African Community Knowledge in Global Mainstream Education

A comparative study of urban and rural Zambia

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Abstract

Throughout the history of the post-colonial era there has been an increasing call for utilizing and generating African solutions to meet the challenges and development in Africa, as opposed to blueprints of Western development solutions. A belief in African solutions implies a belief in ones own peoples' knowledge and abilities, ultimately manifested in a strong identity.

In this thesis I use Basil Bernstein's theories of educational knowledge and non-school everyday community knowledge, and vertical and horizontal discourses to show how African cultural knowledge is included in educational practice in Zambia, yet excluded from the definition of the purpose of education.

The purpose of this study has been to look at how different stakeholders' perceive and value the knowledge disseminated in school and the knowledge disseminated in the community. Further it is to investigate how these perceptions of knowledge create spaces or constraints for the utilization of community knowledge in formal education and African solutions in development.

The study took place in two different locations in Eastern Province, Zambia, where one urban and one rural school/community were selected. A significant method in deriving adequate answers has been to compare the two cases.

The study concludes that some globalized ideological ideas, especially neo-liberalism, is disseminated through national policies, government officials, teachers and parents, constraining the utilization of community knowledge. Community knowledge is not deliberately excluded, but is constrained by not being included in a definition of the purpose of education.

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Abbreviations

AIKS   African Indigenous Knowledge Systems

DAC   Development Assistance Commitee

DFA   Dakar Framework for Action

EFA   Education for All

IKS   Indigenous Knowledge Systems

IMF   International Monetary Fund

MoE   Ministry of Education

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

OECD   Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PISA   Programme for International Student Assessment

PTA   Parent-Teacher Association

SACMEQ   Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality

SAP   Structural Adjustment Programme

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund

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1   Introduction

Throughout the history of the post-colonial era there has been an increasing call for utilizing and generating African solutions to meet the challenges and development in Africa, as opposed to blueprints of Western development solutions. A belief in African solutions implies a belief in ones own peoples' knowledge and abilities, ultimately manifested in a strong identity.

Education is an individual right of every child, guided by the Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and further elaborated in the Education for All (EFA) consensus. Education is also a state's main mean of disseminating knowledge in the people that serves a desired purpose. This knowledge is transferred through learning that takes place in the local school.

The purpose of this study is to look at how two different stakeholders - teachers and parents - perceive and value the knowledge disseminated in school and the knowledge disseminated in the community. Further it is to investigate how these perceptions of knowledge create spaces or constraints for the utilization of African solutions.

1.1 Location of the research

The research is conducted in two locations in Zambia's Eastern Province. One case is a school situated in the urban settings of Chipata town, while the second case is situated in the rural settings of Katete district. The two schools function under the same national and juridical context, but differ in their local specificities; one being situated in an urban and multicultural milieu, while the other is situated in a rural and relatively mono-cultural milieu.

1.2 Problem statement

The realization that good solutions may as well be born from African minds is a view promoted by amongst others Kenyan Nobel Peace Price laureate Wangari Maathai who in her book "The Challenge for Africa" (2009) use the term "the wrong bus syndrome" to describe how Africans have boarded the wrong bus on advice from their leaders and are traveling in

the wrong direction. Africans, she says, have to get off that bus and hop on a bus heading in the right direction (p. 167). The direction, of course, must be decided by the people based on *their* needs, experiences and objectives (Ibid.).

Another advocate is the former vice-president and president of South Africa Thabo Mbeki. In his speech "I am an African" given at the adoption of the South African constitution bill in 1996 he formulated what can be seen as an essence in this philosophy;

"[Africans] are determined to define for themselves who they are and who they should be."

It lays in the hands of Africans to define their identity, and thus their knowledge, values, objectives and routes to the future.

At the same time Africa exist in a global world with international relations. Relations, that for much of Africa's part is in the role of receivers of conditional aid.

The global consensus of Education for All is in itself an objective that needs attention and commitment, but inherent in its documents and implementation processes is discourses that define education, and its proper practice and purpose.

We can see EFA as a manifestation of a global paradigm on education and development. This paradigm is accused of being mainly a dissemination of world cultural blueprints (Chabbott, 2003), mainly human capital (Rose, 2003), and education for global economic competition (Spring, 2007). The logic of education for all is, according to Joel Spring (2007), equality in access to the labor market. It is not suggested here that a salary can't improve a person's quality of life, but when schools are formed from such a simplex objective, schools become a mean to improve ones quality of life through market economy. Education is thus reduced to a tool that able people to make the money they need to survive. Successful education provision is thus when one have ensured that everyone is able to buy, for example, health services or access to water. In this scene the school bus, to use Maathais metaphor, is headed in a direction towards a liberal economic ideology.

The advocacy of human rights education is also present in this picture. More people receive education today than only a few years ago, and the gender parity has improved in many places. Human rights objectives are also within range somewhere in the direction where the school bus is headed.

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But there is a third way, a way where the passengers shall give directions on where to go. This is the way that above was referred to as the African solution.

Breidlid (2009) has shown that pupils and teachers in South Africa are *crossing epistemological borders*; meaning that school and home represent two different knowledge domains delimited from each other. The use of the word *border* indicates that there is little or no interaction between the two epistemological communities. Breidlid, in addition, *"calls for more research into the viability of indigenous knowledge systems as a potential tool in sustainable development"* (2009, p. 140). This master thesis is partly a response to that call, and tries to investigate whether those who own and disseminate indigenous knowledge accredit any viability to it.

The two knowledge domains create a situation where pupils have to commute between two epistemologies in their everyday life (Breidlid, 2009). This is not unique to African settings, but is to some degree the situation for any pupil commuting between school and home. The challenge it represents for children is also researched amongst working class youth in England (Bernstein, 1971, as referred to in Breidlid, 2009). The problem occurs when, metaphorically, the distance the pupils have to commute between school and home becomes too far, and the two epistemological domains have little relevance for each other. The hypothesis is that this is the case with many non-Western contexts where education often is based on Western models of schooling. In Zambia for instance, the school system is inherited from their former colonial administrators Britain. The distance makes learning in school a more difficult exercise than necessary, and presumably results in a lower learning outcome for each pupil. For example, different language in school and at home is one example of this epistemological border, and an issue that have been shown to decrease learning outcomes (See Brock-Utne, 2007). Though, the epistemological domains go beyond the concrete example of language and also include values, beliefs, knowledge organization etc. The two domains will from now on be referred to as *educational knowledge* and *community knowledge*, further explained in the chapter on the conceptual framework.

Consensus in the field that *"Poor-quality education is a major cause of school dropout"* (UNESCO, 2011, p. 51) makes the problematization stated here relevant for reaching EFA. The relevance of school for the community is an issue of quality, seen that quality is an experience of meaningfulness. Relevance must of course mean that education meets the needs of a community and results in a meaningful outcome. Needs in this context refers to a

relevance for the pupils' cultural identity. This is why it is fruitful to look at the perception of knowledge disseminated through education, and the perception of knowledge disseminated through community. It is not merely the types of knowledges teachers and parents transmit, but also the perceptions of these knowledges; whether it is important to know or not and for what reasons. This should tell us something about the premises for changing the direction of the bus.

We have a spectrum of reasons why children are not enrolled, why they drop out or are not able to show up on a regular basis. In many cases this is directly connected to poverty or a deliberate exclusion, but it is also connected to the importance parents accredit education. In the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011 we are reminded of this;

"Parental decisions over schooling are seldom made purely on the basis of narrow economic calculus. They are informed by perceptions of the value of education, which are often linked in turn to the education of parents themselves" (UNESCO, 2011 p. 50).

In addition future prospectives parents choose or advice for their children is also informed by the perception of the value of community knowledge and educational knowledge.

As we picture the parents as mediators between community knowledge and children/pupils, the teachers are the mediators between educational knowledge and children/pupils. It is therefore part of the problematization that the values teachers transfer to their pupils are also informed by their perceptions. But the teachers also may have dual perceptions as professionals and private persons.

It is at this level this study focuses; In basic school children meet the two knowledge domains at first hand, and is so a time when perceptions are passed forward to them. Perceptions that tell them what is their place in this world, what are the possibilities they have and what means of knowledge is proper to utilize in creating a better future for themselves, their communities and their nation.

The focus is thus on viability of community knowledge in relation to educational knowledge and sustainable development.

1.3 Main research questions

Derived from the problem statement the main research question is formulated as follows:

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- *How is viability of community knowledge perceived and expressed in basic schools in Zambia, and how can it contribute to an education for sustainable development?*

This question seeks to answer the role of community knowledge in educational provision. Further, it seeks to answer if and to what extent community knowledge have a role in developing society and creating opportunities for individuals. Sustainable development in this context refers to a scenario where education provides for progressive opportunities for pupils to develop their mind and life situation, and at the same time can safeguard them from poverty. It also refers to a scenario where system change is possible, simultaneously as the state system provides security.

EFA is an instrument in the provision of education and sustainable development. It is therefore also a subject of discussion how community knowledge can be utilized in providing education for all.

In the process of providing an answer to the main question, a few sub-questions are formulated to generate sufficient knowledge needed for further discussion. The first one concerns the border between educational knowledge and community knowledge; it looks into what type of community knowledge is utilized in school, and why it is so:

- *What types of community knowledge is transferred in school and what purpose does it serve?*

This question is part in finding the valuation attributed to community knowledge, but also what types of community knowledge is valuated as useful for schooling. The two next concern the perceptions of the two knowledge domains:

- *What are the valuation and expectations of educational knowledge?*
- *What are the valuation and expectations of community knowledge?*

From a constructionist view one can say that people construct their world and thus form their social reality. It is therefore interesting to see how people in the two cases construct the viability of school and community through the valuation they attribute to educational and community knowledge. It is an interesting thought whether peoples' own constructions are constraining their own freedom and development. Though, one can of course not reduce people's realities to be blamed on their own constructions of the world. There are also

determinant factors in play here, and the following question is formulated to investigate this problem;

- *What are the spaces and constraints for the utilization of community knowledge?*

Spaces and constraints may be found in the schools' contextual background as well as in the local constructions of the value of knowledge. The thesis does not try to map all spaces or constraints that may be out there, the point is rather to identify and point at problems the data reveals. It is first when a problem is identified that one can consider it. The point is neither to ask this question once in order to fix what is wrong – it must be seen as a continuous process that is part of development.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 provides a literature review that elaborates the backdrop for the study. It explains the main philosophical and developmental position under which the study is conducted, and gives a rough background to other research that is done in the field. Chapter 3 elaborates on the conceptual framework, and operationalize the concepts for use in the research. The methodology used is critically presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 presents the contextual background for the two cases. It is a critical reading of national documents and data from conversations with national and regional officials. Identification of spaces and constraints for community knowledge starts already at this level, and can be seen as findings. Findings for the two cases are presented in chapter 6. Here informant groups and cases are presented separately and compared. In chapter 7 the findings are further discussed to elaborate on the main objective of the research and seek to find a beneficial answer to the main question. Finally, a conclusion is given in chapter 8.

2 Literature review: placing the study in context

In this chapter I will present a review of relevant literature, and by doing so, contextualize my own study to show its relevance. Much of the conceptual framework, presented in chapter three, is derived from this literature. I have tried to use this chapter as a zoom-function, as I start from the wider global context and zoom in on the specifics of the topic.

2.1 Education and development

Education is by many seen as a crucial mean of development for individuals and societies. The provision of education in developing countries has been closely tied to the changing paradigms of development theories. During the six decades of development history these paradigms have mainly been concerned on economic growth, either in a leftist or rightist ideological framework. An important shift came with the paradigm some call "another development". This paradigm challenged the concept of development as economic growth, and introduced a bottom-up focus on development. It contains a realization that the happiness and well-being of people can be determined by other factor than economic wealth only. Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, which he developed in the 60's, was groundbreaking in connecting education with social change within this paradigm. His concept of *conscientization* (Freire, 2000, 2009) takes as its starting point that human beings exists *in* and *with* the world. Humans are subjects that live in relation to other subjects and relation to the world. Objects, however, live only *in* the world. It takes consciousness, reflection and critical thinking to act upon this world. That is why Freire, when he talks about literacy, he do not only mean literacy skills but also the awareness of one self, ones rights, ones situation and ones ability to change the reality. In a changed world climate one might not agree with Freire's radical goal to change the structures of the society, but the humanist emphasis of education is indeed an intriguing aspect of his legacy.

Taking "those to be developed" as subjects rather than objects is also the starting point in Amartya Sen's thinking. Sen introduced the concept of poverty as capability deprivation. By this he suggested that poverty could be "seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes" (Sen, 1999, p. 87). Sen sees freedom as the goal of development, thus the removal of unfreedom is necessary. Capabilities are what a person is capable of, based on knowledge, skills and abilities this person holds. Freedom is when a person is free to utilize this potential. Unfreedom is when a person is constrained from utilizing this potential. Constraints may be caused by for example health issues, marginalization of ones cultural affiliation or even deliberate exclusion.

Based in this philosophical rationale we will continue to the international effort to reach EFA, thus an issue here is if the EFA-consensus provides for freedom and bottom-up development. It is with this backdrop I investigate the spaces and constraints of community knowledge in Zambia. A spacious milieu for community knowledge might mean a realization of capabilities and freedom.

2.2 Globalization: The World Culture and Education for All[1]

The international objective of 'education for all' needs an organisational structure through which it can be implemented. This structure consists of several actors interacting with each other on several levels. Colette Chabbott (2003) has developed a model (fig. 2.1) that shows the different actors and the interrelations between them. It is in these relations that, with Chabbott's words, *world cultural blueprints of development* is constructed and disseminated. Note that we in plainness call all the units in the model "actors", as they all act and react.

While the upper half of the model is where the EFA consensus is created, the lower half represents the level of implementation and reactions to implementation. International organizations are the spine in the global take on human development. It is through these organizations that a major part of knowledge and ideas flows. It is also through these organizations global consensus is constituted. Development and education professionals are both inside and outside of these organizations. What makes them *one* actor in this model is that they belong to one common field, in this case education and development. "Fields",

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[1] Parts of this section are based on parts of a semester assignment written previous to this study: Vedø, L. S.

writes Catherina A. Odora Hoppers, "are taken as discursive formations that are manifestations of knowledge and power domains" (2002a, p. 18).
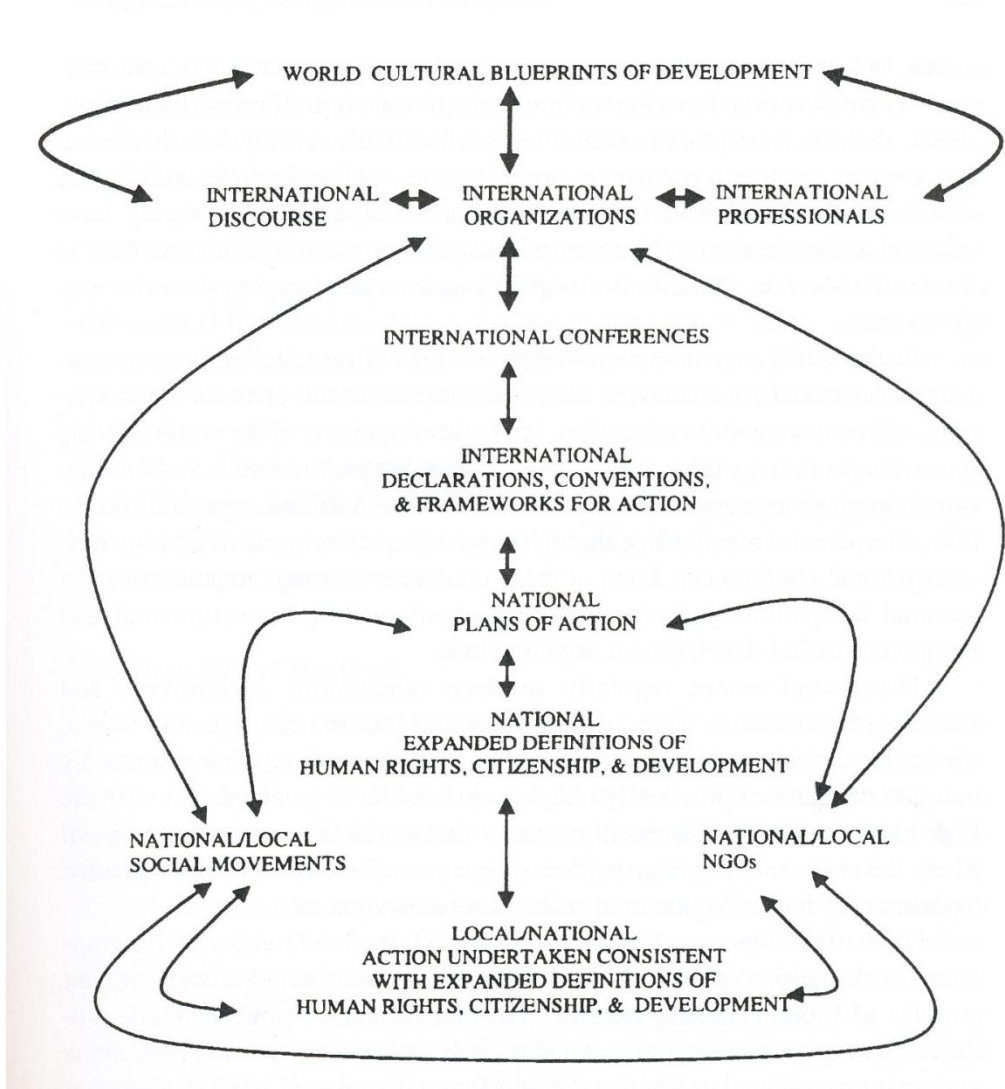
Fig. 2.1. Mechanisms for Constructing and Disseminating World Cultural Blueprints of Development. Reproduced from Chabbott, C. (2003) p. 9.

Discursive practices are crucial to how knowledge and power is distributed in this model. 'Discourse' is an abstract concept referring to how language is used in categorizing the world and create truisms. In his book "Madness and Civilization", Michel Foucault (1989) has shown how insanity has been categorized and assigned different knowledge during the human

history. Though the 'mad' has probably always been 'mad', the concept of 'insanity' has over time changed its meaning. The concept of madness first of all makes it possible to categorize people with certain characteristics into a group, and also, the main point, it ascribes certain knowledge about this group. Therefore, a concept can provide us with both a diagnose ('*He is insane*') and a treatment ('*He must be treated in a mental hospital*'). In our field there are other categories that are of interest; 'childhood', 'education', 'poor communities' and 'developing countries' are concepts used, not always questioned, in the discussions and politics of education and development. This discourse makes up a framework of what is appropriate or not to say or think within the field.

The international discourse as positioned in the model does not only influence the rest of the actors, rather it is being carried by, and reproduced in all of them. But the discourse does not make up itself; it is created by the other actors. Therefore, it is necessary to question which actors have more power over the discourse. King (2007) suggests that the multilateral agencies UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP and the World Bank dominated the designing of the structure and goals to meet the EFA. The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD did also have a significant influence (Ibid.). King claims that southern governments, NGOs and researchers only had a minor role (Ibid. p. 381).

Mundy & Murphy (2001) also support the view that non-governmental actors and southern governments did not have sufficient access to influence the architecture of EFA.

According to this, power over the discourse lies in the upper half of Chabbott's model.

The discursive formation of the professionals is highly influential on the international discourse on education and development, together with other international discourses on issues such as geopolitics and economic hegemonies and declarations such as the Human Rights. Although all the actors are connected somehow, the linkages downwards are stronger than those from bottom-up (Chabbott, 2003). Thus we can see all the arrows in the model as power relations with varied strengths.

The EFA-consensus was first coined and formulated in the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, and reaffirmed at the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal in 2000. International conferences like these results in declarations, conventions and frameworks for action such as the Dakar Framework for Action.

The EFA-consensus is then carried through national plans for action to implementation. Though the consensus is filtered through national governments and local authorities, the discourse, manifested in the global jargon, stays put. Social movements and NGOs are involved on several levels by monitoring and influencing policy, voice out the needs of the people, and even running schools. Still, the discourse is also carried by these actors.

This global environment is characterized with three features, as described by Chabbott (Ibid.):

- There is one development imperative that is ever expanding since the last 60 years. The imperative of development is covering national economies as well as family planning and other areas, and the targets are national populations as well as subgroups.

- As already covered in the elaboration on discourse, *isomorphism* is the trend, meaning that the agenda and objectives of the actors are streamlined. Thus, oppositional perspectives are weakened.

- There are *loose couplings* between values promoted in the consensus and the implementation. This can either be seen as a dysfunction or a resistance on behalf of local values and practices, though as Chabbott remarks; "skewed though it may be towards local elites" (Ibid., p. 5).

Chabbott's theory is relevant to this study since it is useful to trace, or at least understand, the source of some meanings attributed to education at the grass-root level.

2.2.1 A world culture from the West

The claim that what we call "world culture" is rooted in Western Enlightenment is often expressed and widely acknowledged. A core feature of these ideas are the de-legitimation of "premodern traditional collectivities - family, race, clan, kingdom - and [the establishing of] individuals with free will as the central unit of society" (Chabbott 2003, p. 6). Liberal values, rationalism and individualism are seen as universal, and any rivaling view is seen as retarded. A question of whether the world culture consists of good or bad values is uninteresting. A more important point is that in a culture where collective values are more innate than in Western cultures (not claiming that collective values are absent in Western cultures), aspects of individualism might not make the same *sense* - not depending of the value of the idea itself. The thesis of the Enlightenment as an origin of the world culture is supported by many

historical analyses by world society scholars (Ibid.). Meyer et. al. (1997) makes a strong case when they imagine how a new found land would most likely be assimilated into a present day world order.

