

**A STUDY OF THE INCLUSION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN
IN A RURAL DISTRICT IN NIGERIA**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of PhD in
the Faculty of Humanities

2015

MOSES APIE EWA

SCHOOL OF ENVIRONMENT, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

LIST OF CONTENTS

Title page	1
List of contents	2-8
List of tables	9
List of figures	10
List of photographs	11-12
List of Abbreviations	13-14
Abstract	15
Declaration	16
Copyright statement	17
Dedication	18
Acknowledgements	19-20
The author	21
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	
Introduction	22
Starting points	22
Setting the agenda	23
Research questions	23-24
Organisation of the thesis	24-25
 CHAPTER TWO: MAKING EDUCATION FOR ALL INCLUSIVE	
Introduction	26
Education for All	26-28
Making EFA inclusive	29-32
The Salamanca Statement	32
Understanding inclusion	33
Inclusion as concerned with disability and special educational needs	33-34
Inclusion as a response to disciplinary exclusion	34-35
Inclusion with regards to all groups being vulnerable to exclusion	35-36
Inclusion as promoting a school for all	36-38
Inclusion as 'Education for All'	38-39
Presence, participation and achievement	39-40
Conclusion	40

CHAPTER THREE: INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: DEVELOPMENTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Introduction	41
Issues about inclusive education in sub-Saharan Africa	46-42
Pupil presence	42
Enrolment	43-49
Attendance	49-52
Pupil participation	53
Pupil engagement	53-54
Pupil disengagement	54-57
Pupil voice	58-62
Pupil achievement	62
Examinations	62-64
Grade repetition	64-65
Conclusion	66

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Introduction	67
Education in Nigeria	67-74
Education in Cross River State	74-79
Conclusion	79-80

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction	81
Report of pilot study	81-82
The methodology	82-84
Research design	85-88
The research participants	88
Selecting schools	88-90
Gaining access to <i>Kenwa</i> , <i>Edor Agom</i> and <i>Bunyia</i> primary schools	90-91
Sampling children	91-94
Positionality	94-96
Generating data	96
Data sources	97
<i>Phase 1: Documentary/archival analysis</i>	97
<i>Phase 2: Participant observations</i>	98-100
<i>Phase 3: Interviews</i>	100-102
A five-step approach	102-103
<i>Step 1: Explaining the procedure</i>	103
<i>Step 2: Message in a container</i>	103
<i>Step 3: Sociometry</i>	103-104
<i>Step 4: Individual interviews</i>	104

<i>Step 5: Ending the interview</i>	104
Addressing challenges in the field	104-105
Data analysis	106-108
Establishing trustworthiness	108-110
Ethical considerations	110-111
Conclusion	111

CHAPTER SIX: KENWA PRIMARY SCHOOL

The school context	112-115
Pupil presence	115
Enrolment and attendance	116-119
School fees and domesticity	119-120
School location	120-121
School toilet	122-123
Pupil participation	123
Curriculum content	123
Lesson plan	123-124
Engagement of pupils in lesson	124-126
Pupil voice	126-129
Medium of instruction	129-132
Peer teaching and collaboration	132
Seating and social interaction	133-136
Peer victimisation	136-137
School discipline	137-139
Pupil hairstyle	139
Pupil achievement	139
Pupils who were learning and not learning	139
Examinations	140
Classroom placement	141
Grade repetition	142-143
Conclusion	143-144

CHAPTER SEVEN: EDOR AGOM PRIMARY SCHOOL

The school context	145-147
Pupil presence	148
Enrolment and attendance	148-151
School fees and domesticity	151-153
School toilet	154-155
Pupil participation	155
Curriculum content	155-157
Lesson plan	157
Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson	157-159
Religious attitudes	159-160

Pupil voice	160-162
Medium of instruction	162-164
Perception about children with impairments	164
Seating and social interaction	165-170
School discipline	170-172
Pupil hairstyle	172-173
Pupil achievement	173
Pupils who were learning and not learning	173-174
Examinations	174
Classroom placement	175
Grade repetition	176-177
Conclusion	177-178

CHAPTER EIGHT: BUNYIA PRIMARY SCHOOL

School context	179-181
Pupil presence	182
Enrolment and attendance	182-184
School fees	184-185
Free school meal	186-188
School environment and location	188-191
School uniform	191
Pupil participation	192
Curriculum content	192
Lesson plan	192
Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson	192-194
Medium of instruction	194-195
Pupil voice	195-198
Provision of writing materials for pupils	199
Concrete learning	199-200
Teacher quality	200-201
School discipline	203
Social interaction	203-207
Peer victimisation	207-208
Participation of girls in soccer	208
Pupil hairstyle	208-209
Pupil achievement	210
Pupils who were learning and not learning	210
Examinations	210
Classroom placement	211-212
Grade repetition	212-213
Conclusion	214

CHAPTER NINE: MAKING SENSE OF PUPIL INCLUSION

Introduction	215
Pupil presence	215
Enrolment and attendance	215-216
Interpretation of national education policy	216-217
School fees and domesticity	217-219
School environment	219-220
School location	221-222
Free school meal	222-223
Perception about pupil gender	223-224
Majority-minority dichotomy in pupil enrolment	224-227
Medium of instruction	227-228
School toilet	228-229
Pupil participation	229
Pupil engagement and disengagement	229
Curriculum content	229-230
Lesson plan	230-231
Medium of instruction	231-232
Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson	233-236
Pupil voice in the schools	236-239
Peer victimisation	239
Perception about children with impairments	239-240
Perception about pupil gender	240
Religious attitudes	241-242
Seating and social interaction	242-245
Peer teaching and collaboration	245
Extra-curricular activities	245-246
School discipline	246-247
Pupil hairstyle	247-248
Pupil achievement	249
Pupils who were learning and not learning	249
Examinations and classroom placement	249-251
Grade repetition	251-252
Conclusion	252-253

CHAPTER TEN: LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction	254
Contribution to knowledge	254-257
Implications and recommendations	257
Policy	257-259
Practice	260-265
<i>A framework for inclusion</i>	266-267
Research	267
Research limitations	268
Final thoughts	268-269

REFERENCES	270-301
-------------------	---------

PILOT STUDY APPENDICES

A: Interview guide	302
B: Focus groups	303
C: Photo-elicitations	304-309
D: Permission letter for SUBEB Chairman	310-311
E: Permission letter for school head	312
F: Information sheet for teachers and parents	313
G: Consent form	314
H: School of Education ethical approval for pilot studies	315-320
I: Research risk and ethics assessment	321-334

MAIN RESEACRH APPENDICES

J: Observation manual	335
K: Interview guide	336
L: Sample interview questions	337-338
M: Letter to staff of Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board.	339-341
N: Letter to school heads	342-343
O: Teacher information sheet	344-345
P: Parental information sheet	346-347
Q: Child's information sheet	348
R: Parental consent form	349
S: School of education ethical approval application form	350-361
T: Committee on ethis of research on human beings	362-373
U: Fieldwork risk assessment	374-386
V: Samples of the original data for the three schools	387-467
W: Memo, transcripts and codes for the three schools for <i>Kenwa</i> , <i>Edor Agom</i> and <i>Bunya</i> primary schools	468-634

X: Developing themes and sub-themes for data from the three schools	635-804
Y: Interview transcripts for the three schools	805-834

FINAL WORD COUNT: 88, 407

LIST OF TABLES

4.1: Researcher positionality	95-96
4.1: Description of data generation process	97
6.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils	116
6.2: Demographics of participants	117
6.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5	140
6.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A, 5B and 5C	141
6.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year	142
7.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils	148
7.2: Demographics of participants	149
7.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5	174
7.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A/5B and 5C	175
7.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year	176
8.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils	182
8.2: Demographics of participants	183
8.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5	210
8.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A, 5B and 5C	210
8.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year	211

LIST OF FIGURES

3.1. Map of sub-Saharan Africa, comprising 49 of the 54 African Countries	43
4.1. Map of Nigeria showing the 36 states and FCT Abuja	67
4.2. The structure of education in Nigeria	71
4.3. Map of Cross River State showing the 18 LGAs	74
5.1. Map of Calabar Municipality	88
10.1. Diagrammatical illustration of the cases and findings	255
10.2. Context-based framework for inclusion	266

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

6.1. <i>Aka Ogbudu</i> leading down to the school	113
6.2. The headmistress' office showing a female teacher having a meeting with the head teacher	113
6.3. The assembly ground showing Nigeria's and Cross River State's flags	113
6.4. Rear view of the stairway on the hill, including the field pupils used to Play and primary 3 and 4 classroom building in the valley	114
6.5. Front view of the stairway	114
6.6. Pupils and teachers holding morning devotion at the assembly ground. The women in white veils are the Muslim teachers. The pupil wearing a yellow shirt is Obi - boy with impairments. The children with woven hair are the Hausa/Fulani girls	115
6.7. Side view of the second building in the valley, housing primary 5	117
6.8. Front view of the school toilet with a wooden door located behind the Nursery classroom block	122
6.9. Some pupils in the classroom	133
6.10. The blackboard showing mid-term test on Health Education. See timetable pasted beside the board to the right	133
7.1. The school road from <i>Basarawa</i> livestock market showing some community members, houses, shops, and motor vehicles owned by some villagers. Some pupils in school uniforms walking to school	145
7.2. Some pupils sweeping parts of the school compound in the morning	146
7.3. The second school gate. See the mosque standing behind the brown truck	146
7.4. Pupils and teacher having morning devotion at the chapel	147
7.5. The school toilet	154
7.6. Pupil learning in the classroom. Girls with woven hairstyles are <i>Hausa/Fulanis</i> . Some pupils raised their hands to seek teacher permission to make contributions at lesson	159
7.7. The classroom showing seating organisation	165
7.8. A section of the classroom showing the blackboard	168
8.1. <i>Irruan</i> street from the Highway. A child is walking on it. Standing right of the child is the school fence	179
8.2. Parts of the school compound. The building with green roof belongs to	

the Roman Catholic Church. The building lying horizontal to the church is one of the classroom buildings	179
8.3. Front view of the school compound. Some pupils and a staff are walking inside the School	180
8.4. Rear view of the school compound showing some pupils and staff	180
8.5. The open space in between these two buildings behind the leafy tree is the assembly ground	181
8.6. The school kitchen. The vegetation around the shed is the school farm	186
8.7. Some pupils standing near the toilet, painted light green	191
8.8. Pupils learning in the classroom. See the teacher holding a cane in her right hand	201
8.9. Aerial view of the school soccer field/playground	203

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRE	Christian Religious Education
CRS	Cross River State
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DCs	Developing countries
DFID	Department for International Development
EFA	Education for All
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FME	Federal Ministry of Education
FRN	Federal Republic of Nigeria
FZE	Free trade Zone for Export
GER	Gross Enrolment
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HND	Higher National Diploma
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IIM	Inclusion Interaction Mode
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IRE	Islamic Religious Education
ITK	I too know
LGAs	Local Government Areas
LGEAs	Local Government Education Authorities
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoI	Medium of Instruction
NP	Nigerian Pidgin
NPE	National Policy on Education
NUT	Nigerian Union of Teachers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OND	Ordinary National Diploma
PCP	Policy, culture and practice
PGD	Postgraduate Diploma
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PTAs	Parents Teachers Associations
RCM	Roman Catholic Mission

SRGBV	School-Related Gender-Based Violence
SUBEB	State Universal Basic Education Board
UBE	Universal Basic Education
UBEC	Universal Basic Education Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the findings of a multi-site case study, which explored the inclusion of primary school children in rural Cross River State, Nigeria. The research engaged specifically with the experiences of thirty 11-16-year-olds from diverse identities, drawn from primary 5 classrooms in three public primary schools sited in different rural locations within the state. In so doing, it adopted pupil presence, participation and achievement (PPA) as a conceptual framework of inclusion to examine whether education is genuinely for *all* primary age children within the research sites.

The study was set within the context of the outcome of the 1990 Education for All (EFA) conference, which promoted universal access to education for all primary age children worldwide. As such, the investigation considered how far the selected primary schools were able to guarantee equal access, participation and achievement of all pupils under Nigeria's national education policy. It used the PPA framework to identify the drawbacks to pupil inclusion at school and to recommend measures for addressing the obstacles experienced by some learners.

Qualitative data were generated via documentary analysis, observations and interviews in schools directly featuring children. Relevant data pooled from the three sources were organised and analysed thematically based upon an interpretivist perspective. Thus, analysis of data was informed by the social constructivist theory.

Data analysis indicates that current provision enables schools to allow access for nearly all children. However, despite the good intentions of national policy, girls, children from minority tribes, Muslims of *Hausa/Fulani* origin, and children with learning difficulties and those with impairments were vulnerable to marginalisation and exclusion within the contexts of their schools.

Looking through the lens of social constructivism, the thesis strongly links the disadvantages confronting the children to limited pupil voice. The situation limited the opportunity for pupils to share their perspectives about the ways such issues as gaps in national education policy and in-school factors, including classroom practices, religious attitudes, grade repetition and social interactions were affecting their inclusion in the context. Out-of-school factors were also found to have an influence, although the study did not investigate these directly.

The thesis concludes by drawing out the implications and making recommendations for reforms in policy, practice and research in favour of pupil voice within Nigeria, to promote inclusion in schools. Consideration is also given to possible implications for other developing countries.

DECLARATION

I declare that no portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

Notes on copyright and the ownership of intellectual property rights:

- i. The author of this thesis (including any appendices and/or schedules to this thesis) owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the ‘Copyright’) and s/he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use Copyright, including for administrative purposes.
- ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made **only** in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.
- iii. The ownership of certain copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual (the ‘Intellectual Property’) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (‘Reproduction’), which may be described in this dissertation, may not be owned by the author and may not be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.
- iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosures, publication and commercialisation of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see <http://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=487>), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations>) and in The University’s policy on presentation of Theses.

DEDICATION

To God Almighty

And to my lovely wife, Gegbazi, and my sons: JamesMoses and Johnmoses.
May God grant you the courage to always advocate equal rights of all to education to
make the world better.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Initially, I thought the dream to do a PhD was only a figment of my imagination. When I eventually had the offer to commence studies on the programme, I thought the challenges experienced at the outset of the journey would make the aspiration unrealisable until I reached this successful end. Huge commendations are due to many persons who contributed in various ways to the successful completion of my doctorate programme at The University of Manchester, England, United Kingdom. I will begin by thanking God Almighty for being faithful to guide me in a loving way to a pleasant destiny in future, using education and destiny helpers as media. I place on record the overseas scholarship awarded to me by His Excellency, Sen. Liyel Imoke CON, the Governor of Cross River State and good people of the state, thus giving me the rare privilege to do my PhD in Education at one of the world Ivy League universities. Thank you very much.

This doctoral thesis in itself would not have been completed if not for the inexorable work from my research team including Prof Melvyn Ainscow, Prof David Hall and Dr Susie Miles. Since starting my programme these world class academics have mentored and challenged me to acquire the skills necessary to be productive and to be a good researcher. The expertise, patience, support and commitment of Prof Ainscow to scholarship kept me focused all through the various phases of the research. Prof Hall has been so helpful with his critical perspectives enabling me to develop an appreciable conceptual frame for the study. Suggestions, critical feedback and pastoral care from Dr Miles were so facilitatory that they assisted me overcome the challenges faced at the early stages of my PhD. Of particular note is the support she gave when I was impecunious due to delays by my sponsors to disburse funds to me in England. I am very grateful.

My deepest gratitude goes to my pretty wife and girlfriend, Mrs Gegbazi Moses Ewa. You have been so understanding and patient. Even when research was taking the greater part of my time away from home you did not complain, but stood stronger to ensure that I succeed. I will always love you, my darling wife. For my children: JamesMoses Osowojuare Ewa and Johnmoses Gedoni Ewa, I feel sorry to deprive you of fatherly love and care while my studies lasted. I admire your courage, my handsome princes, and pray God to grant you greater achievements and glory in future in Jesus name. Amen.

Also, I commend the prayers and words of encouragement I received from *my parents*: Mr & Mrs John Apie Ewa and Late Mrs Christiana Mbua Adi; *parents-inlaw*: Mr & Mrs Ekoru Enya Edu; *my siblings*: Engr Angela Ewa and family, Mrs Monica Odir Olom, Barr. Alice Ewa, Charlie Ewa, Mr Elijah Abosi and Mrs Nancy; *my in-laws*: Mr & Magistrate Bassey Edu, Mr Peter Ewa, Engr Nkani Ekoru Enya, Legbal Ekoru Enya and Iwasam Ekoru Enya. Also, I will acknowledge the support received from *my relations* including W/O & Mrs Sunday Obi and family, Mr & Mrs Oweh Enu Bana and family, Mrs Martina Ejah Ewah, Mr John Dogo Ewah, Mrs Grace Edoho, Mr Felix Guomtem Okwejie, Mr & Mrs Patrick Ateh Enyia and family, Mr & Sgt. Bernard Ateh Enyia and family, Mrs Margaret Ateh Ncha and Mr & Mrs Cyril Oweh; *my former tutors*: Prof Uduak U. Effiong, Prof (Mrs) Akon Monday Joshua; *my mentors*: Mr & Mrs Dominic Kidzu, Hon. Hilary Bisong, Sen. Pst. & Pst (Mrs) Abimbola Komolafe and family and Late Rev. Fr. Joseph Etim; *my friends*: ASP Romanus Otimegwu, Mr & Mrs Samuel Okon Edet, Mr & Mrs Peter Udey Udo, Mr & Mrs Fidelis Odey, Mr Kyijey Busam-Adah, Mr & Mrs Winborn Ogbeide and family, Mr Clement Emeka Akpang, Mr & Mrs Roy-King Hans, Mr & Mrs Lawrence Agbor, Mr & Mrs Ojonugwa Adukwu, Mr & Mrs Salisu Momoh, Mr Friday Ewah (Macpherson), Mrs Maria Nyiam, Mrs Cindy Atu-Cornelissen and family, Mr & Mrs Francis Tawo, Mr & Mrs Kenneth Amadi, Mr & Mrs Aniekeme Ukpong, Mr & Mrs John Elang Oko, Mr & Mrs Ekpangdo Arakon, Mr & Mrs Castro Ezama, Mr & Mrs Pius Ntwi, Mr Pius Nyiam, Georgina, Mr Felix Osaze Agholo, Mr & Mrs Leonard Mgbeahuruike, Mr Mansour Alanazi, Ping Chen and Luyao Wang.

THE AUTHOR

Moses Apie Ewa B.Ed (*First Class*), Crutech, MA (*Merit*) Manchester, is an Educationist. He focuses on inclusive education, a reform strategy that aims at ensuring schools have necessary provisions to guarantee education that is genuinely for *all* children. His concentration on inclusion is in relation to developing measures that can remove threats to equal and quality education for all children and young people whatever their circumstances in society. The author has worked as a teacher with both primary and secondary school pupils in Nigeria. His doctoral study on inclusion of primary school children in rural zones in Nigeria is a further expression of his desire to assist, through research, to push for reforms so as to redirect education policy and practices in ways than can advantage children who are vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation at school in those locations. He has presented an aspect of his research on the title, *Using learner voice to promote inclusion in Nigeria* during the annual PGR conference organised for PhD students within the School of Environment, Education and Development (SEED) in May 18, 2015 at The University of Manchester. Moses is determined to continue promoting inclusive education until the last child who lives in any difficult situation is also able to achieve at school.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis reports the findings of my research into the inclusion and exclusion of children in primary schools in rural locations of Nigeria. Its starting points were in my experience as a teacher in that country, as well as in the opportunity I had to study overseas.

STARTING POINTS

My career as a teacher in Nigeria had previously afforded me the opportunity to work with primary age children of diverse backgrounds. In these contexts I was able to experience the strategies through which the children were educated. I saw the pattern of education that served children at the time as the best insofar as it conformed to prevailing local cultures and did not compromise teacher performance.

Moving to England to pursue postgraduate studies, I had a chance to experience how educational provisions were organised differently. In particular, I saw a system that seems to keep adapting to the changing needs and interests of a student population who had come from diverse countries, backgrounds and cultures. While on the Masters programme, I participated in a module entitled, *Understanding the development of inclusive education*. There I heard, for the first time, the argument that inclusion should form the core philosophy of national educational developments.

Later, I did coursework that involved face-to-face contact with children at a secondary school in Manchester. This engaged me in practical aspects of inclusive schooling. I was able to see the way children with different backgrounds, characteristics and interests were seemingly enthusiastic to learn together within a common educational setting. I also sensed that this inclusive culture spans beyond the school gate to the larger English society. All of this was, indeed, something that stood in contrast to my experiences in Nigeria.

My work at that English school was a defining moment for me, in that it led me to start thinking about helping to foster inclusive practices in the educational system of my home country. With this in mind, I decided to pursue research on inclusive education.

SETTING THE AGENDA

I started with a preliminary study in one primary school during the second year of my doctoral studies. The findings that emerged from this study inspired me to perceive inclusive education as an alternative measure to enhance educational policy and practice to benefit all children in Nigeria. I followed up by conducting a large-scale inquiry to ascertain how far children were included in schools sited in rural locations.

Drawing on recent international thinking in the field of inclusive education (e.g. UNESCO, 1994; Kisanji, 1998; Mittler, 2000; Riehl, 2000; Dyson & Millward, 2000; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Farrell, 2003; Peters, 2004; Ainscow, 2005; Dei, 2005; Ajuwon, 2008), the study investigated the barriers to inclusion of children in primary schools located in rural Cross River State (CRS) and the resources that were available to address these challenges. Recent literature, for example, McBeath, Demetriou, Rudduck & Myers (2003), Flutter & Rudduck (2004), Fielding & Bragg (2003, 2012), Flynn (2014), Robinson (2014), Nelson (2015) and Shirley (2015) have indicated the relevance of engaging the views of children in examining inclusive practices in schools. Drawing on these sources, an important focus of the inquiry was placed on the notion of learner voice.

Pupils arguably have a limited voice in education (Cook-Sather, 2006). Perceptions about childhood assumedly affect access to and the significance of children's views both in formulating and evaluating provisions in education in the context. Advocates of learner voice signal the need to incorporate the perspectives of pupils, increase their participation and grant them more responsibilities to build partnerships with educators to foster inclusive schooling. Consequently, the research explored the potential of pupil voice in analysing the ways children were included in schools in the context.

The inquiry was guided by the following research questions:

1. How far are pupils included in schools?

This required me to focus on a broad range of issues and led to the collection of data from the schools to explore all relevant educational provisions in Nigeria that are intended to promote enrolment and attendance for all children. In particular, it guided my examination of the way pupils engaged in classroom lessons, and whether the schools valued and implemented their views concerning the

satisfaction they were getting from these experiences. It also gave direction to my investigation regarding whether all children completed primary school.

2. What are the challenges to inclusion that pupils experience in schools?

This led me to gather data from the children themselves so as to ascertain the obstacles to their presence, participation and achievement in schools. This enabled me to have a greater understanding of children's experiences and the challenges they faced in the schools. From analysing this information, it was possible for me to assess how national educational policies, school resources, school practices and attitudes affected pupil inclusion.

3. What resources might be drawn on to address these barriers?

Having identified the constraints to pupil inclusion, this third research question led me to consider the implications of the research and to suggest measures that are needed to foster greater inclusion within my country.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is in ten chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 has provided a cursory look at the issue involved in the study, set the agenda and mapped the direction of the study.

Chapter 2 examines literature on the international context, tracing the development of the idea of Education for All (EFA). The analysis of this literature led me to adopt the idea of pupil presence, participation and achievement as my conceptual framework. It also focused my attention on barriers to pupil inclusion. In this way, my concern was with addressing the challenges faced by children in rural locations so as to ensure education is indeed for *all*.

Chapter 3 is a continuation of literature review and looks at developments in EFA in sub-Saharan Africa, using the organisational framework of pupil presence, participation and achievements. Lessons derived from this review led me to develop some strategic questions through which I collected and organised my data analysis for the three case schools, as shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 4 describes the context of the study. It examines the commitments of the national government of Nigeria in providing education for all children. Later, it looks at the way that affected inclusion of primary age children in schools located in rural districts in Cross River State, the main context of the research.

Chapter 5 explains the methodological stance for the study and the strategies I adopted in order to engage in data collection and analysis. I also explain the ethical issues involved in the process and the steps I took to establish the trustworthiness of the study.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 each present an account of developments in one of the three schools that were the sites of my research. These accounts draw together evidence generated through observations, interviews and analysis of documents.

Chapter 9 provides a cross-case interpretation of data from the three schools. The discussion is structured around the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2 and guided by the strategic questions developed in chapter 3.

Chapter 10 draws out the lessons and implications of the study, linking this to themes in the international literature, analytical and discussion sections. It leads me to argue that the study represents a contribution to the understanding of inclusive schooling in rural areas in developing countries. I go on to consider the implications in terms of policy, practice and research. I also make recommendations both for Nigeria and more widely.

CHAPTER TWO

MAKING EDUCATION FOR ALL INCLUSIVE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a literature review that led me to formulate a conceptual framework for my study. The literature I examine focuses on the issue of inclusive education, set in the context of international moves, led by the United Nations, to promote the idea of Education for All (EFA). This motivates me to question whether this international movement really is focused on *all* children.

All of this leads me to argue that making the EFA inclusive poses a major challenge internationally. With this in mind, I go on to explain that the question of how best to conceptualise what is meant by inclusive education remains a matter of considerable debate in the field. Having noticed the theoretical tensions in the different views reviewed regarding this issue within the international literature, I chose to adopt a perspective on inclusion that indeed focuses on *all* children at school. Whilst doing so, I also recognise the need to keep a particular eye on those groups that are likely to be more vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation within education systems.

