impoverished community schools needed so much provision not just for the pupils but also for the teachers. The government school needed help mainly for improvement of run down facilities. Private schools needed very little. This reveals a hierarchy of needs that show how that community schools cater to low income people, government schools to middle income people and private schools to high income people.

Conclusion

The study combined qualitative and quantitative elements of research. This methodological orientation was applied in order to allow for testing (verification and/or falsification) of the assumptions of the study. After analysis of the results, the study did indeed find that:

- i. Orphans' chances of progression in education, despite the declaration and implementation of the goal of 'Education for All', are slimmer than those of non-orphans.
- ii. The quality of education orphans receive is lower compared to that of non-orphaned children.

- iii. There is still more that needs to be done to ensure the security and sustainable future of orphans are guaranteed through the educational sector from primary to secondary and tertiary education.

4.10 SUMMARY

This study sought to compare the educational progression of orphans and non-orphans in Zambia. 180 pupils were randomly sampled to be part of the study. 40 teachers were also selected to be a part of this study to serve as a confirmation of whether findings were generated by finding on the pupils. Teachers were selected because amongst adults, they spent the most time with the pupils.

The sample age distribution was from below 10 years old up to over 20 years. The highest frequency in the age distribution was pupils aged between 11 and 15 years followed by pupils aged between 16 and 20 years. This happens to be the age range of pupils from upper primary school to junior secondary school.

Out of the 180 pupils selected, 44 percent were non-orphans and 53.8 percent were orphans. That meant over half of a random sample population was orphaned; the study had more orphans than non-orphans. This is what prompted the study in the first place; the fact that there in a Zambian population of about 13 881 336 people, 1 300 000 were orphans aged between 0 and 17 years. That is 10 percent of the Zambian population was orphaned.

Such figures are too alarming to just overlook because the questions that beg asking are, 'where do these orphaned children end up; do they have access to education to

secure their futures and make sure they can sustain themselves; how far do they go in their education'?

To answer these questions, different areas of comparison between orphans and non-orphans were looked at.

i. Family Structures

The study revealed that orphans are absorbed into the extended family system. The extended family acted as their social safety net by taking them in as new members of the family. Being grafted into their new family meant resources had to be redistributed to include them. Even though the resources were meagre, most of the orphans reported that they had enough resources for school as well as for personal use. All orphans reported living in households that had extended family members. Most reported coming from large households with over 8 people in the household/extended family. This proved that the extended family was still very much alive even though it showed signs of strain as most of the orphans in the sample attended community schools. Community schools were cheap to take children to as they were not required to pay school fees or wear school uniforms.

ii. Education and Poverty

The study revealed that most of the orphans came from low income households. As respondents were unwilling to disclose the incomes of their guardians, low incomes were determined by examining occupations of parents, the residential areas and the type of schools their dependants attended.

The study revealed that the reason most orphans attended community school than non-orphans were because of the high cost of education. Private schools were just too expensive for them and the hidden cost of education at a government school was also beyond their reach. Because of that, community schools became their only option. Non-orphaned children mostly attended private schools because their guardians could afford them. Data revealed that the occupations of the guardians of non-orphans put them in the high income group and a few in the middle income group. Guardians of orphans' occupations put them in low income group or as was the case for the unemployed, the no income group.

Some of the hidden costs of education that made government schools unappealing were: the cost of uniforms, school shoes, school supplies, cleaning supplies, stationery, construction etc. Even if pupils were not required to pay school fees, they were required to pay for so many other things that made education at a government school inaccessible for many.

Similar findings were generated in the interviews with teachers. Teachers were of the view that: 'All pupils at community schools came from low income homes but the orphans were still worse off than non-orphans because they came to school without having had any meals and as a result were unmotivated to learn or spend time playing with their peers. Teachers also reported that orphans looked unkempt and wore worn shoes and threadbare clothes or uniforms that were a couple of sizes bigger or smaller.

iii. Quality of Education

There were many differences in the quality of education orphans and non-orphans received. Non-orphans received a better quality of education in private school because they had qualified teachers; had access to various teaching aids like charts, maps and text books; had good infrastructure with sufficient numbers of classrooms, had good water and sanitation facilities and desks and had access to laboratory facilities and equipment.