Chabbott (2003) presents an anthology of the development discourse and the education priorities it has had in the five decades from 1950 to -90. As the story of development theory goes, it started with modernization, a rational take on development. Modernization of people meant an expansion of formal education, and industrialization of countries meant a priority of technical training. Modernization and industrialization, of course, was supposed to follow a Western model.

The 60's were dominated by human capital, a rational thinking of how to best use human resources for economic growth. Education priorities were further expanded with vocational training and secondary and higher education. Human rights oriented development and education grew stronger in the 70's and prioritization shifted towards "neglected groups" and non-formal education (Ibid.). This came as a result of growing Marxist critique of the preceding theories and structures.

The *contra-revolution* came soon thereafter with the structural adjustment programs of the 80's, which in general was strict restrictions in public financing. This had quite severe implications for schools (see Rose, 2003).

As sustainable development was an established concept by the 1990's, the World Conference on Education for All manifested a more comprehensive global education consensus. The core of this EFA-consensus is education for all, gender equality, eradicating illiteracy and quality learning (Chabbott, 2003). The World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1991 was organized to direct attention to equity challenges in educational expansion (Carnoy, 1999, p. 45), thus this is the main rationale for EFA.

There has been changing hegemonies in the field of development and education, thus the field is dynamic and changeable. The theories of development, though differing and conflicting each other, are all more or less universalistic in scope. They are theories of how to rationally change a society, without taking into account the spectrum of reactions they might invoke in certain contexts. These theories also determine what a population need to know; the curriculum of the school. These world cultural blueprints of development are created in the top of Chabbott's figure by professionals to be imposed on the developing world as solutions.

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This does not mean that development theories don't have any root in reality, but they are restricted and adapted according to the professionals' discursive field and international discourse - which again is rooted in the Western Enlightenment. Neither does it mean that development theory is exclusively a Western product.

Before we move on to an even closer inspection of EFA it is important to remind of the equity-rationale of the EFA. In the following paragraphs the attention is directed at what might counter this objective of equity.

Globalized markets demand knowledge and skills such as English language, mathematic- and scientific reasoning and logic (Carnoy, 1999, p. 26). To compete in the global market nation-states execute competitiveness-driven educational reforms. Educational reforms can also be finance-driven, a factor that has been especially visible in structural adjustments advised by the International Monetary Fund during the contra-revolution (Ibid.). These are the two economic drivers for reform presented by Carnoy (1999).

Not only are the economic drivers for reform additional to equity-driven reform, but "Globalization tends to push governments away from equity-driven reforms" (Ibid. p. 46).

Further, Carnoy claims, in a globalized world governments focus on comparing their own students to students in other countries. In the geographic region of where this study has taken place one such comparison are conducted by the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ). The SACMEQ-studies measure pupil performance in reading and mathematics (SACMEQ) and is comparable to the PISA-tests conducted by the OECD. In this sense, globalization works as an incentive for a global streamlining of knowledge.

 All this does not mean that world culture seize all aspects of life. There are still people in the world whose livelihoods are distinctively different from a Western and urban way of life, and cultural traditions are sometimes subject of revival. On the other hand, one must admit that people want to take part in the global world. Thus, it is not sufficient to handle the world culture as a threat, but a reality that needs to be considered in the provision of education.

2.2.2 Education for All: in conflict with local contexts?

EFA is most commonly known as six goals for the universal provision of education from early childhood to lifelong learning. The goals was first formulated in the Dakar Framework for Action (UNESCO, 2000) and is a re-affirmation of the earlier Jomtien-consensus on EFA. In short, the goals tell what is the most crucial in EFA;

1. *Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children;*
2. *Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete free and compulsory primary education of good quality;*
3. *Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes;*
4. *Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults;*
5. *Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality;*
6. *Improving every aspect of the quality of education, and ensuring their excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills* (pp. 15-17);

These goals are equity-driven, but the document also includes strategies on how to best reach the goals. It is in these texts we can trace the economic drivers informed by globalization. Criticism of the EFA-consensus is not directed towards its sincere effort for equity in educational provision, but toward the discursive dissemination of Western knowledge that the critics claim is the actual effect of EFA.

The objective of EFA is to open the doors to the global world through education, this can be seen for example in the Dakar Framework's advice that governments "should address the new role of teachers in preparing students for an emerging knowledge-based and technology-driven economy" (UNESCO, 2000, p. 20). This is linked to what Carnoy (1999) calls *the globalization of skills* i.e. meaning that everyone should learn the same skills – the skills you need to play on the global field. In Birgit Brock-Utne's view "'Education for All' becomes [...] schooling in Western knowledge" (2000, p. 285). Nothing less!

One can hardly argue that a global modern world and economy doesn't exist, and that access to this global world should be granted everyone. It does, though, have certain complications. Jennifer Hays (2009) argues that, in the case of the Ju|'hoansi in Namibia, providing indigenous people "access" to modern schools contains a simultaneous denial of their cultural skills and knowledge. Brock-Utne and Hays' criticism is basically that the EFA provides Western style education without sufficient considerations for local contexts. This is further complicated when those without modern education are seen as "uneducated", which make them unable to "successfully articulate their own desires in the broader circles of development [...]" (Hays, 2009, p. 216). Who are and who are not indigenous peoples in Africa is a controversial theme (See Hodgson, 2009), but that is not the issue here. The point is to focus attention to that educational provision is not sufficiently contextualized to fit certain African societies. Rather it contributes in marginalizing the knowledge and identities of the "uneducated".

2.2.3 School and community: Findings of relevance to this study

Perceptions of educational knowledge

In a study done on primary pupils in rural western Zambia, Hoppers (1981) found that practical skills and knowledge taught in school, which could easily be applied to a home setting, was also accepted by parents as long as this knowledge did not contradict tradition. School knowledge that opposed knowledge rooted in tradition, however, was not accepted when brought home by pupils. For example, parents could deny a scientific explanation of sickness or disease when they themselves had a metaphysical explanation. Parents often saw formal education as a way out of the rural community to a job in the state system. The relevance of school to the local community was considerably low, but it was seen as instrumental for ending up in a future government job. Hoppers' findings evoke some questions for this study. Whether or not the knowledge transmitted in school is received in the same manner by parents today may give some hints on the status of different knowledge. Also, if they have the same prospectives for their children. After all, the generation of pupils at that time, are the parents and grandparents today, so this may have changed.

Working for several years as a teacher in a catholic mission school in Lusaka, Simpson (2003) simultaneously did an ethnographic study of the staff and students. He shows how the school

is representing, in the perception of students, another "world" separated from the rest of the Zambian community. They even christened their school 'Half-London'. In the type of school that Simpson describes the pupils seem to describe the education they receive as esoteric knowledge. This can be linked to what Michael Apple call high status knowledge, "knowledge that is considered of exceptional import" (1990, p. 36) and that "seems to entail the non-possession of others" (Ibid.). Simpsons' school, however, is very different from the public schools in this study. On the other hand, it gives some hints on how discourses on school versus community evolve and how low relevance to the surrounding community affects the students. Especially how they link it and value it to social class and culture. While Simpson's case in a sense is more extreme in the separation from the community, the findings in this study illuminate how public schools may be separated from the local communities, both in physical design and cultural comprehensions.

The difficulties of border-crossing

Research also shows that pupils have difficulties of learning when the school has little similarity to home environments. Language of instruction is one aspect of this difference and is a serious topic in southern African education. Brock-Utne (2007) has looked into language of instruction in Tanzanian schools. She has shown that when subjects are taught in English rather than the local language, the content is lost because of language difficulties. When the same subject is taught in the local tongue, pupils are engaging in discussion and contributing with knowledge from home. Her findings are not controversial. Local language is an important aspect of community knowledge and it can't simply be translated into another language as it carries with it culturally specific concepts and knowledge. For example, the noun *nyama* in Cinyanja can be translated into English as *meat* or *mammal*. It acts not only as another word for *meat* or *mammal*, but as a different conception of meat/mammal. This can have complications for example when Western models of game conservation are introduced in African contexts. The switching of languages is quite easy to comprehend as a challenge for pupils, but it goes further when we accept that languages have cultural meanings and connotations. Breidlid, as previously mentioned, emphasizes the epistemological differences between school and community. On the case of the Xhosa in South-Africa he writes:

"Among Xhosa children it is not only a matter of linguistic code-switching , but of a collision of knowledge systems [...]. This is not only serious in terms of the actual learning in the

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classroom, but also in terms of the pupils' future contribution to society" (Breidlid, 2009, p. 144). This collision of knowledge systems has severe implications on the quality of education simply because pupils do not learn what they are taught.

It is not an option to provide a refined "Western education" or "African education". First of all, it would evoke disputes over its definitions, but the main point lies in the rationale for development-from-the-grassroots and the fact that globalization is irreversible. Global education systems and knowledge must be integrated with local contexts and knowledge.

Dennis Banda (2008) has investigated whether the African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS)[2] of the Chewa people can be integrated in formal schooling to enhance the achievement of EFA. Banda found that vocational or occupational training programs where labeled as "programs for failures" and he states *"there may be a need for government to sensitize the community on other roles of formal school education […] so that they broaden their understanding and appreciation of formal school education beyond the unachievable one of guaranteeing white-collar jobs"* (Ibid., p. 269). Banda concludes that a hybridization of Chewa AIKS and formal education will be able to enhance the achievement of EFA. Appropriate education should be developed from Chewa AIKS and the formal curriculum should integrate the two (Ibid.). A dilemma, Banda writes, "is that the holistic aspect of Chewa AIKS does not match the way knowledge in Western schooling is broken down, decontextualized and taught in precise fragments" (Ibid., p. 270). This dilemma corresponds to what Breidlid calls epistemological border-crossing. However, Banda argues for a successful integration that will enhance Zambia's achievement of EFA. Further, to succeed in this integration practical skills embedded in Chewa AIKS must be fitted into national examinations and must have a financial value to it. This is because Banda's respondents finds certificates the most important and that a white-collar job (that generates an income) is their preference (Ibid., pp. 275-276).

2.3 Conceptualizing "African": African Renaissance and Indigenous knowledge

Thabo Mbeki's speech "I am an African" was introduced in the first chapter. Here Mbeki for the first time embarked on the concept of an *African Renaissance* (Okumu, 2002, p. 159). He

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[2] *Indigenous knowledge* will be introduced later in this chapter.

did, at the time, not use those words, but expressed a philosophical and socio-political direction for Africa that eventually has been known as African Renaissance. He spoke to his fellow citizens of South Africa, but did also address the whole African continent.

In the wake of Mbeki's speech African Renaissance became a term to explain a broad ideological concept which argues for a broad societal change in Africa based on Africa's own culture, history, environment, knowledge and experiences. Washington A. J. Okumu argues that African Renaissance "[…] must begin with a fresh sense of the purpose and meaning of life as the basis of cultural identity" (2002, p. 20). Identity is the key to understand the rationale of African Renaissance and also, I will argue, a link to the thinking of Paulao Freire and Amartya Sen. Okumu continues:

> *"This will lead on to a sense of well-being, renewed motivation, and then achievements: first, in the arts and culture; then, in science, technology, commerce, and in politics"* (Ibid., p. 20).

However, this does not mean that Africans need to re-invent everything, but should benefit from the scientific and technological breakthroughs from other continents (Ibid.).

According to James Ferguson the African Renaissance was a short-lived and failed elite discourse (2006). In Zambia parts of this discourse was formed in the internet magazine *Chrysalis*, written by young, ambitious and well educated Zambians (Ibid.). To judge by Ferguson's analysis of *Chrysalis* the core of this discourse was to invent a fresh Zambian identity, not to awake an old one.

Despite the disagreements within this discourse over the articulation of problems and solutions, there emerged a consensus that Zambian culture is an inferior one (Ibid., p. 139).

2.3.1 Indigenous Knowledge

Indigenous Knowledge is a concept that represents a more positive attitude towards African culture than the *Chrysalis*-discourse. Here, the inherited African knowledge is seen as *the* true foundation for change. A core idea, to interpret P. Pitika Ntuli (2002), is to reclaim 'the African', which has been corrupted by Western hegemonic knowledge. He claims that Africa has been aping the West in different aspects, and at the same time neglecting "The African" and its potential. This is for example apparent in that the continent is largely Anglophone,

Francophone and Lusophone (Ntuli, 2002). Ntuli reminds his readers of the Asian Tigers that succeeded by *not* aping the West. This aping of the West has its relevance in society, says Ntuli, for example in that pupils are trained for "employability rather than entrepreneurship" (2002:64). It is when entrepreneurship is lacking that a society is not able to develop on its own terms. This point is key, it is the utilization of "the African" that is the objective of Indigenous Knowledge, not to restore what is lost.

When reviewing the literature on indigenous knowledge it becomes clear that this is a wide concept used in a variety of ways. And this literature may not provide a common definition. Even amongst those who seeks to conceptualize it the reference ranges from intellectual property rights of pharmacy/healing knowledge, an example used continuously by Odora Hoppers (2002a, 2002b), to an emphasis on a spiritual and ancient knowledge as advocated by for example Chivaura (2006).

One may not agree with all of the solutions that are suggested by those concerned with indigenous knowledge, and one might agree that African Renaissance is a lost case. However, these concepts are relevant because they are based in a belief that identity is the foundation of development.

Distinctive African peoples like the Maasai of Tanzania and Kenya have advocated to be internationally recognized as indigenous peoples (Hodgson, 2009). This has been especially connected to gaining special rights as manifested in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In Africa, the term "indigenous" was adopted by distinctive minority groups who claimed they were oppressed by a state apparatus by cultural and linguistic discrimination and other marginalization or dispossession (Hodgson, 2009). Not surprisingly this activism was not well received by most African nation-states who argued for national collectivism. They also claimed that all their citizens were indigenous (Ibid.).

In the field of indigenous education and indigenous knowledge the word *indigenous* sometimes refers to ethnic groups such as Amazonian tribes (Johannessen, 2009) or the Aboriginals (Liberman, 2008), but also the whole black population of the African continent. They have in common that they refer to peoples that live in the periphery of the cosmopolitan West. Those peoples that are referred to do not necessarily have a territorial claim, but their knowledge are traditional contrasted with "cosmopolitan knowledge" (Odora Hoppers, 2002b). Traditional knowledge is defined by Odora Hoppers (Ibid. p. 6) as "[...] the totality of

all knowledge and practices, whether explicit or implicit, used in the management of socio-economic, spiritual, and ecological facets of life." Odora Hoppers and others in the field seem to include most black Africans as bearers of indigenous knowledge.

Literature on indigenous knowledge in Africa is less concerned about indigenous peoples as such. It is the knowledge of Africans which in a sense is indigenous. One can ask the question whether indigenous knowledge is a real phenomenon or a platform for activism. I will say both. There is no doubt that there exists knowledge in communities that are cultural specific, original, useful and connected to an identity. In what way it is indigenous or not may be harder to say. I will postulate that the word "indigenous" awakes sympathy and visibility for this community knowledge, mainly because of the legacy of the indigenous rights movement. "Indigenous knowledge" can therefore also be seen as a platform for activism, as a term that constitute a counter-hegemony. This counter-hegemony does not fight against an oppressive state, like many indigenous peoples do, but against a Western knowledge hegemony.

The concept indigenous knowledge is critiqued by Horsthemke (2004) for lacking precision. It is, he says, *"[...] generally taken to cover local, traditional, nonwestern beliefs, practices, custom and world views, and frequently also to refer to alternative, informal forms of knowledge"* (p. 32). Horsthemke's critique is a timely reminder not to get over-exited over the wonders of a concept which is not properly articulated. But in my opinion the literature on indigenous knowledge does not come through as a fixed panacea. Rather, it is an intellectual discussion that may contribute new perspectives to the improvement of developmental and educational models.

Following this, Indigenous Knowledge in this thesis, is not used as an alternative model for development or education, but it is treated as knowledge that must be integrated in creating suitable models for education and development.

2.3.2 Indigenous African educational heritage

Timothy Reagan has in "Non-Western Educational Traditions" (2009) compiled a few overviews of different educational traditions, of which "Indigenous African Educational Thought and Practice" is one. His rationale for delimiting a distinct African tradition despite the diversity within the continent is a choice to focus on the commonalities of the continent

(Ibid.). Compared to other clusters of cultures, like the "European", "The African" is a reasonable delimitation and starting point.

Derived from literature review on the theme Reagan present five categories where the African educational tradition have special characteristics; The goal of education; the oral tradition; moral education; the process of initiation; and vocational aspects of African indigenous education. Although not a comprehensive list, his overview gives us a good idea of the fundaments of African educational traditions.

The goals of African indigenous education are essentially to socialize "good persons" with skills, values and character. The difference from other clusters of cultures lies in the African culture and belief system that defines necessary skills, and good values and character. Further, traditional education in Africa is distinguished by four features (Moumouni in Reagan, p. 61):

- The great importance attached to it, and its collective and social nature;
- its intimate tie with social life, both in a material and a spiritual sense;
- its multivalent character, both in terms of its goals and the means employed; and
- its gradual and progressive achievements, in conformity with the successive stages of physical, emotional, and mental development of the child.

Children are expected to participate in economic life, which probably is more prevalent in Africa compared to Europe. It is a goal for education to enable children for such participation, thus socialization is utilized as pedagogy.

The oral tradition. Socialization is however not the only mean of pedagogy. Indigenous African culture is by large (but not only) an oral culture. The oral sphere of society applies several methods to transmit special knowledge. For example, proverbs contain wisdom, practical advice, moral and values. Fables, myths, legends and praise-poems may teach the history of a people, important for a common identity. Riddles are by Reagan suggested to be a critical thinking activity.

Moral education is the transmission of moral and values, which may differ from each cultural cluster. Respect for elders is comparatively highly emphasized in African societies, where "elders" also refers to authorities.

The process of initiation exists in variety of forms around the globe. Benjamin Ray says about initiation processes in Africa that these "[...] not only socialize [...] them into new roles of

social responsibility, but also transforms them inwardly by molding their moral and mental disposition towards the world." (In Reagan, p. 71). The knowledge that belong to these practices may conflict with the knowledge that belong to school. For example, the initiation of Chewa girls implies an annunciation of marriageable age, which in turn might conflict what school teaches about gender issues and sexuality.

Vocational aspects are explained by Reagan by three broad categories; agriculturally related occupations; trades and crafts; and professions. While agriculture and domestic occupations is mostly learned from parents, apprenticeship is common for crafts and professions.

Educational practice in different contemporary African societies may preserve or develop these traditions in varying degrees. Certain aspects may be lost, and others, like initiations ceremonies, conservatively preserved or reinvented. For a more comprehensive picture of contemporary education in Africa we need to add non-traditional teaching and learning to the list, by which the institutional school is the most prominent. Bear in mind here the contradictions between traditional African-, and institutionalized teaching and learning. It is not the case that institutionalized education wipes out the educational traditions, rather the problematization is to what degree the school dominate the transmission of knowledge, and if it is for the better or the worse. What does Reagan's overview show? One thing is that the African educational tradition transmit different knowledge in different arenas with different methods from different mentors (whoever has the knowledge), whilst institutional education is, although somewhat simplified, the one and same arena for different knowledge taught with one method by one mentor (the professional teachers). Also, the institutional education is poorly integrated to the educational web that has evolved through traditions.

This chapter has sought to outline a broad background that puts the research in the relevant context. The key concepts in this contextualization is bottom-up development where people are seen as subjects with capabilities (Freire and Sen); EFA and issues of globalization, and; African Renaissance and Indigenous Knowledge where one seeks to make sense of and utilize "the African" in a global world.

3 Conceptual Framework

This study deals with two cases at the grass-root level, but at a macro perspective we must also consider the national level. Fig. 3.1 shows the levels and their relations, as they are conceptualized here.
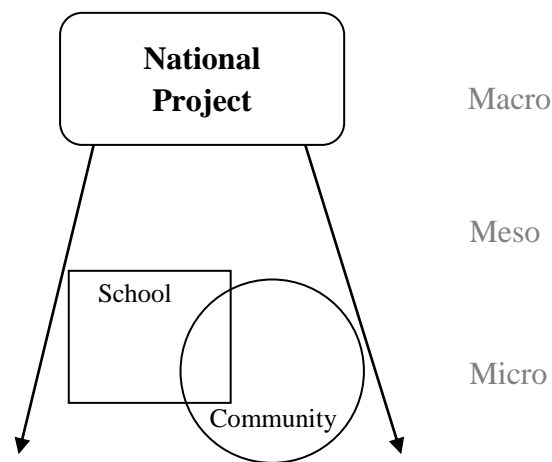
Fig. 3.1, Conceptualization of school and community in the national project.

At the top we find what we can call the national project. The national project - we can also call it ideology - is expressed by governmental institutions, policy documents, the national curriculum and governmental and district officials. Chapter 5 – Contextual Background – is an interpretation of the Zambian national project on education. The policies on this level are of interest to find spaces and constraints the national project sets for community knowledge in local schools. Note that written and oral texts at this level might draw on different discourses. All the black lines in Fig. 3.1 represent spaces and constraints on educational practice. The spaces and constraints are determined top-down, though it is not necessarily a rigid determination from the national level to the local school. Spaces and constraints can occur at any level from the national level to the district level to the classroom. It is therefore of interest to this study to investigate how the knowledge domains are valued at several levels and in multiple cases. If educational practice is strongly determined by the national project the two cases should resemble each other. But as we will see there are interesting differences between the two cases, and therefore other factors must apply.

