

**Zambian Perspectives:
A participatory contextualisation of Youth Civic
Engagement (YCE) from both youth and adult Zambian
perspectives**

Volume 1

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Abstract

In the contemporary adult centered world, global policy has placed young people at the centre of the civic engagement debate. A universal definition of youth civic engagement (YCE) is lacking. The current YCE literature is predominantly northern hemisphere based. A growing consensus moots southern hemisphere knowledge regarding YCE and associated themes are under-represented among existing literature. There is potentially more to gain by engaging in a critically conscious dialogue between northern and southern hemisphere knowledge.

Perhaps the most conspicuous absentee from the current YCE debates is the youth voice, especially girl's voices. Historically, in both hemispheres the lives of girls have been overlooked. Against a legislative backdrop that advocates young people have the right to be heard. Adults tend to apply YCE definitions to research which are too narrow and restrictive to fully appreciate youth understandings of their own engagements. The necessity to work with youth perspectives to gain a more in-depth understanding of YCE becomes apparent.

Initially, this may appear straightforward, but a significant challenge arises. A rights-based methodology may facilitate young people to be heard, but crucially should do so without de-stabilising the cultural context. The reason being sources of resilience which sustain young people are believed to be embedded in everyday cultural systems. If these systems become undermined, the very well-being of young people may become threatened.

This thesis through a participatory methodology underpinned by cultural competency and resilience set out to contextualise YCE in Zambia. The process creation of inter-relational and intergenerational deliberative spaces generated collective knowledge regarding YCE, risk and resilience. In addition, the study provides insights into gender and other factors that restrict or privilege access to and participation in YCE opportunities in the context. This study opens up accessibility to both Zambian youth and adult perspectives of YCE and is a unique contribution to the wider YCE debate.

Personal Statement

For adults it is possible to recollect what it was like to be a young person. But it is also important to realise the world of the past is a different place compared to the here and now.

(Sanders and Munford, 2008, p.359)

The personal statement provides an insight into what I as a researcher, social actor and adult bring to the thesis. It draws upon childhood memories, the sense of identity, gender differences and exposure to different ideologies. This personal account may illuminate the world of forty years ago, when I was growing up, as quite different from today's world. Nevertheless, many of my life influences remain relevant to the present and probably equally so for future generations.

Briefly, I was born in England in 1962. My father was from a middle-class Irish family and my mother was from a working class British family. As a result I have a hybrid identity, not really Irish or British. I am the second youngest of five children. My four siblings are all male. From an early age I was conscious of the different treatment between my brothers and me. It might be assumed that I was spoilt rotten, but from my perspective my brothers had more freedom than me. In my teens this was a source of personal frustration. At this stage in my life I can now acknowledge, my parents were really just trying to do their best for us all.

The family home was located in a quiet suburb just outside the east end of London in Essex. I attended Catholic primary and post-primary school where the student populations were drawn mainly from minority backgrounds, Irish, Italian, Polish and Caribbean among others. I was not aware of being treated differently as an 'outsider' by society. Then again we were all 'outsiders' together. In hindsight, I can recollect some of my father's stories of his experiences during the 1940-50's. These included discrimination, poor accommodation and the sense of disorientation. Nonetheless there were also good experiences, the fun, the sense of freedom and camaraderie.

The first personal recollection of politics relates to the 1960- 70's, the central figures of Heath and Wilson representing the Conservative and Labour. Of course, the on-going civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland and republicanism was a priority topic in our household. The concept of the Iron Curtain, the West vs. East, I associated with the complex procedures that my Polish school friends had to undergo to visit their relatives in Poland. Prior to their trip, some would collect old Levi and Wrangler jeans to bring to their relatives. Apparently these brands unavailable to purchase were highly valued by Polish youth.

Prior to my mid-teens, I have vivid memories of the trips 'home' to Ireland. On the first day of the summer holidays, large suitcases packed and loaded into the car. Dad would drive us to Paddington train station. The queue for the boat train would wind its way from the ticket office all the way out of the station. Obviously this was prior to the era of information technology, no such thing as on-line booking in those days! At the time Dad knew a few Irish guys working

in the station. He would go to meet one of these acquaintances and place a few pounds into their hand. As a result we did not have to queue for tickets. Even as a young child, I was not oblivious to the exchange that had taken place. It was an advantage to know someone at the right time in the right place. Social networks may open up access to resources, but not necessarily in a fair way.

In 1979, my parents and younger brother moved permanently to Ireland. I remained in England to complete school. A year later a number of factors led me to join my parents. The move from an urban to a rural area was unsettling. In England, I had friends and family, but the neighbour three or four doors along might not know your name. In a rural Irish village, everyone knew everyone. It was friendly, but it also felt like everyone knew your movements. This was an unfamiliar experience for me as an urban dweller. Overtime I became accustomed to Irish rural life. I was lucky to secure employment in a supermarket in the nearby town. Many young people were immigrating ironically some to England where I had just come from.

In the early 1980's I got married and by my late twenties I had two children, one girl and one boy. In the local village, I volunteered with a national youth organisation, for six years, providing weekly activities and a summer camp. I had completed a FAS computer course. Subsequently I gained employment as a secretary in a rural development company. I found the work really interesting. One of the development workers, a university degree graduate, was perhaps not as thorough or skilled as some of the other development workers. A personal revelation occurred, if this person could obtain a degree it most certainly was within my reach.

In my late-thirties, I decided to take the plunge back into full-time education. I was thrilled when I was accepted upon a Bachelor Degree programme in Social Sciences (Community and Youth Work). New insights into societal constructs and differential treatment, for example, young people, women and ethnic minorities led me to a further revelation, I was one of the marginalised! At that time I made a conscious decision, to end an unhappy marriage. This inevitably resulted in upheaval that impacted upon the lives of our children. Ten years later, I am confident the decision led to positive outcomes for all concerned.

As a community-based practitioner I secured short-term contracts. These focused upon working with young people, women, the Traveller community and other minority groups as part of a personal social justice agenda. The next logical step was to expand my skills base. Whilst completing a Masters in Adult and Community Education I developed an appreciation of Gramsci, but developed a frustration for Foucault. The project I was managing at the time was under-going an external evaluation by the Child and Family Research Centre (CFRC).

In 2008, I noticed a CFRC advertisement for Ph.D. applicants. I had liked the CFRC evaluation approach and thought it may be interesting to complete a Ph.D. I applied not really thinking that I would be accepted. In 2009, I joined the CFRC and Professor Pat Dolan, was appointed my supervisor. This thesis is the one of the many steps in my personal journey.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and background

In the contemporary adult-centred world, global policy has placed young people at the centre of civic engagement debates (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010, p.90). However a universal definition of civic engagement is lacking (Berger, 2009, p.335). Adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement (YCE) tend to vary (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.35). Furthermore these perspectives make assumptions regarding young people and how they should engage (Banaji, 2008, p.539). Nonetheless, a common held belief appears to be interwoven among the varying perspectives. This belief is that a young person, through YCE may acquire benefits, which enhance positive development and well-being (Dolan, 2008; Ungar, 2007; Sherrod, 2010; and Ben-Arieh, 2011).

On a global scale, northern hemisphere perspectives dominate the existing YCE literature (Sherrod, 2010, p.1). It is posited that northern norms of youth development and YCE may be culturally inappropriate in southern contexts (Ungar, 2007; Husain, 2006). Nanemeka (2003, p.366) builds upon this proposition and moots, southern knowledge is overlooked as part of a wider northern hegemony over the south. Moreover this process denies African child rearing practices a niche in global childhood development theory (Nsamenang, 2008; Ganapathy-Coleman & Serpell, 2008). This may be so, but conspicuously absent amid available YCE literature are youth perspectives (Lister et al., 2003).

The lack of youth perspectives suggests YCE policy and subsequent practice is formulated upon incomplete knowledge. A consensus is growing that a critical dialogue between northern and southern knowledge is required to promote mutual benefits for all (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.15). Young people have the right to participate in such dialogue (Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010, p.357). By virtue of age young people bring to the table unique insights unattainable from adult only perspectives (Sanders & Munford, 2008).

Essentially this thesis will work with both youth and adult perspectives absent from existing YCE literature. The location of the study in a southern context offers the potential to gain new insights into previously undocumented views of YCE. Furthermore the generated new knowledge may contribute to the northern and southern dialogue to promote positive outcomes.

Initially this proposition of including southern perspectives appears straightforward; pick a southern context and then work with young people. Almost immediately available literature illuminates challenges to be negotiated when working in different cultural contexts. The peril of disregarding these messages is the possibility of the research having a negative impact upon the situation of young people in the study context. It is equally unacceptable not to undertake the challenge. It is important to find ways of working in a culturally appropriate manner with youth perspectives. Failure to do so, may contribute to the denial of the youth right to be heard in matters that affect their lives.

Furthermore, YCE interventions designed upon a more thorough understanding of youth perspectives are important. Essentially they may be more effective in responding to youth needs compared to interventions based upon adult only perspectives. A research process itself can be effective in the promotion of youth rights. Research may also be a conduit to transfer generated new knowledge into the world of academia and policy circles. Those who hold sway in powerful institutions, academics and policy-makers may shape ‘social meaning’ and influence the way young people are viewed (Tucker, 1997, p. 91). The findings of this thesis, as new knowledge, may inform amendments to policy and practice to respond more effectively to youth needs.

Professor Pat Dolan, Director of the Child and Family Research Centre based at the National University of Ireland, Galway and holder of the UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement was appointed as supervisor for this Ph.D. The Chair’s network offered an expedient connection into the southern context of Zambia, Central Africa. Few references are made within existing YCE literature to the Zambian context. Therefore it offers an ideal opportunity to progress this proposed study.

In the study context, the Zambian National Child Policy (NCP, 2006, p.1) acknowledges children endure hunger, inadequate accommodation, exposure to abuse, illiteracy, lack of basics, for example, water and sanitation, and they are vulnerable to HIV/Aids infection and other infectious diseases. The NCP (2006) also advocates for the promotion of gender equality and youth participation in national development. It is clear in the context, young people; especially girls are faced with adversity.

According to YCE literature, a resilience perspective supports young people to overcome adversity (Ungar, 2007; Dolan, 2006, and Canavan, 2008). Resilience similarly to YCE is northern dominated and under researched in southern contexts (Ungar, 2007). Northern understandings of risk may be inappropriate in southern context. This necessitates the local identification of what constitutes a risk and what constitutes a resilience factor in the study context. Thus a sound rationale to study YCE underpinned by resilience in Zambia is established. Based upon this proposition the following overall research aim and research objectives are set.

1.1.2 Overall research aim

To examine Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement

The overall research aim is broken down into four specific research objectives. This assists to divide the overall study into manageable elements. Ultimately the fulfillment of the research objectives listed below may enable the development of a response to the overall research aim.

1.1.3 Research objectives

- To establish local understandings of Youth Civic Engagement
- To identify the existing types of Youth Civic Engagement available in the cultural context
- To locally define risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience
- To identify resilience factors perceived to be associated with Youth Civic Engagement

1.2 Thesis layout

In addition to this first introductory chapter, the remainder of this thesis, as a sociological investigation of YCE is presented in a further seven chapters. The second chapter is the literature review, which draws upon a range of disciplines to examine YCE. The third chapter, the research methodology details the research rationale, design and implementation and offers reflections on the methodology to close the chapter. The fourth chapter, Spotlight on Zambia is a contextual chapter. The thesis proceeds by presenting the fifth chapter, the research findings. The findings facilitate the development of the sixth chapter, the research discussion. In this chapter the contents of chapters two, three, four and five are drawn upon to discuss YCE in Zambia. From the discussion, a set of conclusions are formulated and presented as chapter seven. Finally, chapter eight provides a series of recommendations. The following sections elaborate upon the contents of each of the remaining seven chapters.

1.2.1. Chapter two: The literature review

This thesis as a sociological investigation during the literature review draws upon different disciplines, such as political science, psychology and childhood development, to examine historical and contemporary understandings of YCE. The chapter is presented in four swathes: 1) Modernity and the youth ‘problem’, 2) Late-modernity and the contemporary position of young people, 3) Legislation and Youth Civic Engagement and 4) Youth Civic Engagement Perspectives. The chapter concludes by drawing the key messages from each of the sections together to guide the development of a theoretical framework for the thesis.

Briefly, the era of Modernity (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.40) and European colonialism witnessed adults applying negative labels to young people. Once young people were viewed as a ‘problem’ (France, 2007, p.40), ‘dis-engaged’ (Banaji, 2008, p.550) or ‘have-nots’ (Tudge, 2009, p.5) a premise was created to introduce legislation to ‘protect’ young people (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p.293). Adults deemed young people to be ‘citizens-of-the-future’ (Breen 2006, p.3) or ‘incomplete’ (Wyn & White, 1997, p.3).

In Late-modernity, globalisation and the struggle for recognition prompted a re-thinking of youth (Wyn & White, 1997, p.3). The concept of young people as ‘social actors’ in their own right (Lansdown, 2010, p.17) gained in popularity. This has encouraged a shift in adult views of young people as ‘incomplete’ towards ‘partners’ (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p.293). Through intergenerational deliberations (Sanders & Munford, 2008, p.357) new insights into how young people make sense of the world they are growing up in may be acquired (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.474). From the literature a summation is made, which moots the majority of young people to be recognised as ‘partners on a par’ with other members of society remains unfulfilled (Fitzgerald et al., 2010, p.300).

The adult desire of YCE as a promise of democracy and positive youth development is perhaps over simplistic. Legislation may advocate youth participation as desirable, but the institutional dispersal of participation opportunities is unequal. In some incidences the restrictions may even oppress some young people (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p.780). The dominance of ‘individualism’ reinforces the concept of personal ‘agency’ (Cote, 2002, p.117). Young people internalise the belief they are controllers of their own destiny (France, 2007, p.71). However, young people operate within a social context, and personal agency is probably a fallacy (Helve and Hogan, 2006, p.78). Despite the existence of inequalities, some young people faced with adversity surmount the difficulties to define their own sense of well-being (Bottrell, 2009, p.300). The youth self-definition may be in contrast to adult perceptions of acceptable YCE (Banaji, 2008, p.551). To gain insights into youth perspectives requires research to thoroughly investigate the social and culture context young people are growing up in (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478).

From the existing literature, five dominant adult YCE perspectives emerge. These are: 1) human capital, 2) social capital, 3) positive youth development, 4) resilience and 5) activism. Based upon the remit of the study, the resilience perspective is of particular interest to this thesis. There are recent critiques of resilience and YCE in the era of Late-Modernity. This information leads to the selection of a Neo-Gramscian framework, the ‘Loci of Oppression’ (Ledwith, 2001, Engelstad, 2009) as the most appropriate to bring the thesis to fruition.

1.2.2 Chapter three: Research methodology and design

The research design and methodology chapter details the series of decisions made to progress a participatory contextualisation of YCE from both youth and adult perspectives. The chapter is presented in three sub-sections: 1) the rationale and background, 2) a detailed research framework, and 3) a reflective account of the implementation of the research design in practice.

The research process incorporates two simultaneous strands: 1) Direct work with participants and 2) a mapping exercise of existing YCE opportunities. Strand one comprises of two phases. The first phase is named the Site contextualisation and the second, a Collaborative review. The Site contextualisation incorporates three different types of deliberative spaces: 1) introductory session, 2) focus groups differentiated by age and gender and 3) the plenary session, an intergenerational deliberation.

The second phase, the Collaborative review was conducted via inter-generational sessions. The purpose of the second phase was to critique the draft findings. The process ensured as a northern researcher, the findings had not been intentionally or unintentionally skewed. The review process enhanced the validity of the findings. In total thirty-nine collective deliberative spaces were created throughout the research process.

Strand two concentrated on mapping existing YCE opportunities to provide a baseline of services. The data was extrapolated from three sources of data: 1) participant transcripts, 2) the Zambian National Youth Development Council, The Boy Scouts and the NGO Concern databases and 3) Researcher's observation. It was anticipated through the two stranded approach significant amounts of data would be generated. The Nvivo computer software package was selected to manage and arrange the data throughout the research process.

The reflective account of the implementation of the design in practice reveals the research design worked well. The evidence to support this claim is the generation of significant amounts of raw data. From this a response to each of the study objectives

and fulfilment of the overall research aim is made possible. There were challenges and limitations which were met and are described. Future research may draw upon these reflections to enhance the methodology.

1.2.3 Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia

Spotlight on Zambia as the name suggests is the contextual chapter. It links the UNESCO Chair's Programme of Work (2010) to the context. It provides a historical account of the political and social changes from pre-colonial times through the three republics from 1964 to the present day. Some of the factors that led to the decline of Zambia from one of the richest countries to one of the most impoverished on the African continent are explored.

Zambian government policy acknowledges accumulative factors have led to mainly negative child and youth outcomes (NCP, 2006). The position of young people is examined drawing upon available population, poverty, education and health statistics. This indicates a significant 'youth bulge' (defined as a disproportionately large number of young people compared to adults within a population) (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010, p. 90) is predicted. Fundamentally this denotes Zambia faces a long-term challenge to respond to the needs of young people in any meaningful way.

Since 1996, Civil Society has experienced a revitalisation bolstered by external grant aid and resources (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.20). The existing Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR) network (Mwinga, 2002, p.1) has been influential in the development of the national anti-poverty strategy. However it is argued civil society organisations need to play a more significant role in promoting the rights of children (Sloth-Nielson, 2008, p.65).

1.2.4 Chapter five: Research findings

This study as a participatory contextualisation generated significant amounts of data. The first step was to generate local understandings of YCE. This revealed a mismatch between adult and youth understanding of YCE. The different understanding facilitated the research to identify an array of different YCE opportunities in the context.

The research objectives as sub-headings are utilised to present the findings. A baseline of existing services is formulated. The arrangement of findings into system levels soon reveal a range of factors impacting upon participation in YCE. The local definitions of risk and resilience provide a wealth of adult and youth insights into the daily lives of young people. These understandings assisted to populate the Neo-Gramscian frameworks relating to resilience perceived to be associated with YCE.

1.2.5 Chapter six: Research discussion

The discussion opens by considering the mis-match between adult and youth understandings of YCE. The examination eventually surmises that perhaps the mis-match is not as diverse as initially thought. Furthermore it appears a ‘top-down’ rather than a ‘bottom-up’ process is influential in guiding the provision and development of YCE opportunities in the context. Some of the implications of a top-down influence are examined in-depth.

One of the fundamental judgements made when studying resilience (Masten, 2001, p.227) is what is an okay or successful outcome? In the context, the adult perspective relates success to location; rural, compound or residential area. Young people had an alternative view they associated success with the acquisition of adulthood. These different understandings are examined. The outcome suggests the understandings of success appear to fortify the social position of particular social groups within Zambian society.

The arrangement of risk and resilience factors into system levels, revealed the community as the only level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors. As a collective society, this may appear logical. Drawing upon the multi-layered analysis different factors influence access to YCE and to the resilience embedded within these opportunities. The majority of resilience factors associated with YCE in the study context have been previously named within existing literature. The concept of ‘universal’ resilience factors is explored (Gilligan, 2001, Ungar, 2005 & Dolan, 2007). Culturally specific resilience factors were also identified. Perhaps a new

dimension to the concept of resilience is the dual factor. This is a factor simultaneously considered to be both a risk and a resilience factor.

1.2.6 Chapter seven: Study conclusions

The final chapter draws the key messages from the thesis as a whole together. This formulates a set of study conclusions. These conclusions form the basis for the development of study recommendations. The overall conclusion emphasises the need to consider the lives of young people holistically. The framework illuminates the interconnections between gender and different factors that impact upon the participation of young people in YCE opportunities.

1.2.7 Chapter eight: Study Recommendations

A set of recommendations are offered: 1) to enhance existing YCE provision, 2) to guide the establishment of new YCE services and 3) attention to policy.

1.3 Introduction summary

This introductory chapter provides for the reader the background and rationale to the thesis. Essentially by bringing the study to fruition it is envisaged the following overall research aim will be fulfilled.

To examine *Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement*

The four previously stated research objectives break the overall aim into manageable segments. Furthermore the objectives reflect the choice of YCE underpinned by resilience, which facilitates a culturally competent approach to progress the study embedded within a Neo-Gransican framework.

Chapter two: Literature review

2.1 Section one: Introduction

This thesis as a sociological investigation sets out to contextualise YCE from both youth and adult perspectives in Zambia. Currently the majority of YCE studies are conducted in the Northern hemisphere (Sherrod, 2010, p.1). A consensus is growing for a critical dialogue between northern and southern knowledge (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.14). This may in the short-term and long-term enhance mutual benefits for all (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.14).

The study by working with *Zambian* local understandings of YCE may generate new knowledge. Essentially to provide the first insights into different factors which may impact upon young people's participation in YCE in the context. The purpose of this chapter is to draw upon existing literature to deliberate issues and illuminate assumptions and trends associated with YCE. Eventually the process may provide guidance and selection of a theoretical framework to bring the study to fruition. This chapter is presented in five main sub-sections. These are:

- Section two: Modernity and the position of young people
- Section three: Late-modernity and the contemporary position of young people
- Section four: Legislation and youth civic engagement
- Section five: Youth civic engagement perspectives
- Section six: Key messages and theoretical framework

The format of sections two, three, four and five is similar as each opens with an introduction to central topics contained within the section. Subsequently these topics are examined to tease out understandings of youth civic engagement, adult and youth relationships and youth development trajectories. The sections all conclude with a summary table.

The literature review links the Modernity historical interpretations of civil society to Late-modernity understandings of youth civic engagement. Furthermore the discussion illuminates northern past and present influences pertaining to colonialism

and post-colonial contexts. This is particularly relevant to this thesis as the field work will be progressed in Zambia, a post-colonial context. Zambia was once under British colonial rule, the legacies and complexities of a colonial past are discussed in detail in Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia.

The final section draws together the key messages from the literature. This deliberation leads to the choice of a Neo-Gramscian framework (Ledwith, 2001; Engelstad, 2009) underpinned by cultural competency (Husain, 2006, p.165) as the most appropriate to bring the thesis to fruition.

2.2 Section two: Modernity and the position of children

Modernity and the ideologies associated with this time (Gellner, 1994) are outlined. These are significant as these understandings remain influential regarding contemporary views of young people and their engagement in society (Tucker, 1997, p. 91). Subsequently, a focus upon the Poor Law State (Powell, 2008, p.53) illuminates the emergence of a new social group; adolescence (Hollin, 1998, p.4). The adult-centred perspectives of the time had a tendency to portray young people as a ‘problem’ to be ‘solved’ (Breen, 2006; Jeffs & Smith 2002 and France 2007).

Modernity was not static and the post-World War II era witnessed the demise of the Poor Law State and the establishment of the Welfare State (Powell, 2008, Ledwith, 2001). In the 1950’s set against the backdrop of the Human Rights framework (Grech, 2004) civic and social movements emerged and struggled for recognition seeking equality (Fitzgerald et. al, 2010). At the time the adult research interest in YCE waned and instead focused upon youth sub-cultures (Tucker, 1997, p.91). A variety of youth development trajectory theories evolved. Nonetheless adults perceived young people as ‘passive consumers’ and ‘disengaged’ from society. This first sub- section is concluded with a summary and a table of key messages garnered from the literature reviewed.

2.2.1 Modernity and historical interpretations of civil society

Prior to the seventeenth century, the majority of European countries were feudal. The external divine source of God and the Monarch, kept the one social order

(Seligman, 1992, p.15). No distinct civil society existed (Gellner, 1994, p.55). In these agrarian societies, young people contributed to the family subsistence. Basically, children were viewed as the 'property' of their parents (Breen, 2006, p.6).

The global expansion of European commercialism opened up new scientific avenues of inquiry. The sole reliance upon divine sources and the Monarch for social order was questioned (Gellner, 1994, p.68). During the Industrial Revolution, a modern time or Modernity witnessed the rise of four distinct ideologies: 1) liberalism, 2) republicanism, 3) neo-liberalism and 4) socialism.

Briefly Liberalism is founded upon the writings of Hobbes (1588-1679) and Locke (1632-1704). Both espoused the need for social contracts, devised in the human realm of the public or civil sphere between citizens and the political authorities. These contracts would enable reason and morality to promote a universal common good (Seligman, 1992, p. 24).

Republicanism promotes participatory democracy underpinned by liberty, equality and fraternity. Citizenship offers inalienable rights to all citizens. Each individual citizen has responsibilities and obligations to the wider community enabling collective self-governance (Honohan, 2002, p.8). Based upon this ideology the French Revolution led to the removal of the French Monarchy and a Democratic Republic was founded (1789 -1799).

European colonial expansion continued and some colonies sought independence from sovereign rule. The classic example is the American War of Independence (1775-1783) (Mac an Ghail & Haywood, 2007, p.210). The departure from British rule facilitated neo-liberalism to gain in popularity (Seligman, 1992, p. 38). According to Hume (1711-1776) three fundamental rules are adequate to maintain social order. These rules are: 1) stability of possession, 2) the transfer of possession by consent, and 3) the performance of promise. The private individual to maximise self-interest complied with the rule of justice, rather than a belief of a universal common good (Seligman, 1992, p.37).

Finally, the writings of Marx (1818-1883) and Engels (1820-1895) led to the rise of socialism. Briefly this ideology believes Modernity had facilitated the development of a capitalist system. Essentially capitalism led to the stratification of society into two social classes: 1) the bourgeoisie and 2) the proletariat. Civil society was considered no more than a mask for bourgeoisie greed and manipulation of the working class. Man could only attain emancipation through the reunification of civil and political society into a different singular ethical unity. The classical interpretation of civil society met its demise (Seligman, 1992, pg. 53-56).

2.2.2 Poor Law and the youth ‘problem’

In Europe, in the nineteenth century, the threat of spreading revolution was fuelled by demands for participation and citizenship rights from within civil society (Seligman, 1992, p.104). In the UK, liberal ‘active citizenship’ was associated with the upper and middle social classes. They were involved in religious informed charitable work ‘for’ or ‘upon’ the working classes (Jeffs & Smith, 2001, p.39). As a process this subjugated sections of society and the ‘Poor Law State’ was created (Powell, 2008, p.49).

In the UK, significant proportions of working class men (Seligman, 1992, p.104), women of all social backgrounds (Brookfield, 2005, p.312) and children and young people (Hollin, 1988, p.4) were denied citizenship status, defined as the right to vote. From within Civil society, people through ‘activism’ engaged in a political struggle for the right to form associations (Powell, 2008, p.49). Activism widened the understanding of civic engagement beyond the liberal charity model. Civic engagement was linked to economic, political, social and cultural spheres. A social political left emerged and the working classes began to meet their needs through civil society organisations, such as co-operatives, friendly societies and trade unions (Powell, 2008, p.52).

At the time, within an adult-centred society, understandings of young people rotated around the liberal perspective and the critical socialist perspective (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.46). The debates created fissures and divisions regarding social class, religion, gender, race and along political lines (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.46). Social

conditions were particularly bleak for young people. Rapid urbanisation and population expansion led to poverty, disease and adult concerns regarding spiritual decay. The legal age of consent was set at twelve years of age for young women and fourteen for young men. School attendance was low and illiteracy rates high, particularly among young women (Rogers, 1997, p.9).

In 1870, compulsory education for all was established. Significant expenditure was spent on the regulation of school attendance of working class children. For young people with irregular attendance, the threat of the Poor Law institutions and forced migration were seen to keep working class young people in order or socially controlled (Jeffs and Smith, 2002, p.40). For the first time, education for fourteen to eighteen year olds became available. The participation of young people in activities in wider society became curtailed (Hollin, 1988, p.4). Society had constructed a new social group, 'adolescence' (Hollin, 1988, p.4). Adults viewed the adolescent as too old to be considered a child, but too young for adult responsibilities (Hollin, 1988, p.4) and were referred to as 'citizens-in-waiting' (Breen, 2006, p.8).

Adolescence provided a new research focus. Studies at the time were predominantly concerned with the perceived delinquent behaviour of young, working class men. Girls were less obvious in public spaces and considered less of a threat to civic order than their male counterparts (France, 2007, p.73). The limited research which did occur regarding girls concentrated upon morality issues, sexual behaviour and early pregnancies (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005, p.102). Whilst some girls were labelled as immoral, the other needs of girls were more or less overlooked (France, 2007, p.73). In general, adults nurtured the view of young people as a 'problem' which needed to be 'solved' (France, 2007, p.40).

Adolescence once understood as a distinct phase in the life cycle gave rise to different theories explaining adolescence development. In the early 1900's, Biological Determinists posited puberty to be the physical signal of the onset of adolescence. Genetics and powerful instinctive impulses urge a young person to confront and challenge adults as they mature. This perspective referred to as the 'Storm and Stress' Model remained influential for decades (Roche & Tucker, 1997).

Freud's psycho-analytical perspective of youth development came to dominance in the early to mid-twentieth century. The psychological task of adolescence is for the individual to detach them self from the family. At this stage of human development self-perception, beliefs and expectations of others are formed. Adolescence is deemed as a transition phase from childhood to adulthood (Coleman, 1997, p.227).

Informal educational responses to the youth 'problem' created a niche between the school and institutional residential homes for youth (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.43). Liberalism and socialism as the main ideologies informed and offered a variety of solutions. The liberal approach established Sunday Schools and Christian Associations. These provided spiritual guidance, poverty alleviation and informal education for the working classes to improve the lot of 'poor' children (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.40)

Later the Boy Scouts (1907) and Girl Guides organisations were established. Interventions utilised group work methods through the 'character-building' model (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p.18) to instil moral character, to build skills for adult life and to accept the existing stratification of society (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p. 17). Adult leaders as role models of 'good character' applied authoritarian decision-making practices (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p.18).

The Marxists social left through 'civic activism' founded Socialist Sunday Schools and clubs. They also got involved with other existing youth organisations (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.43). Adult activists viewed young people as socially exploited and marginalised by the dominant social group. By encouraging young people to experience social relationships, the belief was they might resist domination of capitalist individualism (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p. 43). Social transformation was viewed as a necessity with young people being part of the transformation (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p.57).

At the time, a general concern of adults regardless of perspective was the rise of 'individualism' and the erosion of 'community' (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.43). Sociological explanations of changes in human associations from pre-modern to modernity assisted to embed the concept of 'individualism' in the civil sphere (Jeffs

& Smith, 2002, p. 43). Tonnies offered the concepts of *gemeinschaft* (community) and *gesellschaft* (society). *Gemeinschaft* was associated with rural areas, strong social networks and stable social cohesion. *Gesellschaft* associated with urban areas placed the individual need above the common good (Powell & Geoghegan, 2004, p.11). Tonnies favoured *Gemeinschaft* and became dubbed a social pessimist due to his lack of appreciation for the potential urban social arrangements offered for collective activity (Powell & Geoghegan, 2004, p.15).

On a wider scale, European colonialism led to a flourish of northern researchers conducting anthropological studies (Tudge, 2008, p.3). The historical era of expedition associated with ‘masculine’ activities introduced northern gender disparities into the southern cultural contexts (Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2007, p.207). Furthermore as cross-cultural studies emerged northern understandings of normative childhood development were imposed in southern contexts (Nsamenang, 2008, p.136). Hence this created a division of young people into ‘northern have’s’ and ‘southern have not’s’ (Tudge, 2008, p.5). Essentially this nurtured the view of southern societies as ‘under-developed’. Consequently this provided the justification to export northern programmes to improve the lot of children in southern contexts (Tudge, 2008, p. 5).

2.2.3 The Welfare State and the struggle for recognition

In the early twentieth century the world entered a tumultuous time. There were two world wars in relatively quick succession. In 1948, in the Post-World War II era, the United Nations was established. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was agreed. This provided a framework for ‘universal’ meaning ‘applicable to all’ of inalienable rights that are recognised to this day. Human rights are owned by virtue of being a human (Grech, 2004, p. 3). On the other hand, rights agreed between citizens and nation states through social contract are open to change (Grech, 2004, p.3).

The Post-World War II division by the Allies of Germany into the West and East created an ideological division referred to as the ‘Iron Curtain’. This demarcated the difference between Western liberal and Eastern socialist ideologies (Ledwith, 2001,

p. 172). The on-going competition of these two ideologies overshadowed republicanism (Phillips, 2000, p.280). In the West, human rights informed the building of the 'Welfare State' (Ledwith, 2001, p.172). Social policy set out to address the needs of society as a whole, rather than focus upon the poor.

The 'Welfare State' replaced the 'Poor Law State' (Powell, 2008, p.53). T.H. Marshall posited the formation of the Welfare State as a culmination of a socialisation process begun in the seventeenth century (Seligman, 1992, p.113). The recognition of civil rights, comprising of legal equality, religious tolerance and free speech (Gellner, 1994, p.31) was the realisation of 'full citizenship' and epitomised human rights (Powell, 2008, p.53). Different models of the Welfare State emerged with various limitations (Powell, 2008, p.53).

Post-war realignment to pre-war social and cultural expectations for women, young people and men did not materialise in full (Rogers, 1997, p.12). Some women, ethnic minorities and other marginalised groups became frustrated by the Welfare State limitations. This gave rise to new social movements, from a 'bottom-up' perspective (Powell, 2008, p.53). The right to participate in society became associated with a struggle for recognition (Fitzgerald et.al, 2010, p.297).

Citizenship was strongly associated with the Nation state, with citizen rights and responsibilities enshrined within a national constitution. In the 1950's, in the USA, not all residents held citizenship status. Against the backdrop of human rights, civic rights movements lobbied for citizenship equality (Fitzgerald et.al, 2010, p.297). This illustrates how the civil sphere provides a space, not just for citizens, but also those without citizenship status to exercise their power and bring about social change (Berger, 2009, p.337). Legislation was introduced to facilitate individuals to submit recognition claims through a legal process. Effectively young people were excluded from this legal process based upon age (Fitzgerald et.al., 2010, p. 298).

The exclusion of young people from gaining recognition did not prevent capitalists targeting them as 'consumers'. In the 1950's and 60's, companies offered youth orientated goods, such as drinks, watches, perfumes and fashions for example (Engelstad, 2009, p.221). The emerging youth sub-cultures were often portrayed in

the mass media as a negative stereotype. Young people became viewed as a threat to existing adult social order (Muncie & McLaughlin, 1996, p.52). Hostility between adults and young people led to the further alienation of adolescents in society. Consequently this provided justification to introduce different social control measures targeting young people (Goldson & Muncie, 2006, p. 92).

During the 1950's and 60's, adult interest in democracy included YCE, with studies focusing upon political engagement and political socialisation (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003, p.263). These studies attempted to identify childhood pre-requisites for political engagement in adulthood. Other types of YCE were more or less overlooked (Smith et.al., 2005, p 166). By the 1970's, the number of youth political engagement studies had almost declined to zero (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003, p.263). This academic dis-interest in young people as 'future citizens' made way for studies into youth sub-cultures in the 'here and now' (Garrett, 1997, p.144).

In the 1960's and 70's, policy-makers and research relied upon adult experts in the field of youth development for information. The opinions of young people were rarely sought or included (Hogan & Gilligan, 1997, p.5). As a deficit perspective (Banaji, 2008, p.543) the 'youth-focused' approach emphasised the risks impacting upon young people's lives (Hogan & Gilligan, 1997, p.5). The adult designed interventions for young people set out to reduce negative outcomes by focusing upon risks (Sherrod et.al, 2010, p.4).

These youth-focused interventions although provided in good faith did not respond to the needs of all young people (Sherrod et.al, 2010, p.5). The needs of groups, such as children from lower socio-economic backgrounds, ethnic minorities or young people with disabilities for example, were not responded to in any meaningful way. The outcome for these young people was mainly further marginalisation from services rather than an improvement in their position (Hogan & Gilligan, 1997, p.5).

A new trend emerged, Vygotsky (Tudge, 2008, p.59), Qvortrup (Pole et.al, 2001, p.79) and Bronfenbrenner (Lansdown, 2010, p.15) studying childhood development critiqued the study of children's lives in contrived situations. A shift from the 'child-focused' approach towards a 'child-centred' approach occurred (Tudge, 2008, p.59).

The child-centred approach places a young person at the centre of the life systems, micro, meso, exo and macro systems. This ecological approach considers all the life systems simultaneously to gain a holistic understanding of young people's lives in their cultural context (Tudge, 2008, p.84).

John Hill's seminal work, 'Some perspectives on adolescence in American society' (1973) applied a psycho-social approach to study young people's lives. This incorporates six central themes of adolescent development. These are detachment-autonomy, intimacy, sexuality, achievement and identity. He then links these to bio-psycho-social factors, for example, puberty, self-definition and cognition and contextual factors of gender, race-ethnicity and social class (Adam et.al., 1996, p.2). New insights into the lives of children and adolescents were acquired.

These studies revealed young people are not a homogenous group or develop in the same way. Adults recognised young people as 'social actors' in their own right (Lansdown, 2010. p.17). Universal models of intervention insensitive to the complexities of youth development came under scrutiny (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005, p.111). The adult view of young people as a 'problem' shifted towards the perception of young people as 'passive consumers' and 'disengaged' from society (Banaji, 2008, p.550).

In the 1960's, on a wider scale colonial powers were withdrawing from southern contexts. Culture as a determinant of youth outcomes was gaining recognition in research circles. Generally in southern contexts, adolescence as a transition phase between childhood and adulthood is unrecognised (Tudge, 2008, p.17). Cultural management of development trajectories usually occurs through an initiation ceremony, which marks the change from childhood directly into adulthood (Plan, 2009, p.2).

It is obvious culture becomes central to understanding the lives of young people. For analytical purposes culture has been broken into small pieces and patterns (Engelstad, 2009, p.214). Culture is 'there', a given, which shapes perceptions and modes of interpretation. Maintenance and retention of a culture requires social

actors, as individuals and/or groups, to interpret the culture and socially interact, thus giving it its own force (Engelstad, 2009, p.214).

Bourdieu (Haugaard, 2009, p.47) offers the concept of 'habitus' as a culture force or power. The dominant social group deems their culture as superior to other cultures and is referred to as 'habitus'. This is then utilised as 'cultural capital' along with economic and political capital to maintain their social position. Cultural capital and symbolic capital can transfer creditability of one culture into another. Mass media plays a central role in transmitting cultural capital at both a local and global level. Although the media cannot dictate, it can select information and may shape perceptions and evoke core values (Engelstad, 2009, p.224).

In the 1960's, Gramsci, a contemporary of Marx, became popular when his theories were translated from Italian into English (Joll, 1983, p.2). Gramsci went beyond the Marxist economic analysis of society and understood the importance of mass media in creating cultural meaning (Engelstad, 2009, p.227). Gramsci promotes hegemony as a force or power is ever present. The rule of one class over another is achieved, not just because of economics, but when the ruled accept the moral, cultural and political beliefs of the ruling class. As a result, the ruled co-operate in their oppression (Joll, 1983, p.8). The interactions between civil society and the political sphere create hegemony.

In civil society, the dominant social group through the formal education system selects the 'intelligentsia' to nurture the elite hegemony (Forgasc, 1988, p.218). The elite hegemony that serves the interests of the bourgeois, as a negative power operates in a 'top-down' motion (Haugaard, 2009, p.240). It is important to acknowledge the 'intelligentsia' can choose to support counter-hegemony (Joll, 1983, p.91). Gramsci was concerned with the dominance of ideological superstructures upon the consciousness of the individual within their daily interactions (Joll, 1983, p.8).

Alternatively informal education working with members of the proletariat can facilitate 'organic intellectuals' at community level to emerge. Through the experience of daily struggles an understanding of hegemony is acquired. As a

‘thinker’ he or she follows a particular moral code and utilise their knowledge to seek and introduce, promote and sustain alternative or counter hegemony (Malone & Hartung, 2010, p.26). Counter-hegemony works for the majority, the good of the collective, rather than for the elite, therefore is considered more virtuous than bourgeois hegemony. Power operates in a ‘bottom-up’ approach, but eventually when the elite are replaced hegemony remains a ‘power over’ relationship (Haugaard, 2009, p.240).

Gramsci utilised various themes of investigation, such as dialectic relationships (Joll, 1983, p.19) and historical blocs (Bieler and Morton, 2003, p.2) to conduct ideological critiques. These critiques reveal how ideologies embed injustices within everyday situations and systems, for example, education, health and the judiciary and how they become uncritically accepted. Once an injustice is identified it provides the basis to challenge unjust practices (Brookfield, 2005, p.13-15). The development of the counter hegemony requires a presence in the mass media to nurture the cultural environment to sustain the counter-hegemony (Engelstad, 2009, p227).

In the late 1980’s dramatic political and social changes were taking place. Perhaps the most significant was globalisation. New information communication technologies (ICTs) facilitated the unprecedented speed of information exchange and decision-making across national boundaries (Mac an Ghail & Haywood, 2007, p.5). In the northern hemisphere socialist societies without a recognised civil sphere, witnessed the formation of civil organisations. These collective movements led to the abandonment of socialism in mainland Europe (Gellner, 1994, p.86).

Young people played a central role in destabilising the soviet system which led to change (Helve & Wallace, 2001, p.22). The adult assumption of young people as ‘passive and dis-engaged’ no longer held true. A political vacuum was created and a sense of crisis in democracy emerged (Martin, 2003, p.567). In political circles the doctrines of Thatcher, Regan and Pinochet set about dismantling the Welfare State. Individualism, consumerism and citizenship responsibilities rather than rights became the mantra. Young people were expected to fit into existing adult systems and the neo-liberal understanding of ‘active citizenship’.

2.2.5 Summary of Modernity and the youth ‘problem’

Modernity is associated with the emergence of civil society, civic engagement and four main ideologies, liberalism, republicanism, neo-liberalism and socialism. The organisation of societies under the ‘Poor Law’ meant some young people faced particularly bleak circumstances. The wealthy practiced charitable forms of civic engagement upon the ‘poor’ and subjugate whole sections of society. Alternatively, the activists endeavoured to redefine themselves as citizens and moved YCE beyond the liberal charity model.

Generally adults nurtured the view of young people as a ‘problem’ and in need of ‘protection’. The introduction of compulsory education facilitated the social construction of a new social group ‘adolescence’. The liberal and activist perspectives led to fissures in society along the lines of class, gender, religion, ethnicity and age. These two main perspectives informed YCE responses to reduce risk. Although provided in good faith, such responses were limited and led to further marginalisation of some young people in society. Generally responses overlooked the needs of girls and young women. Nonetheless, the two perspectives shared a common concern regarding the erosion of ‘community’ by ‘individualism’.

The post-WWII era witnessed the replacement of the ‘Poor Law’ system with the Welfare State. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights set out inalienable rights for all humans. Civil rights movement sought recognition claims for equality. This required negotiation of the legal system. Essentially young people, due to age, were restricted from seeking or obtaining recognition through the prescribed legal mechanism. The adult view of young people as ‘citizens-in-waiting’ persisted. The adult research interest in YCE abated to be replaced by an interest in youth sub-cultures.

The focus upon culture witnessed a shift towards the need for contextualisation and an ecological approach, referred to as a child-centred approach. Adults begun to recognise young people as ‘social actors’ and universal approaches to youth interventions came under scrutiny. The perception of young people shifted from being a ‘problem’ towards being ‘passive’ and ‘disengaged’. On a global scale,

northern understandings of child development created a division of children into northern 'have's' and southern 'have-nots'. Hence this created the grounds to export northern designed child and youth programmes into southern contexts to improve the lot of children in so-called 'under-developed' countries.

In the 1980's, the collective abandonment of socialism led to a perceived crisis in democracy. Young people were instrumental in the process of this social change, thus dispelling the idea all young people are 'passive' and 'disengaged' from society. A crisis in democracy was perceived as neo-liberalism expanded and systematically dismantled the Welfare State. A new era, Late Modernity was on the horizon. At this juncture it may be beneficial to review the summaries of the key messages from this section contained within Table 2:1 Summary of Modernity and the Poor Law and Table 2:2 Summary Modernity and the Welfare State on the following pages to bring a closure to this section.

Table 2:1 Summary of Modernity and the Poor Law System

	Wider societal processes	Ideology	Adult views of young people	Responses
Pre-Modernity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Feudal system ⇒ European expansion begins to critique Monarch rule 	One social order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Property of parents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Children contributed to family subsistence
Modernity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Europe ⇒ Rapid urbanisation ⇒ Social conditions for children particularly bleak ⇒ Different ideologies emerge ⇒ Threat of revolution/civic unrest ⇒ Social construction of adolescence ⇒ Republicanism over shadowed by liberalism and socialism ⇒ Neo-liberalism beginning to gain more significance 	<p>Liberalism (Hobbes, Locke)</p> <p>Governance through social contract between civil society and political structures.</p> <p>Concerned with emergence of individualism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Children require protection ⇒ Poor ⇒ Uneducated ⇒ Lack spiritual guidance ⇒ Adolescent ‘citizens-in-waiting’ ⇒ Adolescent males threat to civic order ⇒ Adolescent females generally overlooked, but some consider immoral 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Charity based ⇒ Wealthy upon the poor ⇒ To instil moral character ⇒ Teach skills for adult life ⇒ Informal education ⇒ Group work ⇒ Acceptance of the social order
Poor Law		<p>Socialism (Marx, Engel, Gramsci)</p> <p>Governance through the combination of civil society and political structures into one ethical unit</p> <p>Concerned with the emergence of individualism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Children exploited and marginalised ⇒ Poor due to capitalist system ⇒ Social change required ⇒ Adolescents ‘citizens in the present’ ⇒ More attention upon males than girls ⇒ Young people need to be part of the social transformation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Civic activism ⇒ Meeting own need through collective action ⇒ Redefining citizenship to have political rights ⇒ Resist domination of the capitalist system
Colonial expansion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ America War of Independence ⇒ Asia and Africa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Neo-liberalism (Hume) ⇒ Colonial imperialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Children a future economic resource ⇒ Northern ‘have’s’ ⇒ Southern ‘underdeveloped’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Exportation of northern charity based models of youth interventions into southern contexts

Table 2:2 Summary of Modernity and the Welfare State

	Wider societal processes	Ideology	Adult views of young people	Responses
Modernity Poor Law replaced by the Welfare State	⇒ WW I & WWII ⇒ Division of Europe into West and East. Competition between liberal and socialism intensifies ⇒ Declaration of Human Rights ⇒ Mass Media ⇒ Citizenship closely associated with the Nation state	⇒ Liberalism associated with the West	⇒ A new consumer group ⇒ Citizens-in-waiting ⇒ Age restricted from seeking recognition ⇒ Negatively labelled by the media, as a threat. ⇒ Adult experts ‘youth-focused’ approaches	⇒ Targeted with consumer goods ⇒ Social control legislation ⇒ Political socialisation ⇒ Personal development model
		⇒ Socialism associated with the East ⇒ No recognised civil society	⇒ Young people considered as citizens on a par with other citizens	⇒ Specially designed youth programmes ⇒ Socialist socialisation
Colonial withdrawal	⇒ Post-colonial countries to redefine their identities ⇒ Majority of African Countries experience decline	⇒ Mixed, liberal, socialism, republicanism and customary	⇒ Children deferent to elders ⇒ Hierarchy of need favouring elders ⇒ Children duty bound to the family group ⇒ Collectivism	⇒ Northern charity models persist
Welfare State	⇒ Different models of Welfare emerge ⇒ Civic rights movements ⇒ Feminism ⇒ Collective abandonment of socialism ⇒ UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) ⇒ AU Child’s Charter (1990)	⇒ Liberalism in the west (Parson’s) ⇒ Social movements in the west emerge ⇒ (Lukes, Lister)	⇒ Young people ‘passive consumers’ ⇒ Young people ‘dis-engaged’ ⇒ Negative labelling persists ⇒ Race riots and civic unrest ⇒ Culture as a determinant of child and youth outcomes gains recognition ⇒ Young people recognised as ‘social actors’ ⇒ Youth centred approaches emerge	⇒ Decline in YCE research ⇒ Increase in Youth sub-culture research ⇒ Youth inclusion ⇒ Ecological youth centred approaches emerge
		⇒ Socialism (Gramsci)	⇒ Young people instrumental in collapse of socialism	⇒ Democratisation
Dismantling of the Welfare State	⇒ Globalisation ⇒ Neo-liberalism expansion ⇒ New forms of citizenship emerge ⇒ Perceived crisis in democracy	⇒ Neo-liberal promotes individualism ⇒ Ideologies become confused ⇒ Private/public blurs	⇒ Youth responsibility rather than rights are emphasised ⇒ Active citizenship required	⇒ Civic education programmes via the formal education system

2.3 Section three: Late-Modernity and the contemporary position of young people

The previous section closed with reference to the emergence of a new era, Late-Modernity, a time of transformation. The characteristics of Late-Modernity are reviewed to reveal globalisation has changed the face of civil society. The Modernity fascination with West and East dynamics appears to have been replaced with the Northern and Southern hemisphere debates.