Orphans on the other hand received poor quality education as their teachers were unqualified; had no teaching or learning aids especially text books; had no proper infrastructure like classrooms as they held class outside, in community or church halls; did not have sufficient numbers of desks as some pupils sat on the floor, did not have proper sanitation facilities like toilets in sufficient numbers and they had no laboratory facilities or equipment.

Because of the lack of qualifications of community school teachers, they had problems understanding the curriculum and delivering lessons to their pupils. Teachers in private school though had a good grasp of the curriculum and could deliver lessons well.

Community school teachers also had trouble using several methods of teaching but private school teachers used a variety of teaching methods to cater to all pupils' learning styles. Community school teachers also had large teacher: pupil ratios of about 1 to over 40 pupils which were unmanageable. Private school teachers though

had some class sizes below 20 which they had no problems controlling, assessing and generally delivering lessons to.

Findings from teachers revealed that quality education required the teachers to be properly qualified to teach, to use multiple teaching methods, to have access to proper teaching aids, to have low teacher pupil ratios and to have proper infrastructure to operate from. They also reported the need for clean functional toilets and running water to keep water borne diseases at bay. The lack of any of the above spelt the lowering of the quality of education.

iv. Educational Progression

In light of the findings of the study, educational progression of orphans looks bleak. Entry into secondary school requires the writing of a major national exam. With the quality of education orphans receive being what it is, how will they score enough to qualify for a place in secondary school? Their standards of their education are so low that they do not adequately prepare them for the national exam.

Primary education may be free, so they could have access to primary school from community and government schools. The reason most of them are in community schools is that even government schools are out of their financial reach. What happens after primary school?

Even if orphans do qualify for entry into secondary school, secondary education is not free, how would they get into secondary school with fees they cannot manage? Let alone how will they stay in secondary school without dropping out because of a lack of school fees? The findings of the study revealed that the monthly salary of a

casual worker is just a quarter of the basic needs of a family of 5 or 6. Meanwhile the cost of secondary education per year is more than the minimum wage earned monthly. If a family/household has more than one child to send to school, they there is no way that secondary education could be affordable to them.

v. Help From the Government

One of the major areas orphans needed government help was psycho-socio counselling. Teachers reported that their schools did not have any such service but the need for it was huge. They reported that orphans were dealing with grief from the loss of their parents and their past life and that they needed help to embrace their new life. Findings of the study revealed the same, that the government provided no such help in any of the schools. Not receiving psycho-socio counselling means the orphans cannot go beyond a certain point in their educational progression but more profoundly, in their whole lives.

5 CHAPTER 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

Firstly, a good recommendation is that a comparison of the levels of educational progression and attainment of orphaned and non orphaned children in schools and on the streets be done. In the same vein, a comparison between educational progression or attainment of boys and girls would add even more insight. This would be for the sake of informed policy formulation in the education sector by government. Information on these would help not just government but other stakeholders to make informed and relevant decisions regarding the help these children need to secure their futures.

Secondly, one of the most important factors influencing the development of children is education. A good quality education gives the child limitless opportunities for a good adult life. Quite simply put, the more one learns, the more one earns. Anything that prevents that from happening needs to be done away with, otherwise the outcomes are quite undesirable. Quite inevitably, social exclusion will lead to (Bynner, 1998. P 1):

- Poor acquisition of the basic skills of literacy and numeracy
- Poor educational attainment through school
- Early leaving from education without qualifications
- Early labour market entry problems, including jobs without training
- Casual work and unemployment
- Teenage pregnancy
- Trouble with the police
- Alcohol abuse
- Criminal convictions

- Poor physical and especially mental health
- Lack of engagement with the social and political functions of citizenship

All these undesirable outcomes are linked to a low level of education.