The next level depicted in the model is the school overlapping the local community, which is the lower level of which this study has its main focus. The school is pictured as a square since it is a clearly manifested institution with a clear mandate. The local community is pictured as a circle as it is a dynamic and changeable entity of culture rather than jurisdiction. The overlapping area is where school and community have their dialectical relationship, and it is the focal point for the viability of community knowledge in the school.

At this stage it is only postulated that there exists a dialectical relationship between the two knowledge domains. They may simply co-exist without interference, but this is doubtful seeing that most communities in general plea for quality education to create progress in their own community. The dialectical relationship however does not necessarily have to be fruitful.

Breidlid (2009) refers to the school and the community as "two fairly isolated knowledge systems which do not seem to mutually nurture each other" (p. 144). Thus, teachers and pupils exercise epistemological- or cultural border crossings. The border does not only delineate school and home, which can be challenging enough, but also delineates community knowledge from school knowledge and thus block the potential it might have in the generation of new knowledge.

It is perhaps not the border crossing itself that is the most problematic, but the distance traveled between the two. This distance is what this study seeks to explore further. The two knowledge domains are what Bernstein (1971) would respectively refer to as *educational knowledge* and *non-school everyday community knowledge*.

3.1 Educational knowledge

Educational knowledge is realized through what Bernstein (1971) calls message systems, of which there are three different types;

- curriculum
- pedagogy
- evaluation

Pedagogy defines the proper methods of teaching and learning - the transmission of the curriculum. Evaluation defines the objective of the education on behalf of the pupils - the valid realization of the knowledge. Curriculum defines the knowledge that is considered valid, but this conceptualization needs further elaboration;

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3.1.1 Curriculum

Curriculum is distinguished into two types, a *collection* type and an *integrated* type. A collection type curriculum is a collection of content that is needed to satisfy an evaluation. Different content is taught in separate subjects. There may be an underlying concept for this type of curriculum, as for example the gentleman or non-vocational man (Bernstein, 1971). This type of curriculum can be exemplified by a classic English education (see Cummings, 2003). An integrated type curriculum can have relatively more variation in its collection of content. The content is not partitioned, rather integrated. Progressive education, such as the teachings of John Dewey[3], typically manifests an integrated curriculum.

Of interest to this study is how the different types of curriculum are able to integrate with community knowledge.

Michael Apple has during his career raised a number of important questions about how curriculum is formed, by whom, and which functions it has. He claims that one of the primary legacies of the curriculum field is the "commitment to maintaining a sense of community, one based on cultural homogeneity and valuative consensus" (Apple, 1990, p. 80). A function that the curriculum has is that the school creates hegemony by teaching cultural and economic values that are supposedly shared by everyone (Ibid.). In this sense it creates a community where those who actually share those cultural and economic values are better positioned in a meritocratic system.

Apple is interested in whose knowledge find its way into schools. To establish this, one must look beyond the commonality of the knowledge and trace its origin and its function. The authority of knowledge can be understood in a hierarchic model of social organization (Ibid.). First, knowledge is generated and shared by experts; they are the leaders. The first group to follow is those Apple call the "college produce" - those who are familiar with the findings and vocabulary of the experts. Last are the "duller masses" who follow by imitation. The groups differ in social, cultural, and economic capital (Ibid.). Apple makes an important point about this model:

> *"Notice that this view of social organization does not attempt to eliminate all*
> *diversity but rather to control it by narrowing its scope and channelling it toward*

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[3] John Dewey is known for his writings on progressive and democratic education. The term "learning by doing" is often quoted when explaining his educational philosophy.

areas that do not seem to threaten the imperatives of social stability, the production of 'expert knowledge,' and economic growth." (Apple, 1990. p. 77).

This point is of significance because a sincere embracing of community knowledge might infer an acknowledgement of ideas and practices that are a threat to these imperatives.

When analyzing curriculum in Zambia, it is therefore valuable to keep in mind the questions of what kind of social stability the curriculum promotes, and to whose advantage.

3.1.2 Classification and frame

The data in this study describes the three message systems as they appear in the two cases in Zambia. To determine the structures of the three message systems, curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation, Bernstein (1971) introduces the concepts *classification* and *frame*. Classification is used to determine the structure of curriculum and refers to the strength of the boundary between contents. Where *classification* is strong, the contents are separated from each other by strong boundaries and vice versa. *Frame* is used to determine the structure of pedagogy and refers to the strength of the boundary between what may, and what may not, be transferred in the educational context. The frame therefore refers to the degree of control the teacher and pupil have over the educational knowledge. The structure of evaluation will be determined by both classification and frame. Learning is the experience of these boundaries. That means by experiencing the school, pupils learn which knowledge to value and which future prospects they should expect for themselves.

The consequence of viewing learning as the experience of schooling is that we have to pay as much attention to the hidden curriculum as to the overt curriculum in school. This is because pupils experience more than what is deliberately taught by teachers and textbooks – they also learn from, e.g. the expression of importance the teacher attaches to the textbook or the subject. The hidden curriculum is therefore transferred through all of the three message systems.

Kubow & Fossum (2007) underline how both curriculum types (curricular stratification) and pedagogy (instruction) is connected to a society's understanding of knowledge:

> *"Debates over the medium of school instruction reinforce the importance of language as a transmitter of a society's cultural identity. Curricular stratification, in*

terms of the subjects students are exposed to in school and even which students are exposed to them, reinforces the importance society attaches to particular kinds of knowledge" (Kubow & Fossum, 2007, p. 73).

3.2 Non-school everyday community knowledge

When we refer to *non-school everyday community knowledge* we talk about all knowledge in the repertoire of the community that is not specialized knowledge in the domain of the school or other semi-external institutions. I call them semi-external in that they have not originated in the culture, but are in a sense imported. For example, the school as we know it today is developed in Western cultures and ideologies, and imported (or exported) to the South.

Indigenous knowledge is community knowledge, knowledge in the repertoire of the community. Indigenous knowledge can be defined as knowledge that is generated locally in the culture, language being the most prominent example. While the indigenous lingua in my two cases is Cinyanja and Chechewa, most subjects in basic school are taught in English.

The community is not closed to the outside world, but influenced by it, thus generating new knowledge. We can call the sum of indigenous and other knowledge a hybrid. This hybrid is what we here refer to as community knowledge. An example of such knowledge in the area of the two cases is the "traditional" stove made locally out of scrap metal. I was told it was developed out of local needs and scientific principles to make it as effective as possible. Even if this is an anecdote that might not be correct, it serves to make a point; Even though the prototype might not be developed in Zambia, it is developed in such an environment for such a life. It is an African indigenous invention developed with non-indigenous knowledge and most likely foreign materials. An important aspect of community knowledge is that it consists of available knowledge and resources, and in line with cultural values and belief systems. It is dynamic rather than static.

It is important to emphasize here that community knowledge shall not be understood merely as beliefs that are not tested under the scrutiny of science, (even though you may find plenty of examples of this). It is the presentation of knowledge that is the issue here. A good analogy to exemplify this is to visualize a map of the world. A world map is usually presented with north pointing up and south pointing down. If you turn the map upside-down it will seem wrong to many of us, but it is in fact as correct as the usual presentation.

If community knowledge is marginalized, it is not only the already existing knowledge that is ignored, but one also ignores the viability of community knowledge in the generation of new knowledge.

Since this study's subject matter is education, it is natural to focus on the educational aspects of the non-school everyday community knowledge. To coincide Bernstein's three message systems in educational knowledge, I will propose the equivalents in the community sphere as well;

- community curriculum
- community pedagogy
- community evaluation

I am aware that this operationalization of the theory contradicts the rationale that lies behind this research, outlined in the two first chapters, by enforcing a set of concepts constructed from educational knowledge onto community knowledge. However, there is a need to be able to operate a meaningful comparison between the two knowledge domains. It is meaningful only within social research and in this sense these three categories will be helpful in the analysis.

Reagan's (2009) overview of the indigenous African educational heritage shows several examples of the three community message systems. The fundamental difference to educational message systems, and the thing that makes it 'everyday knowledge', is that it is embedded in the culture and not manifested through policy documents and teacher education.

We now have a framework to analyse teaching and learning in the two knowledge spheres. The purpose of comparing the two is to analyse the interaction between them, the status they have in the population, and to discuss the viability of community knowledge in school. And to make it clear; the viability of community knowledge in school must be in its participation in the development of school and the generation of new knowledge.

3.3 Vertical and horizontal discourses

It will also be useful to draw upon another concept developed by Bernstein later in his career, namely that of vertical and horizontal discourses. The two discourses represent different types of knowledge, and different ways of circulation of knowledge (Bernstein, 1999). This

terminology is necessary to later discuss the transferal and viability of different types of knowledge in the two knowledge domains.

A horizontal discourse entails what we call everyday 'common-sense' knowledge. Bernstein explains it as "likely to be oral, local, context dependent and specific, tacit, multi-layered, and contradictory across but not within contexts" (1999:159). This is knowledge that is common and accessible to all within a specific context. Knowledge in this discourse is segmentally organized, contrasted to a vertical discourse where knowledge is hierarchically organized. Bernstein defines a vertical discourse as follows:

> *"A vertical discourse takes the form of a coherent, explicit, and systematically principled structure, hierarchically organised, as in the sciences, or it takes the form of a series of specialised languages with specialised modes of interrogation and specialised criteria for the production and circulation of texts, as in the social sciences and humanities."* (Bernstein, 1999:159).

The two discourses do not correspond to the two knowledge domains educational- and community knowledge. Both discourses appear in school and in the community, but probably in varying degrees. Since school basically is the bearer of formalized knowledge, a vertical discourse has its natural appearance there. Horizontal discourses are more likely to be strong in the non-school everyday community. However, there are other formal institutions in the local community, besides school, where vertical discourses are strong. For example the knowledge of brick-laying and initiation processes. Horizontal discourses are more easily available to young children, as the access point is non-formal socialization. Vertical discourses presuppose a more explicit effort in teaching or learning. In the acquisition of educational knowledge pupils should be able to use horizontal discourses they have in their repertoire in order to relate their own life-world to the educational curricula. Bourne (2004) shows how a teacher, "by means of gaze, gesture and movement" (p.67), used horizontal discourses available to the pupils in inducting them in a vertical discursive school subject. This teacher, by her way of acting, signaled to the students that it was proper for the pupils to draw upon a horizontal discourse in discussing the subject in question, thereby giving the pupils an experience of a loose frame. Children do also meet vertical discourses in the everyday community, such as when informally learning a craft.

Fig. 3.2 describes how we in this research conceptualize educational knowledge (the school) and everyday community knowledge. Squares represent vertical discourses, while circles represent horizontal discourses.
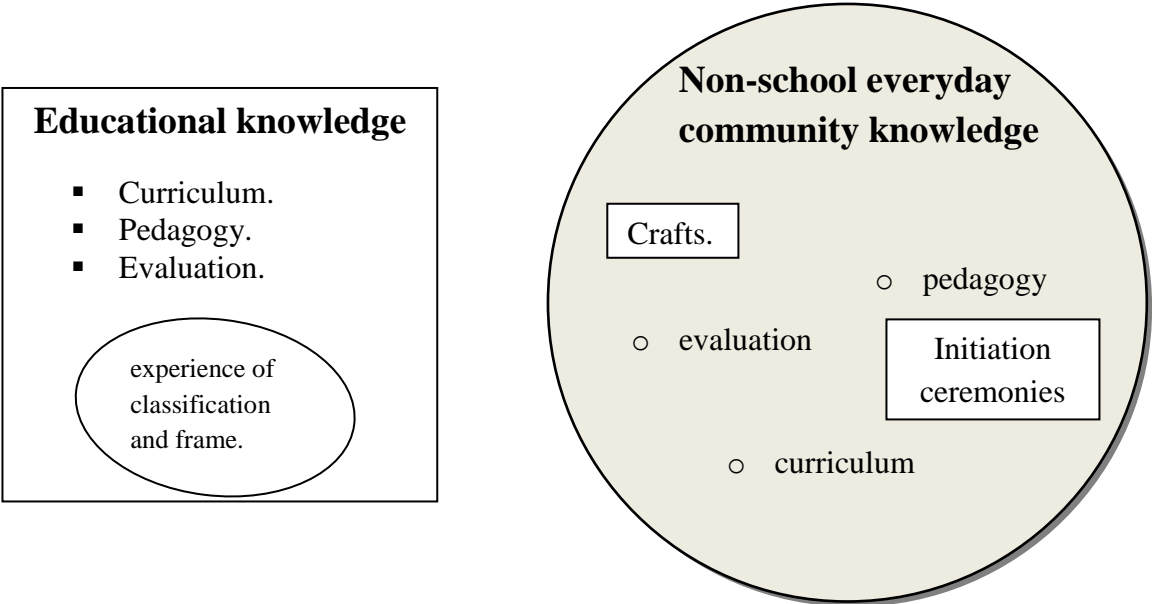
Fig. 3.2 Composition of knowledge in school and knowledge in community.

4   Methodology

The developmental backdrop presented in chapter 2 infers that it is real people in the grassroots that can provide the information needed for their own development. In order to develop, one need to stake out a path, and it is the grassroots that is in the right position to point out the direction. Thus, it is an interpretivistic approach which is the proper one. Mainly through interviews I have tried to interpret the different stakeholders' views on the theme under scrutiny in this thesis. The study is been performed from an unstable stand in a critical realist paradigm; a realist epistemology acknowledge that the social world can be amenable to our senses, and in a critical realist position we seek to identify social structures that generate inequalities and injustices (Bryman, 2008, pp. 14; 692; 698). In a realist epistemology it is implied that the categories used to describe what is amenable to our senses refer to real objects, i.e. it describes something that is real (Ibid.).

A main goal is to identify structures that generate or sustain the social distinction between educational knowledge and community knowledge. These structures do not have to be directly visible in empiric proofs, but can be identified in the regularities of the data collected. I do have a constructionist view of social action, meaning that the people in question do construct their world and thus their social reality. Whatever possibilities they have for social action is controlled by the spaces and constraints these constructions dictate.

The research is designed so that we are able to arrive at the identification of structures that dictate the capabilities of the individuals and communities in the two cases.

4.1 The design of the study

The comparative design of the research is chosen due to the analytical advantage it gives. Two unique cases are chosen, one urban and one rural. When the research questions are asked in the light of both cases, instead of only one, we can hope to exclude some dead ends in the analysis. Any theory induced from the analysis will thus be more reliable. The contrast between the two cases lies first of all in the urban/rural context. While the urban setting is in many aspects multicultural, the rural setting is often of a relatively homogeneous cultural composition. More precisely, the rural case in this study is more or less mono-tribal.

The most significant commonality between the two cases are the provincial- and national framework. This should in theory assure the same educational quality in both schools. It's important to emphasize that a comparative design is utilized to *understand* the similarities and differences, not to merely describe them. The cases must naturally be compared using the same categories when analyzing both.
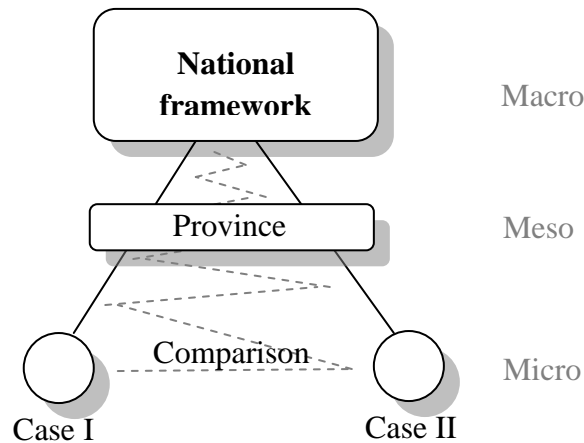
Fig. 4.1, Comparative design.

The comparison is thus, as described in fig. 4.1, not only a comparison between the two cases but a comparison between the two cases' relation to the provincial- and national level. This design enables us to analyze which phenomena might and might not be determined by the national framework, and which are specific to the case. It may also point to which type of case is best suited to succeed within the framework.

Three methods are used in the gathering of data: observations, interviews and document analysis. Later in this chapter are descriptions of how these were utilized. My informants are those who by virtue of being stakeholders necessarily attribute *meaning* to the school environment and the community they live in. A focus has been to grasp how school and community give meaning from their specific stakeholder-position. Teachers are the group from within school, but they also have a foot in the community. Parents are the primary representatives of the community. They are also in a position where they deal with both school and community. As I also interacted with other members of the communities, there are some other voices represented in the data as well. These voices are mainly represented through anecdotes, as they were not systematically recruited as informants. Pupils are not

interviewed as part of this study, but they are inevitably part of my observations. This might immediately be seen as a major weakness of the study, but I will argue it is not. The main interest of the study is to scrutinize the learning environments that surround the children, the spaces and constraints for knowledge dissemination that are set by the educational knowledge domain and the community knowledge domain. The purpose is not to find exactly what knowledge is actually passed on to these particular children. The focus has therefore been those groups who are the intermediaries of knowledge.

The choice to let parents be the only representatives of the community must be done with a caveat; Parents are not the only intermediaries of community knowledge, and the family is not synonymous with the community, but only a fraction of it. However, since I'm forced to put some restrictions to the scope of this study, this group, in this study, account for the community they are part of.

Administrators at the district- and provincial level are also included as a specific informant group. They are the intermediaries between the state and the districts and the schools. These are at a meso level in the preceding figure (Fig. 4.1).

At a macro level the primary method for data collection is document analysis. National documents account for the education system and curriculum in a cultural and historic context. They may also disseminate global or national discourses. My observations and conversations with professionals at this level will also constitute some of the data.

4.2 Gaining access to the field and recruiting informants

My arrival in Zambia started with a visit to the Ministry of Education (MoE) in Lusaka to deal with the formal admission to the field. At this stage I had no contacts in Eastern Province, but I requested admission to two schools, one in urban Chipata and one in rural Katete district. I was provided with a letter of introduction to the MoE provincial headquarters in Chipata, the administrative capital of Eastern Province. I was provided with new letters of introduction here, one each for the District Education Board Secretaries (DEBS) in Chipata and Katete districts. These again helped me with access to the schools by writing letters of recommendation to the head-teachers. At the Chipata DEBS office I was referred to a school in the city center as I requested an urban school. The sampling of the school was purposive

only to this point. I may have been given one of the better schools in town, but that is irrelevant. A school in a sub-urban area would for sure make a different case, as interesting as any. The urban case described in this thesis do not represent any urban school in Chipata or sub-Saharan Africa, it represent *one* case of an urban school. Any generalization is thus not made from the merely characteristic of being urban, but from the extensive description of the case.

In finding the rural case I had a few more requirements as I was eager for a strong contrast to the urban case. We were discussing at the DEBS office in Katete which school would suit my project best. It had to be a decent distance away from the small Katete town, and at the same time a distance I could commute regularly since I was lodging in the town. In addition I required a school and community that was relatively homogeneously and of Chewa tribe.

This process went fairly smooth, maybe because of the letters of introduction I presented. In the Zambian culture such letters are not questioned, but the uncertainty of who I was would not be any less if I showed up without such letters. Most of those I encountered seemed to accept my explanation of who I was (a student) and what I was up to (doing a small research for my university degree). In Katete I had an acquaintance which functioned as a gatekeeper in the town; this also helped to ease the process.

The sampling of informants was naturally also purposive as the design specifies the groups of stakeholders needed. When I first found myself in the setting of the cases the sampling was done by convenience. Whoever that qualified as a member of a group, and that was willing, was of interest. Though, I did try to keep a reasonable equal representation of gender, but this was affected by who was available at the time. Teachers were approached directly by me to inquire for an interview, which they all granted. The heads in each school assisted me in recruiting parents, but in the rural school the first parent took upon himself to introduce me to others in his community. Interviews at the meso level were requested at the respective offices, which they all gladly accepted.

4.3 Observations

Observations were a 24/7-activity during the fieldwork and are for the most part documented in field notes with personal remarks. In addition I conducted a few classroom observations in each school. Four classes of different levels were observed in each school for circa two hours.

In these observations I would write down everything that happened in the classroom. This was to document the classroom pedagogy. Short notes were in most cases written up in full as soon as I was able to. Observation as a research method had three different functions; first, to collect data from which I could derive findings to analyze. Second, to assist the interviewing by giving me episodes and information I could talk to interviewees about. Third, and not planned, it helped me to process the overwhelming stream of information in my own mind. My field diary was kept not only to report observations, but also to reflect upon my research and form the conceptual framework I eventually was satisfied with. This process had elements of grounded theory in the sense that my theory was formed by interviews which again affected topics and focus of the interviews. Since fieldwork in the rural case succeeded fieldwork in the urban case, my data gathering might have been more focused in the former. This however, does not make the data from the urban case any less valid.

I was able to spend about two weeks in each place, observing both the school and community. A challenge with doing a fieldwork over such a short time-span is that you have no chance being anything else than a visitor. Stephens makes a witty, but very descriptive remark to this challenge when he say that "[...] an outsider may face particular problems [...] receiving the very *lack* of attention needed to pursue the research." (Vulliamy, Lewin & Stephens, 1990, p. 79). Observing the communities turned out very different in the two cases. In the urban case the school was surrounded by community activities. It was a buzzing place where I could move freely, observe life and talk to people on the street. In the rural case I did not live in the middle of it and was dependent on my acquaintance from Katete to commute each day. My observations of the rural communities are therefore relatively rudimentary compared to the urban case, and might therefore be more biased towards what I initially expected to observe and less to things that are not immediately visible. I must emphasise though, that the observations was not done to draw an extensive ethnographic picture. The observations, at least outside the classrooms, were first and foremost utilized as a crutch to the interviews and random conversations.