The chapter proceeds by considering post-colonialism and the subsequent task many countries faced of re-building a national identity. Drawing upon feminism and Foucault, the complexities of colonial legacies, individualism and collectivism are examined. To surmise individualistic approaches are probably unhelpful in an African setting, such as Zambia when attempting to work with local understandings.

The penultimate sub-section deliberates the Late-modernity changes in societal structures and political participation. To recognise these changes emphasises the necessity to examine youth as ‘partners’. Building upon this discussion the final section focuses upon the contemporary position of young people. This illuminates some disparities based upon gender, age and location which require consideration throughout the research process. In relation to civic engagement adult understandings of citizenship are explored. The sub-section is brought to a close with a summary table of key points.

2.3.1 Globalisation and the changing face of civil society

Globalisation witnessed the unparalleled transfer of social, cultural, economic and political processes and technologies across national boundaries. These transactions occur through the compression of time and space and provide a sense of immediacy about the world (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2007, p.195). The term ‘Late-Modernity’ refers to a transition phase from industrial towards post-industrial societies. The era is characterised by the presence of services and financial-based economies. The changes in production methods are eroding the rigid labour class structures of capitalism (Rattansi & Phoenix,

2005, p. 99). The traditional patterns of life are crumbling, gender identities are changing (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005, p.99) and cultural plurality is increasing (Engelstad, 2009, p.227).

In the latter part of the twentieth century significant political changes were occurring. The dismantling of the Welfare State (Ledwith, 2001, p.173) combined with globalisation facilitated the rapid expansion of neo-liberalism (Mac an Ghail & Haywood, 2007, p.199). Global governance structures emerged such as the World Health Organisation, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the African Union and the Association of South-East Asian Nations, for example (Clarke, 2003, p.20). Global decisions enabled multi-national companies to move production centres around the world. Corporate endeavours to generate maximum profits, paid little attention to the local population or environment (Mac an Ghail and Haywood, 2007, p. 197).

At a national level, civil society organisations were unprepared for these dramatic social changes (Ledwith, 2001, p.172). Resistance to global employment rearrangements were limited. Contract work replaced permanent positions. Unemployment increased. The risk of unemployment encouraged workers to accept wage cuts, rather than lose jobs to other countries. A downward spiral of wage decreases led to increased levels of poverty (Beck, 2006, p.6). On a global scale, the gap between the wealthiest and the poorest widened. It is women and children rather than men who bear the brunt of poverty (Steinhilber, 2010, p.5).

On a more positive note, globalisation facilitates the formation of new types of citizenship, for example, ecological, new social movements and networks to seek accountability from global governance structures (Clarke, 2003, p.9). Furthermore, the availability of ICT's accelerates information exchange necessary for civil society and communication between citizens to promote democracy (Brookfield, 2005, p.253). ICT's can also breach the boundary between the private and public spheres. It is now possible for someone, an adult or young person, to join on-line political and social campaigns without leaving their homes (Loader, 2007, p. 25). The 'digital divide' refers to the unequal

distribution of information technologies. The industrial countries are favoured with more ICTs compared to non-industrialised countries. It is unclear if and how, the new cyber space may contribute to democracy (Haugaard, 2002, p. 261)

In general, global civil society comprises of civil society organisations, social networks and social movements and divides roughly into Northern (America and the West) and Southern (African and Asian) countries. It is doubtful, if Southern based organisations can operate free of Northern influence, be it aid, policy or funding (Clarke, 2003, p. 15). The Post-World War II fascination with the competing ideologies of the West and East met its demise with the collapse of northern socialism (Murphy, 2001, p.345). A substitute was warming up on the side-line and has now come onto the playing-field, the new star, is the Northern and Southern hemisphere debates.

2.3.2 Post-colonialism, individualism and collectivism

Since the 1960's Africa as a post-colonial continent has been building its identity (Appriah, 1995, p.110). Africa's political landscape has been dominated by instability (Nyaluke & Siefu, 2007, p.7). The civic unrest is partly attributed to the colonial division of Africa into countries. The imposed geographical boundaries cut across indigenous administrative states. In many post-colonial contexts, mis-matched ethnic groups were cobbled together, which led to conflict and in some cases civil war (Nyaluke & Siefu, 2007, p.11). It is acknowledged some young people have been manipulated in political struggles (AYGC, 2009). The rehabilitation of child soldiers in some post-war African countries is on-going (Plan, 2008, p.57).

Post-colonial theorists propose during colonialism, systems like the civil service and education were tools of domination (Esteva & Prakash, 2003, p.277). It is mooted the lack of post-colonial reformation of these systems facilitates systemic inequalities to perpetuate themselves in many African countries (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.14). The education system as an instrument of the State (Brookfield, 2005, p.75) absorbs pupils into the colonial world of

knowledge (Nnaemeka, 2003, p.366). Presently, little or no regard is given to local knowledge formation or frameworks within the formal education system (Nnaemeka, 2003, p.366).

Northern and Southern feminist critiques of Modernity Grand theories surmise they are Eurocentric, patriarchal and contribute to the oppression of women (Alan, 2009, p.294; Banaji, 2008, p.544). Modernity ideologies are a colonial legacy, which contribute to the complexity of identity formation in post-colonial settings (Esteva & Prakash, 2003; Fennell & Arnot, 2009). In northern contexts, feminists offer social engagement as an alternative to the neo-liberal understanding of civic engagement as political and economic. Social engagement may assist a citizen to de-couple living standards from their market value. It opens up an alternative form of identity, providing a sense of worth other than selling their labour (Lister, 2003, p.235). Social engagement is important for young people restricted from economic activities. It offers an option to gain insights into young people's experiences and view of their own citizenship (Lister, 2003, p.6)

Some Southern feminists offer a cautionary note. If individualistic approaches are applied in southern societies they may undermine the current position of women (Nnaemeka, 2003, p 358). Fennell & Arnot (2009.p.6) posit the expression of the 'girl-child' in the singular ignores the importance of the collective. The diverse experiences of girls and the contributions they make to the survival of their families remains more or less unrecognised (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.6). Korieh & Okeke-Ihejirika (2009, p.1) emphasise the need for a gender analysis as:

‘the struggle for social equality between men and women remains an area for continuing relevance to any quest for a holistic understanding of economy, society, culture and politics in the contemporary world’

Similar critiques of childhood development programmes are offered. The northern 'best practice' programmes, acknowledged as being provided in good faith are believed to erode the cultural context which sustains children and young people (Serpell & Jere-Folotiya, 2008, p.93). These programmes are

seen to deny equity and recognition to Africa's provision for its young people. This ultimately deprives Africa a niche in global child and youth development knowledge (Nsamenang, 2008, p.137). To maximise positive child and youth outcomes, child development programmes need to recognise cultural differences in childrearing practices (Ganapathy-Coleman & Serpell, 2008, p.99).

At this point it may be beneficial to review individualism and the way it is considered unhelpful in southern contexts. Foucault (1926-1984) is perhaps one of the most influential contributors and advocates of individualism. He is suspicious of Modernity formulated theories as too simplistic to understand the complexities of power and realities of daily life. Therefore it is necessary to negate Modernity understandings of society to avoid the risk of becoming entrapped within those structures (Pickett, 1996, p.406)

Foucault (1977, p, 17) proposes power is exercised, it can be simultaneously, oppressive and liberatory (Brookfield, 2005, p.12). Foucault is concerned with discourses, such as education, judiciary, psychiatry and criminology for example. A discourse comprises of three axes: 1) subjects of knowledge, 2) subjects that exercise or submit to power, and finally 3) ethical responsibility for personal actions (Fives, 2008, p.170). The dominant discourse becomes the tacit knowledge and disqualifies other discourses (Haugaard, 2002, p.183).

Individuals can exercise their power at any time and sites of struggle can emerge at any point (Foucault, 1977, p.17). On a daily basis the individual needs to make ethico-political choices, to decide what constitutes the greatest danger and struggle against it (Pickett, 1996, p.461). The forms of resistance become limitless guided by personal ethics only. The strategies may remain individualised or become collective, but may also lead to anarchy (Pickett, 1996, p.458).

Southern and Northern critiques offer counter arguments to Foucault's individualism. Firstly, Foucault is critiqued as glossing over imperialism and historical inequalities (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.11). So offers little towards seeking political redress of hegemonic epistemologies that have subjugated

southern knowledge. Northern initiated research based in histories of colonialism may have unspoken issues of race and social location that require a counter-balance (Nnaemeka, 2003, p.364).

France (2007, p.71) outlines Foucault's rejection of past ideologies does not diminish or magically make established inequalities vanish. Individualism encourages young people to accept without critical awareness the structural barriers and powerful chains of interdependency that privilege or restricts youth opportunities (France, 2007, p.71). To draw upon the British context as an example, opportunities may appear equal, but in reality social class origins remain an excellent predictor of employment and life chance outcomes. A young person's social network opens up different life opportunities (France, 2007, p.71). An individualistic analysis facilitates existing structural inequalities to remain undetected (Bottrell, 2009, p.331). As a result, inequalities are facilitated to continue and impact upon the lives of young people (Nnameka, 2003, p. 364).

A consensus is growing that a conscious and critical dialogue between northern and southern knowledge would be mutually beneficial for all (Nnaemeka, 2003, Fennell & Arnot, 2009; Mason & Bolzan, 2010, and Tisdall, 2010). Young people have a right to participate in such dialogues (Fitzgerald et.al, 2010, p.299). As social actors, young people, by virtue of their age, may bring perspectives to deliberative processes which are unattainable from adult perspective (Sanders & Munford, 2008, p.359). The challenge is to create processes which facilitate the voices of young people to be heard. Essentially without de-stabilising the very culture that sustains them in their context (Mason & Bolzan, 2010, p.136). The struggle for recognition shifts from the significance of difference and social engagement towards the need for dialogue (Fitzgerald et.al. 2010, p.300).

2.3.3 Re-thinking youth as 'partners'

Time is significant in the formation of social meaning. The term 'individualism' made a relatively recent appearance in the three century history

of civil society (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.43). Global and national social movements and civil society organisations have actively challenged the domination of individualism since it became embedded in the public sphere (Clarke, 2003, p.172).

Helve and Hogan (2006, p.473) suggest in Late Modernity, moral engagement is particularly important in the rapidly changing political and social landscape. Participation in representative democracies is in decline as social movements are expected to become more influential in governance. It is important young people are equally equipped to be effective in social movements as it is to vote (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478). Now is an appropriate time to re-think youth (Wyn & White, 1997, p.1) and to recognise them as ‘citizen-in-the-present’ (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p.293) and ‘partners’ (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478).

Lansdown (2010, p.16) posits the adult driven process of adapting adult participation theories to the lives of young people as ill conceived. Essentially models such as Harte’s Ladder of Participation and Tresden’s Circle, are adept at identifying lack of young people’s participation in pre-determined adult systems (Tisdall, 2010, p.318). They leave little room to facilitate young people’s understandings of how they contribute within their communities (Malone & Hartung, 2010, p.30). Furthermore they may be limited in understanding different cultural understandings of youth participation (Mason & Bolzan, 2010, p. 300). Lansdown (2010, p.20) believes this enables the adult understanding of young people as requiring ‘protection’ to be reinforced. Thus a basis for policy and practice to maintain the status quo is provided.

It is posited a more effective approach is to apply youth-led practice (Lansdown, 2010, p.17). To commence with youth understandings of participation rather than adult imposed definitions. Percy-Smith & Thomas (2010, p.363) advocate significant structural change is required, if young people are to gain recognition as partners in society. They need to be part of this change, otherwise the mis-recognition of young people will continue. This is not because young people lack power, but because adults in reality continue to view them as ‘citizens-in-waiting’ (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p.293).

The UNESCO Chair (2010, p.6) holds the belief that children's and young people's rights can be achieved through their participation in political and social engagement. The concepts of political and social engagement have been briefly considered in previous sections. Berger (2009, p.340) offers further insights into these forms of engagement and are worth further consideration. Political engagement is politically motivated. In contrast, social engagement is not politically motivated. According to Berger (2009, p.340) social engagement, can be differentiated by attention and activity (energy) into three forms, "in", "by" and "with".

The first, "in" is engaging in any kind of activity (energy) but not necessarily having to give attention, for example, riding bicycles with friends. These types of opportunities enhance positive childhood development by providing opportunities to practice and acquire life skills (Tudge, 2008, p.17).

The second engaged, "by", giving attention, but not necessarily activity for example, to listen to the radio and be engaged by the programme, but not necessarily involving a follow up action (Berger, 2009, p.340). However Murphy (2003, p.354) argues the mass media has commercialised all aspects of life. This confuses consumerism and civic participation, for example, some television programmes offer the viewer the option to vote for their choice of song or film. This is a passive form of consumption. Young people as well as adults can participate in this type of interaction, but it is seen to do little to contribute to the processes of civic engagement, democracy and governance (Brookfield, 2005, p.99).

Finally, to engage "with", this requires attention and activity (energy) for example sports, or membership of a club or church. The latter, although not politically motivated, may be pre-political as issues identified through social engagement of the third kind may become political (Berger, 2009, p.340). The shift from pre-political towards political is often associated with moral engagement (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.475). Moral engagement is a commitment to a particular moral, belief, core or principle and is central to the formation of social movements.

Various contributors offer cautionary notes regarding moral engagement.

Buckingham and Lievesley (2006, p.11) posits it is naïve to accept without question that a shared moral belief promotes democracy for example, Klu Klux Klan. Even when morally informed actions are performed with good intentions, they do not necessarily result in positive outcomes (Berger, 2009, p.343). In a democracy it is vital a moral code is willing to challenge both undemocratic moral stances and unintentional outcomes as a result of bona fide action (Berger, 2009, p.343).

To summarise it is acknowledged individualistic approaches may be unhelpful if applied in southern contexts and may worsen the situation of young people. The challenge is to find ways to facilitate the voices of young people to be heard, but without de-stabilising the culture that sustains them in the context (Mason & Bolzan, 2010, p.131). Therefore research needs to thoroughly investigate the social and cultural context in which the growing young person makes sense of their world (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478). Logically this requires a review of literature pertaining to the position of young people. It is noted available texts are dominated by adult perspectives with limited inputs from young people.

2.3.4 The contemporary position of young people

The World Development Report 2007: Development and the Next Generation (World Bank, 2007) and Growing up Global (Lloyd, 2005) both provide estimates of a global youth population of 1.5 billion comprising of young people between twelve and twenty-four years of age. 1.3 billion of these young people are located in the southern hemisphere (World Bank, 2007, p. 4). Population growth is accelerating with expected ‘youth bulges’ to reach their peak in Sub-Saharan countries by 2027 (World Bank, 2007, p.4). Current estimates suggest 325 million young people in the Southern context are growing up on less than US\$1 per day (Lloyd, 2005, p.3). The UNESCO African Youth Strategy (2010, p.4) states in Sub-Saharan Africa, three in every ten young people live on less than US\$1 per day.

Kagiticbasi (cited by Serpell & Jere- Folotiya, 2008; Tudge, 2008; and Ungar, 2007) rejects the northern hemisphere label of the ‘third world’ as a process of subjugation of southern hemisphere countries. Kagiticbasi reconceptualises the world order based upon population figures. The non-industrialised collective southern countries are the ‘majority world’. The industrialised northern countries are the ‘minority world’. Only time will tell how this new reconfiguration pans out on the world stage and within global civil society. Either way the ‘Because I am a Girl’ series of annual reports (Plan, 2007 to 2015) illuminates the gender disparities on a global scale, across a range of sectors, such as education, health and employment. As a series of reports (Plan, 2007, p.16) Plan sets out to address the historical inattention to the lives of girls. The series is aimed at those who have duty and power to:

‘Ensure that girls survive, develop to realise their potential, are protected and can participate in decisions made about them’

The UNICEF report, *The State of the World’s Children: Adolescence an Age of Opportunity* (2011) outlines the voices of adolescence may be heard, but are rarely heeded. The report argues the recent focus upon early childhood and the push to meet the Millennium Development Goals means the needs of adolescents have been put on the back-burner. The report (2011, p.7) states:

‘Now and in the coming decades, the fight against poverty, inequality and gender discrimination will be incomplete, and its effectiveness compromised, without a strong focus on adolescent development and participation’

UNICEF (2011, p14) defines early adolescence as ten to fourteen years of age and associated with biological development. A common ground between global policy and local understandings of biological development provides a focus to the age range of the research population (Please see: Chapter three: Research methodology).

According to Lloyd, (2005, p.3) recent research has revealed, the notion of adolescence as an age construct is gaining more significance in southern contexts. Four signifiers are apparent to suggest this shift: 1) young people are

healthier, 2) spending longer periods in education, 3) postponed entry into the labour force and 4) delay of marriage and childbearing. This trend appears to be dominated by Asia rather than South America, the Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa (Lloyd, 2005, p.3).

The trend is associated with economic expansion. In countries experiencing negative growth, the signifiers of adolescence are not so apparent. For some young people, especially in rural areas, the traditions, the outward patterns and rhythms of life appear more or less unaffected (Lloyd, 2005, p.3). In a globalised world, it is not unreasonable to suggest neo-liberal expansion and mass media representation of young people as ‘adolescence’ may facilitate further expansion of individualism and the free-market.

The World Development Report (World Bank, 2007) and Growing up Global (Lloyd, 2005) both include citizenship as a marker of adulthood. Kassimir and Flanagan (2010, p. 92) argue citizenship as a marker of adulthood indicates civic engagement is viewed as a pre-requisite for economic and social health in communities and nation states. In turn this facilitates the promotion of youth participation as ‘democratisation and individualisation’ on a global scale (Mason & Bolzan, 2010, p.125).

In reality, adult understandings of democracy and complexities of citizenship often lead to differential treatment of people living within these societies (Powell, 2008, p.49). History teaches us cycles of rebellion and civic unrest tend to coincide with youth bulges. As a strategic manoeuvre, by policy facilitating young people in participatory processes, to fit into existing systems, conflict or rebellion may be averted (Kassimir and Flanagan, 2010, p. 98).

Theis (2010, p.346) posits, citizenship is learnt throughout everyday experiences in the home, community, schools, media, sport and culturally. The institutions that mediate between the individual and the state, privilege the position of some young people compared to others (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p.780).

Institutional bias (Haugaard, 2009, p.245) may even oppress some young people (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p.780). When the adult-centred world deems a young

person, cognitive and old enough for so-called ‘full citizenship’ (EU, 2001, p.5) or ‘majority’ (UNICEF, 2011, p.8) childhood inequalities have already taken root and may negatively impact upon an individual’s life chances (UNICEF, 2011, p.7).

Researchers and adults working with young people in different contexts have a key role to play in developing processes of dialogue (CRC, 2009, p.19). Firstly, to mediate the private and public space and facilitate the hearing and understanding of youth voices, particularly of those experiencing marginalisation within the wider community. Secondly, to find spaces where these voices can contribute to the formation of policy and practice (Sanders and Munford, 2008, p.357). Obviously, to be effective in such a role necessitates an understanding of existing legislation and policy. Prior to reviewing the legislative frameworks it may be useful to offer a recap of this particular section.

2.3.5 Summary of Late-Modernity

Late-Modernity is associated with globalisation, restructuring of production, neo-liberal expansion and individualism. Modernity structures of social class and gender are being eroded. The availability of ICT’s blurs the once unambiguous boundary between the private and public sphere, where civic society processes occurred. During Modernity the struggle for recognition against the backdrop of Universal Human Rights sought equality and difference. In Late-Modernity the struggle has shifted towards deliberative processes that bridge the global and local levels. In a world where participation in representative political systems is in decline and social movements bound by moral commitment become more influential. Adults advocate young people have a right to participate in deliberation processes. The conspicuous absentee from current deliberative processes regarding youth civic engagement, is young people and especially girls.

It is apparent civic engagement is open to interpretation. It is naive to accept without question that all forms of engagement promote democracy and equality.

On the contrary, some forms are known to consciously impinge on the rights of others. It is also important to recognise that by not moving beyond an individualistic perspective any structural inequalities that may exist remain undetected. It becomes difficult to identify the way injustices are embedded in everyday situations and have negative effects on young people's lives. The process of detecting inequality becomes increasingly complex in a globalised world.

Available critiques illuminate adult models of participation are adept at identifying the lack of youth participation in existing adult systems. This is seen to provide justification for adults to legislate for child 'protection'. As a result youth perspectives continue to be subjugated. Despite such fissures in existing knowledge adults have positioned young people at the centre of global civic engagement debates. Yet it is unclear if young people and adults when referring to civic engagement are actually speaking about the same thing!

It is apparent disparities among the global youth population exist. The prediction of 'youth bulges' indicate a significant demand upon available resources to respond to youth needs in any meaningful way will occur. YCE offers an opportunity to work with youth opinions and possibly influence policy and practice to respond to youth needs more effectively. From a deficit perspective YCE is a tool of social control to avert civic unrest and to maintain the status quo. The key discussion points are summarised in Table 2:3 YCE, Late-modernity and Post-colonialism on the next page.

Table 2:3 Summary of YCE Late –modernity and Post-colonialism

	Wider societal processes	Ideology	Adult views of young people	Responses		
Late Modernity	⇒ Globalisation	⇒ Neo-liberalism	⇒ Young people have responsibilities	⇒ Encouragement of active citizenship		
	⇒ Replacing of industry with financial services				⇒ A resource within their community	⇒ Philanthropic
	⇒ Multi-national companies					⇒ Altruism
⇒ Changing work practice	⇒ Civic education through the education system					
	⇒ Modernity structures beginning to crumble		⇒ Young people make contributions	⇒ Civic education through informal education		
	⇒ Dismantling of Welfare system continues	⇒ Social movements –	⇒ Rights based –	⇒ Deliberative processes		
	⇒ Civil society changes, global and national dimension	⇒ Associated with moral engagement	⇒ young people have rights	⇒ Encouragement of critical thinking		
	⇒ Private/public division of space blurs		⇒ Young people are ‘partners’	⇒ Activism		
	⇒ New forms of citizenship	⇒ Confused ideologies	⇒ Unclear but	⇒ Civic engagement through informal education ‘bottom-up’ approach		
	⇒ Cultural plurality increases	⇒ Manipulative language	anticipated rise of new fascist groups	⇒ Liberal regarding drugs and sexuality		
				⇒ Encourages divisions creating insider and outsider disparities		
Post-colonial	⇒ New identities	⇒ Neo-liberal	⇒ Education attainment important	⇒ Civic education through the education system		
	⇒ Global power dynamic North/ South	⇒ Republicanism	⇒ African context deference of children and young people to adults remain the dominant			
	⇒ Southern knowledge gaining recognition	⇒ Socialism				
	⇒ Individualistic approaches considered unhelpful in southern contexts	⇒ Customary systems				

2.4 Section four: Legislation and Youth Civic Engagement

The previous section discussion illuminates the necessity to understand the legislative framework. It is apparent YCE in Late-modernity has a global dimension. The domestication of global policy into national legislation varies from country to country. A tension between the global and local level is created as citizens endeavour to adapt to rapid social change (Engelstad, 2009, p.214). Young people have been placed at the centre of global policy regarding civic engagement. This necessitates a review of legislation related to youth civic engagement at global, regional and national level.

The first sub-section focuses upon global legislation providing a brief review of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). An emphasis on Article 12 is presented with contemporary critiques. To surmise if children are to be recognised as ‘partners’ it is necessary to look beyond the Convention; participation opportunities need to be embedded in everyday situations of young people’s lives (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010).

The second sub-section relates to International legislation drawing upon the legislation devised by the African Union and the European Union. The reviews provide insights into adult expectations of youth engagements and participation. Available critiques consider the lack of detail regarding adult roles in the promotion of youth rights and civic engagement. Youth participation is viewed as a social control tool to prevent civic unrest rather than promoting the rights of young people.

The final sub-section considers National legislation. Drawing upon previous discussion regarding post-colonialism, a focus upon the British legislation is presented. Zambia was once under British Rule and is a current member of the Commonwealth. British legislation may identify issues that resonate in contemporary Zambia (De Roche, 2008, p.75). Similar to the previous sub-sections, a summary and table brings a closure to this sub-section.

2.4.1 Global legislation

Perhaps the most significant piece of global legislation regarding children is the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The majority of the world's countries are signatories of this Convention. The Convention recognises the need to simultaneously protect and support young people (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p. 293). There are fifty-four articles and two protocols contained within the Convention, which is a legally binding international instrument. It is Article 12 of the Convention that is seen to be pivotal as it informs the interpretation of the remaining articles of the Convention (CRC, 2009). Article 12:1 states:

‘State parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child and being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.’

The domestication of the Convention into national policies has often led to the conceptualisation of Article 12 as the ‘participation’ of young people. The term participation is widely used to describe processes, information-sharing, dialogue between children and adults in which children can learn how their views and those of adults are taken into account and inform the outcomes (CRC, 2009, p.5). Child participation is viewed as a tool to stimulate the comprehensive development of the personality and the evolving capacities of the child (CRC, 2009, p.19)

It is argued the adult focus upon children's role in participation has deflected attention away from adult responsibilities and roles (Fitzgerald et.al, 2010, p.302). Therefore, Article 12 must be interpreted in conjunction with Article 5, which identifies the adult role to provide ‘appropriate direction and guidance’ in the implementation of children's rights (Mannion, 2010, p.334). It is naive to think any adult –child interaction, like other interactions are free of power, politics, legal, social or cultural influences (Fitzgerald et.al, 2010, p.302). Some adults view the construction of participation opportunities as a means to perpetuate the status quo (Mannion, 2010, p.334).

Percy-Smith and Thomas (2010, p. 357) argue it is necessary to look beyond the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), if children and young people are to be recognised as partners within society. Child participation needs to be embedded in everyday situations, where intergenerational and interpersonal dialogues generate collective knowledge to inform change (Minion, 2010, p.355).

2.4.2 International legislation

At international level, legislation formulated by the AU and EU provide insights into how young people are viewed and expected to engage. Among the AU legislation is the Charter on Rights and Welfare of Children (1990) often referred to as the Children's Charter (1990) (Himonga, 2008, p.75) and the Youth Charter (2006). These two Charters are particularly relevant to this thesis, as they provide specific legislation relevant to Zambia.

In many African countries, including Zambia, during colonialism a dual legal system evolved. The dual system comprised of colonial constitutional law and the customary laws of the indigenous people. In the majority of African post-colonial countries the dual system persists. In contemporary Africa, the harmonisation and intersections between African customary laws, constitutional laws and universal child rights is an ongoing process (Himonga, 2008, p.74). The Children's Charter (1990) sends a strong message, that customary laws that protect young people, should become embedded within the rights framework and not become sub-ordinate to human rights (Himonga, 2008, p.74).

Customary laws may vary from area to area, but usually are based on hierarchy of rights. The social and economic welfare of the child is closely linked to the family and extended family. The family is headed by a senior male relative, but the wider family network plays a role in the protection of child rights. The Charter (1990) respects culture, but sets out to avert harmful cultural practices. Any member of a community, who witnesses the abuse of a child, can intervene on behalf of the child (Himonga, 2008, p. 82). The concept is the community

raises the child (Himonga, 2008, p. 82) and as a process protects and perpetuates the culture.

Customary and constitutional laws should not be the only tools to protect and promote children's rights. It is argued that civic education is essential to embed children's rights into the societal systems of African countries (Sloth-Nielsen, 2008, p.55). In law reform literature, extensive texts refer to children's roles, but lack detail regarding the role of civil society and social movements in influencing policy and legislation regarding children's rights (Sloth-Nielsen, 2008, p.69).

The participation of young people is considered comprehensively in the African Youth Charter (AYC 2006). The Youth Charter (2006, p.6) defines 'youth' as an individual aged between 15 and 35 years of age. Under Article 11 Youth Participation, states clearly that:

'Every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society'

Subsequently, the Youth Charter details measures which Nation State parties should undertake to ensure that youth participation is facilitated. The AYC (2006, p.23) refers specifically to the rights of girls and young women under Article 23 with Point b stating:

'Ensure that girls and young women are able to participate actively, equally and effectively with boys at all levels of social, educational, economic, political, cultural, civic life and leaderships as well as scientific endeavours'

The Youth Charter (2006) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) are complementary. The concept of participation advocated by both is open to interpretation and it is unclear how young people contribute to the debate (Ehler & Frank, 2008, p.114). In the southern context, participation understood as to 'take part in' (Mason & Bolzan, 2010, p.131) and the communal ethic, means children and young people actively contribute to the daily subsistence of their families and wider community. However when it

comes to children's participation in matters affecting their lives, or decision-making, it is met with formidable opposition from adults (Ehler and Frank, 2008, p.124).

At a European level, the White Paper: A new impetus for European youth (2001) states participation and information are key elements required to encourage 'active citizenship' among European youth. Four themes emerged from the White Paper's consultation process: 1) active citizenship, 2) expanding and recognising areas of experimentation in formal and informal learning, 3) developing autonomy among young people and 4) for the European Union as the champion of values (2001, pg.12-14). The paper (2001, p.10) states:

'it is up to the public authorities to bridge the gap between young people's eagerness to express their opinion and the methods and structure which society offers. Failure to do so might fuel the 'citizenship' deficit, or even encourage protest'.

The adult view of young people is open to interpretation. It is not unreasonable to suggest youth participation may be viewed as a social control measure to prevent protest or civic unrest, rather than a young person's right to participate.

From the European Commission (2007, p.498, final: 1) the message of youth participation is conveyed in the context of ageing societies. More investment in young people is advocated. The anticipated outcomes from the investment, is the promotion of education, social inclusion, health and active citizenship, through a lifecycle approach. The communication relates this will enable the young people's professional integration into the labour market and social inclusion and active citizenship. The outcome is the 'full' participation of young people in society. Perhaps the sting in the tail is the inclusion of the following sentence in the closing paragraph of the communication:

'Full participation of young people in society can however only be successful if young people are committed to work as partners towards this objective'

It is fair to argue, that this EU communication, like other adult understandings of YCE, fails to acknowledge that not all young people want to conform to the model of 'good or active citizenship' (Helve & Wallace, 2001, p.27). In existing power structures, adults wish to seek accountability of commitment from young people. In a partnership, the same accountability should also apply for young people regarding adults (Lansdown, 2010, p.17).

2.4.3 National legislation

The scope of this thesis prohibits an extensive review of the domestication process of global and international legislation into different national legislative frameworks. In Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia, a section on legislation relevant to the context is presented. At this juncture, it is important to reiterate Zambia was once under British colonial rule. By focusing upon the British context it may provide insights into colonial influences which resonate in contemporary Zambia (DeRoche, 2008, p.75).

Earlier within this chapter, the British context was referred to, highlighting the view of young people as a 'problem' (France, 2007, p.41). Early charitable religious interventions would have introduced understandings of northern childhood development into the Zambian context. The 1964, British withdrawal from Zambia left behind remnants of colonial rule including, the formal education system and informal youth interventions. At the time in Britain, civic unrest and 'race riots' involved large number of young people in Nottingham and Brixton (Smith & Doyle, 2002, p.2). These riots prompted the government to establish the Albermarle Committee to report on youth services in the country.

The Albermarle Report (1960) led the government to release significant resources to the youth worker sector. The government perspective viewed youth work as serving two functions: 1) to socialise the majority of young people, 2) to act as a social control for the deviant minority. The principle of voluntary youth participation in YCE remained intact. The provision of training for youth workers professionalised the sector for the first time (Smith & Doyle,

2002, p. 6-8). However, by the late 1980's, the youth club scene was in decline (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.48).

The Conservative dis-mantling of the Welfare State (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005, p.103) eroded collective identities. The introduction of youth policy emphasised youth to become responsible citizens (France, 2007, p.68). When New Labour were returned to power their policies tended to continue the Conservative mantra of youth responsibilities, rather than the conscious promotion of young people's rights (Lister, 1998, p.313). A publication of The Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM, 2005, p.1) outlined in 1997, civic education became a compulsory subject within the national curriculum.

Civic education encourages 'active citizenship' and the need for citizens to fulfill social and political obligations (ODPM, 2005, p.1). Three perspectives are involved in the debate regarding 'active citizenship'. These are: 1) civic-individualists, who encourage volunteerism and assist citizens to become informed consumers, 2) civic-republicanism, emphasises direct political engagement and 3) civic-pluralists, building a diverse but cohesive society. Lessons from the school-based civic education did not transfer into the wider community. It is mooted for civic education to promote more effective citizenship. There is a need for it to be embedded in people's local communities and experiences and to build social capital (ODPM, 2005, p.3).

The encouragement of voluntary activities by young people enables the individual to acquire the moral label of a being a 'good citizen' (Banaji, 2008, p.543). Furthermore 'good citizenship' promotes the belief the individual is the controller of their own destiny, which as previously outlined is a fallacy (France, 2007, p.70). Bynner (2001, p.53) identifies a correlation between social class origins, levels of education and acquisition of citizenship. Young people without qualification are less likely to volunteer and gain experience through YCE activities. Employers are increasingly expecting young people to have acquired experience prior to seeking employment. The media's portrayal of a normative lifestyle that includes volunteering, philanthropic and altruistic activities encourages young people with qualifications to actively participate in

such activities. They become 'included' in society. The young person without qualifications has an 'excluded lifestyle' and remains on the fringes of society. Bynner (2001, p.54) moots the division of young people into two broad groupings, the 'included' and 'excluded' as perhaps the biggest threat to citizenship in western society.

The mention of YCE activities tends to conjure up images of positive outcomes. The literature illuminates this is an over simplification. Varying adult perspective and understanding of YCE may lead to different social actors, researcher, policy-makers, academia, young people and adults communicating at cross purposes (Berger, 2009, p.335). The promise of YCE to promote participation, democracy and equality is not that clear cut and is considered in detail in the next section.

2.4.4 Summary of Legislation and Youth Civic Engagement

The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) as a legislative framework recognised the need to simultaneously protect and support children and young people. Article 12 is perhaps the lynchpin of the Convention as it informs the interpretations of the other articles. The domestication of Article 12 into national policies of signatory countries has been conceptualised as participation. It was not until 2009, the UNCRC described participation as the process of information sharing and dialogue between children and adults. This enables young people to gain an understanding of how the views of both children and adults are taken into consideration and lead to outcomes.

International policy such as the AU Children's Charter (1990) and the Youth Charter (2006) are complementary to the Convention but have distinct features. These policies both reflect the complex dualism of post-colonial Africa. Where customary laws are highly valued it is considered vital they do not become subordinate to human rights. The Youth Charter under Article 11 clearly states young people have a right to participate in all spheres of life. In the southern hemisphere participation is often understood as to 'take part in' rather than 'decision-making'. Article 23 refers to the promotion of gender equality

between girls and boys. Nonetheless the Article does not refer to equal participation on a par with adults. It might be assumed the deference of young people to elders as a power dynamic is facilitated to remain intact.

In relation to the EU, the policy messages are set within ageing societies. Youth participation appears to be underpinned by the motivation of averting civic unrest and the acquisition of 'full' citizenship. Policy seeks accountability from young people regarding commitment to 'partnership'. It is not clear if the same accountability to 'partnership' is required of adults. It could be construed EU policy has similarities to the AU Youth Charter. Essentially both appear to favour the position of adults over young people and ultimately encourage young people to fit into the existing adult systems and maintain the status quo.

In relation to Zambia, the advantage of reviewing British legislation provides an insight to colonial influences that may resonate in contemporary Zambia. During colonial rule British models of formal and informal education were introduced to Zambia. At the time of colonial withdrawal, Britain was experiencing youth civic unrest and race riots. The Albermarle Committee and subsequent report led to significant resources directed to the youth work sector. By the 1980's youth clubs were in decline. During the 1990's the Conservative government introduced civic education as a compulsory subject within the education system. This neo-liberal perspective emphasises youth responsibilities rather than rights and promotes individualism and the moral concept of the 'good citizen'. Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia may illuminate evidence of colonial legacies and current youth provision. To finalise this particular section Table 2:4 Summary of legislative frameworks is presented on the next page.

Table 2:4 Summary of legislative frameworks

	Wider societal processes	Ideology	Adult views of young people	Responses
Global level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ UN Convention Rights of the Child (1989) ⇒ Perceived crisis in democracy ⇒ Various interpretations of the Convention occur 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Rights based perspective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Required simultaneous protection and support ⇒ Children have rights ⇒ Pivotal the right 'to be heard' often domesticated in National policy as 'participation' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Rights based education ⇒ Emphasis upon participation ⇒ Youth centred approaches ⇒ Youth led approaches
Inter-national level African Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ AU Child Charter (1990) ⇒ Post-colonial context, rebuilding national identities ⇒ Expanding youth population ⇒ AU Youth Charter (2006) ⇒ Emphasis upon participation. Collective understanding 'to take part in' ⇒ Gender equality between boys and girls ⇒ Youth defined as '15 to 35 years of age' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Post-Colonial perspective ⇒ Cultural rights to be embedded in human rights not to become subordinate to them. ⇒ Questions 'universal rights' ⇒ Customary systems maintained ⇒ Policy may promote gender equality between boys and girls. Appears to fall short of equality based upon age 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Mixed between colonial and customary systems ⇒ Subordinate to adults within a collective hierarchy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Civic education through the education system ⇒ Character building models established during colonialism remain in-situ ⇒ Informal education
European Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ EU White Paper/EC commission ⇒ Context of ageing societies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Neo-liberalism dominant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Threat of civic unrest ⇒ Appears to seek 'partnership' ⇒ Non-conformist youth viewed as a threat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Social order responses ⇒ Inclusion via participation ⇒ Civic education programme
National Level UK case study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Colonialism history of racism ⇒ Albermarle Report (1960's) ⇒ Dismantling of Welfare State ⇒ New labour continues mantra of youth responsibility ⇒ Conservatives returned to government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Neo-liberalism dominant 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Citizens-in-waiting ⇒ Economic responsibilities ⇒ Youth have a right to be heard 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ⇒ Youth clubs - personal development mode ⇒ Civic education part of the national curriculum ⇒ Social control ⇒ Socialisation

2.5 Section five: Youth Civic Engagement Perspectives

The relatively recent establishment of a legislative framework to promote youth participation has enabled the field of YCE research to flourish (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.1). The majority of studies have been conducted in the USA and Europe relating to urban youth. Few studies focus upon rural youth or southern contexts. Nonetheless from existing YCE literature five main perspectives are evident. These include: 1) Human capital, 2) Social capital, 3) Positive youth development, 4) Resilience and 5) Activism. An examination of these perspectives may tease out the adult view of young people, the purpose and anticipated outcomes of YCE intervention. Challenging some of the assumptions associated with YCE may reveal gaps in the existing knowledge.

2.5.1 Human capital

The World Development Report (2007) and Growing up Global (2005) both adopt a human capital perspective. This perspective views children as a future resource necessary for economic sustainability (Kassimir and Flanagan, 2010, p.91). The purpose of YCE is to educate young people, to acquire skills and competencies to enable active citizenship in adulthood (Kassimir and Flanagan, 2010, p.98). In the USA and Europe a popular choice of approach to study YCE from this perspective is the lifespan or life course approach. This draws upon Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.3) to conduct longitudinal studies with cohorts in a sequential process often applying multiple methods (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.3).

The lifespan approach provides a holistic picture over time of influences and changes in civic engagement. The ecological systems theory can be applied to various perspectives. When associated with a human capital perspective it has been particularly useful in illuminating the decline of youth political engagement in traditional representative political systems (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.3). Hence it provides evidence that YCE policies and programmes are required to encourage youth participation to aid political socialisation (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.4).

Despite the limited sources of YCE information from the southern context, the adoption of the human capital approach is evidenced in the AU Youth Charter (2006). It refers to young people as the 'building blocks' of nations. In 2009, the African Youth and Governance Conference (YGC) with a theme Sustainability: Our Challenge Our Future refers to young people of Africa as 'human capital' (YGC, 2009, p.7). The conference incorporated policy frameworks, youth empowerment and participation and youth mobilisation as central discussion topics. Furthermore, Africa with its expanding youth population referred to as 'human capital' was highlighted as an advantage in the global system. Conference participants urged current governments to support young people to be active and enable the voice of African young people to be heard (YGC, 2009, p.7).

It appears African youth express a desire to participate in the global system. This appears contradictory, as the global system is currently dominated by neo-liberalism, promoting individualism and consumerism. In contrast, African societies are collective. Based on the World Bank (2007) estimates by the year 2027, African youth will be a majority among the world's youth population. In the political arena some young people in Africa have been instrumental in peaceful elections. In some African countries young people have been manipulated for political causes (YGC, 2009, p.9). By gaining a stronger foothold in the world order, maybe African youth can contribute new understandings to political, economic and social engagement.

The Conference Report (YGC, 2009, p.7) acknowledges educational disparities, health issues and unemployment impact upon the life chances of young people. Those most likely to participate in the national and global systems are young people with educational credentials. Embracing the neo-liberal world order may actually suit the promoters of neo-liberalism. A Neo-Gramscian perspective posits that by seeking to narrow the social base participation in global governance structures the free market can expand unfettered (Gill, 1992, p.165).

2.5.2 Social capital

Putman's seminal work 'Making Democracy Work' (1993) and later 'Bowling Alone' (2000) introduced the concept of 'Social capital'. Putman conveys individualism and consumerism has led to political apathy and civic dis-engagement, which is detrimental to society (Putman, 2000, p.117). It is through civic engagement, networks of social trust, reciprocity, values and norms among different social actors that share a moral code, that social capital is built (Putman, 2000, p.134; Berger, 2009, p.338). Social capital refers to doing 'with', power with, whereas doing 'good' for other people; however laudable is not part of the definition of social capital (Putman, 2000, p.117). Social capital can revive communities, especially where few financial and educational supports are available. Putman (2000, p.299) states:

'children at risk are particularly vulnerable to social capital deficits. More hopefully, precisely such children are more susceptible to the positive benefits of social connectedness'.

YCE activities that generate social capital may enhance childhood development. Through the activities, networks of reciprocity, may be built and widen a child's opportunities and choice. Hence this has a positive effect on their behaviour and development (Putman, 2000, p.296). Percy-Smith and Thomas (2010, p.359) concur with Putman regarding the importance of social participation in everyday activities. They view social engagement as providing social support, recognition, a sense of ownership and self-efficacy, more effectively than adult invites to participate in public decision-making.

It is difficult for any individual from low or high socio-economic background residing in a village or city to live without social capital (Putman, 2000, p.287). Social capital may take two forms: 1) bonding and 2) bridging. The first, provides a very strong feeling of belonging, but has a tendency to be exclusive, for example, membership of a church or a club. Bonding networks make benefits available to network members only. Putman considers bridging social capital as the more desirable form. As the name suggests it is open to diversity and inclusion and the networks are a source of benefit for all. Putman (2000, p.338) argues that individuals who are dis-engaged from communities,

occupations and associations are thought to be the first and foremost to become supporters of extremism.

The publication of Putman's work has evoked critiques. Buckingham and Lienesley (2006, p.30) outline social capital fits in nicely to the neo-liberal agenda, as it advocates minimum state intervention. Secondly, Putman's belief in moral codes that bind groups together and promotes democracy displays a level of naivety. Furthermore, Crowther et al., (2008) accept social capital may improve outcomes. However, the lack of a power analysis runs the risk of masking and reproducing existing power dynamics that privilege the position of the dominant group. Finally, Powell and Geoghehan (2008, p.15) argue Putman's research overlooked the reconfiguration of civic engagement. Traditional youth associations such as membership of baseball teams may have declined, but new forms such as soccer clubs were increasing. Furthermore, political civic engagement in representative politics may be in decline, but there is an increase in social movements and single-issue politics. Putman's social pessimism makes him the current day Tonnies (Powell & Geoghehan, 2008, p.15).

2.5.3 Positive youth development (PYD)

In the 1990's, the Positive Youth Development (PYD) approach, not a theory emerged. PYD is critical of the way social sciences focused upon youth risks and intervention to treat the 'problem' of youth (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p.780). As an approach it offers an alternative view of young people, as a community resource. The PYD approach examines strengths or assets that individuals possess rather than focusing upon risks. The PYD approach advocates six C's. These are: 1) character, 2) competency, 3) confidence, 4) connection, 5) caring and 6) contribution. The sixth, contribution emerges from the first five. Young people who exemplify the first five C's are likely to be civically engaged (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.5). The sixth C, contribution relates more to civic service or political action and represents positive development.

Through a young person's contribution to activities and the interaction between internal and external assets further positive development is generated (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.5). The approach believes youth policy needs to promote PYD based upon resources available within the life systems, the individual child, family, schools and communities. The promotion of youth civic engagement through existing assets may appeal to the policy makers and the general public (Sherrod et al., 2010, p.4). It is fair to suggest by PYD relying on existing resources, similarly to social capital, it may fit nicely into neo-liberal minimum state intervention.

PYD approach has a tendency to over-emphasise individual outcomes at the expense of the collective experience and the power of the collective voice (Watts & Flanagan, 2007, p.781). It is unclear who defines what each of the C's means or is. The approach draws or pays little attention to structural barriers that prevent participation by some young people in available activities (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010, p.92). Watts and Flanagan (2007, p.781) advocate for the PYD to move beyond individualism. The approach needs to incorporate attention to structural inequalities to strengthen its influence to bring about policy change.

2.5.4 Resilience

YCE activities are also associated with the building of resilience (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2005; and the UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement, 2010). Resilience lacks a universal definition, but three broad understandings are evident: 1) the constellation of characteristics of children that despite being born and raised in disadvantaged circumstances grow into successful adults, 2) demonstrating competence when under stress and 3) positive functioning indicating recovery from trauma. A common thread among these understandings is resilience occurs in the presence of adversity (Ungar et al., 2008, p.218).

Resilience similarly to PYD applies a strength-based approach and focuses upon positive outcomes (Mohaupt, 2008, p.64). The early studies of Rutter focused

upon individual characteristics of 'resilient' individuals. Subsequently, studies considered resilience factors or assets as embedded in the everyday life systems of a young person (Masten, 2001; Gilligan, 2001; Dolan, 2008 and Ungar, 2007). At an individual level, these assets may include an evocative approach to problem solving and an ability to be alert and autonomous (Gilligan, 2001). At the family level, sources of resilience include social support, good relationships with siblings, positive parental childhood, good parental health, education and a work role. At community level, opportunities to form positive relationships with mentors and role models and enhance family support (Dolan et al., 2006, p.43). If internal and external resilience factors are connected, they act together in a mutually reinforcing manner. These support the adolescent to successfully cope with the psychosocial challenges of the transition towards adulthood (Pinkerton & Dolan, 2007, p.222).

As resilience research has unfolded the emphasis on the presence of resilience factors has shifted towards the identification of processes that generate resilience (Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000, p.543). Fergus and Zimmerman (2005, p.401) refer to three process models: 1) compensatory, 2) protective and 3) challenge. However, the focus upon personal trait and individual outcomes can lead to victimisation and overlooks societal inequalities and access to resources (Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000, p.553). Furthermore, resilience as a northern construct tends to overlook the significance of culture as a determinant of resilience (Ungar, 2007, p.288).

When studying resilience, two judgements are made: 1) What is an okay outcome?, and 2) What is a risk? (Masten, 2001, p.227). Northern understanding of resilience and risk may be inappropriate in other cultural contexts and may be experienced as a hegemonic process (Ungar et al., 2007, p.168). Resilience based interventions are often delivered in southern contexts without cultural adaptation. In the long-term this may erode the cultural context that sustains young people in that setting (Serpell & Jere- Folotiya, 2008, p.91).