EDUCATION FOR ALL

The focus of the study is framed around the context of the outcomes of the 1990 education for all (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation - UNESCO, 1990) forum that aimed to universalise primary education to benefit all children worldwide. From 5-9 March 1990, four United Nations bodies: World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNESCO and United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) collaborated with 155 governments and 150 non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to organise the Jomtien conference on Education for All in Thailand (Unterhalter, 2013). Participants at the world education forum ratified six development goals that aggregated to be called the EFA (Yamada, 2007). EFA emerged as a rights-based approach to education backed by the universal declaration of Human Rights, particularly the global Convention on Rights of the child (Reichert, 2006; Armstrong, Spandagou & Armstrong, 2009; United Nations, 2011). Specifically, Goal 2 of the EFA aimed at universal access and completion of primary education, goal 3 is a resolve to enhance learning and goal 4 focused on

elimination of gender imbalance between males and females in education achievement (UNESCO, 1990; Yamada, 2007). These objectives demonstrate the determination of national governments and agencies to fill the gaps in education by ensuring equality in schooling for all primary age children, tax free.

Member states of the United Nations and signatories of EFA, however, did not realise the objectives of EFA within the time frame (UNESCO, 2000). Issues within partner countries linked to insufficient resources, population growth, lack of legal support and resistance of local cultures slowed the pace of progress of EFA (UNESCO, 2002). As a response, key actors in education had another world education forum from 26 - 28 April, 2000 in Dakar, Senegal to evaluate the extent of achievement of the programme and adopted the Dakar Framework for Action on EFA (UNESCO, 2000). The Dakar conference drew wider support from governments, international governmental organisations (IGOs) and NGOs compared to those who had attended Jomtien in 1990 (Unterhalter, 2013). The huge support shown at the forum highlighted the level of seriousness with which stakeholders were prepared to mobilise resources to tackle disadvantages to education of children.

At the forum, participants agreed to expand and improve educational opportunities and reaffirm the pledge by governments and agencies to include all children in education. From 2000 to 2010 over 50 million children entered primary school (UNESCO, 2013). It was a significant feat that educational systems recorded in registration of children in schools across countries. The achievement was short lived, however. United Nations found later that despite the progress made in EFA since 2000, some critical areas remained unaddressed given that 57 million children were still out of school as at 2011 and enhancement in out-of-school number had stagnated since 2008, two third of girls in sub-Saharan Africa were expected not to attend school given the current trend in local cultures, and poor attention is accorded to the marginalised (UNESCO, 2013). Besides, the latest EFA Global Monitoring Report has revealed a sharp decline in primary attainment among the poorest families from 35 per cent in 2003 to 22 per cent in 2013 with the gap between the average and poorest households increasing by 20 percentage points in Nigeria and that suggests that policy reform is favouring wealthier families more (UNESCO, 2015). I presume EFA is likely to remain on the brink to achieve its potentials should the world continue on the same path of provisioning education for children.

The EFA framework is narrow in the sense that it only concentrates on guaranteeing parity in the extent to which boys and girls are placed in school (*cf.* Ball & Youdell, 2009). It is a prescriptive way of allocating educational resources to favour particular children who are perceived as being disadvantaged. Burnett (2008) raised concern in regards to equity as an issue in inclusion, which is given insufficient attention within the EFA goals. Ainscow, Dyson & Kerr (2006), viewed equity in different ways such as: (a) treating everyone equally; (b) minimizing divergence across social groups by bringing the achievements of the less advantaged to the same level as those of the more advantaged groups; (c) achieving a common standard for all learners—for example, basic literacy and numeracy; and (d) meeting the needs of all individuals through differential treatment in order to take learner diversity into account. The different ways in which Ainscow et al. have defined equity in relation to inclusion raise the need for educators to respect the rights of every child to schooling as well as provide them with equal chances to engage in school programmes and to achieve.

However, provisions within the EFA are directed towards guaranteeing access-oriented education of children more than ensuring their participation and achievement (UNESCO, 2000). This is further portrayed in the actions of governments and agencies to develop the capacity of school, including teachers, resources and curricula, in a rather traditional way focused on enabling it welcome soaring pupil population. The direction of EFA, for instance, overlooked the issues about attendance of children with impairments (Miles & Singal, 2008), engagement of diverse children in lessons and how they are achieving in schools.

In spite of that, the priority on achieving a balance in access means all learners would have to fit into an unchanged school infrastructure, culture, values, system and curricula. It is what Peters (2004) called the ‘placement paradigm’ - that is, schooling is seen as a place rather than an appropriate delivery of educational provisions for the children placed in the school. Trapped in that access-based perception within the EFA, governments and organisations tend to be unaware, hesitant or lack the political will to democratise primary education to give children high quality opportunities and freedom to engage with educational matters that affect them in ways that can maximise learning outcomes for all of them.

MAKING EFA INCLUSIVE

The strategies used to promote EFA have so far shown an inability to provide the kind of education that is appropriate for diverse children. Even the EFA Global Monitoring Report (2009) expressed uncertainty in relation to the ability to achieve the goal to provide universal primary education for all children in developing countries (DCs). National education systems in DCs have not been able to provide primary education that would include all children in the poorest homes and those historically underserved populations resident in remote areas (DeStephano, Moore, Balwanz & Hartwell, 2007). Thus, the GMR revealed that some 75 million children of primary school age are still out of school, and their numbers are reducing too slowly and too unevenly to achieve the 2015 target (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2009).

It must also be noted that huge disparities in access and completion occur within countries. So, for example, 55 per cent of primary age children who are not in school are girls, and over 4 out of 5 of these children reside in rural areas across developing regions including sub-Saharan Africa (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2009). Children of tribal and religious minorities are also among those who have limited access to and completion in state-funded primary schools in remote locations within less developed countries. Government assumedly do not adequately incorporate the needs of all children in the rural communities to enable them benefit from the EFA compared to the urban counterparts. Issues arising from local tradition and inflexible provisioning of school resources under the EFA are also obstacles to access and completion of primary education for children with impairments (*cf.* DeStephano et al., 2007). Focus on pupil access alone will mean that many primary schools in multilingual contexts would lack appropriate language strategies to include children whose mother tongue is different from the official medium of instruction. Within some linguistically heterogonous communities, school instruction is delivered in the local language of the dominant tribes – sometimes as a second language - to disadvantage the minorities (Gacheche, 2010). According to Pinnock (2009), 72 per cent of children who are out of school are found in linguistically diverse countries that enforce a non-indigenous language for schooling. Children who use unfamiliar language of instruction at school are likely to experience difficulties to enjoy the lessons, engage in what they are learning and to question

what they do not understand. Coupled with that, EFA has not been able to address the competence-based curricula that obtain in many education systems.

As the standards agenda dominate concerns in national education in many countries, the consequence of failing examinations and making the next grade are likely to involve loss of esteem and increase in cost of schooling for pupils (MacBeath, Galton, Steward, MacBeath & Page, 2006). This anti-inclusion culture, against some uninformed thinking, is not unidirectional, exerting negative effects only on the pupils. Rather, it poses a bi-directional consequence too. While some repeaters would strive to re-earn the confidence of parents about their abilities, the school is also likely to face a difficult task in relation to trying to rebuild or sustain some kind of positive status in order to attract more children or support from government and other funding agencies (*cf.* MacBeath et al., 2006). Hence, regardless of the progress many countries, especially in the developing world, have made to expand universal access to primary education to reach the objective of EFA on increased enrolment rate, high rates of grade repetition and school dropout drain out a huge proportion of the pupils even before they reach the final grade and diminish the image of the school (DeStephano et al., 2007). A significant number of children leave school without having acquired basic numeracy and literacy skills (EFA Summary Report, 2010). Due to disparities in completion rates among sub-Saharan countries, it has been difficult to get accurate data on primary completion rates among children in rural areas within the region (UNESCO, 2012). It is possible for some relevant institutions, usually headquartered in the cities, to manipulate the statistics on completion rate of pupils in urban schools to also serve as representative data of primary completion for their peers in rural villages.

Absence of data or inaccurate statistics on primary completion for pupils in school paints a difficult situation in assessing the global prospects of actualising the EFA by 2015 or to ascertain what effort or funding is needed more (UNESCO, 2015). Poor institutional capacity means that a considerable number of children living in rural zones would have limited opportunities to be included in school. This suggests the inability of EFA to sustain commitment to achieve significant political attention from international and national governments and private organisations in terms of appropriate support, legislation, resourcing and financing to be able to ensure diverse children, who live in difficult circumstances, not only enter school, but also survive through the full cycle of primary education (Steer & Wathne, 2009). Other

components of anti-schooling and anti-learning culture such as zero tolerance assertive discipline regimes exacerbate the situation leading, initially, to confinement in referral areas and ultimately to suspension and exclusion (MacBeath et al., 2006). Education that is genuinely for all children goes beyond access to ensuring diverse children engage with learning experiences and leave school with positive outcomes.

This leads me to join others in arguing that the objectives of EFA need to be reviewed and re-defined to place much more emphasis on promoting inclusive forms of education. In this respect it is encouraging that the idea of inclusion forms a core philosophy underlying UNESCO's programmes (Peters, 2003) and serves as a guiding principle for educating all children in the future (UNESCO, 2002, 2008, 2009). This starts with the belief that education is a basic human right of all children and the foundation for a more just society (Ainscow & Miles, 2008).

The discussion of inclusive education policy is, among other things, focused on making substantial investments on physical facilities and equipment, curricula renewal and adjustment, altering teaching methods, and providing support services; eliminating social exclusion (Sen, 2000), which is a consequence of attitudes and beliefs and responses to the expectation and needs of excluded groups who are defined by markers of gender, tribe, religion, language, impairment, socio-economic and migrant factors (Vitello & Mithaug, 1998; Ainscow & Miles, 2008). The inclusive approach presents a blanket way to ensuring the prospects for education are available for even groups of children who are traditionally disadvantaged in society as well as those we do not yet know.

Commenting further about inclusive education as the basis for moving the goals of the EFA forward, Dunleavy (2008) and Gordon (2010) highlight that by guaranteeing access alone does not ensure equity in pupil school experiences. According to these authors, one way to overcome the challenges of inequity among diverse learners is to engage with their voices, treating their perspectives with value and incorporating them into school programmes. Analyses by other proponents of inclusive education such as Fielding & Bragg (2003, 2012), Flutter & Rudduck (2004), Cook-Sather (2006), Tangen (2008), Czerniawski, Garlick, Hudson & Peters (2009), Boorman, Nind & Clarke (2009) Messiou (2012), Flynn (2014), Robinson (2014) and Shirley (2015) also underlined the engagement of pupil voice as one avenue to promote inclusive schooling. Pupil voice is a recent initiative gaining prominence in educational research as an alternative practice to alleviate

exclusionary pressures in teacher-driven classroom instructions and to reposition the school to serve as a micro democratic society (Fielding & Bragg, 2003; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004).

THE SALAMANCA STATEMENT

The idea of inclusive education was given international impetus by the world conference held from 7–10 June, 1994 in Salamanca, Spain on the future of special needs education, attended by representatives of 92 governments and 25 international organisations to further the objectives of EFA (UNESCO, 1994; Kisanji, 1998; Eleweke & Rodda; 2002; Ainscow, 2005; Dei, 2005). Reflecting on the future of the field of special education within the context of EFA, delegates agreed a Statement arguing that regular schools with an inclusive orientation are ‘the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all’, adding that such schools can ‘provide an effective education for the majority of children and improve the efficiency and ultimately the cost-effectiveness of the entire education system’ (UNESCO, 1994: viii).

Informed by this formulation, the Salamanca Statement adopted the following agenda:

1. Every child has a fundamental right to education, and must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning;
2. Every child has unique characteristics, interests, abilities and learning needs;
3. Education systems should be designed and educational programmes implemented to take into account the wide diversity of these characteristics and needs; and
4. Those with special educational needs must have access to regular schools that should accommodate them within a child-centred pedagogy capable of meeting these needs.

Whilst the Salamanca Statement was focused on the need to rethink the field of special education, its rationale and agenda for change provide an important contribution for redefining the strategies used to promote EFA.

UNDERSTANDING INCLUSION

A body of literature sheds light on the different ways in which inclusive education is defined within the international literature (e.g. Kisanji, 1998; Booth, 1999; Riehl, 2000; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Peters, 2004; Dyson, Farrell, Polat, Hutcheson & Gallannaugh, 2004; Dei, 2005; Ainscow, Farrell, Frankham, Gallannaugh, Howes & Smith, 2006; Ainscow & Miles, 2006; Armstrong & Miles, 2008). A common line binding the various perspectives together is that inclusive education, as it relates to EFA, is about participation of diverse children in a common school. However, there remains considerable debate regarding how the concept should be defined. For example, in their publication, *Improving schools, developing inclusion*, Ainscow et al. (2006) said the definitions of inclusion can be descriptive or prescriptive. A descriptive definition of inclusive education indicates the various ways, which inclusion is used in practice and the prescriptive definition of the concept demonstrates the way we wish to use the term and would like it to be used by others. They went further to summarise the following five ways in which inclusive education is conceptualised in the international literature:

1. Inclusion as a concerned with disability and special educational needs;
2. Inclusion as a response to disciplinary exclusion;
3. Inclusion in relation to all groups seen as being vulnerable to exclusion;
4. Inclusion as developing the school for all; and
5. Inclusion as 'Education for All'.

I will explain each of these in turn.

Inclusion as concerned with disability and special educational needs

One dominant perspective about inclusion is that the field is mainly concerned with making provisions to educate children with disabilities or those classed as having special educational needs in regular schools (Mittler, 2000; Booth & Ainscow, 2002). The assumption cuts across literature. Garuba (2003:192) formulates the concept as 'full-time placement of children with mild, moderate, and severe disabilities in regular classrooms'. Along the same line, Chritensen (1996), Rouso (2003), Ajuwon (2008), Olofintoye (2010) and Olaleye, Ogundele, Deji, Ajayi, Olaleye & Adeyanju (2012) view inclusion as the process of enrolling learners with disabilities in the mainstream classroom. This also reflects in education policy documents of some national governments. For instance, evidence that the Nigerian

government is grappling with the meaning of the concept is demonstrated in national education policy where it is stated that inclusive education or integration of special classes and units shall be provided so as to integrate handicapped children into ordinary public schools under the national Universal Basic Education (UBE) (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004). The confusion is unsurprising because the idea of inclusive education emanates from the field of special education.

But, the special educational needs view, to me, is a negative way to define inclusion. Giving priority for children with impairments and those with special needs to access regular educational settings ignores the other aspects in which participation of the learners may be required (Ainscow et al., 2006). Also, the narrow way in which some educators, researchers and policymakers associate inclusion with education of disabled children, according to Farrell (2004), may lead to the needs, interests and requirements of specific groups being overlooked. The special educational needs perspective of inclusion is one notion that assumes the placement of children with physical challenges in special provisions as an appropriate response to their educational needs. While opposing the argument from a rights standpoint, Abberley (1987) in Ainscow et al. (2006) views the compulsory segregation as contributing to the oppression of children with impairments in the same way other practices marginalise other children on the basis of gender, language, tribe and religion (Corbett, 1996; Gerschel, 2003). More so, the notion limits provision of support to particular categories of learners rather than an inclusive measure that would benefit all children in the whole school (Ainscow et al., 2006).

Inclusion as a response to disciplinary exclusion

If inclusion is viewed as primarily focused on children categorised as having special educational needs, it is linked to the perspective that the concept involves to also work with children labelled as having behavioural difficulties in school (Ainscow et al., 2006). At the mention of inclusion some practitioners and parents would fear that they have been asked to work and interact or allow their children to learn with peers who have 'bad behaviour'. I define these bad behaviours as events involving children that parents report or occur in school relationships, classroom instructions and considered as falling short of the standard of conducts, which the school expects from each child. Some examples include bullying, affray, truancy, late coming, dishonesty, disrespect, arson, learning difficulties and failure to

complete assignments. On many occasions, the school arguably sees sending the affected children home, example for failing to do classroom tasks, bullying, truancy, disrespect or getting pregnant as a disciplinary measure to address the bad behaviours. And, a considerable number of children suffer exclusion from school as a result.

Klasen (1998) and Ainscow et al. (2006) see exclusion beyond the state of being kept out of school. Rather, they view it broadly as having to do with all discriminatory, devaluing and self-protective processes that occur within the school and society. Such disciplinary exclusion is an avenue to further resist inclusion. The concept of inclusion nonetheless overrides whatever reason, which makes any child vulnerable to marginalisation or exclusion (Mkonongwa, 2014). It is about creating supportive environments to check and alleviate discrimination that may be personal or institutional against education of children (Ainscow et al., 2006).

Inclusion with regards to all groups being vulnerable to exclusion

There is even a growing concern to regard exclusion in education in terms of addressing discrimination and disadvantages for other groups who are prone to face exclusionary pressures (Ainscow et al., 2006). A broader perspective that encourages the provision of appropriate resources to respond to the needs of diverse people within institutions is documented in World Bank (2013). It is referred to as social inclusion (O'Reilly, 2005, Oxoby, 2009, Woodcock, 2013), a concept that is seen as a broad way to tackle social exclusion (de Haan, 1998); Sen, 2000; Beall & Laure-Helene, 2005; Pradhan, 2006; Levitas, Pantazi, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd & Patsios, 2007). In regards to education, social inclusion is a rights-based language underpinning the creation of adequate opportunities for children whose access to and participation at school is at risk, e.g. children who are pregnant or caring for babies while in school (Ainscow et al., 2006). Others include over-aged children, school dropouts, children who served as conscripts into armed groups and children who live in broken homes. Social in/exclusion is an all-encompassing term used to examine the experiences of different groups of children with regards to their education in various contexts (*cf.* Ainscow et al., 2006).

The formulation around social in/exclusion of children is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, it suggests a notion of power in which children who are included are dominant or powerful whilst those excluded are subordinate or

powerless (Jackson, 1999). Secondly, it hypothesises a division about the level of control of legitimacy the included and excluded groups possess with regards to schooling to produce unequal power balance between them. A situation as this shows the disconnection in relationship, which people have with others in a variety of social roles to affect social cohesion. And that disconnectedness is then replicated among children at school. In which case, children do not have shared values and commitment to togetherness despite their diversities. This finds further expression in hesitance to collaborate and co-operate within and between social groups. It is because children do not feel safe to bond and to support each other. Rather, a feeling of 'otherness' and 'competitiveness' takes prominence in their midst. Whilst the effects of education exclusion in these cases might have evidence, exclusion on the other hand could take the form of subtle forms of manipulation in the delivery of education provisions to advantage some individuals and groups at the expense of others or the fortification of negative social attitudes towards particular children (Department for International Development - DFID, 2005, 2007).

Some values underpin social inclusion such as: everyone needs support – though some people sometimes need more support than others; everyone can learn – learning from mistakes and making changes; everyone can contribute in various ways to develop society; everyone can communicate and everyone is ready (Robo, 2014). This thinking challenges attitudes and practices that alienate individuals on account of their diversities. It provides a broad spectrum for assessing how far people have the chance to be included in mainstream programmes. The formulation problematizes the exclusion and de-legitimation, in the integrative, pedagogic and communicative practices of institutions, of the rights and abilities of some children (Dei, 2005).

Inclusion as promoting a school for all

The social inclusion perception in relation to education for all children makes it crucial to support the development of a common school for all or comprehensive school and application of appropriate instructional practices to be able to cater for the needs and interests of the diverse learners within it (Ainscow et al., 2006). The comprehensive school according to Ainscow and associates depicts the huge desire to promote a reform, which is about creating a single type of 'school for all' that broadly serves a socially diverse community (UNESCO 2001; Ainscow

& Sandill, 2010). It is what Eleweke & Rodda (2002:114) corroborated as inclusive schooling, 'the means of developing classrooms that cater for all children'. Impliedly, faith-based schools, for example, Mission schools, Arabic schools, run especially in some socially heterogeneous contexts, have curricula that sometimes promote extremist religious doctrines to encourage exclusion (*cf.* Gibbon & Silva, 2006). Faith schools inhibit free choice of school for children and their parents. The traditional system of education, on the other hand, plays a vital role in preserving local culture. However, aspects of it that allocates children to differentiated social roles and instruction (*see* Dunne & Leach, 2005; Marah, 2006; Lewis & Lockheed, 2007; Unterhalter & Heslop (2011) occur in antithetical direction to the notion of inclusion. Also, the philosophy on inclusion is in opposition to the segregatory educational provisions, which the special educational needs proponents advance.

Children are not defined only by their special educational, behavioural or religious needs; other factors such as social disadvantages, family background, economic issues, gender and language are also critical to understanding needs and providing for the whole child (Farrell, 2003; Mkonongwa, 2014). The failure to include social disadvantages and/or language barriers as aspects of individual's 'special needs' renders the ideal of 'equal opportunity' problematic (MacBeath, et al., 2006). Pro inclusion thinking such as this is connected to the social inclusion perspective, and it departs from defining special needs as attributes of persons who have been formally labelled as having impairments. Instead, it looks at the issue from the stance of those who are being deprived due to inadequate access to appropriate provisions within social settings. And it raises the capacity of the school to effectively reach out to all children whatever their situations (Ainscow & Miles, 2008). Juxtaposing that with Peters (2004) placement paradigm, the idea about inclusion goes beyond placement to adapting provisions in ways that can meet the complex needs and expectations of diverse pupils at school. It means revising education objectives and practices within institutions to respond to the situations existing in the particular contexts they interact.

One form of thinking about inclusion apt to this formulation is Dyson & Millward's (2000) 'organisational paradigm', a notion, which broadly supports educational systems that make provisions for all children to check disadvantages to their learning at school. It is an analysis that challenges arguments that attribute educational failures to the competences of individual children and their families and

rather sees the barriers to learning, participation and 'pupil voice' (Flutter & Rudduck, 2004; Rose & Shevlin, 2004), which pupils experience at school as explanations for their exclusion and marginalisation. These perspectives associate the constraints children face in learning with inappropriate curricula, poor resources, inflexible teaching practices, lack of expertise, local ideologies that are resistant to change and negative attitudes. In a broad sense, 'inclusion means reducing barriers to learning and participation for all pupils; as increasing the capacity of schools to respond to the diversity of pupils in their local communities in ways that treat them all as of equal value; and putting of inclusive values into action in education and society' (Ainscow et al., 2006: 297).

Inclusion as 'Education for All'

The education for all perspective is evidence of the way international education policies are woven around inclusion (UNESCO, 1990, 2000). The United Nations introduced EFA to enable DCs rethink their policies and practices to improve the way they provide education for children. EFA as stated earlier focused on access to school for all children with particular emphasis on girls (UNESCO, 2000). While welcoming the removal of exclusion of girls in education, the priority to increase girl child education, however, limited the opportunities and possibilities for other groups of children who are also experiencing barriers to education to be included in schooling (*cf.* Ainscow et al., 2006). For example, children who live in difficult circumstances in remote areas are omitted from EFA. Education for all children is not simply consisted in raising the number of particular children who go to school; it is more about eliminating barriers to ensure all categories of children are in school and actively engage in the learning experiences and value for all children for who they are. Thus, the broad formulation of inclusion by UNESCO (1994), Dei (2005) and Ainscow et al. (2006) would help to reinforce EFA so that it indeed enables participation in education of all children within their local communities. Inclusive education¹, as to be a central concept of education for all, means genuinely all; not nearly all (Ainscow & Miles, 2008).

Having outlined these five perspectives, Ainscow and his colleagues go on to define their own preferred approach to inclusive education. In a way that takes us

¹ Inclusive education - a reform that supports provisioning in a way that can advantage *all* children throughout the process of their education in regular settings.

in the direction of my own study, they refer to this as a ‘principled approach to education and society’.

PRESENCE, PARTICIPATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

Issues about risks to education that is for all children, as mentioned in the previous sections, are clear indications that the formulation of EFA is not genuinely intentioned to include *all*. EFA, according to perspective adopted in this thesis, serves only as a prelude to inclusion. That has inspired me, moving forward, to adopt the concept of presence, participation and achievement (PPA) for my study. PPA is a pioneer idea, which Ainscow, Booth & Dyson (2006) developed as strategies to identify and address setbacks to education within their idea of a principled approach to education.

This formulation provides an important opportunity to rethink the access oriented provision for children’s education under EFA, thereby making change possible for the EFA to become inclusive. Presence is defined in relation to enrolment and (regular) attendance of all primary age children at school (Humphreys & Crawford, 2014). Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris (2004) Harper & Quaye (2009a) and Trowler (2010) viewed participation in terms of active engagement of the children in ways that optimise their educational experiences at school, while Dyson et al. (2004) looked at achievement from the perspective of development of positive outcomes in learning and social skills among children.

The thinking in support of PPA highlights my desire to contribute via research to extend the frontier of EFA from access to inclusion in the provision of education for *all* children. It is a step forward arising from the constraints EFA faces to expand its mandate and resources to ensure provisions are driven by inclusive values so as to help remove threats to schooling for all children.

Policy (UNESCO, 1990, 1994, 2008), culture (Marah, 2006 & Gracheche, 2010) and practice (Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Peters, 2004; Dei, 2005; Ainscow et al., 2006 & Olaleye et al., 2012) are other themes that arise from literature to have strong connections to inclusion. Policy, culture and practice (PCP) is another idea that can provide some insights to inclusion. It serves as an alternative lens through which to examine inclusion of children at school. Applying this conceptual model will however not facilitate adequate inquiry and understanding of inclusive practices. The policy aspect in the framework, in particular, can push the original boundary of the

study beyond the school and create distractions to affect data collection and findings about inclusive schooling within the context.