There were of course some reactive affects to my presence, both in the communities and especially in classroom observations. Children would gaze at me during class and teachers, to very different degrees, would be affected. For example, one teacher expressed to the class that he would switch to English more frequently because of my presence, and he would also address me for feedback on his teaching. Another teacher asked me to help correct the pupils'

English assignments. I suspect this was a strategy to exit a situation she experienced as unpleasant, and I gladly accepted the job. Most teachers, though, seemed not to be uncomfortable with being observed, and their pedagogical programs were followed.

4.4 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were utilized as the main means of data collection in the settings of the two cases. Immediately, when this project took form I thought a far more ethnographic approach would be sufficient for exploring such a topic. Although the design has ethnographic elements, the direction the project took revealed that the issues under scrutiny are not necessarily amenable to observation. The issues are at this point still abstract concepts such as "structures", "discourses", "spaces" and "constraints". A practical criterion that influenced this decision was the time available for fieldwork. I needed to be pragmatic in terms of time and ask how I best could collect intepretivistic data in such a short time-span. I simply had to rely on asking people "What do you think?" In that sense, the data do tell the informants point of view, and their attitudes towards school knowledge and community knowledge.

All interviews were conducted in English, except for a few interviews with parents. This is described later in this chapter. I used a digital recorder to record all interviews which I later transcribed. I ensured consent from the interviewees by informing them briefly about my project, what kind of data I was looking for and how I would handle it. I also assured their anonymity. No one mentioned any worry that the data could be misused.

Interviews were prepared with two sets of interview guides, one for use in interviews with teachers and parents at the case level, and one for interviews with educationists at the provincial and district level (Appendix X). The guides had ready formulated questions, but were very loosely followed. These questions were also very general and functioned best as a gateway to the different topics. My impression is that my follow-up questions were received with more interest since they probably reflected a genuinely interest in each individual. Also, I did not ask every question from the guide to each interviewee, and as I gained more confidence in the method, I relied less and less on the guides. One might argue that in a comparison one should strive for an equal process in both cases. This strive though, should be at the level of using the same categories, not in the details of which questions to ask. It is in

the nature of a qualitative fieldwork that you do not ask for *answers*, you ask for qualitative data. By treating my own interview framework with such lack of respect, I also increased the freedom of the interviewee and the emergence of conversations, though the setting was always "an interview". The guides were however a good reminder of the topics we should talk about.

After a few interviews I found that the community knowledge had a discourse amongst teachers and educationists in Zambia. It evolved around the part of the national curriculum called "localized curriculum". This was a popular topic amongst those who work in and with education. In my search for *anything of interest* I probably picked up on this discourse. I might even have brought this discourse with me to subsequent interviews by being the first to mention the term "localized curriculum". If this term activated any discourses in my informants it might have affected their answers and they would talk about the theme with reference to that discourse. This issue concerns especially interviews with teachers. A positive effect could even be that by me mentioning the term, they would immediately understand what I wanted to talk about. Communicating my interest was hard enough using my own frame of terms, and in many occasions unsuccessful. After struggling over this dilemma for a while I have come to the conclusion that this unforeseen effect of actually *going* to Zambia and *talking* to people was inevitable and positive. It is positive because it can tell something of the strength of a certain discourse, meaning that when I asked about community knowledge within this discourse would it be met with another discourse or not? Let me now proceed with how the interviews took place.

I will now describe the number of people interviewed and the context in which the interviews took place.

Administrators

As mentioned, fieldwork was done case by case; the urban case Chipata preceded the rural case Katete. Before starting interviewing parents and teachers I did one interview with a professional in the respective DEBS. These were conducted and recorded in the office of the interviewee at the beginning of my stay in each place. An interview with a professional employee at the MoE provincial headquarters were conducted during my stay in Chipata. All these sessions lasted for about one hour.

The first interview I conducted was with an officer from the Chipata DEBS, responsible for curricular issues. This one, as with all interviews with administrators, was rich with information. It was therefore to my disappointment that I discovered that same evening that the recording was not saved. I solved this by writing down extensively everything I could remember and then ask for another interview which I was granted. A lesson I learned from this was of course to make sure I managed the technical equipment properly, but also to actively think through what my informants told me. Working with reconstructing the first interview was a good process similar to what I described with the diary and observations. For different reason I didn't utilize a double set of interviews further in my fieldwork, though I feel that this could strengthen the reliability of the data.

Teachers

Three teachers including the head were interviewed in each school and they all took place at the school premises, either in an office or in a classroom. The relation I had with teachers by the start of the interviews differed a bit between the two cases. First, of all the teachers I interviewed there were two men, both in the rural case. If the gender issue had a big effect on the outcome of the interview, I don't know, but it is very likely. I did, according to my personal evaluation, have a better connection with the male teachers. We had more common trivia to chat about in the least formal settings. This was certainly because we shared being men of about the same age, but the culture in that specific school might also have something to do with the relations we established. They were fewer teachers, and therefore an easier group for me to socialize with. In fact, when I visited the rural school I tried to engage with the whole staff which was no more than 7 people, while I in the urban school engaged only with my informants and a few others of a staff of more than 40. The female informants in the urban school were also a few years older than me. In the urban setting, before interviewing the teachers I observed some of the lessons they conducted, so I could easily refer to their teaching and their class in the interviews. By coincidence I did not observe the classes of each of my informants in the rural school in advance of the interviews. Only with minor interruptions all interviews with teachers was done one on one in relative peace and quiet. Everyone seemed to be happy to help me and typically became more talkative after a few initial questions.

Parents

I interviewed two parents from each community, of who were one mother and one father. These interviews had greater differences between them, so I will go through them.

In the urban setting interviews were done at the school premises, in a teachers' office. The first interview was done with the father of several pupils, and also a PTA-representative. It was conducted in English as the man used English as his professional language and was comfortable with this. The mother I interviewed were not comfortable speaking English, so I needed to recruit an interpreter. Finding an assistant who could join me and interpret from the local language was a job I started at my arrival in Lusaka. I ran in to some problems on this issue and did not succeed. So for this interview a teacher volunteered to do it. This was of course not an ideal situation as the interpreter was not a neutral person, which likely affected the informant's answers. I was in doubt if I should dispose of this interview as part of the data, but ended on keeping it. I mean the interview can still show how this parent is valuating the two types of knowledge. I must though have this in consideration when analyzing the data. As an extra affirmation I had an external local to transcribe and translate this interview.

In addition I did a short interview in English with a teacher at the school who was also the mother. Conducting these interviews in school compared to in their homes might have affected the respondents. By meeting in school they might have felt that they had less control over the situation and were committed to talk positive of it. I might also have signaled a disapproval of the community by arranging the meeting at the school premises. On the other hand it could also have signaled the school premises as an arena for the community. However, I have no reason to think the informants would not be honest in their responses.

This was turned around when I was conducting fieldwork in the rural setting. Here I interviewed two parents in their nearby village, both of Chewa tribe. I first met with the male respondent and PTA-representative which was interviewed outside a neighbor's home. The neighbor, a female and also a parent, were present during the interview and contributed with a few comments. For my visit in the village I hired an interpreter who was of course also present. The father had also arranged for me to conduct an interview with another female in the village. We reached her house after a nice stroll through the village greeting and chatting with some of the dwellers. A couple of her male relatives, my previous respondent and my interpreter sat down outside her house. Despite the crowd, this woman seemed to be quite comfortable and free speaking. My impression is that the small crowd functioned as a

confirmation to a village consensus more than restricting the informant. It thus became an *ad hoc* focus group. The mood in the village was very different to that in the urban school office. The informants were in control of the environment, jokes and laughter were far more prominent, even directed at me.

The gender issue here is the same as with the teachers. Both Zambian culture and more universal gender norms play a role here, but it is reasonable to point out that I, as a male researcher, connected easier to male respondents. The danger of this is a bias towards male perspectives.

The interpreter I hired was an interpreter by profession. He was very aware of being a neutral translator not applying his own personal understanding of things. For practical and financial matters I therefore chose only to transcribe the English parts of what was recorded.

Stephens (in Vulliamy et al., 1990) argues that he had to restrict himself to research only the formal, Western style education system during a stay in Nigeria, as a consequence of him not speaking the local language. He reasons that since "social reality is [...] created and maintained by language" (Heyman in Vulliamy et al., 1990 p. 78) it is also recalled in that same language. English is therefore not a sufficient medium in gaining insight into social reality outside the scope of the English language. In Stephens' case English dominated the schools, and his insights there would thus be more meaningful than insights into other local milieus. Following this my interviews might be biased on behalf of educational knowledge since my informants would use the lingua of school to tell me about school and the same English when telling me about their community. A few interviews were done in the local language, but the same problem probably occurred to the interpreter. This would affect me as a researcher in the sense that I would have more trouble to understand conversations on community issues, accumulated by asking the wrong follow up-questions. When conversations shifted to school issues we would be talking "the same language", and I, accordingly, would ask the right questions.

4.5 Difficulties and general remarks

Doing research in Africa as a white foreigner do raise some questions of reliability, externally if the data can be replicated and internally because all data is channeled through me and can therefore not be corrected by other researchers. I will come back to how this problem is

solved when I describe the approach to analysis. Brock-Utne has discussed "Reliability and validity in qualitative research within education in Africa" in her article by that title (1996). She argues that African researchers knows the environment better and are therefore in a better position to ask the right questions and gain higher ecological validity of the data, meaning that the presence of a black African would interfere less than the presence of a white European. For example, my own visit to the rural village did raise the question in the community, what could I do for their village? Could I perhaps build a pre-school for their children? This of course could have guided my informants on what to emphasize in their answers. Also, I am no inhabitant of Zambia and do not *know* the environment. This would according to Brock-Utne make my questioning less relevant. On the other hand, and not ignored in Brock-Utne's article, there is an advantage to be an alien. You do not meet the same risk of cultural blindness; to simply be so used to the environment that you do not take notice. Myself as a researcher in Zambia is a spectator from outside. The research must therefore be read in that way.

A further dilemma of the interviews in the two respective cases is that I over the time-span spent in Zambia, was getting more and more unstructured in my interviewing. I relied less on my guides in the rural setting than in the urban. This is also a factor which can have affected the mood in the different settings. I basically became a better interviewer. I did however stick to the same topics, and kept in my mind and practice that I needed data that was comparable to the urban data.

4.6 Document analysis

Two national documents are the main objects of investigation in this research; the national policy on education *Educating our future* (1996) and *The Basic School Curriculum Framework* (2000)[4]. In addition I have had a look at the *National Implementation Framework 2008-2010* (2007) for the education sector and *Guidelines for the development of the localized curriculum in Zambia* (2005). These official documents represent a national framework for education in sense of policy and jurisdiction. The main reason for analyzing them however is not to describe this framework, but to identify any bias towards either of the two knowledge domains or towards a Western policy of education which I described in chapter 2. The

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[4] At the time of research a new curriculum framework was about to be released.

analysis of these documents shares many of the same categories as the analysis of the fieldwork-data.

I have had access to some of these documents before and during the fieldwork. The policy document and the implementation framework was documents I kept with me before and during my stay in Zambia, thus they also acted as a source of topics I would ask people about.

4.7 General remarks on the fieldwork

Preparations for a fieldwork can always be better, also for this one. I could have shaped the design of the study to an extent where I would meet fewer problems. But that, I feel, is not the reality. The technicalities of doing research can be learnt, but research also has an aspect of *bildung*. Maybe it can be held against the study that the data collection is conducted by a novice, but by doing that one would not take into account one important aspect; the uniqueness of the study. Another weakness that I would wish could be undone is the time available for conducting fieldwork. I had no time to decrease my status as a visitor, and it would be interesting to conduct a similar research over a longer timeframe to increase the ecological validity. I have however taken this into account earlier in this chapter.

4.8 Approach to analyzing the data

So far, most of this chapter has concerned the data collection and some critical remarks on whether this could be performed in a better or a different way to gain even better data. Well, while those are important reflections, the data generated is after all the data. While the findings from each case might not be generalizable to a large extent, exactly because they are case studies, it might show a low degree of external validity. Kleven (2008), on the other side, argues that validity should first be applied to the inference from data to conclusion. It is therefore in this stage of the research that validity becomes an issue of assessment. Validity, and its different types, depends on the inferences the researcher make. The question of validity assessment is therefore not a matter of methods used, but the arguments and discussions the researcher use in the inference to a conclusion (ibid.).

To overcome the reliability problem, or at least to defend the findings, I have compared them to other ethnographic literature from the area. Although this can not confirm my data as 'true', it can give me more confidence that the data is representative and ecological.

5 Contextual Background

This chapter does not merely serve as a description of the Zambian case. It is rather a critical analysis of the context in which the schools are placed. Included here is the critical reading of the selected national documents and conversations with professionals at the national/provincial level.

5.1 A short political history of the Republic of Zambia

Zambian political history can not explain all the diverse identities of different ethnicities or peoples inhabiting Zambia. What it does tell is a story about a struggle for national unity. The collective identity *Zambian* is, according to my experience, very evident amongst the people of Zambia.

Zambia got her independence in 1964 after struggles opposing the British rule, with a philosophical base of what was loosely expressed in the concepts *Zambian Nationalism* and *Africanism* (Phiri, 2006). Its first president was Kenneth Kaunda, himself trained as a teacher, and the ideology of *Zambian Humanism* was instrumental in shaping politics in the period referred to as *The First Republic* (1964- 1972) (Noyoo, 2008). Zambian Humanism can in short be explained as social values in harmony with Zambian traditions and values. As a new born liberal democracy a unity among all Zambians was not as unconditionally as the President and his party had anticipated. The oppression of the opposition and finally the banning of oppositional parties resulted in *The Second Republic*, a one party state with socialist economy (Phiri, 2006). The period of the Second Republic created, according to Ndangwa Noyoo, a mentality of servitude in the Zambian population that is still lingering today (2008, p. 55). In a conversation I had with a group of young teachers they told me that they were not interested in reading the oppositional newspaper The Post (A major newspaper in Zambia). Since they were working for the government as teachers, that would be to "bite the hand that feeds them", they felt. President Kaunda used the same words previous to introducing the one-party state (Phiri, 2006, p. 141). In Noyoo's opinion the one-party state "snuffed out the plurality of the Zambian society and a spirit of open dialogue, transparency

and constructive criticism" (2008, p. 49) and innovation was treated with suspicion (Ibid. p. 49).

This do not mean that Zambia consist of a homogeneous population. Different tribes with different languages dominate different regions, like the Lozi in the West (Barotseland), Bemba in the Copperbelt and Chewa in the East. Tribalism (in the political scene) has been discussed since the First Republic, but as Phiri argues, tribal affiliation is not anymore a sole fundament for political stance. Intertribal marriages and affiliation to more than one tribe is also common, especially in urban areas (2006, p. 199).

The return to liberal democracy came in 1991, and Zambia entered into *The Third Republic*. Economy was liberalized and a IMF/World Bank designed Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was introduced to cure the economy. Free market had its negative results on local manufacturing as cheaper goods were imported from abroad (Noyoo, 2008, p. 51) and government spending was strict. Privatization was according to the new ideology. This resulted in severe decrease in social indicators, such as educational provisions (Noyoo, 2008; Rakner, 2003).

This kill-or-cure remedy has been followed by more reforms, and Zambia's future may be looking brighter today than during the 1990's. However, we should observe here that the national policy on education "Educating our Future" was written during this period.

5.2 General background for the education in Zambia

Basic school is compulsory and free from first to seventh grade (age 7-13 y.o.). Many basic schools offer a continuation up to ninth grade (upper secondary). However this is neither free nor compulsory, and transition to grade 8 requires a pass on the grade seven exams. In addition to public state run schools, you find a significant number of community schools in Zambia. These are schools that are founded and run by local communities, and many of them started in the 90's as a response to the demand for education not met by the state (Zambia MoE, 2007b, p. 2). These schools must follow guidelines provided by the Ministry of Education (Ibid.) and the national curriculum framework. 3% of enrolled children are in private institutions (UNESCO 2011, p. 308. Data from 2008).

Statistics from the latest EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO, 2011) can provide us with a statistical picture of the educational situation in Zambia: For the school year ending in

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2008 the gross enrolment ratio was 119 % while the net ratio is at 95% (grade 1-7). The net ratio for the school year 1999 was only at 69%, so there has been a significant improvement in getting children into school. But there were still 82.000 out-of-school children in 2008. The drop-out rate for 2008 was at 21% and repetition rates have barely improved since '99 (from 6 to 5.9%) (Ibid.). We know that drop-out rates are greater for children from poor households than for children from wealthier households also in Zambia (Ibid. p. 49), but we also know that parental decisions of sending their children to school also depends on the perceptions of the value of schooling (Ibid. p. 50), depending on the expectations parents have to the future and education of their children. The school/community relation should therefore be of great relevance in improving these statistics.

The language of instruction in Zambian schools is English, except for first grade classes where lessons shall be taught in one of the 7 Zambian languages[5]. The lingua franca in Eastern Province is Cinyanja. The Chewa people speak Chi-Chewa which has only dialectical differences from Cinyanja. (Cinyanja is not the language of an ethnic group, but has derived from Chi-Chewa.) The local language of instruction is officially Cinyanja in both cases.

All schools are legally bound to organize a Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) with representatives from the school and the community.

5.3 The national project in educational documents

I this section I present a critical reading of four selected official documents. These are; the national policy on education *Educating our Future*, the implementation framework for the education sector, the basic school curriculum framework, and the guidelines for the development of localized curriculum.

The documents outline the purpose and means for education in Zambia. They also outline the purposes and means of the utilization of community knowledge through formal education, and thus the spaces and constraints for the use of community knowledge in the formal education.

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[5] Depending on the definition of a language, some estimates exceed 50 languages in Zambia. However, there are 7 official "paramount" languages (excluding English) in the country.

5.3.1 Educating our future: The national policy on education (Zambia MoE, 1996)

This document addresses the overall policy on education for Zambia. The first chapter, which is the main chapter of interest, explains the philosophical rationale for education in Zambia. It thus lays a foundation to understand and analyze the data from the two cases. The Zambian Government anno 1996 is in this chapter stating a policy which is first of all based on liberal democratic principles. It states that education is a tool for the *holistic development of individuals* and the promotion of social and economic welfare. Though the mentioning of individual well-being is a few, liberalism in most cases refers to liberal market economy. For example, the state has the obligation to provide education for individuals to realize themselves as human capital (*acquiring skills and technologies*). The government pays respect to *"various partners in education [...] and the distinctive character of individual schools [...]"* (p. 3), and is welcoming a range of education providers to contribute in educating Zambia's future. Seen the time of economic liberalization when this document was issued it is noticeable that the world liberal is used in relation to educational provision and partnerships, not specifically the content and form of schooling. It promotes participation and space to *"allow the human, financial and other resources under the control of private and voluntary agencies, communities and religious bodies, to be channeled without hindrance into the education sector"* (p. 5). It is visible, and reasonable, that the imperative focus lies on provision of education without constraining prospective partners too much. Stakeholders other than the providers are also advised to take part in managing the school. This can be traced under the heading "decentralization";

> *"By allowing various stakeholders to share in decision-making and to take responsibility for education at the local level, decentralization fosters a sense of local ownership and promote better management"* (p. 4).

In written policy "liberal" seems to refer mostly to the provision and management of schools, at least when the term is elaborated. It refers less to the content of schooling.

In the discourse of the written policy we see that the government leaves much space for non-governmental bodies to provide education and for stake-holders of public school to voice their opinion in matters concerning their school. How and who uses their stake is the question here. This policy does not necessarily ensure participation from all stakeholders. The distribution of

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power and resources might be unequally distributed, such as the knowledge of the right to be heard in these matters.

As we see, prospective partners are welcomed in the provision of education. The purpose of education however, has a clearer expression through a set of goals. The first of five goals the MoE has set for education in Zambia is;

> *Producing a learner capable of*
>
> - *being animated by a personally held set of civic, moral and spiritual values;*
> - *developing an analytical, innovative, creative and constructive mind;*
> - *appreciating the relationship between scientific thought, action and technology on the one hand, and sustenance of the quality of life on the other;*
> - *demonstrating free expression of one's own ideas and exercising tolerance for other people's views;*
> - *cherishing and safeguarding individual liberties and human rights;*
> - *appreciating Zambia's ethnic cultures, customs and traditions, and upholding national pride sovereignty, peace, freedom and independence;*
> - *participating in the preservation of the ecosystems in one's immediate and distant environments;*
> - *maintaining and observing discipline and hard work as the cornerstones of personal and national development* (p. 6).

Here is a focus on personal development of learners that reflect the liberal democratic ideology the document explicitly states, but one that is open for a variety of interpretations in meeting with culture. In this liberal policy it also lies a vagueness of which direction education should take. The purposes are several, but are all based in a world culture such as rights-based personal development and capital-based national development. Little, if any, of the purpose of education is based on Zambian community knowledge except for the merely appreciation of Zambian cultures, customs and traditions. A postulate that support this analysis is that the policy seek to justify itself for global advocates of both right-based education and advocates of economic growth. It expresses values as freedom, participation and equity, and at the same time it suggests attention to human capital formation in the provision of education.