Culture is a vital part of identity, and if eroded, strips people of their identity and diminishes their strengths or resilience (Gunnestad, 2009, p.15). Masten

(2001, p.237) concurs the undermining of a child's everyday life systems where sources of resilience are embedded is possibly the biggest threat to child well-being. At particular times of transition, for example, puberty or leaving school, young people may find themselves exposed to different adversities. Young people can be supported during transition by bolstering the life systems with sources of resilience (Meichenbaum, 2008, p.11). These supports need to be provided in a culturally competent way to promote well-being or wellness (Ungar et al., 2008, p.177). Evans and Prilleltensky (2005, p.406) define wellness as:

‘...a positive state of affairs, brought about by the simultaneous and balanced satisfaction of personal, relational and collective needs’

The above definition indicates the need to consider the individual and collective need. Bottrell's (2009, p.323) critique of Ungar's work suggest his Foucauldian power analysis does challenge the northern dominant understanding of normative childhood development. In addition, it opens up new insights into individual pathways to resilience. However, the focus on individualism overlooks the collective generation of resilience. Boyden and Mann (2005, p.13) posit individualistic resilience studies seldom reveal distinctions between social groups or gender in any meaningful way that can be addressed by policy (Boyden & Mann, 2005, p.13). This may actually suit policy-makers who are reluctant to engage in political, social or culturally rooted issues, preferring to de-politicise adversity by defining it as a problem of the family or upon individual pathologies (Boyden and Mann, 2005, p.13).

Secombe (2002, p.388) argues as resilience focuses upon positive outcomes, the daily realities of youth, families and communities, who face poverty, inequalities and discrimination is softened. Thus the image of inequality becomes more palatable for the wider society. Resilience encourages individuals and communities to manage with existing resources rather than seek additional resources (Mohaupt, 2008, p.67). Bottrell (2009, p.334) posits resilience building in a neo-liberal framework, shifts positive adaptation despite adversity towards positive adaptation to adversity.

Resilience when working with young people residing in communities with limited resources may provide insights into the way young people access sources of resilience and define their own wellness. Accepting the self-definition of well-being, may be in direct conflict or non-conformist with the broader societal view of appropriate youth social behaviour and acceptable civic engagement (Banaji, 2008, p.550). Grioux (2002, p.3) moots that by adults misrecognising young people's participation in so-called non-conformist activities it serves a two-fold purpose. Firstly, it facilitates them to ignore the processes that curtail equal distribution of resources. Furthermore, once the blame for non-conformity is placed at the feet of young people, it supports the view that young people are a 'threat'. Grioux (2002, p.3) posits this may undermine the formation of wider collective resistance to seek social justice.

Bottrell (2009, p.335) offers a resolution to the dilemma of individual and collective resilience studies. Resilience study may be strengthened by commencing with the youth perspective. The application of a grounded approach without normative adult pre-definitions of resilience facilitates a 'bottom-up' approach. Young people relate their experiences of factors that inhibit or foster resilience within their life systems. The analysis of subjective and local understanding of resilience related to the societal constituents may assist the unmasking of oppressive processes that marginalise individuals, social groups and communities. The individual responsibility for sourcing resilience shifts towards the collective responsibility. Collective resilience may foster recovery from trauma, stabilise a community and enable sustainability and growth (Murray & Zautra, 2011, p.337).

2.5.5 Activism

Early Modernity YCE activities were concerned with the promotion of 'community' in response to the growing popularity of 'individualism' (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.42). Two main forms of YCE emerged, charitable liberal 'active citizenship' (Powell, 2008, p.52) and critical 'activism citizenship'.

Westheimer and Kahne (2003) cited by Watts and Flanagan (2007, p.782) state

the term ‘good citizen’ in contemporary societies can be applied to three understandings of citizenship.

1. The citizen, who is personally responsible and demonstrates their citizenship through acts of volunteering.
2. The citizen is an individual who participates in local community affairs and stays up to speed in local and national issues.
3. The justice-orientated citizen is an individual who participates in the collective work to improve the community, while maintaining a critical stance on social, economic and political issues and conducts a thoughtful interrogation of authority as a central component of good citizenship.

The first can be aligned to the neo-liberal ‘active citizenship’. The second can be aligned with republicanism. Finally, the justice-orientated can be aligned with the social political left. The wider right/left political divide may be crumbling (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478), but Powell (2008, p.50) outlines civic engagement debates remain underpinned by right and left perspectives.

From a critical perspective, Evans and Prilleltensky (2005, p.405) outline the peril of YCE lies in the accentuation of the virtue of youth participation at the expense of challenging structural inequalities and power disparities. In reality, few existing YCE opportunities encourage young people to think critically or encourage civic activism (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2005, p. 405). There are some projects in existence which are informed by historical forms of YCE activism underpinned by Gramsci and Friere. These are ‘critical social education’ (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p.32) and ‘youth organisation’ (Christen & Dolan, 2011, p. 529). In practice, both forms of activism view young people as ‘partners’ and utilise intergenerational deliberative processes to identify needs/issues, design actions and share responsibility for outcomes.

Gramsci viewed the dialectic in three ways. Firstly, the reciprocal interaction between one thing and another. Secondly, the philosophy of praxis, meaning an individual or social group can identify contradictions and their position in the contradiction. Having done so, the ability to elevate this element to a principle

of knowledge and then action. Thirdly, the dialect between the structure and superstructure. Dialect is more than a natural order; it is a movement, where an individual of their own free will can be part of a deliberating process, a force that can bring about change (Joll, 1983, p.82).

In the dominant global system where profit is king, if democratic governance is to be achieved, citizens who can be argumentative, skeptical, critically thinking and be independent are required (Jeff & Smith, 2002, p. 52). These attributes are not necessarily desired by employers. The past Modernity traditions of civil society counter-balances to the political sphere and free market are now considered a hindrance to the post-modern reconstruction project. This restructuring is designed to facilitate unfettered activities of the market (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p. 52).

Powell (2008, p.54) believes many Nation States are aligning their politics to the market. Eventually this will lead to the capitalist system collapsing in upon itself leading to its demise. The decline of participation rates in representative political systems, offers activism the opportunity to reinvent civil society from the 'bottom-up'. Counter-hegemonic social movements bring ecological issues, women's rights, children's rights, gay rights, disability rights and other issues to the public sphere, at a national and global level (Powell, 2008, p.55). Current YCE activities that encourage civic activism, a moral commitment, may facilitate young people to develop skills and know how to enable and support their participation in the reinventing of civil society (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.490).

It should not be assumed that all activism promotes equality, democracy or noble causes (Banaji, 2008, p.556). Available literature provides ample evidence of extremism. The availability of ICT opens up spaces for different forms of activism. These may be poles apart, from human rights, anti-globalisation, anti-capitalism towards xenophobia and ethnic supremacy. Obviously the promise of 'collective action' as social liberation is not that straightforward (Banaji, 2008, p.556). Different perspectives may view the same collective action in stark contrast.

Banaji (2008, p.551) provides the example of the UK school student anti-Iraq war protests. Young people on a country wide basis staged a walk-out to express their disagreement with their elected representatives' decisions regarding the Iraq war. The walk-outs were peaceful, a display of collective action and engagement in the public sphere. Subsequently the treatment of the 'activists' included suspension from school, being portrayed in the media as opportunist truants rather than a counter-balance to government decision. It appears that YCE is desirable if it does not challenge the regime of power (Banaji, 2008, p.551).

Activism that is considered non-conformist by the powers that be is often portrayed within the media as extremism. In some cases, these activities are associated with important sources of resilience (Ungar, 2007, p.297). The label of extremism justifies the power regime to introduce social control measures (Beck, 2006, p.17). The distinction between activism and extremism is often based upon the infringement of the rights of others (Powell, 2008, p.56). In a post-modern world of rising uncertainties and insecurities, the blurring of ideologies and the manipulative use of language, has led to the rise of new fascist parties in some of the wealthier countries (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p. 50). These groups use 'community' to build associations and are liberal regarding drugs and sexuality, but promote exclusivity (Jeffs & Smith, 2002, p.50) and rejection of those considered as 'outsiders' (Engelstad, 2009, p.217).

It is reasonable to suggest young people and adults can join these 'communities' based upon the idea of 'collective activism'. They may desire hope to promote social justice, but in fact the core value promotes the violation of the rights of others. Youth and adult attempts to form partnerships and bring about social transformation, often lack reflection which can guard against the evolution of unjust practice (Linds, Goulet & Sammuels, 2010, p.1). It is naive to think all individuals are unaware of such core values, some might actually wish to promote extremism. It is the lack of adult understandings of youth motives for engaging in activities that infringe on the rights of others that presents a

challenge to create alternatives. Obviously there are no guarantees that all young people would choose to engage with alternatives, if they were available.

2.5.6 Summary of YCE perspectives

The existing literature illuminates the significance of understanding Modernity ideologies, which tend to underpin current YCE policy and practice. Five main YCE perspectives emerged from the literature. These are: 1) Human capital, 2) Social capital, 3) PYD, 4) Resilience and 5) Activism. Drawing upon historical YCE debates it is clear in Late-Modernity the purpose of youth engagement, individualism vs. collectivism remain central themes of dialogue. Each of the perspectives offers potential positive youth outcomes of some kind. Equally critiques provide insights into limitations of each of the reviewed perspectives. YCE initially may appear straightforward, but is soon revealed to be complex.

Commentators offer cautionary notes regarding each of the five perspectives. Human capital and PYD are readily aligned with neo-liberalism. Although social capital denounces individualism, its lack of structural analysis and reliance on resources within the community could fit in nicely with the neo-liberal minimum state intervention agenda. Resilience can be underpinned by different perspectives. Set within a neo-liberal framework resilience shifts from positive adaptation despite adversity towards positive adaptation to adversity. Alternatively resilience under pinned by a critical perspective shifts responsibility from the individual to collective responsibility.

Activism, the final perspective reviewed appears to offer the promise of collectivism and liberation. It materialised this is not necessarily the case. In a world of uncertainties, blurring ideologies and the manipulative use of language has witnessed the rise of new fascist groups. The term ‘community’ is used to promote a sense of belonging. Groups may be liberal regarding sexuality or drug use. Essentially they are exclusive and fully enforce the rejection of those considered ‘outsiders’. This is not to suggest all activism is exclusive. Rather it is to emphasise the need for reflection and critical awareness to prevent personal involvement in unjust activities.

Without doubt the different reviewed perspectives each offer potential positives. Equally so, when subjected to critique, they reveal limitations. More optimistically proposed enhancements to research underpinned by different YCE perspectives were outlined. A table 2:5 Summary of YCE perspective is presented below.

Table 2: 5 Summary of YCE perspectives

YCE Perspective	Ideology	Adult views of young people	Responses
⇒ Human capital ⇒ Economic sustainability primary focus	⇒ Rooted in neo-liberalism	⇒ Future resource for economic sustainability ⇒ Citizens-in-waiting	⇒ Programmes promoting responsibilities as a priority. ⇒ Responsible adults
⇒ Social capital ⇒ Promoting well-being of individuals and communities ⇒ Tends to overlook structural inequalities	⇒ Rejects individualism and consumerism ⇒ Rooted in liberalism	⇒ Children citizens-in-the-present ⇒ Lacking social capital	⇒ YCE to build social connections ⇒ Generation of social capital
⇒ Positive youth development ⇒ Focuses upon individual assets/strengths of young people ⇒ Tends to overlook structural inequalities	⇒ Rooted in neo-liberalism ⇒ Potential to expand through a critical perspective	⇒ Children citizens-in-the-present ⇒ A community resource	⇒ Individualist approaches
⇒ Resilience ⇒ Neo-liberal framework acknowledges risk and resilience. Resilience is seen to promote management with existing resources ⇒ Critical framework acknowledges risk and resilience. Collective resilience is seen to promote management with existing resources. Furthermore collective resilience can re-distribute resources more equally	⇒ Possible to underpin by neo-liberalism ⇒ Possible to underpin by a critical perspective	⇒ Children are exposed to different risks and sources of resilience ⇒ Individual agency can build personal resilience ⇒ Partners ⇒ Children are exposed to different risks and sources of resilience. Wider distribution of resource contributes to the position of young people ⇒ Partners	⇒ Individualist response focus upon building of individual strengths ⇒ Collective responses consider individualistic and collective strengths
⇒ Activism ⇒ Critical of neo-liberalism and approaches that lack power analysis. ⇒ Seeks to reveal unjust practices to motivate social action.	⇒ Critical perspective	⇒ Exploited and marginalised ⇒ Children and young people are citizen-in-the present ⇒ Partners	⇒ Deliberative processes ⇒ Transformation

2.6 Section six: Chapter summary, key messages and theoretical framework

The final sub-section of this chapter draws together the key messages from the preceding discussions of available literature. Moreover these messages guide a choice of theoretical framework considered most appropriate to bring the thesis to fruition. The key messages are presented in four main sub-sections. These are:

- Research focus
- Potential power disparities and counter-balances
- Choice of YCE perspective
- Selection of a theoretical framework

The first sub-section identifies four significant gaps within the existing literature: 1) the under-representation of YCE research from the southern hemisphere, 2) a dearth of youth understandings of YCE in existing literature, 3) the under-representation of gender, especially the experiences of girls and young women in research and 4) research tends to favour urban over rural areas. The section briefly outlines each gap individually. Subsequently brief responses are proposed to generate data that may assist to fill these identified gaps.

The second sub-section, ultimately acknowledges the researcher is northern based and intends to work in a southern context. This necessitates a consideration of potential power disparities at an individual level between the researcher and participants, along with the potential power disparities identified from available literature which may occur in the context. These are age, gender and location. Once a power dynamic is named it is possible to explore counter-balances as a method of guarding against unjust practices throughout the research process (Brookfield, 2005).

The penultimate section focuses upon the different YCE perspectives. The brief discussion leads to the selection of the resilience perspective for incorporation into the study. A combined individual and collective approach underpins the research process as a whole. Finally, the key messages inform the choice of

theoretical framework, the Neo-Gramscian ‘Loci of Oppression’ (Ledwith, 2001, p.179).

2.6.1 Research focus

The preceding discussions identified four significant gaps in existing literature. The first, the limited YCE research conducted in the southern context. The second gap a dearth of youth understandings of YCE in existing literature. The third fissure is the under-representation of gender, especially the position of girls and young women in existing research. Finally, the majority of existing YCE research focuses upon ‘urban’ youth rather than ‘rural’ youth.

In response, by conducting the study in a southern context may assist to re-balance the under-representation of southern knowledge among the existing literature. The literature illuminates the imperative of applying culturally appropriate and collective approaches in southern contexts. These two core components are considered in-depth in sub-sections two and three below. Zambia, a Sub-Saharan country is the choice of the southern context for this study. The selection of Zambia is detailed in the Chapter three: Research design and methodology.

The dearth of youth perspectives regarding YCE signifies the need to work with young people directly. The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) and the AU Youth Charter (2006) as rights frameworks, state essentially that young people have the right to have their voices heard. The fundamental challenge is to find a process that enables the voice of young people to be heard without de-stablising the very culture that sustains a young person in a particular cultural context.

Finally, relating to gender and location. Historically the lives of girls and young women have been overlooked. The study will endeavour to maintain a gender balance throughout the research process. Fundamentally the inclusion of girls may provide new insights into their lives and contribute to existing knowledge. Existing YCE studies tend to favour urban areas over rural areas. In response

the research, if possible will endeavour to acquire an urban/rural balance. The recognition of gaps in existing knowledge signifies the need to consider power disparities.

2.6.2 Power disparities and counter-balance

From a critical perspective, the acknowledgement of potential power disparities enables action to minimise unjust practices from evolving during the research. These actions are referred to as power counter-balances (Brookfield, 2005, p.358). They should be incorporated into the research design. Three main power disparities emerged from the data. These are listed below:

- Northern and southern dynamic
- Age
- Gender

The existing literature revealed northern normative understandings have denied recognition to southern knowledge in the past. To redress historical and current power disparities, a conscious decision to work with local understandings of YCE is essential. As a northern researcher working in a non-northern context the risk of personal bias and non-recognition of important cultural information is a reality. The first counter-balance to this recognised disparity is the underpinning of the research process with cultural competency (Husain, 2006, p. 170).

Cultural competency as a framework comprises of three interlocking components; 1) cultural knowledge, 2) cultural awareness and 3) cultural sensitivity. The first component, knowledge, involves gaining a familiarity with the background of the community. This includes the history, patterns of behaviour, norms, values, beliefs and processes of migration and settlement. By itself it runs the risk of stereotyping communities and implies culture is static (Husain, 2006, p.171). Cultural awareness requires ongoing reflective practice, to guard against viewing one cultural practice as superior to another. Furthermore to question assumptions, values and practices to lead to an awareness of others and open up alternative possibilities (Husain, 2006, p.175).

Cultural sensitivity is the ability to act on the knowledge and awareness, to inform practice, develop skills and strategies to work with cultural differences.

As a researcher, there are three requirements to achieve cultural competency: 1) openness to the complexities of people's lives, 2) to actively facilitate participants to relate their opinions, experiences and views, plus their desires for the future, and 3) it is equally important not to assign judgement values (good/bad; right/wrong) to cultural differences. This involves a process of integrating knowledge about individuals and groups of people and transforming it into practice (Husain, 2006, p.172).

Throughout the chapter the concept of adult-centred constructs, in both the northern and southern hemispheres, have successfully subjugated young people. The researcher views young people as 'citizens-in-the-present'. This does not deny adults in the study context may perhaps view young people differently. Furthermore young people themselves may have different understandings of their own citizenship. It is also important to recognise in Zambia, as a collective society, the needs of the wider community are prioritised over the individual. This necessitates the research to work with both youth and adult perspectives regarding YCE.

There is an on-going debate regarding individualism and collectivism, which suggests individualistic approaches are unhelpful when applied in southern contexts (Nnaemeka, 2003, p.369). Essentially the research design requires collective spaces to generate knowledge. By creating inter-relational spaces, allowing for gender and age difference it may be possible to generate local understandings of YCE. Subsequently, inter-generational spaces may share those understandings. This may potentially generate new collective knowledge from under-represented groups among existing research (Percy-Smith & Thomas, 2010, p.360), in a manner that does not erode existing sources of resilience embedded within the context which sustains them (Masten, 2001, p.237).

2.6.3 Choice of YCE perspective

To commence the discussion, the promise of YCE to enhance youth outcomes is acknowledged. The previously offered critiques of the human capital, social capital and PYD perspectives highlight the alignment with the neo-liberal agenda. Basically they may promote individual improvements, but it is doubtful if they will affect wider structural change. In the long-term the position of young people experiencing inequalities will probably remain unchanged (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2005, p 409). It is undesirable from the researcher's perspective that this thesis may in some way contribute to such a process.

It might be assumed the researcher's critical perspective may prefer the activist YCE perspective to progress the study. However, this is not the case; activism is declined for the following reason. Potential participants may construe the northern researcher is implying change is required, without understanding the context. This is a judgement, incompatible with a culturally competent approach. Furthermore it may be perceived by potential participants as hegemonic. A requirement of the study is to find a way that works with local adult and youth understandings of YCE. Essentially to have a process that enables such local understandings to be linked to wider national and global YCE factors. This leads the discussion to the remaining YCE perspective; resilience.

The majority of available literature regarding the lives of young people residing in southern contexts appears to refer mainly to risks. There are limited references made to resilience or strengths. Resilience offers a flexibility to work in different cultural contexts that perhaps the other perspectives may not offer. Resilience occurs in the presence of adversity. It focuses upon strengths that enhance positive youth outcomes. To avoid the northern dominance, cultural competency applied to resilience research, actively seeks to locally define resilience and risk factors. This process is referred to as contextualisation.

To be culturally competent, literature outlines Foucauldian based resilience studies may provide insights into individual pathways of resilience (Bottrell, 2009). Furthermore this can challenge the application of northern normative

youth development being imposed in southern contexts. It is posited Foucauldian individualism tends to overlook the significance of collective resilience. Moreover the complex nature of African identity formation, through colonial and customary traditions cannot be fully appreciated through individualistic approaches (Nnaemeka, 2003, p.361).

Bottrell (2009), Boyden & Mann (2005) and Murray & Zautra (2011) outline resilience research in northern or southern contexts can be enhanced through a combined individualistic and collective approach. The research process needs to illuminate the ways individuals and communities may acquire sources of resilience. Through a ‘bottom-up’ analysis these local understandings can be linked to the wider social structures. It enables identification of factors that privilege or restrict availability of resilience sources embedded within different life-systems. Therefore the process assists to shift individual responsibility for resilience towards collective responsibility. Basically a critical perspective can be incorporated into the research process in a culturally competent way.

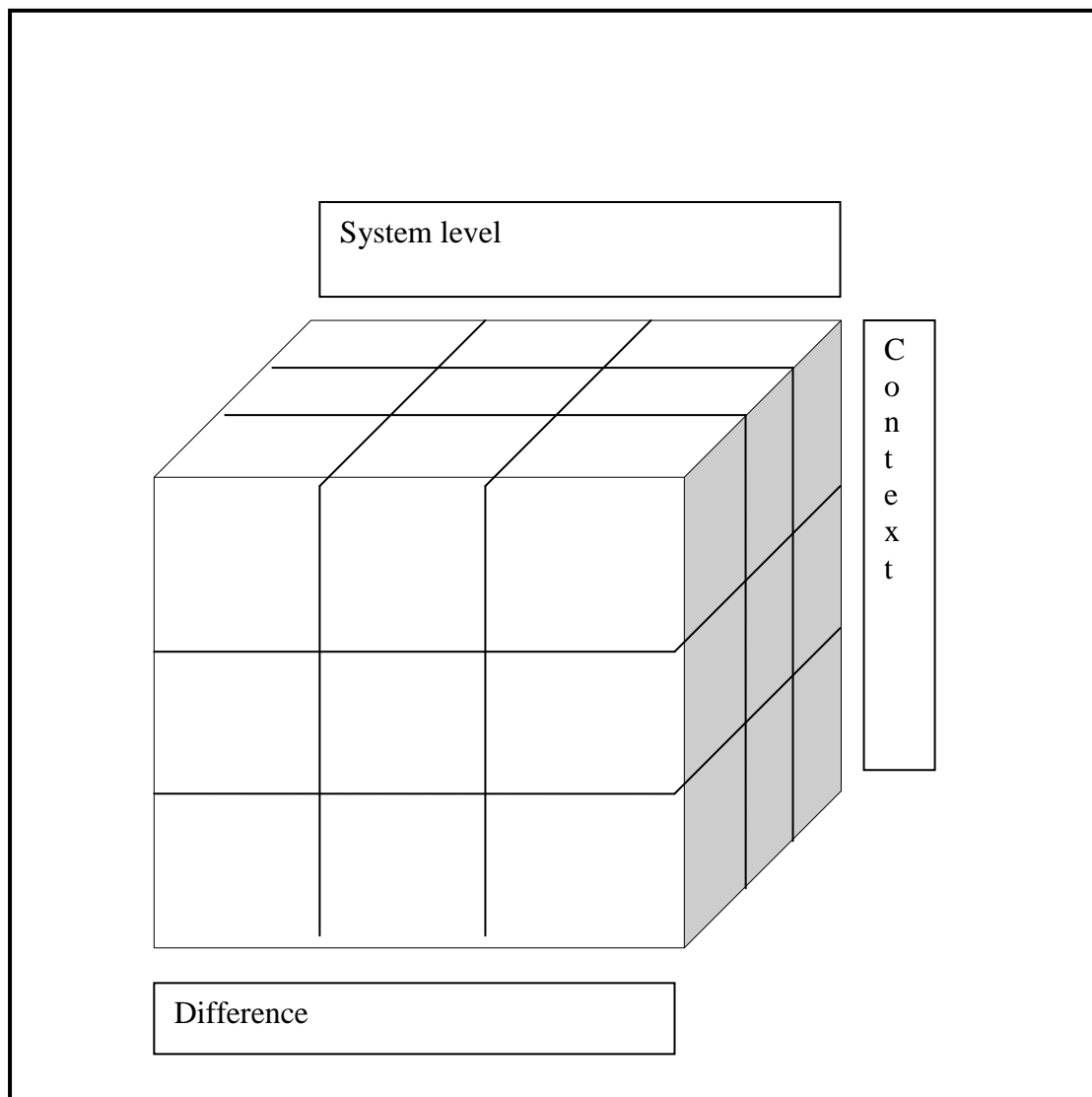
2.6.4 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework needs to simultaneously facilitate multilevel and multi-dimensional analysis. Furthermore the framework can appreciate and accommodate both youth and adult local understandings of YCE, risk and resilience. It can incorporate collective generation of data and subsequently, facilitate the effective management of data to prevent the loss of local knowledge.

Throughout the literature review, concepts and understandings based upon Gramsci were considered. Feminist critiques of Modernity ideologies, including Gramsci were deemed Eurocentric and patriarchal and contributed to the sub-ordination of women (Alan, 2009, p.295). In Late-Modernity, rapid social change witness the beginning of crumbling social class and gender boundaries as cultural plurality increases (Engelstad, 2009, p.227). As a result Gramsci is freed from the overarching social class analysis (Engelstad, 2009, p.227). The Neo-Gramscian “Loci of Oppression” (Ledwith, 2001, p. 179)

(Please see; Figure 2:1 below) as a three dimensional structure offers a suitable framework to be applied to the research.

Figure 2:1 Loci of Oppression



Imagine the figure (Figure 2:1 Loci of Oppression) as a rubric cube with three rotating axes, x , y and z . Located along the x -axis labelled difference: gender, age, sexuality, ethnicity, ability and social class. Along the y -axis named context: history, location, physical environment, employment, spirituality and culture. Finally, the z -axis called, system level: individual, family, community, national, continental and global. By layering research data into the grid the accumulation of factors at intersections can reveal various forms of restriction

which manifest and impact upon young people's participation in YCE opportunities.

The framework title, Loci of Oppression, as a critically based framework seeks power disparities. Perhaps the framework's given name by including the word 'oppression' gives a restricted impression of the value of the multi-dimensional analysis it offers to research. It potentially can facilitate the illumination not only of restrictions, but also the way factors may privilege young people's participation in YCE opportunities. For this thesis the proposed framework is tentative and exploratory in the specific cultural context of Zambia.

It is apparent Zambian perspectives are under-represented in existing YCE literature. The intention of the framework is to build a methodology, which is culturally competent and may generate new knowledge. Obviously the implementation of the research process will reveal if the proposed methodology is operational or not. The reflective opportunities incorporated at the design stage will include the need to reflect upon the methodology as a whole.

Chapter three: Research methodology

3.1 Section one: Introduction

This chapter is presented in three main swathes. The opening section provides a background and rationale for this study. It proceeds by stating the research aim and objectives and outlines the researcher's interest in and commitment to the topic. The second section, the research design, describes each element of the proposed research process. The final section is a reflective account of the implementation of the research design in practice. The key learning from the research process is drawn together to conclude the chapter.

3.2 Section two: Background and rationale

When the researcher joined the CFRC, Professor Pat Dolan, holder of the UNESCO Chair in children, youth and civic engagement was appointed as supervisor for this thesis. The Chair through a rights perspective has a remit to deepen understandings of YCE. The UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) and the wider UNESCO Mid-term Strategy (2010-2013) informs the Chair's Programme of Work (2010-2013). The Mid-term Strategy affords priority to three development themes: 1) Sub-Saharan Africa, 2) gender equality and 3) youth. This necessitates the inclusion of these three themes into the proposed study in some way.

At the time the Chair had established two partnerships in one Sub-Saharan country, Zambia. The first with the University of Zambia (UNZA) in the Lusaka Province. The second with the Alan Kerins Project, an Irish based NGO supporting projects in the Western Province. During the research preparation of gathering cultural knowledge, a third partnership with the Lifestart Project Mazabuka Limited in the Southern Province was established. The study by locating itself in Zambia may provide the first holistic insights into YCE in the context.

In Zambia, the government's FNDP (2006, p.278) acknowledges consecutive government child responses were inadequate to meet young people's needs.

The scarcity of resources targeting children led to the marginalisation of young people within Zambian society. Nonetheless Zambia is a signatory of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which underpins the current National Child Policy (2006). This policy sets out a collaborative participatory framework underpinned by gender equality to establish a range of childhood interventions.

Zambian youth and adult perspectives regarding YCE are under-represented in existing literature. Policy-makers with an interest in civic engagement are seeking research from beyond the northern hemisphere to guide their efforts (Sherrod et.al, 2010, p.1). This research by working with under-representative groups among existing research potentially may generate new knowledge. Subsequently the knowledge may assist the UNESCO Chair, the Zambian Government and the policy-makers with their endeavours regarding YCE. This rationale led to the following aim and objectives:

3.2.1 Overall research aim

- To examine Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement.

3.2.2 Research objectives

- To establish local understandings of Youth Civic Engagement
- To identify the existing types of Youth Civic Engagement available in the cultural context
- To locally define risk and resilience factors relating to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience
- To identify resilience factors perceived to be associated with Youth Civic Engagement

3.2.3 Researcher's commitment

As a community-based practitioner and researcher, issues affecting young people's lives have been a long-term personal interest. A critical perspective views research as a political process that should promote equality. This

perspective can be aligned with the broad sociological research paradigm of human interpretativism (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Moving into Late-modernity the rapidly changing social context and crumbling social class structures, offers an opportunity to apply multi-dimensional analysis to participant generated data (Engelstad, 2009, p.227), to provide a holistic picture of young people's lives in the study context (Tudge, 2008, p.69).

3.2.4 Research epistemologies

Human interpretative based research utilises an inductive process. The researcher and participants are not object and subject, but together generate qualitative "rich" data concerning lived realities, opinions, thoughts and wishes (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Through the ongoing research interactions new knowledge is generated (Creswell, 2003). Compatible research methodologies include participatory narrative inquiry (Miles and Huberman, 1994), ethnography (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) and some participatory action research (O'Brien, 2001).

Creswell and Plano-Clarke (2007) argue human interpretative research compared to positivist research is less likely to influence policy. Policy makers are accustomed to basing policy decisions upon statistical data. Positivist and post-positivist studies are deductive and examine causal relationships. They utilise precisely measurable variables to test pre-determined hypothesis (Anoteneas et al., 2006). A typical data collection tool is large-scale survey to produce quantitative data. Human interpretativists argue positivism based in the consensus paradigm supports the perpetuation of the status quo. It fails to allow for difference and is unable to accrue rich data (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Creswell and Plano-Clarke (2007) emphasise mixed method studies are gaining credence in research circles. The approach employs both positivist and human interpretativist approaches in a sequential process. It is posited the research outcomes from mixed method studies may be more acceptable to policymakers as both quantitative and qualitative data is generated. The UNESCO Chair is an associate member of the International Resilience Project (IRP). The IRP is a

long-term mixed method study which utilises a two-phased approach. The first phase is a qualitative contextualisation, to define local risk and resilience factors. The second quantitative phase, distributes a youth survey incorporating the Child and Youth Resilience Measure (CYRM) to a wider youth population (Ungar, 2007). The Chair requested the possible application of the IRP methodology to this thesis.

The original IRP researchers based in eleven different countries worked with young people, some already defined locally as ‘at risk’. It is probable the researchers involved in the study already possessed in-depth cultural knowledge of their particular country. Some African countries were included among the eleven countries, but not Zambia. As a Research Fellow with no prior experience of any African country, it is obvious the local knowledge and immediate connections were limited.

There are further considerations; the IRP is underpinned by a Foucauldian power analysis (Bottrell, 2009, p.324). Some southern theorists negate Foucault for overlooking historical racist and imperialist processes (Nnaemeka, 2003). It may be more culturally appropriate to apply a combination of both individualistic and collective approaches within the study context (Mason & Bolzan, 2010) to generate knowledge regarding YCE underpinned by resilience.

For this thesis, it would be necessary to utilise local gatekeepers to access local populations within the available timescale. For the purpose of this study, a gatekeeper is defined as:

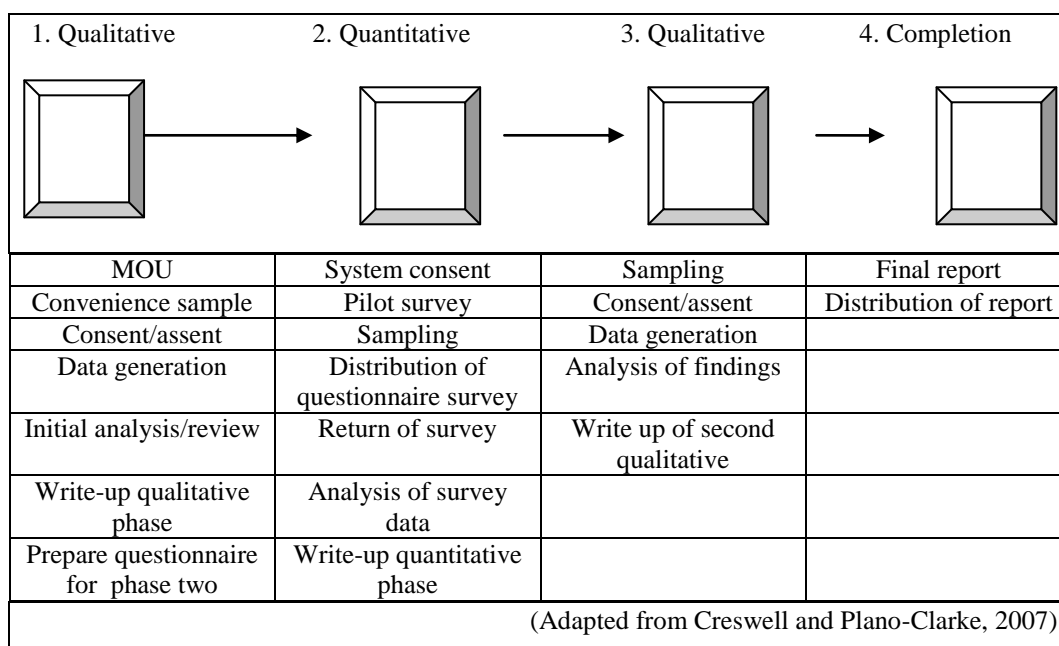
‘an individual with extensive local knowledge of the study context’

There are limitations associated with gatekeepers. The individual gatekeeper may or may not work directly with young people. This may result in the recruitment of young people who are most resourceful and have the upper hand to their peers. As a result an imbalance of information favouring young people with the strongest voice might occur (Flekkoy and Kaufman, 1997).

It is proposed by using a three phase exploratory mixed method model (Please see: Figure 3:1 Exploratory mixed method model), that each phase would endeavour to include a fair representation of different groups of young people. The third phase, as a counter-balance to the possible privileging of young people during phase one and two would target locally defined “at risk” young people. This would ensure their voices are included in the overall research.

To be realistic it is doubtful if a lone researcher could complete all three phases within the required timescale. The first phase, the contextualisation in its own right is a significant piece of research. It was envisioned the contextualisation may generate new knowledge applicable to the ongoing work of the Chair. As such is apposite as a doctoral thesis. At the discretion of the Chair, phase two and three could be progressed at a later stage.

Figure 3:1 Exploratory mixed method model



3.2.5 Summary of research background and rationale

A sound rationale for the study has been provided. The researcher’s ontological stance and interest in the topic outlined. Drawing upon available research literature, a mixed method study was proposed. At an early stage it was recognised, the chances of a lone researcher bringing all three phases to fruition were slim. Alternatively, the contextualisation by itself is a significant piece of

work. The generation of new knowledge from under-represented populations in a southern context is apposite as adequate to fulfill the requirements of a thesis. At the discretion of the Chair phases two and three may be completed at a later stage.

3.3 Section three: Research design framework

The research design incorporates seven elements: 1) study boundaries, 2) ethical framework, 3) research process, 4) sampling, 5) data generation techniques, 6) data management and 7) limitations. These are each detailed in the following sections.

3.3.1 Study boundaries

A series of study boundaries incorporating geographical, target groups and definitions were set. These boundaries contain the research, to a maximum of seven months fieldwork and time to write up the thesis within a four-year timescale.

3.3.1.1 Geographical boundaries

Zambia's geographical area comprises of nine provinces (Please see: Appendix one). Logistically the researcher's use of public transport, mainly buses, to move from area to area deemed the inclusion of all nine provinces as unfeasible. Readily accessible by bus routes, the three previously mentioned partners, each in a different province narrowed the geographical area.

By utilising 'geographical community' (Powell and Geoghenan, 2004, p.17) the research may acquire an urban and rural balance. For the purpose of this study, 'urban' refers to the provisional capital in each province. The term 'rural' refers to a small town or village, which services the surrounding rural areas.

Furthermore the inclusion of six study sites may enable an ethnic balance to be acquired as evidenced in Table 3:1 Geographical location and ethnic group shown on the next page).

Table 3:1 Geographical location and ethnic group

Province	Urban Area & Ethnic Groups	Total population	Rural Area & Ethnic Groups	Total population
Lusaka	Lusaka - Mixed people	1,211, 100	Chilenga area - Mixed people	10,200
Western	Mongu - Nkoya People & Lozi people	49,500	Kaoma area - Lozi People	14,800
Southern	Livingstone - Batoka People Tonga People	85,282	¹ Mazabuka & Nakambola area - Tonga People	40,000

3.3.1.2 Target groups

For this study, two target groups were identified, young people and adults defined as follows:

- A young person, an individual male or female, aged twelve, thirteen or fourteen years old at the time of the fieldwork. Drawn from different socio-economic backgrounds.
- An adult, an individual eighteen years of age or above at the time of the fieldwork. The sample of adults to include parents, guardians and representatives of statutory and non-statutory agencies.

3.3.1.3 Study definitions

There are three definitions relevant to this study: 1) gender, 2) culture and context and 3) resilience. Gender as a possible difference within the neo-Gramscian framework, a theme of UNESCO and the Zambian NCP (2006) promotes gender equality. It is appropriate to provide a definition for the purpose of this study. Drawing upon the World Health Organisation (2009) definition is applied to this study:

‘Gender refers to the socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women’

Culture and context provide socialisation and inform gender identities (Hine, 2008, p.20). Furthermore culture provides a source of resilience associated with YCE. Ungar (2007, p.291) provides a useful definition:

¹ CSO figures combine Mazabuka and Nakambola population. The research targeted Mazabuka.

‘Culture is understood as the customs, traditions, languages and social interactions that provide identity conclusions for individuals and groups. Context, distinct from culture is the social, temporal and geographical location in which culture is manifested’.

Current literature advocates for studies pertaining to resilience to incorporate both the individualist and collective aspects of resilience. A universal definition of resilience is lacking (Canavan, 2008, p.1). Drawing upon the writings of Ungar (2006, 2007 & 2008), Bottrell (2009) and Murray & Zautra (2011), resilience is defined as follows for this particular study:

Resilience is both an individual and collective process drawing upon internal assets and those embedded within a cultural context. The acquisition of resilience from different system levels, may promote well-being, sustainability, growth and collectivism.

3.3.2 Ethical Framework

The ethical framework is presented in Table 3:2 Framework of child’s rights and ethical principles below (Hogan and Gilligan, 1997, p.5). The ethical framework comprises of seven elements: 1) negotiation of access, 2) ethical approval, 3) translator, 4) information, consent and assent, 5) confidentiality, 6) storage of information and 7) research proofing.

Table 3:2 Framework of child rights ethical principles

Type of Right	Research ethical principles
To satisfactory development and well-being	The purpose of the research should contribute to children’s well being, either directly, or indirectly through increased understanding of children which can help adults who are responsible for children
To protect from harm	Methods should be designed to avoid stress and distress; contingency arrangements should be available in case children become upset or situations of risk or harm are revealed
To appropriate services	Children should whenever possible feel good about having contributed to research as a service which can inform society, individuals, policy and practice
To express opinions which are taken account of	Children should make informed choices about Agreement or refusal to take part Opting out (at any stage) Contributing ideas to research agendas and processes, both for individual research projects and to research enterprise as a whole

(Hogan and Gilligan, 1997)

3.3.2.1 Negotiation of Access

In June 2009, the researcher contacted the three previously mentioned partners by telephone to seek their support for the study. Each of the three partners confirmed their support for the study. In July 2009, a briefing document and a

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (Please see: Appendix two) was sent to each partner. By August 2009, each of the partners had returned the signed MOU confirming their support and agreeing to become gatekeepers for this study.

3.3.2.2 Ethical Approval

In September 2009, the researcher submitted an ethics application to the NUIG ethics committee seeking approval. The committee met in early October 2009 and provided ethical approval with provisions. These provisions were reliant upon context information from Zambia. The acquisition of the information relied upon ethical approval from the University of Zambia, Lusaka (UNZA).

The researcher travelled to Zambia on Wednesday, 28th October 2009 and the next day met with the Chairperson of the UNZA ethics committee. On Monday, 2nd November 2009, the researcher submitted an ethics application to a special sitting of the committee for approval. The application was granted. The researcher e-mailed a copy to the NUI Galway ethics committee to fulfill the proviso conditions.

3.3.2.3 Translator

In Zambia, English is the official language but there are also 74 different indigenous languages in daily use. In September 2009, an e-mail recruitment process for a translator commenced. A short list of candidates was invited to attend for interview by e-mail on Monday, 2nd November 2009. The successful candidate accepted the post of translator and transcriber. The researcher notified the CFRC administrator of the appointment. The translator had to supply the required paper work to NUI Galway to confirm the post and receive a salary.

3.3.2.4 Information, introductory session, consent and assent

In mid-October 2009, the researcher supplied the gatekeepers with age appropriate information sheets for distribution to potential participants. In November, the researcher held an introductory session in each study site. Potential participants had a minimum of five days to make an informed choice

to become a research participant or not. To participate in the study, an individual had to submit the required completed consent and assent forms (Please see: Appendix three to Appendix six).

3.3.2.5 Confidentiality

Adults and young people who chose to participate in the research were guaranteed confidentiality during and following the research. Pseudo names replaced participant names in transcripts, the Nvivo computer package and direct quotes in text to protect the anonymity of participants throughout the research process.

3.3.2.6 Storage of Information

UNZA agreed to store the raw material safely when the researcher was in Zambia. The researcher brought the raw data back to Ireland. The agreed MOU contains the research intellectual property rights belonging to NUI Galway. Only NUI Galway can provide access to the raw data, which will be stored for five years. It will be destroyed once the five year timescale has elapsed.

3.3.2.7 Research proofing

From the outset, the research design incorporated measures to be inclusive as possible. It did not intentionally reinforce existing inequalities or intentionally use methods, which would place the participants in physical, emotional or psychological harm. The research agreed with participants a procedure for withdrawing from the research at any time without having to give an explanation.

3.3.3 Research process

The ethical application provided details of the research process, incorporating two simultaneous strands: 1) the direct work with the participants and 2) the mapping of existing youth services.

3.3.3.1. Direct work with participants

The first strand incorporates two phases: 1) Site contextualisation and 2) A representative forum. Phase one: Site contextualisation (Please see: Figure 3:2 Site contextualisation on the next page) comprises of three different types of sessions: 1) the introductory session, 2) focus groups and 3) a plenary session. The details of each session type and the advantages and dis-advantages and participatory measures are presented as a later section in this chapter. As part one of the study process, each study site would select four representatives, maintaining a gender and age balance, to participate in Phase two: Representative forum (Please see: Figure 3:3 Representative forum on the next page).

The second phase, the Representative forum would work with elected study site representatives. Through a reflective collaborative process the findings would be drafted and topics for further study identified. An anticipated outcome of the process is the prevention of researcher bias, exclusion or mis-representation of participant data. The participants would disseminate the outcomes to members in their own area.

3.3.3.2 Mapping of existing YCE opportunities

The mapping of existing YCE would be completed by compiling data from three different sources. First, by extrapolating identified services from the transcripts. The second source of data, publically available organisational databases of existing YCE activities. Finally to draw upon the researcher's observation made in each study site of existing services.

3.3.4 Sampling technique

There are two main approaches to sampling, 1) probability and 2) non-probability (Blaxter et al., 1997). The first, probability is associated with quantitative research and deemed inappropriate for this qualitative study. The second, non-probability is compatible with qualitative research (Blaxter et al., 1997). The whole population is unknown or it is not necessary to know the

population. Sampling techniques enable the selection of interesting or typical cases.

Figure 3:2 Phase one: Site contextualisation

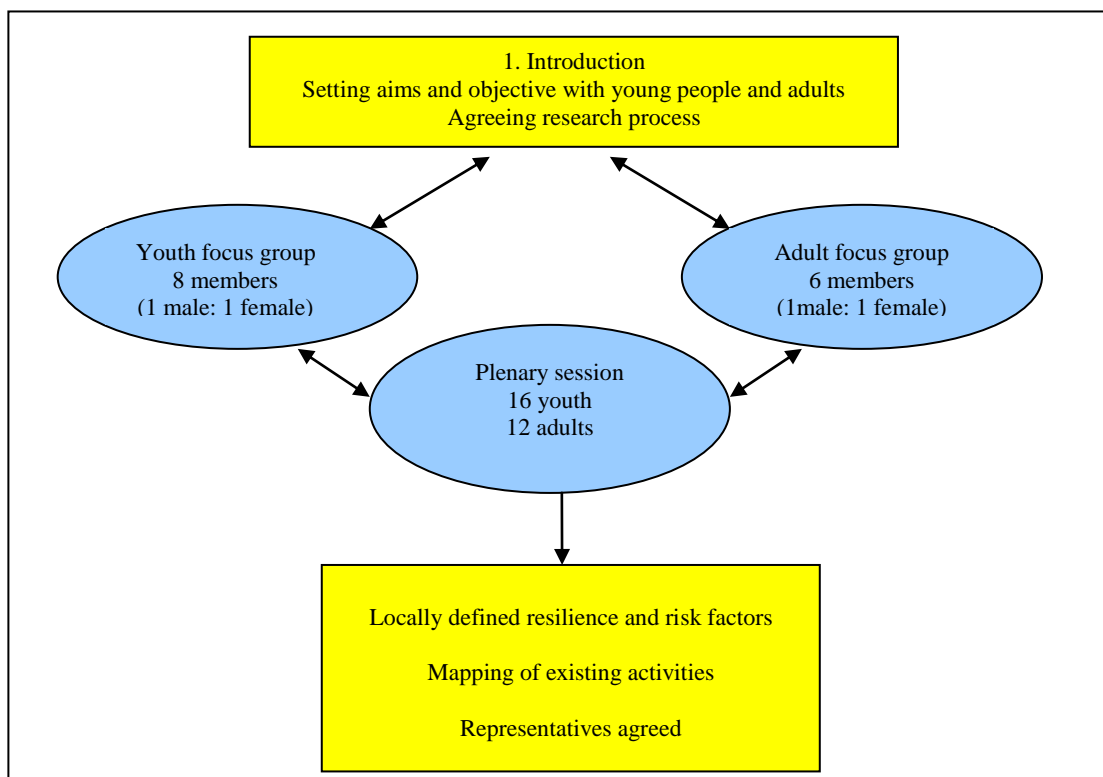
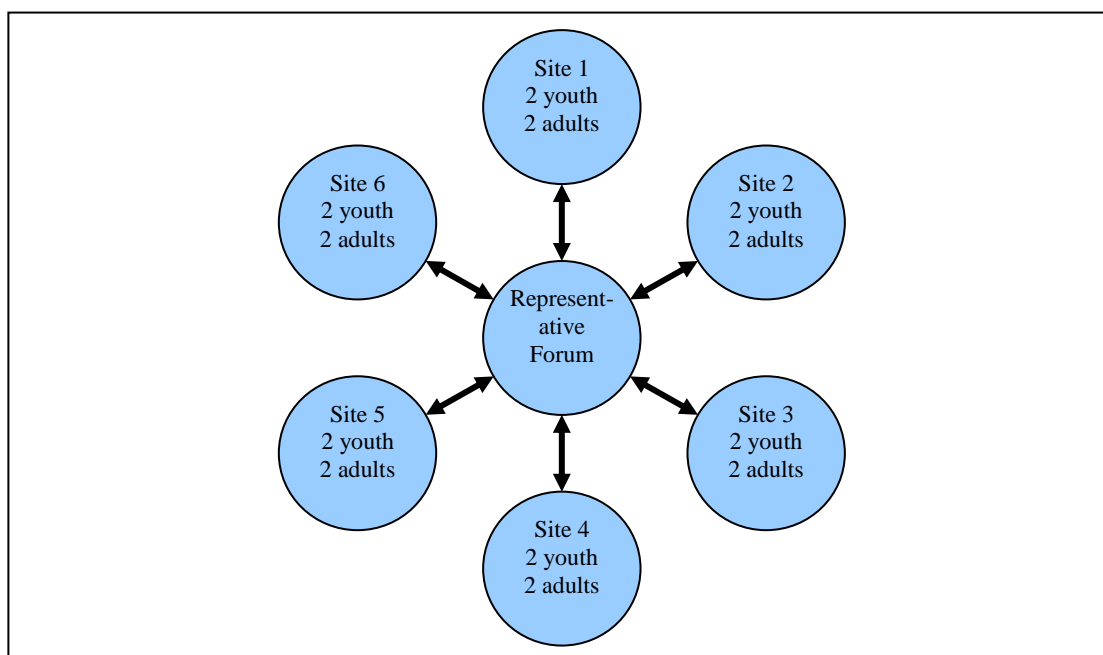


Figure 3:3 Phase two: Representative forum



The researcher requested the gatekeepers to secure a convenience sample from both the rural and urban community in their area. This would acquire a sample of sixteen young people (eight male and eight female) and twelve adults (six male and six female) in each of the study sites. As a result the research population would total ninety-six young people (forty-eight male and forty-eight female) and seventy-two adults (thirty-six male and thirty-six female).