PPA is consequently adopted as an appropriate conceptual framework for the present study due to these perceived challenges. It is a perspective that shapes my examination of the way education for all includes children while also keeping an eye on those groups that are likely to be more vulnerable to marginalisation within education systems. The organisational perspective herein is therefore framed around the typology of pupil presence, participation and achievement and is concerned to identify and address obstacles to education of *all* children in primary schools in rural locations within my research site.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have traced the development of the EFA movement in the international context and noted that some progress has been made in increasing enrolment of children in schools in DCs. However, the EFA policy is seen to overlook some children who are vulnerable to marginalisation, especially those who live in difficult conditions in (remote) rural areas. This means that making the EFA inclusive poses a major challenge.

The notion of inclusion as shown in the literature is elastic. The central theme about inclusion, however, requires a focus on education of every child in a general school setting. Whilst concentrating my research on the inclusion of all children, I also acknowledge the need to keep a particular eye on those groups that are more likely to be at risk of exclusion within education systems. The perspective is framed by the typology of pupil presence, participation and achievement, and draws on the social inclusion theory. PPA is concerned to identify and address barriers. This leads me to argue for PPA as a strategy to move the EFA policy forward in ensuring educational provision sincerely includes *all* children. Thus, the idea constitutes the conceptual framework for this study, and is used in subsequent chapters of the thesis to examine educational developments in Nigeria. The next chapter begins this process by examining existing literature regarding the situation, particularly in parts of Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: DEVELOPMENTS IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter further engages with literature relevant to my research. Like the preceding chapter, it remains focused on my first two research questions. The analysis of literature here examined developments in sub-Saharan Africa in relation to pupil in/exclusion in primary schools. The review starts by looking at some meanings and practices associated with inclusive education in Africa. I then move on, using the pattern of pupil presence, participation and achievement developed in the last section, as the conceptual framework to examine how far primary age children are in/excluded in schools in the region. Countries around sub-Saharan Africa shared relatively similar educational policies and practices.

ISSUES ABOUT INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Research in sub-Saharan Africa paints a picture of the way Africans understand and respond to inclusion as an Educational for All movement. Work from African authors and researchers demonstrate critical analyses of the concept taking into account the prevailing cultural milieu across the region. For instance, writing on the challenges of inclusive schooling in Africa, using a case study of Ghana, Dei (2005:268), conceived inclusive education as ‘education that responds to the concerns, aspirations and interests of a diverse body politic, and draws on the accumulated knowledge, creativity and resourcefulness of local peoples’. Commenting further, he pointed out that a school is inclusive to the extent that every learner is able to identify and connect with his/her social environment, culture, population and history. Eleweke & Rodda (2002) and Ajuwon (2008) also shared their views to affirm Dei’s.

These definitions, particularly Dei’s, echoed those already made in Europe and America on the issue. It aligned with the popular principle that educational systems have to restructure to welcome all children in a general school. The variation in the stance, however, is that it considered the ways in which the local people manufactured identity in the manner they conducted their affairs. What that means is that the people try to guide against mindless application of inclusivity within local contexts. Rather, they keep in check the colonising influence of inclusion so that it

does not completely distort indigenous cultures and practices. A vague allusion inherent in the argument is in the sense that this form of education varies from community to community and the differences are partly due to geophysical environment, history, economy, social mores and interaction with neighbours (see Kisanji, 1998).

The differentiation in approach gives the indication showing certain aspects of particular communities as being resistant to or unable to cope with the inclusive banner. Apart from concerns about the relevance of inclusive education to local cultures, I think the apprehension is also that this model of education requires that fundamental alterations would have to take place in local customs, belief systems, values and norms in relation to education of children to attenuate existing social order. As painful as it seemed to compromise local cultures and traditions, it nonetheless cannot be equated with the way the disposition can exert negative effects on the entitlements of all children to education. Abuse of the rights of children to education implies that some children would be exposed to the risk of exclusion and marginalisation in order to save the face of local cultures. Inclusive education, on the other hand, does not entail the erosion of valued customs and norms, but an articulation of thoughts and actions in ways that promote practices to genuinely support engagement of all children all through the process of schooling. Thus, the review will now examine how far primary age children are in/excluded in school in sub-Saharan Africa, including Nigeria (*see fig. 3.1*), in line with the organisational structure of pupil presence, participation and achievement.

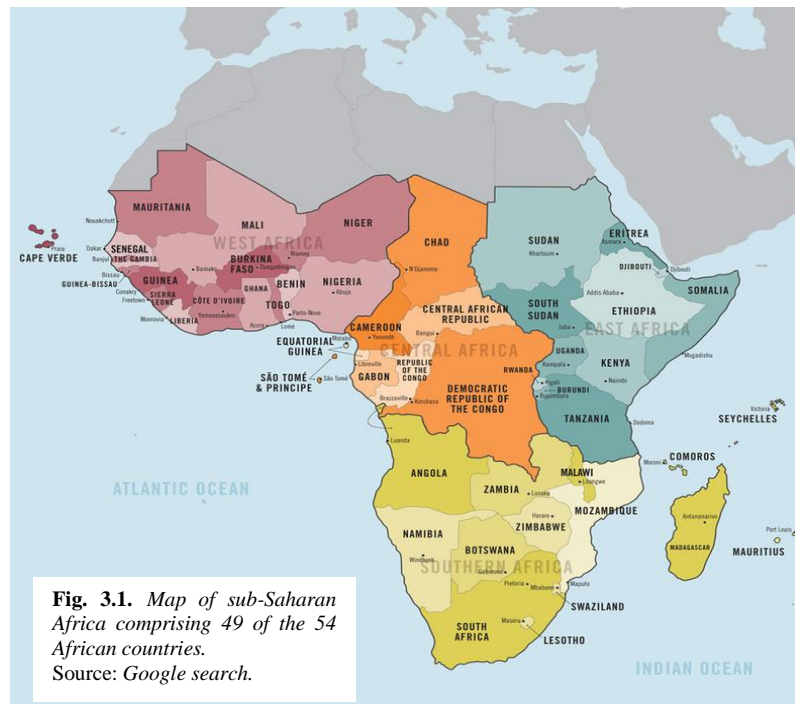
PUPIL PRESENCE

Studies conducted by Miller-Grandvaux & Yoder (2002) in Zambia and that involving Humphreys & Crawford (2014) on basic education in Nigeria perceive the concept of pupil presence in terms of access. Explanation about access is made in the light of ‘enrolment’ and ‘attendance’ of children in school (*cf.* Andrew & Orodho, 2014). Also, it involves the existence of all pupils without absenteeism or risk to absenteeism at school. Thus, subsequent examination on pupil presence will be based on enrolment and attendance of children at school.

Enrolment

Part of the issues discussed at the Dakar Education Forum in 2000 was to encourage African countries to make substantial provisions to scale up access of children to schools by 2005 (UNESCO, 2012). Since the Dakar Forum, African countries have been very active striving to establish regional norms and standards to accelerate access to education beyond 2015. A recent development effort was the re-

assessment of the Africa EFA coordination mechanism that occasioned the convention of the sub-Saharan Africa Regional EFA coordination meeting in October, 2012 in Johannesburg. At the meeting members resolved, inter alia,



to use the existing structures of the regional economic communities and African Union for coordination (UNESCO, 2012). The introduction of the poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) and enhanced highly indebted poor countries (HIPC) initiative are other areas of significant progress by which higher budgetary allocations for education received huge priority and endorsement by national governments (Anyanwu & Erhijakpor, 2007). Due to that, public expenditure as part of policy apparatus for providing primary education for all children has seemingly increased in many African countries. Expanding access to education became a means to reduce poverty and increase human development in the countries.

Subsequent revision in national educational policies led to the introduction of universal basic education (UBE) programme in Nigeria in 2004 (Federal Republic of Nigeria – FRN, 2004; Universal Basic Education Commission - UBEC, 2004; Humphreys & Crawford 2014), free primary education in Kenya in 2003 (Republic of Kenya, 2003; Ogola, 2010), in Malawi in 1994 and Zambia in 2002 (Riddell, 2003). That fostered a rapid expansion in primary enrolment rates and gender

equality as indicated in chapter 2. Consequently, the gross enrolment rates (GER) for primary age children in 2008/9, for example, in Nigeria stood at 0.88 per cent, Central African Republic 0.71 per cent, Uganda 0.94 per cent, South Africa 0.96 per cent and Somalia 0.55 per cent (UNESCO, 2011).

The statistics are, however, indicative that some children were still out of school due to various factors. A body of literature, for example, Morgan, Petrosino & Fronius (2014), Iscan, Rosenblum & Tinker (2015) and UNESCO (2015) documented on school fees and access to primary education in DCs. Evidence from these writers showed school fees as being a commonplace issue in sub-Saharan Africa as some countries were constrained by funding in their effort to effectively enhance their educational system. Sharing that perspective, Kattan & Burnett (2004) stated that fees represented up to 30 per cent expenditure in Africa. These taxes come in form of tuition fees, Parents Teachers Association (PTA) levies, charges on textbooks, uniforms, sports, community development and fees paid for construction of school buildings (School Fee Abolition Initiative, 2009). As efforts intensify to achieve progress in the EFA to include a greater number of the out-of-school population, several African countries such as Nigeria and Kenya moved their policies towards school fees abolition, particularly tuition fees, and there was a concomitant surge in primary enrolment.

Kattan & Burnett pointed that when tuition fees were abolished in Malawi in 1994, enrolment rose to 51 per cent, in Uganda in 1996 pupil enrolment increased to 70 per cent, in Cameroon in 1999, gross enrolment grew from 88 to 105 per cent, in Tanzania in 2001, net enrolment improved from 57 to 85 per cent and as fees were removed in Kenya, the following year the number of pupils soared to 1.2 million in primary schools (*cf.* United States Agency for International Development - USAID, 2010). This means school fee is one factor that disincentives some poor children from accessing school (see UNESCO, 2015). Many of them were children who were excluded or vulnerable, including girls, children living in remote rural communities, child labourers, children in conflicts and children with impairments (World Bank, 2009). The no-fee school policy helped reduce the cost of educating children for many rural households in Africa.

While remarkable progress is noticed following abolition of school charges, education, however, is not entirely free as policy stipulates. The collection of school charges is persistent in some rural locations in a third of the countries in contrast to

official policy against the practice (Kattan, 2006). Because public finance is inadequate to cover for direct and indirect cost of schools, the definition of free education in practical terms is reduced to ‘fee free’ education (Tomasevski, 2006). As opposed to free education, which is about learning without paying any levy, fee free education implied that, though tax relief in tuition fee may apply, payment of other school-based charges are left at the discretion of the local education authorities, school administrators and teachers. So, the statement that education is absolutely free is a misleading propaganda as the real experience in the field demonstrates that the propaganda is more of a political gimmick than a statement of good intention (Adesina, 2004). Some of these schools are actually public fee schools. Parents incur different financial expenses on the items listed above for their children to augment the budgetary allocations government provides schools.

Rapid population growth in school as a result of free education forms a basis to examine classroom accommodation and overcrowding. Increased enrolment implies a higher demand for schools to raise their capacity in terms of infrastructure and equipment to accommodate more children (Benbow, Mizrachi, Oliver & Said-Moshiro, 2007). As such, according to Bategeka & Okurut (2006) the Ugandan government pooled more resources to acquire textbooks, construct classroom buildings and procure furniture for pupils to use. In addition to these provisions, the location of schools close to children’s homes or parental workplaces has the tendency to reduce their concerns about distance and safety (*cf.* Lafon, 2009). A considerable number of African schools mostly in rural locations nevertheless have overcrowded classrooms, many buildings are dilapidated and other facilities are insufficient. Sabates, Akyeampong, Westbrook & Hunt (2010) found these factors to also account for decrease in access and school dropout among the children.

Research on girl child education in Africa conducted by Grout-Smith, Tanner, Postles & O’Reilly (2012) found that as a result of the provision of free education, 54 million children had places in primary schools from 1999 – 2008 and within the same period girls’ primary enrolment rose from 54 per cent to 74 per cent. Despite the achievement, 29 million children in the region are out of school among which 54 per cent of them are girls. Sabates et al. (2010) attributed the problem to gendered practices within households, communities and schools that creates distinct patterns of access for boys and girls in Africa. Low income families tend to engage some children in paid or unpaid jobs in agriculture and commerce so as to assist

parents settle family bills and that affects registration in school for boys and girls. But, the situation is worse for girls.

Deep-seated local cultures and perceptions about girls as home carers, potential brides and mothers affect the investment, which parents make on their education and life chances, compared to boys. Thus, a report by UNESCO (2003) and Gibson (2004) illustrated girls in West Africa as experiencing the widest gender inequality. According to these authors, when national figures are disaggregated by other vital measures such as rural vs urban, poor vs not poor family, wider gaps are evident. For example, female gross enrolment was 125 per cent in Bamako, capital city of Mali and just 20 per cent female GER in remote Mali. Women traditionally dominate the teaching profession in primary schools (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development - OECD, 1998, 2004) and that gives some parents the impression that the job is an extension of the household role ascribed to females as child carers.

Further assessment of the background of other children indicates how the school in South Africa took a measure to respect the religion and culture to which pupils belong. The school ensured the resources available and uniform policy or dress code reflects value for the requirements associated with their religions and cultures (de Waal, Mestry & Russo, 2011). However, with regards to Orstby & Urdal (2010) comments on inequality-conflict in education, some of the children experienced what these writers term as systematic inequality. For them, systematic inequality is conceptualised as inter-group conflicts that affect children's enrolment due to differences in religion, tribe and language. Groups of children who tend to experience these disadvantages more are the minorities and that is linked to prejudice – unjustified hatred and dislike against members of minority groups on account of differences in tribe, religion etc. (Brown, 1995). Prejudice has been a social problem in countries with diverse populations. Prejudice among primary school children is a reproduction of the community attitudes and values, which they have learned from adults (Kinder & Sears, 1981).

Nigeria reflects this situation within its diverse population with attendant challenges on its educational system. For example, the country's population is divided into majority tribes to include Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa having dominant locations in the southeast, southwest and north of the country respectively. A considerable number of minority tribes are also spread all over the country. In terms

of religion, the country is split into Muslim majority in the north and Christian majority in the south (Roberts, Odumosu & Nabofa, 2009) while a few practitioners of both religions intersperse between them on either side of the geopolitical divide. But, sometimes members of the majority groups may assume the minority status when living and schooling outside their dominant territories. For instance, a group of Islamic *Hausa/Fulanis* that internally migrates southwards can be subordinated under the counterpart Christian non-*Hausa/Fulani* tribes in whose territories they may be residing.

Religious conflicts driven by the quest for power, value, control of scarce resources (Olite & Olawale, 1999), and very recently, the anti-western education ideology, terrorist attacks and abduction of school children by members of the *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad* (popularly called Boko Haram), meaning people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and jihad (Adesoji, 2010; Jones & Naylor, 2014; Amnesty International, 2014; UNESCO, 2015), has stoked reprisals and hatred between Christian and Muslim adherents. Mutual suspicion and feelings of insecurity ensuing from these crises have spread to primary schools to affect enrolment of children from either side of the divide (*cf.* Ushe, 2012). The spate of violence involving members of the armed Islamist Boko Haram has 'ethnicised' terrorism in the country (Oladunjoye & Omemu, 2013). Muslim children living in the rural south of the country face stereotypes and grim experiences in terms of access to school due to the persistent terrorist attacks on non-Muslims and schools by the insurgents. The effects also disadvantage other non-Islamic tribes resident in the South for the reason that they are widely viewed by members of the majority population as having originated from the North of the country. It is linked to the exclusionary issues associated with faith schools stated in chapter 2. This is causing imbalance in educational development between Christians and Muslims in the country. As the politicisation of education grows, it also occasions preferential access to school for children along tribal patterns to disfavour the minority groups (Alwy & Schech, 2004). On the other hand, Bangsbo (2008) and Namukwaya & Kibirigwe (2014), argued that pupil presence can also be hampered when parents perceive the school to impart values that are strange to the peoples own values.

Apart from that, the age of the child is found to be significant in non-enrolment of children (Burke & Beegle, 2004). A study conducted by these

researchers in Tanzania reported how some parents feel worried that their children aged seven to nine are too young to register in school. Even 65 per cent of 10-12-year-olds were viewed as being too young to enrol at school. On the other hand, overaged children can feel concerned to enrol in primary school with younger children. Primary education for some adolescents is considered as a decision that can attenuate adult-child power relations, especially as it involves having to stay in the same classroom to learn with persons chronologically younger than them. Children in foster care can be more disadvantaged when the resources needed to place them in school are controlled by foster parents. Their peers who lost one or both their parents can be particularly prone to non-enrolment. Children who live with their biological parents may face different experiences compared to foster children (Burke & Beegle, 2004). The opportunity cost of keeping foster children in school increases as the need for parents to enrol their biological children rises. Motivated by competition for higher social status and relevance, parents may prefer to delay access for foster children in favour of their own children so that the latter could have better life chances.

Writing on the issue of language as a factor in educational access in South African, Lafon (2009) said many African parents want their children to be in schools where English is the medium of instruction (MoI) given that the language is a defining feature of western education. Commenting on the Nigerian's experience, Humphreys & Crawford (2014) viewed the use of English as MoI as a significant barrier to schooling because parents would want their children to first have a strong foundation in their local languages. At times schools where English is the major MoI have low pupil population. Nevertheless, regardless of the global provision for free and universal primary education, there are concerns about access of children with impairments in ordinary primary schools in rural location in Africa (see Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Avoke, 2002 & Dart et al., 2010). The National education policy of Nigeria leaned more towards integration – placement of the children in special provisions within general primary schools (FRN, 2004). Akin to the special educational needs perspective mentioned in chapter 2, Mba (1995) perceived that this policy stipulation for the children are informed by the belief that meeting the needs of children with special educational needs is expensive, hence government concentrates on addressing the needs of the typical children (individuals with no identifiable impairments) before giving consideration to the needs of children with

impairments who are in the minority, and ignorance about the potentials of children with impairments make some stakeholders to think that expenditure on children with special educational needs is a waste of resources. These perceptions are seemingly influenced by myths and obstinate ideologies emanating from local community enactments to regard education of this class of children as occurring outside societal norm. Let me move on now to examine the way the children attend school.

Attendance

Following the declaration of the EFA, UNICEF undertook a study in 18 sub-Saharan African countries on child labour and school attendance. The study revealed overall 60 per cent attendance among school children (UNICEF, 2005). Other researchers e.g. Oketch & Rolleston (2007), World Bank (2009) and UNESCO (2015) have also indicated a positive correlation between abolition of school fees and improvement in school attendance, especially for pupils from poor households, around the region. Olaniyan (2011) has research documentation in support of the views based on the Nigerian context. Taking the analysis further, Evans, Kremer & Ngatia (2009) added that the gift of free school uniforms is another factor that helped reduce school absenteeism among pupils by 6.4 per cent points (43%) from a base of 15 per cent in Kenya. Contributing from the medical perspective, Tomlinson (2007) found free school feeding also as an enhancer of the nutritional status of pupils and an incentive to boost school attendance among them. As government and agencies exempt children from incurring both direct and indirect cost of schooling it helps to motivate them to attend school without absenteeism. Regular stay at school increases their chances to participate in school programmes and reduces dropout.

Nonetheless, despite the resolve from the government and agencies to keep children more often at school, Sackey (2007), in a research on the *Determinant of school attendance and attainment in Ghana: a gender perspective*, produced findings that indicated attendance level still vary considerably among schools and are more often low in rural areas, especially during the farming season and on market days. It is an issue connected to the disadvantages of traditional education, which I mentioned in chapter 2. Parents/carers in Nigeria engage these children in crop cultivation, especially during the planting season. They are employed in market places as street vendors (64%), car washers/watchers (6%), scavengers (4%), feet washers (8%) and beggars and shoe shiners (4%). Children who beg in the north of

the country are referred to as '*almajir*' (Ikwuyatum, 2010). Issues such as this echo International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010b) work on child labour and education in developing regions including Africa (also see Blume & Breyer, 2011).

Child work is seen as an ethical aspect of most cultures in Nigeria, serving as a way of making the children learn occupational skills (Ikwuyatum, 2010). A considerable number of children combine school with work in Nigeria, and funds raised from working sometimes constitute part of family income. The involvement of children in labour declines their rate of school attendance. It means parents sometimes condone (unauthorised) absence from school and rather place them in work so as to earn more income to pay family bills. It implies that older children are compelled to assist in taking the responsibility to finance and manage the home at the expense of going to school. More so, the more young children a family has means the lower number of days and hours the older children would spend at school. Much of the time would be committed to caring for their siblings at home to relief parents/guardians of that role. Also, childhood is burdened by other domestic duties such as fetching firewood from the bush, grazing cattle, washing household equipment and so on.

Substantial gender gaps exist in school attendance among the children as a consequence of poor parental education in rural communities. Elaborating on issue from the Moroccan standpoint, Khandker, Lavy & Filmer (1994) stated that the rate of ever attending school for children from families where heads have no education is 62 per cent for rural boys and 29 per cent for rural girls. As stated in chapter 2 some uneducated parents have firm beliefs in traditions that differentially attach females to domesticity and males to roles that can raise their prospects to fend for the family including the girls in the future. Other literature in the gender-based exclusion in education category include Aikman & Unterhalter (2005), Dunne & Leach (2005), Lewis & Lockheed (2007), O'connor (2010), Unterhalter & Heslop (2011), Joseph (2012), Unterhalter, North, Arnot, Lloyd, Moletsane, Murphy-Graham, Parkes & Saito (2014). Unlike the boys, the opportunity cost of keeping girls at school rises as their value as potential brides appreciates and as their domestic chores increases (Gibson, 2004). With this attitude, girls fare worse in terms of attendance compared to boys.

Other factors such as fees also militate against school attendance. Writing about school fees in sub-Saharan Africa, Iscan et al. (2015) portrayed school fees as

a repressive taxation that have a negative impact on pupil attendance at school. Many schools temporarily exclude some children by asking them to go home to get their fees thereby reduce the amount of time they stay at school. Work by Nishimura, Yamano & Sasaoka (2005) in Uganda, mentioned that prior to the introduction of the UPE in the country; primary education was under-funded by government. Pupils' parents pay more than 80 per cent of the total direct cost of public primary schooling while the government pay the rest. Even at the adoption of the free and universal primary education, state budgetary allocation to primary schooling is declining. Children still pay levies such as the ones mentioned earlier to boost the funds allotted to schools by the state in direct contrast to the policy abolishing such charges (Kattan, 2006). Often times these charges occur in schools sited in rural locations where it is possible for collectors to evade public inquiry. The persistence of the charges in obscure locations also suggests poor understanding about the policy on free education by teachers and parents. Or, maybe the schools compel children to pay the fees in order for the practitioners to enrich themselves by illegitimate means.

Poor attendance among children is also due to concerns about distance to school and safety. Gibson (2004) found the most extreme example of security barrier to schooling in Ethiopia where the kidnapping of young brides demotivated some adolescent girls from attending school. Ahlport, Linnan, Vaughn, Evenson & Ward (2008) found poor attendance of children to be linked to risk of attack by predators when they engage in non-motorised traveling along bushy paths. Bad weather is another variable that can pose adverse impacts on non-motorised travels by children to minimise their attendance at school. Furthermore, insufficient school facilities e.g. toilets, ramps, good water etc. decline attendance rate among boys, girls and their peers with impairments. Gibson (2004:8) also drew attention to the effect that female 'menstruation in the absence of appropriate facilities and supplies can contribute to significant absenteeism'. Some girls are deterred from attending schools while others are encouraged to dropout due to inadequate school toilet facilities Lidonde (2004) and WaterAid (2005).

A cross-sectional case study conducted about bullying and school attendance in Ghana, Dunne, Bosumtwi-Sam, Sabates & Owusu (2010), established a positive relationship between boys and girls who were absent with bullying either via verbal abuse or corporal punishment at school. Longitudinal studies on gender-based violence e.g. Raditloaneng (2013), Badri (2014) and Leach, Dunne & Salvi

(2014) concurred in reporting a consistent pattern in school violence against pupils with negative impacts on their attendance. However, Badri (2014) and Leach et al. (2014) went further to report that there is large-scale sexual abuse of girls in sub-Saharan African schools. Outcomes from the various researchers nonetheless blamed community members, parents, other school children and teachers for the offences. Raditloaneng (2013) viewed gender-based violence as a descriptor of male oppression over females at home and in the society. From the point of view of Badri (2014), school-based aggression occurs as a result of disagreements, conflicts and war experiences. Whilst corroborating the perspectives of Raditloaneng and Badri, Leach et al. (2014) also attributed violence against girls to tolerant attitudes towards extra-marital sex, unequal gender relations, teachers demand for sexual favours from the girls in exchange for good grades in exams, exemption from corporal punishment, promises of money or marriage, special attention in the classroom etc. Besides, violence against pupils occur as a strategy for teachers to lord their authority over the learners, especially when they feel frustrated due to inability to find appropriate approach to deliver lessons (see Humphreys & Crawford, 2014). Children experience both psychological (shame, depression, fear, inferiority complex) and physical pains (body injuries, scars) owing to aggression and the challenge often result in a significant decline in pupil attendance.