Matters of social exclusion and the subsequent consequences of being excluded have to be examined. If indeed effort had to be made “*to ensure that people have equal access to basic capabilities such as the ability to be healthy, well-fed, housed, integrated into the community, participate in community and public life, and enjoy social bases of self-respect*”, (Klasen, n. d., p2), then their education is of paramount importance. Education is the key ingredient in having this come to fruition; not just any education at that, a good education. This means education that has a good primary school foundation and continues on to secondary and tertiary levels.

Orphaned children are excluded from a proper education system; they attend community schools. This leads them to a place where right from their childhood, their access to quality education is greatly compromised, their prospects of good careers or well paying jobs are diminished before they even start and their empowerment to make their own way through life severely undermined. They are excluded before they even have a chance to prove their abilities.

Social exclusion breeds a cycle of further exclusion because the ability to break out of an economic sphere that is excluded is greatly diminished. These excluded children will grow into excluded adults who themselves will bear children who may also be excluded.

With the ratification of the Millennium Development Goal number 2, the Zambian government assumed the responsibility of ensuring that by 2015, all primary

education in Zambia would be free. This was in a bid to have children countrywide complete a full course of primary school.

Primary school in Zambia is designed to be very elementary, to create a foundation for secondary school. Secondary school prepares one for placement at a tertiary level where doors for career choices are opened. Tertiary education accords one a choice about what they want their life to turn out like. The minimum education one needs to have to stand a chance at making something of their life is secondary education. The effects of a free primary education then would only be felt and appreciated if there was surety of continued advancement after primary education to secondary education.

This means primary school is the one shot at education most children under the poverty line will have. An examination of the quality of primary school education then, becomes imperative.

From an academic point of view, a recommendation would be that further research needs to be done to monitor just how many orphans from primary school gain access into junior and senior secondary school. In comparing orphans and non-orphans, this would give a truer picture of the effects of low quality education in community schools, the effects of hidden costs of free education and the effects of high quality of education in private schools.

From a policy formulation end, the government has the power, the mandate and the obligation to prevent social exclusion and its undesirable consequences just by formulating policies that mitigate low quality education. The starting point is the

education sector. The basic way the government can help in the education sector is to:

- i. Raise standards of ALL primary education by providing funding for proper infrastructure (like classrooms and laboratories), provide proper sanitation, provide teaching and learning aids (especially for community schools), as well as monitor the hiring of qualified teachers.
- ii. Be especially firm in implementing the free education policy especially where hidden costs of education (the need for and the costs of school uniforms and shoes, the other fees children are required to pay) are concerned. Otherwise the average family living below the poverty line will not be able to afford to educate their children. This could easily be done for instance by instituting policies that allow children to still attend government school even when they do not have proper school uniforms or shoes, or cannot pay for all the extra requirements of construction, cleaning supplies etc.
- iii. Make secondary school accessible by either making it free, or by providing bursaries to all those who genuinely cannot afford it but qualify for entry into secondary school.

Two other key ways they can help is by:

- iv. Improving the family's capacity to support children's development and academic achievement by coming up with some form of parent education and support programs to teach parents how to provide for their children's basic needs. That way, access to secondary education will be obtainable.

- v. Providing psycho-social help to children who have lost their parents to help them cope with their loss and with their new life in a new family. Psycho-social help could come through the community, their peers, their school and of course their family (parents/guardians and extended family).

6 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to compare the educational progression of orphans and non-orphans in Lusaka. This study found that over half of the random sample population was orphaned. These findings were definitely representative of the massive number of orphans in the country as a whole. These are too alarming to pay no attention to. The risks are just too immense, for the individual orphans and for the society as a whole. The study found that compared to their non-orphaned counterparts, orphans live in conditions of difficulty as orphans mostly come from low income large households; that the guardians of orphans had mostly un-employed and employed as casual workers. Their minimum wage incomes per month were just about a quarter of what an average family of 5 or 6 people needed to survive per month.

The study found that the extended family system is functional and serves to absorb the orphaned children. But the study also found that most of the extended family is also steeped in poverty. This brings in the question of whether the extended family, while absorbing orphans, has the capacity to meet their needs. Top on the list of those needs is their educational progression.