3.3.5 Data generation techniques

The research process involved two simultaneous strands 1) direct work with participants and 2) mapping of existing YCE opportunities. The first strand of working within six study sites incorporates two phases. Phase one: Site contextualisation and Phase two: Representative forum. The second strand the mapping exercise of existing YCE through databases, participant transcripts and researcher observations. A third data generation technique, photography, is proposed to provide contextual images to complement data generated via Strand One and Two. This section is closed with a summary table of the proposed research process. .

3.3.5.1 Strand one - Phase one: Site contextualisation

Phase one: Site contextualisation incorporates three distinct data generation techniques; A) introductory session, B) focus groups and C) plenary session. The details of each are provided with advantages, disadvantages, participatory measures and reflective spaces.

A) The introductory session is the first face-to-face interaction between the researcher and potential research participant. It is at this interface risk and trust becomes intertwined (Beck, 1992). An individual will make a decision to access or participate in services or research. At this point the research may gather momentum and progress or falter.

Advantages include a forum to build trust, where individuals can come together to agree ways of working in groups (Prendiville, 1995, p.5). As a dialogue

(Lansdown, 2010, p.18) the researcher and potential participants can exchange information regarding all aspects of the research. Reciprocal relationships and the absence of a research hierarchy may be nurtured (Wilkinson, 2004, p.271).

Disadvantages as a negotiation space may become problematic. Participants may propose unfeasible changes to the research process, beyond the perimeters of the study or may be methodologically or ethically unsound. The worst case scenario: the participants might reject the research process as a whole.

Participation measures included the gatekeeper distribution of age appropriate written information sheets. Furthermore they provided the information verbally to overcome potential literacy barriers. At the introductory session, the first meeting of the researcher and potential participants, the availability of a translator was designed to overcome language barriers. As a negotiation space include participant inputs regarding the design and guidance of the research process. To agree dates and times for focus groups and plenary sessions.

Reflective spaces include the introductory session where participants can seek clarification regarding the research. Participants were facilitated a minimum of five days to reflect on the research information to make an informed choice to engage with the research or not.

B) Focus groups, for the purpose of this study, a focus group is defined as:

selected community members brought together to discuss the research topic.

Advantages of focus groups include an effective generation technique for working with youth and adults (UCD Study). It is possible to generate understandings of people's views and opinions compared to observation only or interview techniques (Gibbs, 2001). When resilience is a factor of a research study, the use of one-to-one interviews may provide valuable individual accounts. These may de-contextualise important social processes, perceived to

contribute to the building of resilience (Bottrell, 2009, p. 422). Focus groups provide a collective space to consider YCE and resilience.

Linguists (Hyme, 2005) outline how a researcher conducting a study in a cultural context different to their own, are likely to misinterpret cultural non-verbal cues during one-to-one interviews. Homogeneous members of a focus group enable interactions to flow more naturally, including agreement, challenges and the development of collective meaning (Gibbs, 2001). As a process the participants lead the interaction minimising the power imbalance between the researcher and participants (Wilkinson, 2004, p.281).

Disadvantages may include the group discussion being experienced by some individuals as intimidating (Brookfield, 2005). Some personalities may dominate and introduce irrelevant topics (Gibbs, 2001). It is also naive to think adult-youth dialogues could be devoid of power dynamics (Fitzgerald et. al, 2010, p.301). Furthermore when young people are cognitively able to understand abstract concepts, they are equally adept at deciding what to reveal or conceal to adults (Scott, 2000, p.102). The literature review illuminates gender and age disparities favour the position of males over females. This needs to be counter-acted (Van Staveren, 1997) within the research process.

Participation measures to counterbalance power disparities led to a decision to hold separate focus groups based upon age and gender. The focus group may provide a space where participants feel safe to share their opinions and views (Van Staveren, 1997, p.131). Youth only spaces, separated by gender, provide recognition (Fitzgerald et al, 2010, p. 303) in the research process to young people as “experts” (Hogan and Gilligan, 1997) in their own lives. To overcome the group being experienced as intimidating, an option to avail of a one-to-one individual session, for anyone who might feel they would like to make additions to what had been said during the focus group would be offered. To counter-balance the age disparity prior to the plenary session young people could avail of a session to assist their preparation of sharing information in an intergenerational space.

Reflective spaces to bring closure to the focus group, the researcher would request participants to select and record the main point from their discussion on a summary sheet to share during the plenary session. Secondly, participants had to make a group decision of who should share their information at the plenary session, for example, one person, two or three or all the members.

C) Plenary session as a participatory process was designed to create an intergenerational dialogue (Percy-Smith & Thompson, 2010, p.361).

Advantages of sharing information may create new understandings or identify common interests. This may bring about collective action to respond to an issue or promote an idea (Miles and Huberman, 1997). The session design creates a space where young people may advocate on their own behalf (Lansdown, 2010, p.16). The participation of adults, from both statutory and non-statutory organisations potentially means the voices of youth may be related back into local wider political structures as a spin-off of the research process (Percy-Smith and Thomas, 2010, p.361). The space provides a forum to identify communal sources of resilience (Bottrell, 2009, p.333).

Disadvantages as a new experience, it was impossible to pre-empt the participation or dynamic that may materialise during the intergenerational dialogue of the plenary session.

Participation measures agreement between the participants to order the sharing of information. The loss of information between the focus group and plenary session was minimised by digitally recording both sessions in all six study sites. Participants would select their own representatives for phase two the representative forum. To demonstrate appreciation of the participant inputs, each youth member would be presented with a Participation Certificate and small gift. Adults would receive a small gift. To record the event, a photograph of each presentation would be taken.

Reflective practice during the plenary session dialogue creates a space where participants can reflect upon the shared information and different perspectives.

To bring closure to the plenary session, comments would be invited regarding the research process to that point.

3.3.5.2 Strand one – Representative Forum

Each of the six studies would nominate four representatives, two young people, one male and one female, and two adults, one male and one female to participate in the representative forum at a central location. The format of introductory sessions, focus groups and a plenary session would be repeated to share information between the six study sites. The purpose of the representative review to critically review the information and agree the findings as a collective group. The process may identify further topics that may benefit from future research. Subsequently the representatives would feedback the agreed findings to their own areas.

3.3.5.3 Strand two - Mapping exercise of existing youth services

The second strand, a mapping exercise of existing youth services would be compiled from three sources of information. These are: 1) acquisition of databases of existing services, 2) excerpts from participant's transcripts and 3) researcher observation. The mapping exercise is to establish a baseline of existing services in the context.

3.3.5.4 Photography

Photography of contextual images would provide additional evidence of the daily realities of people's lives in the context. As the old adage conveys, a picture paints a thousand words. If any of the participants appeared in the photographs, consent or assent and parental/guardian consent is required to use the images for publication purposes (Please see: Appendix seven).

3.3.5.5 Summary of data generation techniques

Briefly the data generation techniques were designed to be culturally competent and to maximise the generation of data. Table 3:3 Summary of Strand one: Direct work with participants on the next page presents the data generation techniques applied in Phase one – Site Contextualisation and Phase two-

Representative forum linked to each of the study objectives and the source of data.

Table 3:3 Summary of Strand one: Direct work with participants

Phase one – Site Contextualisation		
Objective	Data technique	Source of data
Establish local understandings of Youth Civic Engagement	Introductory session Focus group x 4 per study site Plenary session x 1 per study site	Young people 12, 13 and 14 years of age from a variety of social backgrounds Adults 18 plus years of age, parents, guardians and representatives of both statutory and non-statutory organisations.
Establish the type of existing Youth Civic Engagement in the cultural context	As above	As above
To locally define risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement	As above	As above
To ascertain perceived resilience factors associated with Youth Civic Engagement	As above	As above
Phase two – Representative Forum		
Phase one process of introductory, focus group and plenary session repeat. To share the information between the six study sites. Subsequently to agree the findings.		

Table 3:4 Stand two: Mapping exercise of existing Youth Civic Engagement below summarises the data techniques and sources of data relating specifically to the second objective: to establish the type of existing Youth Civic Engagement in the cultural context.

Table 3:4 Summary of Strand two: Mapping exercise of existing YCE opportunities

Mapping a continuous process throughout the research		
Objective	Data technique	Source of data
Establish the type of existing civic engagement opportunities available in the cultural context	1.Extrapolation of identified services from focus group and plenary session transcripts	Youth and adult research participants
	2. Observation of services in study sites	Photography and researchers reflective journal
	3. Networking to obtain publicly available databases of existing services	Representatives of organisations in addition to those representatives involved in the direct work.
Photography		
On going process of capturing contextual images		

3.3.6 Data Management

The data management elements are detailed under the following sub-headings:

1) Nvivo software package, 2) digital recordings and 3) summary sheets.

3.3.6.1 Nvivo software package

The Nvivo software package is a tool to manage an entire research project from beginning to completion. Components of the package enable systematic storage, coding and retrieval of different types of data, including recordings, videos, transcripts, memos and photographs.

3.3.6.2. Digital recordings

It was envisaged during phase one, five digital records (four focus groups and one plenary session) per site would be made. As a result a total of thirty recording would be made for phase one. The second phase, Representative forum would generate five recordings. A grand total of thirty-five recordings for the entire research would be made. Subsequently the recordings would be downloaded onto the laptop computer then imported into the Nvivo software package and this would ensure two copies of the recordings were stored. Furthermore to protect against any loss of data, backup copies of the recordings would also be made on a memory stick.

3.3.6.3 Summary Sheets

To bring closure to the focus groups, participants would be asked to compile a summary sheet of key points they would like to share during the plenary sessions. Subsequently, the researcher would type this concise information into Word documents. Once dated and coded these records could be imported into Nvivo.

3.3.6.4. Summary of data management measures

It is usual for qualitative research to generate significant amounts of data. So it is essential to have a data management system incorporated into the research design. Otherwise valuable generated data may become lost or become

unusable. Three measures incorporated into the research design are the Nvivo software package, digital recording and summary sheets.

3.3.7 Study de-limitations

The delimitations are presented in the following sub-sections: 1) anti-bias measures, 2) reflexive journal, 3) timescale, 4) study scale, 5) measurement and 6) data management.

3.3.7.1 Anti-bias measures

From the outset, measures were incorporated into the research design to promote inclusion and participation. The cyclical two-phased process facilitated a reflective collaborative review of the research findings. This two-phased process enhanced the validity of the findings and minimised the researcher's bias or mis-representation of data.

3.3.7.2 Reflective and reflexive journal

The researcher kept a reflexive journal, a personal space to consider roles, power relations, practice, ideas and personal feelings. A journal is a common tool of a critical practitioner. It assists to inform practice to minimise power disparities between the researcher and research participants. By making observations and noting items of interest in the journal, comments to accompany the photographs taken during the fieldwork might be made.

3.3.7.3 Time scale

Fieldwork incorporating culture and resilience as considerations may benefit from longitudinal study (Luther et al., 2000). A bona fide limitation is the short time scale of this study. However, culture is not static, but fluid and in constant fluctuation and open to change (Engelstad, 2009, p.217). The culturally competent approach and collaborative reflections were designed to enhance the reliability and validity of the data generated at the time of the research.

3.3.7.4 Study scale and cultural appropriateness

Despite the small scale of the study, it was possible to obtain cultural diversity among the research population. The research identification of any common

values, norms, beliefs and issues among the six study sites may suggest transferability into other ethnic groups in Zambia. It is acknowledged the findings will probably be less transferable to non-Zambian contexts.

3.3.7.5 Measurement

Luther et al., (2000) critique of resilience studies recommend a need for robust measurement of resilience. As a qualitative study, a measurement of resilience is lacking. However, the contextual identification of risk and resilience factors is required to design a culturally appropriate resilience measure. This study as a contextualisation may potentially identify those required risk and resilience factors. At the discretion of the Chair, it may provide the basis for future resilience quantitative work in Zambia.

3.3.7.6 Data management

The reliance upon information communication technologies (ICT's) to manage data requires a contingency plan to protect against loss of data. While recording focus group and plenary sessions, digital recorders may fail. A second older cassette recorder on stand-by provided an alternative recording mechanism. Any recordings should be transferred on to the laptop as quickly as possible. Regular backups on to memory sticks offer a second safeguard against the possible loss of data.

3.4. Section four: Research implementation

The implementation of the study is a reflective account of the research design in practice. A framework of four sub-sections: 1) Research process in practice, 2) demographics, 3) translator and 4) data management guide is presented.

3.4.1 Research process in practice

The research process involved two strands, 1) direct work with participants and 2) mapping exercise.

3.4.1.1 Direct work with participants-Phase one: Site contextualisation

Phase one: Site contextualisation progressed as designed between 5th November 2009 and 17th December 2009. The introductory sessions were effective and as part of the participatory negotiation this led to an amendment to the proposed second phase: The Representative forum. Participants “felt” it would be “fairer” if all participants had the “equal” chance to review the findings. The Representative forum was replaced with a Collaborative review (Please see: Section 3.4.1.2 this chapter).

The focus groups worked well and generated significant amounts of data. In two of the six study sites, the adult participants opted to work together in the one focus group. It is unclear how this may have affected the data generated. The measure to enhance participation by offering one-to-one sessions and youth preparation sessions for the plenary were not availed of by any of the participants. This may be an indication the research process had facilitated the members to participate as they had wished to do.

The focus group spaces enabled the research to gain insights into specific issues, which may not have occurred otherwise. For example, an adult male focus group in one study site, spoke about the cultural taboo which prevented them speaking about family planning. As a group they felt safe to raise the issue in the all adult male forum, but collectively decided not to bring the issue forward to the plenary session. They viewed the research as a method of bringing the issue into the public domain, whilst ensuring their anonymity (Please see: Chapter five: Research findings)

Generally, the plenary session in each of the study sites progressed as planned. However there was an exception, in one study site, on the day, three of the four groups shared their information as agreed. Although in attendance, the young women’s group requested the researcher to read out their summary sheet. It is unclear, what prompted this request, nerves, shyness, cultural coherence or some other factor. The plenary session, as an intergenerational deliberation worked well. It was clear that some adults really listened to the young people.

In one of the study sites, for example, young women expressed an interest in sport. An adult verbalised this as “new knowledge” in their community, as traditionally sport catered for young men only. A verbalised possible action was to offer young women sports in the future (Please see: Chapter five: Research findings).

3.4.1.2 Direct work with participants-Phase two: Collaborative review

As a result of the negotiated research process during the introductory session a change was made to the proposed second phase: The representative form was revised and renamed the collaborative review. This meant phase two, instead of working with twenty-four research participants at a central location was open to all participants. Essentially the second phase comprised of a critical review session held in each of the six study sites. To facilitate the requested amendment to the research process, the researcher had to re-visit each community. This required an adjustment to the original research timeline with the researcher travelling to Study Site 1 Pre-Christmas 2009. The researcher commenced collating the draft findings into three working documents: 1) a reference document, 2) an adult summary and 3) a youth friendly summary.

The reference document comprised of tables, graphs, issues and direct quotations, all coded and pseudo named to protect anonymity. The second and third summary documents contained cross reference codes so participants could check the sources of information in the reference document. These documents were circulated via the gatekeepers. The participants had at least five days to peruse the findings prior to the scheduled Collaborative review sessions.

The first Collaborative review was conducted on 9th February 2010. During phase one, the plenary session appeared to be successful. It was agreed with participants to conduct the collaborative reviews as a mixed intergenerational forum. The process progressed as planned in five of the six study sites. Then the researcher became seriously ill and required hospitalisation and was not physically able to conduct the Collaborative review in the sixth study site.

3.4.1.3 Mapping of existing youth activities

The mapping of existing youth activities progressed as planned. A comprehensive overview has been compiled of existing youth activities in the study context. Nonetheless this list should not be viewed as exhaustive (Please see: Chapter five: Research findings and Chapter eight: Recommendations).

3.4.1.4 Photography

Many images were captured during the fieldwork. Some have been incorporated into the findings chapter to enhance the contextualisation. The images accompanied by researcher's observation or excerpts from transcripts provide a visual reality for the reader.

3.4.1.5 Summary of research process.

In relation to the Strand one: Direct work with participants. The first phase: Site contextualisation proceeded as anticipated. The proposed second phase: Representative forum was changed. This was as a result of negotiation process incorporated into the introductory session. Rather than select four representatives from each of the six study sites to review the draft findings, participants' requested the review should be open to everyone who took part in the generation of the data.

The amended second phase was named: Phase two: The collaborative review and was open to all participants. Fundamentally, the second phase remained as a critical review of the draft findings. This ensured the researcher had not misrepresented or skewed the data. It is reasonable to suggest the review may enhance the validity of the findings. However, it is unclear if the change in the process led to a different set of findings than might have been produced through the representative forum.

The second strand the mapping of existing YCE opportunities proceeded as anticipated. From the researcher perspective, photography certainly enhances the contextualisation process. The evidence of the practical implementation of the photography is presented in the following chapter sections and as appendix eight.

3.4.2 Demographics

This section provides a detailed breakdown of the research population. It also provides evidence the gatekeepers were effective in engaging the desired target groups. The demographics are presented utilising graphs (numbered as figures) and a short commentary. Three sub-sections: 1) total population, 2) youth populations and 3) adult populations.

3.4.2.1 Total research population by phase

Figure 3:4 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of total research population by gender illustrates one hundred and forty-eight individuals participated in the first phase. The population comprised of slightly more male (seventy-six) than female (seventy-two) participants.

Figure 3:4 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of research population by gender

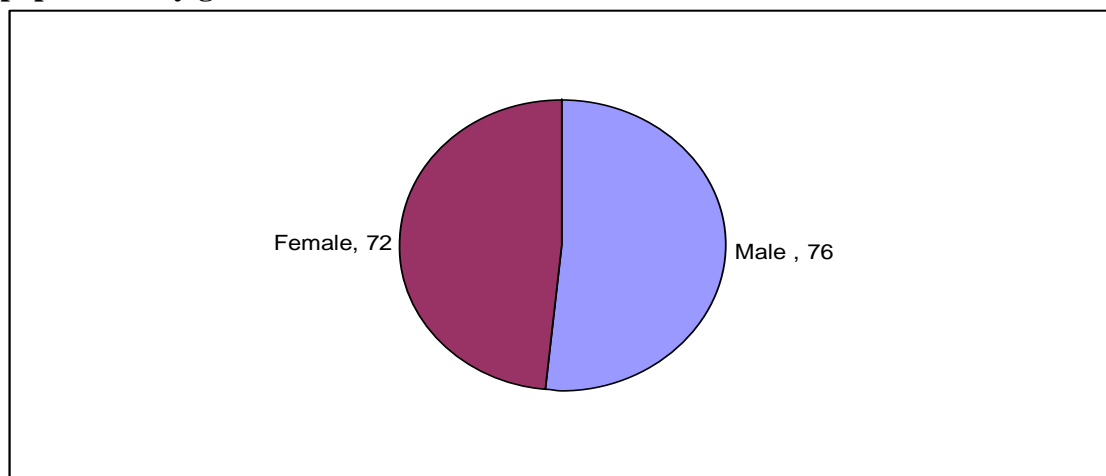
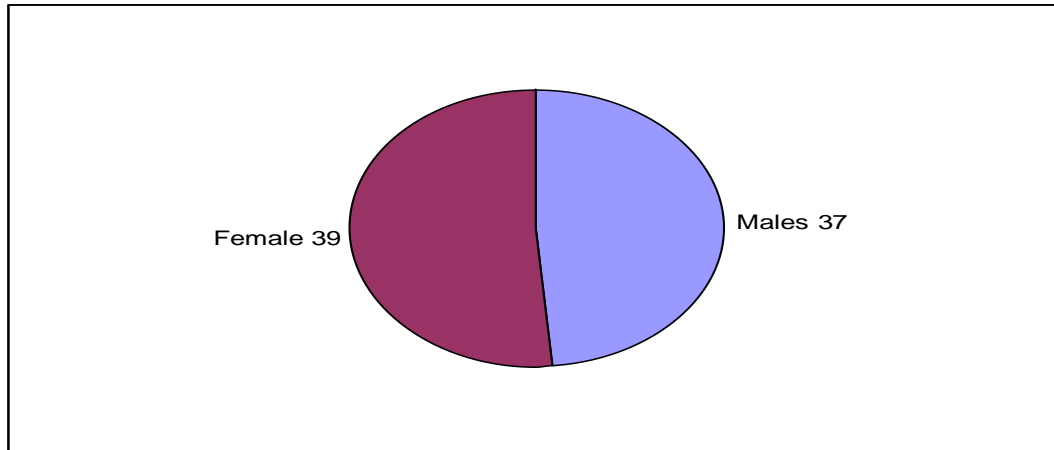


Figure 3:5 Phase two: Collaborative review breakdown of research population by gender reveals a drop in participants. The second phase comprised of seventy-six individuals maintaining a gender balance of slightly less male (forty-seven) than female (forty-nine) participants. This initially appears to be a significant decline between phase one (one hundred and forty-eight) individuals and phase two (seventy-six). The researcher illness led to the exclusion of Study Site (SS) 2 from the review. If all of the SS2 membership (forty-two) had

attended the review the total population would be one hundred and eight, a less significant decline of forty participants.

Figure 3:5 Phase two: Collaborative review breakdown of research population by gender



3.4.2.2 Youth population by phases

Figure 3:6 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of the youth population by gender and study site and Table 3:5 Youth population declines from Phase one to Phase two by study site detail the youth participation in the research.

Figure 3:6 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of the youth population by gender by study site

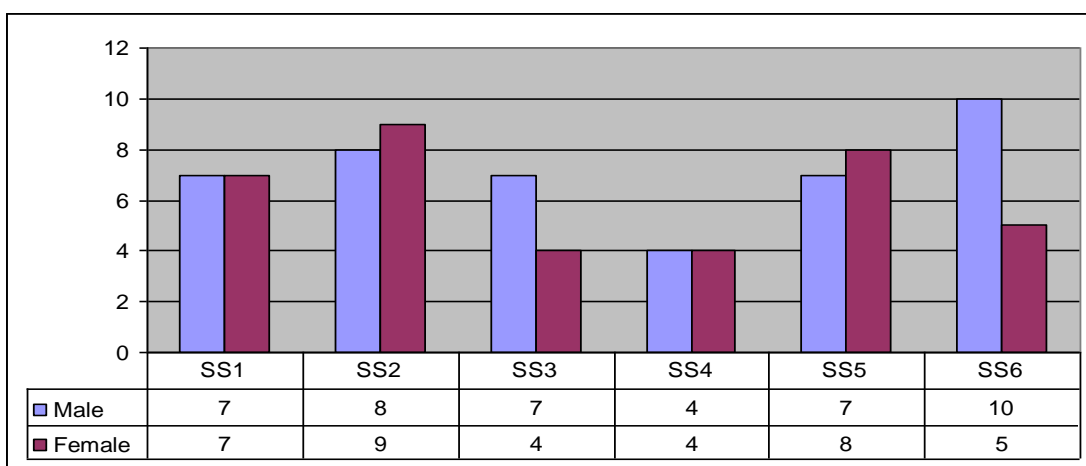


Figure 3:6 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of youth population by gender and study site. This illustrates a total phase one youth population of

eighty individuals. The rural study sites SS2, SS5 and SS6 figures reveal forty-seven rural youth participants, comprising of slightly more male (twenty-five) than female (twenty-two) participants.

The combined totals for SS1, SS3 and SS4 indicate an urban youth population of thirty-three participants, including slightly more male (eighteen) than female (fifteen) participants. In SS4, on the day of the scheduled focus groups, individuals from one organisation withdrew due to unforeseen circumstances. It was not possible to recruit replacement participants. In SS4, four young women who attended the introductory session did not attend the scheduled focus group. As part of the research ethics anybody could withdraw at anytime without supplying a reason. No reason was supplied on this occasion.

Table 3:5 Youth population declines from Phase one to Phase two by study site

	SS1	SS2	SS3	SS4	SS5	SS6
Male	-1	X	-4	-1	-2	-9
Female	-1	X	0*	-4	-2	-2
Total	-2	X	-4	-5	-4	-11

0* indicates no change between phase one and two

Table 3:5 Youth population declines from Phase one to Phase two by study site illustrates the total decline of youth population between Phase one and Phase two. The most significant decline occurred in SS6 (nine less males and two less females) and was attributed to young people being involved in the harvest. The only population not to decline from phase one to the second phase was female participants in SS4 depicted by a zero.

During Phase one: Site contextualisation, the youth profile comprised of young people from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds. All were attending school, private, state, or community-based. The latter caters for families with limited resources and some participants enrolled in these schools indicated their attendance was irregular. Based upon local definitions of risk some of the youth participants were identified as particularly “at risk”, due to health issues, being an orphan, living in a shelter for young women and/or having a physical disability.

To reconnect with participants for Phase two: Collaborative review, photographs of young people receiving their participation certificates and small token gift taken as part of the closure of Phase one were distributed. Adults were photographed receiving their small token gift. The researcher thought adults would not be interested in receiving participation certificates. However adults requested them and these were distributed as part of the reconnection. During Phase two: Collaborative review some of the youth participants had recently left school due to financial constraints. It appeared one young woman/girl had become pregnant, but this was not confirmed.

3.4.2.3 Adult research population by phase

Figure 3:7 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of the adult population by gender and study site and Table 3:6 Adult population declines from Phase one to Phase two detail the adult participation in the research.

Figure 3:7 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of the adult population by gender and study site



Figure 3:7 Phase one: Site contextualisation breakdown of the adult population by gender and study site reveals a total adult population of sixty-eight individuals. The combined SS2, SS5 and SS6 figures identify a rural population of thirty-eight individuals, comprising of more male (twenty-one) than female (seventeen) participants.

The study sites SS1, SS3 and SS4 reveal an urban adult population of thirty individuals. The urban total comprises of less male (twelve) than female (eighteen) participants. The most significant gender imbalance occurred in

Study Site 4 (SS4) with more females (seven) than males (four). This is the study site where members of one organisation withdrew on the day of the focus groups.

Table 3:6 Adult population decline from Phase one to Phase two by study site on the next page, illustrates a total decline of sixteen individuals. In SS1 the participation between phase one and two was consistent. Limited declines occurred in SS4 and SS6 between the phases.

Table 3:6 Adult population decline from Phase one to Phase two by study site

	SS1	SS2	SS4	SS4	SS5	SS6
Male	0	X	-2	-2	-2	0
Female	0	X	0	-7	-1	-2
Total	0	X	-2	-9	-3	-2

The most significant decline occurred in SS4 with a decline of participation of seven females. Of the SS4 population, two representatives (one male and one female) of an organisation had been made redundant by the time phase two was conducted. Four participants were reported to have moved away to other areas for work purposes.

The adult profile included individuals from 18 years of age to post-retirement age of 65 years and above and is summarised in Table 3:7 Adult profiles shown below:

Table 3:7 Adult profiles

Aids prevention organisation	NGO 80:20	Salvation Army: youth counsellor
Community development worker	Nurse	Scripture union member
Community group participant	Parents	Sports for Action: sports facilitator
Community health workers	Pastor	Student (Boarding school 18 years)
Community members	Pre-school teacher	Student (Third level)
Home based care worker	Residential care worker	Teacher
Lifestart member	Retired policeman	Unemployed degree graduate
Local headman	Retired teacher	Unemployed diploma graduate
National Youth Association	Rural development	

3.4.3 Translator

The translator enhanced the participation of young people in the research process. In two of the study sites, the young people's English competency was limited. However, there were limitations, the translator, in one of the study sites was not fully conversant in the local dialect. An adult participant assisted with the translation with the young people focus group. It is unclear how this may have impacted upon the interaction. A second translator, once agreeing to abide by confidentiality was engaged to complete the transcripts from this particular study site.

3.4.4. Data management

Whilst travelling in Zambia access to ICT's varied considerably between different study sites. The laptop and digital recorder were infected with viruses and four digital recordings became corrupted and un-useable. The back-up cassette recorder captured one of the sessions in detail. The other three recordings lacked clarity. The researcher and translator wrote up notes of the session from memory. The participant summary sheets, provided evidence of the key points. Overall, the loss of data was minimised to acceptable levels within the research.

3.4.4.1. Phase one: Site contextualisation

A total of twenty-five recordings of an anticipated thirty were made successfully. The shortfall of five tapes can be accounted for as follows: 1) in two of the study sites the adult groups decided to work together, and 2) four tapes became corrupted and were un-useable, but one was recovered by the back-up recording device.

3.4.4.2 Phase two: Collaborative review

A total of five recordings of an anticipated six were made. The shortfall of one recording was due to the researcher becoming ill and physical inability to conduct the session in one study site.

3.4.4.3 Breakdown of recordings

In total, twenty-three hours (approximately) of recordings were made, as evidenced by Table 3:8 Breakdown of phase session recordings, by age, gender and location. The research process achieved an age, gender and location balance to the generation of data throughout. During Phase one: Site contextualisation, the youth focus groups resulted in almost eight hours of recording. Adult focus groups resulted in six hours (approximately) of recording. Similarly a balance was achieved in the plenary session with four and half hours of recording. The researcher and translator transcribed the phase one recordings verbatim: one hour of recording taking approximately four hours to transcribe.

The researcher read the transcripts several times to become re-immersed in the data. Subsequently the data was coded and arranged into themes as they emerged. The themed data was then scrutinised to assist with the arrangement of the data into the appropriate system level to aid the population of the neo-Gramscian framework. The findings were collated into three review documents to aid the progression of Phase two: Collaborative review. The second phase resulted in five hours of recordings.

Table 3:8 Breakdown of phase session recordings by age, gender and location.

	Phase one: Site contextualisation				Phase two: Collaborative review	
	Focus Groups				Plenary Session	Review
	Young male	Young female	Adult male	Adult female	Mixed	Mixed
SS1	44	47	25	25	84	115
SS2	44	46	Tape corrupted	42	60	Researcher illness
SS4	44	22	40	27	25	50
SS4	Tape corrupted	40	50 minutes		Tape corrupted	60
SS5	74	40	70 minutes (cassette recorded)		60	60
SS6	41	40	50	44	50	15
Total minutes	247	235	115	138	279	300
Total hours	4.11	3.91	1.91	2.3	4.6	5.00
Combined adult sessions total in hours				2 Hours		
GRAND TOTAL IN HOURS						23.8

3.5 Section five: Research Summary

In 2009, a sound rationale informed the research design to progress a participatory contextualisation of YCE underpinned by resilience. This informed the choice to utilise the “Loci of Oppression” (Ledwith, 2001) framework underpinned by cultural competency to progress the study. This informed a grounded participation design incorporating two strands: 1) Direct work with participants and 2) A mapping exercise of existing YCE opportunities.

The process set out to work within six study sites, three urban and three rural. Cultural diversity, age, gender and location balance among the research population was maintained throughout. The design was implemented in the study context of Zambia, Sub-Saharan Africa.

The recording and reflections of the implementation of the research in practice is summarised as bullet point overleaf.

- The demographic section confirms a cultural diversity, age, gender and location balance among the research population was achieved throughout the research process.
- The participants accepted the two strand approach. The participants requested a change to Strand One: Direct work with participants. The original design set out a two phased cyclical process comprising of: 1) Site contextualisation and 2) a Representative forum. The second phase, the Representative forum was amended to open the review of the draft findings to all participants. It is unclear if and how the amendment of the second phase may have influenced the study outcomes.
- Overall it is not unreasonable to state the two stranded methodology proved effective in the Zambian context. The variety of spaces created for dialogue, self-advocacy and reflection generated significant amounts of raw data. The cyclical critical reflection assisted the researcher to guard against bias or mis-representation of participant information. The draft findings were

agreed with participants with few amendments. This may be an indication of the benefits of incorporating reflective spaces within research processes.

The process enhances the validity of the research findings.

- The multiple data generation techniques provide sufficient data to contextualise the lives of young people in the context. The data management multi methods proved effective. Summary sheets, digital recording, back-up cassette and researcher and translator notes minimised any data loss. It is without doubt sufficient data has been generated to respond to each study objective and to fulfill the research aim.

Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia

4.1 Section One: Introduction

This particular chapter, Spotlight on Zambia, draws upon existing literature to form a backdrop to the study. The chapter is presented in four main swathes. The first considers the UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement, Programme of Work (2010 – 2013) and links the programme to the Zambian context. The second section provides a historical overview of Zambia from pre-colonial times, through the First and Second Republic to the present.

The penultimate section explores civil society and the significance of tribal allegiance and spirituality in Zambian society. The final section focuses upon the position of young people. The section opens with a review of the policy that is relevant to the lives of young people. The policy framework provides an opportunity to compare young people's related experiences of reality to the rhetoric. The statistical data pertaining to young people is confined to the three provinces within the geographical study boundaries: 1) Lusaka, 2) Southern and 3) Western. Subsequently the main points of each section are drawn together to formulate a chapter conclusion.

4.2 Section two: *The UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement and Zambia.*

In 2009, the UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement was inaugurated. Professor Pat Dolan, Director of the Child and Family Research Centre based at the National University of Ireland, Galway is holder of the Chair. Guided by UNESCO the Chair has a remit to deepen understandings of YCE. The recent publication of the UNESCO Medium-term Strategy (2008-2013) accords priority to three development themes: 1) Sub-Saharan Africa, 2) gender equality and 3) youth, especially rural, marginalised and unemployed youth.

The Chair operates from a rights-based perspective. Furthermore it promotes YCE as an enabler of resilience when embedded in a family support approach. The current Programme of Work (2010-2013) comprises of four interlocking components; 1) research, 2) teaching, 3) programme development and 4) advocacy. A UNESCO Global Youth Conference is scheduled for October 2012 to be held in Paris.

This thesis is designed to contribute to part fulfillment of the research element of the Chair's Programme of Work (2010-2013). It does so, firstly, through the topic choice, YCE underpinned by resilience. Secondly, by locating the study in the Sub-Saharan country of Zambia, a context accorded priority by the programme. Through the proposed cultural competent framework provides consideration of difference, including gender, age and location. Furthermore compliments the Chair's child rights perspective by facilitating youth voices, opinions and wishes to be heard. The research as a conduit between practice and academia may transfer learning into policy circle and influence the development of social meaning.

4.3 Section three: A historical overview of Zambia from pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras

The historical overview basically provides a very brief pre-colonial and colonial history. The post-colonial developments through the First and Second Republic are presented in more detail. These periods are particularly relevant to the contemporary social and political landscape of Zambia, referred to as the Third Republic. Special consideration is given to the legacy of British colonialism of the dual legal system, which is seen to complicate the pursuit of rights and the understanding of civil society.

4.3.1 Pre-colonial and colonialism

Zambia is a landlocked country in central Africa and is surrounded by the neighbouring countries of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Namibia and Angola (See: Appendix one: Map of Zambia). These contemporary geographical divisions

are quite different to historical boundaries. In the twelfth century the Shona people arrived in what is now known as Southern Zambia to establish the empire of Mwene Mutapa. In the sixteenth century people from the Luba and Lunda empires arrived from neighbouring states and established small kingdoms in Zambia (Retrieved from www.news.bbc.co.uk on the 22/07/2009).

It was not until the late eighteenth century that the European influence, specifically the Portuguese, engaged in the slave trade, impacted upon Zambia. In the mid-nineteenth century the arrival of the British missionary, David Livingstone initiated British domination in the affairs of Zambia. Queen Victoria, in 1889, granted a charter to Cecil Rhodes to govern the country. In 1929, the British government took back control of the area and named it Northern Rhodesia. The discovery of copper deposits near the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo resulted in the immigration of European engineers, technicians and administrators into the province named the Copperbelt. Copper mining became and remains the key industry of Zambia.

In 1960, Kenneth Kaunda, established the United National Independence Party (UNIP) to campaign against colonial rule and seek independence. In 1963, the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, comprising of Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (now Malawi) was dissolved. Zambia gained independence from Britain in 1964 (Gewald, Hinfelaar & Macola, 2008, p.2). The Republic of Zambia was formed and the UNIP became the ruling party.

4.3.2 The First Republic (1965 -1972)

The period referred to as the First Republic witnessed the UNIP promoting Zambian nationalist identity, to shift from authoritarianism towards a republican democracy (DeRoche, 2008, p. 77). National security became a priority and the government pursued alliances with the USA, USSR, China and other European countries to protect its sovereignty (DeRoche, 2008, p 91). As a part of the negotiation process the government's ideology became pliable to match the country it was liaising with at the time. A USSR official voiced Kaunda was

not enough of a socialist and the requested supports were denied. Negotiations elsewhere successfully secured supports from China and some European countries (DeRoche, 2008, p.94).

At national level, the perceived uneven effort of different provinces in the struggle for independence led to friction between different factions. It was anticipated these tensions would abate once the independent state was established. On the contrary, internal UNIP power struggles persisted between Bemba speaking (Northern Provinces and the Copperbelt) Tonga speaking (Southern Province), Nyanja speaking (Eastern Province) and those members from the Baroteseland (Western province). Attempts to introduce tribal balancing among holders of key governmental positions designed to quell unrest, had the opposite effect and were seen to reinforce ethnic divisions within the government (Larmer, 2008, p.104).

4.3.3 The Second Republic (1972-1991)

In 1971, a UNIP breakaway group comprising mainly of Bemba speakers established the United Progressive Party (UPP) which promoted a socialist type ideology (Larmer, 2008, p.105). In 1972, the UNIP banned the UPP and declared a One Party State, promoting one-party democracy, referred to as the Second Republic. The consequences of the Mulungushi Economic Reforms introduced in 1968 were beginning to emerge. The reforms restricted expatriates from trading in rural areas and confined their activities to urban settings. It was envisioned the shoes of expatriate rural traders would be filled by Zambians, but this did not materialise. Rural trade networks ceased, reduced production occurred and livelihoods were lost. Rural communities became depressed and entered a downward spiral into poverty (Macmillan, 2008, p.212).

At a global level, political and economic forces negatively impacted upon Zambia, especially when significant reductions in copper prices occurred. By the late 1980's, both rural and urban areas had to contend with food shortages, unemployment and lack of basic services. The trade unions mobilised to lobby

for improvements in social conditions. Frederick Chiluba, a central figure in the trade union movement, was instrumental in the formation of the political party, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) (Mulenga, 2008, p. 246).

4.3.4 The Third Republic (1991- to the present)

In 1991, the One Party Rule under Kaunda ceased and was replaced by the multi-party system. Frederick Chiluba became President and the Third Republic emerged. As a nation, Zambia's situation worsened, a crisis developed and unemployment continued to rise. Chiluba enacted legislation to privatise State owned companies, which led to corruption in both the private and public sectors (Mulenga, 2008, p.254). Chiluba faced prosecution on corruption charges, but remained in office until he was replaced by Levy Mwanawasa, in the 2003 general election.

Mwanawasa at the end of his first year of Presidency requested the assistance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Mulenga, 2008, p.254). By this time Zambia was ranked number 164 out of a possible 177 on the Human Development Index (UNESCO, 2004). Millions of Zambians were living below the World Bank poverty threshold of \$1 per day. The HIV pandemic was having a devastating effect on the social fabric of Zambia (Kelly, 2008, p.23). Women and young people in particular occupied a marginalised position within society. For a child born between the years 2005 and 2010, their life expectancy is 42 years of age (UNDP, 2009).

Zambia was included under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and the G8 Initiative to reduce foreign debt. The IMF Country Report No.9/188:2009 on Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility outlined that Zambia had met most of the agreed indicators. Then a hiatus occurred, firstly attributed to a surge in fuel and food prices causing inflation to rise. A second contributory factor was the unexpected demise of President Mwananwasa. The election process appointed President Banda in 2008, but this delayed decisions regarding the 2009 budget.

In February 2009, Zambia signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). This is a measure initiated through the African Union whereby countries voluntarily assent to be partners in a review of each other's government processes. The APRM's purpose is to strengthen good governance practice and entrench principles of accountability and transparency in each country involved. The APRM facilitates inputs from civil society organisations (JCTR, 2009, p.4-6).

More recently the IMF press release No. 11/244: June 2011 emphasises the Zambian government's current plans should be able to provide resources, to enhance access to both social and economic facilities, including health care, water and sanitation, transport and markets, especially in rural areas where poverty rates remain persistently high. In the 2011 election, a new president, President Sata was elected. Only time will tell if the IMF predictions will be fulfilled.

4.3.5 Dual legal system

Past political decisions had devastating negative impacts upon rural areas and an urban/rural division is now apparent in Zambian society. The IMF optimism that available resources will be distributed especially to rural areas may not occur in reality. The governance process is probably complicated by the legacy of British colonialism, a dual legal system, which comprises of both statutory constitutional law and customary laws. Under British rule, constitutional law was applicable to the British. Customary laws applied by respective chiefs governed the daily lives of African Zambians. The customary chief court governing the 73 different ethnic groups remained outside of the judiciary and operates autonomously to this day (Milimo et. al., 2004).

In contemporary Zambian society, citizens may access either legal system to pursue their rights. However the majority of Zambian citizens are unaware of statutory laws and are governed by customary law only (Nsemiwe, 2006, p.8). This leads to the question, if the majority of citizens are unaware of the statutory

system, how has civil society been instrumental in bringing about both political and social change in Zambia?

4.3.6 Summary of the historical overview of Zambia

Prior to considering the role of civil society in Zambia, it may be helpful to recap on the key historical events.

- Prior to the eighteenth century, Zambia was divided into different African kingdoms.
- European influences were limited until the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century Zambia was under British control. From 1929 to 1963 Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia.
- In 1964, Zambia successfully bid for independence. Since then three Republics have been formed. The British legacy of constitutional law and the customary system means a dual legal system operates to the present.
- Economic reforms designed to enhance incomes of rural Zambians had the opposite effect. Combined with global market force, Zambia found it self plunged into depression. Currently, significant numbers of Zambians live on less than one U.S. dollar per day.
- Different government's experienced tribal frictions. The republican ideology became pliable when seeking international support. A one party state was formed outlawing other political parties.
- In 1991, the introduction of a multi-party political system offered the promise of democracy. Privatisation of state companies led to wide spread corruption. Social conditions worsened with women and young people bearing the brunt.
- In 2003, in deep depression and the national crisis of the HIV pandemic the government approached the International Monetary Fund for assistance. Zambia has since been included in various debt relief measures and appears to be making economic and social improvements.

4.4 Section four: Civil Society in Zambia

This section explores civil society by initially considering the significance of tribal allegiances and spirituality in Zambian society. Subsequently, the revitalisation of civil society organisations post the One Party State is outlined. The section is closed with a brief summary.

4.4.1 Civil society and tribal allegiances

The existence of a dual legal system is seen to complicate matters, as civil society power dynamics are explicitly intertwined with tribal allegiances. Chiefs not only preside on legal matters, but are also advisors to the tribe membership.

In the first section of this chapter, the historical overview illuminated the power of tribal allegiance to political parties (Larmer, 2008, p.102). It is unclear if an individual tribe member is fully aware of why and who they are voting for under the direction of their Chief. The acquisition of information may be a significant challenge for some tribe members. For those living in rural areas, high levels of illiteracy persist and limited accessibility to new technologies, such as radio and television may curtail alternative information to inform political choices. Conversely, tribal allegiances are so powerful, (Larmer, 2008, p.102) alternative information may not necessarily result in an individual deviating from a Chief's instruction.

4.4.2 Civil society and spirituality

Spiritual matters are part of Zambian culture (Hinfelaar, 2008, p.129). The public perception of religious leaders is one of power-holders, in both the secular world and power from the spirit world. Kaunda appointed a number of personal advisors from the religious orders throughout his terms as President (Hinfelaar, 2008, p.130). The clergy were publicly perceived as the guardians of the nation's morality and held the position to legitimise, or reject, political processes (Hinfelaar, 2008, p.134).

4.4.3 The re-vitalisation of civil society to the present

The One Party State, in appearance was collective and all-embracing. Yet some believe it dis-empowered citizens and nurtured dependency upon the State. (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.55). As societal conditions worsened, the trade union movement led a mobilisation of civil society to pursue social change. (Mulenga, 2008, p.246). Women's groups played mainly a supportive role during the transition from the One Party State to the multi-party system (Phiri, 2008, p.259). The newly established multi-party system failed to deliver the democracy it promised. Rampant corruption restricted resources made available to civil society organisations. Any attempts to hold the government accountable were limited (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.56).

In 1996, donor countries reassessed the distribution of their contributions and re-directed funds to not-for-profit organisations. A revitalisation of civil society occurred in mainly Lusaka and the Copperbelt (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.65). The government enacted the Societies Act Chapter 105, which requires all not-for-profit groups to register with the Registrar of Societies. A proviso within the Act facilitates the Minister at their discretion to cancel registration of any organisation and deem their activities illegal (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.23). At the time more urban than rural organisations were registered. In rural areas, the Southern Province had the most registered organisations with Western Provinces being the least endowed. (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.23).

The majority of registered civil society organisations did provide social welfare services. The valuable community knowledge held by these organisations did not necessarily transfer into the socio-political arena (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.24). Attempts to promote civic education were seen to have limited success (Bratton et al.1999, p. 808). By 1997, the Ministry of Education commenced delivery of civic education through the education system to Grade 8 and 9 (Bratton et. al. p.808).

In 2000, some organisations joined forces to form a national network, called the Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR) (Mwinga, 2002, p.1). The CSPR

made significant contributions to the government's National Poverty Reduction Strategic Plan (Feidler-Conradi, 2003, p.45). Mwinga (2002, p.19) moots the majority of external resources are channelled to NGO's, Human Rights groups and elite civil society organisations. As a strategic manoeuvre these organisations encourage the Zambian government to stay on track to form a liberal democratic system.

In 2007, the Zambian government presented the Non-governmental Organisational Bill, proposed on the premise of enhancing accountability and transparency of NGO's. Despite concerns raised by civil society organisations, if enacted the Bill would restrict civil society organisations activities to the detriment of Zambian citizens (FIDH, 2007, p.1) President Banda signed the Bill into Zambian legislation in 2009. All civil society organisations are required to comply with the legislation.

Youth organisations are required to register with the National Youth Development Council (NYDC) (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.67). In 2000, the National Youth Constitutional Assembly (NYCA) was established and the first Youth Parliament was held in 2002. The Youth Parliament comprising of members from youth organisations and third level students, participated in a session with the National Assembly or government and is an ongoing process (Retrieved from: www.parliament.gov.zm).