5.3.2 Education Sector National Implementation Framework 2008-2010: Implementing the Fifth National Development Plan (Zambia MoE, 2007)

The National Implementation Framework is informed by the national education policy *Educating our Future* and the fifth national development plan, an overall development plan for a two year period. It states the vision for education in Zambia and the state's mission in education provision, which in essence is to provide education for all. It also states goals and broad objectives for the implementation work for its following two year period (2008-2010). This document is of interest first of all to see how the education policy is translated ten years later. In the general policy it is two statements that are noteworthy. First, the vision Zambia has set for itself sounds *"Innovative and productive life-long education and training accessible to all by 2030"* (p.17). The use of the word *innovative*, and also the phrase *life-long education*, reflects a vision of an education system that is open and liberal. Open to innovative thinking and development of education. Second, one of the six broad objectives states *"To promote innovative methodologies in learning institutions."* (p.17). This implies that the general overarching policy gives spaces for each school to utilize community knowledge or indigenous education in innovation of methodologies. The openness is connected to the realization that parents and communities did have little confidence in education, at least this is what the document claims. An important part of the educational provision in Zambia has therefore been to enhance the relevance of schooling for local communities. As the data collecting was done at the end of this document's working period, it will be interesting to see if this policy has reached the ground in the two cases.

5.3.3 The Basic School Curriculum Framework (Zambia MoE, 2000)

The Curriculum Framework seeks to guide teachers and others in translating the policy into the teaching and learning process. It goes further in defining the values connected to the education system. This document do not go into the specifications of subject contents further than describing the hours and main areas to be covered for each subject. Syllabus is covered in single documents. The document treats curriculum as everything taught and learnt in school in a broad sense, and sensitize teachers also to their own behavior and the socialization connected to it. Following, the document describe values on curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation. The policy's statement to educate the "whole person" is explained further here;

> *"The focus [of the curriculum] is on the much wider concept of the development of the knowledge, competencies, skills, attitudes and values of the child. Actually the entire personality of the learner is the target area of teaching, not only the traditional academic skills. In other words: the purpose of learning is not merely to develop factual knowledge and skills but also to influence attitudes, affect changes in behavior and develop emotional, spiritual and physical aspects of the pupils"* (p. 7).

This is quite a job, and one may ask about the role of the community when school's mandate is to develop the whole child. Further it explains that communities must be informed by

> *"Create[ing] awareness among parents and local communities that school education is to lay a foundation also for other types of careers than those associated with academic education. The school management must clarify this issue in the PTA, in the Education Board and generally in their contacts with parents and the local community"* (p. 7).

This is reasonable when parents keep their children out of school in the belief that their academic chances are low anyway, and time is better spent at home. Enrolling and keeping all children in school is imperative. On the other hand, when the school's mandate is to develop *the whole child* one might ask where the community fit into the picture. More important, the community might ask itself the same question. We will see in the next chapter how some community members reflect on this issue.

Of course it can not be true that school overtakes learning in the community since experience and socialization is inevitable parts of community life. The question is whether the community knowledge is seen as contributing to social development or a hindrance to it. In the curriculum framework the school is given the mandate to intervene if the right of the child is violated, under the name *school guidance and counseling*. Thus, school has the authority to correct the community based on its knowledge corpus; school knows best! In this sense, community is not ignored, neither appears it to be a bridge between educational knowledge and community knowledge.

The document has a passage on education in relation to the past, the present and the future;

> *"Education and upbringing involve the passing on of a cultural <u>heritage</u> - values, traditions, language, knowledge and skills - from one generation to the next. [...] But*

[...] the school must move with the times and changes and strive to be <u>contemporary</u>.
The challenge does not stop there: The curriculum must strive to provide such
learning which is likely to be useful in the future Zambia" (p. 8-9).

All this resembles modernization theory, where education seeks to modernize the mind of the
people for modern living, and teach skills for modern labor. Only, this time around, the skills
are not aimed at industrialization, but self-sustenance in a market economy. This will be
evident in the further reading of this chapter. A timely question to ask here is; who owns the
future? It is the provider of education who is asked to reflect upon what is *likely to be useful
in the future Zambia*. Not the receiver, i.e. the community. Contrary to educational
knowledge, which seems to represent the future, community is seen to represent heritage;
"For thousands of years this was done in the family and the village, without a formal school
system" (p. 8). And it is accredited to pass on such knowledge in partnership with the school.
But the future belongs to "[...] curriculum developers, head teachers and teachers [that] share
a common challenge: To respect and retain elements of the past but also to be able to assess
and develop the type of competencies needed for tomorrow's Zambia" (p. 9). It follows from
the realities of the present Zambia a rather modest vision for most of the pupils' future. The
teachers must teach in relevance to their pupils' predicted future. The logic in this is that since
it is likely that the pupils' will become street vendors, curriculum and pedagogy should be
designed accordingly.

Desired Learner Profile

The manifestation of the future lays in the term Desired Learner Profile. In addition to cite the
same goal from the policy from the policy document as previously cited here, the curriculum
framework adds the following goals:

- *[Providing learners capable of] developing a positive attitude towards self-
  employment and a basic knowledge in entrepreneurship-related issues;*
- *safeguarding the personal health and that of others, particularly in relation
  to re-productive health issues, HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted
  diseases* (p. 11).

These goals further emphasize the future individual security aspect of education. Here I refer
to a security that individuals have the responsibility to ensure for themselves. Security, not

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change is also the ministry's first and foremost prioritization. Referring to the *present social and economic scenario of Zambia* they state three priorities for basic education:

to ensure that pupils

1. *master essential literacy and numeracy skills;*
2. *acquire a set of life-skills, values and attitudes which will lay a solid foundation for school-learners' ability later on in life to cater for themselves and their families;*
3. *form essential life protecting skills, values, attitudes and a behavior pattern which will enable them to lead a healthy life and sustain their environment* (p. 12).

Priority 2 is elaborated further as follows:

"The life skills aim at preparing school leavers for a situation where private or public sector employment is very scarce and where the individual may have to find the courage, skill and willpower to create his/her own opportunities. [...] An important component of creating an entrepreneurship spirit is to develop an attitude whereby school-leavers understand that they are personally responsible for their careers, welfare and future economic progress" (p. 14).

This reflect a neo-liberal discourse where one assume that everyone have the same possibilities to achieve ones own economic wellbeing and happiness. It is therefore little focus on communal social security, but everyone has the moral responsibility to cater for themselves and their family. The curriculum does not encourage education for progressive thoughts or societal change. It has a pragmatic prioritization to move people of poor non-self sustainable conditions into the market economy. This is a reasonable prioritization, considering the realities of a developing nation state. It is of less relevance whether this prioritization is based on ideology or forced by national scarce economy and poverty. It is, in Joel Spring's words, *education for the market economy* (Spring, 2007). With this purpose of education the education system is not an instrument for development (seen from a progressive stance), but for conservation of social structures.

While the national policy document and major parts of the curriculum framework satisfies both advocates of rights-based education and advocates of economic growth, the

prioritizations stated here pulls education in a political right direction - a direction where community knowledge will have less relevance. The direction taken by prioritization is not by choice, but *"when time, resources, or capacities are limited, [the three priorities] must be given higher priority than other subjects and curriculum areas"* (p. 15). Time, resources, and capacities *are* limited in the Zambian education sector.

Pedagogy and bridging themes

To support schools and teachers, the framework presents *Strategies for an Effective Curriculum*. This is a section where local communities are frequently taken into consideration. On teaching and learning it has a clear emphasis on nurturing and child-centered pedagogy, for example by describing a good learning environment as *encouraging pupils to reflect* and *easy pupil-teacher relationships.* Adapting to the local context and co-operation with parents and community is also described as a quality good. It is tempting to say that there is a lack of consistency between the suggested pedagogy, which is presented in a progressive and human-centered rhetoric, and the previous described desired learner profile. But that would maybe be of little nuance. After all, education for entrepreneurship may exactly have a need for *"methods which encourage children to reflect, think and do rather than merely reproduce from memory"* (p. 16) - especially when it is seen in relation to the goal of producing learners with analytical, innovative, creative and constructive minds (See 5.3.1).

This type of pedagogy has a weak *frame*, which in the present theoretical framework is positive, because it asks teachers to teach in a manner that encourage pupils to participate rather than only listening in on the teacher. Thus, it creates space also for community knowledge brought into the lesson by pupils.

Learning life skills is also listed as a strategy for an effective curriculum and there is an important point made under this heading:

> *"It has to be realized that life skills are learnt in many different contexts. The home and the extended family play an important role in teaching skills, and they are also learnt from peers, friends and in every social context the child encounters. It cannot be left to the school <u>alone</u> to develop life skills"* (p. 19).

This is an acknowledgement of community knowledge as a useful curriculum. As a suggested strategy (pedagogy) this should also encourage teachers to work with the community, utilize vertical knowledge and teaching skills in the repertoire of the community.

The next strategy I will bring to front is the *language of instruction*, a category that have been evident throughout the research process. In the written discourse it is shown large respect for the scientific consensus that learning processes are most effective when the language of instruction is the learner's mother tongue. The language of instruction in Zambian schools is English, and the main reason given in the document is financial and practical constraints in the provision of education. But it is also pointed out that

> *"English is the official medium of communication and remains the gateway to higher education, to international training and to the international labour market"* (p. 23).

This shows an appreciation for the national, regional and global goods of education, and for the successful students' continuation of education. It shows less appreciation for local conditions and less successful pupils.

This said, the curriculum gives as much room for local language as possible under these given conditions. Teachers are encouraged to use local language at any time needed for clarifications, explanations and out of classroom communication. Pupils should also be allowed to use their own language if the alternative is that they will not participate.

The fact that English is the main language of instruction constitutes a very strong *frame* of what is to be transmitted in school. Knowledge of local or regional origin which is not easily translated into English will probably not be considered as relevant content within this frame. And it is certainly not relevant for examinations which are always all conducted in English. On the other hand, the curriculum framework goes far in weakening this boundary by accepting some use of local languages.

Of greater interest here is the strategy called *localization of curriculum.* The school has the liberty to "localize" the curriculum in terms of content, methods, materials and time allocation. As the content is not tested in national exams it is likely to be lost in prioritization. Never the less, it is an important theme in bringing the school and the local, and cherished amongst the educationalists I spoke to. Localization of curriculum was later developed further into a mandatory part of the curriculum called *localized curriculum*. This will be described in

the section for the last national document. The main difference however is that *localization of curriculum* refers to a local adaptation of the whole curriculum (including pedagogy and practical issues), while *localized curriculum* is a special curriculum transferred through a new school subject called "Community Studies".

5.3.4 Guidelines for the Development of the Localised Curriculum in Zambia (Zambia MoE, 2005)

This document serves as a guideline to the school subject *Community Studies* which was introduced some time after the curriculum framework. Localization of the curriculum as it is described in the curriculum framework is still valid as these guidelines do not replace that one. Still, the picture changes; local conditions or community knowledge has gone from being welcomed into school to being a mandatory subject in every school. In its introduction chapter it gives large acknowledgement to the existence and value of community knowledge, but also introduce the reader to the expected outcomes of community studies, a theme which present an important find in the valuation of community knowledge.

The document suggests how localized curriculum or community studies can be realized in the school setting. First, it is the teachers' mandate to *"identify [...] activities that take place in a local community in order to integrate them in the school curriculum"* (p. 4). This is supposed to be done in co-operation with stakeholders and other members of the community, but the teachers make the final decisions. Thus they have a certain control over the selection of knowledge, which the community doesn't have. Second, the document sensitizes teachers on pedagogical considerations such as class management, learning-oriented environment, discipline, and work attitude. For example, *"teacher should ensure that there are clear procedures for each learning activity"* (p. 3). Although this is probably meant as a necessity for the administration of teaching, it reflects pedagogy as a property of educational knowledge. Thus, the teachers also have a certain control over what types of pedagogy is appropriate. Third is the expected outcome of community studies, and the document state a few general learning outcomes. The grander outcome, though, and the outcome that is connected to societal development are channeled through the chapter "Entrepreneurship activities in the school". This is by far the most extensive chapter in the document and describes a curriculum in this field with specific outcomes which state that school leavers

should be able to start their own business and to increase the number of successful entrepreneurs in Zambia. Thus, the school has a certain control over the evaluation of localized curriculum. This implies that community knowledge is seen as relevant only when it fits within an educational knowledge pedagogical frame and a neo-liberal evaluative frame/classification.

It must be stated here that local schools and teachers are not free to choose curriculum, pedagogy or evaluation. They have to follow the frameworks and guidelines they are obligated to follow. The attitudes and teachers, however, might influence whether communities experience localized curriculum as meaningful.

As this is the last document before practice, so to say, it suggests many activities, most of which can be basis for a business. With few exceptions they are only examples of vertical community knowledge, e.g. how to make a reed-mat. Horizontal knowledge, such as the cultural meaning of reed-mats, is not mentioned. While the suggestions serve as suggestions only, they may be interpreted as guiding examples of what is appropriate for the school setting.

5.3.5 Summary of documents

The Zambian education policy is inclusive in its goal to reach education for all, and visionary in its aim to develop the nation. It leaves vast space for developing of the education sector and continuous reforming. This is in theory positive for advocates of any stance. In practice, an ideological direction towards education for market economy is formed through following documents. (Especially the curriculum framework and localized curriculum guidelines.) From the critical reading of these documents it is evident that community knowledge is treated as valuable in general. Though, the communities are granted the right to participate in decision-making, they are granted little influence in the decision of curriculum, pedagogy or evaluation.

Teachers' access to the mentioned documents is uncertain. One teacher even told me I would have problems finding the curriculum document in rural schools. In addition, at least one document, a manual for community studies, has been adopted for use in teacher education and basic schools (Bergersen et al., 2008, p. iii; Bergersen et al., 2007).

5.4 The national project as expressed by officials

In my ad hoc focus group with the Department of Standards and Curriculum at the central ministry in Lusaka we discussed the relation between innovation, educational knowledge and community knowledge. These educationalists explained a somewhat different purpose of localized curriculum than the entrepreneurship evaluation given in the documents. It was emphasized several times that the idea is to mix educational- and community knowledge. But the outcome, they resonated, is not merely entrepreneurship but that of improvement and development of local technology and skills. As it is said by one: *"Practical knowledge is there. Farmers know how to grow maize. But classroom knowledge will be used beyond."* This was followed up later by one of his colleagues saying: *"So a person who has passed through grade 9 is a better farmer, because he can innovate his farming."* We can sense here a view of "the ordinary man" as inhabiting a greater potential, they see it not as a matter of self-sustainability only, but creation of new knowledge. In the conversation all examples given was to the creation of new technology. It is never mentioned as a possibility that community knowledge can contribute in improving school, educational knowledge or political systems. Still, in the spoken discourse there is a bit more hope accredited to community knowledge than that one can sell at the market.

When I told about my experiences in the field, some prejudices were expressed. For examples of the Chewas, that *"they don't have much skills!"* When I explained that some of my informants in the field expressed a greater valuation of educational knowledge than of their own culture, the response was rejection. I must have been *"talking to the wrong people"* I was told, because *"people are proud!"* In this sense, the valuation of Zambian cultures is positive. The people carrying this knowledge, on the other hand, are not necessarily granted the same respect.

My informant at the provincial headquarters of the MoE for Eastern Province was an officer in charge of curricular issues. He expressed himself in a similar manner as his colleagues in Lusaka. Rather than delimiting school and community from each other (like I have chosen to do in my theorization), he emphasize a consistency of the two. Though he believes that the experience of the school is something very different from that of the community, he also focuses on the mixing of educational- and community knowledge. School is not, in his view, education out of context, but a continuation of community learning:

> *"[In the community] When people are carving [wood], the young ones will see that people are carving and so on. Mothering, and so on. And this is part of the education system. Cooking, as measuring of mielimeal[6] and water... That is still part of [the] education. That is the traditional type of education. And so that children grow with that system until the age of seven when they enter the school system."*

Mark the different use of *education system* and *school system*. The former contains all learning contexts, while the latter is one system within the first. Thus, the formal school system does not replace traditional or community education, but supplies it. Further, he mentions an important aspect that this consistent education system does include; namely that of cultural identity:

> *"We need to, you know, to observe the cultural aspect of our educational system. Because [...] we are identified by our cultural values. [...] The Ngonis for example, they would like to be identified as the Ngonis. And that can only be true if they maintain their cultural values. So, the type of education we have is not segmented really, but it is one system."*

Like his colleagues he is hopeful about the future of community knowledge. He reiterated the view that schooling is no longer just about securing a white collar job, but also about learning relevant skills for life.

Contrary to the consistency of school/community, he also expressed concern about a conflict between the two, especially concerning the Chewa population:

> *"They commemorate their traditional ceremonies in August. And the three months before that they will be practicing in their various areas [...]. And during this time you find that schools experience a serious absenteeism of pupils."*

Though the expression of hope for community knowledge, and the explanation of education as a grander and inclusive system, there is still a lingering sense that the community must conform. For example they say that traditional leaders need to be *sensitized* to understand the importance of schooling. A quotation like *"[...] we can learn a lot of things from the traditional aspects that <u>can be used in the school setting"</u>* (my emphasis) show a discourse where the bridging between school and community is a one way transfer only.

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[6] Maize flour.

5.4.1 Summary of the spoken national project

The discourse on community knowledge as it is expressed in conversations with professionals at the national/provincial level is different from the national documents in that it contains more hope, visions and pride in Zambian culture(s). This is especially visible in its evaluation of localized curriculum where it is said that community knowledge is part of a consistent life-long learning system, and that it contributes to the generation of new knowledge. At the same time, some groups of people, or at least some aspects of their culture are seen as negatives. This again is explained as challenges that the education professionals must overcome.

5.5 Case specific contextual backgrounds

From this point the contextual background starts to branch into two cases. As the two schools that are investigated in this research parish to different district authorities, the two District Education Board Secretary (DEBS) will here be presented separately.

5.5.1 Urban case: Chipata DEBS

The secretary interviewed here connected the development of Zambia only to those people with academic careers within educational knowledge, meaning that development of the country lies in the hands of those who succeed through the educational system and holds educational knowledge. Community knowledge had no worth in this matter.

She made an estimate that the Zambian school system today have a curriculum that is 70% Western and 30% indigenous, following by the argument that *"Because at the end of the day we are supposed to have engineers, our own engineers, our own doctors."*

The secretary defended the language of instruction being English, and justified it by the assumption that English holds the knowledge Zambia needs in the global context.

> *"Because we are interacting with the whole world. We are interacting with the whole world, and if we confine ourselves with Nyanja, we may not be teaching the children fully to interact with the rest of the people in the world. Because, when you talk of technology, the material, the books that are there, are mostly in English. So if we, say, we convert [the subject] geography to Nyanja, it is very costly to come up with*

the books in the local language. It is not easy, and it would disadvantage us as a nation."

This opinion is similar to that of the national discourse, and also as we will see to the teachers' opinion. English is seen as a language that increases the social and geographical mobility of people.

The view on evaluation of educational knowledge is already mentioned with examples as engineers and doctors. For localized curriculum the interviewee simply stated that those who are not able to continue their education should learn a skill so that they can start a business.

Horizontal community knowledge such as moral beliefs and customs is described as *"not very useful!"* The interviewee said that local beliefs and values tend to keep girls out of school. While it might be true that traditional values keep girls out of school, statements like this is categorically rejecting tradition as a threat to children and development while ignoring "good" values and beliefs it might hold.

5.5.2 Rural case: Katete DEBS

"[We must] educate the citizens so that a child can be able to work even if there is no office", says the Katete DEBS officer, expressing an evaluation which he sees as relevant for the future of the pupils, but also for the development of the nation:

> *"'Cause a nation can not develop if you don't have people who are based in these skills."*

The skills he talks about are those of electricians, welders, panel beaters, or work in telecommunications. Compared to the conversations with Chipata DEBS, this person focus more on that basic education should prepare for technical and vocational education, rather than small scale entrepreneurship. This is of course not two contradicting outcomes of the same basic education, but the point here is the emphasis he makes on the one rather than the other. The entrepreneurship evaluation is not even mentioned in relation to localized curriculum.

His valuation of education is quite clear:

> *"[...] the most important point is: The people should understand the importance of education. What is strange for these people is only education. Culture, they know it very well. But aspect of education is the one that they don't know. So the school has that responsibility now to educate and make the children understand."*

However, community knowledge is not ignored:

> *"[...] The Ministry of Education is encouraging children to know their environment first, to take part in what the people are doing in that area."*

He clearly expresses a value also to community knowledge. He further explain community knowledge as a fundament for educational knowledge, in the terms of language of instruction; A child would have difficulties if English was the language used in first grade, that is why they have smoothened the transition by using local language in first grade. *"But we find that our languages have limitations"* he says, revealing that local language is not considered valuable for educational knowledge.

The bridging of school and community in the rural case is affected by both the view on the Chewa culture, and of course the *de facto* characteristics of that culture, which much of are built upon secret knowledge. During my stay in Zambia a range of people, in Katete and other places, told me that the Chewa initiation traditions[7] were a reason why many children were taken out of school. The Katete DEBS felt this was no longer a big problem, but the sense of "superiority" of the school over the community remains:

> *"[...] But after sensitizing, explaining the importance of education, they have released the children [so that they are allowed to go to school]."*

This statement can be traced back to the *school guidance* mandated in the Curriculum Framework.