The study found that the bulk of orphans attend community schools that offer a low quality education; that they attend community schools because their guardians cannot afford better, in this case either government or private school. According to the study, this was because even with the Free Primary Education policy in government school, the hidden costs of education such as cost of school uniforms, transportation, lunch, field trips, cleaning supplies, construction fees etc., were still too high. Private

school financial requirements were just out of their income's reach despite offering good quality education.

On top of everything, secondary education is not free and comes fraught not just with school fees but with more hidden costs of education. The reality is primary education was not designed for economic empowerment but as a foundation for all further learning from secondary school onwards. But primary education could be the only chance at education most orphans will ever have. What happens to them after primary school? How far will they go in their educational progression?

Orphan wellbeing was another aspect the study looked at that produced dismal findings; orphans do not receive any psycho-socio help to aid them in dealing with the loss of their parents and to accept their new life and family. The study revealed that orphans do not receive any Psycho- social help from the government, nor from the church nor from the school they go to.

They are already socially excluded from a good quality education by the mere fact that they belong to a low income group of people. Since their prospects of going far in the education do not look good, their exclusion may spark off a series of undesirable consequences for their lives that will lead to further exclusion; such things as low education attainment, poor reading and arithmetic skills, casual employment, low incomes, substance use and abuse, crime, early marriages, teen pregnancies etc. So while their non-orphaned counterparts are excelling and being presented with unlimited choices of what to do with their lives, the orphans will sink deeper and deeper into a life of further exclusion and poverty.

This doesn't have to be though. Through government intervention, a lot of all these unwanted characteristics can be mitigated. It just takes policy formulation and implementation on the part of government. The government can partner up with the community, the schools and even the church to mitigate these. Some of the ways the government can do this is by providing funding to all schools to raise standards of education, implement and monitor the enforcement of free primary education, create initiatives that improve the capacity of families to earn money to care for their families and partner up with other stakeholders in setting up psycho-socio counselling centres for orphans in the community.

The assumptions of this study were:

1. Orphans' chances of progression in education, despite the 'Free Primary Education' policy, are slimmer than those of non-orphans.
2. The quality of education orphans receive is lower compared to that of non-orphaned children.
3. There is still more that needs to be done to ensure the security and sustainable future of orphans are guaranteed through the educational sector from primary to secondary and tertiary education.

Going by the findings of the study, hypothesis number 1 was proven true. Orphans came from low income households hence their chances of secondary school which is not free, were significantly reduced.

Hypothesis number 2 was also proven true because more orphaned than non-orphaned children attended community school receiving a low quality education

Hypothesis number three was also proven true. The study revealed that orphans receive very little formal or institutional help with costs for their schooling and especially their socio-emotional wellbeing.

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APPENDIX 1: TEACHERS' INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear respondent,

This is an Interview Guide on a study called **A COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION OF ORPHANS AND NON-ORPHANS IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA**. It is carried out in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in Sociology at the University of Namibia. All the information given will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and anonymity. Thank you so much for your help.

1. Sex:
2. Age:
3. What is your teaching qualification?
4. What type of school is it?
5. Do you have indoor plumbing?
6. Do you have power? (electricity)
7. Do you have male and female conveniences for teachers?
8. Do you have male and female conveniences for pupils?
9. Do you have running water in your school?
10. What security system does your school have?
11. How many streams of classes do you have per day?
12. Do you use any teaching aids? State which ones.

13. In your opinion, how do teaching aids help students to learn well? Please explain.
14. Describe the infrastructure at your school.
15. How many pupils do you have in your class?
16. What styles of teaching do you use in the school?
17. How do these styles of teaching help pupils learn well? Please explain.
18. What methods of classroom assessment do you employ?
19. How do these forms of assessment help you? Please explain.
20. How exactly do you employ continuous monitoring of students' learning?
Please explain.
21. How do you assess improvement/educational progression of your learners?
Please explain.
22. Please explain, what does student progression into the next grade depend on?
23. Do you have any students who have lost either one or both of their parents in your class?
24. What have you observed about the orphans in your school?
25. Do you have a counselling centre for any pupils who need counselling?
26. What is the performance of orphans in comparison to non-orphans in your class?
27. On average what is the class attendance of the pupils?
28. Who in your class is mostly skips class? (Orphans, non-orphans not name)
29. Do the pupils have readers and text books? Please state which ones.
30. Are pupils required to pay school fees?
31. Are pupils required to wear school uniforms?