Teacher absenteeism can serve as a predictor of pupil attendance. A teacher not showing up for classroom lessons as officially scheduled is a strong deterrent for some children from attending school because teacher absenteeism can disrupt learning (*cf.* Ejere, 2010). Many pupils can in consequence model teachers' negative attitude towards work by regarding regular attendance as being unnecessary and sometimes schooling unimportant.

Having examined in/exclusion of pupils in terms of presence, the following discussion will look at the way they participate at school.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Studies by Willms (2003), Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek (2007), Trowler (2010) and Taylor & Parsons (2011) conceptualised pupil participation as the engagement of children in the routine aspects of school such as being prepared to attend classroom lessons, completing required school assignments, taking part in extra-curricular school programmes, sharing their perspectives – voice (Fielding & Bragg, 2003; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004), interacting with peers and teachers and making contributions in school reforms. Pupil engagement is about allowing children to actively take responsibility in virtually all school activities that matter to them in ways that can give them a sense of belonging (Goodenow, 1993b; Willms, 2003), optimise their school experiences, enhance learning outcomes, develop the children performances as well as better the reputation of the school (Trowler, 2010). A bi-directional advantage has been identified from these ideas regarding pupil engagement. It shows pupil engagement as having the capacity to create benefits for the children in terms of school outcomes and the school with regards to admiration for the school by other children and stakeholders in education. It is implicit that these gains may become unachievable when pupils are disengaged in school. Thus, the review will examine pupil participation in terms of their engagement and disengagement at school.

Pupil engagement

Harper & Quaye (2009a) viewed engagement as transcending participation and involvement although these concepts are sometimes conflated. They argued that engagement has to do with feeling, sense-making and activity. Lending a voice to the argument, Trowler (2010) clarified that performing activity without feeling engaged is just to be involved or compliant; feeling engaged without taking action is dissociation. Thus, research by Fredricks, Blumenfeld & Paris (2004) identified three dimensions for engaging pupils: cognitive, emotional and behavioural engagement. According to these researchers children who are cognitively engaged would demonstrate more enthusiasm in learning, appreciate challenges and seek to go beyond the requirement. Pupils who are emotionally engaged would develop affective reaction such as interest, enjoyment and have a sense of belonging. Learners who are behaviourally engaged would express compliance in regular attendance, active involvement and avoid disruptive or anti-social behaviour.

Ideas from these writers are hinged on the essence to have inclusive pedagogies and social provisions that go beyond access to enhance learning experiences for diverse children within its pupil population. Engagement of children expresses the value school has for children as partners in improving the school, their acceptance into school management practices and intent of the school to enable them achieve satisfaction in their school experiences. To further comprehend pupil engagement, you have to look at ‘disengagement’.

Pupil disengagement

The sharp increase in pupil enrolment under the universal free primary education brought with it increase diversity in pupil population and challenges to engage all of them at school. Even after the dawn of the EFA, there seems to be insignificant change in existing school practices in parts of Africa, including Nigeria to be able to engage the learners gainfully in a multicultural classroom. Working within the context of an overcrowded classrooms and examination-based curriculum, many teachers would feel huge pressure to modify, change or differentiate their instructional procedures and objectives to meet the needs of the children in their care. For instance, a study which Majanga, Nasongo & Sylvia (2011) conducted in Kenya revealed a disproportionate rise in teacher and pupil population following the introduction of free primary education by the government. The mean total of teachers from four sampled schools used in the study remained the same at 25.25 from 2000 to 2006 while that of pupils rose to 996 across the same schools within the same period. Pupils’ time-on-task in class assignments would reduce when in large class size (Blatchford & Mortimore, 1994). In larger classrooms children will engage in more off task behaviour reflecting particularly in distracted and passive forms of behaviour (Blatchford, Bassett & Brown, 2011).

This occurs partly because teachers lack the skills and knowledge to include all of them by way of performing close observation of individual participation in classroom work. Furthermore, barriers to engagement of the children emanate because teachers teach to test children, an issue linked to the competence curricular I mentioned in chapter 2. So, huge amount of time and concentration is invested to ensure children are able to pass examination to be able to progress and to enable the teacher give a good account of his or her performance to government. The curriculum is a problematic issue in relation to participation of some categories of

children. Reviewing the issue, Westbrook, Durrani, Brown, Orr, Pryor, Boddy & Salvi (2013), stated that despite curriculum reforms in some DCs, it was still irrelevant to particular population of pupils, especially rural or marginalised children, as the curriculum is seen as too difficult and overloaded, shortening teacher preparation time and increasing lesson pace as teachers felt impelled to cover it to avoid sanctions. With the pressure in mind teachers can (either unconsciously or intentionally) ignore the need to devote more time to have a close relationship with the children. In the perspective of Brackett, Reyes, Rivers, Elbertson & Salovey (2011:28), 'learners who report experiencing inadequate relationship with their teachers may feel disconnected and alienated and learner who feel alienated from school are more likely to engage in antisocial and delinquent behaviours and to fail academically'.

Apart from that, considerable aspects of educational systems in Africa are shaped by cultures, norms and traditions existing within local communities. It is what Hoadley (2010) alluded as cultural patterning of schooling processes. Much of the traditional educational practices accords greater responsibility to adults to orchestrate almost every activity that involves child education. Education seems to be teacher-centred rather than being child-centred as I have pointed in chapter 2. Practices such as these arise owing to beliefs that children have yet to develop adequate conceptual and linguistic competencies to be able to make meaningful contributions to community development. Majority of teachers in the rural areas are members of the communities where these adult-child relationships are prevalent. As such, some of them presumably transfer the power imbalance between adults and children to school to affect the way pupils participate at lessons. It is a didactic strategy of teaching in which the teacher imposes self over the child based on the assumption that the child is an empty vessel that needed to be filled with worthwhile information (Napoli, 2004).

Similar to my explanation in chapter 2, corporal punishment is used to subject children to abuse and silencing thereby consolidates the authoritarian norm in favour of the teacher at school (Jotia & Boikhutso, 2012). Although this disciplinary measure is purposed to eliminate unwanted behaviour from children, it has however become a common tool to unleash violence against them at school. A survey undertaken by Save the Children (2005) on a sample of 410 school children in South Africa indicated a significant number of instances where pupils have been subjected

to corporal punishment. Often you see teachers armed with sticks, shoes, belts, board dusters and whips inside and outside the classrooms and using them to hit children even for minor offences. For example, the teacher can use the cane or beat pupils for failing to complete required assignments, talking to a classmate during lesson and coming late to school (Jotia, 2008). Sometimes the teachers would resort to calling the children names for similar and other wrongdoings (*see* Humphreys & Crawford, 2014). Teachers that are under legal constraint to apply corporal punishment on children can send notes to pupils' homes to call on parents to beat the children for offences committed at school. Consequent upon that children feel physical pains, become afraid, intimidated and uncomfortable, and are likely to become demotivated from taking part in school activities. Of particular note is that the application of corporal punishment violates the rights of the children and degrades their dignity as humans. The situation makes it difficult to reach out to children who would want some support to be able to enhance their school experiences. Children who experience learning difficulties become frustrated when there is no effective support for them. Quite a number of children would become disengaged at lesson (UNESCO, 2004).

Olweus (1996) and Popoola (2005) have documented on peer victimisation as part of school-based violence that makes the school unsafe for children. Peer victimisation is aggression among pupils. Other researchers e.g. McLeod & Fettes (2007) and Christine, Totura, Karver & Gesten (2014) demonstrated the correlation between peer victimisation and children engagement at school from the psychological stance. They found pupils who experience distress as a result of bullying to have poorer learner engagement compared to their psychologically stable peers. Explicitly, Gumora & Arsenio (2002) found children who are psychologically and emotionally traumatised to have less interest in and able to concentrate in classroom tasks. In a study on aggression carried out in Nigeria, Ojedokun, Ogunbamila & Kehinde (2013) stated that peer victimisation is a factor for exclusion of children - both victim and perpetrator, from friendships at school. For instance, a child could keep his or her distance from a peer who is aggressive or tell the colleague outright that they have ceased to be friends. Interpersonal distance is an antithesis of children desire to bond with each other. It is a negative reaction of children towards colleagues who have either become dominant, aggressive or both.

School-based violence not only undermines the engagement of children in curricular activities, it also imprisons them behind a dictatorial and hostile school wall.

However, schools are often expected to provide academic curriculum in conjunction with co-curricular (sometimes called extra-curricular) programmes for all learners. Most times practices in schools tend to make the former overshadow the latter in response to budget cuts and concerns to raise academic test scores (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2007). Children who are averse to academics are then deprived of the opportunity to engage in leisure events like sports, music, drama etc. Disengagement of the children from such school programmes can lead to dissatisfaction because there is no chance for them to express their bottled-up talents and express their identity (*cf.* Adeyemo, 2010). And the non-existence of co-curricular events weakens collaboration and co-operation among children, and by extension, making it challenging for peer tutoring to thrive even inside the classroom. Some of the children would develop apathy towards learning and rather engage in oppositional interaction against each other (Liu, Joy & Griffiths, 2010).

A number of children with impairments tend to have experiences that make them vulnerable to disengagement in school activities due to negative perceptions towards impairments. Teachers in Africa are predisposed to underestimate the children because they tend to construct the impairment as a condition that in itself diminishes the ability of the affected children from participating in classroom programmes. It is a case that is related to the special educational needs view about inclusion mentioned in chapter 2. Consequently, teachers would place low expectations on the children resulting in them having fewer chances and low motivation to actively take part in challenging classroom activities compared to the typical children (Goodenow, 1992; Grossman, 2004). In some cases, the teachers may in a subtle way ignore them altogether while classroom lessons are in progress. Other children could replicate adult behaviour by acting in the same manner against their peers with impairments at lesson and at play. Implicitly, others measure the abilities of children with impairments by what they think they can do; not what they have seen them actually doing.

Pupil voice

More attention is recently drawn to the idea of pupil voice with respect to the active participation of children in school reform. Learner voice has been defined as a child-centred strategy that has the potential to increase children participation in school life (MacBeath, Demetriou, Rudduck, & Myers, 2003; Mitra 2003; Flutter & Ruddock, 2004; Cook-Sather, 2006; Fielding, 2008). Learner voice as an integral part of schooling is a powerful strategy to support children who are at risk of being marginalised (Czerniawski et al., 2009; Fielding, 2010). It is one way perceived to help the school foster democratic practices in education of children. The incorporation of children's perspectives into schooling empowers them to develop their capacity to be able to share their ideas about policies, curriculum content, practices, school values, and collaboratively, partnering with teachers to enhance learning experiences to include all.

According to West (2004), it is not only about making pupils express their thoughts but enabling them to develop the agency to influence change to advantage them at school. In which case the children have the opportunity to take active responsibility for what they are learning, how they are learning it and to criticise teacher performance with a view to improving teaching processes. Such a situation means that pupils would feel recognised, respected, valued; have a sense of belonging and the awareness that they can actually make a difference in their school. Besides, pupils and teachers learn to build mutual trust and confidence.

Nevertheless, poor participation of learners in school activities, as noted in chapter 2, supports dominant picture of children as silent and passive recipients of what others define as education (Bullough & Gitlin, 2001; Whithead & Clough, 2004; Cook-Sather, 2006; Messiou, 2013). Flutter & Ruddock (2004) frowned that although the concept of learner voice² has been under deliberation since early 1990s, learners still remain largely unheard in the change process in many educational institutions (also see Woods, 2003). 'There are no spaces, physical or metaphorical, where staff and pupils meet one another as equals, as genuine partners in the shared undertaking of making meaning of their work together' (Fielding, 2004a:309). They lack institutional power and are restricted to expression and consultation because the school does not regard them as trusted authorities who have developed the capacity

² Pupil voice - a strategy that seeks to foster the empowerment and value for the views of children concerning their educational experiences so as to maximise their participation at school.

to assist in educational reform (Toshalis & Nakkula, 2012). The children stay on the periphery of decision-making process in education such that they are seen, but not heard (Rose & Shevlin, 2004). It connects to the paternalistic discourse that reflects the view that children are the property of their parents, and that can make it difficult for the children to regard their views as being separate from that of their parents (Rose & Shevlin, 2004).

Many schools have pupil representatives to assist in school management. Yet, these pupil leaders exercise very limited power, often concentrating on informal social activities and running errands for teachers. In actual sense, they are excluded from decision-making mechanism of the classroom and/or school. For instance, it is a rarity to find class prefects included to plan academic programmes and extra-curricular activities for the school in the African context. Rather, they and their peers are placed in highly prescribed situations that they have not made any contributions to construct (Toshalis & Nakkula, 2012). Toshalis & Nnakula argued further, children, for example, become indifferent to bullying and are far more likely not to intervene for victims when they perceive that they do not have the agency to make a difference.

To have a voice means to have a say and being heard rather than being subjected to performing actions following what others have prescribed (Fielding, 2004a). It involves opening up space and minds not just to the sound of the voice but also to the potency of the voice to make a difference at school. It is about giving legitimacy to the views of children to shape decisions concerning educational provisions (Holdsworth, 2000 & Flynn, 2014). Engaging the voice of children in education is one strategy in which educators give knowledge in such a way that places learners not as simply being in passive positions in the learning process. Rather, it means that learners will no longer have to rely on or wait for others to develop ideas, construct meanings and transfer knowledge to them. Instructional procedures that require a one-directional production and dissemination of information, if left unchecked, can become uninspiring, isolate the learner and ineffective (Shirley, 2015).

Thus, learner voice provides an important element of change where the perspectives of pupils become part of the child's ability to form his or her own views and express those views freely in all matters affecting schooling (Robinson, 2014). 'If freed from whatever restrains it from coming into being' (Mazzei & Jackson,

2012:745), learner voice can be credible to express learner experience and perception about schooling (Nelson, 2015). Educators are to provide the opportunity to be heard and acted upon in a manner consistent with the inclusive philosophy (*cf.* Robinson, 2014). Recognition of learner views creates an open-minded space in education to unleash the talents and curiosity of learners in order to explore the spaces of learning to facilitate innovations (*see* Shirley, 2015). It reconceptualises children as a people who have the competence to offer valuable views rather than as those who develop skills and enablement to express an opinion later in adulthood (Tangen 2008 & Boorman, Nind & Clarke, 2009).

Focusing on the voice of the child also has strong statutory backing by the United Nations. Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the child (UNCRC), in particular, to which Nigeria is a signatory (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development, 2000) states that national governments 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 being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

(UN General Assembly Resolution 44/25 of 20 November, 1989, entry into force 2 September, 1990 in accordance with article 49)

One significant implication of the provision in article 12 for education of children is that it ‘takes the participatory traditions of democracy more seriously’ in education (Fielding, 2012:45). Acknowledgement of learner perspectives eschews the prevailing one-way traditions of engagement in learning to which pupils are familiar. The transition to alternative pedagogies provide opportunities and possibilities for inclusive involvement of pupils in decision-making at school and the liberty to make judgements virtually without fear or intimidation by dominant others (White, 2008 cited in Fielding, 2012). Work by Cook-Sather, Bovill & Felten (2014), *‘engaging learners as partners in learning and teaching: a guide for faculty’*, also draws from this idea in relation to increasing participation of pupils in the learning process. Through learner voice opportunities, pupils can work with peers, teachers, school heads and other stakeholders to co-create the trajectory of reform, thus enabling them to meet individual needs and reinforce their ownership of the change process (Mitra, 2006). Pupil voice discourse can also be examined from the angle of

the aesthetics of the environment. The physical environment of the school, for instance, school buildings, has direct and symbolical effects on pupils. Not only does learning take place in the physical environment, it is also created by the physical environment (Backman, Alerby, Bergmark, Gardelli, Hertting, Kostenius & Ohrling, 2012). The structure and quality of the physical environment of the school affects classroom instructions, comfort, accommodation and social relationships of pupils.

Active engagement of children in education not only motivate them to participate in school, but also helps develop emotional attachment in pupils as they decide collaboratively, independent of adults, to take responsibility to share perspectives on ways to enhance the school environment to support inclusive pedagogy and their wellbeing (Cook-Sather, 2006; Backman et al., 2012; Simmons, Graham & Thomas, 2014).

Yet, for the practitioners, the assumed challenge to engage learner voice could be whether children can articulate their thoughts to express their concerns in a credible manner rather than giving their perspectives on irrelevant and trivial issues or issues that may be harmful to them. Teachers could feel bored and/or overwhelmed in classroom situations where children bring diverse talents and queries to the task of teaching (Shirley, 2015). Another apprehension is linked to the concern that providing learners with the opportunity to have a say would enable them to unnecessarily report teacher behaviour and attitudes to the governing council of the school for disciplinary actions. Teachers can consequently feel the temptation to silence the pupils or limit their voices because they feel threatened not to lose their jobs, power and authority, especially when learner perspectives are accorded equal value as the teacher's (Fielding & Rudduck, 2002). Finding time and space in the curriculum to engage with pupil views could also be problematic. Sometimes practitioners feel they do not have the skills to engage children in discussing, designing and implementing school plans. So, in school children can find a setting that is akin to their homes where they learn under an authoritarian culture. It demonstrates a lack of commitment on the part of adults to democratise the process of decision-making where the views of the learner are also accepted and allowed to generate positive change in educational practices to benefit all. Part of the problem, according to Shirley (2015), may reside in the way educators overlook chances in which learners themselves can evolve skills independent of teachers and even strive to achieve mastery in area that is in advance of their teachers. And that would

significantly reduce the way children control their learning patterns and increase the risk to their disengagement at school (Rudd, Colligan & Naik, 2007).

In the subsequent review, the focus would shift to how issues about pupil presence and participation affect their achievement at school.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Pupil achievement is about the performance of children at school. It involves the way pupils learn and their social development (Dyson et al., 2004), as well as their performance on tests. Wallace (2010) used the notion of achievement to mean the outcome that reflects the extent of learning in children. Issues relating to pupil presence and participation have consequences to children performances at school. As pupil population soar under the universal free primary education policy, the number of children in the classrooms increases as well and their achievements become an issue. Examinations receive huge attention in school practices in parts of Africa. Focus on examination means that academic activities are prioritised over the development of social skills in the learners. Perhaps because, unlike the academic aspects, the social needs of the children are not examinable. Thus, let me look at the in/exclusion of children with regards to examination.

Examinations

Many schools in the sub-Saharan Africa use examinations to ascertain how much of the objectives of the specific learning tasks pupils have been able to achieve (Uduh, 2009). It is closely linked to the standard agenda I mentioned in chapter 2. Pupils in primary schools in Nigeria, for example, usually take the internal and external examinations (Ajayi & Osalusi, 2013). The former is developed and administered via teacher made tests. Teacher-made tests often constitute examinations the pupils take at the end of each academic semester/terms (usually three semesters) and the test instruments sometimes reflect the contents, which have been covered in the syllabus. The examinations pupils take in the first and second terms provide feedback for both learner and teacher about their performances, thus helping them to better prepare for subsequent tests. At the third semester, all learners take a single promotion examination and, like the two examinations taken previously, it enables the school determine whether the children are eligible to progress to the next year/higher grade. All three tests form part of the formative evaluation of pupil academic performance and they do not constitute basis for the final certification of

children. One crucial advantage of the test is that, in constructing it, teachers can draw on their experiences about the multiple backgrounds of the pupils with whom they are working, making sure the contents of the examination are derived from the units of lesson, which children have learnt and the needs of the children are also taken into consideration.

On the other side, the Ministry of Education (MoE) in Nigeria is the institution entitled by law to centrally prepare the external examination for all schools under its jurisdiction using a uniform standard of administration and assessment (Ajayi & Osalusi, 2013). The test is called first school leaving certificate and common entrance examination. It forms the criterion to perform a summative evaluation of the performances of children and to issue them final certificates. It follows that the measurement of the academic competences of all children would have to be subject to standardised conditions. Pupils usually take the examination at the final grade – primary 6, in the school. Common entrance is a pathway for them to officially complete and leave primary education as well as transit to post-primary education or start other career choices. Given that examination is the major condition for learners to demonstrate academic achievements and progress at school, many of them would feel impelled to devote more effort to learn. Children who learning, arguably, are those who are able to pass examination.

As a result, teachers would rush during delivery of classroom instruction so as to be able to cover the units of lesson outlined in the syllabi. In doing so they could pay attention to some children, particularly those who are providing positive responses to their question at lessons, and ignore others thereby creating disparities in the way all of them are learning. Humphreys & Crawford (2014) noted that English as the MoI in Nigeria is one impediment to teaching and learning and low learning outcomes as exams and textbooks are in English. Besides, poor outcomes in learning and low academic achievements among children are also attributed to lack of resourcefulness in teaching methods, inability to complete the syllabi, poor financial support, lack of interest in school programmes, psychological and emotional trauma (Ajayi & Ekundayo, 2010; Asikhia, 2010), poor interpersonal relationships (Aremu & Soka, 2003), poor school attendance, less interest in children's understanding of the lesson and inadequate instructional materials (Etsey, 2005). Other studies by Yara (2010) and Owoeye & Yara (2011) have shown negative relationship between large pupil population and academic achievement. Due

to these circumstances, it is possible that many children would experience difficulties to meet examination requirements. Assumedly, the children who are unsuccessful in examinations may be asked to repeat grades, a theme I will examine next.

Grade repetition

Grade repetition or retention in school is prevalent in DCs. In a literature review about the concept in sub-Saharan Africa, Ndaruhutse, Brannelly, Latham & Penson (2008) defined it as the practice of making children who have not mastered the curriculum or meet certain academic requirements to repeat the year while their peers are promoted to the next year or higher grade. A comparative study carried out by Brophy (2005) in developing and developed countries showed that other factors account for grade retention in addition to the need for learners to pass examinations. Brophy stated that when repetition takes place due to decisions made by the learners or their parents, it is considered as serving the best interests of the pupils. One such voluntary decision occurs in rural areas, especially in situations where children have no access to schools that offer the next higher grade.

Other voluntary repetition, according to Brophy, happens when families believe that their children did not learn many concepts in the curriculum in the previous year. Thirdly, children are made to repeat when the language of instruction at school, particularly in the early grades, is different from home language. Parents initiate repetition for children to have another opportunity to achieve appreciable communication skills in the MoI to facilitate learning and advancement to higher grades in future. The other form of repetition is involuntary as it is imposed by the school. In this case, the school asks learners to repeat for failure to meet the benchmark for classroom attendance to be qualified to progress to a higher grade. Although this kind of retention is viewed to be common in developed countries, it is also arguably fast becoming part of the assessment criteria of pupil performance in schools in sub-Saharan Africa (Brophy, 2005). A stronger argument in favour of grade retention is found in the work Jacob & Lars (2009) and Manacorda (2010). These authors stated that the practice is perceived to serve to prevent poor attendance and academic performance at school. Penalising underperformers by mandating them to re-do extra year/s in the same grade, according to Jacob and Lars, motivates them to raise efforts. The consequences of repeating a grade acts as incentives for repeaters to strive to ensure the experience do not recur. This reason might be a

common feature in a plethora of pro-grade repetition literature, but convincing evidence as regards the practice is very limited.

Rather, literature provides overwhelming evidence about how problematic the practice is and the adverse impact on children education. Fredriksen (2005) reported that while about 93 per cent of primary age children entered school in 2001 in sub-Saharan Africa, only two third completed the full primary cycle. The rest either repeated or dropped out. Corroborating, Naschold (2002) and Ndaruhutse et al. (2008) stated that Africa faces a huge challenge of realising the universal primary education as almost a third of the primary age children never complete the full primary school cycle. Furthermore, Ndaruhutse and colleagues identified children who are most at risk of repeating and dropping out from school to include children living in remote and rural areas, girls, nomadic and ethnic minorities, children affected by conflicts and natural disasters, internally displaced children, children from the poorest homes, working children and children with impairments.

Making pupils to repeat classrooms raises the cost of their education. Families and government would incur more expenses to enable children spend extra years to learn in a particular grade. Parents are very likely to regard children who repeat grades as wasting their resources. The practice does not consider the needs of overaged children, especially girls, as they are being delayed to spend longer time in school. Grade repetition also contributes to overcrowd the classrooms, thus increase the tendency of further repetition for some children. Repeaters could regard themselves as failures otherwise they would have progressed to another year at the same time with their peers. As such, they may develop less self-esteem and lose the belief in their abilities to perform better in learning. It is possible for repeaters to feel bored when they have to learn concepts they have already learnt. Also, the policy exacerbates the situation for children with learning difficulties as well as those who do not have much interest in academics. Grade retention is significant in the exclusion of children because it reduces the number of children that complete primary school. Some pupils who have repeated often go on to dropout from school (Ndaruhutse et al., 2008) and they are more likely to dropout once they have become old enough to do so (Hacsi, 2002; Corman, 2003; Brophy, 2005).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have examined developments about inclusion of primary age children in sub-Saharan African schools, including Nigeria, following the pattern of presence, participation and achievement. Evidence that emerged from the literature showed the extent to which policies and practices impacted on primary school children in the region. At the same time it has drawn attention to the types of factor that can act as barriers to some groups of learners. The lessons drawn from this analysis led me to formulate the following strategic questions that helped me in engaging with the data I generated in terms of:

Pupil presence

- i. Who is enrolled in and attending school?
- ii. Which learners are missing and why?
- iii. What are the possible barriers to school attendance?

Pupil participation

- i. Who does and does not take part in school activities?
- ii. Whose voices are used during lesson?
- iii. How do pupils feel about the way they are treated?
- iv. What are the possible obstacles to participation at school?

Pupil achievement

- i. Who is or is not learning?
- ii. What are the patterns of achievement?
- iii. What happens when pupils leave school?
- iv. What are the possible impediments to achievement?