This disharmony between educational knowledge and Chewa knowledge might remain to a certain degree, but it probably exists now more as a very strong epistemological border. He claims traditional initiation education now is held during school holidays.

Rural schools are often placed between villages and not *in* villages. The DEBS officer have interesting views on this; He says the chances of vandalism and disturbance from the village

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[7] The Chewa initiation traditions are explained in chapter 6.

life decreases when the school is placed some distance from the nearest village. As if the school shall be protected from village life. There is also a fear that a village will claim ownership of the school if it is placed in their village, and that neighboring villages will disown it. According to Skjønsberg (1989) the headman of a Chewa village is seen as the *owner* of the village who conducts the village's affairs (p. 14), so the fear that they will claim control over school might be reasonable. Of course there are also practical and economic reasons why there can't be built a public school in every village.

6 Findings

In this chapter I will present my findings in the two cases. I will first present each case individually (with a few references to the compared case) and then move further to a comparison of the two. Each case is presented with a description of the community and the school, and findings from each interviewed group.

The categories I use in processing and analyzing the data are not hard and fast. Some findings might as well belong in the categories *community knowledge* and *educational knowledge* as well as *curriculum* and *pedagogy*. In some cases it has been hard to define under which category an observation should be sorted.

The data collected in the schools is more in quantity and I have therefore chosen to present this divided into five categories; curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation for the data that concerns educational knowledge and vertical and horizontal for the data that concerns community knowledge. When presenting data in the community domain the text is not divided into these categories. This does not mean that the different categories are exclusive to either the school or community, but are used to describe both groups in all their valuations. It is suggested in the conceptual framework that the three message systems should be used in analyzing both types of knowledges, and this has been done. However, the concept of vertical/horizontal knowledge is more frequently used in describing community knowledge, whilst the three message systems are more frequently used in describing educational knowledge. I chose to use the categories in this way because I believe it will give a more honest and just description.

6.1 Urban case: Chipata

6.1.1 Presentation of the urban community

Chipata is a medium sized town with an urbanized population. The main road between Lusaka and Lilongwe is passing through the city center and there is much commercial business situated along this road, such as banks and modern supermarkets. As Chipata is the

provincial capital, a handful of authorities' offices are also easy to spot, such as the MoE Provincial Headquarters. Just a couple of blocks away the informal economy is buzzing; markets for food, second hand clothes and roadside workshops for furniture carpeting, metalwork, car wash and bicycle repair. By informal economy I refer to businesses that are not officially registered or tax paying. Although this is a rudimentary definition I will continue to use this a term for the market economy that small-scale entrepreneurs in Zambia operate in (See Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004; Tranberg Hansen, 2009). Bicycle taxis are everywhere, a service provided by boys who have put a pillow on the luggage rack of their bike.

A mixed crowd dwells in Chipata. Of Zambia's many different ethnic groups, Ngoni, Chewa, Bemba and others are represented. Christian communities are several and there is also a big Muslim community of Asian and African descendants. Recitation from the mosque is a daily part of the soundscape. As in other cities, different sub-cultures are alive also in Chipata. For a couple of occasions I was lucky to spend time with some reggae musicians who devoted themselves to being rastafarians. That is only one example of the diversity of this town. Chipata was first settled by migrating Ngoni and the district is the residence of the Ngoni paramount chief Mpezeni, consequently there is a large population of Ngoni tribe. Cinyanja is the lingua franca of the region and English is widely spoken.

6.1.2 Presentation of the urban school

The school I visited in Chipata is a relatively large school located in the center of the city center, close to markets, pubs and shops, and surrounded by private homes. It is a full basic school with classes from grade one to nine. The school premises consist of twelve buildings and a sanitary house. Most of the buildings, built between 1952 and 2009, have two or three classrooms. The school yard is quite large and contains a school garden, where they grow vegetables. It is all walled in by a tall concrete wall and a gate. Outside of the walls one can observe typical urban life, where traffic, mostly pedestrian, is dense. All kinds of people, from drunken youths, shoppers and businessmen are going about their business. The informal-looking businesses, such as street vendors, is scattered around as well as more formal-looking businesses. Informal economy also takes place at the school premises where a few women, some of them mothers of pupils, sell cheap lunch and snacks such as popcorn. During my stay in Chipata I talked to parents employed in formal jobs, and also parents that were earning

income from informal economy. Some people, of course, earn their income from both formal jobs and informal jobs. In this school we find all these kinds of parents.

In a study of "home based enterprises" from the Zambian city Kitwe, Malama and Kazimbaya-Senkwe found that in almost all cases they investigated, the children of entrepreneurs were involved in the business in one way or another. This was also where they would learn a life skill that they would not learn in school (Kazimbaya-Senkwe, 2004). Parents in this case also run home based enterprises, and it is reason to believe that many children in this case experience a similar learning environment at home.

More than 1600 children are registered as pupils at this school, taught by about 50 teachers. All over there are almost an equal number of girls and boys registered, with a slight majority of girls. When teachers were asked about changes since their own school days, gender parity was an issue they all mentioned. Pupils come to school in two streams; some in the morning and some in the afternoon. Most classes have from 40 to 60 pupils per one teacher. After school clubs are supposed to take place once a week and are also run by teachers. These are clubs with themes as drama, traditional dance, HIV/AIDS and others. There were however no clubs during the time I was there. This was first of all because of the exam period, but also, teachers admitted, an activity that would be the first cut from a busy schedule.

6.1.3 Urban teachers' valuation of educational knowledge

Their valuation of curriculum

A typical description of the town and the school by the teachers was an emphasis on the multicultural milieu. A female teacher's description goes:

> *"[…] here we are a mixed people. Yes, we have Asians here, we have whites, we have blacks. And even the blacks, all different languages are found. Even the pupils whom we are teaching they are of different tribes."*

This was often a description of how their school reflected their community. I did however not see any whites or Asians in the school. Still, this shows how the teachers are connecting a certain relevance between their school environment and the demography of Chipata. Differences in the population were also discussed in some of the classes I attended.

The content of school is classified in different subjects and taught separately. This is of course due to the national syllabus, but the classification boundary is strengthened by some of the teachers assumed importance of a collection type curriculum. A first grade teacher expresses her frustration with some of her pupils that use one of their notebooks for different subjects. They are supposed to use different notebooks for the different subjects, she says. Since it is the pupils' household that must provide the children with notebooks, she might not be able to do much about it, but what does she express with her frustration? Well, she might tell that educational knowledge shall be treated as classified knowledge, a standard that the realities of some of these children can not meet. They simply can't afford one notebook for each subject.

Localized curriculum became a topic in all the interviews. The teachers expressed a positive attitude towards this part of the curriculum. In essence they all described it as teaching of life skills that was in the repertoire of the community. Only the head-teacher put localized curriculum into a wider context where community knowledge is integrated with educational knowledge. She did not emphasize the skill in itself, but the economic skills of sales, marketing and "the skill of keeping the money", as she put it. This is in line with what the localized curriculum guidelines describe. If this is actually taking place in the classrooms it could be experienced as a positive weakening of the classification of school and community, but it can also tell pupils what types of community knowledge is considered to be valuable, and it leaves localized curriculum exclusively connected to the informal economy.

The other teachers emphasized that it would be good for the pupils to learn a skill such as making reed mats, ignoring the high possibility that children will probably learn this better at home anyway. Even though they were very positive to localized curriculum, they had no good argument why school should be the teacher of these skills. The rationale that these skills should be taught in relation to economic skills seemed not to have reached all the way to the classroom. The object, they said, was simply to learn a skill or a craft.

Their valuation of pedagogy

The pedagogy I observed was very similar in all classrooms. All teachers reflected a pupil-centered foundation in their teaching, where communication was allowed in both directions. Contrary to many of my Western peers' prejudices of an old-fashioned authoritarian teacher in developing countries, the pedagogy in this school reflects the rationale of liberal democratic education stated in the national policy. A typical program for a class would start with the

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teacher giving a lecture on a specific topic followed by an assignment the pupils' would have to answer. Sometimes the pupils would be asked to work in groups and other times to work individually. The last part of the lecture would be either the teacher walking around correcting the assignments, or pupils presenting their answers in plenum. These didactics seems to be straight forward and pretty well working. The impression was though not that the teachers followed a rigid framework, it was rather a relaxed and spacious lesson where pupils and teacher could interact.

The big challenge for the teachers was the big number of pupils they had in class. They all expressed that they under no circumstances would be able to follow the progress of every child, the ratio of pupils to teacher were simply too big. This is an economic challenge in the world of schools we do not find in the traditional African education. Also, it is hard to tell what pupils felt was appropriate to say out loud. Those who talked were mostly giving answers or asking questions on the taught topic.

One crucial aspect of pedagogy is the language of instruction. In my classroom observations I could see a gradual change from use of local language in grade one classrooms to almost only use of English in grade nine classrooms. While all the informants agrees that teaching in the local language able the pupils to easier comprehend with their school work, they all justify English as the language of instruction. The reasons they give is that English is a key to success, it is the national language in which you can communicate with Zambians from other parts of the country, and it is a global language. Urban places in Zambia are typically better off in terms of English language skills, but the teachers admit that many pupils are struggling. One of the teachers put a surprising spin on this challenge;

> *"[...] the way I look at it, people have picked [English] to be part of the language themselves, as a local language. To them, to some of the people it is like a local language, not as a foreign language, you know. Why I am saying so is that from birth a child will be talked to in English. A child will grow up using the same English. Whereas both parents are not English. Then that child will go to grade one. [In] grade one it will change, the child will now start learning Cinyanja. [In] grade two [the child] will go back to English, up to finishing school. So... (laughs) so I don't know. [...] But we find that three quarters [of educated people] have picked English as a culture in their home... as an individual."*

English is a contemporary Zambian language, no doubt, but not spoken by all Zambians. Her argument however may be interpreted as a way of advocating for the middle class, a group many teachers belong to. It is an individual statement that may not hold water, but it does exemplify the strong position of English. Language of instruction is in the teachers' mind not a subject of change. It might have to do with the lack of educational knowledge terms in the local language. At least that was a reason the teachers gave, and it was also shown in teaching practice. When mathematics is taught in grade one, the language of instruction is Cinyanja, but numbers are always pronounced in English. In a fourth grade class in the subject Cinyanja the teacher wrote "OPPOSITES" on the blackboard to introduce the theme, which was to find opposites within the Cinyanja vocabulary. The fact that English is the language of instruction in school, and the belief that local languages is not sufficient in transmitting educational knowledge shows a very strong frame of pedagogy, meaning that the content is limited to what can be expressed in English and excluding what is properly expressed in a local language. This might very well be *the* major issue in merging educational knowledge and community knowledge.

The school's communication with parents through PTA-meetings or other means were done in the local language. The simple reason for this was that parents should be able to understand and participate in decision making. One teacher even referred to those not speaking sufficient English as illiterates. The irony here is the argument that language is used as a mean of democratization amongst parents, in the sense that they should all be able to communicate on equal terms. Communication of educational knowledge with the pupils however, should be done in English. It must be stated here that teachers did practice local language as a crutch for the pupils who were weak in English. Anyway, because of the poor English skills many pupils have, the language of instruction strengthen the pedagogical frame and make community knowledge less relevant for use in school.

The art of teaching is seen as belonging to the domain of educational knowledge. The teachers value their own profession and training. They expressed that, they, as teachers, had pedagogical skills. People brought in from the community to teach a special skill was invited "to assist". The professional value connected to teachers is important, and there is no doubt that teachers in this school were highly skilled. It is though, reason to be aware of the power this professional group has over the definition of teaching. When asked about how her children are taught at home, one teacher says she applies the teacher role also in the home;

> *"Yes, like a teacher in the classroom. 'Cause when you behave more like a parent, then they sometimes tend to misbehave. So the best thing is to be like a teacher in a classroom. And they'll behave well (Grinning)."*

The implication in asking this question is of course that the English word *teach* applies to educational knowledge, while in community knowledge the same (or an overlapping concept) would be referred to using a local word (or words). Teaching and learning is not necessarily understood as the same concept in the two different epistemological domains. In fact, I had to explain that I meant a general concept of teaching and learning in all my interviews, since many did not grasp what I meant by "teaching and learning *at home*".

Their valuation of evaluation

When it comes to educational knowledge, the teachers, above all, mention two evaluations; to be literate - to read and write - and to be able to communicate with others. No one specifies this communication, but from the conversations it is reasonable to derive that the basis for communication skills is more than just English language, but also written language, mathematic language and scientific language. An interesting find here is that educational knowledge is seen as communicative knowledge in the way that it enable individuals to participate nationally and even internationally. Thus, educational knowledge is not connected to the local. Good life lies beyond what the local can offer, and success in educational knowledge improves the pupils' prospectives for a better life. The evaluation of educational knowledge is always explained in the following manner;

> *"After school, those that can do better, can go to colleges, can go to universities. So that they can improve in their education and have a better life in the future."*

The evaluative perspectives of gifted students and their own children are educational knowledge-based professions such as doctors and accountants.

The evaluation of localized curriculum is also to be understood as the outcome of formal schooling. This evaluation is amongst the teachers an unambiguous one; Not everyone will find a "white collar job", so therefore the pupils need to learn "some skill of some kind, so that when they drop out they are not going to be stranded", a teacher states. Localized curriculum is seen by the teachers only as a security net for those who do not succeed in the educational system. At best, this is a rudimentary understanding of the national reasoning of

how community knowledge can be utilized in school. The innovation perspective is not to be found at this level.

The prospective occupations that teachers assume are an outcome of localized curriculum is arguable; Is it really the case that young people are better equipped as small scale entrepreneurs because they have learnt how to make a reed mat in school? If the curriculum focus of the head teacher is followed - to merge it with economic theory - maybe. If the rationale of the rest of the teachers is followed - simply to teach a skill or a craft - it is doubtful.

The logic is thus this: School provides an opportunity for academic success and a white collar job. If one does not succeed in pursuing this opportunity the school has also ensured that the pupils have some community knowledge for survival.

In the discourse of the teachers the school is credited for the ability of the school leavers to sustain themselves;

> *"[...] those who have gotten the knowledge from [the school subject] home economics, they'll be able to sustain themselves by making, maybe, making fritters. The fritters they sell. Popping popcorns, they sell. Making simple dresses, they sell. Because of that knowledge that came from the teachers of home economics."*

As the teachers did connect localized curriculum to the informal economy (produce items for sale at the market) as the only evaluation, the outcome of it has clearly very little to do with horizontal community knowledge. Cultural values or understanding was not promoted as an outcome of curriculum. The teachers' discourse on evaluation of localized curriculum seems to be determined by a strong classification of knowledge that is useful for making money and knowledge that is not useful for that purpose. Classification here goes beyond delimiting educational knowledge from community knowledge by including certain vertical community knowledge into a cluster of "sufficient knowledge". By sufficient knowledge I refer to that knowledge which is seen as useful for sustenance in the marketized society. Further, there is a strong frame of pedagogy in which the sufficient knowledge is supposed to be transmitted through formal schooling, while it is reasonable to think that in practice the vertical community skills are learnt from parents, apprenticeships and peers.

6.1.4 Urban teachers' valuation of community knowledge

Their valuation of vertical knowledge

First, there are few things that are obviously regarded as valuable community knowledge at this school. But there are the activities that are already taken into the school as part of localizing the curriculum, making reed-mats and gardening - both suggested in the guidelines document. Many after-school clubs, which are led by the teachers, are also based on relevance to the local community, such as Ngoni traditional dance. This is all vertical knowledge, maybe except for a few aspects of the dance. Club-activities were never directly mentioned in relation to evaluation.

Teachers' immediate response to the issue of teaching and learning in the community is also that of vertical and educational knowledge. When asked about what pupils may learn at home that can be of importance to their lives, one female teacher says "Yes, they learn skills from their homes. And others also use English from their homes. So at least they are being helped".

When teachers were asked about what they teach their children at home all teachers would immediately mention school subjects, or that they would help out with homework. It seems like the connotation of teaching and learning are first of all connected to school. Community might not be seen as the first and foremost arena for teaching and learning, even though it obviously is one. But some teachers also mentioned good morals as knowledge they transmit to their children at home. That brings us to horizontal community knowledge.

Their valuation of horizontal knowledge

What is striking is the sincerely expressed respect for the local community, and the traditional knowledge and customs belonging to it, and the realities of the people living there.

There are always pupils coming too late to class. This is accepted by the teachers that seem to have a good understanding of the realities some pupils may meet at home.

The teachers do show respect for culture and traditions, and the communities' sovereign advantage in transmitting such knowledge. One explains it like this:

> *"Actually, at home they might be learning about tradition. And their tradition they learn it so deeply. In school we can learn about tradition, but we don't go so deep.*

But in their own communities they learn that from their own parents, and maybe their relations from their neighborhoods. So that every child, depending on where they come from, they know or they have a skill on the things that happen where they come from. So when they come to school, we emphasize more on reading and learning. Which will also help them [...] when they drop out. If they can be literate they will be able to go anywhere, even if they [also] had their indigenous education."

This exemplifies how the teachers in this case value horizontal community knowledge, but do never connect it to evaluation. It is only seen as heritage, valuable in itself, but not possible to merge with school.

The same teacher reasons that the multicultural pupil group in school makes it difficult to "go deep into their cultures" since it would always exclude those who do not share that special cultural aspect. Of course the teachers are right in that certain things have more relevance to the culture and are not appropriate in the school setting. But because of the lack of evaluation of this type of knowledge it creates a strong boundary between the two types of knowledge that allows for little consistency of the two.

But the multicultural environment is also seen as a good. One teacher, for instance, comments on it as follows:

"Yes, it is good for change. Because, as you mix, you talk about your own culture, you compare your culture to what other people are doing. You are able to say 'I think what other people are doing is better'."

Negative attitudes towards tradition refer to those values that are not corresponding with their relatively liberal values. The gender issue is especially mentioned here. All the respondents say there has been a positive change in school since they themselves went there and all the teachers mention that more girls are registered and doing well. In the urban case they do not apply the negative aspects to their own environment but make it rather clear that the rural areas are retarded in this matter. Assuring me that *"[...] when you go to a school in a rural area, you find that enrolment there will be mostly a big number of boys. Girls will just be a few. If you try to find out, you will see the culture require so."* In the compared case this was not true.

However rarely, negative attitudes were also directed at the local community. In a lesson of social development studies the theme of the day was "Life after death", and the message was an ambiguous one. *"In our tradition what do people believe about the dead?"* the teacher asked. After some discussion the teacher concludes *"You are Christians, you can not believe that! To them [the traditionalists] it is a strong belief. Ask your parents what they believe in so that we can discuss this the next time"*. Despite the appreciation of the multicultural community there is also sometimes drawn an explicit line between what is true and false knowledge. In the mentioned example non-christian mythical knowledge is presented as false while Christianity is presented as true. Educational knowledge is thus depicted as the parameter that approves or disapproves knowledge.

Teachers at this school seem to have respect and pride of their culture and their community, but at the same time they see educational knowledge as the foundation for personal and societal development, and the school having a paternal role over the community.

6.1.5 Urban parents' valuation of educational knowledge

Parents give praise to their local school as *"a very good school"* and also show respect. For example, one mother responds to a question on the usefulness of school for her daughter is that *"[...] she should obey the teacher. And [the school can] be helpful in the future and to understand that it is the only way for her to find work."* There is an understanding that one is at the mercy of the school. This is also true in the sense that education should give better prospect for employment. But this also recognizes the contours of an imbalance between valuations of the two knowledge clusters. A parent who is himself *"an educated man"* mention professions as doctor, nurse and journalist as school *evaluation* for his own children, while a housewife and street vendor want her daughter to *"find a job"*. It is expected to find that parents give different evaluations, since the parent group at this school constitutes parents of varying educational and economic capital.

Their response to English as the language of instruction is that it is not a problem. The parents express the same view as the teachers that this is the language of communication. One parent says he teaches his children Cinyanja at home, but that is connected to an evaluation of identity rather than of future prospectives in career.

A typical answer to what they teach their children at home is also first to mention school work or educational knowledge that they help their children with, but the parents are quicker than the teachers to mention community knowledge they transfer to their children.

6.1.6 Urban parents' valuation of community knowledge

To take part in household work *"like cleaning plates and cooking"* is types of vertical knowledge parents try to transmit to their children. Horizontal knowledge, however, they emphasize more than the teachers. A mother says she teaches her daughter to show respect for elders and to fear God. *"The mother should teach the child how to be like,"* she says and express that mothers do have an important role in the upbringing of her children. And this is a mandate no one mention as the schools' task. A father says he tries to teach his children *"how to behave in a Christian manner"*. Religious and moral values are thus what we can call community curriculum.

The father I interviewed expressed much pride in the Ngoni culture and wanted a reintroduction of the Ngoni language that according to him was dying:

> *"[...] if Mpezeni [the paramount Ngoni chief] could be approached [and was asked] 'Why don't we have the Zulus from South Africa to come and teach here. So that later it will come in the syllabus. Because the tribe is [here], but the language is not [here]."*[8]

But at the same time he was hesitant whether these two types of community knowledge could or should be transmitted in the formal school system:

> *"Maybe through drama, those clubs. I think you can pick one of the lessons from the traditional ceremonies. Then we put it into drama and act. But not bringing it as a subject in the school, because there are many [traditions and cultures], so we may confuse them. Because here we have almost five, six cultures [...]."*

He mentions after-school clubs as the appropriate arena for such activities, but does not expect it to be a mandatory part during school hours. What is interesting here is the value of resurrecting what is already lost, rather than utilizing what is there. It seems like the parents, like the teachers, have educational knowledge as their core knowledge base, while community

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[8] The Ngoni tribe is a subgroup of the Zulu tribe that migrated from what is today South Africa.

knowledge is utilized wherever or whenever it is applicable. Such type of "ownership" of knowledge might of course vary between urban parents, since this group varies in social, cultural and educational capital.