32. Apart from school fees, are there any other fees the pupils are required to pay?
33. Does your school receive any form of help or aid?
34. Who does your school receive help or aid from?
35. What kind of help do you receive? Please explain.
36. What is the biggest need your school has?

APPENDIX 2: PUPILS' QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent,

This is a research questionnaire on the **COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESSION OF ORPHANS AND NON-ORPHANS IN LUSAKA**

It is carried out in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Arts degree in Sociology at the University of Namibia. All the information given will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and anonymity. Thank you so much for your help.

Yours faithfully,

Namasiku Samasumo

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION AND HOUSEHOLD/FAMILY

Please indicate or tick your response.

1. Sex:

Male

Female

2. Age: (please indicate)

.....

3. Who is your guardian? Please Tick what is applicable.

Father and Mother

Father

Mother

Grandmother

Grandfather

Other,

specify.

.....

4. What is the occupation of your guardian?

Professional (doctor, accountant, lawyer etc),

Civil servants

Casual labourer

Self employed

Unemployed

Other, specify

5. What is the monthly income of your guardian?

Note: \$1= K6.50

- K650 and below
- Between K650 and K1950
- Between K1950 and K3250
- Over K3250
- Other, specify.....

6. How many people live in your household?

- 3 and Below
- Between 3 and 5
- Over 5

7. Do you live with any extended family members?

- Cousin
- Nephew/Niece
- Aunt
- Uncle
- Grandparents
- Other, specify.

8. Guardian's Marital Status:

- Single
- Married
- Divorced
- Widow
- Widower

9. Residential Area:
10. What kind of house do you live in? Please tick what is applicable.
- Concrete House
 - Corrugated Iron Roof
 - Asbestos Roof
 - Unfinished House
 - Other, specify
11. How many bedrooms does it have? Please state.
12. Does your house have a bath and toilet inside?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other
13. Does your house have electricity?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other
14. Do you have access to running tap water, indoor plumbing?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other
15. How much rent do you pay per month?
- Below 300
 - Between 300 and 500

- Between 500 and 800
- Over 800

SECTION 2: ORPHAN-HOOD

Please specify which is applicable to you by ticking.

16. Are you a maternal orphan? (mother passed away)

- Yes
- No
- Other

17. Are you a paternal orphan? (father passed away)

- Yes
- No
- Other

18. Are you a single or double orphan? (both mother and father passed away)

- Yes
- No
- Other

19. When did your mother pass away?

- Within this Year
- Within the past 2 Years
- Within the past 5 years ago
- Over
- Other, specify
- Alive

20. When did you father pass away?

- Within this Year
- Within the past 2 Years
- Within the past 5 years ago
- Over
- Other
- Alive

SECTION 3: QUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL

21. What school do you go to? Please specify name.

.....

22. What type of school is it?

- Community
- Government
- Private

Other,

specify.....

23. How far is school from home? Please State

..... Minutes by bus

..... Minutes by private transport

..... Minutes walk

24. What mode of transport do you use to go to school?

- Private
- Mini-bus

None (walk)

Other, specify.

.....

25. Does your school have any of the following? Please tick.

Enough classrooms

Enough desks

A blackboard for each class

A white board for each class

Chalk

Whiteboard markers

A science laboratory

Laboratory equipment and instruments

26. Does your school have any of the following? Please tick.

Toilets for boy

Toilets for girls

Toilets for male staff

Toilets for female staff

Electricity

Running water

A secure fence and gate

A security guard

27. Where is the school located? (please tick):

Low density/High income area

Medium density/medium income area

High density/low income area

Other,

Specify

.....