These questions were used to collect and organise my analysis of data generated in three case study schools described in chapters 6, 7, 8, as well as guiding the cross-case interpretation developed in chapter 9. However, before moving forward, the next chapter describes the main context of the study, the rural location of Cross River State in Nigeria. This leads me to argue that inclusion is the major challenge facing the schools in that part of the world.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the context of my study. The analysis is again linked to my first two research questions. I start by looking at educational developments as part of the commitment of the government of Nigeria to increase the participation of children in schooling nationwide. I then go on to examine how that shaped education of children in rural districts of Cross River State. My overall purpose is to enable the reader form a clearer picture of the specific environment on which the research is based and to make sense of the way educational provisions affect in/exclusion of diverse children in schools in the area.

EDUCATION IN NIGERIA

Nigeria is a country located in West Africa (*see fig. 3.1 above*). It is a federal republic with 36 states and Abuja was its federal capital territory (FCT) (*see fig. 4.1*). The country had a population estimate of 167 million as at the last count in 2013 (Nigerian National Population Commission, 2013). The figure made it the sixth most densely peopled nation on earth, but the most populous in Africa at the time. Around 39 per cent of the country's overall population comprised children below 15 years of age (UNESCO, 2012). Among them were boys and girls, including children with impairments, from a mix of cultures, tribes, languages and religions. A significant number of them resident in rural centres nationwide are eligible for primary education.

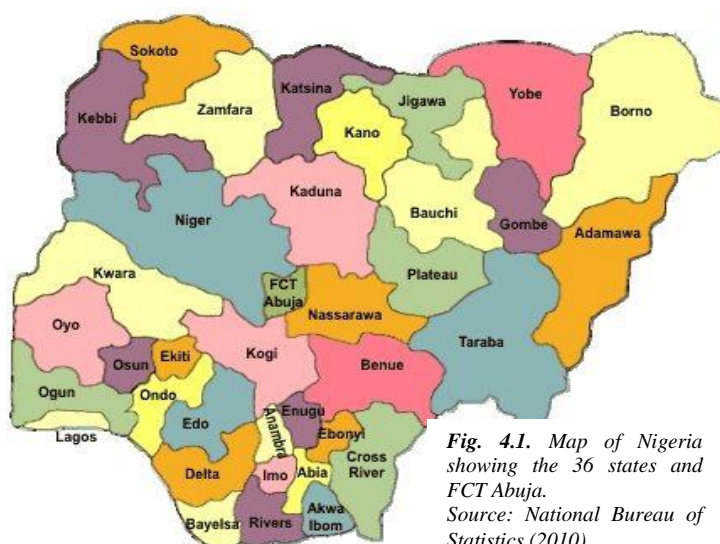


Fig. 4.1. Map of Nigeria showing the 36 states and FCT Abuja. Source: National Bureau of Statistics (2010).

Fifty-five years after gaining independence from the British colonial government in 1960, the Nigerian government has continued to show interest and concern to develop an educational system that is inclined to inclusion. It introduced

various policies and programmes to ensure education is for all primary age children within her citizenry in formal settings. A remarkable policy that evolved from the national commitment to include more children in formal education was the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme, introduced in September 1, 1976 with the mandate to provide six years of tuition-free and universal access to primary education for all eligible children countrywide (Gideon & Sorkaa, 2008; Anaduaka & Okafor, 2013). UPE came as a national response to address the many pre and post-independence problems hampering presence for children, especially those in disadvantaged situations, in school. For instance, there were variations in primary education policies and capacity among the different regions in the country accompanied by differences in pupil enrolment advantaging boys than girls, Christians than Muslims, majority than minority tribes and typical children than children with impairments (Larreguy & Marshall, 2014). UPE became a watershed moment that instigated drastic changes in the educational history of Nigeria, particularly, in terms of increase government expenditure on education and massive pupil enrolment at school. Government target was 100% increase in pupil enrolment (Larreguy & Marshall, 2014). A dramatic boom, nonetheless, took place in pupil admission countrywide rising from 4.4 million in 1974 to 13.8 million in 1981 (Osili & Long, 2008; Oyelere, 2010) to surpass government projection.

In order to reinforce the gains of the UPE, change the colonial orientation of the Nigerian educational system, foster national consciousness, self-reliance and self-sufficiency using education as the process, the Nigerian government introduced the National Policy on Education (NPE) in 1977 (Imam, 2012). The NPE was designed to address the educational needs and aspirations of Nigerians, promote Nigeria's unity, build the groundwork for national integration and to fast-track the country's developmental needs. And the federal government had to perform central control and funding of education in the country in order to achieve the policy objectives. The decision altered the structure of the colonial education system in which the national government shared the responsibility and cost of education with proprietary organisations, local communities and parents/guardians (Ibadin, 2004).

However, the implementation of the UPE programme and NPE was undertaken without appropriate assessment of the country's yearnings, without adequate funding and equipment of schools. According to Akinlua (2007), although the content of the curriculum changed, the school infrastructure, teaching and

learning practices were stagnant, thus making it difficult for the school to adapt to the current educational procedures and challenges. Following that, school infrastructure and facilities became decrepit and weak in capacity to accommodate diverse children and to check dropout. Even, the inequalities experienced in education of children prior to the evolution of UPE became recurrent and persistent across the country.

Efforts to address the setbacks to align with the international goals on education of children motivated the amendments of the NPE in 1981, 1998 and 2004 and each successive version of the policy incorporates provisions of the old edition with new additions made (FRN, 1977, 1998, 1998, 2004), all with the prime goal to enhance education delivery for all children. The national education aims and objectives in the policy that, in particular, underpinned inclusion include the building of *'a just and egalitarian society, and a land full of bright opportunities for all citizens'*. Towards this end *'education (shall) foster the worth and development of the individual, for each individual's sake, and for the general development of the society'*. In practice, the quality of instruction in primary schools has to be oriented towards inculcating *'respect for the worth and dignity for the individual'*. To realise these values, government decided to take measures to implement the following:

1. Universal basic education depending on needs and possibilities of the citizens;
2. Education facilities shall continue to be expanded in response to social needs and made progressively accessible to afford the individual a far more diversified and flexible choice;
3. Education shall be centred on the learner for maximum self-development and self-fulfilment;
4. Efforts shall be made to relate education to the overall community needs;
5. Education shall develop the practice of self-learning by encouraging the establishment of Young Readers Clubs in schools;
6. Opportunity shall be made for religious instruction; no child will be forced to accept any religious instruction which is contrary to the wishes of his or her parents; and
7. Government appreciates the importance of language as a means of promoting social interaction and national cohesion; preserving culture; and
8. The language of instruction in primary schools shall be English and the language of immediate environment (FRN, 2004).

The need for a more comprehensive and responsive educational programme in the country became urgent, especially following global declaration of EFA (UNESCO, 1990, 2000) underpinned by inclusion, and coupled with the Salamanca Statement on inclusive education (UNESCO, 1994). A very vital change that emerged from the national education reform in 2004 is the UBE scheme (Etuk, Ering & Ajake, 2012) as I mentioned in chapter 3. The federal government of Nigeria enacted the UBE Act in 2004 and undertook a nationwide launching of the UBE programme (UBEC, 2010; Omotayo, 2010; Amuchie, Ngozi & Audu, 2013) to replace its predecessor – the UPE. The new scheme was created to address the flaws in the delivery of primary education and facilitate execution of the national policy on education in line with international commitment to include.

For instance, unlike the UPE, the UBE has the mandate to make sure the supply of basic education is free, universal and compulsory for all Nigerian children (Imam, 2012). As a result, the Act establishing UBE, *inter alia*, emphasised the inclusion of girls and women, children in rural and remote population, nomads, migrants, indigenous people, minorities, refugees and children with impairments (UBEC, 2004; Anaduaka & Okafor, 2013) across the country to receive nine years of tuition-free mandatory basic education. It evolved a 9-3-4 system of education that supports nine years of continuous basic education covering the primary and junior secondary school education, three years of senior secondary school education and four years of tertiary education, to replace the former 6-3-3-4 system of education which was in existence (UBEC, 2004; Fabunmi, 2009) (*see fig. 4.2*). The nine-year basic education, in particular, is a fusion of the six-year primary and three-year junior secondary education, which hitherto operated as separate units. Expansion in basic education to cover secondary education is part of government commitment to increase the rate of completion of the full primary school cycle; to raise access to secondary education for disadvantaged children enumerated above (*see* Arhedo, Adomeh & Aluede, 2009; Humphreys & Crawford, 2014) and to achieve EFA by the year 2015 (Fabunmi, 2009). However, note that the study is mainly focused on inclusion of children in the primary school component of the UBE, particularly, schools that are in the rural sites. Learners in the junior secondary school aspect are excluded.

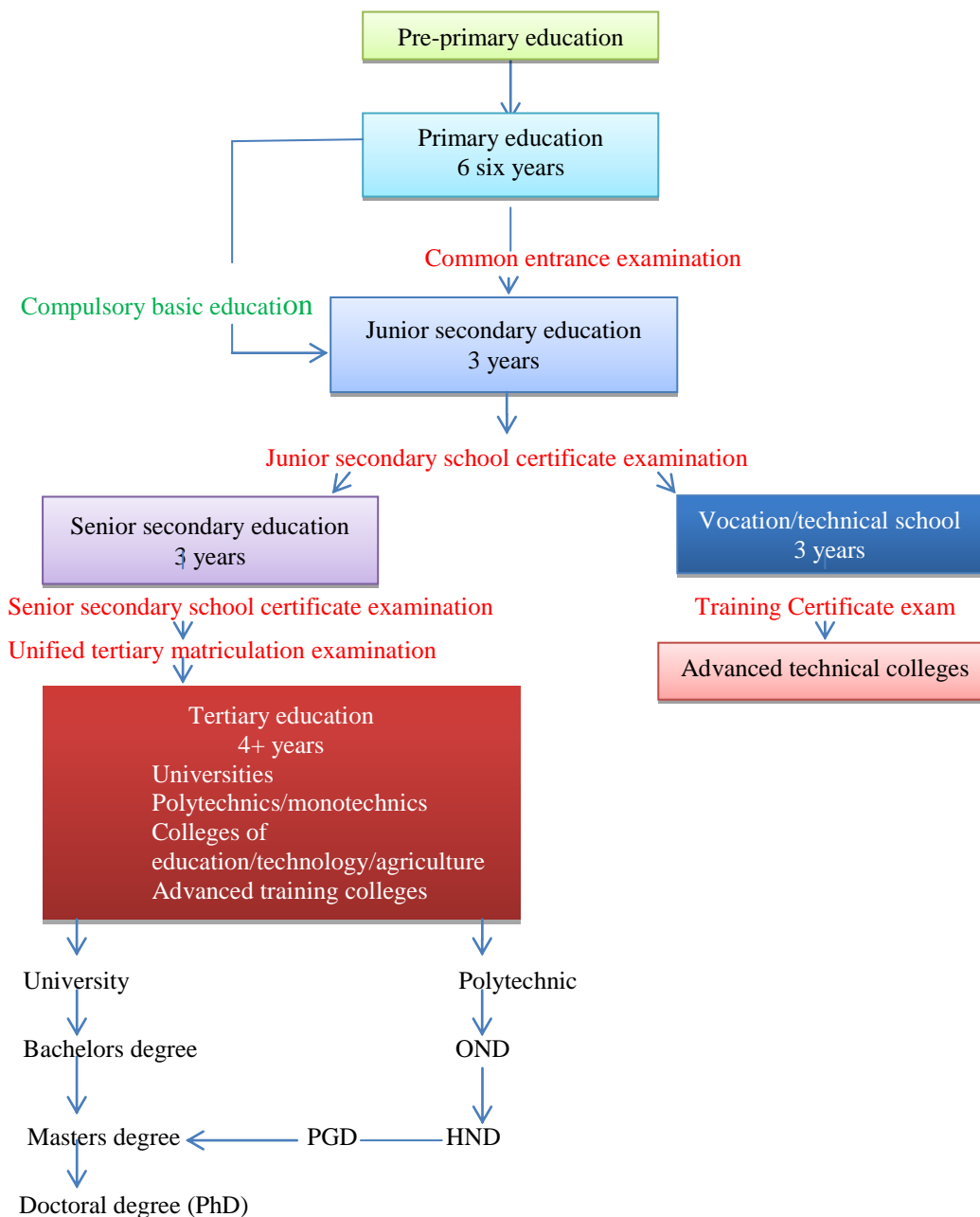


Fig. 4.2. The structure of education in Nigeria.

Source: Onwuameze, N. C. (2013). *Educational opportunity and inequality in Nigeria: assessing social background, gender and regional effects*. PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) thesis, University of Iowa.

Free basic education as prescribed in the new educational programme means that financial barriers, such as school fees to primary education are removed by government. As noted in chapter 3, school fees comprised direct fees and other private expenses. According to (School Fee Abolition Initiative, 2009:28), ‘direct fees include fees paid directly to the school or school system - tuition, examination fees, activity or sports fees, building or building maintenance fees, school development fees, boarding fees. Other fees involve payments to commercial entities

for books, supplies, uniforms, transportation, and meals/snacks and “voluntary” contributions made to PTAs or similar organizations’. The universality aspect in the policy objective arose from the notion of social justice that emphasises equity and equality of educational opportunities for every human being (Gale, 2000; Nelson, Creagh & Clarke, 2012) and that implies provision of basic education had to benefit all eligible Nigerian children regardless of identity. Also, compulsory education is viewed in terms of availability of formal education and the legitimacy of right of the diverse identities of children resident in all parts of the country to access school (Abaraham & Leigha, 2008). The concept of compulsory basic education is an affirmation of the basic human right of children to education. As such, parents and government were required to ensure children do not only access school, but they are also given the opportunity to complete the full cycle of primary education (Bruns, Mingat & Rakotomalala, 2003).

The goals of the UBE in Nigeria as prescribed in the implementation guidelines include:

1. Developing in the entire citizenry, a strong conscientiousness for education and a strong commitment to its vigorous promotion;
2. Provision of free Universal Basic Education for every Nigerian child of school going age;
3. Reducing drastically the incidence of drop out from the formal school system;
4. Catering for young persons, their schooling as well as other out of school children or adolescent through appropriate form of complementary approaches to the provision of UBE; and
5. Ensuring the acquisition of appropriate levels of literacy, numeracy, manipulative, communicative and life skills as well as the ethical, moral and civic values needed for laying a solid foundation for the life-long living (FRN, 2004).

Article 96, c (1), section 10 of the NPE (2004:43) also makes provision for the integration of ‘handicap’ children into mainstream schools. It states thus:

6. All necessary facilities that would ensure easy access to education shall be provided e.g. inclusive education or integration of special classes and units into ordinary/public schools under the UBE scheme.

The term ‘handicap’ as mentioned in the document is an official designation of children with physical challenges in Nigeria and is linked to the special educational

needs view mentioned in chapters 2 and 3 in relation to inclusion. Handicap, according to Maigida, Ibrahim & Agbonlahor (2009) is a medical condition caused by different kinds of disorders or diseases, which damage the nervous or musculoskeletal system before, during and after the birth of a child. From the social inclusion stance, nonetheless, Terzi (2005) refers to the term as impairments - the loss of a limb or function - which need not necessarily impair the education of children. However, as contained in chapters 1, 2 and 3, I will stick to the label, 'children with impairments' for ease of understanding and use the description synonymously with 'children with physical challenges' to avert monotony.

The objectives of UBE indicate the challenge to move policy from access-driven education to inclusive education. Pursuant to the realisation of the purposes of the UBE, however, the UBE Act established the universal basic education commission (UBEC) at the national level, the state universal basic education boards (SUBEB) and local government education authorities (LGEAs) in all states and local government areas in Nigeria, including Cross River State (UBEC, 2010). Funding of UBE was largely made by state and local governments. However, there was a 2% intervention budgetary allocation, which the federal government provided the states from its Consolidated Revenue Fund to support the scheme. For states to benefit from this fund, they have to show they were able to meet set requirement in annual pupil enrolment and attendance. The progress recorded in pupil admission under the UBE from the states raised the national pupil enrolment to 23.4 million in the 2011/2012 academic year (UBEC, 2011/12). UBEC coordinates the implementation of the UBE programme through the SUBEB of each state and LGEAs (UBEC, 2004).

The current administrative structure somewhat contrasts the old practice in the pre-2004 national education policy era. Diversities in existing culture and governance among the components units seem to have motivated policymakers to allow state governments to now share responsibility in terms of control and financing of the UBE with the federal government. But, it was only a shift in central command of education from the macro level at the centre to meso level at the states. State governments took advantage of the powers the central government had relinquished to them to replicate central control of education via SUBEB within the confines of their geopolitical borders. As the third tier of government, local governments were subordinated to state government (FRN, 1999), and so LGEAs, positioned at the

micro level in the administrative order of the UBE, become vulnerable to dominance by SUBEB.

Despite the successes achieved so far to incrementally raise school enrolment for all children, the universal education for all, like its predecessor, is still experiencing various problems. These challenges are arising from insufficient funding to provide enough school facilities and equipment, especially in rural areas, inaccurate data of children of school going age, thus affecting planning; negative cultural practices against schooling, poor teacher training and motivation, poor implementation of the new school curriculum, poor public enlightenment and poor monitoring/evaluation of the UBE (Anaduaka & Okafor. 2013). Also, the schools are not able to actively engage the children to enhance their learning experiences and that can spark the occurrence of out-of-school population.

EDUCATION IN CROSS RIVER STATE

Cross River State was the main context of my study. It is one of the 36 federating states and a second tier government in Nigeria. It was located in the south-southern geopolitical zone of the country (*see fig. 4.1* above). Its capital city was Calabar Municipality. 18 local government areas (LGAs), including Calabar Municipality, constituted the state (National Population Commission - NPC, 2010) (*see fig. 4.3*). The LGAs were the governments at the grassroots and they were predominantly made up of rural communities. Based on state-by-state population census figure of 2006, Cross River State had 2, 892, 988 people - comprising males and females, and that represents 2.1 percent of the overall national population (NPC, 2010; National Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Also, the state occupied a geographical area of 21, 636.596 square kilometres of the total national land mass (NPC, 2010).

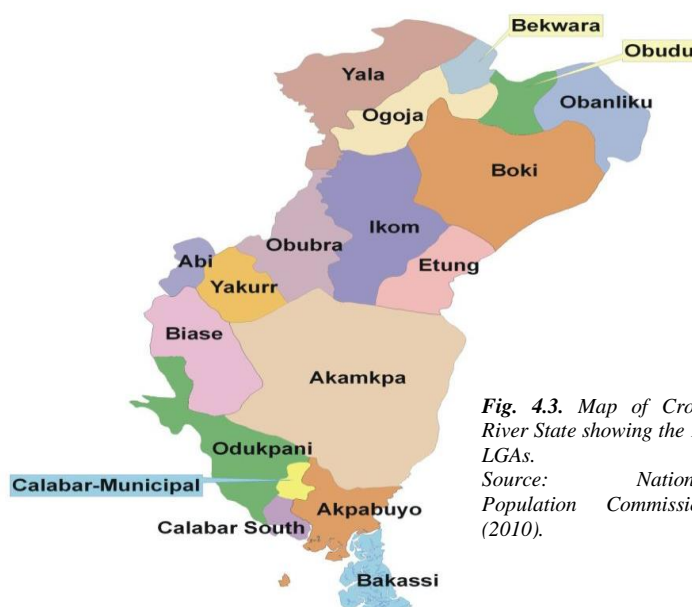


Fig. 4.3. Map of Cross River State showing the 18 LGAs.
Source: National Population Commission (2010).

The state is home to many of Nigeria's diverse population who resided mostly in rural villages (Akinola, 2007) and practiced a subsistence economy. Majority of these people are members of the *Efik* and *Ekoi* tribes, who speak such languages as *Efik* and other languages derived from *Ekoi*, for example, *Bokyi*, *Ejagham*, *Bekwarra*, *Leggbo*, *Afrike* etc (Australia Government, 2011; Ugot & Ogar, 2014). Other tribes e.g. *Igbos*, *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Yorubas*, and *Ibibios* are migrants who came from their dominant territories in the eastern, northern, western and south-southern areas respectively of the country to Cross River State for various purposes, including economic as I have mentioned in chapter 3. And like the *Efiks* and *Ekois*, members of the other tribes also communicated with each other in local languages that expressed their identities e.g. *Hausa*, *Ibibio*, *Yoruba*, *Igbo* and *Anang*.

There is also the Nigerian Pidgin (NP), an approximate of the official English, which members of the different tribes used for communication within the communities. Abdullahi-Idaigbon (2007) traced the origin of the NP as a contingency language, which developed following efforts from the British colonial administrators and black locals made to resolve their language barriers so as to be able to communicate with each other. Members of the differing local tribes also employed it now as an alternative language due to the multilingual situation existing among them and the need to communicate with one another (Ugot & Ogar, 2014). It is a code that served as an unofficial lingua franca, even at school. Pidgin English has no standard orthographical and grammatical rules, unlike the official version. Rather, it has a liberal system of spelling; word and grammar formation (Omodiaogbe, 1992).

With regards to religion, the state was located within a largely Christian south of the country. Most of the people that belong to the tribes mentioned above are, in consequence, Christians with a minority of them as Muslims. Practitioners of Islam were mostly members of the *Hausa/Fulani* tribe from the north of Nigeria (Roberts, Odumosu & Nabofa, 2009).

Issues around tribal politics indicate that internal conflicts sometimes occur among the locals as a result of the tussle to decide how, who and when the resources of the community are to be appropriated and utilised (*see* Okolo, 2014). Contentions such as these emanate because distinct cultures are perceived to exist on the basis of their heterogeneity in which a single group assumes a demographic majority and power, thus giving rise to majority-minority dichotomy in the community. The

majority-minority discourse can be viewed by a combination of properties to include numerical strength of the claimant group, power and prestige of language used (*cf.* Essien, 2003b) and claims to ownership of geographical territories. ‘Majority and minority’ are separatist creations in the form of a strategy to demand for unequal entitlements of the various categories of people to available resources, including education. The unequal treatment is indicative of social exclusion of the minority groups. That is in direct contrast to constitutional provisions of the country. The Nigerian constitution stipulates equal rights and privileges for all irrespective of the apparent heterogeneity in the citizenry (FRN, 1999) so as to ensure an egalitarian society. However, some groups seem to seize the gaps in application of constitutional provisions to assume supremacy over others.

For instance, gendered practices among the community members confer more rights and privileges on the males than females (Coetzee, 2001; Avalos, 2003; Amouzou, 2006). Similarly, negative perceptions among them regarding children abilities make children with impairments more peripheral to affect their potentials and participation in community development (Mba, 1995). Tensions ensuing from religion also tend to affect education of Christians and Muslims. Among the religious practitioners, the *Efiks* and *Ekois* defined themselves as natives and majority tribes within their respective communities due to long-standing habitation prior to the emergence of the other tribes mentioned above in those areas and the prominence of their languages, especially *Efik* language among users in Calabar, a situation connected to the dominance of the local language of the majority tribe on the minority as I have explained in chapter 2. The demographic equation turned against the *Igbos*, *Yorubas*, *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ibibios*, positioning them as ‘dispersed’ minorities because they do not now have contiguous territories with other members of their groups, but strewn all over the local communities in the state and cut off from their kith and kin (Osaghae, 1998). While having the minority label ascribed on to them, they also acquired the status on the basis that they subsist within predominantly *Efik* and *Ekois* people. That exposes members of the various categories of people to the danger of being subjected to subordinate educational positions to the majority groups in these communities.

The state mirrored a patrilineal culture, a practice where descent, identity and inheritance (British Council Nigeria, 2012; also see Coetzee, 2001; Amouzou, 2006; Makama, 2013) of members, including that of children is traced to the

male/father. When identification through paternity becomes difficult, the name, physical appearance, accent and beliefs of the people can give clues concerning their backgrounds, such as tribe. By having insider knowledge of the person's tribe it sometimes becomes easy to guess the religion to which s/he also belongs. And children are socialised to perform the roles by which particular groups derived their means of livelihood (Marah, 2006), a view that is akin to my explanations in chapters 2 and 3. That served as an indication of the challenge to develop inclusive practices within the local communities.

As part of the effort to check exclusion of children in formal education within local communities and to comply with the national objectives on universal education, the state established a Ministry of Education (MoE) based in Calabar Municipality as a measure to provide education for all primary age children. MoE was charged with the primary duty to formulate and execute state policy on education, but devolves some responsibilities to boards and agencies under it as appropriate (Ayara, Essia & Udah, 2013). Cross River SUBEB, also headquartered in Calabar Municipality, was the board under the Ministry that oversaw the operation of primary education across the state. With the powers conferred on it, SUBEB built and managed public primary schools in all local government areas. Building of new schools was implemented based on the population of the primary age children and distance between the community/ies in which the children lived and the nearest school (Ayara et al., 2013). Counterpart funding of 60% made by the states are pooled together to establish new primary schools (Arhedo, Adomeh & Aluede, 2009). For administrative convenience, SUBEB delegates powers to the LGEAs to perform supervisory roles over all schools existing within their local areas of jurisdiction.