The parents express a clear boundary around the knowledge that is their own mandate to transmit, and this is basically horizontal knowledge like religious beliefs and moral values.

The parents are in general very pleased with their local school, and there seems to exist a harmonic relationship. They seem to expect that it is the school's mandate to teach literacy, numeracy, while they do express few expectations of localized knowledge.

It is interesting here that no parents mention skills in manufacturing or crafting as a local skill their children should hold.

6.1.7 Urban case in general

Teachers and parents seem to correspond in most views, and there seems to be harmony and mutual respect in the relationship between school and community. Though, a caveat is that the parents are a quite diverse group and the views of a parent can be more influenced of his or her educational-, cultural- or economic capital.

Educational knowledge has high value and it is shown a certain respect for community knowledge. However, educational knowledge is seen to have a paternal role over community knowledge.

Even though localized curriculum is praised it has a weak connection to a wanted evaluation, but is seen as a safety net for the unsuccessful. The parents and teachers are quite hopeful for their own children's future prospectives.

6.2 Rural case: Katete

6.2.1 Presentation of the rural community

Katete district lies west of Chipata on the Great East Road that leads to Lusaka. The local community which is the case for this study lies a good distance from the district center, but still easy accessible by road. Crop growing and live stock rearing is the usual economic

activity in this area. Settlement is clustered together in villages so farmers do not always live close to their own farming field.

The population of this specific area is of Chewa tribe, a people which in this context have some distinctive characteristics; amongst these are initiation education, secret societies and social meeting places which all have to do with the transfer and dissemination of knowledge. First, the initiation ceremony for girls, *chinamwali*, start when a girl is seen to have reached the mature age and are ready to enter adult life. According to van Breugel (2001) this is when a girl has her first menstruation (p.185). She is then kept in seclusion for some time to be taught the knowledge she needs as a woman. This knowledge especially concerns marriage and sexual behavior, and can only be taught by the *namkungwi,* those women who are granted that mandate. When a girl is released from this process she is considered by the community as an adult and also ready to be married. This is a traditional practice which is not anymore practiced by all Chewa families.

Nyau is a secret society for male Chewas in which boys can be initiated into. To be a *Nyau* member was traditionally obligatory for all men, but is today more or less voluntary.

Initiation was originally for adult men until they started recruiting younger boys as an opposition to mission schools (Rangeley and Linden in van Breugel, 2001, p. 127). According to J.W.M. van Breugel, a missionary, academic and initiated *Nyau*, an anti-school attitude can still be found in certain *Nyau* societies (Ibid. p. 128). The places of assemblies, activities and other *Nyau*-knowledge are secret, and Nyau-members have described those not initiated in the manner of "like a small child who does not know anything at all" (Ibid. p. 129). Centrally is also the *Nyau*-dance which is performed in funerals, celebrations and girls' initiation ceremonies.

Mpala is a meeting place for men where men discuss and disseminate knowledge. Much of the agreements and consensuses concerning the village are made through this institution.

Katete district is the head-seat of (his royal highness) Chief Gawa Undi, paramount chief of the Chewa in Zambia. The district is thus a significant location for Chewa culture. The late Kalonga Gawa Undi X (1931-2004) was himself educated in England and encouraged popular education amongst his people (Kalusa, 2010). I mention this to balance the picture; Chewa culture is not as conservative as the descriptions above might infer. Gawa Undi X also reintroduced the traditional (*Nyau*) *Gule Wamkulu* ceremony, which annually gathers Chewa

people from Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Contemporary Chewa culture is, as most others, a mixture of old and new.

6.2.2 Presentation of the rural school

This school serves a few more than 700 pupils from grade 1 to 9, and gives work to 7 teachers (Though, there was never that many teachers present at the time of research). At this school the acting head teacher was also teaching full time, unlike in the urban case. It also happened that one teacher taught two classes simultaneously switching between classrooms. It serves 13 villages of varying distance from the school. The nearest village less than a kilometer away and the farthest far enough for the school to offer weekly boarding for the eldest pupils, of whom some come from distant villages.

The school premises consists of three school buildings with 7 classrooms, teachers' houses and a few student dorms, all spread out on a quite large area. Belonging to the school is a few agricultural fields that the school uses to substitute its finances. The premises works almost as an independent village were the head-teacher equals a village head, and the villagers are teachers' families and boarding pupils. This school dates back to 1942; the oldest building is quite worn down, the newest being more or less provisional.

The surrounding villages also use the premises for open meetings. For example, at the time I was there the villages met to discuss the distribution of state subsidized fertilizer. It works therefore not only as an independent village, but also a public space.

Of significance to this school, compared to the urban case, is that most of the teachers were quite young, and pupils were of a wider age span. One pupil for example was 25 whilst the youngest teacher was 27. Teachers were not all Chewa, but came from other places for work, while all pupils were Chewa.

6.2.3 Rural teachers' valuation of educational knowledge

Their valuation of curriculum

The week I arrived at this school all the classrooms were occupied for the seventh grade exams. The rest of the attending pupils were out preparing one of the school's fields for sowing maize. This is done by pecking a hole in the ground and fill it with manure, a method

called *gamphani* in Che-chewa (literary: digging a hole). Luckily, the time of the exams coincide with the start of the rain season. My first thought was that this was a planned activity meant for localizing the curriculum, but this was not the main objective according to the two teachers who accompanied the 300 children. For them it was just a mere necessity to activate the children when they could not use the classrooms. One also assured me and some pupils that "next week we will start some serious learning". This kind of activity was, in his view, not "serious learning".

Educational knowledge was certainly valuated as *the* positive force for personal development, and a clear reason is given in the school's motto; "Education is Wealth". The main finding in this case is not only the strength of classification between educational and community knowledge but the indispensability accredited to educational knowledge, and specifically science subjects:

> *"You see, in the world that we are living in, [...] time is everything, [time] is science and mathematics."*

> *"Science is a hundred percent, it is the one that has changed everything in the world."*

This type of knowledge is seen as infallible, and the force that drives the world forward.

There are many variables which open or restrict access to educational knowledge. School (as part of a governmental body) controls some of these variables of which one is school fees. One Monday morning the pupils were gathered outside the main building for a few announcements from the principal. A few pupils were asked to go home and get money for their due expired fee, accompanied with the message *"Don't even try to enter class without money!"* These harsh realities add on to the strengthening of the boundary.

The rural teachers might emphasize the eminence of educational knowledge because of how they see the pupils trapped in a knowledge-poor rural area. One teacher thinks the learning capacity of a rural environment is lower than in urban areas;

> *"[...] they are not exposed [to other things] like those pupils in town. They are not exposed to things like information. So most [...] things they don't know."*

In terms of localized curriculum teachers do not mention very many skills that can be taught in school, but they do express that any skill is valuable because it might turn out to be useful. After-school clubs is mentioned as a good arena to activate the children, and to give them skills in drama, football and others. These might not have a special connection to the community or to the school, but is more based on the interests and mastery of pupils and teachers, and is thus a factor wakening the boundary. The teachers find meaning in this because of the possible usefulness it might have for some pupils.

But important, it is only in the merging with educational knowledge such skills can be useful:

> *"People have got skills, very good skills. But because of lacking knowledge that the ministry apply, they are just seated with their skills. But to those who went to school, they are improving their knowledge. I mean they are improving their skills, by using the knowledge which they got at school."*

Their valuation of pedagogy

The teachers here embrace a learner centered pedagogy. One teacher also made the point that they were beyond the time when the teacher where the only one to speak.

A typical lesson is identical to one in the urban case; teacher giving a lecture, pupils working with assignments, teacher correcting or pupils presenting answers. The teachers make use of practical methods in math-lessons, like having the children go out to gather stones to use as learning aid. At least this gives some space for interaction, and maybe even expresses some relevance for the use of math in their specific environment.

Teachers here go even further in their belief that English is not sufficient as the language of instruction. When I ask a teacher for a scenario where they do not use local language at all, he say that there simply will be no learning. At the same time they support English as the language of instruction based on that English enable pupils to communicate with the rest of the world and to utilize educational knowledge. Local language is also valued as a necessary tool for communication, but at a local level. One need to know the local language (wherever you are) to communicate with *"those who are not learnt, those who didn't go to school"*. It is mentioned that this is especially important for teachers and nurses. Given this reason it is very interesting that teachers here support English as the language of instruction, while at the same time local language is seen as invaluable to what concerns their own community. It might be

that the very idea of social development, either societal or personal, is seen to lie in the global educational knowledge and not in the local community knowledge.

My classroom observations showed that teachers put a lot of efforts making pupils understand by switching between languages whenever necessary. They did this for the best of the pupils.

Their valuation of evaluation

The future is bright for those who study hard, do well and continue education. One example the teachers repeat is that several of their own former pupils has continued to the teachers college in Chipata. One of the current teachers is himself a former pupil at the school. They see this as an encouraging proof that such success is possible.

However, the most important educational outcome is that the pupils "know a skill". One teacher mentions that any skill that can take the pupils "somewhere" can be of importance. Using gardening skills as an example, one informant reasons that *"So that maybe one day they can also do that. So that they survive. They sustain their lives."*

These types of statements is usually connected to localized curriculum and is an evaluation both for those who do not continue education and for those who *"can not find a government job"* - a likely scenario for most of the pupils. Crop growing and poultry are mentioned occupations, but also crafting skills such as carving wood (for sale) is mentioned. Though, entrepreneurship in the informal economy is not as explicitly mentioned here as in the rural case.

6.2.4 Rural teachers' valuation of community knowledge

Their valuation of vertical knowledge

Already mentioned is the *gamphani* activity and the high valuation of educational knowledge ("serious learning") that was expressed in that situation. That valuation may also infer a devaluation of community knowledge like *gamphani*, even though this type of knowledge is seen as crucial for the ability to sustain oneself.

From time to time you can see young boys herding cattle in the surrounding areas. The boys' families receive one cow from the employer as a salary after four years, according to my

informants. As a consequence these boys are kept out of school. A reason why parents choose to do this is that cattle are seen as great wealth, and getting one is an opportunity to improve your family's economy and status. The teachers seem to be indignant over this practice and claims that the opportunities connected to owning *one* cow is only a cultural belief. The herding of cattle is embodied in horizontal community knowledge, and when this type of knowledge counter values of the teachers (for example that all children should be in school), they several times characterized the local culture as "backwards". There is a conflict aspect here that we do not see in the urban case.

On the other hand, teachers here do show acknowledgement for the fact that children do learn at home;

> *"[...] most of the pupils they do not learn farming here, here at school. They learn it from the community where they come from. 'Cause they start very early, as young as even 5 years, and before they enter school".*

They do not claim to be the disseminators of vertical community knowledge.

The school also utilizes the social structures when they communicate with parents. Announcements are given by letter to the head-man of each village (who is not necessarily a parent himself), who again will announce it to the parents. We can make the same point here as in the urban case, that communication with parents are always based in community knowledge; local language in both cases and specific social structures in the rural case.

As vertical community skills are mostly the same as those mentioned in connection with localized curriculum, the evaluation is also the same here. But it is only possible in combination with educational knowledge.

Teachers also say they teach, or want to teach their children farming at home, *"because it is a valuable skill"*. They seem not to accredit their own children better future prospectives than other pupils, and do not picture the same future occupations as the urban teachers do for their children.

Their valuation of horizontal knowledge

Teachers also try to transmit horizontal knowledge at home:

> *"I teach them traditional ideas, on how to live."*

Cultural values and moral is seen as important, for example that the children show respect to elders and visitors. One teacher also explains the cultural importance of reed-mats, which was the only statement connecting a local craft to a cultural meaning. She did however not elaborate on it being relevant for any type of education or evaluation.

The teachers expressed both a respectful distance to closed Chewa and Nyau knowledge, but also some hostility. One expressed worries that those children that enter the Nyau are becoming negative to school and educational knowledge, and even encouraging others to drop out of school to instead join Nyau. Another one felt that conservative parts of the population worked against the government's effort to get every child into school:

> *"[...] most of [these] people don't go to school. Maybe because of whatever they do at home. So, let's say they are ignorant."*

The teachers agree with the DEBS secretary that initiation processes is not really keeping children out of school, but is done during holidays. They have first hand knowledge of this and say it is a decreasing problem. Though they feel it is a problem for the girls when they do stay in school and say *that "sending a girl in the initiation process will disturb a girls mind, she will not be able to concentrate in school and will only think of marriage."*

The worst contempt for village life is expressed when discussing the geographical placement of school:

> *"If the school is within the village, the villagers usually disturb the lessons. Especially, you know, there are some villagers who like beer drinking."*

Another teacher is also afraid that drunken persons will attack teachers. Besides, it's not hygienic with all the animals going around in the villages, she thinks. This is the pupils' homes they talk about, and it is implied that the school is a safe haven from the village environment.

When discussing the relation between school and community, it is of course reasonable for the teachers to problematize aspects of local culture and way of life that do not harmonize

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with school. After all, the school in this case is almost a village under the protection of the teachers. But it is sometimes startling how educational and community knowledge is expressed as *future* versus *no future*:

> "[...] education will help you in real life, to survive. To survive! Just as you [Lars] are doing. This is education, yeah. And for sure, after this you will survive. Unlike tradition, after doing everything [...] at the end you will still come back at zero point, suffering again. Unlike [...] education, you [...] go up and up and then you'll survive at the end. You'll be able to support yourself. That's the difference."

6.2.5 Rural parents' valuation of educational knowledge

First of all, parents want their children to learn in school what they can not learn at home, or at least what parents see as knowledge external to their community; literacy and English.

> "What is important, what they are learning in school is English. It means that wherever they can go, they can communicate, even to a white man."

We see here the same argument as in other places, English is the language of global communication and mobility. It is classified as knowledge to be utilized for work in a town, while community knowledge has little relevance outside of the village.

Educational knowledge has high status but parents are not pleased with school:

> "I don't feel to be part of the school, because most of the time the teachers are less. And you find that sometimes [...] when we send our children, they will tell us that they only learnt one subject. And when the exams come, you find that most of the children do fail."

Still, they have no reluctances in sending their children to school as they see school as the only way to a brighter future. The negative view on school which was depicted to me in other places do not show itself here, but the parents claim there are other villages that are more negative to education and the schools activities, especially those villages where the head-man is uneducated, they say.

The people I talked to in the village did not have much knowledge of localized curriculum in school, but very positive towards teaching of local skills in school. The argument they gave

was unison with the teachers; it can support those who fail school exams. I should underline that there is at no level a condescending view of pupils who do not succeed in school; it is seen merely as a fact of Zambian life. The parents express much support and will to contribute in teaching their own expertise in school.

The evaluation of educational knowledge is simply *"to find a job in town"*. A job in town has some important outcomes both for the children themselves and for their parents. First, the parents want their children to support their parents economically by taking a job somewhere else, either financially or buying them cattle. Second, the jobs you qualify for after a successful education will, compared to being a farmer and villager, increase quality of life:

> *"Because even if we learn farming in the village, it is like we are slaves, because we do hard jobs. [If] we shall meet, maybe twenty years later, I will look much older than the person who is working there [in town], just because I am in the village. So school is still important."*

6.2.6 Rural parents' valuation of community knowledge

Parents appreciate vertical community knowledge such as farming and domestic chores as necessary practical skills their children should have, and they make their effort in transferring this type of knowledge. It is necessary so that they can cater for themselves, they say.

Horizontal community knowledge is described by everyone as important for their group identity:

> *"It is important for them to know our culture, because if they leave this village [...] they should realize that they are Chewas."*

But that is also the only good horizontal knowledge have to offer;

> *"There is no tradition that can help a child in the future, but skills are there. If for example you are a brick layer you can gain money through that."*
>
> *"We can not live a good life with Chewa tradition"*
>
> *"Culture, tradition and values that we do as Chewa, they can not assist my boy."*

And this type of knowledge is strictly classified as different from educational and vertical knowledge;

"It can not work well, school and Chewa culture to combine."

This shows the surprising find that in the rural case there is a certain contempt for their own group identity as Chewa. The culture is seen as important for identity, but it is also experienced as a burden. This is strikingly far away from the ideals of African Renaissance.

6.2.7 Rural case in general

Teachers and parents correspond in the valuation of educational knowledge as superior, and an absent of belief in community knowledge as a contributor to societal development or individual success.

Teachers see culture as being in conflict with educational knowledge while parents are not pleased with the provision of education. Still, both groups tries to do the best out of what they have since they all see education as the only mean that can change anything in their children's' and families' life.

6.3 Comparison of the urban and rural cases

In the last part of this chapter I will present the comparison of the urban and the rural cases, and try to answer the following sub-questions:

- *What are the valuation and expectations of educational knowledge?*
- *What are the valuation and expectations of educational knowledge?*
- *What types of community knowledge is transferred in school and what purpose does it serve?*

6.3.1 The valuation of educational knowledge

There is no doubt that educational knowledge has a high status in both the urban and the rural case, though there are still a significant difference; While people in the urban case seem to feel an ownership in educational knowledge, people in the rural area seem to find themselves distanced from this knowledge domain. Still, in the rural case educational knowledge is

elevated as something of an almost unattainable utility value. The rural children that will master educational knowledge by continuation in the educational system are seen to have a bright future ahead of them. They can *"get out of the village"* as some people put it, meaning they could find a job and a prosperous life in an urban area. In this sense it seems like people from the rural case, both teachers and parents, don't see educational knowledge as a utility for rural life.

In the urban case on the other hand educational knowledge is not seen as literally a mean for mobility, though it is still seen as crucial if you want to *"go anywhere"*. But this doesn't necessarily mean, as in the rural case, that you have to go somewhere else to improve your life. In the urban case, teachers and some parents seem to be "based" in educational knowledge, in the sense that they are themselves educated, they master this knowledge domain, and they live a relatively modern urban life. In the rural community they seem to value educational knowledge because they see it as a utility they themselves do not possess.

The attitudes towards English as a language of instruction take a similar form. To the urban teachers and parents English is the language of communication, and also the language of educational knowledge. Their positive attitudes towards English is based on a belief that English skills will put their children at equal terms with children in other parts of the world and enable them to communicate with anyone in the world. Further, English is believed to be the only language educational knowledge can be communicated or transferred through. It is therefore necessary for gaining knowledge and building a career.

The attitudes towards English in the rural case are also very positive. But for them it represents the possibility to find a job outside of the village. It doesn't to the same extent represent global communication. The rural teachers have in a way resigned when it comes to English as the language of knowledge. They expressed a firm belief that English was the proper language for educational knowledge, but in their classes they did put effort in explaining the same knowledge in the local language. They saw this practice as an unfortunate necessity.

The high valuation of educational knowledge is a commonality of the two cases. Despite the differences we can infer that educational knowledge is seen as leading to and belonging to an urban modern life and a globally shared knowledge. It is exclusively seen as positive.

6.3.2 The valuation of community knowledge

As we have seen the government tries to include community knowledge in primary schools, and have even issued a guideline document on how to do so. We can therefor expect some positive values towards community knowledge also at the grass root level. And it seems like that, in general, people are positive in both cases to bring community knowledge into school.

Vertical community knowledge like how to make a reed-mat is taught in school or as an extra curricular activity. In both cases people are positive towards this way of utilizing community knowledge in school. But as this type of vertical community knowledge has "become" educational knowledge by being contextualized in a classroom setting the evaluation of this knowledge is the same as for other educational knowledge.

The two cases differ a lot in their valuation of horizontal community knowledge. In the urban case teachers and parents show much respect for community and cultural heritage. They acknowledge horizontal community knowledge and say it is important knowledge that can only be learnt in the community. But for the urban informants this type of knowledge seems to symbolize mostly a cultural narrative that they want to pass on to their children, like the history of their people, the traditional dance, and their language. These things belong to the past, but are important markers of their shared identity. From their position they have a positive and even praising view on community knowledge. They show much respect for the traditional and multicultural knowledge in the repertoire of their community.

In the rural case it is different. Here, the teachers and the parents are "based" in community knowledge. Even though the teachers master educational knowledge, the society they dwell in is not a modern urban one. Parents and pupils definitively live a more traditional rural way of life. This is seen as a disadvantage. From their position they praise educational knowledge, but have a negative view on their culture and attribute little hope to community knowledge.

While rural parents show a sense of despair in their local culture and its knowledge, the rural teachers see the school as struggling in overcoming the "worst" local cultural practices. The practices they refer to is mostly connected to the *Nyao* (for boys) and *Chinamwali* (for girls). The teachers show a distanced respect for *Nyao* in that they respect the exclusivity of this institution, but they strongly disapprove of their practices.

The institutionalization of local culture that *Nyao* represents is also an important difference from the urban case. This phenomenon seems to strengthen the border between community knowledge and educational knowledge in a way we do not see in the urban case.

In the rural case community knowledge is also acknowledged as important and useful, but here the informants mostly refer to vertical knowledge like farming and other practical skills for a rural household. It is mentioned by the parents that they want their children to know Chewa culture. I interpret this as a wish to socialize the children into a shared local identity, but at the same time the parents show contempt towards Chewa culture saying that it doesn't offer a prosperous future.