4.4.4 Summary of Civil Society in Zambia

This summary illuminates the key points regarding civil society in Zambia.

- Historically Zambian civil society as a counter-balance to government decisions appears to experience different levels of influence. The sway it holds is interwoven with tribal allegiance, spiritual and the political climate at any given time.
- The pliability of ideology under the One Party State seems to suggest a leaning towards socialism rather than republicanism.
- Civil society became weakened as citizen dependence upon the State was nurtured.

- The worsening of social conditions appears to have mobilised collective movements to seek change. The replacement of the One Party State with a multi-party system did not result in the democracy promised. Corruption was rife and resources were siphoned away from civil society.
- In the late 1990's, two significant changes occurred which impacted upon civil society. Firstly, external funders redistributed their contributions towards civil society. Secondly, the government introduced mandatory registration of civil society organisations.
- Urban based organisations with more resources at their disposal were in a more advantageous position than rural organisation to avail of the new distribution of resources. A rural/urban imbalance within civil society occurred.
- Civic education programmes were introduced in the formal education system.
- It is mooted the urban/rural imbalance suits the expansion of a neo-liberal agenda within Zambia. Government has introduced further legislation to tighten the control of resources and activities of civil society organisations.
- Youth organisations are required to register through a different mechanism than adult organisations. This certainly suggests a power disparity based upon age. Despite this difference, a Youth Parliament was established and met for the first time in 2002. It is fair to posit, based upon the available information, the membership appears to be exclusive.

4.5 Section Five: The position of children and young people in Zambian society

The final section of this chapter focuses upon the position of children and young people in Zambian society. It commences with a review of the national development framework and legislation pertaining to young people.

Subsequently, the daily realities of young people's lives are considered under the following sub-headings: 1) demographics, 2) child development trajectories, 3) poverty, 4) health, 5) education and 6) formal and informal employment.

4.5.1 National development framework and legislation

The Zambian government's main development framework is "Vision 2030 (2006, p.1). The overall goal of the framework is:

‘to become a middle income country by 2030’.

The implementation of "Vision 2030" will be progressed through medium term five year plans. The Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP 2006-2010, p.242) details measures, including the government's decentralisation process and states:

‘The most fundamental rationale for decentralisation in Zambia lies in its opportunity to bring the government closer to the people by providing citizens with greater control over decision-making process and allowing their direct participation in public service delivery’

Initially this appears a positive step towards democracy and the inclusion of rural areas in decision-making. The final part of the sentence emphasises the State as the power holder which is "allowing" citizens direct participation in public service delivery. A scenario might evolve where the citizenry become service providers, which the government should or could be providing. Other issues emerge for consideration, for example, would child and adult needs be dealt with equally?

A potential outcome of decentralisation based on service delivery is the curtailment of citizens in wider democratic processes. Civil society commentators have highlighted decentralisation has the potential to quicken rural economic development. The government's sensitisation of stakeholders has begun, but the lack of detail and action may put the whole process in jeopardy (Caritas, 2008, p.6). The lack of rural development and the anticipated strengthening of rural civil society may not materialise. It will probably remain a significant challenge for rural areas to seek accountability for government decisions that negatively impact upon their lives.

The FNDP (2006) reiterates the "Vision 2030" commitment to domesticate international conventions into national policy. There are three key international

agreements pertaining to young people. These are two African Union Charters 1) The Right and Welfare of the Child (1990), and 2) The Youth Charter (2006) and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). The Zambian Constitution (1991 and amended in 1996) provides the legal framework for the international agreements to be domesticated into national policy. Under Article 5 (Children as citizens of Zambia) it is stated:

‘A person born in or outside of Zambia after the commencement of this Constitution shall become a citizen of Zambia at the date of his birth on that date at least one of his parents is a citizen of Zambia’

The rights of children, defined as an individual less than 18 years of age, are also embedded in the Constitution under Articles 11, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19 and 24. These are fundamental rights and freedoms, protection of right to life, protection of right to personal liberty, provision to secure protection of law, protection of freedom of conscience, and finally, protection of young persons from exploitation respectively. Not all children are registered at birth, which may complicate cases of non-registered individuals in pursuit of their rights under constitutional law (Himonga, 2008, p.86).

Similar to other jurisdictions, Zambian law applies inconsistent definitions of age to various acts. The Juvenile Act (1956) utilises a definition of “child” as an individual who has not attained the age of sixteen years. A “young person” is defined as a person between sixteen and nineteen years of age. The Penal Code sets the minimum age of criminal responsibility at eight years of age (Mulenga et.al., 2007, p. 3). The Employment of Children and Young Persons Act (Amendment 2005), a young person is defined as an individual below fifteen years of age. These are examples of inconsistencies between constitutional laws. The dual system facilitates disparities between the constitutional and customary law.

The Marriage Act (1979) declares the legal age to marry is twenty-one years of age. It is possible to marry earlier, but not younger than the legal age of consent set at sixteen years of age, if written consent from a father is provided. In the absence of the father, a mother, or in the absence of both, a guardian will suffice

to facilitate a marriage. There is a cultural acceptance of early marriage which often coincides with puberty. This complicates the enforcement of statutory laws (Mulenga et. al., 2007, p. 3). A harmonisation process of identifying intersections between international and constitutional law with customary law is ongoing. There is room for improvement to promote well-being of children and young people (Himonga, 2008, p.73).

The current medium five year plan, the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP, 2011-2015, p.23) states within the Child, Youth and Sport Development chapter the following goal:

‘To achieve increased empowerment and participation of children and youth in all areas affecting their well-being and livelihood and enhance observation and protection of their rights in order to build a sound human resource base.’

At first glance the idea of empowerment and participation may suggest the inclusion of young people in democratic processes. The last eight words of the goal “in order to build a sound human resource base” are open to interpretation. It is feasible to suggest the well-being of young people is being informed by an economic agenda. This may contribute to Zambia’s fulfilment of the goal to become a middle prosperous country by 2030. It may be prudent to remember economic expansion does not guarantee an equal distribution of resources or prevent exploitation; particularly of vulnerable groups such as young people.

In 1994, the first National Child Policy (NCP) underpinned by the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) was published. It has since been revised and republished in 2006. The opening page of this policy contains an acknowledgement that many Zambian children (defined as an individual below 18 years of age) endure hunger, inadequate accommodation, exposure to abuse, illiteracy, lack of basics, for example, water and sanitation, and that they are vulnerable to HIV/Aids infection and other infectious diseases (NCP, 2006, p. 1).

The NCP (2006) outlines the special attention and recognition children and young people deserve at all levels of society. Furthermore it states child and youth participation is a right and an imperative. The policy outlines non-discriminatory approaches and the promotion of gender equality. A collaborative framework to implement the policy identifies government Ministries, stakeholders, for example, parents and other duty bearers, civic society organisations, community, orphans, vulnerable and other children and the private sector to establish the proposed measures. The policy lacks a definition of participation, (NCP, 2006, p.22) but does state:

‘...participation of children in programme design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The policy recognises the participation of children in national development as a fundamental right...’

4.5.2 Demographics

Zambia last conducted a census in 2000. At that time the official national population was 9,885,591 (CSO, 2000, p.28). The Central Statistics Office estimated this figure would increase to 11.7 million people by 2006, with a rural and urban population distribution of sixty-five per cent and thirty-five per cent respectively. According to the Central Statistics Office projections, it was estimated sixty-eight per cent of the predicted 2006 population would be less than twenty-five years of age. The Central Statistics Office population figure for the three provinces: 1) Lusaka, 2) Southern and 3) Western are presented in Table 4: 1 Adult (18 years of age and over) and child (0-4 years of age) population by gender and province compiled from the Census Report (2004) is presented below:

Table 4:1 Adult (18 years of age and over) and child (0-4 years of age) population by gender and province.

	Lusaka Province	Southern Province	Western Province
Adults (Males and Female)	1,391,329	1,212,124	784,088
Young Males	107,426	105,207	60,277
Young Females	107,795	106,497	61,188

(CSO, 2004)

Lusaka Province is where the capital city Lusaka is located and in total the province comprises of four districts. It is the most urbanised province included in this study. The Southern Province comprising of eleven districts has a

population that exceeds one million people. The Western Province, comprising of seven districts has the lowest population figure of all the three Provinces, with just over sixty thousand people.

The Census 2000 Summary Report (2004) provides statistical data of constituencies and electoral wards by population and sex only. The lack of readily available statistics by age probably hinders the accurate determination of youth populations and allocation of resources to services to respond to local child and youth needs.

4.5.3 Child development trajectories

In Zambia, culturally, children from an early age are encouraged to take on responsibility, such as fetching water or being sent on small errands. There is a culture of deference of children to elders. The division of responsibilities is not equally shared between boys and girls. Girls are expected to contribute to the care of younger siblings, in addition to completing errands. The set of cultural competencies developed with girls and boys are different. Each gender is prepared for what is considered the expected life journey of a woman or man (Serpell & Jere-Folotiya, 2008, p.93).

Parenting, child-rearing and daily routines and settings socialise children to be competent within their own culture (Nsamenang, 2008, p.136). The management of the transition from childhood to adulthood is usually through an initiation ceremony. An example drawn from the Southern Province is named “Nkolola” (Plan, 2009, p.1), a female initiation ceremony instigated at puberty. The initiation concludes with a celebration, the girl is declared a woman and presented to the community. Once considered mature enough for marriage, as an adult, she becomes of interest to men and boys in the locale (Plan, 2009, p.2).

Non-governmental organisations have successfully lobbied for change regarding childhood marriages (Musonda, 2008). A legislation amendment has increased the sentence for child sexual offences. An individual found guilty of child sexual offences can be imprisoned between fourteen years and life

imprisonment. Sexual violence against children has been placed upon the political agenda. At local level, some traditional leaders have banned childhood marriages (Musonda, 2008). The police force has statutory responsibility for the operation of victim support units. Young people can report cases of abuse or other crimes to these units.

Once a young woman/girl is married she is perhaps even more susceptible to poverty. Customary law facilitates polygamy and informs what the Mvunga people call the “principle of inheritance by house”. This refers to the order of marriage, that the eldest son from the first marriage or senior house inherits the land on the demise of the father. If there is no son, the inheritance moves to the eldest son from the second marriage and so on. It is rare for the eldest daughter to receive any inheritance (Nsemiwe, 2006, p. 7).

Rural women/girls contribute sixty per cent of the rural production through their labour. They have little access to the control and management of land that sustains their lives (Nsemiwe, 2006, p.7). When a woman becomes widowed she is dispossessed of her access to cultivate the land. It may be necessary to sell any material possessions, and remove children from school to alleviate immediate needs. In the long-term the situation worsens and an intergenerational cycle of poverty develops (Nsemiwe, 2006, p.9). Recently land tenure laws have been introduced to the statute books to prevent property grabbing. As previously highlighted most people in rural areas are unaware of statutory law and property grabbing prevails (Nsemiwe, 2006, p.8).

4.5.4 Poverty

Poverty can be defined in a variety of ways, but the FNDP (2006, p.12) defines poverty in terms of income by providing two indices. These are shown below:

- A national poverty line: Monthly income less than K111,747²
- Extreme poverty: Monthly income less than K78,223

² Official exchange rate US\$1 = K 4406.67 (UN, 2009). National poverty US\$25.50 per month (approx) and Extreme poverty US \$17.70 per month

In 2004, the national poverty rate declined from forty per cent in 1998 to thirty-six per cent. In the same timescale, rural poverty declined from eighty-three per cent to seventy-eight per cent. Similarly urban areas experienced a decline from thirty-six per cent to thirty-four per cent (FNDP, 2006). The poverty levels for Lusaka, Southern and Western Provinces are presented in Table 4:2 Poverty levels by province.

Table 4:2 Poverty levels by province

	Lusaka Province	South Province	Western Province
Overall Poverty	48 per cent	69 per cent	65 per cent

(CSO, 2004)

These overall figures are seen to obscure pockets of extreme poverty within each of the provinces to which children and young people are particularly susceptible.

In Lusaka Province, twenty-nine per cent of the population experience extreme poverty (FNDP, 2006, p. 335). In the Southern province, thirty-five per cent (FNDP, 2006, p.341) of population experience extreme poverty. In the Western Province (FNDP, 2006, p. 13) this figure reaches eighty-three per cent.

4.5.5 Health

In 2004, Zambia declared a state of national emergency regarding HIV and Aids. The World Health Organisation (WHO, 2005) reported infection rates of fifty-four per cent prevalent among women. Infection was particularly high among both males and females aged between fifteen and forty-nine years of age. It is worth noting within the age group of fourteen to nineteen year olds, young females, were six times more likely to have contracted HIV compared to their male counterparts. Of the known population of children, 90,000 individuals are infected with HIV (FNDP, 2006).

Many of these children are orphaned and have few supports. In the past orphaned children would have been absorbed into the extended family network, but these are disintegrating as a result of HIV related deaths (Kelly, 2008, p.33). It is estimated 75,000 children are homeless and this figure is expected to rise.

These young people are known as ‘street kids’ (Ministry for Sport, Youth and Child Development, 2004, p.5).

Recently health improvements have been recorded. In general, children under five years of age are susceptible to poor health. The World Malaria Report (2008) referring to 2006 figures confirmed a total of 2,083,000 child cases of malaria for this age group, which resulted in 12,000 deaths (WHO, 2009). The response to health issues vary from area to area. Table 4:3 Health facilities by province, presents the number of health facilities, beds and cots in Lusaka, Southern and Western provinces.

Table 4:3 Health facilities by province

Province	Total number of health facilities	Number of Beds	Number of Cots
Lusaka	100	3,121	487
Southern	211	4, 030	375
Western	122	1,928	138

(CSO, 2004)

At first glance the disparities between the three provinces appear limited. The FNDP (2006) provides the details of proposed health improvements by province and reveals a different picture. Lusaka Province set targets to improve infrastructure by building hospitals and health centres (FNDP, 2006). The Southern Province prioritises the acquisition of basic services, including water and sanitation (FNDP, 2006). The Western Province possesses the highest poverty rates and HIV infections in the country. Patients have the greatest distances to travel to access health services (HCP Zambia and USAID, 2006). The programme sets targets to train health personnel, provide transport to health services, the provision of adequate medicines, extend VCT clinics (voluntary HIV tests) in rural areas and to construct a new hospital in Mongu, the Provincial capital (FNDP, 2006).

4.5.6 Education

The Education Act (1966) provides the main development framework for the education system (UNESCO, 2006). The Minister of Education and the Permanent Secretary, the highest ranking civic servant, are responsible for implementation of the Act. The formal state education system comprises of

three tiers, primary, secondary and tertiary (CSO, 2004, p.52). The education system is delivered through the English language.

The Primary tier- incorporates Grades 1 to 7. The removal of fees for primary education up to Grade 7 resulted in an increase in enrolment as illustrated by Table 4:4 Percentage of the population aged five years and above attending school by sex, residence and province, 1990 and 2000.

The education system operates selective examinations at grade 7, 9 and 12. As a result some young people are prohibited from progressing within the system. Some individuals leave school at Grade 7 (approximately 13 years of age) with experience of the primary curriculum, offering school-based subjects only, rather than practical and skills-orientated subjects, which could be used to earn a living (FNDP, 2006, p.14).

Table 4:4 Percentage of the Population aged five years and above attending school by Sex, Residence and Province, 1990 and 2000.

	School Attendance Rates							
	1990				2000			
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Population	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Population
Zambia	25.8	28.1	23.6	6,181,285	26.7	28.7	24.9	7, 680,705
Rural	20.9	23.8	18.2	3,735,912	22.6	25.2	20.3	4,856,170
Urban	33.3	34.3	32.3	2,445,373	33.7	34.7	33.1	2,824,535
Province								
Lusaka	29.6	30.6	28.6	827,425	30.7	31.1	30.2	1,125,985
Southern	27.3	29.4	25.2	748,770	28.8	30.7	27.0	921,109
Western	21.8	24.7	19.3	514,796	23.1	25.5	21.0	587,717

Gender disparities regarding school attendance are evident (MDG, 2008). Traditionally boys rather than girls are more likely to be sent to school. At primary level, gender and location (rural vs. urban) disparities begin to emerge. It is more likely as a male living in an urban area you will remain longer within the school system than your rural counterpart. In both, rural and urban areas, it is more likely that a male will remain in school longer than a female (CSO, 2004). A study by Serpell and Jere-Folotiya (2008, p.93) highlights the school environment is least well integrated psychologically for rural girls and best integrated for urban boys. The study proposes to improve female school

retention rates. The curriculum needs to work with indigenous strengths of girls.

Community schools (Grade 1 to 7) catering for families with limited resources, early school leavers and orphans, began to appear in the early 1990's. From 1996 to 1999 the number of community schools increased from fifty-five to three hundred and seventy-three respectively (UNESCO, 2006, p.9). The Zambian Community Schools Secretariat (ZCSS), an NGO, which supports communities to participate in the running of community schools, signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education in 1998, whereby the Ministry would provide learning materials, educational advisors and pay an agreed number of trained teachers to work in the community schools.

The Secondary tier – education incorporates a junior cycle of Grade 8 and 9 and a senior cycle of Grades 10 to 12. Between 1990 and 2000, the proportion of males attending second level remained higher than females. In rural areas, more than half of the females eligible to attend second level did not attend, compared with one third of their female urban counterparts (CSO, 2004).

Policy amendments enacted to respond to gender educational inequality, include a reduction of the Grade 7 examination cut-off point for girls. As a result more girls may qualify to continue their education, but their continuation also requires a payment of school fees (UNESCO, 2006, p.12). In 1997, a Re-entry Policy was introduced to facilitate young mothers to return to education. Prior to this policy a young girl who became pregnant was usually expelled from school (retrieved from www.widnet.org.zm on the 30/07/2009). Finally, the government intends to abolish Grade 7 selective examination by 2015 in order to achieve universal education up to Grade 9 (CSO, 2004).

The Tertiary tier - comprises of universities, teacher training colleges and other institutes. In 2000, the total number of students enrolled in these institutions was 24,648 broken down as follows: 7,551 in the two public universities, 5,878 in

teacher training colleges and 11,219 in other colleges and institutes. The trend of gender disparities continues at tertiary level (UNESCO, 2006, p.15).

The gender educational inequalities are reflected by literacy levels. Among the general population just over fifty-three per cent can read and write in any language. One in every two females and one in every five males are deemed to be illiterate, unable to read or write in any language (CSO, 2004). Illiteracy rates among fifteen to twenty-four year olds are higher in rural areas, at forty-one per cent compared with urban areas at fourteen per cent. Gender exacerbates these rates with forty-seven per cent of rural females being illiterate compared to approximately sixteen per cent of urban females. Unsurprisingly, Lusaka has the highest literacy rates compared with the Southern and Western Provinces. The latter exhibits the lowest literacy rates of the three Provinces (FNDP, 2006). The national gender policy (2002) is introducing further measures to counter act educational disparities.

4.5.7 Formal and Informal Employment

The level of education and literacy is seen to correlate with entry to the formal and informal employment sectors. The formal employment sector favours men, (who are more likely to complete senior cycle or third level education) compared to women. These limitations are seen to force women to accrue a living from the informal sector that may involve precarious work, including prostitution (OMCT, 2007, p.5).

The informal sector also involves the participation of children and young people. The International Programme on Elimination of Child Labour Report (IPECL, 2008) outlines within Zambia, approximately nine out of ten, five to fourteen year olds is engaged in the agricultural sector. An overwhelming percentage of these children are unpaid family workers. It is believed that just over thirty-four per cent of children from households with the lowest disposable income attend school without participating in the labour force. This compares to approximately eighty per cent of children from the richest households (IPECL, 2008).

4.5.8 Summary of the position of young people in Zambia

This section drew up a variety of indicators to provide an insight into the position of young people in the study context to surmise the following:

- Generally it appears young people occupy a precarious position within Zambian society.
- Poverty levels, health, education, literacy levels and formal and informal education all reveal disparities between rural and urban areas.
- Particular groups of young people appear to be exposed to more hardships than others. Orphans, street kids and girls are more susceptible to inequalities.
- The legislative framework offers child and youth protection and support. There are inconsistent definitions of youth applied to various pieces of legislation.
- Central Statistics Office Reports often present statistics from zero to eighteen year olds as one category. The lack of detail for different age groups may complicate the allocation of resources to child and youth services.
- The dual legal system often leads to differential treatment of males and females, usually favouring the former.
- The harmonisation between constitutional and customary systems regarding young people is an on-going process.
- It is fair to posit Zambia faces a significant long-term challenge to respond to youth needs in any meaningful way.

4.6 Section six: Spotlight summary

The brief historical overview illustrated Zambia has undergone four significant social changes; colonialism, republicanism, one-party rule and a multi-party system. In general these changes were accompanied by a pliable ideological base depending upon the situation. Furthermore global factors contributed to instability, corruption and impoverishment of Zambian society. The recent inclusion of Zambia in global debt relief mechanisms offers promise of positive

development and a brighter future. Against this backdrop the following key messages are presented.

- Civil society is intertwined with tribal allegiance, spirituality and the dual legal system. This perhaps had influenced the urban/rural imbalance in civil society.
- Women appear to occupy a supportive role in civil society.
- The Non-Governmental Organisational Act (2009) requires all CSO and NGO's to register under the Act. This legislation contains a provision whereby the government can cancel the registration of any organisation if it deems its activities as illegal. Some believe this is a form of social control.
- Legislation differentiates between adult and youth organisations.
- The NYDC manages the registration of youth organisations.
- In 2002, a Youth Parliament was established. It is unclear how influential the Youth Parliament may be regarding policy formulation to improve the position of young people within Zambian society.
- Constitutional law details child citizenship and other rights.
- The inconsistencies between constitutional and customary laws may complicate the implementation of constitutional laws to protect young people, especially pertaining to girls.
- The day-to-day realities of the struggle for survival and urban/rural divisions suggest the right to participate may be perceived as out of reach by some Zambian young people.
- There is an ongoing harmonisation process between the constitutional and customary systems, which offers the promise of improved child and youth outcomes.
- The existing policy framework offers the scope to increase child and youth participation which may strengthen Zambian civil society, so that young people may contribute to social change within Zambia.

Chapter five: Research findings

5.1 Section One: Introduction

From the outset of the study, it was recognised YCE is a contested concept and dominated by northern hemisphere theories (Sherrod, 2010; Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010, Ungar 2007 and Banaji, 2008). A common held belief among the varying perspectives is YCE contributes to positive youth outcomes. Nonetheless, the application of northern theories in the Zambian context may subjugate southern knowledge. A core purpose of critically based research is to promote equality and social justice. The participatory research design underpinned by cultural competency applied a grounded approach to ascertain local understandings of youth civic engagement, risk and resilience.

Subsequently the local understandings were applied to the research process as a whole. The methodology generated significant amounts of raw data, which contextualised the context and provides sufficient data to develop a response to the research aim:

To examine Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement

Furthermore to fulfill the four study objectives: 1) To establish local understandings of YCE, 2) To identify the existing types of YCE available in the cultural context, 3) To locally define risk and resilience factors, and 4) To identify resilience factors perceived to be associated with civic engagement opportunities. These study objectives are utilised to arrange the research findings for presentation into four main sub-sections.

The breath and richness of the generated data led to a decision to utilise tables as visual aids to maximise the presentation of findings within the thesis word limit. It is important to note these are not based upon quantitative data. Each table is accompanied by direct participant quotes from collective deliberations to add depth to the presented findings. Photographic images with researcher

observations or excerpts from transcripts provide visual insights into the realities of daily lives in the context and YCE.

5.2 Section two: Local understandings of youth civic engagement

The initial step in the research was to commence with the catalyst question in each of the focus groups: What is a citizen? Subsequently, the local understandings of YCE were explored. The findings are presented in two sub-sections: 1) Citizenship and 2) Youth Civic Engagement.

5.2.1 Citizenship

Generally, adult focus groups provided detailed explanations of citizenship, including right by birth, nationalisation, descent and dual allegiance, responsibilities and rights. The young people's explanations of citizenship were less complex. The most popular youth definition of a citizen was:

A person who is a member of a country or community.

Participants, both young people and adults were aware of global influences upon their country. Neither acknowledged themselves as global or regional citizens. Citizenship was related to the Nation state of Zambia. The majority of the youth participants were aware at eighteen years of age it was possible to vote in political elections. Identity formation was intrinsic to membership of an ethnic social unit, the 'tribe'. Participants referred to 'tribalism' and 'nepotism' regarding politics, sports and the securing of resources. Some felt 'tribalism' was a misconception and the reality was corruption. Doug (adult male: SS5) during a plenary session explained:

"tribalism, is not quite right there, as the Copperbelt or Lusaka are not composed of one tribe there are many tribes, I think it is more corruption, I think it would be tribalism, if it was only southern Tonga, or western province Lozi only...that's what I was saying about the perception and that is what is good about speaking with adults and children".

5.2.2. Youth civic engagement

There was a significant mis-match between adult and young people's understanding of YCE. Adults related YCE to political collective action, which occurred in the public sphere. During plenary sessions, mainly in rural areas, adults urged young people, who they felt were de-politicised, to get self-organised and become politically pro-active (See: Political engagement this chapter).

Young people, during their focus groups were unfamiliar with the term civic engagement. The deliberative spaces facilitated young people to discuss their current engagements, but also their desired engagements in their communities. Throughout the presented findings youth quotations refer to helping-out, living better lives, being a support, good character, and wanting to participate among others. Craig (young male: SS1) offered a useful understanding, which is representative of the concept of doing good for others as expressed in different ways by the majority of youth participants. Craig (young male SS1) stated doing something civic:

“you engage in not just for yourself, but for the good of others and future generations”

5.2.3 Summary of local understandings of YCE

The focus groups worked with young people and adults separately. The process created different spaces where adults and young people could provide their own understandings of YCE. The key findings from this section are listed:

- Citizenship was equated with the constitutional framework
- Identity associated with tribal membership
- A significant mis-match between youth and adult understanding of civic engagement
- Adults understood YCE as political engagement
- Youth participants were unfamiliar with the term civic engagement. Nonetheless they understood ‘civic’ as something you do not just for yourself, but for the ‘good’ of others and future generations

5.3 Section three: Existing types of YCE in the cultural context

The establishment of the local understanding of YCE enabled the research to identify existing types of YCE in the study context. A baseline of services is formed from the compilation of three data sources: 1) participant transcripts, 2) mapping of existing services, and 3) researcher observation. From the data, five types of engagement emerged: 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic. These categories of engagement are utilised as sub-sections to arrange the findings.

5.3.1 Baseline of services

The baseline of services identifies existing YCE opportunities in the study context. It should not be read as an exhaustive list of all possible supports. From the participant transcript the identified YCE opportunities were extrapolated and arranged in Table 5:1 Types of YCE, shown on the next page. The mapping exercise of services was facilitated by the NYDC³, the Boy Scouts and Concern, who all kindly provided their registration database.

The NYDC database contained a total of 409 registered organisations on a nationwide basis. Table 5:2 Youth organisations, by type and province, on the next page, provides a breakdown of registered organisations in Lusaka, Western and Southern Provinces. The Boy Scouts database confirmed a nationwide distribution of scout units. The Concern database comprised of adult organisations, but some offered programmes to all community members. An excerpt from a transcript (Ian, adult male: SS3) confirms the inclusion of young people in a rural development programme:

“There are other activities that are in the communities. Sometimes you find that young people they participate in meetings where they are staying, ...some people who are not able to read or write, so they prefer to use a young person... *(they)* will be given a responsibility, so that he can lead the community”.

³ At the time of the fieldwork the NYDC database was in the process of being updated.

Table 5:1 Types of youth civic engagement

Civic	Social	Cultural	Political	Economic
School: A member of: Children's council or student council Prefect or monitor Children' Rights Club Debate Club Science club, Self-evaluation club	Community: Peer groups Caring for others National Independence Day celebrations	School: Culture club Drama club Poetry club Dancing singing Arts club	Youth: Youth pressure groups	Male activities: Street vending Farming and labouring. Crushing stone
Community: Member of youth activities, clubs, scouts/girl guides, red cross, Youth Alive,	Sport/school activities: Football, netball, volleyball, basketball, baseball, athletics, rugby, tennis and swimming	Community: Initiation ceremonies Language Traditional values	Mainly Adults:	Female activities in public: Markets, maids, farming and prostitution
National Youth Association Children's press bureau Sport for Action	Home-based games: Hide and seek, snakes and ladders, Icienga, Nsolo, Chase or It, game, football, chess, draughts, sigi, padda padda and riding bicycles	Spirituality/faith: Churches of different faiths Youth choirs. Salvation Army	Advocacy by churches	Female activities in the home: Household chores, caring for siblings.
	School: Anti-AIDs club, Road and transport agency – road safety.	Evangelism, outreach Scripture Union YWCA		Rural development programmes

Table 5:2 Number of Youth organisations, by type and province

Type of Organisation	Lusaka	Western	Southern
Civic			
Leadership and democracy	8	0	0
Human rights advocacy	3	0	0
Multi-stranded approach	14	0	2
Global, international and regional youth networks	3	1	0
Gender advocacy (young women and girls)	4	0	0
Social			
Sports	5	1	1
Health and Education (Not HIV/Aids Specific)	5	1	0
Anti-drugs	1	0	0
HIV/Aids specific	17	6	3
Disabled youth organisation	1	0	0
Cultural			
Culture, theatre, films and computers	9	4	1
Religious groups (Christian, Evangelists, Islam)	11	1	0
Environmental	1	0	0
Specific youth inclusion on none religious grounds	1	0	0
None-specified	8	2	1
Political			
Anti-poverty	1	0	0
Anti-corruption	3	0	0
Anti-crime	1	0	0
Economic			
Community-based youth funeral service	1	0	0
Carpentry, tailoring, small industry	16	10	8
Tourism	3	1	0
Agricultural, fishing, bee-keeping	8	46	10
Enterprise	14	4	5
TOTAL	137	77	31

The researcher observations did not identify any additional services in the study sites. From the previous table an anomaly is identified under the heading of agricultural, fishing, and bee-keeping with a significant number of 46 different organisations in the Western province.

Through photography different images were captured of the type of facilities available. Photograph 5:1 Money Matters on the next page is accompanied by an observation.

Photograph 5: 1 Money matters



Researcher observation

The two images on the left of the page evidence disparities in the quality of buildings and facilities.

Disparities were apparent between rural and urban areas, but also based upon socio-economic background.

The top image is the premises for a preschool and afterschool facility in an urban compound. This is an area where families with limited resources reside. The facility has no electricity, no glass in the windows and limited materials.

The lower image was taken in the same urban study site, but a more affluent area. This youth centre has a number of buildings and this is the main hall. It is quite large with parquet flooring, electricity and a large stage at one end.

5.3.2 Civic engagement

The first category, civic engagement, refers to being a member of an organisation or having responsibilities within a context, for example, a prefect in school. The identified opportunities are shown in Table 5:3 Civic engagement opportunities below. The table as a visual aid illuminates the majority of civic engagement activities occur at a community level. These opportunities were available through an in-school or out-of-school setting and offered a variety of participation opportunities.

To commence with the in-school context, the selection of prefects or student council representatives varied from school to school. Selection was through teacher only, or shared teacher/pupil or solely pupil decisions.

Table 5:3 Civic engagement opportunities

Level	Participant identified	Database identified
Individual		
Family		
Community	<p>School</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children’s or student council • Prefect or monitor • Children’s rights club • Debate club • Science club • Self-evaluation club <p>Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth clubs • Boy scouts • Girl guides • Youth Alive (HIV peer education programme) • Red Cross 	<p>Community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leadership and democracy • Human rights advocacy • Multi-stranded approach • Gender advocacy (for young women and girls)
Societal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Youth Association • Children’s press bureau • Sport for Action 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Youth organisations
Global		<p>Internationally</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global, international and regional youth networks

Craig (young male:SS1) explained the process in his school:

“The children’s council, first me, I came at this school in grade five, that’s when it was started the children council. It is also under the government. So they (*teachers*) were selecting two representatives from each class. I was chosen. Then when we went there, we were told what to do. The children council deals with children’ rights and helping other people, so that’s how I got interested, because you see at that time many people were being abused, so I had to make a choice to help those”.

Young people had different perceptions of representatives and prefects. Joy (young female: SS2) felt these young people were chosen due to their “good character”. Some participants perceived prefects to hold significant power in the school setting. The translator on behalf of Cynthia (young female: SS6) explained:

“She says that people are selected (*by the prefect*) to sweep classes on a daily basis, after class it is done, they will appoint people to sweep classes, if you dodge or run away the next day you are punished”.

In the out-of-school setting, the Boy Scouts and Girls Guides organisations are remnants of colonialism. Other organisations, for example Youth Alive is very contemporary as it offers peer mentoring focusing upon HIV/Aids education and support. A youth worker, Will (adult male: SS4) explained:

“...in the Zambian background, culture, it is very difficult for kids to really understand that you are trying to give them the option. It has been an issue whereby elderly people are the only people who can decide things and do things for us ... So it is not an easy task to make kids realise that they need to be part and parcel of this, whatever programmes they are doing, they need to make decisions. They tend to just sit and wait. It is a process you need to work with them, you have to create an environment with them, that they realise you are not there to be bossy on the programme”

The present services were believed to be predisposed towards males rather than females, Lela (adult female: SS4) explained:

“facilities that we have are mainly for boys, you will usually find a football pitch, but rarely find a netball pitch, because of the culture, so it is all right for a boy to go out and kick ball, but not for a girl child, she will have to do the house chores it is our culture.”

Generally, it was felt successive governments had neglected their responsibilities towards young people. Molly (adult woman: SS5) outlines:

“the government has a lot of responsibilities towards youth, economically, socially and even in health terms, which is very important. They have to provide recreational facilities for youth, but at the moment we are not seeing that”

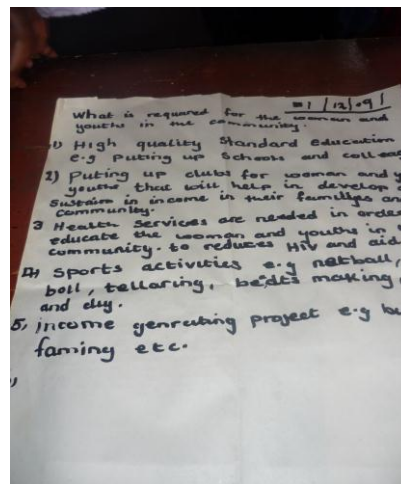
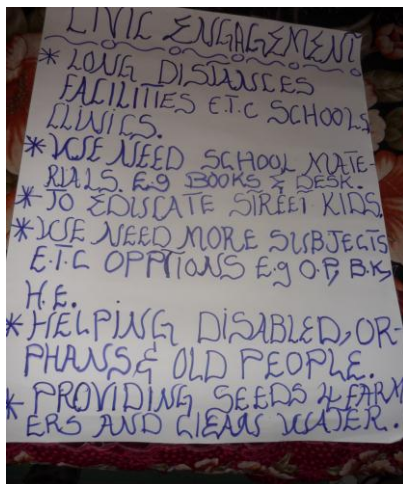
It was felt past provision of youth services surpassed current youth provision.

Pezulani (adult male: SS5) related his experience:

“Around 1968, when we were growing up, there was welfare, community, sweets and biscuits were provided, those things were important to us ... there were swingies, slidies, ... boxing, races, all those things were found at welfare, or other wise the community, it was provided by the Council. We went from school to welfare, from welfare to home, to have Nshima, my mother was there and my sisters cooking, we had a good time, these days, this is just history”.

Photograph 5:2 Youth and adult voices are examples of focus groups summary sheets. These are key messages focus group members agreed to bring to the plenary session, a space for intergenerational dialogue.

Photograph 5:2 Youth and adult voices



It was agreed unanimously by all six study sites the daily lives of young people would be improved through the provision of more YCE opportunities.

5.3.3 Social engagement

The second category is social engagement. From mainly adult perspectives, at home, young people self-organised sports, games and activities. These activities were perceived to encourage organisation, co-operation, problem-solving and relationship skills and considered important for the development of children and young people.

From a youth perspective, these activities were valued. Young people, mainly girls/young women related they were distanced from decision-making in their homes. Diamond (young female: SS3) eloquently stated, to be excluded in this way made her feel

“bad”.

Cheryl (young female: SS5) on a similar view during a plenary session stated:

“In our homes where we come from, we live different lives. We are expected to do as the parents say; we are not allowed to voice out and so you find it gets difficult to live better lives. You always feel and think you are the one who is left out, so it’s better as youths if we can be heard out by our guardians and parents”.

Table 5:4 Social engagement on the next page illustrates the other opportunities that were identified in the context.

At a community level, in the in-school context most of the social activities were sports. In SS3, the girl focus group related in the plenary session, the importance of physical activity in school. Diamond (young female: SS3)

“we like to do at school.. netball, football, volleyball, basketball, press ups, exercises. At home.. game, sigi, wider, and touch”.

As part of the plenary discussion, Matthew (adult male: SS3) related:

“It’s good to hear that even girls, the young ladies they like sports. Yah that is what I have liked about it. So we need also to involve young ladies in sports not only men, because like here in X only gents are participating in sports.”

Table 5:4 Social engagement opportunities

Level	Participant identified	Database identified
Individual		
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hide & Seek • Snakes & Ladders • Icienga • Nsolo • Chase • Game • Football • Chess • Draughts • Sigi • Padda padda (hop-scotch) • Riding bicycles 	
Community	<p>In school context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football • Netball • Volleyball • Basketball • Baseball • Athletics • Rugby • Tennis • Swimming • Anti-AIDs club, • Road and transport agency – road safety. <p>Out of school context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring for others • Peer groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sports • Health & Education (Not HIV/Aids specific) • Anti-drugs • HIV/Aids specific • Disabled youth organisation
Societal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Independence Day 	
Global		

In the out-of-school context, social interactions were informal and based around the peer group and caring for others. Fiona (young woman: SS4) explained:

“To help out, people who are sick, buying goods for them”

The significance of the peer group was acknowledged, even when the peer activities were viewed as something negative, such as stealing. Tembo (young male: SS1) explained:

“I think it is about being in the group, they have no support from parents, they have no support from us in school”

At societal level, National Independence Day commemorates Zambia’s acquisition of independent rule. Young people and adults can participate in parades and social celebrations as a nationwide reaffirmation of Zambian autonomy.

5.3.4 Cultural engagement

The third category is cultural engagement. Table 5:5 Cultural engagement below comprises of activities at individual, family and community level.

Table 5:5 Cultural engagement opportunities

Level	Participant identified	Database identified
Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language 	
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditions 	
Community	<p>In school context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture club • Drama club • Poetry club • Dancing singing • Arts club <p>Out of school context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiation ceremonies • Churches of different faiths • Youth choirs • Salvation Army • Evangelism • Church outreach • Scripture Union • Young Women’s Christian Association 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Culture, theatre, films and computers • Religious groups • Environmental groups • Specific youth inclusion on non-religious grounds • None specified type of activities
Societal		
Global		

At an individual level, language was considered important. The education system is delivered through the English language. In SS4, young males related that in their school teachers delivered lessons through a mix of English and Nyanja, a universal Zambian business language, to accommodate pupils from a variety of tribes. They perceived this as unfair as it curtails their efforts to master the English language. In other study sites, young people emphasised the importance of acquiring English. Kumar (young male: SS5) explained:

“if you want to work in a company, a big company, you have to know English, you have, for instance when people come from other countries they don't know your language they speak English, so if you know English, you can talk to them easily, you can read letters without making mistakes”

At a family level, participants perceived mothers to be the purveyors of culture and they encouraged gendered roles. Lela (adult female: SS4) explained:

“even as you grow up it depends on the time that we spend with our mothers. Funny enough they are the ones who encourage this culture, in different communities might be slightly different, but they might say: “when you do this you can go out and play”. So even us women because we spend most of the time with our children, so we are the ones who can change the system that can make a difference for the girl child”.

At a community level, the in-school context, young people valued cultural engagement opportunities, where traditional songs and dances were taught. Maggie (adult female: SS1) explained:

“Tradition dances is the way in which they socialize with friends and meet other people from different areas and also keeping their culture and traditions as Zambians”

Many of the out-of-school cultural activities identified by participants were linked to spirituality. Stephanie (young female: SS5) revealed that she was a member of a youth choir at the church she attended and related:

“I like singing because it makes me feel like I'm talking to God”

Other young people related similar personal positive experiences they obtained from their participation in organised religion. Mona (young female: SS1) related that she felt good, when singing in church:

“Singing helps to pass information all around the world. It helps those people that are troubled in their minds to rejoice, orphans and the poor. It helps to reduce their pain.”

Youth and adult participants held various views of cultural initiation ceremonies. Some viewed them positively and others less so. Peter (young

man: SS1) during a plenary session related the young male focus group views of ‘makunda’ the initiation ceremony for young men:

“...so after makunda, now that I am a grown up boy, I can do whatever I need. I know how to look after a wife. I can look after myself. I can become a man now. You can see many a boy, not even 18 years old, can point out at their mother ‘I want you to stand’ and so on. This is the badge you ask of youth of Zambia? It does not just affect us in our homes, even in our schools, if a boy comes back from mukanda, you find the teacher is calling ‘you come and sit here’ they will refuse to do so. This is not good for us.”

The researcher was invited to a launch of a wall mural by a youth theatre group as their contribution to World Aids Day, 2009. HIV education and the elimination of gender discrimination was the overall theme of the six panel mural. Photograph 5:3 Arts and campaign shows one panel of the mural.

Photograph 5:3 Arts and campaign



Researcher observation

This initiative was a collaborative project between an international NGO 80:20, Zaran, the Barefoot Youth Theatre Company and Zambian Artist, Starry Mwaba.

It illustrates how the Arts can be combined with education and political campaign

5.3.5 Political engagement

The fourth category is political engagement. Table 5:6 Political engagement on the next page illustrates few political opportunities were identified in the study context. Adult participants perceived political engagement as the preserve of third level students. Furthermore, they perceived the majority of young people were de-politicised. This was considered a significant barrier to youth

participation in political endeavours. During a plenary session, Winston (adult male: SS6) called for youth to get pro-active:

“the problem is with the youth, get organised to have a strong voice to reach the government to help you”

Table 5:6 Political engagement opportunities

Level	Participant identified	Database identified
Individual		
Family		
Community	Third-level education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth pressure groups Mainly adults <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Church advocacy groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-poverty • Anti-corruption • Anti-crime
Societal		
Global		

Pezulani (Adult male: SS5) on a similar vein in a plenary session outlined collective action was required. However, as the excerpt from a transcript recording demonstrates this may be difficult to implement in reality.

Pezulani: “...so now it is up to the youth to roar⁴.”
 Researcher: “Is there space for young people to do that?”
 Pezulani: “Yes the space is there, we seem to be blocking their way”

In general, it was believed young people and women are under-represented in decision-making structures at both local and national level. The government was not interested in listening to the views of young people as Kathryn (young female: SS5) explained:

“We want the government to listen to what we are saying because there are some issues, as children, especially for the girl child is bad, but for our voices to be heard it is not possible as we are not given the opportunity to speak out”

⁴ Roar – refers to the Lion a symbol of strength in Zambian culture

5.3.6 Economic engagement opportunities

The final category is economic engagement. The reality for the majority of young people in the context is the requirement to contribute to the family subsistence in some way. Culturally these activities are assigned by gender as presented in Table 5:7 Economic engagement shown below. As a category, economic engagement offers the first glimpse into the significance of gender and participation in YCE.

Table 5:7 Economic engagement opportunities

Level	Participant identified	Database identified
Individual		
Family	Female activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household chores, • Caring for siblings 	
Community	Male activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street vending • Farming • Labouring. • Crushing stone Female activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Markets • Maids • Farming • Prostitution None gender specific <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rural development programmes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community-based youth funeral service • Carpentry, tailoring, small industry • Tourism • Agriculture, fishing and bee-keeping • Enterprise
Societal		
Global		

In Table 5:7 economic engagement, gender disparities appear with males operating mainly in the public sphere. The female assigned activities occur in both the private (home) and public spheres. Adult and young females acknowledged home-based duties restricted participation in YCE activities outside of the home. Emily (young woman: SS2) explained:

“Some of them don’t have time...cleaning the house, fetching water, going in the bush to get some firewood so time is not there”

Male economic activities include street vending, labouring, farming and crushing stone. Photograph 5:4 The corner shop, shows a group of young men weaving their way through vehicles halted by traffic lights. They sell a range of goods from telephone credit, fruit, souvenirs, puppies and live chickens.

Photograph 5:4 The corner shop



Researcher observation

This photograph was taken from a walkway over the motorway. These young men gather at the walkway steps, they sit, talk and cook their food on charcoal burners between trying to sell their goods.

For young women activities included marketing, maids and prostitution. In five of the six study sites, both youth and adult participants identified prostitution by girls as an economic activity.

Adult men and some young men considered the involvement of girls in prostitution as self-indulgence.

“...(*young women*) see others wearing those nice clothes at the end of it, this person will think that let me be myself and indulge myself in prostitution in order to get clothes or in order to get enough food myself and also lack of parental care”

(Emmanuel, adult male: SS1)

“some girls do something else like going out into night clubs, going with big men, then they are given money which is bad for them. Some of the girls like money, they end up pregnant...”

(Jeff, young male: SS5)

In contrast, adult women attributed poverty as the main contributing factor that caused girls to become involved in prostitution.

“prostitution begins, poverty, just trying to get some money, to help the family”

(Ellen, adult woman:SS5)

Economic engagement was viewed as part of the cultural socialisation process.

Pezulni (adult male: SS5) explained:

“When I was growing up, a boy or girl would start washing plates as early as 3 or 4 years of age, which is earlier than other cultures. Me, like a boy, just living life, we were getting practical experience”

Phillip (adult male: SS5) related that by each family member contributing to the daily tasks then the needs of all can be met. Phillip provided examples, fetching water as many areas lack running water and many families depend upon the crops they grow to eat. Please see: Photograph 5:5 Survival – road side crops

Photograph 5:5 Survival – road side crops



Researcher observation.

This image was taken near a compound across a main road from a cement factory. Many families do not have access to land to grow food. Instead they cultivate the roadside verges. In the photograph, the pumpkin leaves (cooked like cabbage) are covered in cement dust.

Other participants related experiences or knowledge of other forms of youth labour exploitation.

“the elders are always abusing the young ones, giving them something heavy, for instance they might be buying, mealie meal, 15 kg or 10 kgs they say “you can manage that go” will give her 200 Kwacha⁵”

Kumar (young man: SS5)

“children don’t come to school, they are being sent to go and crush the stones there. In turn it will cause their health to be bad; they don’t take any preventive measures of protective clothing”

Maggie (adult woman: SS1)

In Zambia, constitutional law protects children against labour exploitation (Please see: Chapter four: Spotlight on Zambia). The cultural socialisation process encourages young people to learn life skills by completing practical tasks. In abusive situations, Mark (adult male: SS3) made reference to constitutional law:

“the rule of the victim support, but such laws are very slow. They are too quiet, most of the people don’t report why people don’t go to school, some just pretend, while others just take it that after all they haven’t school fees”

5.3.7 Summary of existing types of YCE

The key findings from this section are listed below:

- Local understandings of YCE identified five types of engagement. These are 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic.
- The education system plays a pivotal role in the access to and provision of the majority of these opportunities.
- Available out-of-school YCE opportunities tend to be age restrictive catering for youth defined as fifteen to thirty-five years of age.
- It became apparent there is a dearth of services targeting young people between the ages of twelve and fourteen years.
- Among the six study sites it was unanimously agreed the daily lives of young people would be improved through the provision of more YCE opportunities.

⁵ 1 euro = approximately 6500 Kwacha

5.4 Section Four: Locally defined risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience

The third objective of the contextualisation process was to define local risk and resilience factors. When a study incorporates resilience two fundamental judgements are made: 1) What is a good or an okay outcome?, and 2) What is a risk? (Masten, 2001, p.227). This section opens with cultural understandings of good or successful outcomes. The following sub-sections focus upon risk and resilience factors embedded with the different system levels, utilised as sub-headings: 1) individual, 2) family, 3) community, 4) societal and 5) global. In the context there were two overarching risks that transcend all system levels: 1) poverty and 2) HIV.