Educational provisions in the state followed that backed by the NPE and UBE nationwide. For instance, the main MoI in primary schools is English as specified in the NPE (FRN, 2004). At the time of colonisation of Nigeria, the British colonial government introduced English as the language of all official transactions in the country. Due to that, Nigerians learned to speak English, not only as a necessity, but also for educational advantage (Omodiaogbe, 1992; Aina & Olanipekun, 2013). In the post independent era, Nigeria knew that members of its citizenry speak about 350 different local languages, in addition to English (International Education Guide, 2011). Since the country has such a huge multilingual diversity within its population, there was need to find a standard national language that can weave this multilingual

people together using education as an instrument to achieve the objective. English language therefore received huge preference on the strength of its neutrality among the differing local languages. Despite the fact that English is a vestige of colonialism and a foreign language, it gained inclusion into national educational policy to provide a common ground, linguistically, on which Nigerian children from different language backgrounds can communicate with each other at school.

Not only did the strategy assist to prevent the challenges that could have arisen with regards to language of teaching and learning at school, it also integrated the children into a unified Nigerian community. The need to use English as a medium to integrate all tribal groups into the national polity overshadowed every other concern about its alien attributes. What this implies is that children would have to give up their local languages in place of the official English as they transit to primary education. The locals in Nigeria can, however, find that decision worrisome. Nigerians hold their indigenous languages in very high esteem. The anxiety to subjugate - or even lose - the local languages, the prized aspects of cultural identity of children, to English can motivate resentments among the locals to challenge the wisdom in its adoption as the MoI. Yet, the country was careful not to allow the love for indigenous languages to undermine her effort to provide a common language for teaching and learning in her educational system. At the same time, it could not risk losing the local languages on the altar of school (national) language. These competing interests put the country in a dilemma.

Consequently, in order to help preserve local culture, further provisions were made in policy requiring children to also learn in the language of the immediate environment, in addition to English (FRN, 2004). The language of the immediate environment is the dominant local language used by members of the community in which the school is located. As beginner English learners, Pidgin English, however, helped to cushion effects of the challenges that may accompany the code switch from local language to official English. Sometimes where the children have to decide between the local language and official English, most of them would opt for Pidgin English, which is more accessible and a popular language they used outside the classroom. The children used it as a transitional language to connect the home and school in the initial - even later - years of their education in primary schools (Omodiaogbe, 1992).

Consequent to the declaration of free primary education for all children, 212, 909 children in the state had access to primary education in 2012 (Ayara et al., 2013). Experience arising from the negative effects of local cultures on education prompted the government to make educational delivery under the new policy not only free and universal, but more, importantly, ‘compulsory’ so that children can have legal protection to their education in primary schools nationwide. However, the concentration in literature on access and the rise in school enrolment of children give strong indications that school practices under the UBE are also access based. The focus to guarantee more places for children in school means that there would be less attention to their welfare and their achievement inside the school. That still exposed some children to disadvantages. The challenges children experienced featured significantly in primary schools located in rural districts in which they were resident in the state (Ayara, et al., 2013). Practices under the UBE gave the hint that inclusive education was a relatively new concept in schools in Cross River State. Some educators, I presume, encountered difficulties to understand the meaning of inclusion, what changes were needed to take policy and practice forward in the inclusive direction, the uncertainties involved to practice inclusion and the ability to cope with the challenges. More challenging is the issue that the field itself is faced with controversies, uncertainties and contradictions.

Among some practitioners is the view that the initiative is a strategy to also educate children with impairments in ordinary schools (Barton, 2003; Makoelle, 2012). It is a perception that is connected to the special education view which I mentioned in chapters 2. Whilst primary education is universal, issues involving differences in gender, tribe, religion, language and impairment appeared to persist to affect the capacity of school to include children. As a result, Ayara et al. (2013) reported further that 247, 853 children of primary school going age out of the national estimate were out of school in the state, an issue which is associated with the perspective on standard agenda as noted in chapters 2 and 3.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described the context of the study as well as examined developments relating to the education of children in Nigeria. Evidence from the literature indicated that the national education policies concentrated on providing access-oriented form of education for primary age children through

various machineries of government. A similar educational provision is what obtained for pupils in primary schools in rural locations in Cross River State. Many children had the opportunity to enter school following developments referred to in this chapter. Language and tribal politics also feature in literature as other issues that have strong effects on the implementation of education for all in the context. As the focus, however, was drawn more towards presence of children at school, it suggests that less priority was given to issues that influenced their active participation at school and achievements. In consequence, some children were at risk to encounter certain obstacles to education in terms of access to, engagement in school programmes and learning outcomes across the state. That is connected to the challenges of moving provision towards inclusion for a more equitable education of children within the area.

This prompted me to embark on my investigations of this issue. The next chapter explains the research methodology I adopted in relation to my fieldwork experience with primary school pupils in three different rural locations of Cross River State.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the methodological strategies I employed to carry out the research. As explained in earlier chapters, data generation focused on the view of inclusion defined in terms of pupil presence, participation and achievement in order to address the three research questions. Children from three case primary schools located in rural Cross River State participated in the research.

In the chapter I explained the procedures I used to generate data from child participants and the rationale for engaging children in interviews to collect data. Furthermore, I explained how I analysed data, ensured trustworthiness in the study and addressed the ethical issues associated with the entire process. First of all, however, I described the outcomes of the pilot study I carried out in order to refine my approach.

REPORT OF PILOT STUDY

Having obtained approval from the School of Education Ethics Committee, at the University, I did a pilot study using qualitative methodology at the early stage of my doctoral programme from September to November, 2012 in Nigeria as earlier mentioned in chapter 1 (*see appendices A-I*). The aim was to enable me develop a clear research focus and explore the effectiveness of the selected data generation methods and analysis for phase one of the intended research. It was also my intent for the selected research strategies to be able to pass quality assurance on research practices at the University in order for me to prepare adequately for the primary research in Nigeria.

One public primary school in a rural site of Cross River State was used as the case study for the pilot research. Participants comprised eight 10+ year olds, including four boys and four girls, in primary/grade 5. Individual interviews were conducted with four of these participants comprising two boys and two girls in the school (*see appendix A*). One focus group session was also held with another set of four pupils in the same school. I used photos during the focus group to elicit their responses to questions about their educational experiences (*see appendices B-C*).

These responses were tape-recorded and processed having received informed consent from the participants.

Data were analysed thematically. The findings pointed to certain issues that provided starting points for the main study. For example, there were some indications that religious attitudes and actions within the community were hindering presence and participation in school for some pupils. Also, the use of didactic teaching methods seemed to make it difficult for some pupils to express their views.

At the same time, the pilot study threw more light on the challenges of gathering the views of children. For instance, during the one-on-one interviews some pupils were shy to express their views, despite my attempts at what I imagined to be friendly smiles and my intention to encourage children to talk with confidence. In the focus group discussions, some pupils were dominant in a way that further hindered their peers who were less willing to also make contributions.

THE METHODOLOGY

The focus on lived experiences of children in the pilot study means that inquiry on the issue favours an exploratory approach. Qualitative methodology was consequently applied as a suitable approach to the issue as the quantitative aspect, due to its reliance on statistical procedures, was considered as not able to facilitate the exploration of experience. The success of the qualitative strategies used in the preliminary research reassured me that qualitative measures would be appropriate procedures to collect data on pupil experiences about in/exclusion in the main study. In particular, they created the opportunity for me to provide a rich description, analysis and explanation of the natural phenomena in regard to the issue under study. Coupled with that, the overall strategy was selected in order to understand the issues that shaped the educational experiences of children and the meanings they gave to the events and experiences (Greene & Harris, 2011). This approach is helpful in examining the social world, and sought to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of individuals and groups from the standpoint of those being studied (Bryman, 1988). As a result, an important feature of the study was the emphasis placed on the viewpoints of children in relation to the way they construct and interpret their experiences of in/exclusion at school.

Consequently, the theoretical framework behind the methodology is social constructivism (Heylighen, 1997; English & Halford, 1995; Steffe & Gale, 1995;

Vrasidas, 2000; Matthews, 2005). Social constructivism is a concept that argues that knowledge does not exist in an objective sense, rather people engage actively to make meanings about the objects and situations that occur around them (Wiske, 1998). It is therefore assumed 'knowledge does not exist independent of the learner; knowledge is constructed' (Vrasidas, 2000:7). Works from Blumer (1969), Piaget (1970), Vygotsky (1978), von Glasersfeld (1989) and Kuhn (1996) have also added to our understanding of this theory. A common line of argument among these writers is to the effect that constructivism suggests that there is fluidity concerning issues of reality, knowledge and learning. These entities are believed not to have fixed existence, they exist in a continuum and are discoverable. Humans gain consciousness and understanding about things through personal active engagement with the environment in which s/he lives.

Drawing on the work of Jonassen, (1992a), Cobb (1994) and Philips (1995), Vrasidas (2000:7) outlines some key epistemological assumptions of constructivism: '(1) there is a real world that sets boundaries to what we can experience. However, reality is local and there are multiple realities. (2) The structure of the world is created in the mind through interaction with the world and is based on interpretation. Symbols are products of culture and they are used to construct reality. (3) The mind creates symbols by perceiving and interpreting the world. (4) Human thought is imaginative and develops out of perception, sensory experiences, and social interaction. (5) Meaning is a result of an interpretive process and it depends on the knowers' experiences and understanding'. This means that learning is seen to be a largely situation-specific and context-bound activity. Learners probably adapt to their learning community and knowledge as appropriate via interaction with the immediate learning environment (Eggen & Kauchak, 1999; Woolfolk, 2001; McInerney & McInerney, 2002; Liu & Matthews, 2005).

Those who argue for social constructivism deny passive learning of anything by learners (Heylighen, 1997; English & Halford, 1995; Steffe & Gale, 1995). They regard the learning process to result from the active participation of the learner as s/he constructs and interprets situations within his or her social space, inspired by interests and ideas. In this way, it is argued knowledge is constructed through social interaction within communities of practice as proposed by Lave & Wenger (1991).

Criticism against the constructivist epistemology is that it favours subjectivism and undermines objectivism (Lakoff, 1987 & Jonassen, 1992a). Emphasis of constructivism on individual or social construction of learning, for instance, is being challenged based on the fact that the universe is a mind-independent existence (Phillips, 1995). Its claim that reality is situated in given environment and also discovery-oriented is relative. The assumption as advanced by constructivist epistemology is problematic as it raises the belief that there is no absolute truth and any truth is the same as the other (Liu & Matthews, 2005). Also, Fox (2001) points out that the stress on learner active engagement means that constructivism ignores the role of passive perception, memorisation, and all the mechanical learning methods in didactic pedagogies (Liu & Matthews, 2005). More so, Biggs (1998) and Jin & Cortazzi (1998) contend that, although constructivist teaching strategies encourage small classroom size to facilitate one-to-one teaching, it nonetheless does not always guarantee teaching effectiveness, the traditional teaching methods, on the other hand, often used in large classroom sizes do not always mean that teaching will not yield positive outcomes in some learners. Terhart (2003) has also raised some objections against constructivist philosophy along the same line.

Constructivist formulations have implications for learning and teaching which are in contrast to objectivist strategies (Vrasidas, 2000). Constructivist proponents hold that reality and truth have constructive multiplicity, meaning that available provisions in education need to promote multiple perspectives. This underlines learner voice as an important means to actively engage children to make meaning regarding the way they are learning at school. Piagetian constructivists argue that children always make sense of every issue in the environment and educators have to desist from trying to place knowledge on them (O'Connor, 1998). Educators, including parents and teachers, are to provide opportunities for learner voice to enable children construct their own understanding of things and take cognizance of the meaning-perspectives of pupils so as to grasp how the interpretations children make constitute the reality of their schooling (Vrasidas, 2000). Such constructivist pedagogy, according to Richardson (2003) is imperative as it is learner-centred, fosters purposeful group work, using different modes of instruction and offers the opportunity for learners to change understandings and the didactic way of accessing knowledge.

Research design

With this perspective in mind, I chose to adopt a qualitative case study design. Merriam (1998), Yin (2003, 2009) and Stake (2005, 2006), in particular, have different perspectives regarding case study as a research strategy. From the position of an educational researcher, Merriam (1998) defined a case study as an entity around which there is a boundary. This research technique focuses on mapping out the object of study and what will not be studied. For instance, the case can be a school, community, the number of children to be interviewed or classroom practices. Furthermore, Merriam looked at the choice of case study in qualitative research as a means to gain understanding of the issue that have been delimited for study, where the interest of the enquirer is on the process of the inquiry rather than on the outcome of the study. Again, she argued that the case study allows the investigator to draw different data sources with a focus to provide a holistic description and explanation. Such a focus can be seen as being particularistic, heuristic and descriptive.

In explaining these three concepts further, Merriam (1998) stated, particularistic is the specific focus of the study. The heuristic aspect explains the context and phenomenon, enabling the readers to broaden their experience and confirm a theory or make new meanings from what is known. The descriptive part involves wide and in-depth reporting of the complexities of the findings of the research from varied sources and viewpoints.

Yin (2003, 2009) situated his argument about case study around the methodological perspective. He acknowledged case studies as being useful in both qualitative and quantitative research. However, with regards to the qualitative aspect, he identified five components involved in case study design: the study's questions, propositions that reflect the theoretical framework, the unit of analysis (the school, community, classroom practices or individuals noted in the research questions), the logic connecting the data to the propositions and the criteria for interpreting the findings. Yin (2003) provided an outline for conducting a case study to include preparing for rigorous data collection, collection of evidence, analysis of the evidence and composition of the case study report. According to him, the processes of generating and analysing data involve skills of the researcher. It consists of the ability to ask questions, listen actively to participants, understand the issue being addressed, adapt methods to unforeseen circumstances that may occur, identify personal bias, effective strategies for analysing data and reporting of findings.

Rigorous data collection entails application of multiple data sources to collect evidence to cover a wide range of issues, locate the areas of convergence and divergence via triangulation. Yin's idea on multiple data sources echoes Merriam's argument on a similar issue. Multiple data sources, according to Yin (2003, 2009) enable the creation of case study data base in the form of field notes, video equipment, audiotapes, documents and narratives thereby helping the researcher to organise and maintain raw data, and it increases the consistency of the case study. In regard to data analysis, Yin (2003) proposed three general strategies for doing this. Firstly, the theoretical proposition that informs the case study has to be followed in order to focus attention on certain data. Secondly, the researcher needs to give consideration to alternative explanations. Lastly, the investigator needs to develop a descriptive framework for organising data. After data analysis, the reporting of result and findings comes as the final aspect of the case study. The descriptive case study, according to Yin (2003) uses compositional structures with various alternatives, one of which is the comparative pattern, in reporting the findings.

Arguing from the perspective of the interpretivist paradigm, Stake (2005, 2006) agreed with Yin that case study strategy can be applied in both qualitative and quantitative research through interpretation or by measures. However, in his view, the most vital aspect is that the case is a situation with boundaries and with certain features inside those borders. This position also aligns with Merriam's argument that defines a case as a single unit that is fenced. A qualitative case study, according to Stake (2006), focuses on human affairs in relation to their real world experiences of certain phenomena within particular contexts. Along this perspective, Robson (2005:63) viewed 'case study in the 'real world' as a way to provide a rigorous approach to all aspects of the enquiry where you can 'tell it as it is', rather than disguise it in the formalized straitjacket of the quantitative based report'.

Hence, the qualitative researcher, according to Stake (2005), stands as an instrument to interpret those experiences to be able to develop a clearer meaning of the phenomena and contexts under research through description and explanation. The enquirer digs into meanings and works to relate them to contexts and experience. The case, in the view of Stake, is organised around complex or situated issues and questions around these issues help deepen the theme of the case (*cf.* Brown, 2008). The contexts of the case whether they are social, economic, political, etc., are worth considering, and they help in making the practices, cultures and relationships

understandable (Brown, 2008). The investigator makes sense of the issues by reflection, considering the impressions, deliberating on materials and recollection (Brown, 2008). In analysing the data, provisions for cross case interpretation of phenomena and contexts enable the enquirer to identify certain commonalities and variations, thus providing the reader with good materials for also making their own generalising (Stake, 2006, 2008).

My case study drew specifically on Yin's methodological guidelines and Stake's interpretivist perspective to guide the processes of my inquiry and it is grounded on the social constructivist theory. The scope of my study was on a contemporary issue within a real life situation (Yin, 2009). The approach fitted the phenomena and contexts of my research, coupled with the fact that 'how' and 'what' research questions were being formulated to guide the study (Stake, 2006). It provided opportunities to dig deep into the issue and manage time efficiently. It allowed for the recruitment of a small number of participants so as to effectively manage the qualitative data generated from them (Stake, 2006). The case strategy is also flexible, enabling me to include diverse participants and triangulate with multiple data sources (Bell, 2005).

Moving forward, the disadvantages noticed from the single case model used during the pilot study made me to adopt a multi-site case approach. Stake (1995) refers to this as 'collective case study', or, in the view of Creswell (2005), 'multiple bounded systems', which is concerned with the study of a number of different cases to be able to do an in-depth inquiry into a particular issue.

Thus, in my study, three public primary schools in rural zones of the state constituted separate cases. Within each case, I examined how far pupils were in/excluded at school with respect to presence, participation and achievement. The multi-site case approach led me to analyse both what was common to the three case schools and what was particular to each (Stake, 1995; 2003) in relation to my research focus. In general, however, the case strategy drew on some features of ethnography, creating the opportunity for me to get immersed in the local cultures of the participants and examine the phenomena and contexts in accordance with the focus of the study (Prus, 1996; Silverman, 2005). In this way, I was able to provide a thick description of the environments of the three schools and their ambience in a vicarious way (Stake, 2006). 'Vicarious' experience implies that the case report did

not only clarify the significant issues in the contexts, but also strove to lead the reader to have a feeling of what was happening there.

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

I went through the following processes to be able to access participants needed for the study:

Selecting schools

Following ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the University, I embarked on fieldtrip lasting about eight months, from September, 2013 to early April, 2014, to generate data in Nigeria (*see appendices S, T & U*).

At the outset of the fieldwork, I made contacts with some 'gatekeepers',

including staff of the

Education Board, school heads, teachers and children's parents so as to gain access to the participants (Faux, Walsh & Deatrick, 1988). In particular, I contacted staff of the Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board (hereinafter referred to as SUBEB) in Calabar Municipality (*see figure 5.1*).

In September 17, 2013 I submitted the information sheet (*see appendix M*), to the Chairman of SUBEB. The document: (1) informed SUBEB chairman and the office about my presence to do research in state primary schools sited in rural areas under its jurisdiction (2) requested their participation in the study and (3) sought approval for me to do the research in the schools.

Three working days later, I received approval for the request. The Chairman forwarded my application to a subordinate in the office who was responsible for primary schools, directing the officer to assist me identify public primary schools within the state to participate in the study. I had a face-to-face meeting with the officer on his request during which time he verbally communicated the Chairman's



Fig. 5.1. Map of Calabar Municipality

Source: Omara-Achong, Edwin-Nwosu, Edu & Nkang (2012).

approval of the application and the office' decision to take part to me. He later requested that I explain more about the study to clarify, specifically, the areas for which I needed the office to assist me. I carefully talked him through the study and requested again that the office should assist to identify state primary schools located in rural areas to participate. These schools should have on roll pupils from various backgrounds taking account of gender, tribe, religion, language and impairments.

The officer checked his records containing all public primary schools in the state and demographics of children in most of the rural schools. He informed me that, except for gender and impairments, other backgrounds of pupils in these schools were homogenous. Registered children in these schools belonged to almost the same socio-cultural associations as the sites of the schools were within communities where members largely used similar languages, practiced the same religions and belonged to similar tribes. The focus on the different groups of children was to enable me examine the way the schools were able to include the diverse children in terms of presence, participation and achievement in the various contexts.

Again, the officer and I thought about the children's medium of instruction and communication at school and the implication of that on data collection. Based on the national education policy stipulation as mentioned in chapter 4, the languages of instruction in primary schools sited in the neighbourhoods of Calabar Municipality included English as the official language and one local language of the immediate environment (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2004). *Efik* was the dominant local language around the state capital. Vast majority of the children living near the city could speak *Efik* as some of them were either born there or had lived in the area for a long time. I can also speak both *Efik* and English fluently. I am familiar with the educational situation in Cross River State. I have lived, schooled and worked in Calabar for several years prior to my movement to England for postgraduate studies in Manchester as I explained in chapter 1. Thus, we had to select schools where pupils used the languages I could understand to prevent the use of interpreters.

After a thorough search and careful thinking, I realised that I could actually find the categories of children I needed for the research in schools located near Calabar. Families that lived in that district, according to the SUBEB staff, belonged to a range of different backgrounds and so did their children. I finally decided to work with three primary schools sited near the city. For ease of distance, he helped me to identify *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* primary schools, located near one

another and suitable for the research. Having achieved that, I decided to change the real names of the schools to pseudonyms for ethical reasons. These schools were in three different rural locations very far away from the outskirts, north of Calabar. The officer described the locations to me to facilitate access.

Gaining access to *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* primary schools

Although I am familiar with Calabar and its neighbourhoods, I had to search hard to be able to trace the locations of *Kenwa*, my first case, *Edor Agom*, the second case and *Bunyia*, the third case. I was able to locate these schools within five days. Having achieved that, I decided to take turns to complete all my data collection activities in the three case schools.

After getting approval from SUBEB, I met with each of the head teachers of *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* in their offices to negotiate access into the schools and use them for the study. This marked the second phase of my fieldwork. At the meeting with the head teacher in *Kenwa* I explained what the study was all about and her role in it. I did similar things with the heads of *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia*. I gave them the information sheets to read and requested their permission to access their schools for the study (*see appendix N*).

The head teacher of the first case asked me to sign the visitors' book. This record contained information about the visitors the school had had and their mission in the school. Unlike *Kenwa*, the head teachers of *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* did not ask me to sign any visitors' book. I presume that either they did not have the document at the time of my visit in the schools; they forgot to ask me to sign it or cared less about that procedure. Possibly, the knowledge that I am a Nigerian from Cross River State did not raise any concerns in them with regards to the safety of their pupils. When I mentioned that the study would involve pupils in primary 5, both head teachers of *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* called the teachers responsible for the grade to their offices. At their requests I had to re-explain the study to the teachers. But, while meeting with the head teacher of *Bunyia*, she told me that she was busy as she was treating some documents at the time of my visit and asked me to meet with the individual teachers responsible for primary 5 to explain the study to them.

Knowing that there was a deputy head teacher in the school, I however decided not to bypass the assistant school head. I met with the deputy head teacher of *Bunyia* in her office and explained my mission in the school to her and also informed

her about the instruction from her boss authorising me to meet with teachers and discuss with them too. She was happy and said she would inform her boss about what I had discussed with her regarding my request to use the school for my study. She asked me to proceed to meet with the teachers afterwards. While talking to all the teachers in the three cases I stated that teachers were only to assist in identifying and recruiting pupils suitable for the study. The role of parents was to give informed consent and assent on behalf of the pupils as children cannot self-consent to participate in research.

The study was school-based and child-focused. While recognising the roles of adults e.g. teachers and parents, in shaping pupils' experiences of schooling, I, nonetheless, precluded all adult participants and primarily used the views of children to examine the practice of in/exclusion in primary schools within the research sites. The purpose was to give prominence to children's participation and voice (Rudduck & Flutter, 2000; Flutter & Ruduck, 2004) in educational discourse, especially as they affect their education at school (also see Lambert & Glacken, 2011).

Satisfied with my proposals, the head teachers granted approval for me to do research in their respective schools. Consequently, I distributed the information sheets to teachers to read so as to give informed consent to participate in the study within two weeks (*see appendix O*).

Sampling children

Thirty 11-16 year old pupils in primary 5 classrooms of each case school were chosen to participate in the study. Primary 5 had more children within the target age range in its register than the lower grades. I also felt that these pupils could understand issues and engage in discussions about the life of children in their schools. More so, they could generally understand, read and write simple texts in English, which was largely the language of instruction in all Nigerian schools. Pupils in primary 6 – the highest grade, could not take part because they were preparing for their graduation examination.

I worked with teachers to gain access to the classroom so as to identify and select pupils to participate; taking into consideration these background factors: language, religion, tribe, gender and impairments. There were three divisions in primary 5: A, B and C in each of the three cases. At first teachers in *Kenwa* raised concerns that I would not be able to find all the children I needed in either of these

classrooms. Of particular concern were children with impairments being that it was an ordinary primary school. But, while checking class registers with the teachers, I noticed that more pupils in primary 5C were representative of the various backgrounds required compared to primary 5A and 5B. The composition of the characteristics of pupil in primary 5C fit the criteria for my sample more. Unlike *Kenwa*, the children in primary 5A and 5B in *Edor Agom* were using one classroom hall while their peers in 5C had a separate classroom. Nonetheless, the group of children I was focusing on were more distributed across the three sections of primary 5 in the second and third cases than in the first case.

I employed purposive sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1998; Robson, 2011) to recruit 10 potential participants including boys and girls in each case school. I preferred this sampling method over others e.g. random sampling, stratified sampling and snowballing to facilitate the inclusion of children from the different backgrounds and to get various versions of account from the pupils in line with the interest of the research. Besides, it adapted more to the situations in the research contexts (Robson, 1995).

Given the way children were distributed in the primary 5 classrooms in the first case, I decided to draw more participants from primary 5C while also including some of them in 5A and 5B. For the second and third cases I ensured the subjects selected were representative of primary 5A, 5B and 5C so that pupils in the different sections could have the opportunity to be represented in the research. While selecting the participants, I also considered their backgrounds listed above and as shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Thereafter, I distributed the parental information sheets, parental consent forms and child information sheets (*see appendices P, Q & R*), and requested potential participants to take these participation sheets home to meet with their parents, discuss about the study and decide whether to participate within two weeks.