28. Do you carry a packed lunch to school?

Yes

No

Other

29. Please circle the highest year of school completed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8 9 10 11 12

1st 2nd 3rd 4th 5th

6th 7th

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary

30. How many are you in your class?BoysGirls

.....Total

31. At what age did you start Grade 1 in school?

5 years old

6 years old

7 years old

8 years old

Other, specify.....

32. What extra-curricular activities are you involved in?

Athletics

- Sports
 - Anti-Aids
 - Debate
 - Arts (Music, Painting, Drawing etc)
 - Clubs
 - Other, Specify
33. Do you go on any school field trips? Please state which ones.
- Zoo
 - Transport System
 - Shopping Mall
 - Geography
 - Science
 - A university (education)
 - Other, specify
34. Do you personally own any text books/ readers for your class? Please list.
- Mathematics
 - English
 - Science
 - Other, specify
35. When do you write tests? Please tick.
- Every week
 - Every 2 weeks
 - Every month

- Every term
- Other, specify.....

36. What kind of tests do you write? Please explain.

.....

.....

.....

37. How many days a week do you attend class?

- Once a week
- Twice a week
- Three times a week
- Four times a week
- Five times a week
- Other Specify

38. What causes you to not attend school?

- I am sick
- My mother/father/brother/sister is sick
- There is no food at home
- I have no transport money
- I have not paid my school fees
- I have no school uniform
- I have to work
- Other, specify

39. Please state where you would like to go to:

Secondary School

College

University

40. What will you do after you finish your primary school? Please state.

.....

41. What will you do after secondary school? Please state.

.....

42. What is your ambition (what would you like to work as after school)? Please state.

.....

43. Do you receive any form of aid to help in your education?

Yes

No

Other

SECTION 4: EDUCATION AND POVERTY

44. How many meals do you have per day?

1 meal

2 meals

3 meals

Other, specify

45. Have you skipped any meals this past week?

Yes

No

- Other
 - Other, specify
46. Why did you skip the meals?
- There was nothing to eat
 - I was not home during meal time
 - I was home but was not given food
 - Other, specify

SECTION 5: COST OF EDUCATION

47. Are you required to pay any school fees?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other
48. How much school fees do you pay?
- Below K50
 - Between K50 and K100
 - Over K100
 - Other, Specify
49. Are you required to pay any other fees apart from school fees?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other
50. What fees are these?
- PTA Fees

- Field trip Fees
- Club Membership Fees
- Cleaning Supplies fees
- Uniform Fees
- Other, specify

51. Are you required to wear a school uniform?

- Yes
- No
- Other

52. How much does your uniform cost

- Below K50
- Between K50 and K100
- Between K100 and K200
- Above K200
- Other, specify.....

53. Who pays your school fees? Please state.

.....

SECTION 6: HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT

54. What kind of help do you receive?

- School fees
- Book allowance
- Food at school
- Accommodation

- Counselling
- Other, specify

SECTION 7: GENERAL WELLBEING

55. Do you have warm clothes to wear in the cold season?

- Yes
- No
- Other

56. Do you have your own blanket to use in the cold season?

- Yes
- No
- Other

Other, specify.....

57. Do you have school shoes?

- Yes
- No
- Other

58. Do you own nice clothes to wear to formal or special occasions like church?

- Yes
- No
- Other, specify.....

59. Do you feel that you belong with the people who you live with?

- Yes I Belong

- I Somewhat Belong
 - Not at all
 - Other
60. Do you get the same food as other children you live with?
- We all get the same amount of food
 - I get more food
 - I get less food
 - I never get food
61. Do you get the same clothes as other children you live with?
- We all get the same amount of clothes
 - I get more clothes
 - I get less clothes
 - I never get clothes
62. Do you get the same school fees/school equipment as other children you live with?
- We all get the same amount of food
 - I get more school fees/school equipment
 - I get less school fees/school equipment
 - I never get school fees/school equipment
63. Do you go to the same school as other children in the household you live in?
- Yes
 - No
 - Other

Please explain the reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....