Each sub-section opens with a table of risk and resilience factors and is accompanied by participant quotes and photographs where appropriate. It is important to acknowledge that some factors were simultaneously considered a risk and resilience; for example, economic engagement prevented participation in school, but enabled a young person to survive. In the case of these ‘dual’ factors they are entered into both the risk and resilience column of the table.

5.4.1 Local understandings of successful outcomes

From an adult perspective successful outcomes were perceived as something relative to the context. In rural areas, it was a person who could grow enough crops to feed his family and the community. In the urban context, in residential areas, it was associated with the attainment of educational credentials. In compounds, success was associated with good business acumen. Some individual participants related success to wealth and health; to completing school, getting a job and living happily.

For the majority of young people, self-reliance and the ability to look after one self, was the point at which you were considered to be an adult by your community. Lucky (young male: SS1) and Tembo (young male: SS1) explain:

“When you are able to take care of ourselves you are considered an adult”

“If you can take care of yourself you are an adult. If someone has to support you in Zambian society, it might be if you are still in school, you are treated like babies, so you would like to become an adult.”

5.4.2 Individual level and risk and resilience factors

Table 5:8 Individual level risk and resilience factors

Individual level	Risk factors	Resilience factors
<p>Individual characteristics exacerbating risk</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being a girl child • Being an orphan • A child with a disability • Being a street kid • Residing in a compound • Residing in a rural area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peer pressure • Early school leaving • Lack of sponsorship • Examination leakage • Economic activity • Stealing • Gambling • Witchcraft and jealous • Satanism • Exposure to mass media • De-politicisation • Swimming in rivers e.g. drowning, cholera • Bereavement and limited emotional and psychological support <p>Gender specific (Female)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prostitution • Early pregnancy • Early marriage • Rape • Mother to child transmission of HIV • Not being sent to school <p>Gender specific (Male)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drug mis-use 	<p>Intrinsic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An inner wisdom • Spirituality • Knowing your own talents • Quick thinking <p>Extrinsic</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An ability to co-operate with others • Competent at English • Leadership to others • To know ones rights • Literacy skills • Peer pressure • Educational credentials • Economic activity

Table 5:8 Individual level risk and resilience factors as a visual aid identifies a greater presence of risk factors compared to resilience factors. Some individual characteristics were seen to exacerbate exposure to risk. Roz (young woman: SS1) perception of the situation of orphaned girls when trying to access education:

“Their step mothers, their step mothers they are refusing them to come to school...Because if they (*the orphan girl*) say that ‘at school they want money’, they (*the step mothers*) say ‘ha to that, you go and ask from your boyfriend”

In relation to the varying types of civic engagement, at individual level, economic engagement appears to present the most risks, especially for young women. Many of the risks young females are exposed to are related to sexual activity. The example referred to in the economic engagement section “crushing stone” affected both boys and girls.

Once in school, gender was recognised as restricting future employment prospects. Rachael (young female: SS5) explained:

“Like boys schools they take technical subjects, like CD and others, but in girls schools we don't have those subjects, some people would like to be engineers when they grow up, so they don't have the opportunity”

5.4.3 Family level risk and resilience factors

Table 5:9 Family level risk and resilience factors

	Risk	Resilience
Family level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear of speaking with parents • Fear of physical punishment • Parental lack of knowledge • Lack of family support • Limited time for parents to speak with their children about important issues • Allocation of household chores • Cultural taboos prevent parents from discussing family planning • Human rights vs. traditional values • Mass media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental support • A good home • Given responsibility to complete a task • A strong family line or network • A positive role model within the family • Allocation of household chores • Educated parents • Human rights vs. traditional values

At the family level, the number of identified risk and resilience factors was almost equal. The home was perceived as the site where culture is passed from one generation to the next, mainly by mothers. Cultural adherence was evidenced by a male focus group, who related a cultural taboo, preventing them discussing family planning. As a result, family sizes expanded creating more pressure on the parents who spend most of their time trying to make ends meet. This limited the time to speak with their children about important issues. The men were uncomfortable about raising the issue during the plenary session. Instead they preferred the research to report the taboo as a research finding.

The home was also identified as the site for struggle for human rights, between young people and adults: Phillip (adult male: SS5) explained:

“For one who has a cultural attachment to our traditions who knows that I can’t speak when my father is speaking, even when I have something to tell him; ‘I find a girl, I want to marry her’, it’s not like that, what is that, it is our culture, our traditions, for you won’t see it for ever”

Mulenga (young male: SS5) explained:

“...family affairs we are almost afraid to move a decision or saying a decision to parents, when I speak I will be beaten, I will make someone anger...”

The availability of modern technology, for example satellite television, was considered a contributing factor towards the struggle between human rights and traditional values. Mainly adult males’ related young people were becoming more familiar with western culture than their own. Access to mass media was perceived as an infringement upon universal rights. Young people could watch unsuitable material detrimental to their development, by encouraging sexual activity, violence and school truancy.

In general, adults and young people expressed a sense of dissatisfaction regarding the government’s management of Zambia. It was proposed that change to, but not replacement of Zambian culture by a western culture was required to improve the lives of Zambians.

5.4.4 Community level risk and resilience factors

Table 5:10 Community level risk and resilience factors on the next page reveals the community level as the only system where there were less risk and more resilience factors present. It was generally agreed that rural areas compared to urban areas lacked basic services, for example, water, sanitation, health and schools. Participants perceived these inequalities to curtail the potential development of rural areas. As a result of limited rural services it was felt

young people in rural areas were exposed to more risks than their urban counterparts.

Table 5:10 Community level risk and resilience

	Risk	Resilience
Community level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of employment • Examination leakages • Corruption • Nepotism • Tribalism • Initiation ceremonies • Lack of youth activities • Decline of rural areas • Zambian culture under threat • Human rights vs. traditional values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to school • Access to the labour market • Access to youth activities • Access to sporting activities • Adult Community members as mentors/role models • Initiation ceremonies • Peer mentors • Educational credentials • Caring for others • Involvement in organised religion • Hard work ethic • Human rights vs. traditional values

Young people and adults placed a high value on educational credentials as a method of improving life circumstances. However the government provision of “free” education up to Grade 8 was disputed by the research participants. The actual cost of purchasing the required books and materials to attend school was seen as out of the reach of some families. Joy (young female: SS2) explained the situation in the community school she attended:

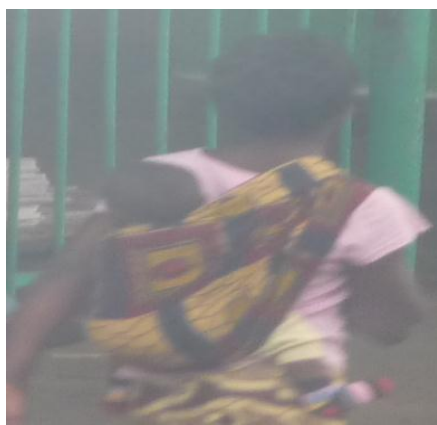
“for example one book we share between four groups, that is one book. Then on one desk four or three people this is not good, it should be two and two”.

Available literature confirms young males are more likely to be sent to school than girls. A young girl expressed the common belief held within her community; to educate a “girl child” was a waste. Anna (young female: SS2) went on to explain:

“Because some they say us girls we get pregnant very early and then we have to stay a long time at our village. So they say it’s better for us not to be educated and it’s just better for us to get married.”

In five of the six study sites, early marriages and pregnancies in or outside of marriage were identified as an issue. Photograph 5:6 Motherhood and an excerpt from the digital recording of the women's focus group, SS3 provides an insight to the situation of some young girls.

Photograph 5:6 Motherhood



Cassie: If she gets pregnant as early as 12 years, which means there is no future because by then she would have even contracted the virus, you see?

Researcher: yes

Cassie: and in most cases the child will be fatherless. In such cases the men don't have the responsibilities

Similar accounts were provided, in SS6 a young girl, expressed her sadness regarding her older sister, who had given birth at ten years of age. The older sister now eighteen years of age left her two children with her mother, whilst she went “drinking in bars”.

In SS1, a young male, related how his friend, despite obtaining the highest grades did not progress to Grade 8 as her family were unable to pay the school fees. Within a year of leaving school, his friend, was married and pregnant to a much older man. A consistent thread was interwoven within the related experiences. These young females were usually poverty stricken, were held responsible for becoming pregnant and some were left with the majority of child-rearing responsibilities.

To participants a significant factor impacting upon the lives of young people is corruption. A “khaki envelope” could: secure a place in school, purchase leaked examination papers prior to examinations, or induce an employer to give you a position. Furthermore it was related corruption would prevent job creation and unemployment. In the long-term this practice was viewed as a significant threat to youth well-being into the future. It was felt males dominated the labour

market. Will (adult male: SS4) related women were beginning to assert themselves:

“But mostly in society, I think it has been dominated by males, but now days things are changing, females ...they are getting on their feet and trying to do something.”

5.4.5 Societal level risk and resilience factors

Table 5:11 Societal level risk and resilience factors

	Risk	Resilience
Societal level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption • Inconsistency of youth provision • Lack of the right to speech • Centralisation • Slow implementation of existing laws that protect children and youth • Gender inequality in the labour market • Lack of employment • Exposure to mass media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equality policy • Decentralisation policy • Human rights

In various sub-sections within this chapter the factors listed in the table above have been referred to. The general perception was females had limited opportunities to exercise their right to speech. Furthermore they were under-represented in decision-making structures. There was evidence young people were aware of gender equality. Francis (young male: SS2) during a plenary session stated:

“Gender roles should be equal. What they are talking about there, this means that some parents don’t make the boys cook, but the boys should also be cooking”.

Darren (adult male: SS1) related this view:

“I am happy that this research is looking at the crucial aspects, the gender issues in communities, where change has to be emphasised, and the young people are struggling away, we try to help out by identifying what youths out there can do, it takes everyone’s commitment ...”

Participants felt government centralised policy has led to a fragmentation of youth service distribution and compounded gender disparities among the

services. Some participants viewed policies differently, as they provided a framework to bring about change. Human rights were viewed as a potential strength, Phillip (adult male: SS5) explained:

“The promotion of human rights, might promote a thinker, basically when you promote a thinker you step into change, when you have one who can say that is not meant to be done like that, a society where people can bring about change because they have something to refer to”

Ellen (adult female: study site five) felt that policy was pushing young people to seek their rights, which was acknowledged as placing young people in direct conflict.

“on the other hand, the young ones are not given the chance to adjust, they just have to listen, that is where the conflict is, they are being told to decide, but traditions says no”.

5.4.6 Global level risk and resilience factors

Table 5:12 Global level risk and resilience factors

	Risk	Resilience
Global level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International conventions vs. traditional values • Removal of NGO Support • Government arrangements with multi-national companies that lead to the denigration of Zambia • Brain Drain 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International conventions vs. traditional values • Continent and international co-operation

At a global level, international conventions and traditional values were viewed as both a risk and resilience factor. Other global risks were associated mainly with the export of Zambian natural and human resources. This was attributed to the global economic system that was believed to denigrate Zambia.

The one named singular resilience factor at global level was continental and international co-operation in times of crisis.

5.4.7 Summary of locally defined risk and resilience factors

This particular section contains significant amounts of key findings in relation to risk and resilience. The key findings are listed on the following page.

- Adults perceive success with economics correlated to location, rural, compound and residential.
- Young people equated success with the cultural acquisition of adulthood.
- Poverty and HIV are two overarching risk factors.
- There is a presence of more risk than resilience factors in the daily lives of young people.
- The presence of gendered risk factors appears to make the “girl child” compared to the “male child” more vulnerable to negative outcomes.
- Resilience factors do not appear gendered.
- The community level was the only system level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors.
- Human rights vs. traditional values were perceived as both a risk and a resilience factor.
- Rural communities were considered the custodians of Zambian culture. The perception was Zambian culture was under threat from Western culture and urbanisation was accelerating this process.
- Adults implored young people to preserve Zambian culture.
- The identification of dual resilience factors, simultaneously viewed as both a risk and resilience factor.

5.5 Section five: Resilience factors perceived to be associated with Youth Civic Engagement opportunities

The previous sections of the research findings provide insights into YCE, risk and resilience at different system levels. The local understanding of YCE encompassed a wide range of activities. Some of the intrinsic resilience factors, for example inner wisdom and extrinsic factors, such as co-operation and problem-solving could be applied to all the different engagement types.

This section works with specific resilience factors to populate the ‘Loci of Oppression’ frameworks. The purpose is to illuminate factors seen to privilege or restrict the sourcing of resilience associated with civic, social, cultural,

political and economic engagement. Each section opens by naming the resilience factor (s) perceived to be associated with the type of engagement opportunity.

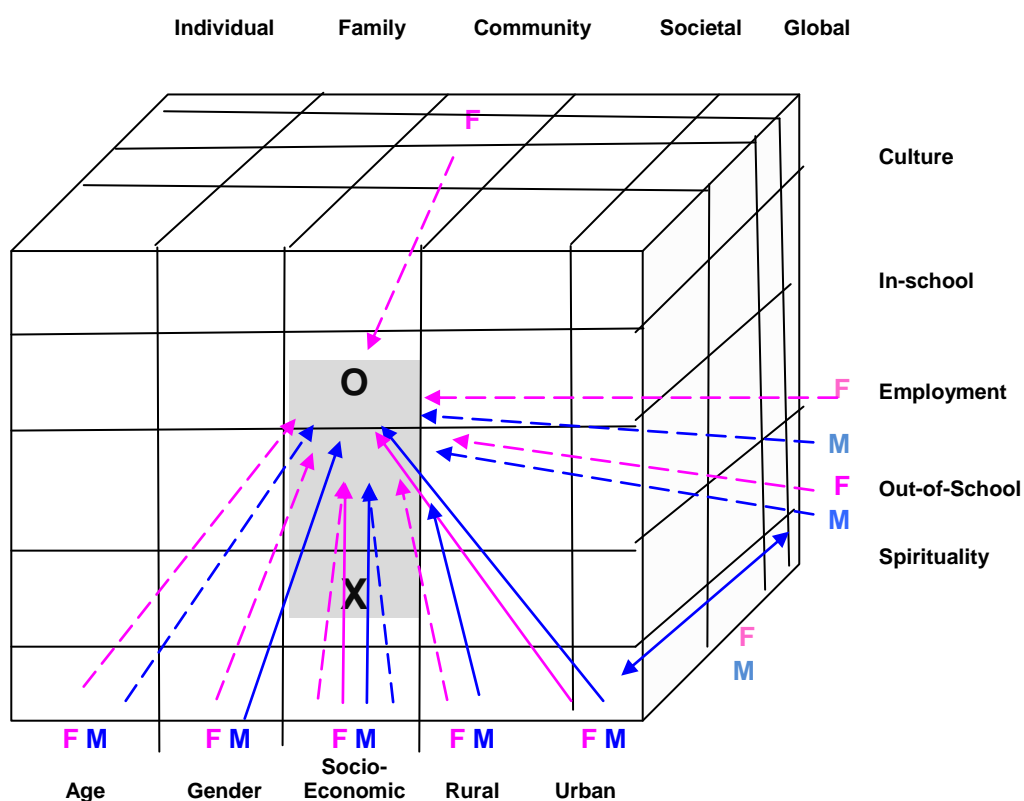
Subsequently, a populated framework accompanied by a brief commentary is presented. The Framework Key - **A solid blue, (depicting male) or pink line (depicting female) indicates a privilege or enabling factor. A broken blue or pink line indicates a restrictive factors or barrier linked to an opportunity. A grey block encompassing different opportunities means the same privilege or restricting factors are seen to occur.** Any variations to the key are outlined in the commentary that accompanies the relevant framework.

5.5.1 Civic engagement framework

In relation to civic engagement (Figure 5:1 Civic engagement framework) it was perceived resilience was associated with access to opportunities. Previous sections illuminate the pivotal role of the education system in the provision of and access to YCE. The framework provides an insight into the privileging and restriction of access to the available opportunities in and out of the school setting.

In-school civic engagement opportunities (**O**) initially appear to be open to all young people. When the framework is populated with findings a different picture emerges. Commencing with the *x axis* from left to right, age, gender, socio-economic background, rural and urban planes are considered. Age becomes significant at Grade 7 (13 years of age approximately) in the education system. At Grade 8 and above the payment of school fees require young people from lower socio-economic groups to leave school. As a result of cultural norms girls are less likely to attend school than boys, especially in rural areas. Girls are required to complete more home chores than boys.

Figure 5:1 Civic engagement framework



Ascending the *y-axis*, the planes of spirituality, out of school, employment, in-school and culture are all influential factors pertaining to YCE. The quality of facilities, schools, community halls and other buildings vary from area to area. The distribution of YCE is perceived to favour males in urban areas.

For young people who leave the education system at Grade 7, age is restrictive as it prevents access to community-based out-of-school services (**X**). Generally the identified opportunities catered for youth from fifteen years of age upward. It appears young people, from twelve to fourteen years of age (approximately) become distanced from services and the sources of resilience within them.

5.5.2 Social engagement framework

The resilience factors linked to social engagement, (Figure 5:2 Social engagement framework) appear not to be linked to access of services. Instead resilience factors were identified at individual, family and community level. At the individual level these factors include, self-organised games, problem-solving and learning to co-operate with others. At family level, resilience was

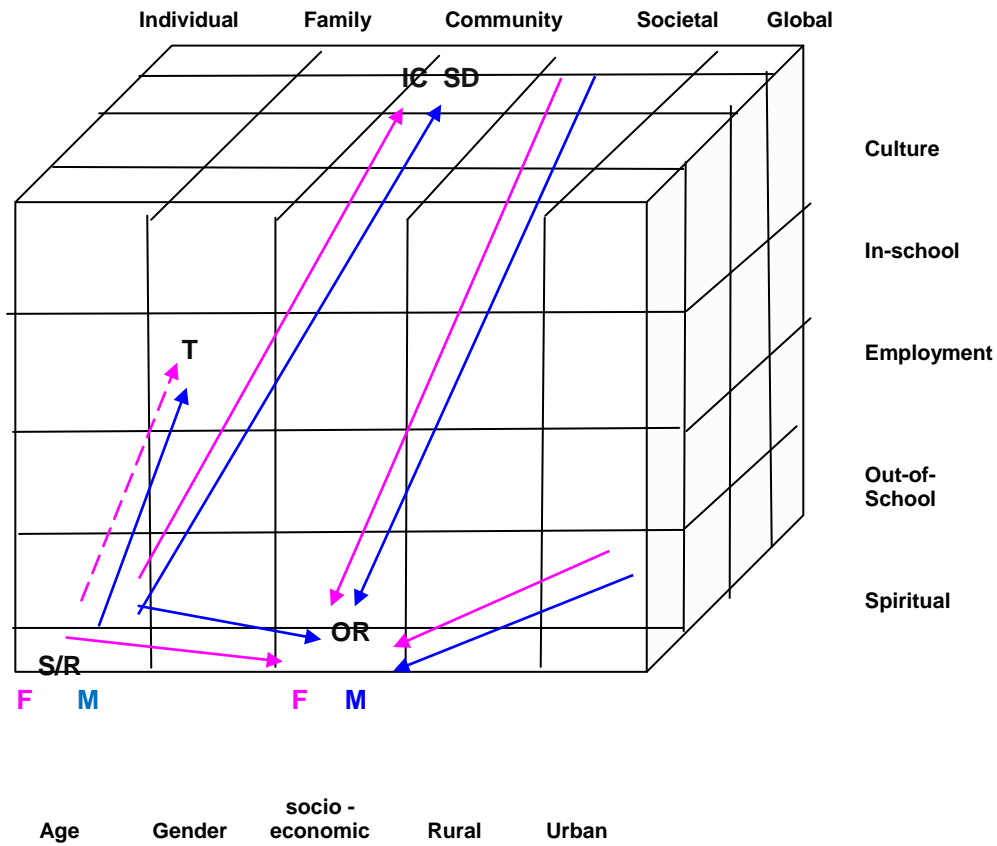
At community level, sports (**S**) were often delivered through the school context. This obviously incurs the same privilege or restrictive factors associated with opportunities offered through the education system. Furthermore access to out-of-school sports were restricted by gender; preventing girls in some communities from participating in clubs or teams. Community mentors (**M**) may be present within different contexts, in-school, out-of-school or the community. Caring for others (**C**) and peer group (**PG**) membership were both identified as positives.

5.5.3 Cultural engagement framework

In relation to cultural engagement (Figure 5:3 Cultural engagement framework) resilience at an individual level was associated with spirituality. At family level, being given tasks and fulfilling the responsibility of completing those tasks. At community level, a significant source of resilience is embedded within organised religion. Traditional songs and dances were considered important for friendships and Zambian culture. The initiation ceremonies which were dual factors are simultaneously considered a risk and resilience factor.

The cultural framework denotes that for boys and girls in regard to culture engagement opportunities appear to be distributed evenly. Individual spirituality (**S/R**) and organised religion (**OR**) are particularly important in Zambian culture. Compared to other framework, the *x-axis* does not reveal obvious disparities regarding engagement opportunities in relation to spirituality or organised religion. The exception is the completion of tasks (**T**) in the home as referred to in the previous framework. Traditional song and dance (**SD**) appears to be equally distributed. Finally initiation ceremonies (**IC**) were viewed as a dual factor, both a risk and resilience.

Figure 5:3 Cultural engagement framework

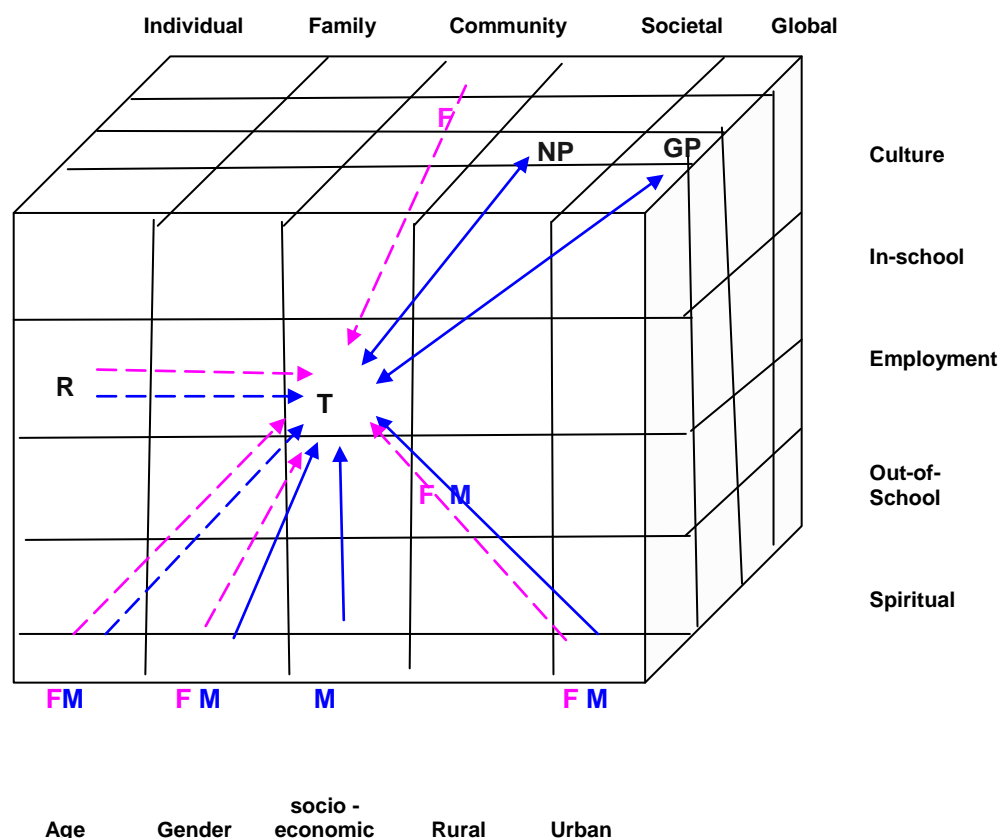


5.5.4 Political engagement framework

The availability of political engagement opportunities was perceived to be limited. Nonetheless at an individual level an existing resilience factor was to know your rights. Political engagement was perceived as the preserve of third level students. The existence of national and global policy was also identified as strengths.

Commencing with the *x-axis* at an individual level, to know your rights was identified as a resilience factor. Rights-based education (**R**) is delivered mainly through the education system. The gender, age, socio-economic and rural disparities noted in relation to accessing civic engagement opportunities via the school system are repeated in this framework. A capital ‘**T**’ symbolises tertiary education.

Figure 5:4 Political engagement framework



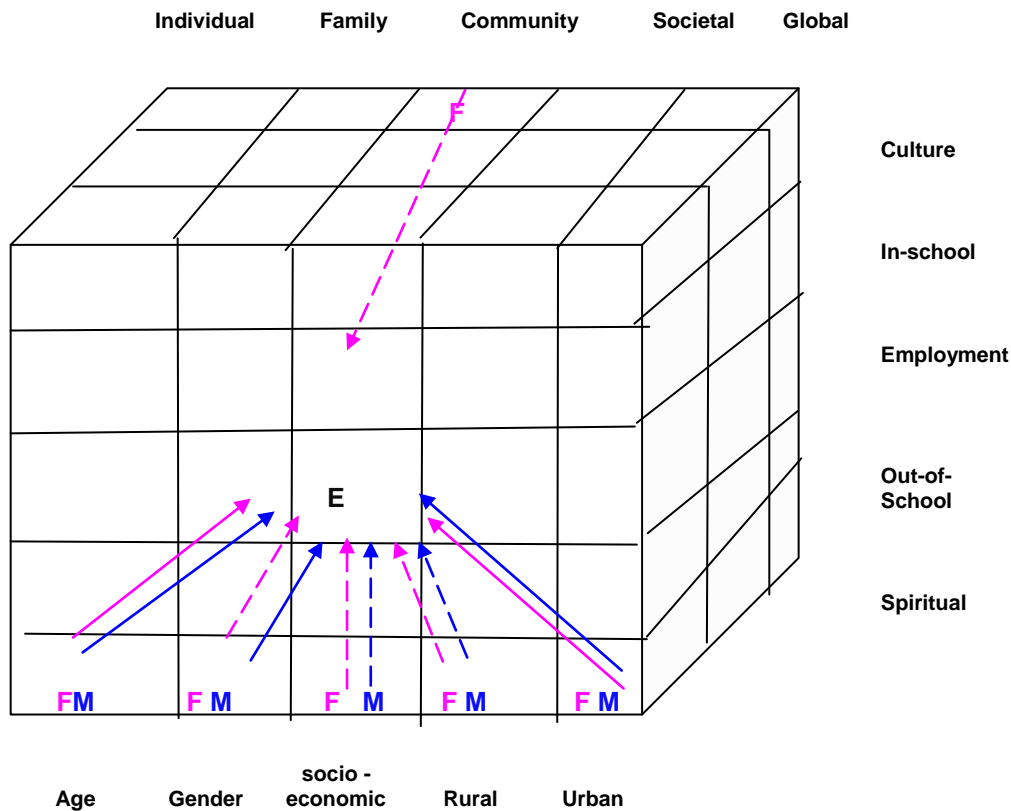
There is one significant additional difference that occurs at tertiary level in comparison to second level education. Essentially, females mainly residing in urban areas tend not to transfer to third level education. When this barrier is combined with the under-representation of girls and young women in local and national decision-making the framework illuminates that males are favoured through the education system. Furthermore they appear to dominate decision-making structures. Therefore males rather than female perspectives have a bearing on the formation of policy, national and global (**NP and GP**). Policy such as decentralisation, gender policy and human rights were named as a potential source of resilience.

5.5.5 Economic engagement framework

The daily reality for the majority of young people is to contribute to the family subsistence in some way. Tasks are gender assigned, viewed as teaching life skills and valued in the nurturing of a hard work ethic. It became apparent poverty compelled engagement in activities detrimental to young people's well-

being such as prostitution and crushing stone. Participants viewed these activities as dual purpose. While being negative, they enabled the positive outcome of survival.

Figure 5:5 Economic engagement framework



This framework Figure 5:5 Economic engagement framework focuses upon economic engagement (**E**) located in the employment plane. In this instance employment is not necessarily a paid position, but refers to economic engagement and subsistence necessary for survival. Moving across the *x-axis* age appears irrelevant. The cultural expectation is for each family member to contribute to the family well-being by completing tasks. These tasks are seen as a method of learning life skills, essential for survival in the context. From the cultural plane, a broken pink line indicates the gender disparities of task completion referred to in previous frameworks. Gender, a broken pink line illustrates female and male disparities regarding activities in the public sphere.

The overarching risk of poverty leads some young women into precarious economic activities. In five of the six study sites prostitution by young girls was

named as a significant risk. The obvious knock on effect is the exposure of girls to HIV and abuse. Socio-economic background is another factor requiring attention. Educational attainment is associated with entry to level into the labour market. Previous frameworks have illustrated the barriers to accessing the education system. It is perceived there are fewer paid employment positions in rural areas compared to urban areas. Nonetheless significant amounts of time are provided to food production.

5.5.6 Summary of resilience factors perceived to be associated with YCE

The framework revealed resilience factors were perceived to be associated with each of the five YCE types in the context. The framework enables numerous influences to be simultaneously viewed. The key findings for this section are listed below:

- Sources of resilience embedded in YCE are not equally accessible to all young people.
- Community level is the only system level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors.
- Resilience factors were not readily assigned by gender.

5.6 Section six: Findings Conclusion

In summary, the participatory research process set out to acquire local youth and adult understandings of YCE. The presentation of the findings provides evidence this has been achieved. A significant mis-match between adult and youth understandings of YCE was identified. The adult perspective focused upon political engagement. The youth understanding was broad, based upon the understanding to do something civic as to do ‘good’ not just for the individual self, but for others and future generations.

Subsequently working with these understandings it was possible to identify existing YCE opportunities. This was achieved by drawing upon three sources

of data from participant transcripts, review of NYDC, Boy Scout and Concern databases and the researcher's observation in the study context. From this data a baseline of services has been formed, which incorporate five categories of civic engagement. These categories are civic, social, cultural, political and economic. The participant perspectives illuminated age, location, socio-economic and gender as factors that privileged or restrict access to these opportunities. It is fair to state the process has generated data to fulfil the second research objective; to identify the existing types of civic engagement opportunities available in the cultural context.

The third objective to locally define risk and resilience factors commenced with the local understandings of success. Singular factors were then arranged into a series of tables, utilising the system levels, individual, family, community, societal and global. It was clear from the findings risk factors associated with gender were more readily identifiable than resilience factors. Among the system levels, only within the community were more resilience than risk factors present.

The final objective to identify resilience factors perceived to be associated with YCE, proved to be less straightforward. Numerous identified resilience factors were arranged into frameworks. These were then linked to factors drawn from participant experiences and wider structural factors. The frameworks illuminate sources of resilience which are embedded within YCE opportunities are not equally accessible to all young people. Furthermore gender is identified as a significant factor that impacts upon participation of young people in existing YCE in the context. These findings are discussed in-depth in the next chapter, research analysis. To bring this chapter to a close Table 5:13 Summary of research findings is presented on the next page.

Table 5:13 Summary of research findings

Objective one	Significant findings
Local understandings of youth civic engagement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Citizenship associated with constitutional system. ▪ Identity associated with tribal membership. ▪ Mis-match between adult and youth perspective regarding civic engagement. • Adults related civic engagement to political action and urged young people to get politically proactive and through collective action demand their rights from the government. • Young people were unfamiliar with the term civic engagement, but related doing something civic as something not just for yourself , but for the benefit of others and future generations.
Objective two	
Existing youth civic engagement available in the cultural context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Based upon the local understandings of civic engagement the identified youth activities were arranged into a thematic framework under the headings of: 1) Civic, 2) Social, 3) Cultural, 4) Political and 5) Economic. • Schools are seen to be pivotal in the provision of youth activities. • Existing YCE opportunities are age restrictive. • Dearth of services targeting 12- 14 year olds. • It was unanimously agreed by all areas that the provision of additional youth services and recreational facilities would improve the daily lives of young people.
Objective three	
Locally define risk and resilience factors in relation to YCE underpinned by resilience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adult perceived success with economics correlated to location, rural, compound and residential area. • Young people equated success with the cultural acquisition of adulthood. • Two overarching risk factors 1) poverty and 2) HIV . • The presence of more risk than resilience factors in the daily lives of young people. • The presence of gendered risk factors that make the “girl child” more vulnerable than the “male child” at the individual, family, community, and societal level. • Resilience factors do not appear gendered. • The community level was the only system to exhibit more resilience than risk factors. • Human rights vs. traditional values were perceived as both a risk and a resilience factor. • Rural communities were considered the custodians of Zambian culture. Due to urbanisation the perception was Zambian culture was under threat. • Adults implored young people to preserve Zambian culture. • The existence of dual factors, simultaneously viewed as both a risk and a resilience factor.
Objective Four	
Resilience factors perceived to be associated with YCE opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Numerous resilience factors associated with YCE were identified. • Sources of resilience embedded in YCE are not equally accessible to all young people. • Community level the only level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors.

Chapter six: Research discussion

6.1 Section one: Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw upon the contents of chapters two, three and four to discuss the research findings. The tentative framework provided to guide the research process, categorise data and present the findings is now applied to the discussion. At this juncture it may be useful to re-iterate the overall research aim and objectives. These are:

6.1.2 Overall research aim

To examine Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement

6.1.3 Research objectives

- To establish local understandings of Youth Civic Engagement
- To identify the existing types of Youth Civic Engagement available in the cultural context
- To locally define risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience
- To identify resilience factors perceived to be associated with Youth Civic Engagement

The four research objectives are utilised as sub-headings to present the discussion. The opening section regarding local understandings of YCE draws upon historical influences and theories to explore citizenship and the evolution of the identified mis-match between adult and youth understandings of YCE. .

The second section focuses upon existing YCE opportunities. Despite an extensive range of available YCE opportunities, some young people appear to be unintentionally overlooked. The discussion unfolds to surmise additional YCE opportunities are required in the context to support young people.

Next the local understandings of risk and resilience are examined. The adult and youth meanings of successful outcomes differ from one another.

Nonetheless on closer examination it appears tacit understands of success maintain the status quo. The presence of risk and resilience factors at different system levels enables an in-depth examination of gender, location, age and socio-economic background which impacts upon participation in YCE opportunities.

The final discussion accords special attention to factors that impact upon young people's participation in YCE opportunities. Gender as a singular factor is identified as the most influential pertaining to access and participation in YCE opportunities. The multi-layered and multi-dimension framework facilitates the analysis to identified intersections where gender and an accumulation of other factors exacerbate restrictions or privilege participation in YCE opportunities.

6.2 Section two: Discussion of local understandings of YCE

The participant's universal understanding of citizenship provides some sense of the effectiveness of Zambia's post-colonial endeavours to build a national identity (DeRoche, 2008, p.91). Participants related the importance of cultural tribe membership. The significance of tribe appears not to over-ride the significance of national identity. Zambia did not descend into civil war like some other post-colonial African countries (Nyaluke & Siefu, 2007, p.11). According to Larmer (2008) tribal allegiances have supported consecutive governments and this has assisted the maintenance of social order.

Despite the adult and youth shared understanding of citizenship, a mis-match between understandings of civic engagement emerged from the data. Adults viewed YCE as political engagement. Young people understood civic as to do 'good' which is open to interpretation. Lister et al., (2003 p.235) and Sanders and Munford, (2008, p.357) both advocate that adult definitions of YCE are often too restrictive to accommodate young people's understandings.

In this case, the application of an adult northern or southern priori YCE definition to the research would have excluded a wealth of youth data. The

youth understandings opened up meanings of YCE beyond the adult political perspective. The findings evidence young people in the context provide both attention and energy (Berger, 2009, p.340) to a variety of activities within their families and communities. Five types of civic engagement emerged from the data: 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic. These will be examined later within this chapter.

The adult/youth mis-match of YCE warrants further attention. Zambia's recent history has witnessed a variety of ideological changes. These changes include colonialism, post-colonial, republicanism (with elements of socialism) and in 1991, the establishment of a multi-party representative liberal system (Mulenga, 2008, p.224). The majority of the adult research participants would have grown up with or possibly actively participated in bringing about political and social change. Therefore the adult perspective of YCE as political engagement appears logical. This understanding of engagement is clearly associated with the constitutional system inherited from a colonial past.

From the findings it is evident that the education system plays a pivotal role in providing access to YCE opportunities. In Zambia, the education system did not undergo post-colonial reformation (Esteva & Prakask, 2003, p.277). A possible consequence is young people continue to be immersed in northern knowledge and the dominant ideology (Namemeka, 2003, p.336). Currently the ideology appears to be leaning from republicanism towards liberalism. It could be construed that youth understandings of YCE as to do 'good' fit in nicely with the neo-liberal concept of 'active citizenship'. As an analysis this means the identified mis-match between adult and youth understandings of YCE is not as mis-matched as initially thought.

Young people when identifying their 'good' activities did not differentiate between the public and private spheres. In this context, a cultural expectation is that each individual is duty bound and contributes to the collective good (Himonga, 2008, p.82). For young people duty includes deference to elders, especially to older males. It is probably adults rather than young people who actually decide the meaning of 'good'. The dual system of a constitutional and

cultural framework, both place expectations upon young people to fit into existing adult systems. The two perspectives differ; the first promotes 'individualism' and the latter 'collectivism'. As the analysis unfolds a tension between the two perspectives is revealed as conflict between adults and young people. This friction appears to be created as the taught rights associated with each of the systems are often oppositional to each another.

Young people's understanding of 'good' set in the cultural context of 'duty' (Himonga, 2008, p.82) implies a moral commitment (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.478). A shared moral code provides a base to build 'social capital' (Putman, 2000, p.117). Putman's belief is 'social capital' does not make distinctions between the private and public sphere (Powell & Geoghehan, 2008, p15). Putman's non-differentiation of space corresponds with the youth understanding of YCE which occurs in both the public and private sphere. Through civic engagement (Putman, 2000, p.134, Berger, 2009, p.338) the building of social networks widens young people's opportunities and enhances development in a positive way thus leading to better youth outcomes.

Putman, (2000, p.296) advocates to do 'good' however laudable is inadequate to be defined as 'social capital' as it requires action with others. In Zambia, networks are part of daily life and instrumental in child-rearing (Himonga, 2008, p.74). It may be construed the youth understanding of 'good' in the cultural context is a form of 'social capital'. Social capital is meant to improve youth outcomes. However existing literature and the research findings illuminate young people are exposed to significant risks and marginalisation in the context (NCP, 2006, p.1). Hence it is evident that factors beyond social capital, as YCE, are influential in determining youth outcomes. The examination of existing YCE opportunities may identify some of these factors and the impacts they might bear on participation of young people in YCE opportunities.

6.2.1 Summary of discussion of local understandings of YCE

The main points gleaned from the discussion of local understandings of YCE are summarised in a list shown on the next page.

- Zambia as a post-colonial context has forged a national identity.
- Tribal identity is important but does not appear to over-ride the significance of the national identity.
- A mis-match between adult and youth understanding of YCE was identified.
- Youth understandings of YCE enabled the research to move beyond the adult understanding of YCE as political engagement.
- This thesis supports the need to work with youth perspectives to understand YCE. Essentially it also advocates the importance of working simultaneously with adult understandings of YCE to inform the design of the interventions.
- The adult and youth mis-match of YCE, when linked to historical, political and social change was deemed not as badly mis-matched as initially thought.
- Basically young people are expected to fit into both adult-centred customary and constitutional systems. This appears to create friction between collectivism and individualism because the taught rights within each system are often oppositional to one and other.
- Moral commitment and social capital associated with YCE were investigated to surmise factors beyond social networks were influential pertaining to youth outcomes.

6.3 Section three: Discussion of existing Youth Civic Engagement available in the cultural context

A significant range of YCE opportunities were offered in the context. However detail regarding participant numbers, gender breakdown, retention rates, ratio of adults to young people, training levels and participation is lacking.

Furthermore, the Census Report (2004) tends to provide statistics for young people as one group; from birth to eighteen years of age. Hence this disjointed

information may hinder, not only the accurate assessment of existing YCE activities, but also the way services may respond to current youth needs. Indeed, do the existing services have capacity to work with additional numbers of young people?

The NCP (2006, p.1) acknowledges past governmental child and youth provision was inadequate to meet the needs of young people, complemented by the research finding that all six study sites unanimously agreed the daily lives of young people would be improved by more facilities and services. It is fair to suggest there is little doubt more YCE opportunities are required to support young people in the context. The following discussion regarding the baseline of services and the examination of the five YCE types: 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic, may offer direction for future provision.

6.3.1 Baseline of services

The Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development is the government department with statutory responsibility for the welfare of children and young people (Milimo et.al, 2004). Within the Ministry, the youth section policy applies the AU (2006, p.3) definition of a young person, as an individual between 'fifteen and thirty-five years of age' to denote services. Under legislation all youth services are required to register with the NYDC (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.67).

Information regarding YCE services targeting twelve to fourteen year olds was not readily available. It emerges from the data there is a dearth of services targeting this age group. It becomes apparent, age is a barrier to participation in existing YCE opportunities. In the context, young people within the twelve to fourteen year old bracket are at the upper limit of a government section with statutory responsibility for them. The cut-off point is set at fifteen years of age. It is not inconceivable, how as a cohort about to move from the remit of one government section into another, they have been unintentionally overlooked. As a proposition this is especially feasible, if the UNICEF (2011, p.11)

statement that government endeavours to meet the MDG, has accorded priority to early childhood development at the expense of adolescence, is accurate.

The compilation of the baseline confirms the distribution of YCE organisations favour urban areas compared to rural areas. Table 5:2 Youth organisations by type and province (Please see: page 147) revealed an anomaly in the Western province. The heading of agriculture, bee-keeping and fisheries identifies a community with a total of forty-six different organisations. This community was not among the six communities contained within the study's geographical boundaries. To speculate, this indicates something specific about the area has led to the establishment of so many organisations. Further research would be required to examine this phenomenon.

Differences also emerged at system levels, both national and international. The NYDC register contains four international organisations. Three of these organisations are located in Lusaka, the capital city and one in the Western Province. The research participants made no reference to the existence of international youth organisations. At a local level, it appears citizens are unaware who is representing Zambia in these networks. Perhaps more importantly, the interests and issues the international representatives are presenting on behalf of Zambian youth are unknown to them. This denotes a potential barrier that prevents local issues reaching the international agenda, curtailing a 'bottom-up' perspective.

It should not be assumed international representatives do not advocate for the wider interests of Zambian Youth. Nonetheless, Fiedler-Conradi (2003, p.66) posits that post-1996 young people with tertiary education were able to secure external resources from donor countries. These young people were instrumental in establishing Zambian youth organisations. Mwinga (2001, p.19) moots the external resources were channelled towards organisations most likely to support the neo-liberal agenda. In Zambia, educational attainment, socio-economic background and access to the labour market are intertwined (CSO, 2004). The probability is young people from higher rather than lower socio-economic

backgrounds are involved in international networks. Further research would be required to confirm this proposition.

From a Neo-Gramscian perspective, the neo-liberal agenda seeks to narrow the social class base in global decision-making structures (Gill, 2003, p.14). In Late-modernity where class structures are meant to be crumbling (Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005, p.99) it brings into question the validity of Gill's proposition. As more emphasis is placed on cultural plurality, the influence of social class origins as a determinant of outcome can be glossed over (France, 2007, p.71). As a strategic manoeuvre, global governance structures by restricting participation to particular groups may facilitate the expansion of the free-market. The neo-liberal understanding of civic engagement as political and economic embeds itself on a global scale (Beiler & Morton, 2003, p.2)

On a continental level the African YGC report (2009, p.7) illuminates the embracing of the neo-liberal, human capital perspective. At a national level, the Zambian framework 'Vision 2030' is economically focused. The SNDP (2011, p.23) offers the view of young people as a potential, 'sound human resource base'. Furthermore, among the research participants were two representatives of a national youth organisation. Neither they nor other research participants mentioned the National Youth Parliament inaugurated in 2002. The Zambian Youth Parliament comprises of members from youth organisations and third level students (www.parliament.gov.zm retrieved on 11/10/10). The concept of socio-economic background as a pre-requisite for participation in decision-making structures appears to be operational at a national level. It is fair to moot influences regarding YCE is occurring in a 'top-down' rather than a 'bottom-up' motion.

6.3.2 Discussion of civic engagement

Civic engagement is differentiated from the other types of engagement, by formal group membership or having responsibility in a context. The education system plays a pivotal role in providing access to many of the civic engagement opportunities. In practical terms, Student Council and Child Rights Clubs

evidence the domestication of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) into Zambian policy.

Theis (2010, p.346) posits the school environment is one of the first sites of governance a young person experiences. The election of student council representatives provide the individual with practice in skills required in adulthood to participate in political elections. Based upon related experiences of participants the election process varied from democratic to autocratic. The resulting forums may facilitate some young people's 'voices' to be heard to some extent. Nonetheless the youth experience of being 'told what to do' by teachers (adults) suggests youth viewed as 'partners' (Bessell & Gal, 2009, p.293) on a par with adults in these contexts is yet to materialise. The school system as a socialisation process may reflect wider societal processes. Drawing upon adult reminiscence and current perceptions of YCE may reveal what these processes might be.

The named YCE opportunities included the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, both remnants of colonial YCE provision. As character-building models the programmes delivered are seen to reinforce wider societal and gender roles (Hurley & Treacy, 1993, p.18). An adult male participant reminisced about growing up during the First Republic (1965-1972) (De Roche, 2008, p.94). The dialogue provides an insight into historical gender roles. When the school day was finished, boys went to 'welfare' a daily service provided by the council. They would participate in sports, athletics and games. They received treats like biscuits, while their sisters and mother were at home preparing 'Nishma'⁶ and life was 'good'. The YCE activities were gender biased, but they appear to be community-based outside the education system. The participant's perception was past YCE activities were better than present YCE opportunities. This is probably an accurate assessment when linked to historical trends of the time.

By the 1970's, the Mulungushi Economic Reforms, had led to the decline of many rural communities (MacMillan, 2008, p.212). By the 1980's, global

⁶ A local food staple instead of potatoes, rice or pasta

forces contributed to Zambia's decline in social conditions. Rural and urban communities had to contend with food shortages, unemployment and the lack of basic services (Mulenga, 2008, p.246). In 1991, the introduction of the liberal system with the promise of democracy led to wide scale corruption. Resources were siphoned from community-based organisations, including youth services (Fiedler-Conradi, 2003, p.55).

The 1960's gender disparities associated with YCE are seen to persist to the present. All six study sites related existing public YCE opportunities are orientated towards boys rather than girls. The youth participants did not differentiate space in private and public. Southern theorists relate the division of space into private and public spheres is not helpful in understanding collective societies (Fennell & Arnot, 2009, p.10). In an adult-centred society, where the constitutional system is instrumental in the distribution of resources, the privileging of males in the public sphere as insignificant may be a 'false consciousness' (Friere, 1972, p.35). This may assist to maintain age and gender disparities, which is discussed in more detail later in this chapter (Please see: Political engagement section).

NCP (2006) promotes child participation and gender equality as desirable. Policy alone and social practice does not ensure implementation of participation and equality. It requires energy by social actors to encourage a cultural climate acceptable of change; the promise of something better (Engelstad 2009, p.227). It is the social action that reveals the real interests of the dominant social group (Haugaard, 2002, p.45). As the analysis unfolds, it appears the adult real desire is to maintain the prevalence of the customary system.

There is some evidence of social action seeking change. The NYDC registry contained a small number of advocacy groups, including gender and human rights groups. A youth worker, as a research participant, outlined the considerable effort required to create an environment where young people recognise themselves as 'part and parcel' of a programme. Some young male participants spoke about gender equality in simplistic terms, such as, boys not

cooking, they should be taught to cook, for example. It would appear that youth participation and gender equality are active discussion topics in the civil sphere.