As I was awaiting feedback from potential participants in *Kenwa* regarding their decision to participate, the state chapter of the Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) in September 28, 2013 instructed teachers in all state primary schools to embark on strike due to some unresolved grievances between teachers and the state government. The strike halted all school programmes during the period. My fieldwork also discontinued as a result. Only private primary schools remained in session at the time. I could not use public primary schools in any of the neighbouring states in Nigeria to continue with my research. That is because I was not familiar

with the culture in those states and my research was specifically bounded in Cross River State. Likewise I could not use private schools within Cross River State for the study because (1) the research involved only public primary schools (2) there was mass enrolment of children in public primary schools under the EFA compared to the private schools (3) many children in state schools than in their private counterparts, I presumed, came from a range of diverse backgrounds (4) data collected from children in the private schools would not be able to support the study (5) to do research with pupils in private schools would affect the trustworthiness of my data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000; Shenton, 2004; Baxter & Jack, 2008) and raise questions about the integrity of my research.

I emailed my supervisors in Manchester to inform them about the situation. We could not find a possible solution to the problem, probably due to the foregoing reasons. I felt somewhat frustrated following the development. Thus, we decided that I should wait until the NUT suspends the strike so that teachers and pupils could resume school activities for me to continue with my fieldwork. During the break, I examined my field notes to reflect about my fieldwork experiences in a bid to improve while also doing some preliminary review of literature.

In October 20, 2013, nearly one month later, NUT suspended the strike. Teachers and some pupils resumed school activities the next day. Again, I informed my supervisors about the pleasant development and received approval via email and Skype to continue with my research. I went back to *Kenwa* to continue with my fieldwork. I reported first to the school head and informed her I was in the school to continue with my research. We agreed that I should allow three more days for more pupils to return to school. At the appointed time I met with the teachers of primary 5 classroom to continue with the process of selecting participants.

Fortunately, there was no teacher strike during my fieldwork in *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* as opposed to my experience in *Kenwa*. A mother of a potential participant in *Kenwa*, nevertheless, brought her information sheet and consent form to school and requested further information about the study. She met with the school head who later invited me to the office to address the query. I explained to the parent what the study was about and her role and her child's role in the research. She was happy and signed the consent form immediately for me to confirm that her child should participate. However, two parents decided that their daughter and son should not participate without giving a reason. Similarly, a father of a potential participant in

Edor Agom came to school with the participation sheets and requested further explanations from me. I was called into the head teacher's office to do so. He was happy after I had explained the study and his role and that of his daughter in the study. He later signed the consent form to agree that his daughter could take part. One potential male participant in the same school, however, said his parents had asked him not to participate. The affected pupils returned their participation forms to me. I kept interacting with them in a friendly manner nevertheless so that their decision to withdraw would not create any barriers between us. Consequently, I worked with the teachers to recruit replacements. The replacements returned consent forms signed by their parents. In contrast to *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom*, all potential participants in *Bunyia* returned signed consent forms to me to evidence that their parents had agreed for them to participate. However, I met with the individual participants and their teachers in the three cases to confirm that they had also agreed to participate.

Positionality

Positionality is where one stands in relation to others based on the insider/outsider perception in the research process (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Lee, Ntseane & Muhamad, 2001; Bourke, 2014). While conducting an inquiry into pupil inclusion in primary schools sited in rural areas in Cross River state, I expected that my position as a Nigerian from Cross River State would ease the building of relationship with and data collection from participants for me. Such expectation arose from the suggestions of Cabrera & Nora (1994), Chang (2002), Fries-Britt & Turner (2002) and Bourke (2014) that some people tend to bond with those with whom they share some level of commonality. What happened however in the field was somewhat in the opposite direction. Participants appeared to demonstrate some reservation in the extent to which I was granted access to data, possibly, to prevent a situation where they may be compromised. On the other hand, I had to be careful so as not to experience a disconnect between my preconceived ideas, the realities on the ground and accounts from other authors about the issue under study during data collection and analysis, and in presenting the findings.

As such, the choices I had to be able to negotiate access to participants, identify participants and collect data were influenced by my position as an insider – a teacher and Nigerian from Cross River State, and as an outsider - a researcher from a

University in England. In the outline in table 4.1 I draw on data extracts to suggest possible perceptions the staff of SUBEB, teachers, parents and pupils had of me and the way I positioned myself in the process:

Table 4.1: Researcher positionality

S/N	Subject	Position
1.	SUBEB	<p>A person who is doing a doctorate research of value to promote inclusive education in Cross River State, Nigeria – <i>see section on starting points, p.22.</i></p> <p>A representative of the state in a University in England who can help bring improvements and change to education in the state to meet international commitment to include. It is one evidence about the effort of government in developing manpower who in turn can assist government enhance the provisioning of education to advantage all primary age children in the state.</p> <p>A person who is well educated and skilled, and whose inquiry has the potential to disclose confidential data to the public about the way the office provides education for primary age children in rural areas of the state. As such, there might have fears that that can expose the staff to the risk of being disciplined by government for violating data protection policy, and more so, if the outcome of the research reveals that they are inefficient and shortchange the children in the way they make such provisions to schools. Since it was the duty of the staff of SUBEB to decide the choice of schools that will participate, it is possible the selection might affect the representativeness of the categories of children required and trustworthiness of data generated for the study – <i>see section on selecting schools, pp. 88-90.</i></p> <p>A person whose research can make strong recommendations to advocate system change to favour inclusive philosophy in a way that might deskill the staff and affect job security in the ministry.</p> <p>There is a tendency for the staff of SUBEB to exercise power to determine the course of data generation process - <i>see section on selecting schools, pp. 88-90.</i></p>
2.	Teachers, parents and pupils	<p>A link between teachers, parents and pupils and government as well as other stakeholders in education.</p> <p>A medium they can trust to convey their voices about the provisions available for pupils and the schools to government and other stakeholders.</p> <p>A fellow Nigerian based in England who can help enhance learning and work conditions for both pupils and teachers at school.</p> <p>A teacher whose studies in an international University in England can bring changes to teaching in primary schools in the state in the inclusive way .</p> <p>A person who has better skills, training and status to give valuable advise to government, teachers, parents and pupils so as to rethink the strategies they apply to provide education for all children at school in the inclusive path – <i>see section on participant observation, pp. 98-100.</i></p> <p>A person whose PhD research can expose to the public the ways teaching and learning practices available affect inclusion of children at school in rural areas. They might feel concern not to disclose confidential data to support the study so as to prevent the consequences associated with having to breach data protection policy in the service. Given that it is the</p>

teacher whose duty it was to identify pupils for the study, it is likely the choice of children can skew the process in terms of representativeness of the backgrounds of pupils and trustworthiness of data – *see sections on sampling the children, p. 91 and on participant observation, pp. 98-100.*

Participants might feel the need to exercise their power to determine my choices in data generation.

3. Researcher

An insider who has hunches regarding the educational provisions available for primary age children in rural sites in the state in Nigeria – *see section on selecting schools, paragraph 5, p. 89.*

Although an insider, still I had a feeling of alienation due to the power participants had to determine my choices in terms of access to data.

A researcher who wants to conduct research in line with ethical protocols of the University.

A researcher who wants to recruit participants who are representative of the backgrounds of children needed so as to generate rich and authentic data in a way that can ensure trustworthiness for the study – *see pp. 90-94 & 97-105; table 6.2, p. 117; table 7.2, p. 149; table 8.2, p. 183.*

A trained teacher who is careful not to place the jobs of other teachers at risk while collecting data in the schools.

A person who would like to make contributions to knowledge via research to improve educational provisions in line with inclusive values for all primary age children in rural zones in a developing country – *see section on starting points, p.22.*

A student who wants to complete his doctoral study successfully at The University of Manchester.

GENERATING DATA

The lessons drawn from pilot study enabled me to decide on some appropriate measures to ease data generation from child participants from the three case schools. I resolved that data collection in each school would be in three phases via three methods: documentary and archival analysis, participant observations and semi-structured interviews. The observations and document analysis replaced the focus group used in the pilot study. While recognising the usefulness of the other two data sources in understanding the school contexts, various forms of interviews with pupils nonetheless constituted the main method for collecting data. In addition, I kept a research diary to record and reflect on the research process and supervision discussions to supplement my field notes (Hopkins, 2008).

Data sources

Data collection process was performed in three phases as shown in table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Description of data generation process

Phase	Case schools and number of participants per school			Total number of pupil participants	Data sources	Timescale
	<i>Kenwa</i>	<i>Edor Agom</i>	<i>Bunyia</i>			
1 (2013/2014)	Relevant documents about pupils in primary 5, about each of the case schools and how they conduct themselves in relation to pupil inclusion			Documents from 30 pupils and school records	Documentary/ archival analysis	3 months in total at one month per school
2 (2014)	10 pupils in primary 5C	10 pupils in primary 5A	10 pupils in primary 5B	9 at three per school	Participant observation	13.30 hours in total at 4.30 hours per school within 2 months
3 (2014)	10 pupils across primary 5 classroom	10 pupils across primary 5 classroom	10 pupils across primary 5 classroom	30 at 10 per school	Semi-structured interview	33 hours in total at 11 hours interview per school within one month in each school

As shown in table 4.2, the processes that were involved in data collection during my fieldwork include:

Phase 1: Documentary/archival analysis

I engaged in discussions with head teachers and teachers to start the process of collecting data in the three case schools. In particular, data about pupils in primary 5 were carefully collected from school heads, teachers and pupils and examined in line with the focus of the study. The purpose was to examine the issue under research based on the way the schools and pupils conducted themselves regarding the interest of the research. As shown in table 4.2, the data included school policy, curriculum module for primary 5, pupil assessment records, class attendance records, class diaries, teacher lesson notes, class time-table and pupil note books (*see appendix V*). I looked out for the aspects of data, which were germane to my study e.g. pupil enrolment and attendance, demographics, school policy, learning content, objectives

and methods of teaching and learning and pupils' participation in doing assigned tasks. I was able to collect the documents within three months across the three schools as head teachers and teachers needed enough time to get them ready for me.

Phase 2: Participant observations

Building on the lessons learnt from documentary analysis, I conducted three participant observations in each school (Robson, 2011) as shown in table 4.2. The intention was to investigate the issues through the eye of the researcher, to facilitate examination of the research contexts relevant to the focus of the study and research questions; and to guide the interviews with the pupils (Messiou, 2003). These observations helped me to explore power dynamics and to familiarise as the observer with participants. During the observations, I watched the activities involving pupils and looked for aspects that were germane to the study. One example is pupil dis/engagement in school activities.

Guided by my conceptual framework as presented in chapter 2, I developed an observation manual (*see appendix J*). In doing so, I also examined some ideas from other researchers to enrich my manual. This was to enable me focus attention on pupil activities that were connected to my study and to collect rich data during fieldwork. Equipped with the manual, I watched pupils in primary 5C in *Kenwa*, 5A and 5B in *Edor Agom* and 5B in *Bunyia*. I had to also observe their peers in the other sections of primary 5 across schools so as to enable them participate and to also explore the opportunity to make new discoveries. Observations were done involving the children in the entire school environments, including classrooms and playgrounds. I watched the schools' physical facilities, pupil access to school, classroom programmes and interactions between pupils and their peers and teachers, the ways pupils expressed their views concerning issues in school and the school culture.

It was a difficult task to watch all 10 participants simultaneously in each case. At first, I could not pay much attention to all of them and sometimes it was difficult to find all participants in the midst of other children especially at the playgrounds. Subsequently, I decided to watch two participants at a time in each school so as to concentrate and gather rich data. I also used my video camera with the consent of the participants to cover the school environments to preserve data, support memory and facilitate data analysis. Video coverage was not initially

included in my research plan. I learnt later that the research proposal in theory did not entirely match my experiences in the field. I had to adapt the methods to the unforeseen circumstances that occurred in the field. Also, I used this gadget to be able to capture data in greater breadth and variety (*cf.* Silverman, 2005) and, more importantly, to enhance the presentation of data in a vicarious way (Stake, 2006) in the analytical sections. I took screenshots from the videos and used them as photos in the analytical sections in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

As my research proceeded, I became conscious of an unequal relation between me, the teachers and pupils in the three schools. Initially, both teachers and pupils were shy, sometimes appearing to fake their behaviour due to my presence. Pupils and some teachers were addressing me as '*sir*'. That, to me, indicated a master-servant relationship. This led me to develop measures to enable the teachers relate with me as equal partners and for the pupils to see me as one of their teachers, rather than as a (big) researcher from England. For example, I decided to participate in the schools' activities as appropriate with the permission of the school heads and teachers. I also joined them in daily morning devotions, marked class registers and used teacher lesson notes to teach the children some lessons in the classrooms. Sometimes pupils would ask me to teach them. I presumed their request was to also test my professional ability to teach.

Through these strategies, I was able to minimise the barriers and establish more familiarity with the pupils and teachers. That became evident when teachers and pupils stopped addressing me as '*sir*' and instead called me '*uncle*', a title which pupils and teachers used to address male teachers. They called the female teachers '*aunties*', a variant of the English word '*aunts*' and the opposite of uncle. These tags were part of the school culture. I felt accepted when they called me '*uncle Moses*'. The new situation gives a hint as to the way the children and staff had built a friendly relationship with me and were able to talk to me perhaps with some amount of trust.

Each observation lasted about 30 minutes. I allowed seven days in between each observation so as to have some time to examine the data already collected to find areas that required improvement. Repeated observations enabled me to fill in the gaps that arose in data from each round of observation and to generate consistent data. Systematic field notes (*cf.* Silverman, 2005) were written in relation to the indicators contained in the observation manual and the lessons I was learning in the field. In fact, I provided separate field notes to document my observation data for

each school. I spent two months across the three case schools in the process as indicated in table 4.2.

While doing observations, I noticed that, in addition to English, pupils spoke Pidgin English and sometimes *Efik* in the classrooms and playgrounds in all three schools. These were dominant languages that the children, including the minority pupils, used at school. English and *Efik*, in particular, were among the subjects listed for pupils in the school curriculum as mentioned in chapters 6, 7 and 8 (*also see appendix V*). The children also learned *Efik* informally as a dominant language in the communities in much the same way as Pidgin English as stated in chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8. Communication among the pupils via these media did not pose any challenges to me in data collection and analysis to warrant the use of interpreters because, as a person who has lived and schooled in Calabar, I am very familiar with all three languages. I had the concern that an interpreter might not be able to present data, especially observations and interviews, in terms of accuracy and authenticity in translation, mood and tone of the participants while changing data given in the original forms in local languages to English. I was in consequence cautious not to lose some valuable data by involving interpreters to assist in data generation.

Having seen what happened in the three schools in relation to inclusion through document analysis and observations, I embarked on phase three of data collection as shown in table 4.2. I decided to consult the children to ascertain the way they give meanings to the experiences. Use of the views of children is in recognition of their agency and legitimacy to share their perspectives and take active responsibility for what they are learning and how they are learning it so as to check the risk of exclusion and marginalisation at school (Flutter & Ruddock, 2004; Cook-Sather, 2006; Fielding, 2008, 2010 & Robinson, 2014).

Phase 3: Interviews

Children represent a large amount of the population in society and primary schools. Yet, involving direct child voice, especially in qualitative interviews, tends to present certain challenges. At the outset of a study focused on children, questions may arise about the ethical and methodological issues regarding the inclusion of children in the project (Israel & Hay, 2006). Concerns can be expressed about whether existing codes of conduct in research have been fulfilled to ensure children can consensually participate in interviews without any overt or covert coercion on

them by the researcher or research process. Also, the query can be whether the strategies being adopted can reduce barriers; facilitate collection of children's views and guarantee data that is rich in depth (Bruck, Ceci & Hembrooke, 1998).

Until recently researchers relied on the views of parents, teachers, carers or all of them about the experiences of children. This is due to the perception that children lacked the verbal skills, conceptual abilities, recall and overall narrative competence to convey their feelings and ideas (Kvale, 1996). Of specific interest is the accuracy of children's reports and the degree to which they can be positively or negatively influenced by suggestive interviewing techniques. There is also the argument that children's memories might be 'jumbled up' and not sequential, causal or deductive (Docherty & Sandelowski, 1999) and to use interviews to elicit responses from them can make data become less valid.

Nevertheless, researchers such as Deatrick & Faux, (1989), Bearison, (1991) and Thompson & Gustafson (1996) have argued that children are the best sources of information about themselves. By obtaining the views of adults about the experiences of children you shift the focus of the research from seeking information directly from children to seeking information about them in qualitative interviews, and that can reduce the position of the children to passive participants in the study. Thus, there is a particular need to get inside the unique culture of childhood to understand how the world actually appears to them (Yamamoto, Soliman, Parsons & Davies, 1987). Children can effectively share personal experiences once the capacity for self-evaluative reflection and emotional response (Lewis, 1991) and a sense of agency have begun to develop (Pillemer & White, 1989). The development of the self-concept has significant impact on how autobiographic memories are organized, and it occurs with other cognitive, linguistic and socio-emotional changes. Autobiographical memories are personal memories of specific events coded with respect to time and place (Howe, Courage & Peterson, 1994).

Recall of children who are 3 to 6 years old has been shown to be accurate and stable over time (Fivush & Hamond, 1990; Fivush, Hamond, Harsch, Singer & Wolf, 1991; Fivush, 1993; Steward & Steward, 1996). The findings concerning autobiographic memory have extended earlier work on interviewing children, which indicated children 6 years of age and older have the cognitive and language capabilities to be interviewed (Rich, 1968; Yarrow, 1960). Children's recall improves with age. Older children will have an increased ability to communicate

more details of their experiences. Gordon, Jens, Hollings & Watson (1994), Gorman (1980) and Herjanic, Herjanic, Brown & Wheatt (1975) have indicated that 7- to 14-year-old children are valid and reliable informants narrating accounts about their experiences (*also see* Raskin & Yuille, 1989; Jones, 1992; Goodman & Bottoms, 1993; Lamb, 1994; Bull, 1992, 1996; Aldridge & Cameron, 1999). Accounts can be considered to be valid and reliable in research when the research subject/s, rather than the researcher or proxies, consistently describes their world (Faux, Walsh & Deatrick, 1988). Impliedly, the 11-16-year-old children selected for this study can make more valid and reliable disclosures about their experiences of in/exclusion in schooling. Children nonetheless require direction from the interviewer to access their experiences. Direction here refers to altering the type of question and manner of questioning to assist children, not to lead them in researcher-defined directions.

Regarding children with impairments, Nathanson & Crank, (2004) assumed they would be less accurate in their recall of events than other children. Contrary to that opinion, Perlman, Ericson, Esses & Isaacs, (1994), Gudjonsson & Clare (1995) and Milne & Bull (2001) stated that pupils with impairments provide accurate testimony and are not more likely to fabricate or distort information as long as they are interviewed appropriately. These authors suggest that, when given the opportunity to provide a free recall of their experiences, children with impairments tend to be more accurate than their responses to specific questions. Like other children, those with impairments can, however, be vulnerable to suggestibility and interviewer influence in response to closed-ended, misleading and complex questions (Cardone & Dent, 1996; Poole & Lamb, 1998; Milne et al, 1999; Henry & Gudjonsson, 1999; Milne & Bull, 1999).

In summary, then, the all-important message from the various viewpoints regarding data collection from child participants is that approaches for generating data need to truly reflect the child's perception, attitudes and knowledge about a topic and not adult perceptions of what they think children perceive (Faux, Walsh & Deatrick, 1988). It is on this basis that I engaged child participants in interviews to collect data direct from them regarding how far they are in/excluded in the three schools.

A five-step approach

The procedure I used to generate evidence from pupils involved five steps. Mouton, Blake & Fruchter (1955), Faux, Walsh & Deatrick (1988), Angelides & Ainscow (2000), Messiou (2003) and Robson (2011) all provided ideas and suggestions that informed these steps. Each step lasted approximately 30 minutes and was carried out on different days in each school (*see appendix K*).

In total, I spent almost one month in each school at this stage of data collection as shown in table 4.2. This enabled me to further familiarise with both practitioners and learners to ease collection of interview data from participants.

The five steps were as follows:

Step 1: Explaining the procedure: I met with the 10 participants as a group inside an empty classroom at break time within each school. I asked all of them to take seats so as to be comfortable. Then, I said to them in simple English: *‘my name is Moses Ewa. I want to discuss with you about the life of children in school. I will use my tape recorder and note book (I showed them these items) to record all that you will tell me. I will not tell anyone what you have told me. I will not tell your teachers, classmates, parents and even my family members. Only I will know what you have said and will keep it to myself. So feel free to tell me about the way you learn and make friends with your classmates and teachers’*. This explanation was one way to reassure the children within the context that the subsequent use of their words would not compromise them in any way. Having given the assurance, my impression was that the children felt happy and they gave their permission to participate.

Step 2: Message in a container: I had group meeting with them again same day during free period in each school. This time, I said to them to write what they would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school. Some of them did not understand the question well. So, I re-explained thus: *‘if you have the chance to change the way you learn, the way you interact with your classmates or any other pupil in your school, write down what you would do’*. Although they were required to write one thing, some of them wrote more than one. I asked them to choose a number from one to ten and write the number they had taken on their papers. These numbers assisted me to match each person’s paper and prevented mistaking one person paper for the other during the sociometry and interview. Also, I asked them to carefully fold the papers and place inside a carton that I provided. They folded the papers and did as required.

Step 3: Sociometry: After completing step two, now I met with the individual participant another day at break time or free period inside the classrooms within each school. I said to the child in simple English: *‘if the teacher were to ask you to place a new board in the classroom, write down the names of three pupils in your classroom that you would like to work with and the names of three pupils you would not like to work with’*. I asked the participant to write the number s/he took during message in a container activity on his or her answer paper. The pupils completed this socio-metric activity as required.

Step 4: Individual interviews: As each child handed his or her paper to me, I started interviewing the person beginning with the answers s/he had provided in the sociometry (Steward & Steward, 1996), message in a container and later moved to my predetermined questions. I noticed that some pupils wrote both relevant and irrelevant information on their papers in the message in container activities. I selected the relevant information and asked them about it in the interview. At home, I checked data from the observation thoroughly to search for novel issues that arose from pupils’ experiences of learning and interaction in school to align to the research focus. I developed a few interview questions from my experience in the field and added to the existing ones to interview participants per school (*see appendices K-L*). The limited number of new questions was to prevent the interviewees from getting tired in a lengthy interview. While developing the questions, I was also mindful to ensure participants had the opportunity to freely recall their experiences.

Step 5: Ending the interview: After exhausting the questions I prepared, I asked each interviewee: *‘what more would you like to say’?* A few of them supplied more information, but not relevant to the study, and were not used. Others were shy to continue talking. They would reply: *‘nothing’*.

Addressing the challenges in the field

Throughout the process of using these five steps I maintained regular contacts with my supervisors via emails, Skype and telephone calls to discuss my experiences and how best to resolve the challenges I was encountering there. For instance, despite my feeling that I had established familiarity with the pupils in the three schools, as demonstrated in the way they changed from addressing me as *‘sir’* to *‘Uncle Moses’*, the inherent nature of adult-child relationships (Faux, Walsh & Deatrick, 1988) still occurred between me and participants. This was more evident

during the individual interviews. In these contexts, I sensed that the pupils saw me as a prominent figure, one who had so much knowledge and would want to note their errors.

More so, my position as a researcher presented a challenge in my strife for equal power relations with pupils. Given who I am and who they are, there was perhaps a hierarchy that existed in which the pupils placed me at the top and themselves at the bottom. I, on the other hand, saw pupils as being naïve, dependent and in need of help to improve the way they are included at school. That perception somewhat reinforced my position as being distinct from pupils'. This made me aware of the possibility it could affect the extent of free interaction and exchange of views between the participants and researcher.

So during interview, however, I noticed that some of the pupils felt anxious due to the presence of my audio tape (Rich, 1968; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, Sechrest & Grove, 1981). I allowed them to turn on the audio recorder so that they could take control of the interview environment. I asked them open-ended questions to elicit narrative responses and probed them with specific questions to get more information. I used simple language to ensure they understand the question. For instance, when I asked: *'when I was in your classroom I noticed that some children were sitting alone. Why is that happening'?* And the child responded: *'because I don't understand the lesson'* to the question: I would ask again: *'what will you say to the teacher so that you can understand the lesson better'?* Sometimes, I explained the questions in concrete terms for them to understand better and give their responses.

Conscious that the interviewees belonged to various tribes and religions, I avoided asking direct questions about these themes in order not to raise sensitive issues to distress them and to prevent hindrances in gathering data. There were situations where some participants were talking and looking down. S/he could not maintain regular eye contact with me. During the process, I allowed the person to finish giving his or her accounts and then I would ask a probing question to regain the child's attention.

I could not understand the information a boy with impairments in *Kenwa* supplied to me for the message in a container and sociometry. As a result, I ignored the data he wrote for me on the piece of paper. Rather, I did the message in a container and sociometry verbally with him. I asked further questions to elicit more information about his responses. After that I also used the predetermined questions to

interview him and these strategies worked successfully. Also, I noticed that some of the interviewees in the three cases had difficulties to provide responses in the official English. So I decided to interview the affected pupils in Pidgin English in order to resolve language barrier and to collect rich data.

DATA ANALYSIS

Each case school constituted a unit of analysis (Stake, 2006; Robson, 2011) as presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Data from documentary analysis, observation field notes and the written tasks in phase three of the semi-structured interviews were written repeatedly to refine data into meaningful categories, guided by my overall research questions stated in chapter 1: (1) How far are pupils included in schools? (2) What are the challenges to inclusion they experience in schools? (3) What resources might be drawn on to address these barriers? and the conceptual framework presented in chapter 2.