The community knowledge that is acknowledged in the rural case is also taught in the community. Both parents and teachers say they try to teach their children practical skills to insure that they can survive a future rural life. All the rural informants admit that most of the local children are likely to be unsuccessful in education and stay in the village. As previously explained, the success of educational knowledge, as seen by the rural population, is to leave the village.

We can infer that the valuation of community knowledge depends on the conditions in which one lives under. While in the urban case one have the space to cherry-pick the good parts and even romanticize parts of ones heritage, the rural dwellers do not have the same distance to their traditional culture and will rather glorify educational knowledge which represent a higher quality of life.

In the urban case, on the other hand, educational knowledge has entered the home setting in that the informants try to help their own children with school subjects. Urban parents seem to have more faith in that their children will succeed in school, and therefore put less effort in community knowledge as a insurance in case of failure.

In the last chapter I described the school premises in the two cases; the urban school being walled in against the local settlement while the rural school lies on an open field. One would maybe think that this could symbolize the epistemological borders in the two cases, but it seems to be reverse. Educational- and community knowledge seems to be more integrated in the urban case, although educational knowledge might hold the strongest position. In the rural case, on the other hand, the two knowledge domains are segregated, holding very different

evaluations; the success of leaving the village for a better future or the failure of staying in the village and struggle with the everlasting past.

6.3.3 Types of community knowledge transferred and purposes of this knowledge

The data contains little evidence of community knowledge being transferred in school, but there were a few exceptions. First of all it was the farming activity at the rural school, which was mainly to generate extra income for to the school. This was not intended as a part of the curriculum but becomes so by being exposed through the medium of school.

Common to both cases is that they claim to teach the pupils how to make a certain crafted object with ties to the local or the Zambian culture, such as a reed-mat.

In the urban case they taught the *Ngoni* traditional dance in an after-school club.

Maybe with exception of the dance, which was claimed to have conservational ideals, the few community knowledge activities in these schools are vertical knowledge. That means that it was only the *know-how* that was emphasized, not a cultural embedded *know-why*. If these activities were taught by other people from the community it could be experienced differently, but this was actually not the case in these two schools. It is therefore reasonable to infer that it is only the vertical aspects of community knowledge that was transferred.

7 Discussion: The past and future of Zambia

Chapter 5 and 6 has provided answers to the following sub-research questions:

- *What types of community knowledge is transferred in school and what purpose does it serve?*
- *What are the valuation and expectations of educational knowledge?*
- *What are the valuation and expectations of community knowledge?*

The investigation of these questions has been steps in the process of narrowing in on the main research question. In this chapter I will discuss the main research question;

- *How is viability of community knowledge perceived and expressed in basic schools in Zambia, and how can it contribute to an education for sustainable development?*

I will also discuss the final sub question;

- *What are the spaces and constraints for the utilization of community knowledge?*

I will first discuss the possibilities for community knowledge to play a role in education under the spaces and constraints of the national project. The national project for education in Zambia is manifested through written documents as the national policy on education and the curriculum framework, and it is administrated by educationalists working in the ministries and local governance.

In the second part of this chapter I will discuss further the findings presented in chapter 6. The main objective in discussing the findings further is to identify spaces and constraints in the local school, culture and community, for community knowledge to play a significant role in educational provision and practice.

In the third part I will elaborate further on the viability of community knowledge in Zambian education and ultimately in the future progress of the nation.

7.1 Spaces and constraints determined by the national project

The written national project on education gives spaces and constraints for community knowledge in at least two ways. First, the manifestation of the national educational project in written documents point out an initial direction for educational provision and content. It also point out an initial life path for the individual learner and for the development of communities and the nation. It does this by explaining a purpose of education and suggesting evaluations. Second, in the way community knowledge is referred to in the texts portray a status and position of community knowledge. I will start discussing the latter.

7.1.1 The portrayal of community knowledge

In this regard community knowledge can be referred to as culture, indigenous, traditions or other terms, but all these references constitute one discourse on community knowledge.

Community knowledge is given space in some of the goals, for example it is stated in the national policy that one should produce learners capable of demonstrating free expression of one's own ideas and appreciating Zambia's cultures and traditions (MoE, 1996). Such goals may work as an incentive for teachers and stakeholders to utilize community knowledge, and they may do so with backup from the policy document.

However, community knowledge is not laid down as a fundament of education. It has no say in why education is important. Thus, one is constrained by how the texts justify the use of community knowledge in school. Much of the discourse on community knowledge evolves around heritage and traditions and it is inevitably tied to local cultures, while educational knowledge is justified by a belief that it leads to progress or development of the society. What I have previously labeled community curriculum and community pedagogy is encouraged in most policy papers, and, it seems, is largely accepted as a natural part of the educational content. But community knowledge is never connected to a specific evaluation and rests only on its value of being traditional and a "part of the pupils' culture".

Techniques and products of community knowledge, such as arts and crafts or farming modes, are transferred in school, but only as curriculum. It is not justified with a community evaluation. For example, the school can choose to teach pupils how to make a reed-mat, an

item that is part of most homes in Zambia. The teacher can even choose to use community- or community-like pedagogy to transfer this knowledge. So far this is all well, and even suggested in the curriculum documents. But when it comes to evaluation this type of knowledge is connected to an evaluation of entrepreneurship. The cultural meaning of a reed-mat is exchanged for a world-cultural meaning of market economy - it is lost in the paraphrasing from community curriculum to educational curriculum. Thus, entrepreneurship becomes the real evaluation of the community knowledge that is taught in school.

The portrayal of community knowledge is also formed by what the documents say about educational knowledge or the responsibilities the school have in educating the community. For example, the school is given the role as a guardian of the child and, when needed, a corrective to the local community. This might have its positive consequences, especially if the local community is violating the right of the child. (At least if we accept the rights of the child is universal.) The downside of this is that some traditions and customs are seen as bad practice. Of course, by certain standards one can argue that certain practices are wrong, and religious and initiation practices might be of the first examples to come up in a Western mind. The point here is not that we should have a relativistic perspective on cultures, meaning that some cultures can't be subject of global values. But the danger is that we only see harmful practices, while we tend to forget that to the people involved there are meaningful reasons behind cultural practices. When school is given the role as a protector of the child from cultural practices there is a lack of equality between community- and educational knowledge in the integration of the two.

A concern here is that this way of thinking is manifested as a way to view community knowledge as a whole, that it is mostly knowledge and practices (curriculum and pedagogy) but not a meaningful route to a brighter future (evaluation). In this discourse people might be persuaded that there is no real meaning behind community knowledge, i.e. there is no bright future connected to it. Of course, one might still find meaning in conserving ones traditional culture and knowledge, but it has little meaning in the sense of evaluation.

As I have described in the contextual background, stakeholders of schools in Zambia are invited to participate in creating good schools, but the main focus in this encouragement is concern the provision and management of education. The freedom for investors of different kinds is spacious in building and managing schools. There is given some space in using indigenous education methodologies, and stakeholders may lobby for more utilization of

community knowledge. However, since there is no evaluation of community knowledge in the discourse of the documents there seems to be little reason to work for such an education. When it comes to "education for development", community knowledge is simply of very low value. It is therefore the lack of evaluation that constraint the utilization and integration of community knowledge.

7.1.2 The future Zambia

I have now discussed how community knowledge is portrayed in the policy-papers and I will now go on to discuss how evaluation of education is presented. The evaluation of education is in a way the other side of the coin from community knowledge, because as community knowledge is connected to the past, educational knowledge is connected to the future.

The word liberal is frequently used in Zambia's education policy papers, but how is this word understood and how is it used in argumentation for developing the education sector? "Liberal" has different connotations and different interpretations depending on who uses and in what context the word is used, and it is therefore of interest in what way the word is used in the Zambian policy papers. Naturally, it must have something to do with freedom, but for whom and for what?

As already described, the national policy states a liberal democratic foundation for education where the holistic development of individuals is an overall goal for education. To understand what is really meant by this philosophical rationale, one needs to see how these concepts are referred to further in the written texts.

An interesting point here is that "liberal" mostly refers to the provision and management of schools, and these policies give space for many prospective stakeholders to provide and manage education, thus freeing the state from some of the economic burden it is to provide education for all. It should be said that Educating Our Future, the national education policy was published in 1996 when Zambia, with *The Third Republic* embraced a liberal economic ideology. The ideological climate of the 90's must be said to have been moderated since then, which can be seen in that the government shows more interest in controlling educational provision (See for example MoE, 2007b). However, liberal is used only in economic terms and it seems like it is mostly motivated by a finance-driven ideology.

It is not referred to any type of liberalism when the topic is content of schooling. There is, as mentioned, some freedom to use community knowledge as curriculum or pedagogy, but it is also here a question of evaluation. Evaluation is either economic (to qualify for a job or a craft) or human rights-based (for example "cherishing and safeguarding individual liberties and human rights" (MoE, 1996)). Evaluation of primary schooling is never in the documents motivated by values based on community knowledge. Community knowledge is of course constrained by this evaluation of education that is set by the national project.

Even though educationalists in Zambia have to be loyal to the national policy, one should maybe not put all the weight on its meaning. The policy is quite broad, at least in the purposes of education that is stated through the goals (See p. 50). Maybe it is in this broadness the term *holistic development of individuals* can be justified? Much of the policy is probably subject of change in the implementation process.

The government have even dedicated a document to community knowledge; *Guidelines for the Development of the Localized Curriculum in Zambia*. The problem with this document is also evaluation; also here it is reduced to simply entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship is a concept that Pitika Ntuli mention as a desirable utilization of indigenous knowledge in education (See chapter 2.3.1). To some it might have connotations to invention and innovation. To others, it might simply mean to run a business. The latter seems to be the meaning in the written documents. This type of entrepreneurship is, I believe, not the type Ntuli talks about when he infers that one should educate to entrepreneurship. This is not education that encourage to innovative and progressive development. Rather, it is in Joel Spring's (2007) words, education for the market economy.

As I have shown, curriculum and evaluation is in policy built upon the goal that the people should learn what is needed to participate in economic activities. What is lost in such a policy is that the curriculum does not entail the academic tools needed for developing new ideas, new ways of thinking, and new ways of doing things. The evaluation of education is neither change nor progress, it is merely survival in a stagnant system; market economy. Community knowledge is not useful in this evaluation of education and is therefore considered as having low status.

Even though the school includes community curriculum and community pedagogy, it has little value because it is considered as having no evaluative aspects. Instead, the evaluation of education is reduced to a simple survival in the market economy. The best performing pupils may continue their education and prosper for a white collar job. Some may continue in the applied sciences and find a blue collar job. Reality is that there are few such jobs at the market and those pupils who are left are offered "entrepreneurship".

This type of entrepreneurship, as it is included in Zambia's curriculum and evaluation, in fact takes a neo-liberal turn. The pupils that for different reasons will not continue in the educational system can under this policy be considered as able to take responsibility for their own livelihoods by entering a local market economy. Thus, the community knowledge that is included in formal education acts as an agent for a neo-liberal model for development.

The national project is "softer" and more "understanding" in the spoken discourse at the national and provincial levels, in the way that educationalists talk more warmly on community knowledge. It is often described in terms of heritage and traditions, but also exemplified with new inventions and demonstrated as a source of development. It might be that the concept of holistic development is stronger in the spoken discourse. Still, it seems like the written discourse have had more power in manifesting itself at the grass root level.

In the written texts there is space for the utilization of community knowledge, but community knowledge does not come through as valuable in its own terms. So there is no incentive given for people or communities to utilize "their own" knowledge.

7.2 Spaces and constraints determined by local perceptions

In the local cases we can see much of the same spaces and constraints as in the national project. This infers that Chabbott's model of the dissemination of world cultural blueprints works all the way down to the mind of the local people (See chapter 2). "Education", in their mind, belongs to the world cultural blueprints of what we popularly call education systems, leaving educational knowledge with space for expansion and community knowledge with constraints. This view also put the expansion of education in the hands of those who master educational knowledge, which are mostly urban elites.

7.2.1 A lack of belief in community knowledge

In the national project some efforts are made to try to integrate communities and education, but as discussed these efforts seem to take a u-turn making community into educational knowledge by giving it values we can trace to a world culture. But at least there are some visions on how community knowledge and educational knowledge should be integrated. Amongst teachers and parents these visions seem to be lost for a more pragmatic stance on education and community. These are seen as two separate knowledge domains de-lined from each other. The one you need to pursue for a prosperous future, and the other represent either history or survival. There is no real talk of integration of the two, rather they are reduced to two different paths of life. The choice is quite easy as community knowledge does not offer a prosperous future, educational knowledge seems to be the only rational path to a brighter future.

Further, most people, and especially the rural dwellers, have no control over what education can contain, as it is the urban elites who master this knowledge domain. In this sense education becomes a wholesale purchase where you do not only accept the knowledge as "true", but also accept the evaluation it offers.

In reality there is only one evaluation of community knowledge in formal schooling, and it is the type of neo-liberal entrepreneurship previously discussed. And it is even more explicitly expressed at the grassroots than in the national project; it is an option for those who will not succeed in school.

Community knowledge is not all valued as negative. In both cases we can see that it has an important connection to identity. In both cases people see their culture as an indispensable part of who they are. But in both cases we saw that the positive valuations of community knowledge were not realized as a possible foundation for education or for any kind of development. This might be the strongest constraint on utilizing community knowledge in education. There is simply no belief in it as a mean of progress.

Reagen (2009) have told us that indigenous African education, to a large extent, utilize socialization as its pedagogy. It has intimate ties with social life. Curriculum is basically all aspects of social and economic life in the local environment. Since it is part of life itself it must also have an innate meaning and thus a connection to the cultural identity. In our cases, and again especially in the rural case, there seems to be weak ties between what is seen as

meaningful education and peoples' collective identity. In our cases we have seen that formal education is considered a tool for mobility – a chance to "go somewhere". Community knowledge has little to offer in this sense, and the prospective utilization of it is constrained by this belief.

In the global education paradigm where educational knowledge are measured and compared, other types of knowledge have little value. This view of knowledge seems to have manifested itself in the two populations presented in this study. Thus, community knowledge is constrained from active participation in education other than as a life line for school failures.

7.2.2 A new epistemological border

It appears that since community knowledge have gained some access in Zambian schools, especially through the localized curriculum, the border between the two knowledge domains has started to wither. But this is probably not the case. Rather, it seems like this epistemological border are now delinking horizontal and vertical community knowledge, rather than school and community. It has moved into the territory of community knowledge. This can of course be seen as a merging or an integration of the two knowledge domains, but based on what I have already discussed, and especially the lack of community evaluation, I will argue that the way community knowledge is utilized in Zambian schools today resembles assimilation rather than integration.

The school assimilates community knowledge by only including what can fit in the current educational knowledge regime. What is left out tends to be aspects related to the cultural dimension of knowledge. Therefore, we see that community curriculum and even community pedagogy is welcomed in school, while community evaluation is not.

This does not mean that all community curriculum and community pedagogy can be introduced in school. See for example the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation of the *Nyao* and *Chinamwali*, which are exclusive knowledge domains. But this practice of including community knowledge in school is diluting community knowledge by only accepting the vertical aspects of some community knowledge.

7.3 Viability of community knowledge in sustainable development

Whether there is any viability in community knowledge as building blocks for sustainable development is a difficult question. Based on the premises in the two cases investigated here the fundament seems weak. There might be viability inherent in community knowledge, but relative to educational knowledge it seems almost a lost case.

In chapter 1 I defined sustainable development as a scenario where education provides for progressive opportunities for pupils to develop their mind and life situation, and at the same time safeguard them from poverty. The Zambian education national project seems to put a great effort in safeguarding individuals' means of existence, and try to utilize community knowledge for this purpose. The problem here is that the purpose of education is already set, and community knowledge is not utilized in defining the purpose of education. In this way we can say that community knowledge have viability in fulfilling that purpose, but it has little viability in sustainable development as it is defined here.

Utilizing both knowledges must be combining a secure future for each individual by providing them with life skills for a market economy - with philosophical and innovative skills founded in community knowledge, which can work as an agent for change. In the Zambian case it seems like the latter is ignored or forgotten.

As shown in the last chapter there is in general a low valuation for community knowledge in the local stakeholders' discourse. People view its viability as mainly an object of conservation and to continue a tribal identity. It is however not considered as a resource for innovation, life enhancement or development.

Banda (2008) argues that there must be a financial value attached to indigenous knowledge if it is to be successfully integrated with educational knowledge. My findings show that people do look for economic value in knowledge, and especially skills. Indeed the main reason informants mentioned for learning a traditional craft was that so one could earn money, for example by selling the items they would be able to make. I agree with Banda that practical skills should and can be integrated with educational knowledge, but this must happen in a way that one do not deprive these skills and crafts of their cultural meaning. In the two cases analyzed in this study this is exactly what is happening.

So, must there be a financial value attached to indigenous or community knowledge? Yes, if the purpose of education remains the same, it must probably be a financial value. But on the other hand, if community knowledge shall have viability in changing societies, and even the world culture, it must not, because such an attachment only deprives community knowledge of this viability.

Viability in community knowledge lies in the capabilities inherent in it. These are capabilities of the people who create and transmit community knowledge. In the eager to utilize community knowledge in education, to make it viable, one has only deprived community knowledge of the capabilities that was innate in it.

There is certainly little viability of community knowledge in the two cases investigated here. Educational knowledge has manifested itself in the mind of people as the only way. If community knowledge is to become a fundament for development, it certainly needs a revival. And maybe is such a revival possible if it is disseminated through the very same mechanisms the educational knowledge discourse was disseminated through.

8 Concluding remarks

Compared to Wim Hoppers' study of education in a rural Zambian community 30 years ago (1981), it seems like school and home is less distanced from each other today. In his study, the parents would not accept educational knowledge for anything, for example the explanation of disease. In the present study educational knowledge is seen as superior in almost any case. This might mean that we have witnessed an expansion of a global paradigm on education or on knowledge. For better or worse educational knowledge is now the knowledge that is considered useful; it is seen as the only way to a brighter future.

Educational knowledge is no doubt of higher status than community knowledge. Simpson (2003) showed us, and Apple (1990) explained that it has high status by entailing *"the non-possession of others"* (Ibid. p. 36). However, in this study educational knowledge seems to have high status for a different reason. In the view of the people in Chipata and Katete educational knowledge is in a sense not exclusive, but available to all when the schools are good enough. The high status is because people see it as entailing a future; a possibility for other options in life.

It is first of all an imperative to provide education for all, and we need to acknowledge all the efforts that are made to reach this goal. Efforts are made by global actors as well as local organizations, and in many areas we see progress. But if we pick up on Freire's concept of *conscientization* again, it seems like we have put a little too much weight on *existing in the world*, and forgotten that everyone also have the right to *exist with the world*.

For any type of actor in the provision of education it should be healthy to repeatedly ask Brock-Utne's question: "Whose education for all?" (2000), at least so that we do not forget that education is not only a question of provision, but of purpose.

We must believe that there lies capabilities in community knowledge based on that aspects of this knowledge has survived with culture. We can see that globalization of world culture as making certain people's capabilities useless. Therefore, educational and developmental policy, both on a global and national level must be formed in a way that enables people to act

on their already inherent capabilities. What is happening today is that schools in Zambia try to teach people to function in a world culture that has no roots in Africa.

It is not sufficient to introduce community knowledge in curriculum or pedagogy, since these two message systems is only a consequence of educational evaluation. In educational planning one have to ask the question "Why do we need to educate and for what?". If community knowledge shall have any viability as a building block in education and development, it needs to contribute to the answer of this question. The purpose of education must be based on community knowledge.

I will go back to the very start of this thesis to make a final conclusion. Wangari Maathai diagnosed the African continent with a "wrong bus syndrome" where she said the bus was headed in the wrong direction. I think that when we are talking about community knowledge and education we are focusing too much on the condition of, and baggage in, the bus, and not the direction it is headed. The direction of the school bus is the purpose of education, and therefore the direction is what we should focus on.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview guide, local teachers, pupils, parents etc.

The purpose of this interview: I am a student at UiO studying education. I am interested in learning more about schools and local communities in Zambia. I will write a thesis on what learn in your community.

- Can you tell me about your school, do you think it is a good school?

- How do you like to live here?

- What do you want to do when you have finished school?

- What can education do for your children?

- What are the future prospectives for your pupils?

- What should the language of instruction be?

- What do children learn outside of school and is this something that is important for their lives?

- Can any of the school subjects be taught/learnt outside of school, or by others than trained teachers?

- Are there any local traditions, crafts or skills that could be taught in the school?

Appendix 2

Interview guide, national and district officials.

The purpose of this interview: I am a student at UiO writing a thesis on education in Zambia. The topic for my thesis is if local traditional knowledge or indigenous knowledge can be used to enhance the quality of school. I will therefore research on the relationship between schools and local communities. The national education policy is in this aspect also of interest for me. The thesis is primarily for my own studies, but will be available at the university library in Oslo.

- Can you briefly tell my about the educational policy in Zambia?

- What do you see as the most crucial goals in the development of Zambia?

- What kind of education does Zambia need?

- Zambia has stated a vision and a mission (in policy documents) for the education in Zambia, do you know these?

- What do schools need to teach to pursue the development of the nation and individual development?

- Can local traditions, methods etc. contribute in the quality of schooling?

- Can it enrich the pupils learning in school?

- Is language of instruction a debated theme amongst educationalists in Zambian?

- To what degree is it necessary for the state to facilitate the curriculum, the methods of teaching and other things in local schools? Could school choose their own syllabus, methods of teaching etc.?