6.3.3 Discussion of social engagement

In the study context, social engagement does not require formal membership or responsibility in the same way as civic engagement. Social engagement occurred at the individual, family and community level. The education system also provides access to social engagement activities.

At individual and family level, young people self-organised activities, such as sports and games. These activities were believed to encourage quick thinking, co-operation, problem-solving and relationship skills. The cultural allocation of tasks by gender means girls usually have more chores than boys. Hence, young males have more free time than girls to partake in social activities. The completion of household chores enabled girls to acquire skills considered appropriate for the expected life path of a woman (Serpell & Jere-Folotiya, 2008, p.93).

In the northern hemisphere, social engagement, offers the opportunity to decouple activity from the market-value (Bessell & Gal, 2009, Lister, 2003 and Banaji, 2008). To reconceptualise citizenship in the 'here and now' and recognise contributions individuals make to their communities. In the southern context, the cultural expectation is for each member of the family, adult and youth to make contributions. Social engagement as a method to redefine citizenship may not hold as much weight in southern contexts. The fundamental consideration is the lack of youth decision-making regarding their engagement in the 'here and now'.

At family level, some young males related they were consulted during decision-making. In contrast, young females reported they were excluded from decision-making processes. At a personal level, for some this evoked negative feelings about themselves. In a plenary session, a young female explained it was

difficult to 'live better lives' when excluded from decision-making. A desire for parents and guardians to listen to them was expressed.

Other young females were pessimistic; their perceptions were that adults and the government are not interested and opportunities to speak did not exist.

According to Percy-Smith and Thomas (2010, p.357) the realisation of youth participation rights is when young people are heard in everyday situations and engaged in interpersonal and intergenerational dialogue. This understanding of participation, linked to related youth experiences essentially signifies for young people, especially girls, participation rights within the context remain largely unfulfilled.

The research design incorporated plenary sessions to facilitate intergenerational dialogue. During one of these sessions, a young girl outlined a desire for organised sports outside of the school context. To adults this was new knowledge, as in their community 'only gents are participating in sport'. The sharing of knowledge led to the proclamation, 'we need also to involve young ladies in sports not only men'. The adult assumption regarding girls and sports was challenged in a non-confrontational manner by the sharing of knowledge in an intergenerational space. As a moment of praxis (Joll, 1983, p. 82) a contradiction was identified. Subsequently a course of action to rectify the contradiction was suggested. In this particular community, if access to sports remains gender restrictive, the exclusion of young girls no longer is unintentional, but becomes intentional.

Among the resilience factors 'caring for others' and 'peer group' membership warrants further analysis. Some young people related they liked 'caring for others'. In a society devastated by the HIV pandemic (Kelly, 2008, p.18) family structures instrumental in child-rearing are disintegrating. Young people by 'caring for others' by doing small tasks, like shopping or visiting, may create alternative social contacts and sources of resilience for themselves and others. Furthermore, young people were aware of the peer group as a support, but were able to differentiate between negatives and positives. Street-kids may steal,

(negative), but the membership of the group provided support (positive) which is lacking in other areas of a young person's life.

These related youth experiences and opinions illustrate the empathy young people had for others. These examples illuminate the awareness of youth regarding how other young people adapt to the changing social context. They are appreciative of the way young people are creative and resourceful in their acquisition of supports from within their immediate environment. Perhaps these insights would not be as readily available from adult only observation (Sanders & Munford, 2008, p.357). It provides evidence of the individual's ability to acquire source resilience (Ungar et al, 2007, p.287). Importantly these examples relate the significance of social connections in the acquisition of a sense of well-being.

6.3.4 Discussion of cultural engagement

The definition of culture applied to this study incorporates the customs, traditions, languages and social interactions that provide identity conclusions for individuals and groups (Ungar, 2007, p.291). The type of cultural engagement activities that emerged from the data occurred at individual, family and community level.

At the individual level, young people considered English competency as particularly important. English is the official language of Zambia, but there are over seventy indigenous languages (CSO, 2004). Young people associated English with securing employment with a 'big' company. In one urban area, young males, who attended a community school, were perceptive of a teacher's practice during lessons. The teacher delivered lessons through a mix of English and Nyanja⁷ to accommodate different tribes. The teacher's intentions may have been to promote inclusion in the classroom setting. The youth participants felt this practice curtailed their efforts to master the English language. As a result their chances of gaining educational credentials and employment were

⁷ A universal business language used by the main tribal groups

undermined. This perception is probably accurate when linked to the wider context.

Post-colonialists argue when the colonial education system remains intact it maintains social inequalities (Esteva & Prakash, 2003, p.277). In community schools, the pupil population is usually drawn from lower socio-economic groups. The option for additional English lessons outside of the school may not exist. The teacher's good intentions to be inclusive by utilising two languages may lead to unintentional negative outcomes. Young people may be restricted from the acquisition of education credentials, which in turn influences life chances. In the broader sense as a dynamic this probably supports the perpetuation of existing social inequalities.

At the family level, adult women were perceived to be the purveyors of culture. As a common sense understanding this is probably a fallacy. Culture requires social actors, both adults and young people to interpret the culture and to act to maintain its force (Engelstad, 2009, p.219). Cultural adherence is played out on a daily basis (Alan, 2009, p.296). For instance, adult men in a focus group setting were willing to speak about the cultural taboo of family planning. They decided not to bring the issue to the plenary session. Instead they opted for the research to bring the issue into the public domain. As a process their anonymity within their community was protected.

The societal recognition of women as the purveyors of culture has implications for women. As a process, responsibility for the lack of cultural change or even the failure to protect Zambian culture from outside influences is placed upon their shoulders. As an arrangement, this may suit men as the dominant social group to maintain their position within society. The idea of promoting family planning could be construed as a desire for change. The lack of family planning was associated with expansion of family sizes and increasing pressures to make ends meet. Family planning may enhance child-rearing as resources do not have to be spread as thinly among fewer children. This does not mean the status of men, women or young people in society will change.

At community level, traditional dance and music, spirituality and initiation ceremonies were all identified as cultural engagement activities. Spirituality is particularly important in Zambian culture. The religious are seen to provide links between the divine and secular world (Hinfelaar 2008, p.134). In the past, Zambian politicians have utilised spiritual advisors to ratify the morality of policy decisions (Hinfelaar, 2008, p. 134). Religious networks may offer an alternative route to the education system to provide access to YCE opportunities. This may be particularly important to engage girls, who are less likely to be sent to school compared to their male peers (CSO, 2004), but do attend religious services and activities.

Finally in this section, the cultural management of development trajectories requires consideration. Culturally, initiation ceremonies differ for females and males, but both mark direct entry from childhood into adulthood. For girls, especially in rural areas, adulthood coincides with puberty. As a biological determinist perspective (Banajii, 2008), young girls may acquire adulthood at different times. The girl once initiated is declared a woman and becomes of interest to men and boys in the community (Plan, 2009). Culturally it appears girls are expected to take on adult roles earlier than males. One participant outlined her older sister at ten years of age had her first child. The child's grandmother is now the main carer as the mother, now eighteen years of age 'goes drinking in bars'. The young girl related the sadness this brought to her family. In some communities, Chiefs are encouraging the delay of early marriages. Under constitutional law stiffer penalties for under age sex have been introduced. It would appear a more vigorous response to prevent early marriage is required.

The related experience of the male initiation 'Makunka'⁸ results in the acquisition of adult status. It brings with it specific privileges, a higher status than females and the role of decision-maker. A more in-depth analysis is

⁸ 'Makunda', the southern province term for the male initiation. Male initiations may have a different name in other provinces

offered in a later section relating to successful outcomes in the risk and resilience section.

6.3.5 Discussion of political engagement

The adult participant's perception is political engagement opportunities for young people are confined to tertiary level education. To re-iterate existing knowledge, it is known urban males from families with resources are over-represented at third level (CSO, 2004). This signifies as a process, the education system privileges the participation of these young men over other young people. Drawing upon the earlier discussion it is possible to formulate a picture of this process.

Firstly in the cultural context, some girls, particularly those living in rural areas do not attend primary level. For girls and boys who do attend, socio-economic background determines attendance at a particular type of school, community, state or private. At Grade 7 (approximately 12 years of age) compulsory examination prevents some young people from progressing within the system. It is important to acknowledge families with access to resources can avail of private tuition for their children. The required payment of fees from Grade 8 onwards restricts those unable to pay. At this point, significant numbers of young people leave the education system based upon perceived lack of intelligence and restricted access to resources.

For young people leaving the education system they are likely to become exposed to previously un-encountered risks. For boys the search for employment with few educational credentials limits choice. For girls, in addition to the search for employment, puberty and the declaration of adulthood may lead to sexual activity and/or marriage. This is reflected by the statistic a girl/young woman, between fourteen and nineteen years of age, is four times more likely to contract HIV compared to their male counterparts (UNDP, 2009).

At a crucial point in the development trajectory, it is believed young people can be supported by bolstering the life systems with additional sources of resilience

(Meichenbaum, 2008, p.11). For young people who leave school at Grade 7 out-of-school supports become particularly important. The reality is they probably experience further distancing from supports at this significant time of change. The majority of existing supports are accessed through the school system and out-of-school provision is age restricted. Some young people may have to manage with limited supports for a minimum of two years until they are old enough to access YCE opportunities.

For the young people who remain within the education system at junior and second level they may benefit from the civic, social and cultural YCE opportunities. It is mainly males who transfer to tertiary level. Gramsci referred to the privileging of the dominant social group within the educational system, as selecting the 'intelligentsia' (Joll, 1983, p.91). Third level education facilitates the chosen 'intelligentsia' to gain practice in political engagement skills and to acquire educational credentials.

In the context, the acquisition of educational credentials determines entry to the labour market. As a result, young men, most likely to hold tertiary qualifications probably secure key societal positions. As decision-makers they support the perpetuation and nurture the elite hegemony (Brookfield, 2005). They distribute resources to the same social group as themselves, for example, public YCE opportunities favour urban areas and pre-disposed toward males. Hence it is not unreasonable to suggest the existing provision of YCE may bolster the status quo.

From the research dialogue, it is possible to identify adults who urged young people to get 'politically active' and to demand their rights from the government. In one discussion, an adult related 'the problem is with the youth' for lack of political engagement. The use of negative language, 'problem' can be associated with a deficit perspective (Wyn & White, 1997; Banaji, 2008; and Jeffs & Smith, 2002). During the dialogue, the negative is combined with a positive, encouragement for young people to get 'pro-active'. The use of language appears to be inconsistent and contradictory sending out a mixed

message. Perhaps this is a manifestation of a complexity associated with customary and colonial identity.

From a different study site, an excerpt from a transcript reveals a similar incongruity. An elder urges young people to ‘roar’⁹. The researcher asked the participant; ‘is there space for young people to do that?’ The participant responded, ‘yes the space is there, but we seem to be blocking their way’. Thus the contradiction is revealed. This is an interesting power dynamic, social practice and policy advocate for youth participation and the voice of children as desirable. The social action of the dominant social group reveals their real interests (Haugaard, 2002, p.45); the maintenance of the status quo.

Earlier within this chapter, it was mooted the privileging of young men in the public sphere as insignificant is a ‘false consciousness’. This is substantiated; when adults, particularly males, have an unspoken desire to retain the customary system. Yet they are aware of the need for political intervention to influence constitutional distribution of resources. The societal systems restrict certain young people from acquiring political and other engagement skills.

Furthermore, opportunities to participate in decision-making structures such as the National Youth Parliament appear to be controlled by socio-economic background. Essentially young people who have been restricted from accessing YCE opportunities may be less successful in their endeavours to influence policy and/or decision-making compared with young people who are privileged to participate in YCE opportunities.

The overall dialogue focuses upon the role of young people in political engagement. If adults see a need for young people to get politically pro-active, it implies a belief that change is required. If this is the genuine belief, adults should be equally responsible with young people to engage politically. There was little evidence of adults willing to take on this role, but of course there were some exceptions. The youth worker, for example, who endeavoured to create a working environment where young people might recognise themselves as

⁹ Roar – roar like a lion. In Zambian culture the lion is a symbol of strength.

decision-makers within the project. A further demonstration of adult support for political engagement is the use of art to make a political statement (Please see: Photograph 5:3 Arts and campaign).

6.3.6 Discussion of economic engagement

In Zambia, the rural poverty rate of seventy-eight per cent is significantly higher than the urban poverty rate of thirty-six percent (FNDP, 2006). The inclusion of Zambia in various international debt relief schemes and recent economic improvements (IMF, 2009) offers some hope of poverty relief. Currently, economic engagement for some young people is a matter of survival. The growing of roadside crops (Please see: Photograph 5:5 on page 164) illustrates the ingenuity of people to make ends meet.

The cultural norm of introducing young children to tasks is seen to enhance life skills. In the economic climate, a significant research finding emerged. Five of the six study sites recorded concerns regarding the issue of prostitution by young girls. The participant understandings of motivation for girls to become involved in prostitution varied. Adult females attributed poverty as the main motivational factors, to earn money for the 'good of the family'. The majority of adult men and some young males, believed girls chose to become involved in prostitution as 'self-indulgence'. The male allocation of responsibility for prostitution upon individual pathology, as a power dynamic removes them from any responsibility in the interaction. Similar to other contexts (France 2007, p.156) as a process, this may provide grounds to ignore wider structural inequalities, which curtail opportunities for girls in Zambian society.

Under constitutional law, the age of consent is sixteen years and prostitution is an illegal activity. The Victim Support Unit is designed to respond to forms of exploitation, such as prostitution, crushing stone or forced labour among others. Adult judgements of young people viewed these activities as both negative and positive. It was understood participation in such activities impinged on the rights of the child. On the other hand these activities enabled a young person to earn a living and survive. Therefore adults were seen to be reluctant to act upon

the ‘rule of the victim support’. The lack of action was rationalised, for example, ‘others just take it, after all they haven’t school fees’ and/or the victim support laws were slow to be enforced.

These are valuable insights into the cultural context. YCE opportunities are viewed as a method of promoting youth participation and well-being. If YCE services are delivered through an ‘open door’ policy, a potential unintentional outcome is probably the reinforcement of existing inequalities. The young people most likely to access such services are those with free time and resources. It is unlikely young people currently engaged in economic activities will participate in YCE services, if they were offered. Naturally they might like to participate, but if the young person’s attendance distracts from making family contributions or survival, it is doubtful they will engage. The challenge is to design YCE provision to minimise such barriers and increase access to a broad range of young people.

6.3.7 Summary of discussion of local understandings of Youth Civic Engagement

It is apparent an array of YCE opportunities exists in the context. The main points of the discussion are summarised in the list overleaf:

- The education system plays a pivotal role in providing access to YCE opportunities. Gender, age, location and socio-economic background as significant factors restrict access to the education system and out-of-school YCE opportunities.
- Among the five types of YCE, it appears access to political engagement is most restricted. Social engagement is perhaps the most equitable.
- The HIV pandemic is eroding family networks culturally instrumental in child rearing. Some young people exhibited empathy and appreciation of other young people’s adaptation and self-generation of resilience within the changing social context.
- It should not be assumed all young people can enhance their individual sources of resilience.

- YCE opportunities have the potential to support young people who experience an accumulation of factors preventing their participation in existing YCE opportunities. It is not just a question of provision of YCE opportunities, but also about opening up access to different groups of young people.
- In relation to participation, young people in the ‘here and now’ do ‘take part in’ different activities. It appears they have little choice in what they do take part in. It is fair to moot participation as decision-making or deliberation for the most part is unfulfilled.
- The adult perception that young people need to get proactive and demand their rights is perhaps a fallacy. Intergenerational power dynamics reveal adults on the one hand advocate for youth participation, while on the other hand their social actions appear to desire the perpetuation of the status quo.

6.4 Section four: Discussion of risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience

The study of resilience commences with two fundamental questions: 1) What is a good or successful outcome? and 2) What is a risk? (Masten, 2001, p.227).

The research process facilitated both adult and youth participants to provide their own views of success and risk. This section commences with an examination of these perceptions. This discussion is set against a backdrop of two identified overarching risk factors; poverty and the HIV pandemic which infiltrate every system level.

The categorisation of factors into a risk or resilience was not a straight forward process. Participants on occasion simultaneously viewed some factors as both a risk and resilience. These dual factors and other singular risk and resilience factors were arranged into system levels. This process revealed the community level, as the only level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors. The analysis considers both individualistic and collective resilience.

6.4.1 Discussion of Successful outcomes

From an adult perspective, understandings of success were relative to the location. In rural areas success was associated with growing crops. In urban compounds success was recognised as business acumen. In urban residential areas the acquisition of educational credentials meant success. Some individual participants related a more holistic view of success as happiness, health and to have a job. These common-sense understandings offer no valid reason why success is viewed differently based upon social background and location. On closer examination it appears this tacit knowledge probably reinforces existing societal inequalities within the context.

In rural areas the cultivation of crops is explicitly interwoven with gender power dynamics. Women provide the majority of farm labour, but are restricted from land ownership and control of the income they generate from their labour (Nsemiwe, 2006, p.7). These resources are mainly controlled by men. Through customary systems of inheritance and property grabbing widows may find themselves in a vulnerable position. These practices deny further access to the land. In the short-term, a widow may sell personal belongings to feed the family. Eventually children will be removed from school. More so they will probably engage in whatever way they can to contribute to the family subsistence. The constitutional system has introduced legislation prohibiting these cultural practices. The dissemination of information about rights to land is a significant challenge. This is due to significant levels of low literacy among women, particularly rural women. In rural areas, customary law prevails. It is unclear if an individual would deviate from the cultural norm to pursue their rights through the constitutional system; if they were aware the system existed.

In urban areas, socio-economic background and location are perceived as markers of success. These understandings come with possible connotations. Those from a higher socio-economic background value education credentials. This may be associated with intelligence. A possible undertone is people from compounds are perceived as less intelligent. This tacit knowledge in some way supports the perpetuation of the dominant hegemony (Brookfield, 2005). It

begs the question, if a person residing in a compound attains educational credentials, are they then considered unsuccessful?

Critiques of northern-based resilience studies advocate for cultural competency to recognise southern knowledge and cultural understandings of resilience (Ungar, 2006, p.231). The research acquisition of local understanding of success recognises the cultural understanding. Perhaps recognition by itself is inadequate. Basically a critical analysis may assist to illuminate power dynamics that bolster these understandings. It appears the dual system, often seen as opposition and requiring harmonisation, in the case of local understandings of success appears to be symbiotic. The customary system perpetuates the cultural hierarchy (Himonga, 2008, p.81). This is seen to facilitate the dominant social group to maximise benefits from the constitutional system; a remnant of colonialism.

The youth perspective relates success to recognition by adults and by your community as being deemed an adult. Young people were aware it was possible to vote at eighteen years of age, but did not associate the acquisition of 'majority' with adulthood. The cultural recognition of adulthood appeared to hold more value. The management of development trajectories enters girls into adulthood usually to coincide with puberty. Male initiation is not biologically determined. Some of the young male participants related in Zambian society that if someone has to support you, 'it might be if you are still in school, you are treated like babies'. Male initiation is associated with independence, which is open to cultural interpretation associated with tribal membership. The African definition of youth, as an individual between fifteen to thirty-five years of age indicates 'independence' is not necessarily acquired at a set age for all young men.

Young males, from mainly lower socio-economic backgrounds leave the education system at Grade 7. As individuals, to some extent they are no longer seen as reliant upon their parents. If they can secure some type of employment, such as crushing stone or labouring, this provides some evidence of their

independence. ‘Makunda’¹⁰ an initiation ceremony is held. The acquisition of adulthood provides a young man with a new status. They are recognised as decision-makers and have higher status than their female counterparts.

On this basis, early school leavers are probably facilitated to acquire adulthood earlier than other young men who remain within education. With few available supports and the option to marry, combined with the lack of family planning, high birth rates and significant levels of unemployment, a life time of struggle can be expected. Perhaps this is one life experience set within an intergenerational pattern of struggle associated with poverty.

According to Lloyd (2005, p.3) citizenship is one marker of adulthood. This usually coincides with the right to vote, usually set at eighteen years of age (UNICEF, 2011). Civic engagement is considered a pre-requisite of citizenship (Kassimir & Flanagan, 2010, p.92). In the context, young people viewed themselves as ‘citizens’ from birth and engaged in the ‘here and now’. It is fair to surmise in the context, citizenship, is not necessarily understood as a marker of adulthood in the same way as it might be in northern contexts. As previously discussed, young people held cultural markers of adulthood as more significant than the right to vote to gain recognition as an adult within their communities.

Another of Lloyd’s (2005, p.3) markers of adulthood is economic independence. In the study context, this marker can be connected to the cultural understanding of male acquisition of adulthood. Economic independence provides evidence a male is able to look after himself. Depending upon the tribal norms, economic independence is not necessarily the only evidence required by a male to be deemed ready for initiation. As a marker of adulthood economic independence may be more difficult to apply to the lives of girls and women in the context.

From the findings it is evident girls make significant contributions to the family. Nonetheless they have limited control over the resources they generate; this is

¹⁰ The name ‘Makunda’ is from the southern province. Other provinces may have different name for the male initiation.

usually the domain of males. Therefore in the context, females economically may never attain independence in the same way as males. It would appear Lloyd's (2005) framework of defining adulthood may have limited application in the Zambian context. It appears not to account for cultural gender differences. To be fair to Lloyd (2005) she does state that in some countries cultural practices prevail.

In the Zambian context, there are identified time variants experienced by females and males regarding development trajectories. This essentially illuminates YCE interventions need to be reflective, flexible and adaptable to respond to different life experiences and needs of young people.

6.4.2 Discussion of individual risk and resilience

At an individual level there was a prevalence of more risk than resilience factors. To commence with risks, structural inequalities experienced by rural areas were seen to expose rural youth to more risk than their urban counterparts. For example: the lack of water and sanitation meant young people swam and washed in rivers or ditches. This increased exposure to drowning and cholera. Lack of medical care, education and roads were perceived to restrict development of rural communities.

The identified gender risk factors were mainly associated with being a young female rather than being male. There is one named male risk factor; drug mis-use. At the time of the research, with an estimated population of over eleven million people, there was only one drug rehabilitation centre located in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia. It is not unreasonable to suggest the service may be insufficient to respond to drug related issues. The area of drug mis-use may benefit from further research.

In relation to young females, many participants voiced concerns regarding sexual activity. While not minimising the importance of these risks in a young girl's life, but to prevent the historical error of overlooking the wider needs of

girls (France, 2007; Plan 2006) it may be more beneficial to consider some of the other female risk, and resilience factors at this point.

Some girls who did attend school perceived the curriculum to curtail their career prospects. Some subjects were provided to males only and were understood to enable access to specific career paths, such as engineering. Current literature (CSO, 2004) confirms lower retention rates for girls compared with boys in the education system. The government has introduced some measures to support girls to remain in school, for example, the young mother re-entry scheme and lower cut-off points at Grade 7 examinations. By opening subjects to both girls and boys, it may assist government endeavours to improve female school retention rates.

Serpell and Jere-Folotiya (2008, p.93) offer a cautionary note regarding the school environment. They posit the curriculum is psychologically more suited to urban males compared to other groups of young people. As a point, this supports the earlier proposition made in this thesis, the education system selects young urban males from families with resources to become the 'intelligentsia'.

Serpell and Jere-Folytiya (2008, p.93) moot by adjusting the curriculum to appreciate the skill sets of girls, the retention rates of females will improve. It is fair to argue, once in the education system, girls may draw upon resilience sources and other benefits within the context. If girl only topics are introduced, the effectiveness of girls to fulfil their culturally allocated roles of mothers and home-makers may be enhanced. It is debatable, as a measure, if it will promote gender equality, regarding educational outcomes and career prospects.

The identified individual resilience factors comprised of both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Resilience factors were not readily gender assigned in the same way as risk factors. Nonetheless the majority of identified factors are named in existing literature, for example, co-operating with others, quick-thinking (problem-solving) and parental support (Gilligan, 2001, Ungar, 2007; Dolan, 2006). Zambia is an under-represented context among resilience literature. This as a finding adds credence to the existence of universal

resilience factors which occur in different cultural contexts (Ungar, 2007). This suggests YCE by incorporating a core set of resilience factors may enhance youth development across a range of age groups. The issue of unequal access to YCE still requires attention (Botrell, 2009) if YCE is seen as a vehicle to enhance youth development in general.

Culturally specific resilience factors include the English language. This was discussed in the earlier sub-section of cultural engagement. The classification of other factors into risk or resilience was not as straight forward. The presence of dual factors, those considered simultaneously to be positive and negative are not referred to in the existing literature. Resilience as strength, asset or a protective factor through different processes is seen to counter-act or minimise risk (Masten, 2001, Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005; Luthar et al. 2000; Ungar, 2007; Dolan, 2006; and Bottrell, 2009). It is posited when internal and external resilience sources are connected they are mutually reinforcing to support better youth outcomes (Pinkerton & Dolan, 2007). If a factor is considered to be both a negative and a positive, does it then become a neutral? Does the positive cancel the effects of the negative or vice versa?

6.4.3 Discussion of family risk and resilience

At family level the number of risk and resilience factors was more or less equal. Again many of the identified resilience factors are named in existing literature, for example, positive role model, parental education (Gilligan, 2001). A central concern identified at family level is culture. The intergenerational transmission of culture in the home was examined under the sub-heading of cultural engagement. It was perceived Zambian culture is under threat from western culture through the influence of mass media and human rights.

In Chapter two the concept of ‘cultural capital’ and the central role played by the media in the transfer of credibility of one culture into another was explored. It was acknowledged the mass media cannot dictate, but selects information and evokes core values (Engelstad, 2009, p.224). So the participant’s perception of the influence of mass media is to some extent accurate. It is fair to argue a

historical element bears some significance. Zambia is a post-colonial country without extensive reformation. Furthermore English is the official language. It appears the context provides an ideal framework for the rapid assimilation of western or northern culture.

In an earlier discussion, the role of the education system and the immersion of pupils into northern knowledge were considered (Please see: Sub-headings 6.3.2 & 6.3.5). This indicates western or northern culture is not only influential through mass media, but is interwoven into other societal institutions. As an analysis this substantiates the proposition made in the opening section of this chapter, that young people more so than adults have been exposed to the liberal ideology. In the school setting, the Child Rights Clubs educate young people about their rights. Culturally young people are taught to be deferent to adults. These two taught 'rights' of liberal 'individualism' and the cultural 'collectivism' are often in opposition to each other!

In the private sphere of the home, the interface between the two systems appears to be fraught with friction. In some cases the friction manifests as conflict when some young people tried to exercise their rights. They become exposed to adult reprisals, in the way of a 'beating'. The constitutional law provides protection through the victim support units in such cases. The local perception is often these laws are slow to be enforced. The prevalence of the customary system and reliance upon family networks for a young person's well-being may deter a young person from accessing the victim support unit. Furthermore if they did choose the victim support option, who would protect them from future reprisals in the home?

The analysis of political engagement led to the following proposition. The social action of adults in the public sphere revealed a desire to maintain the cultural system. Yet adults are aware it is a necessity to negotiate with the constitutional system to secure a variety of resources. It appears within the private sphere there is less tolerance of the constitutional system. The reluctance of adults to seek accountability from government regarding the distribution of resource is evident with the context. Essentially may facilitate

the constitutional system to become more influential within Zambia governance. A possible consequence is the further undermining of the cultural system, even more so as global policy becomes more prominent and requires domestication at a National level.

Sloth-Nielsen (2008, p.69) relates that law reform literature emphasises children's roles in the promotion of rights. However literature lacks detail regarding the role of civil society and social movements. It is not unreasonable to suggest, in Zambia that for children to learn about their rights on an individual basis via the education system may indeed promote rights in some way. Subsequently with limited civil society organisations (Please see: Baseline services in Chapter 5: Research findings) to support their endeavours to claim those rights the position of young people is particularly precarious when they try to exercise their rights. The denial of young people's rights is unacceptable. It is equally unacceptable to place young people in danger of harm in the pursuit of young people's rights (Lansdown, 2010, p.18).

The participant's perception of increasing western influence was partially attributed to the Government's management of Zambia. It was expressed cultural change was needed to improve the lives of citizens, but by Zambians for Zambia, not to be imposed from outside. The conflict between tradition and human rights in the home sphere is evident. Previous sections have mooted, influences regarding YCE appear to be occurring in a 'top-down motion'. The same policies also offer opportunities to nurture a 'bottom-up' process. To draw upon the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), specifically Article 5, highlights the role of adults to provide 'appropriate direction and guidance' in the implementation of child rights (Mannion, 2010, p33). In addition, the African Children's Charter (1990) emphasize customary laws need to be embedded within the rights framework and not become sub-ordinate to human rights (Himonga, 2008, p.74).

To promote Zambian culture, adults, parents/guardians and other significant adults may benefit from understanding child rights. It has already been acknowledged additional out-of-school YCE opportunities are needed. If adults

can be involved in these services in some way, it may assist to build resilience at an individual, family and community level. Depending upon the service design, adults might be included through induction sessions, celebrations or special events. These spaces may create opportunities for adults to practically demonstrate their support for young people. Parental support was named by young people as resilience. The joint involvement of young people and adults, as a collective, may assist to diffuse friction at the interface between tradition and child rights. The collective generation of knowledge and resilience may lead to improved outcomes for young people and adults.

The application of a collective approach potentially may facilitate young people to gain skills in both representative and social movement politics (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.479). Zambian citizens, both adults and young people can be involved in a 'bottom-up' process. These social interactions may become more influential in cultural, social and political processes within Zambia. If Powell's (2008, p.54) prediction of the collapse of capitalism in upon itself materialises then Zambian civil society is presented with an opportunity to become more influential at global level in decision-making processes.

6.4.5 Discussion of community risk and resilience factors

The community level was the only system to exhibit less risk than resilience factors. Many of the community-based risks, such as lack of employment, youth services and rural decline have been examined in previous sections within this chapter. Tribalism, nepotism and corruption were named as specific risk factors. These factors can be associated with the changing political climate from the First Republic to contemporary Zambia. In the early stages of the First Republic (1965-1972), tribal factions within the newly formed government caused friction (Larmer, 2008, p.104). Eventually, in 1971 a splinter group, mainly of Bemba origin formed a new political party, the UPP. The existing ruling party UNIP banned the UPP and formed a One Party State (Larmer, 2008, p.105).

By the late 1980's, Zambia was contending with deteriorating social conditions and food shortages. The trade unions mainly in the Copperbelt Province mobilised to seek improvements in social conditions. A new political party comprising of mainly Bemba membership emerged; Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) (Mulenga, 2008, p.246). The One Party State was replaced by the MMD. The promise of democracy failed to materialise. Social conditions worsened due to wide scale corruption in both the private and public sectors (Mulenga, 2008, p.254). In contemporary Zambia, the participant's general perception of tribalism is synonymous with corruption and is part of daily life. From within the research dialogue, a different opinion emerged, which critiqued the reporting of tribalism incited friction between different tribal groups. Intergenerational dialogue has the potential to decouple corruption from the tribe and offer an alternative view, which may diffuse the concept of tribalism.

When the community level resilience factors are examined, the benefits of a multi-dimensional analysis that links the micro and the macro level (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Bottrell, 2009) become apparent. The named resilience factors were associated with 'access' to a particular context, such as the school, a club and sports for example. Thus far the analyses has illuminated socio-economic background, age, location and gender as significant factors that privilege or restrict participation to these contexts.

The participants identified adult mentors and role models as a source of resilience. It is feasible to suggest as a consequence of restricted access to contexts, some young people are denied the potential benefits of mentors within these settings. Access to organised religion appeared to be less gender restrictive than the other contexts. Mentors may be available through the religious, family and community networks. It is not unreasonable to suggest that young people in a position to access existing YCE potentially have more opportunities to gain supports from mentors.

A hard work ethic was named as resilience and it was perceived young people could create their own opportunities by working hard. The earlier economic

engagement section illustrates hard work may enhance survival rates in the short term. It is doubtful if hard work by itself without political engagement will be effective in bringing about structural changes. A potential consequence is existing social inequalities will probably remain intact.

However it was believed a subtle change in the traditionally male dominated labour market was evident. More women were securing employment. This was attributed to women making things happen for themselves. Existing literature regarding Zambia contains evidence women's groups have been instrumental at times of social change. Generally, women provided supportive roles rather than taking leadership roles (Phiri, 2008, p.259). It is fair to suggest YCE opportunities depending upon the design may support girls to develop leadership skills. This will require particular attention to equality of access and participation processes in YCE opportunities.

6.4.6 Discussion of societal risk and resilience factors

At societal level, based upon participant perceptions there were significantly more risk than resilience factors identified. Some of the risk factors, such as exposure to mass media, slow enforcement of laws to protect children, gender inequality in the labour market among others have been discussed in previous chapter sections. Rural participants consider centralisation and the concentration of government and governance in Lusaka as a significant risk.

Earlier within this chapter, the outcomes of the Mulungushi Economic Reform and the hegemonic process of urban over rural areas was examined. It appears existing YCE activities contribute to the perpetuation of the status quo. Current Zambian policy advocates for decentralisation (FNDP, 2006, p. 242). In chapter four, a critique of the decentralisation policy illuminated potential negative outcomes for rural areas. These include civil society organisations may be encouraged to become service providers and become distanced from wider democratic processes. Social commentators (Caritas, 2008, p.4) emphasise the lack of government detail is jeopardising the decentralisation process and rural

development will continue to be restricted. This suggests in the long-term the rural/urban division may persist.

On a more positive note, the beauty of civil society is that civil society organisation can evolve and bring about social change (Gellner, 1994, p.86). The participants viewed decentralisation and gender policy as an opportunity to bring about change. Human rights were considered both risk and resilience at societal level. The potential power of civil society and a contusive legislative framework promoting equality offers hope of social change. A cultural environment that facilitates the belief change is possible is required (Engelstad, 2009).

6.4.7 Discussion of global risk and resilience

This chapter opened by considering local understandings of citizenship. It was clear that citizenship was associated with the Nation state. The lack of awareness among participants of international youth organisations was explored as a barrier to ‘bottom-up’ processes. Participants expressed concerns regarding successive Government arrangements with multi-national companies. The perception was Zambia’s natural and human resources were being exported to the denigration of the country.

In a global economic system, corporations set out to generate and accumulate as much profit as possible (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2007, p. 197). It is only recently, global civil society organisation have become effective in global governance (Clarke, 2003, p. 13). The findings have illustrated it is particular social groups that represent Zambia within these forums. It is doubtful if the everyday concerns of young Zambian people gain a place on the international agenda. The expectation is social movement will become more influential in governance as participation rates in the representative political system decline (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.474). It is argued young people need to be supported to acquire skills to be able to participate in social movements and representative political systems (Helve & Hogan, 2006, p.479).

Adults have placed young people at the centre of the civic engagement debate. This chapter discussion has endeavoured to link the micro, meso and macro systems to reveal complexities associated with YCE. At a global level, the adult expectation placed upon young people is to engage. In the context, at a local level, young people see themselves very much engaged on a daily basis. The adult deficit perspective and view of young people as a ‘problem’ perhaps indicates adults undervalue or overlook these youth engagements (Banaji, 2008). It is fair to posit adult and civil society organisations and their role in supporting youth engagement requires more attention.

6.4.8 Summary of the discussion of locally defined risk and resilience factors relating to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience

In the context, the prevalence of poverty and the HIV pandemic provided a backdrop to the identification of risk and resilience factors. The opening section considered the local understanding of an okay or successful outcome providing a base to consider risk and resilience associated with YCE. The main points are bulleted below:

- Adult perspectives associated different meanings of success with location and socio-economic background. This tacit knowledge appears to lack a critical edge. It was surmised the common sense understanding probably support the perpetuation of existing inequalities.
- The youth understanding of success introduced to the debate the acquisition of adulthood as a marker of success.
- The northern understandings of adulthood marked by age of majority and economic independence were examined. To posit such markers have limited application in the Zambian context.
- Economic independence as a northern marker of adulthood is gender restrictive in the context. The majority of females cannot acquire economic independence. Potentially this prohibits their recognition as adults on a par with males.

- The identification of risk associated with gender proved easier than naming resilience gendered factors. It certainly suggests resilience studies may benefit from more attention to gender.
- At an individual level, based upon the local definition it is apparent girls are more susceptible to risk than their male counter parts.
- At family level, risk and resilience factors appeared to be more or less equal.
- It appears the interface between the cultural and constitutional systems is located in the home. This interface is fraught with friction between adults and young people. As a result some young people found themselves in a vulnerable position within their own homes.
- Legislation designed to protect young people was not always acted upon. This may deter young people from seeking support from outside the home pertaining to abuse within the home, especially if a further reprisal for seeking such assistance is a possibility.
- The community level was the only level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors. Perhaps this is a reflection of the cultural collectivism.
- Collectivism did not deter historical unequal distribution of resources. Tribalism and corruption was perceived as the main cause for this historical trend. It was felt this perception needed to be challenged to alleviate tribal tensions within Zambia.
- The discussion illuminated four significant factors, gender, age, socio-economic background and location, which impacted upon participation in YCE opportunities. Gender appears to be the most influential singular factor that impacts upon the participation. An accumulation of these factors is seen to reinforce the gender disparities.
- At societal level, risk and resilience factors are linked to the persistent rural/urban division. The legislative framework advocates decentralisation and provides a channel to seek accountability for government decisions. It is unclear if this will eventually address the rural/urban disparities.
- Finally at a global level, the main concern was successive government arrangements with multi-national companies to the detriment of Zambia.

- Global civil society organisations have become more influential in governance decisions. A ‘top-down’ process appears to be dominant pertaining to YCE, while a ‘bottom-up’ process appears to be curtailed. .
- The anticipated expansion of social movement may offer Zambia an opportunity to become more influential in global governance.

6.5 Section five: Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with YCE

In the context the youth understanding of YCE was broad and encompassed an array of activities. The presentation of frameworks by engagement type may aid analysis by identifying factors that privilege or restrict potential acquisition of resilience. Nonetheless, it probably over simplifies the reality. If each framework was superimposed on top of the previous framework, a complex network of lines would emerge; a visual mishmash. This proposition is a reminder to the reader, not to consider the following discussions regarding civic, social, cultural, political and economic engagement in isolation. Instead to contemplate each engagement type as one element and when combined together the five types form a composite picture of YCE as a whole in the context.

6.5.1 Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with civic engagement

From the participants perspective ‘access’ to services was perceived as a resilience factor. The analysis of civic and political engagement in preceding sections illuminates the pivotal role of the education system in providing access to these YCE opportunities. To re-iterate the point, gender disparities of access to the education system are evident. The accumulative factors of socio-economic background, location and age appear to reinforce gender disparities throughout the education system. The revealed outcomes are not just disparities in access, but in participation and educational outcome. Furthermore they may restrict acquisition of sources of resilience which are believed to be embedded within the education system.

The unanimous agreement among participants was that the daily lives of young people would be improved through the provision of more YCE opportunities. Thus illuminating the belief there are potential benefits to be gained by participating in YCE services. The existing government policy to encourage school attendance may increase the access to YCE available through the education system. The framework illustrates YCE are also located outside of the school context at community level.

6.5.2 Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with social engagement

The resilience factors perceived to be associated with social engagement were located at individual, family and community level. The presence of intrinsic and extrinsic factors in the context corresponds with factors identified in northern based literature. This therefore supports the concept, universal resilience factors are embedded within different cultural contexts.

It became apparent some young people were able to generate their own source of resilience by forming social contacts. These connections appear to generate a sense of self-esteem and belonging. Simultaneously the connections appear to contribute to individual and community well-being. It cannot be assumed all young people will or can generate these sources of resilience for themselves. Furthermore, in Zambia the social fabric is changing. The HIV pandemic is disintegrating the customary family and social networks instrumental in child rearing. By 2027, the 'youth bulge' is anticipated to reach its peak. Therefore both the customary and constitutional systems are likely to come under increasing pressure to support youth development.

The acquisition of youth knowledge may provide insights into resources possibly overlooked by adults. An adult willingness to listen to and act upon youth perspectives may guide the most effective use of resources within the context. It is fair to posit the cultural norm of deference combined with the top-down neo-liberal influence regarding YCE may pass up an opportunity to make a difference in the lives of young people and their communities.

6.5.3. Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with cultural engagement

Zambian culture was perceived to be under threat from western culture. Furthermore legislation seeks young people to perpetuate African culture. This is to ensure customary systems do not become sub-ordinate to human rights. Cultural engagement was perceived as particularly important to assist the maintenance of a cultural identity.

Positives were identified. At individual level, the allocation of chores was seen as a way of developing life skills. At a community level, traditional songs and dance provide opportunities for young people to meet and form friendships. These engagements provide practice in social cues of behaviour appropriate to a particular social group and context, home or community. It could be argued they provide a strong sense of belonging.

The initiation ceremonies were viewed as part of a cultural heritage so some participants felt it was important to maintain this tradition. Others viewed initiation ceremonies as a negative. In Zambia, some Chiefs are encouraging a delay of girls into early marriages. From the findings, it appears girls from rural compounds rather than girls from urban areas are most likely to undergo initiation. In the context, women are viewed as the purveyors of culture. It appears Zambian society has placed the responsibility for keeping culture alive at the feet of the rural girls. As a social group, rural girls possess the least resources and lower level education than any other group in Zambian society. This raises the question, as an arrangement, who does this serve best?

6.5.4 Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with political engagement

Political engagement was closely associated with tertiary education. The analysis of resilience factors revealed perhaps there are other opportunities for political engagement. At an individual level, young people felt a resilience factor was to know your rights.

Child Rights Clubs are delivered via the education system. The disparity of access to the education system was trashed out in previous sections. From the research, it became clear some young people, when they tried to exercise their rights, were met with fierce adult opposition. As a result some young people find themselves in a particularly vulnerable position. When combined with the finding, there is a reluctance to enforce constitutional laws to protect young people. It becomes clear the existence of policy does not necessarily mean it is implemented. It would appear there is little support within civil society for young people to exercise their rights.

The existence of National and International policy was also perceived to be associated with political engagement. In previous sections, the idea of the 'intelligentsia' illuminates who gets to participate in policy circles. Usually urban males from higher socio-economic backgrounds are the key political agents. From the literature review, evidence of participation in International networks and the *Zambian Youth Parliament* support this proposition.

6.5.5 Discussion of resilience factors perceived to be associated with economic engagement

The main resilience factor perceived to be associated with economic engagement is survival, by earning a living or growing food. In the context, the constitutional law makes provision to protect young people less than fifteen years of age from economic exploitation. The poverty levels dictate otherwise, where young people may find themselves engaged in economic activities.

Northern hemisphere understanding might frown upon or judge youth economic activities as a violation of child rights. In contrast, some resilience literature, suggests cultural sensitivity, would view the ability to earn a living as a positive or an asset within that particular cultural context. From the first perspective, to prohibit young people from economic engagement may worsen their situation. It is unclear if existing YCE and other services would be able to meet the increased demand for support. The second perspective may recognise economic engagement as strength. It appears to lack a critical awareness of wider societal

processes that guide young people into economic activity. The benefits from economic engagement may be short lived.

In the context, economic engagement, was perceived simultaneously as a positive and a negative; a dual factor. It enabled a person to earn a living, often referred to by participants as, ‘for the good of the family’. However in some cases it restricted the acquisition of an education or has long-term health implications. Perhaps this brings something new to the study of resilience. A “dual factor” viewed as both a negative and a positive, does it then become a neutral? Further study might reveal if dual factors are present in different contexts. The implications of dual factors when considering resilience processes or measurements may benefit from further research.

6.5.6 Summary of discussion of resilience perceived to be associated with YCE.

In summary, it appears in the context resilience or strengths can be associated with the five different types of YCE. It is feasible to motion YCE underpinned by resilience may lead to enhanced youth outcomes. This may be so, but it is important to learn from following messages which emerged from the data.

- There is an unequal distribution of access to available YCE opportunities where resilience is perceived to be embedded.
- The type of YCE has some bearing upon distribution. There appears to be more restrictions associated with political and civic engagement compared to social and cultural engagement.
- Dual factors associated mainly with economic activities tend to engage young people with fewer resources, compared with other more resourced young people who are privileged to accumulate or tap into more sources of resilience.
- The discussion supports the concept of universal resilience factors which are present in different cultural contexts. It is important to note access to these sources is not universally available.

- In the context, there is evidence of young people generating their own sources of resilience through social engagements. Perhaps this supports the proposition of individual pathways to resilience.
- Nonetheless it cannot be assumed all young people will or can generate their individual sources of resilience. Therefore the need for collective responsibility for resilience becomes apparent.

6.6 Section six: Discussion conclusion

This section provides an overall conclusion for the chapter. This northern initiated research study endeavoured not to impose northern or adult understandings in the southern study context. The grounded approach set out to work with local youth and adult understandings of the three concepts; YCE, risk and resilience. The generated collective knowledge produced the following key messages presented in summary on the next page.

- In a post-colonial context, Zambian governance is set within constitutional and customary law frameworks.
- In a globalised world, international and continental policy appears to influence Zambian legislation regarding YCE in a ‘top-down’ motion.
- Initially, the adult understanding of YCE as ‘political engagement’ was felt to be mis-matched with young people’s broader understanding of YCE as to do ‘good’.
- The analysis by drawing on ideologies and different concepts surmise perhaps the mis-match was not as stark as initially felt.
- In essence, a struggle between liberal ‘individualism’ and traditional ‘collective’ appears to be actively played out between adults and young people.
- The local understandings of YCE were categorised in five different types. These are: 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic.
- The discussion illuminates gender, age, location and socio-economic background as the four most prevalent factors within the cultural context impacting upon participation in existing YCE.

- It would appear young urban males from families with resources are privileged more than other young people to acquire the full range of civic engagement skills.
- From the related experiences of young people and adults it is clear young people make significant contributions to their families and communities. They ‘take part in’ a variety of different engagements. In a society with significant levels of poverty, some activities may lead to negative youth outcomes, such as, prostitution.
- The discussion illuminates young people have few opportunities to participate in decision-making. Furthermore, girls perceived few opportunities existed for their voices to be heard. The participation rights of young people as ‘partners’ in decision-making or in everyday inter-relational or inter-generational dialogue ‘on a par with’ other members of society appears unfulfilled.
- The local common understandings of success appear to bolster the social hierarchy that privileges males and particular social groups.
- The consideration of risk and resilience illuminates gender specific risk factors. The allocation of resilience by gender was not so apparent.
- The majority of locally identified resilience factors have been named in existing literature.
- From the research dialogue, dual resilience factors were identified. These are factors simultaneously named as both risk and resilience. In the process of resilience generation it is not clear, where such dual factors would fit into process models or measurement of resilience.
- The analysis clearly illustrates a more holistic picture of YCE and resilience may be developed through a multi-layered and multi-dimensional analysis.

Chapter seven: Study conclusions

7.1 Section one: Introduction

This chapter brings a closure to the overall study. The tentative Neo-Gramscian framework proposed at the outset has brought the study to fruition. The research process was underpinned by cultural competency and resilience. Two simultaneous research strands: 1) direct work with participants, and 2) a mapping exercise of existing YCE opportunities were progressed. It is evident from Chapter five: Research findings, the process generated significant amounts of data. Subsequently Chapter six: Research discussion, combined the data from both strands to provide insights into micro and macro factors associated with local understandings of YCE.

It is feasible to suggest each of the four study objectives: 1) to establish local understandings of YCE, 2) to identify the existing types of civic engagement opportunities in the context, 3) to locally define risk and resilience factors, and 4) to identify resilience factors associated with YCE opportunities have been fulfilled. By doing so the research is enabled to develop an overall response to the research aim:

To examine *Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement*

The penultimate section contemplates the research methodology. This surmises the framework appears to exhibit potential for application in other cultural contexts. Subsequently a final conclusion brings the chapter to a close.

7.2 Section two: Conclusions of local understanding of Youth Civic Engagement

The conclusions drawn from the local understanding of YCE commence with the shared adult and youth view of citizenship. It is fair to posit the post-colonial identity of Zambia, as one nation, provides a strong sense of identity. This tends to correspond with Modernity (Gellner, 1994, p.10) rather than Late-

modernity understandings of citizenship (Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2007, p.5).

Despite the shared intergenerational understanding of citizenship, a mis-match between adult and youth meanings of YCE emerged. This thesis supports the proposition within existing literature; adult definitions of YCE are too restrictive to fully appreciate youth understandings and interpretations of their world. In the context, the adult view of YCE as political engagement, if applied to the study, would have excluded a wealth of invaluable youth insights. Furthermore, the adult definition would have limited the identification of sources of resilience associated with YCE.

The youth understandings of YCE moved beyond political engagement, to reveal an array of ‘good’ activities young people engaged “in” and “with”. Nonetheless it is premature to assume more information means there are sufficient YCE opportunities available. On the contrary, significant gaps in YCE provision were identified. Caution is required; it is not just a question of provision. It is also about opening access to YCE to different groups of young people. These groups include: rural youth, young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, young people in the age range between twelve and fourteen years of age, and especially girls.

Currently in Zambia, influences regarding YCE appear to be occurring in a ‘top-down’ rather than a ‘bottom-up’ motion. This is not to dismiss the presence of Zambian youth representation upon national and international forums. These representatives are probably pre-dominantly male and selected from the ‘intelligentsia’. The analysis casts a doubt upon the existing provision of YCE to ensure a fair and equal representation of different groups to participate in these forums. Based upon the analysis, it is not unreasonable to surmise existing YCE activities may reinforce wider societal inequalities.

Zambia is a changing context. Against the current backdrop of the HIV pandemic, the capacity of traditional family and social networks of childrearing is probably being eroded. It is apparent the reciprocity of these networks cannot

always counteract the disparities exacerbated by the constitutional distribution of resources. The youth population is expected to peak by 2027. A probable outcome will be the constitutional and customary systems will come under increasing pressure to support child and youth development.

These social changes are set against a global backdrop of uncertainty and expansion of neo-liberalism. The post-colonial lack of reform of the constitutional systems appears to facilitate the infiltration of neo-liberalism into Zambian society. Perhaps this is an indication of how YCE understood as political and economic engagement has become the dominant perspective within the context. Furthermore, societal disparities appear to expose some young people to an accumulation of risk. In contrast, other young people are favoured or privileged to accumulate a range of supports. It is fair to propose as pressure increases upon systems to respond to youth needs, every potential support will become invaluable. This includes YCE beyond political and economic understandings. It is apparent youth perspectives may provide insights into social, cultural and other resources, which might be overlooked by adults.

Some adult participants recognised a contradiction. The social practice of adults advocated for young people to get pro-active and demand their rights. The same adults acknowledged they were 'blocking' their way to become pro-active. It is the adult social actions that reveal the real interest, which appear to desire the maintenance of the status quo. It appears there is reluctance among the majority of adults to acknowledge or recognise youth opinions and voices. The 'top down' motion regarding YCE and child rights appears to have resulted in a tension between individualism and collectivism. The tension manifests as a struggle, which unfortunately has placed some young people in harms way. Referring to Lansdown (2010) the denial of child rights is unacceptable. Equally unacceptable is exposing young people to harm in the pursuit of child rights. When policy leads to unintentional negative outcomes, it is time to reassess the situation.

The reassessment requires consideration of changes associated with Late-modernity. These include: the crumbling of modernity structures, the decline of

participation rates in representative politics and the expected expansion of social movements. A preceding paragraph referred to the participation of the 'intelligentsia' at global level. The top-down process probably restricts the voices of young people from being heard at global and national level. It is feasible to suggest the rise of social movement in policy circles provides an opportunity where Zambia may become more influential in global policy circles. Zambia, with an existing dual system is ideally poised to encourage the acquisition of skills for both representative and social movement. If the energy expended on the local struggle between individualism and collectivism could be harnessed, it might then be transformed into an intergenerational collective. In the long-term it may be possible to refocus attention upon national and global processes. This eventually may enhance a 'bottom-up' momentum to develop and influence decisions to improve daily life.

7.3 Section three: Conclusions regarding existing types of Youth Civic Engagement available in the cultural context

The combined adult and youth understandings of YCE identified five types of engagement: 1) civic, 2) social, 3) cultural, 4) political and 5) economic. The analysis illuminated gender, age, socio-economic background and location as influential regarding YCE. First, these factors are seen to restrict or privilege access to YCE opportunities. Second, the same factors are seen to impact upon participation in available YCE opportunities.

It is plausible to suggest gender is the most influential singular factor of the four. The analysis illuminates the different ways gender impacts upon access to YCE opportunities. It is apparent males are favoured more so than females. In the cultural context, age, socio-economic background and location as isolated factors also have some bearing on access to YCE opportunities. The accumulation of these factors appears to re-enforce gender inequalities.

Legislative frameworks advocate for youth participation in matters that affect their lives. The AU Youth Charter (2006) explicitly advocates for gender

participation equality between girls, young women and boys. There appears to be some ambiguity regarding equality based upon age. Nonetheless, participation is open to interpretation. There are three main adult understandings of participation applied to young people's lives. These are: 1) to take part in, 2) deliberation and 3) decision-making.

The analysis reveals adults view young people in the 'here and now' in the context. In the northern hemisphere young people viewed in the 'here and now' is associated with them being viewed as 'partners'. In the study context young people 'take part in' a variety of activities. Culturally bound by duty, it is doubtful if young people have a choice in the type of activities they 'take part in'. In some cases, activities, particularly economic activity, prohibit the fulfilment of the right to health or an education. Against the backdrop of poverty and lack of basic services, it is acknowledged in some cases, but not all, that these activities are necessary for survival. Nonetheless it is feasible to state young people are not viewed as 'partners' in the context.

The analysis relates limited opportunities for inter-relational or intergenerational dialogue exist in the context. A youth worker outlined it was a challenge to create an environment where young people viewed themselves as 'participants' in YCE activities. Young people were reluctant to make decisions or put forward ideas. Generally adults required more training to facilitate youth participation in YCE opportunities. Fundamentally participation understood as decision-making revealed gender disparities. At all system levels it was perceived females experienced exclusion from decision-making. The cultural acquisition of adulthood has some bearing. For males, their status changes once they are declared an adult. Socially they are accepted as dominant and primary decision-makers. It is fair to moot in the context; youth rights to participate, regardless of the interpretation, are largely unfulfilled.

Age, as a power dynamic was also illuminated as an influential factor impacting upon participation in YCE. In practical terms, age, is utilised to divide young people into different groups. Despite the array of available YCE opportunities, a dearth of service targeting twelve to fourteen year olds was identified. This is

particularly significant for young people required to leave the education system at Grade 7 (approximately twelve years of age). At this point in the life path, these young people appear to be exposed to previously un-encountered risks. Societal arrangements founded upon age appear to unintentionally distance these young people further away from supports. Yet it is at such times of significant change, additional supports or sources of resilience to bolster young people are believed to be required.

In the context, socio-economic background is a further factor influencing access and participation in YCE opportunities. Previous references have been made to access and participation in the education system. In the out-of-school context, the quality of facilities varied between urban and rural areas. Comparison between affluent and less affluent areas in the same study sites also revealed disparities in the quality of the facilities.

It is the youth understanding of YCE as ‘good’ which led to the consideration of economic engagement. Girls are particularly at risk, as five of the six study sites reported girl prostitution as an issue. The analysis of the perceived motivations for engagement by girls in prostitution surmised a significant power dynamic existed. This dynamic appears to facilitate men to allocate responsibility for prostitution upon individual pathology. This as a process may deflect attention away from the male role in prostitution. Furthermore this may minimise scrutiny of structural inequalities, which may restrict girls from gaining an education, accessing the labour force, ownership of land and other opportunities. A priority for further action is a focus upon the issue of girl prostitution.

A conclusion can be drawn; the provision of YCE without careful consideration of youth economic engagement runs the risk of re-enforcing existing disparities. Young people with access to resources and more free time would be in a favourable position to avail of YCE activities, if they were offered. For young people already economically engaged, a combination of factors, such as lack of time, loss of income/resources or elder disapproval for example, may prevent them from accessing the same YCE opportunities. A long-term potential

outcome is that the existing divisions among the youth population may become entrenched. YCE provided with good intentions may actually worsen the situation of some young people. This can be overcome if careful consideration is given to YCE design to counter-balance identified access and participation barriers.

Finally location, the analysis illuminated hegemonic elements that facilitate a dominant urban position. The education system, a colonial remnant, plays a pivotal role in perpetuating the urban/rural disparity. Third level education was perceived to facilitate access to political engagement. The analysis illuminates male, urban dwellers from families with access to resources are probably selected as the 'intelligentsia'. Yet it is hardly a surprise, resources are distributed to protect and perpetuate their position, for instance, YCE opportunities predisposed towards males, in urban affluent areas.

7.4 Section four: Conclusion of locally defined risk and resilience factors in relation to Youth Civic Engagement underpinned by resilience

The study of resilience commences with two judgements, firstly, what is an okay or successful outcome? Secondly, what is a risk? In the context, it appears the adult understandings of success reinforce social divisions. The tacit knowledge of success associated with location and socio-economic background lacks a critical edge and falls short of an explanation for the differences.

The youth understanding of success, especially for males, was associated with the acquisition of adulthood. This is not achieved through the constitutional set age of majority associated with the Northern hemisphere. In the context, it is the cultural initiation from childhood directly into adulthood which is prized. This can occur at different ages. It appears in rural areas young people are entered into adulthood earlier than their urban counterparts. The acquisition of adulthood may provide a status within a community. Nonetheless it may propel a young person onto a life path of struggle, probably set within a pattern of intergenerational poverty.

The arrangement of risk and resilience into system levels was particularly helpful. The community level was the only level to exhibit more resilience than risk factors. As a collective society, this may have been anticipated. A substantial amount of resilience factors appear to be embedded in the education system, YCE opportunities, organised religion and social networks. The analysis reveals not all young people have equality of access to the first two contexts. Religion is particularly important in Zambian culture and is open to engagement by both males and females. The community level was where some young people were able to create their own sources of resilience by forming different social connections. It cannot be assumed all young people should or could create their own sources of resilience in this manner.

This thesis concurs with existing literature of the existence of ‘universal’ resilience factors (Ungar, 2007). In the context, young people identified parental support, mentors and peer groups among others as strengths they could draw upon. These factors are named in existing literature. Again it is important to recognise these are not necessarily available to all young people. This study identified risk factors were readily assigned by gender. Resilience factors were not assigned by gender. The summation being girls are more likely to be exposed to accumulation of risk compared to their male counterparts. Again this thesis concurs with existing literature that the study of resilience may benefit from more attention to gender.

The contextualisation of YCE and risk and resilience factors provides a base to apply a resilience measure in the future. Perhaps the dual factor, simultaneously viewed as a positive and negative, brings something new to the resilience debate. Further study may ascertain if dual factors exist in other contexts. If they do, it would be necessary to explore impacts upon the resilience process and the measurement of resilience. A factor identified as both a negative and a positive: does it then become a neutral?

7.5 Section five: Conclusions regarding resilience perceived to be associated with YCE opportunities

The analysis of resilience perceived to be associated with YCE opportunities identified factors such as mentors or parental support for example. So, it is reasonable to conclude YCE opportunities may build resilience. Some of the identified factors are consistent with other studies. This thesis supports the proposition universal resilience factors are probably present in different cultural contexts. It does so, but with the proviso the sources of resilience are unequally distributed. Social processes within the context, may restrict, whilst simultaneously privilege access to different groups of young people to these sources of support.

7.6 Section six: Response to the overall research aim

The fulfilment of the four study objectives aids the formulation of a response to the overall research aim:

To examine Zambian youth and adult perspectives of Youth Civic Engagement

The examination of YCE in the context revealed gender is a significant factor impacting upon the participation of young people in civic engagement opportunities. The local understandings of YCE incorporated a wide range of activities. Gender, denotes access to the majority of available civic engagement opportunities. It appears to restrict the access of girls and young women, whilst simultaneously privileging the access of boys.

In regard to participation, gender disparities can be linked to different interpretations of participation, to take part in, deliberation and decision-making. The first, to 'take part in', illuminates the gender allocation of tasks or activities as unevenly distributed. Girls are required to complete more tasks than boys. This curtails their free-time restricting engagement in other activities. Some activities actually place girls in a vulnerable position likely to result in negative outcomes. These outcomes may affect their health or deny fulfilment of other rights, such as a right to an education.

Participation understood as deliberation, again, girls appear to be curtailed more so than males. Similar gender disparities are repeated regarding decision-making. Nuances emerge when other factors are taken into consideration. Age, socio-economic background and location are seen to re-enforce gender inequalities. These in turn can be linked to wider societal forces of policy and institutional distribution of resources. In conclusion, the research advocates a gender analysis is a necessity to gain a more holistic picture of any study topic. In this study, it is fair to state a thorough examination of YCE has provided valuable insights into the way gender and other factors influence participation in existing YCE opportunities in the context.

7.7 Section seven: Reflective commentary regarding the research design and methodology

The conclusion is drawn the research design offers a potential methodology which may be applied successfully in different cultural contexts. The simultaneous two stranded approach purposely avoided the imposing of northern normative understanding of YCE and resilience in the study context. The deliberative spaces create opportunities to gain insights into different local understandings of YCE, based upon age and gender.

The intergenerational dialogue and sharing of information in some cases potentially provided collective knowledge to bring about immediate change within some study sites. The incorporation of reflective space and the collaborative review were a safeguard against the intentional or unintentional skewing of participant data by the northern researcher. It is posited the review process enhances the validity of the research findings.

Obviously there were challenges along the way. It has to be acknowledged the participant numbers decreased between the first and second phase. However the age and gender balance was maintained. The closing of school terms and the harvest reduced the numbers in attendance. If applied in other contexts, these and other social or cultural activities should be taken into consideration to

maximise retention of participant numbers throughout the research process as a whole.

The second strand, the mapping exercise, assisted the research to build a holistic picture of YCE opportunities in the study context. A comprehensive, but probably non-exhaustive list of YCE services was established as a baseline. It is feasible to posit further research is required to acquire more detail about participant numbers, gender breakdown, and adult to youth ratio, training levels and years in existence. This minutia was outside the scope of this study.

The inclusion of six study sites was perhaps overly ambitious. The geographical boundaries were set with a twofold purpose; 1) to acquire a rural and urban balance and 2) to counter-act the dominance of one or two tribal groups among the generated data. It is fair to state these balances were achieved. The generation of qualitative data was almost overwhelming. The Nvivo software package proved a successful management data tool. The methodology has potential for use in different cultural contexts. Nonetheless the transferability of the study findings into different contexts may be limited. For this particular study the qualitative contextualisation can be built upon as part of a mixed method study at the discretion of the UNESCO Chair.

The Neo-Gransican framework simultaneously facilitated youth and adult perspectives in the analysis. The analysis accorded priority to gender as a central research theme. It is apparent from the multidimensional framework to view one factor in isolation from other factors may overlook complexities involved. Furthermore the research worked with both youth and adult perspectives. The absence of either perspective would be working with incomplete knowledge. The challenge recognised at the outset of the study was to find ways to facilitate the voice of young people to be heard. Essentially without destabilising the cultural context that sustains them. It is reasonable to posit this methodology may offer one option to work in a culturally competent way in a collective society.

7.8 Section eight: Overall conclusion

The findings and analysis illuminate that the concerns, issues and needs of young people are embedded in their cultural and social context. In Zambia, the complexities of the dual system suggest a focus on an isolated aspect of young people's lives is perhaps futile. It is clear from the Neo-Grainsian analysis inter-connected micro and macro factors influence access and participation in available YCE opportunities.

If YCE opportunities are to be offered in the future to promote well-being and build resilience of young people in Zambia, then certain considerations have to be taken into account. These include existing inequalities to access and participation based upon gender, age, socio-economic background and location. Otherwise, offered YCE may entrench existing youth disparities and worsen the situation of some young people.

The need for additional YCE provision is apparent. A tempting response is to create more YCE opportunities. The lack of services targeting twelve to fourteen year olds requires specific attention. Through no fault of their own, young people from lower socio-economic backgrounds, especially girls, find themselves in a particularly vulnerable position. Any additional provision without inclusionary measures may exacerbate the unequal position of these young people.

Provision which does take into consideration access issues may include a wider spectrum of young people in YCE. In the cultural context, deference of young people to elders is the cultural norm. At the moment in YCE opportunities young people expect to take direction from adults. Participation understood as decision-making and/or deliberation as a right is unfamiliar. The challenge is to create YCE environments where young people may recognise their right to participate in decision-making and deliberations. This necessitates adults to cooperate and share responsibility with young people to promote youth participation and rights. This may be enhanced by providing adult training to

work with young people. It is fair to posit some adults would be reluctant to engage in this type of training, if it was offered.

In the context, YCE opportunities are perceived to be associated with resilience building. The intergenerational spaces created throughout the research process illuminate the sharing of knowledge has the potential to bring about immediate improvements within some study sites. Furthermore this may result in moments of praxis, an opportunity for change. This is particularly important in a context that is expecting a significant expansion of the youth population. A long-term anticipated challenge is the need to respond to youth needs in a meaningful way.

YCE as a potential way of supporting young people appears to be influenced by a 'top-down' process. A tension between individualism and collectivism appears to exist as the different perspectives promote 'rights' that are often oppositional to each other. At a local level, energy is expended on an intergenerational struggle between individualism and collectivism. The reconfiguration of the struggle into an opportunity may strengthen a Zambian 'bottom-up' momentum to develop. The collective energy may enable an effective utilisation of resources available in the context. The needs of young people can be responded to and youth outcomes improved. In turn this enhances the well-being of the wider community. The Zambian dual system offers a significant opportunity for upcoming generations to acquire skills to participate in both representative political systems and social movements. Essentially this offers the promise Zambia may become more influential in governance decisions at global level, which impact upon national matters

Chapter eight: Recommendations

8.1 Section one: Introduction

The previous chapter illuminated when youth testimonials were correlated to different adult understanding of participation, such as ‘taking part in’, ‘decision-making’ or ‘deliberation’ it appears for the most part the participation rights of young people are unfulfilled in the context. Nonetheless the opportunities that were identified had a tendency to favour the participation of males, while simultaneously restricting female participation.

In an adult-centred world, YCE is posited as a desirable method to improve youth outcomes. This thesis concurs with this proposition which is guided by the research participants’ unanimous belief that the daily lives of young people would be improved through the provision of additional YCE opportunities. It is evident from the findings young people who are in a position to access YCE opportunities, compared to those who are not, may acquire resilience and other supports more readily.

It is proposed a three stranded approach is required to improve YCE provision in the context. These strands are: 1) to enhance existing YCE provision, 2) to establish new YCE services and 3) attention to policy. Ideally these recommendations should be implemented simultaneously to maximise positive outcomes. The proposed actions are practical measures and are deliverable within a reasonable timeframe.

8.2 Section two: Recommendations to enhance existing YCE

In the context there are a significant variety of YCE opportunities available. The proposed recommendations contained within this section are designed to enhance these YCE opportunities. There are four recommendations in total:

- A detailed survey of existing youth organisations
- Targeted supports to existing rural YCE opportunities
- Attention to access issues

- Rural development programmes

8.2.1 Recommendation: A detailed survey of existing youth organisations.

Lead agency/organisation: NYDC

Timescale: Eighteen to twenty-four months

Action: The NYDC to conduct a survey of all registered youth organisations to accrue information regarding existing services. The survey to include: a) the type of activity, b) location, c) times activities take place, d) membership numbers, e) gender and age breakdowns, f) governance and participation breakdowns, g) ratio of adults to young people, h) level of adult training, i) leadership skills, j) organisational governance, k) sources of funding, l) number of paid leaders, m) number of adult volunteers, n) if any membership fees are charged and o) type of policies in place. Subsequently the accrued data should be compiled into a detailed quantitative report with an accompanying critical commentary.

Potential resources: There are a number of options to progress this recommendation: a) a formation of a partnership between NYDC and an international sponsor with a specific interest in civic engagement or youth, b) a NYDC research internship, c) the Zambian government allocates a small percentage of organisational registration fees towards funding the study and d) UNZA facilitates the study.

Anticipate outcomes:

- There are a significant number of YCE organisations registered with the NYDC. The generated data may assist to respond to the needs of an expanding youth population. The survey may identify organisations that have the capacity to work with additional numbers of young people.
- This thesis posits YCE opportunities favour males compared to females. The proposed survey will provide a gender breakdown of an organisations membership, including both adults and young people. The confirmation of a gender imbalance strengthens the case for existing gender equality policy to be implemented (See: Section 8.3)

- This thesis relates adults require more training to work with young people. The proposed survey will establish the existing level of training among adults within YCE organisations. This information offers a guide to provide appropriate training within the context.

8.2.2 Recommendation: Targeted supports to existing rural YCE opportunities

Lead agency/organisations: To be identified, for example, Sports in Action in partnership with the appropriate government section

Timescale: Immediately

Action: The research participants perceived a rural/urban divide in YCE provision favouring the latter. The NYDC register confirmed this perception as accurate. It is proposed to target supports to existing rural YCE opportunities. Doing so may enable services to expand and work with more young people in rural areas.

Potential resources: The supports do not necessarily involve direct monetary payments. Alternatively it may be possible to allocate a loan of leaders from more established organisations to offer sessions in rural areas. These workers would deliver specific youth inputs, such as sports or health education for example. The sessions are designed to supplement the existing provision not to replace it. A training ‘by doing’ approach, may build capacity among the rural service and enhance sustainability.

Anticipated outcomes:

- The support of rural YCE in this manner may enhance the service. It may introduce the opportunity whereby young people may acquire new skills and knowledge.
- The interaction between different groups may build relationships between areas. In the long-term it may establish social networks and strengthen social capital.
- The strengthening of rural YCE may enhance the availability of sources of resilience.

8.2.3 Recommendation: Attention to access issues

Lead agency/organisation: NYDC

Timescale: Immediately

Action: The NYDC to issue a leaflet containing guidelines to enhance access to YCE services.

Potential resources: Leaflet generated in-house and distributed with other letters to NYDC members. Leaflet asking questions, for example, are services offered straight after school? Does this prevent girls from attending? Is a fee being charged? Is it possible to reduce the amount?

Anticipated outcomes:

- Some organisations may make amendments. As a result, their services become more accessible to girls and other groups of young people.
- In the long-term, expanded membership may enhance sustainability of services.

8.2.4 Recommendation: Rural development programmes

Lead agency/organisations: Existing providers of rural development programmes

Timescale: One to two years

Potential resources: The research illuminates young people are sometimes informally included in adult programmes. Young people with literacy skills are drafted-in to help relate information to adults with low literacy skills. Young people are already known to make significant contributions to family subsistence. It is feasible to suggest a more strategic approach includes the conscious inclusion of young people in these programmes. If adults engage in these programmes to improve production and rural life it is fair to surmise young people may benefit equally from the same knowledge. This is not to suggest these programmes replace formal education. Essentially the programmes can be designed to complement the formal education system.

Anticipated outcomes:

- The conscious inclusion of young people in rural development programmes provides adult recognition of young people.

- The participation of both adults and young people in rural development may enhance the collective knowledge to improve rural life.

8.3 Section three: Recommendations to establish new YCE services

This section focuses upon the establishment of new YCE services. There are two recommendations in total:

- New rural YCE provision
- New urban YCE provision

8.3.1 Recommendation: New rural YCE provision – Pilot projects

Lead agency/organisation: International agency with an interest in YCE.

It is evident any additional YCE provision would be beneficial in rural areas. It would be virtually impossible to create immediate provision in every province. It is proposed to establish three rural pilot projects. One of these would target young people 15 years of age and above. The other two pilot projects to target young between 12 and 14 years of age.

Timescale: Four years

Potential resources: The pilot projects will be designed with local people. The design will be conscious of existing barriers that prevent access of some young people. This is essential to incorporate measures to open up access to the pilot services. A continuous evaluation of each project should determine the most appropriate route to enable the continuation of the projects beyond pilot period.

Anticipated outcomes:

- Much needed rural youth supports are established.
- The targeting of 12 -14 year olds should supply much needed supports. Furthermore it may provide insights into the needs of this age group, which appear to have been unintentionally overlooked.
- Pilot projects may act as a catalyst to encourage local people to take ownership and continue projects beyond the agreed four year period.

- Based upon the perspective of international organisations which agree to get involved in developing pilot projects, it may be decided to offer an extension of support beyond the four years.

8.3.2 Recommendation: New urban YCE provision targeting under-resourced areas

Lead agency/organisations: To be identified.

Timescale: Four years

Potential resources: Existing YCE organisations, with support from international funds, to expand services into under-resourced areas.

Anticipated outcomes:

- Under resourced areas receive additional supports

8.4 Section four: Recommendation for attention to policy

This particular section contains recommendations for the attention of policy makers at global and national level. A total of three global recommendations are made:

- Working paper on Child Rights in a community support framework
- Responding to girl prostitution
- Gender proofing

At a national level there are a total of five recommendations. These include:

- Increasing the visibility of young people within National reports
- The right of the child/youth to be heard
- Gender proofing
- Drugs rehabilitation
- NYDC Western Province research anomaly

8.4.1 Global policy recommendation: Working paper on Child Rights in a community support framework

In the context, the provision of Child Rights education via the education system encourages young people to pursue their rights. In the home context, a tension between adults and young people regarding rights and cultural collectivism was identified. For some young people this tension manifests as physical conflict. It

is proposed the addition of community-based rights education working with both child/youth and adult perspectives may assist to diffuse this tension.

Lead agency: UNESCO

Timescale: Continuous

Potential resources: The UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement. To develop a working paper: Child-rights in a community support framework.

Anticipated outcomes:

- Alternative approaches to delivering rights education are placed upon the policy agenda.

8.4.2 Global policy recommendation: Responding to girl prostitution

In the context the prevalence of girl prostitution was raised as an issue that requires immediate attention. At this juncture it is important to acknowledge research participants did not mention boy prostitution. It should not be assumed that boys are not involved in prostitution.

Lead agency: UNESCO/ UNICEF and organisations against child prostitution

Timescale: Continuous

Potential resources: Existing organisations

Anticipated outcomes:

- The issue of child prostitution receives on-going policy attention

8.4.3 Global policy recommendation: Gender proofing

It is clear despite the existence of gender equality policies; the reality is gender inequalities still persist on a daily basis. Advocacy of gender proofing and gender equality requires continued attention.

8.4.4 National policy recommendation: Increasing the visibility of young people within National reports.

Lead government department/ministry: Central Statistics Office

The statistical reports produced from extrapolating data from the National Census for some sections, for example, education and health are presented in

defined age ranges. Other reports often utilise one age group, 0-18 years of age. The provision of more defined age ranges in all sections of reports may increase the visibility of young people. Furthermore, it may enhance the national planning to respond to child and youth needs at national and local levels.

Timescale: Continuous

Potential resources: The Central Statistics Office

Anticipated outcomes: More accurate statistics for the child and youth populations are generated. The age ranges are designed to coincide with government section responsibility for children and youth. Essentially this provides figures to inform the allocation of resources. It also provides a framework to prevent the unintentional oversight of a particular age group, for instance, twelve to fourteen year olds. The visibility of children and young people as different social groups may be increased.

8.4.5 National policy recommendation: The right of the child/youth to be heard

National policy states child participation is a fundamental right. In the design, implementation and evaluation of services, children and adults including parents and care-givers should be involved (NCP, 2006). It appears the existing delivery of child rights education within the school setting has some limitations. Firstly, the thesis illuminates barriers preventing some young people, especially girls from accessing the education system. Secondly, rights education delivered to young people appears to be creating a tension between adults and young people. When young people try to assert their rights in the home context, it is often met with adult opposition and sometimes physical punishment.

Lead government department/ministry: Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development

It is proposed to open up access to child rights education through out-of-school measures, which apply a community approach.

Timescale: Three years

Potential resources: The religious, civil society networks, YCE services (ideally those which have opened up access to different groups of young people)

Anticipated outcomes:

- Child rights become embedded in daily life.
 - Harmonisation between the constitutional and customary systems may be enhanced.
- Collectivism may be bolstered.
- A ‘bottom-up’ momentum may evolve.

8.4.6 National policy recommendation: Gender proofing

Gender proofing (please see: global policy recommendation 8.4.3 this chapter) as above, but at a National policy level.

8.4.7 National policy recommendation: Drugs Rehabilitation

The findings reveal a gender risk associated with males was drug mis-use. At the time of the research only one drug rehabilitation centre in the capital city, Lusaka, was believed to provide services. The thesis posits the provision of one centre for a population estimated at 11.7 million is probably inadequate. The issue of drug mis-use and rehabilitation services may benefit from policy attention.

8.4.8 National policy recommendation: NYDC Western Province research anomaly

The findings reveal a research anomaly regarding the existence of YCE opportunities in one rural community in the Western province. This anomaly may benefit from further research, first to establish how so many organisations became established in one confined area. Secondly, have the different organisations anything in common? Are the needs of young people being met through the availability of so many organisations? Is it possible to ascertain any knowledge that might inform the establishment of services in other parts of Zambia?

8.5 Section five: Recommendation conclusions

The recommendations incorporate a three stranded approach: 1) measures to enhance existing YCE provision, 2) the establishment of new YCE

opportunities and 3) attention to policy. The ideal scenario is to simultaneously progress all three strands to maximise potential improvements in YCE and youth outcomes. It is fair to posit, if the strands are progressed at different rates, some improvements in youth outcomes may still be achievable.

The first strand focuses upon existing provision. It is proposed to build a more detailed picture of existing services. Doing so may provide insights into a wealth of data. This may include: identifying potential untapped resources, gender inequality, training requirements and further gaps in provision. The thesis identified rural areas as under-resourced. It is proposed, where possible existing urban providers may support existing rural services to enable them to expand and become sustainable. Essentially, the focus upon existing services pinpoints the necessity to open up access to young people, especially girls. Finally, regarding existing services, adult rural development programmes may provide hidden resilience supports some young people get to access. It is proposed, through a more strategic approach, young people may be intentionally included in such rural development with potential to improve collective outcomes.

The second strand emphasises the potential of rural and urban pilot projects targeting twelve to fourteen year olds to provide immediate supports. It appears this age range has been unintentionally overlooked. Essentially some young people, especially girls experience significant change and encounter previously unknown risk. Due to circumstances beyond their control and at such times, these young people find themselves with few supports to draw upon. The ongoing evaluation of the pilot projects may provide invaluable insights into the needs of these young people.

The final strand incorporates recommendations for global and national policy. The intention is to advocate for the child's right to be heard, gender proofing, to increase the visibility of young people in the context, to respond to child prostitution and drug mis-use. The finally recommendation is for decision-makers to direct the pursuit of a research anomaly regarding YCE in the

Western Province. This may yield invaluable information to assist the development of YCE in the context.

Appendices

Appendix one: Map of Zambia



Geographical boundaries.

Lusaka province – Capital of Zambia and Provincial capital, Lusaka

Southern province – Provincial capital, Livingstone

Western province – Provincial capital, Mongu

Appendix two: Memorandum of Understanding

Context

The UNESCO Chair for Children, Youth and Civic Engagement based at the Child and Family Research Centre in NUI Galway has a remit to progress research, programme development, advocacy and teaching. The Chair operates from a rights-based perspective that promotes civic engagement as an enabler of resilience. The Chair is guided by UNESCO to pursue particular themes. The recent publication of the UNESCO Medium-term Strategy (2008-2013) identifies Africa, gender equality and youth, especially rural, marginalised and unemployed youth as priority themes for development.

The Chair has three international partners: 1) Zambia; 2) Bulgaria and 3) Lithuania, but intends to develop further partnerships during its tenure. Currently, Zambia is the only African partner which prompted a review of the position of youth in Zambia. The Zambian Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) (2006-2010) highlights a desire to respond to the marginalisation and gender disparities experienced by some Zambian youth. The FNDP (2006:220) details a strategic plan under 11 themes to work towards a National vision and a goal.

The vision is: enhance youth and child survival, development and protection through a well co-ordinated and multi-sectoral approach by 2030.

The goal is: To achieve increased empowerment and participation of children and youth in all areas affecting their well-being and livelihood and enhance observance and protection of their rights in order to build a sound human resource base, contribute to wealth creation and ensure socially optimal investments and sustainable national development .

There is a shared interest between the UNESCO Chair and the Zambian State in the goal to promote the well-being of children and youth by means of participation from a rights perspective. The UNESCO chair is particularly interested in participation through civic engagement as it is seen to promote resilience, with anticipated outcomes of increased well-being of children and youth with benefits occurring within the family and wider community.

Proposal

By the UNESCO Chair initiating a participatory research project facilitated by partners in Zambia, the potential exists to increase youth participation through the research process itself. In addition, the research intention is to focus upon gender and rural youth as specific issues in diverse community cultural contexts. The anticipated outcomes of the study is to generate youth-centred knowledge, which may subsequently inform policy and practice regarding the development of youth civic engagement interventions, which are culturally appropriate and promote resilience.

By adapting the International Resilience Project (IRP) methodology to this specific piece of work, it is intended to use a mixed method study. This

approach will incorporate three-sequential phases: 1) A qualitative contextualisation¹¹; 2) a quantitative youth survey questionnaire and adult structure interview; 3) finally, in-depth qualitative work with young women. The research will be underpinned by: 1) resilience theory; and 2) cultural competency.

Partners

The UNESCO Chair recognises the need to form a partnership to promote a whole-child/whole system approach to maximise the learning from the process. Each of the three partners 1) University of Zambia, Lusaka Province; 2) Alan Kerin's African Project, Western Province and 3) The Lifestart Project, Southern Province, bring with them a set of unique ingredients to the process.

These ingredients include; expert knowledge about the context, which the UNESCO researcher does not possess; partners may operate from different perspectives introducing a multi-views of the topic; each of the partners may have a different interest in getting involved in the process e.g. to enhance existing practice, academic learning, but ultimately all share a willingness to promote the well-being of young people.

Principles

- The focus of this partnership is the research regarding gender and community.
- The partnership will be transparent in the way the research is progressed
- Equality will be a key principle and each partner will be treated with respect and their inputs will be given the same weighting in the research.
- There will be a commitment to share knowledge, expertise and mutual support within the partnership
- It is understood that NUI Galway will possess the foreground and background intellectual property rights regarding the research
- It is understood that NUI Galway will acknowledge the partners in all reports and publications of the research.

Partner Roles

To commence the research process the contact person in each area is asked to become a "gatekeeper." As a gatekeeper they are requested to assist the research in the following ways:

- To gain access into a rural and urban community within their province
- To assist with the recruitment of young people and adults as research participants
- To possibly act as a liaison between the research and other contacts as the research develops

The partnership members agree to abide by the spirit of this understanding while recognising that it may need to be amended in the light of experience and/or developments.

Signed: _____

¹¹ Phase two and three to be progressed at the discretion of the UNESCO Chair

Appendix three: Adult Information Sheet

What is this research about?

The study hopes to work with both young women and men from rural and urban areas to look at their experiences of how their communities facilitate them to participate in civic engagement opportunities.

As young people interact with adults where they live on a daily basis the study will also work with adults. This may include parents/guardians, health workers, youth workers, school personnel, members of women's groups, government representatives etc.

It is hoped by working in this way, the opinions, views and feelings of young people and adults from both rural and urban areas regarding civic engagement will be made available. This will create a whole picture of what is happening at community level. Then it may be possible to identify the similarities and differences between what young people and adults think about civic engagement. It should also be possible to look at similarities and difference between different rural areas and urban areas and to compare rural and urban areas

Why is it being done?

The United National Education and Science Organisation (UNESCO) and the Zambian government have an interest in the participation of youth and the position of young women and men.

Civic engagement activities are a way of increasing youth participation. Through participation a young person may gain benefits, increase their social networks, which potentially may enhance resilience. This may also lead to benefits for their families, the wider community and the Country as a whole.

By studying how young people are already facilitated to participate in civic engagement, it may be possible to advise the government and services working with young people how to improve civic engagement programmes, by identifying gaps in services, to incorporate culturally appropriate elements in programmes that are appealing both to young people, (females and males) and adults (parents/guardians).

In addition, if the methods of working with young people and adults lead to the generation of information that may be useful. Other people may be interested in using the same methods in the future.

Why am I being asked to take part?

As an adult, you have a lifetime of experience and living in a community you possess knowledge about the every day events and customs that young people are influenced by and also influence.

If you are a parent/guardian your child may wish to participate in the study. To get a complete picture of what is happening, your input as a parent/guardian is

invaluable. If you are an adult working with a statutory or non-statutory organisation you will possess a specific expertise and interest in young people. By participating in the research you may add depth and meaning to the topic, by relating your own experiences, what is required of you in your role etc.

Who is doing the research?

The main researcher is Sheila McArdle, a PhD student based at UNESCO, Child and Family Research Centre, NUI Galway, Ireland.

What exactly will the research involve?

The research will be completed in three phases: 1) Phase One-Contextualisation¹²; 2) Youth Survey and Adult Structured Interviews and 3) In-depth work with young women.

Phase One – Contextualisation

Initially an introductory session of approximately 1 hour will be held. There is a four-fold purpose to this session: 1) to introduce the researcher to potential participants; 2) to ensure that everyone understands the purpose of the research; 3) what time commitment is involved; and 4) to those who provide their consent/assent to participate in the study to agree the focus group time schedule.

A focus group is when the members come together to discuss and provide their experiences of a topic. There will be four focus groups in each area. Two with young people defined as children less than 18 years of age by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) working with young people between 12-14 years of age, 1) young males; 2) young females. Two focus groups with adults, defined as people 18 years of age and above 3) adult males and 4) adult females. The key points will be written on large sheets of paper to be presented at a plenary session.

A plenary session is when the four focus groups come together to present the key points that their group decided upon. All the points are discussed and similarities and differences are highlighted. At the plenary group, the members will be asked to select four representatives comprising of: 1) young male; 2) young female; 3) adult male and 4) adult female to bring the groups information to a Representative Forum.

The Representative Forum is when the selected members from each of the study sites come together. All the points from the areas are presented and again the similarities and differences are highlighted. At the end of this process it is hoped that a youth survey and adult interview schedule will be developed. A measure of risk and resilience will be created.

The survey and interview schedule will be brought back to all the members to ensure that they are satisfied with the contents before circulation to a wider population of youth and adults.

¹² Phase two and three to be progressed at the discretion of the UNESCO Chair

What will happen to the information from the study?

The information from Phase One will be recorded and used to develop a questionnaire and interview schedule for Phase Two. As part of the group you will have the option to review the questionnaire and interview schedule before it is circulated.

After the questionnaire and interview schedule has been conducted you will have the option to avail of a presentation of the results.

The information you provide will be incorporated into a study report. It is intended that this report will be circulated within Zambian government departments and organisations, UNESCO and international bodies interested in working with young people and NUI Galway, Ireland.

Will people know what I have said?

In Phase One, as a member of a group, other group members may remember who has said what. At the beginning of the focus group an agreement will be sought with all those attending that the information remains confidential.

The sessions will be tape recorded and will then be transcribed or typed up by a person especially appointed to complete this task. To protect individual anonymity a code number assigned at the consent stage will replace individual names said on tape into the typed text. The tapes will be kept safely in the University of Zambia and no one can listen to them unless the University of Zambia and the National University of Ireland, Galway both agree. The tapes will be destroyed after five years has elapsed.

If any, direct quotes are used in the report individual anonymity will be protected by using a pseudo (or different) name.

It is also intended to take photographs in communities that are taking part in the study. If any individual participant appears in the photographs, they have the choice to give consent or not for that photograph to be reproduced within a report.

Why should I take part?

The overall purpose of the study is to generate information that may improve the lives of young people. As an adult, who may be a parent/guardian or has a role of working with young people you probably possess information that may contribute to increasing positive youth outcomes.

Do I have a choice?

All participants do have a choice to take participate or not. It is the free will of each person to provide their consent to participate in the study. It is also their free will to leave the research at anytime without having to provide a reason for their choice to leave.

Appendix four (A): Adult Consent form for statutory and non-statutory representatives

Research Body: The UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement in partnership with the University of Zambia, the Alan Kerin's African Project, Western Province and the Lifestart Project, Southern province.

Title of the Project: A youth-centred exploration with rural and urban Zambian youth regarding their experience of civic engagement, gender and community.

Name of researcher: Sheila McArdle

I confirm that the researcher has:

Code No.

1. Supplied an information sheet
2. The study was explained to me and my questions answered.
3. I understand my part in the research and have been given time to decide if I want to take part.
4. I am free to withdraw from the research at anytime
5. I am aware that I do not have to provide reasons, if I decide to withdraw from the process
6. I understand that the above code number will be used instead of my name for recording, transcribing and report purposes
7. I am aware that my answers will be treated in a confidential manner
8. I understand that my answers and information will be kept for five years.
9. I understand photographs will be taken by the research (please tick)
 - a. I give my consent to use images which include me
 - b. I do not give my consent to use images which include me
10. I understand audio recordings will be used
11. I understand that I have a option to avail of a presentation the Phase Two findings at a later stage of the study

I agree to take part in this research study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Organisation: _____

Position held: _____

Contact details: _____

Date: _____

Appendix four (B): Parental/guardian consent form for themselves

Research Body: The UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement in partnership with the University of Zambia, the Alan Kerin's African Project, Western Province; and the Lifestart Project, Southern province.

Title of the Project: A youth-centred exploration with rural and urban Zambian youth regarding their experience of civic engagement, gender and community.

Name of researcher: Sheila McArdle

I confirm that the researcher has:

Code No.

1. Supplied an information sheet
2. The study was explained to me and my questions answered.
3. I understand that I may be asked to take part in the research and have been given time to decide if I want to take part.
4. I am free to withdraw from the research at anytime
5. I am aware that I do not have to provide reasons, if I decide to withdraw from the process
6. I understand that the above code number will be used instead of my name for recording, transcribing and report purposes
7. I am aware that my answers will be treated in a confidential manner
8. I understand that my answers and information will be kept for five years.
9. I understand photographs will be taken by the research (please tick)
 - a. I give my consent to use images which include me
 - b. I do not give my consent to use images which include me
10. I understand audio recordings will be used
11. I understand if I do take part that I also have the option to avail of a presentation of the Phase Two findings at a later stage of the study

I agree to take part in this research study.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Position held: Parent/Guardian

Contact details: _____

Date: _____

Appendix four (C) Parental/guardian consent form for their young person

Research Body: The UNESCO Chair in Children, Youth and Civic Engagement in partnership with the University of Zambia, the Alan Kerin's African Project, Western Province and the Lifestart Project, Southern province.

Title of the Project: A youth-centred exploration with rural and urban Zambian youth regarding their experience of civic engagement, gender and community.

Name of researcher: Sheila McArdle

I confirm that the researcher has:

1. Supplied an information sheet
2. The study was explained to me and my questions answered.
3. Once I have given my consent I understand it is the free will of my child to participate in the research.
4. I understand that my child has the free will to withdraw from the research at anytime
5. I understand that my child does not have to provide a reason, if he/she decides to withdraw from the research
6. I understand that the above code number will be used instead of my child's name for recording, transcribing and report purposes
7. I am aware that my child's answers will be treated in a confidential manner
8. I understand that my child's answers and information will be kept for five years.
9. I understand that sessions will be recorded by audio tape
10. I understand that my child might be asked to take part in a representative forum
11. I understand photographs will be taken by the research (please tick)
 - a. If my child's image appears in any of the photographs taken the image cannot be used without my signed consent once I have seen the image.
12. I understand that my child has the option to avail of a presentation of the Phase Two findings.

Code No.

I give consent for my child to take part in this research study.

Name: _____

Young person's name: _____

Signature: _____

Contact details: _____

Date: _____

Appendix five: Youth information sheet

What is the study about?

The study would like to find out about how you, as a young person may take part in different activities (e.g. youth group, school, community gatherings, church, social activities) in your community.

By working with young people who live in different areas, in the countryside and in towns, it may tell us about the type of activities that are available. It will help us identify things that are the same or different about the way young people are facilitated by their communities to participate in these activities.

The research will also be asking adults from these areas what they think of the way young people participate or do not participate in different activities. This is because as young people, you interact with adults in your community and to get both young people's and adult's views provides a whole picture of what is happening.

Why is it being done?

UNESCO and the Zambian government are both interested in young people and increasing their participation in matters that affect them. By working with both young people and adults, it is hoped that the information provided may help to develop programmes, which are appealing to other young people and are acceptable within different communities. Hopefully these programmes will support young people, their families and communities.

This study by working with young people and adults may be a good way of getting information. If so, other people wishing to study things that affect young people may also like to work in the same way as this study.

Why am I being asked?

As a young person you know what it is like growing up in your community. Adults can supply some information, but not in the same way as young people can.

Who is doing the research?

The person doing the research is named Sheila McArdle.

What will happen?

First, we will all meet for about an hour to get to know each other and you can ask any questions you might have about the study.

If you want to take part your parent/guardian will need to give permission for you to take part by signing a form and then you will also be asked to sign a form. Then you will be asked to join a group. One group will be for young men and another for young women. These groups will meet at a time agreed between Sheila and the group members.

Then your group will meet for approximately three hours to discuss experiences, opinions, feelings about the activities, how you take part in them, why you may not take part in them, look at what you get from these activities and other things you might like to say.

Then your group will decide how you would like to share this information with 12 adults from the community as part of a plenary session.

The plenary session is when young people and adults come together in one big group. The plenary session will discuss the shared information and agree as a group the information they would like to share with the other five groups taking part in the study.

As part of the plenary session, two youth representatives, 1 male and 1 female and two adult representatives, 1 male and 1 female, will be selected by the group. These representatives will discuss the findings of the group with representatives from the other five areas.

When all the areas come together the information you have supplied may contribute to the design of a youth questionnaire and questions to be asked of adults.

The youth questionnaire will be given to other young people to fill-in. Adults will also be asked to answer their questions. As a person that has helped with developing the youth questionnaire and adult questions, you may like to see and comment on the results. You will have a choice to do so.

Will people know what I have said?

As a member of a group, the other group members may remember what you may have said. But at the beginning of the group sessions, we will discuss how we will like the group to work together and part of this will include about keeping information in the group.

As you know the sessions will be tape recorded, a person then listens to the tape and types up every word that has been said. If your name is said on the tape it is replaced by a code number instead.

Sometimes what people say is used in a written report, but you will be given a pseudo (different) name. This means people reading the report will not know who you actually are.

The tapes will be kept safely in the University of Zambia. No one is allowed to listen to the tapes, only the person typing them and Sheila during the research. After the research the University of Zambia and the University of Galway, Ireland, will look after the tapes and no one is allowed to listen to them without permission of both Universities.

It is also intended to take photographs in communities that are taking part in the study. If any individual participant appears in the photographs, they have the

choice to give consent or not for that photograph to be reproduced at a later stage in the report.

Why should I take part?

As a young person, your opinions, views and feelings are important to the research. Your information might help other young people in the future. If you have not participated in research before, it may be fun and you might learn new skills.

Appendix six: Young person's assent form



I agree to take part in the research study



I will take part in the focus groups

If I am asked to represent my area I will take part



I know my name will not be used in the report



I know that I will be given a code number

I understand the focus group will be tape recorded



I know I can opt out of the study at any time.
There will be no negative repercussions if I decide to leave



I know photographs will be taken.

I do give my permission to use photographs that I appear in
I do not give my permission to use photographs that I appear in
(cross out the one you donot want)

Signed: _____

Code Number:

Date: _____

Appendix Seven: Parental photographic permission form

I (parents/guardians name) _____ give my consent for the photograph (code) _____ with a personal images of myself/my child which I have seen to be used by the researcher in the Phd/ UNESCO report.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

I (youth participants name) _____ give my assent for the photograph (code) _____ with a personal image of myself which I have seen to be used by the researcher in the Phd/ UNESCO report.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Appendix eight: Contextual photographs

1. Alcohol and drug mis-use



2. Purveyors of culture



3. Witchdoctor Container Number 5



4. Changing tyres and times



5. The family



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