I took observation photos in a way that would display areas that were connected to the study as shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Also, tape-recorded interviews were transcribed into written forms to facilitate analysis. The interviews were replayed and repeatedly listened to identify and transcribe the parts linked to the research (*see appendix Y*). Memos were produced and recorded systematically in terms of the relevance of the data to the participants, reader and researcher and reflected upon after each session of listening (Charmaz, 2006) (*see appendix W*). The perspectives of pupils were analysed to ascertain how they were in/excluded within the context of the particular case schools. More specifically, the analysis revealed the barriers the children saw themselves as facing and the resources that could be deployed to address these obstacles. The method helped me to distinguish responses made by particular participants.

I transcribed data, which participants supplied in *Efik*, Pidgin English and one familiar word in *Hausa* language during observations and interviews verbatim to their equivalents in English and also analysed in English. The English version of the responses rendered in local languages is enclosed in square braces. I also placed some words in square braces to make some sentences the participants had made complete. Some of the children made some odd statements in English while responding during the interviews. I presented these statements word-for-word and placed their corrections in parenthesis for clarity. I used ellipsis to indicate that I

have removed irrelevant data from the various data excerpts from participants. Also, I endeavoured that the transcripts demonstrated the mood and tone of the interviewees by using some symbols to demonstrate the way some of them behaved in the observations and interviews. From these data grids of categories were developed for examining, analysing and making sense out of it in order to address the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

With rigorous reasoning, critical thinking and theorising, the data were coded and condensed (Basit, 2003). They were then re-coded for several weeks to find consistencies, variations in the results, patterns and structures so as to fit the conceptual framework of the study (*see appendix W*). Data were thoroughly transcribed and examined. Transcripts were read and re-read to locate evidence and identify themes from the texts relevant to the focus of the study. Hence, each round of documentary analysis, observations and interviews led to refining categories and developing key themes from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1998).

Directed by the three research questions shown above and strategic questions outlined in chapter 3, I analysed data based mainly on the broad themes of pupil presence, participation and achievement and related sub-themes that emerged from the data for each case as presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8 (*see appendix X*). An element of discourse analysis was woven into the themes to further examine the ways participants used words, phrases etc. to construct their own versions of their perceptions, values and attitudes (Antaki, Billig, Edwards, & Potter, 2002; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) in relation to the research. The discourse analysis was also performed to enable me do a more in-depth analysis of data. Data drawn from the various sources in each case were analysed qualitatively without statistical measures. The purpose was to ensure data analysis corresponded with the qualitative direction of the study. I initially considered using a qualitative computer program (e.g. Nvivo) in order to contribute to the efficacy of the analysis. But, I was not very familiar with the Nvivo and decided to organise and analyse data manually instead.

The analysis was based upon the naturalistic/interpretivist perspective that informed the whole study (Miles & Huberman, 1994, Stake, 2005). According to Van Maanen (1979), the naturalistic analytic task is focused on the effort to explore, uncover and explicate the ways in which people in a particular real world setting come to understand, account for, take action and manage their daily situation. The

interpretivists look at these human activities as a collection of symbols that express layers of meanings (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These authors argued further that these situations present an inevitable interpretation of meanings of human behaviour made by both the social actors and researcher. As it applied to this study, the analysis is based on data from the selected data sources illustrating how the participants and I, as the enquirer, made meanings about pupil in/exclusion within the natural setting of the various case schools in order to test the social in/exclusion theory. While keeping the existing literature in mind the chances of discovering novel phenomena through the analysis was kept open (Strauss, 1987). Evidences taken from the various data sources within the different participants and from each participant were compared and contrasted to get new data. Contrasting data was used to provide more insights and to examine the issue in greater depths while overlapping data was utilized corroboratively in the analysis to reinforce the arguments.

ESTABLISHING TRUSTWORTHINESS

The approach I adopted raises inevitable concerns about the criteria for establishing trustworthiness with regards to the processes with which I generated, transcribed, condensed, analysed data and reported findings. This is because qualitative research of this kind relies on an individual researcher as the ‘instrument of inquiry’ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 1986; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). It also involves methods which, are flexible, context oriented and largely concerned with making meaning about what is being studied to be able to understand complex issues.

Criticisms by positivist researchers concerning issues of validity, reliability and generalisability considers qualitative research strategies unscientific (Carcary, 2009). In response to such concerns, various researchers (e.g. Lincoln & Guba (1985, 1986), Guba & Lincoln (1994), Robson (1993) Miles & Huberman (1994), Whitmore, Chase & Mandle (2001) and Shenton (2004), have proposed different ways of determining trustworthiness within studies that adopt an interpretivist perspective: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. These are seen as alternative measures on which to evaluate qualitative studies and ensure the methods are therefore trustworthy (Carcary, 2009; Lietz & Zayas, 2010).

These four canons for assessing qualitative research informed how I was able to establish confidence in my findings (credibility); the applicability of these findings to other settings (transferability); the consistency of my methods in respect

to what would happen if they were reapplied with participants in similar contexts (dependability); and the extent to which it can be believed that the findings emerged from the participants, situations and contexts, and not through my subjective biases, assumptions, interests and perspectives (confirmability).

In order to satisfy these criteria to guarantee trustworthiness in my research findings, I made sure contemporary literatures drawn to examine all interconnected issues regarding pupil in/exclusion in primary schools were germane to the focus of the study. I used three different case schools to enable a thorough examination of the overall theme under research. I applied child-friendly strategies to ensure I generated rich data and explained the reasons I did not apply alternative measures in the research. The sources used to gather data were developed after having a careful examination of the ways other researchers have successfully applied them to collect data from children in various qualitative studies. In doing so, I had to also make sure I adapted the data sources to my research focus and sites. Head teachers and teachers were always informed any day I was in each school to collect data and whenever I was leaving the schools. In addition, I engaged in a prolonged, systematic and rigorous process to generate my data. I collected relevant documents from responsible authorities within the case schools and analysed thoroughly. Repeated observations were carried out in the case schools at different times in a bid to achieve consistency in the data collected.

I carefully did individual interviews with all participants inside their various schools to collect data direct from them to ensure validity. Participants spoke language/s that I could understand. I used Pidgin English to interview some of them who could not supply adequate responses in English as a means to address language barrier during the activity. All interviews were done by me and I transcribed the data collected without using an interpreter. Direct accounts of the children were presented verbatim and analysed in English as presented in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

I combined data from documentary analysis, observations and the interviews to analyse the issue through the standpoint of the pupils, the researcher and how the schools conducted themselves in regard to pupil in/exclusion, ensuring the analysis of the issue from three sources can make findings confirmable. The observation photos were also used to further describe the phenomena and contexts of the three schools in great details, showing the commonalities and differences

amongst the cases. That helped to minimise replication of data. Overlapping data from the three instruments were used to bolster arguments in data analysis.

Trustworthiness of the study was also ensured through member checks by participants (*see appendix Y*), debriefing with research supervisors, critique by peers either by formal or informal meetings, in-depth thematic analysis and linking findings to literature. Also, member checks, debriefing with research supervisors, quotes from relevant literatures and screening by peers helped to clarify the assumptions, theories and biases of the researcher (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, 1986, 1994; Shenton, 2004; Baxter & Jack, 2008; 2011).

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since the research involved children, I had to pass all ethical protocols at the University and, in particular did a satisfactory criminal background checks, to be able to assure the University that the children would be safe while I was away to work with them in the field in Nigeria. I applied all appropriate ethical procedures to ensure participants were not overtly or covertly coerced to take part or harmed while participating. I contacted officials of SUBEB, school heads, teachers and parents to identify and negotiate access to participants. I selected three schools whose locations were proximate to my accommodation in the study area for my own safety and to reduce transportation problems.

All adults mentioned above responsible for the education of children provided permission for me to do research in the schools and pupils (*see appendices M, N, O, P & R*). Parents gave informed consent and assent for their children to participate (*see appendices P & R*). That is because children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent to take part in research. In spite of that, I supplied information sheets still for the children to read and give consent to take part in the study within two weeks (*see appendix Q*). Parents were also given two weeks to decide whether their children should take part. All participants were volunteers and were reminded of their rights to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I made sure I did not engage participants in sensitive and emotive issues during interviews. So, no distressing issue occurred to affect the subjects while in the field. I blurred the faces of children and teachers who appeared on the photos so as to conceal their identities. Real names of the schools, participants and organisations

were disguised for anonymity. Research supervisor/s had access to the anonymous data to ensure the methods used were appropriate. Other organisations interested in the study are also granted the permission to access data in line with data protection policy of The University of Manchester. I informed my research supervisors about teachers strike in the state during the research and they, in turn, communicated this to the ethics committee. I received authorisation from the ethics committee through my supervisors via email and Skype to continue with my research after the teachers called off the industrial action. Participants gave consent to the filming, recording, processing of the data and publishing of the findings. They read and checked the transcripts to ensure their responses were recorded correctly. I kept data securely locked in personal drawer.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have explained the methods I employed to generate and analyse data. A multiple case study approach was adopted, involving three state primary schools in rural locations in Cross River State. Thirty 11-16-year-olds recruited on the basis of language, religion, tribe, gender and impairment from the three case schools participated in the study. Data was drawn from these participants via documentary analysis, participant observations and individual interviews guided by the three research questions and conceptual framework. I made considerable efforts to ensure some level of trustworthiness in the study and address the ethical issues involved in the research processes.

Data from the various sources were used to perform thematic data analysis on pupil in/exclusion following the organisational structure of pupil presence, participation and achievement. Also, I used the photos as part of data to present a vicarious description of the phenomena and contexts of the three case schools as shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8. The next chapter presents data analysis on pupil in/exclusion in the first of these cases, *Kenwa*.

CHAPTER SIX

KENWA PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

Kenwa primary school was located in *Eshueya*, a rural community, lying approximately 30 kilometres outside the north of Calabar Municipality. On the Calabar - Ikom highway, travel rightwards through an untarred access road. The community lay four kilometres ahead. Parts of the village sat on undulating land. Gully erosion sites were located near the hills and valleys, and these places were dumpsites. The tropical surroundings suggested that the village experienced huge rainfall and sunshine.

The residents assumedly practiced a subsistence economy. They belonged to *Efik*, *Igbo*, *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* tribes. Near the village was a nomadic *Hausa/Fulani* settlement. The *Efiks* were, however, seen to be more dominant. It seemed, *Efiks*, in the cause of history, succeeded in defining themselves as indigenes in order to deny other tribes whom they had branded as settlers equal rights to education. Children's identities were often traced to the background of their father as stated in chapter 4.

The community members spoke languages that reflected their various tribes, but *Efik* and English were the major languages within the community, similar to my explanations in chapters 2 and 4. The former was adopted as the language of the immediate environment while the latter served as national language in line with the requirement in national education policy as outlined in chapter 4. In addition to English, however, community members also spoke Pidgin English as I explained in chapter 4. Christianity and Islam were the major religions there, a practice linked to my explanation in chapter 4. Practitioners of the former were largely drawn from amongst the *Efiks*, *Ibibios*, *Ekois* and *Igbos*. The latter included mostly the *Hausa/Fulanis*. The Christian majority arose due to the location of the community in a predominantly Christian southeast of the country as mentioned in chapter 4.

Provisions for education of boys and girls were fitted to the expected social roles of the children in the informal setting as mentioned in chapters 2, 3 and 4. Boys were socialised to engage in occupations, which particular tribes derived its livelihood while girls were socialised to largely learn domestic roles. It is not known whether children with impairments were in the community, and if they were, whether the available educational provisions included them in the context.

However, *Aka Ogbudu*, an untarred street in *Eshueya* connected the access road and led down to the school (*see fig. 6.1*). The primary school was located on a 'hidden corner' towards the end of the street and far away from homes. The state



Fig. 6.1. Aka Ogbudu leading down to the school.

government established *Kenwa* in 2001 as part of the effort to provide education to all primary aged children under the UBE mentioned in chapters 1, 3 and 4. After the school gate, *Aka Ogbudu* became a narrow footpath leading into a bushy valley and rising again onto a luxuriant hill.

On the left of the school entrance was the school fence. Inside the school compound a wavy land stretched from the hilltop to the valley. A green concrete administrative block sat near the school gate. It housed the head teacher's and deputy head teacher's offices (*see fig. 6.2*). It was fitted with burglary proof, air conditioner, glass windows and mosquito nets. Primary 1, 2, 3 classroom block and a gully erosion site were located right of the administrative office. Nursery 1 and 2 classroom block stood left of the same office



Fig.6.2. The headmistress' office showing a female teacher meeting with the head teacher.

At the front of all school buildings on the hilltop a piece of land formed a semi-circle carrying Nigeria's and



Fig. 6.3. The assembly ground showing Nigeria's and Cross River State's flags.

Cross River State's flags (*see fig. 6.3*). Pupils used this place as the assembly ground. Near the flags, on the fenced side of the school compound, was an old swing. Primary 4, 5 and 6 buildings were located in the valley, and they stood in such a way that the space in front of them assumed an L-shape, surrounding an open field, which children used to play. Primary 5 classrooms, in particular, were partitioned into three sections: 5A, 5B and 5C as mentioned in chapter 5. Access to classrooms in the valley was through a narrow concrete stairway constructed on the side of the slope (*see figs. 6.4 and 6.5*). There were no ramps to facilitate mobility of some children to other sections of the school other than the stairs. Upon arrival in the morning, the children walked to their classrooms to keep their belongings.

All pupils used school uniforms. Girls' dresses varied greatly from the boys' in terms of design. They used green pinafore,

sewn below the knee. A white piece of cloth measuring about six inches in width was also sewn to the front of the gown to cover the entire length of the uniform. The sleeves had very thin white hems. The boys wore white shirts with short sleeves on green shorts. A green tie was sewn to the collar of the boy's shirts and girls' pinafore at the front. Every child wore white pair of socks with a pair of black sandals.

School hour started at 7.45am local time. A bell is rung to announce the commencement of school activities. Children and teachers responded to the bell by gathering at the assembly area to conduct morning devotion, led by a teacher (*see fig. 6.6*). Other teachers stood around to help control the pupils. This is similar to the practice in chapters 7 and 8.



Fig. 6.4. Rear view of the stairway on the hill, including the field pupils used to play and primary 3 and 4 classroom building in the valley.



Fig. 6.5. Front view of the stairway.

Morning devotion provided opportunity for religious worship and patriotic expressions to the country for both pupils and teachers. At this meeting, pupils performed Christian choruses and prayers, sang the national and state anthems and recited the pledges. The proclivity to



Fig. 6.6. Pupils and teachers holding morning devotion at the assembly ground. The women in white veils are the Muslim teachers. The pupil wearing a yellow shirt is Obi - boy with impairments. The children with woven hair are the Hausa/Fulani girls.

Christian worship is linked to the dominance of Christianity in the context. But, when the Christian songs and prayers were being sung, the Muslims teachers did not participate. Doing so, I presume, will contravene their Islamic beliefs. This is one issue that is linked to tensions and conflicts between both religions as I stated in chapters 3, 4 and 7. Unlike them, some Muslim pupils took part in the Christian worship, perhaps, naively. At the end of the meeting, lasting 15 minutes, teachers announced school plans to and expectations from pupils. Pupils sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms to start lessons afterwards. As the pupils took their seats inside the classrooms, the teachers took attendance of pupils who were present and absent for the day.

PUPIL PRESENCE

I focused on primary 5. This classroom had two males and one female teacher who were responsible for primary 5A, 5B and 5C. Pupils called the male teachers 'uncle' and female teachers 'aunty' to mean 'aunt' as stated I chapter 5 and as with the cases in chapters 7 and 8. Both male teachers were *Efik* Christians and the female was a *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim. Teachers used smart clothes at school. However, the Muslim teacher also covered her head with hijab - a veil used by females in the Islamic world (*see fig. 6.6*). The primary 5C teacher was among three Islamic teachers government deployed to teach Muslim pupils Islamic Religious Education (IRE) including other subjects in the curriculum.

Enrolment and attendance

90 children had places to start primary 1 in the school in the 2007/2008 academic session. Data on table 6.1 presents the changing composition of the class and demographics of the pupils for five years commencing from when they had admission in 2007/2008 academic year to their current year in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 session.

Table 6.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012					2011/2012	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Efik	21	8	20	8	18	8	16	8	14	6	Christians	Not indicated	Not indicated	7	2
Ibibio	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	6				2	-
Yoruba	5	4	3	4	2	3	2	2	-	-				5	4
Igbo	5	2	5	2	4	2	3	2	3	2	46			2	-
Ekoi	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6				-	-
Hausa/ Fulani	14	8	14	8	12	8	11	8	9	7	Muslims			5	1
											16				
Total	90		87		79		74		62		62			28	
Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.															

Table 6.1 indicates enrolment of pupils and the change in composition of pupils for five academic sessions from primary 1 to 5. Year-by-year changes in the composition of the class shows that *Efik* and *Hausa/Fulani* pupils outnumbered their colleagues from the other tribes. The *Hausa/Fulani* pupils in the school were from the nomadic settlement mentioned above. Some children from the *Yoruba* tribe also had places in the school. Christians were more than Muslims, and Muslims comprised mostly pupil of *Hausa/Fulani* tribe as stated in chapter 4.

Boys, denoted by the letter B, were over-represented compared to girls, denoted by the letter G. Records did not show whether any children with impairments were among the pupils. Data also did not demonstrate the language the pupils speak. However, the table also shows that, during the 2011/2012 school year, 28 children perhaps stopped attending school and among them, boys were more than girls. On the contrary, the number of boys compared to girls, Christians compared to

Muslims, suggested that children from the former backgrounds got more places in the school than the latter.

Demographics of participants

As stated in chapter 5, some of the pupils in primary 5 were drawn to take part in the study. The backgrounds of children who took part is presented on table 6.2:

Table 6.2: Demographics of participants

S/N	Name of participant	Gender	Age	Religion	Tribe	Language	Years in school
1	Kije	boy	11	Christian	Ibibio	Ibibio	5
2	Mbua	girl	11	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
3	Tah	boy	13	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
4	Ahmed	boy	11	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5
5	Eyare	girl	13	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
6	Umu	girl	12	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5
7	Obi	boy with impairments	15	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	6
8	Ebie	girl	14	Christian	Igbo	Igbo	5
9	Ojuare	boy	12	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
10	Aloka	girl	13	Christian	Efik	Efik	5

Source: 2011/2012 classroom registers for primary 5; Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Table 6.2 shows that pupils who took part in the study were drawn from among the diverse backgrounds of children who were on roll in primary 5 as stated in chapter 5. It was nonetheless not clear about the language and disability statuses of the children as shown on table 6.1 above. The language and disability backgrounds of participants were known during interaction with them and via my conjecture as an insider.

Among the participants was Obi. I noticed him as he stood in the same queue with pupils in primary 5 during morning devotion. He was the only child who wore mufti at the time. He was bigger and taller than other pupils in this classroom and looked older than his peers in age (*see fig. 6.6 above*). As pupils marched into their classrooms after the devotion, I followed them to learn more about him.



Fig. 6.7. Side view of the second building in the valley, housing primary 5.

Reaching primary 5 building (*see fig. 6.7*), he marched with his classmates into primary 5C. On a closer look, I noticed that, unlike the other children, Obi was rather talking slowly. I observed that:

Obi had speech defects and learning difficulties. He was of Hausa/Fulani tribe and a Muslim (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

During interaction with pupils I learnt that Obi had been in the school for over five years. He was not born with any physical challenges, but developed these conditions in primary 4 as a result of a sickness that infected his central neural system. He stopped attending school for about one year because the illness was severe. His parents sought medical treatment to ensure he gets well so as to recommence schooling. When they thought that the sickness had impaired his speech and slowed down his rate of learning, they wanted to keep him out of school. It is unclear, however, why Obi's parents abandoned their decision and kept him back in school. School records provided the clue that school management placed him in primary 5C because this classroom comprised children who had least abilities compared to their peers in primary 5A and 5B. While interviewing participants, three of them made disclosures about the way Obi and another child attended school:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too? |
| Kije (<i>a boy</i>) | Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too. Like Obi. . . |
| Ahmed (<i>a boy</i>) | . . . other pupils do not come to school too. Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school. |
| Ojuare (<i>a boy</i>) | They other pupils don't always come to school. Uncle, there was a time Obi did not come to school. He stayed that time [he stayed for a long time] and he did not come to school. . . . He was sick. |

These disclosures clarified that Obi was also present, but not attending school regularly. The attention given to the 'days' and 'time' in which he skipped school seemed to signify the amount of care they had for him. From Ojuare's second statement, being 'sick' is to acknowledge that Obi, as a human, can be ill. Sickness in that sense is understood as a temporary condition that posed no threat to Obi's presence or threatened the wellbeing of other pupils. Instead, it is like any other pupil

who could be unwell and recover from it when given medical treatment. In other words, Obi's condition was seen among these children as not being out of acceptable norm in school.

School fees and domesticity

UBE enabled the placement of children from a mix of backgrounds in the school in accordance with policy guidelines as outlined in chapter 4, and evidenced in table 6.1 above. However, as I mentioned in chapter 3, the school was seen to impose dues on pupils and expected compliance. The school usually allowed children until the end of the semester to make all payments. Pupils collected money from their parents to pay for these school charges. On some occasions the parents came to the school to pay on their behalf. The head teacher directed teachers to keep record of pupils who had complied with the requirement. Towards the approach of semester examination, s/he instructed teachers to exclude any learners who owed or were yet to complete settling all charges from attending school.

Once, one of the male teachers entered every classroom holding a note book in his hand and was calling names of pupils. As he did that the pupils stood up. Later, he told those standing to pack their books and go home because they had not paid some levies, including school fees, handicrafts, examination fees, toilet tissues and foolscaps. These items were equivalent to about £5.00. I felt unhappy to see that happen because the pupils would be absent for that day. The affected children were not happy either. Some of them were frowning and grumbling. Others walked slowly to express reluctance to go home. In my discussions with interviewees about pupils' attendance at school, six of them went further to tell me about pupils' experience concerning school fees:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils?

Kije . . . Umu (a girl).
Aloka (*a girl*) (*Cuts in*) it's because of school fees . . .
Umu (*a girl*) It's only them.

ME Why is it so?

Kije Uncle, it's because of school fees.
Ahmed Because they don't like to come to school every day,. . . because they (teachers) send [them] home

	to get their school fees.
Tah (<i>a boy</i>)	Because they did not pay their school fees.
Umu	Uncle, whether it's school fees.
Eyare (<i>a girl</i>)	It happens with only them because of their school fees.

Here the pupils were speaking around the school fees discourse. It is a discourse that emphasises the imposition of certain school charges on school children. The way Aloka interjected suggests to me that school fee was a common issue that prevented pupils from attending school. And Umu was the pupil being mentioned as not attending school regularly because teachers sent her 'home' to get her school fees. And that supported my observation in that respect. However, for using the word 'whether', Umu was rather evasive in her opinion on the issue. I presume she felt it would be an embarrassment to her to say it in clear terms as one of the children affected by the practice. There were other children who were being excluded from attending school for non-payment of schools as represented in the discourse of 'they teachers send home to get their school fees' in Ahmed's excerpt. It showed that inability to pay fees was one factor that was excluding some children from attending school regularly.

However, another interviewee looked at pupil attendance from the perspective of parental influence, thus:

Obi (<i>boy with impairments</i>)	(<i>Talking slowly</i>) Whether their mother went to farm and has a baby. She tells them to stay at home and to take care of the baby.
-------------------------------------	--

Initially, Obi talked with some amount of uncertainty when he used the word 'whether'. Later, he sounded more confident stating that their 'mother' initiated absence from school to enable children assist the family care for their younger siblings, and this is akin to my explanation in chapter 3.

School location

The school was sited in a secluded place distant from residential areas unlike the cases in chapters 7 and 8. The classrooms were small and had no electricity and projectors like the situations in chapters 7 and 8. Commenting on the way the location of the school affects pupil attendance, one interviewee stated:

Mbua (*a girl*) Yes, there are other pupils in my classroom who don't come to school. Uncle, some days, Gedina (*a girl*) don't used to come to school. Sometimes she will be coming late to school and she used to say that her house is far.

Distance was an obstacle to regular school attendance for Gedina. It was for a similar reason that she came to school late. I assume she walked to school. Linked to my explanation in chapter 3, the case of Gedina is representative of other children who are also not attending school on regular basis as there were no alternative measures to facilitate their mobility to school.

Ahmed, however, provided a suggestion to solve the problem, thus:

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would buy a school bus. Why will you do that?

Ahmed (*Paused*) because I want big aunty to buy a bus . . . to drive somebody (pupils) to school and *Basarawa*. Because [when] pupils [have] school bus there [will] no[t] walk to school.

‘Big aunty’, represents headmistress. His understanding is that the headmistress, as head of the school management, needs to buy a school bus. This gives a clue that the head teacher is a woman. Also, his reference to ‘*Basarawa*’ signified pupils homes located within the *Hausa/Fulani* settlement as shown in chapter 7. Apart from him, there seemed to be other pupils who lived in *Basarawa*. It means the school did not have a bus. Provision of a school bus would enable pupils to commute their homes and school easily. Implicitly, given its location in a ‘hidden corner’ of the community, the bus would help to transport children safely to school and to increase their attendance.

School toilet

In terms of sanitation, the water cistern toilet had a wooden door and floor (see fig. 6.8). Two persons could not use it at the same time. When one user is in the toilet another pupil would wait for the user to finish, or s/he could urinate at any hidden place within the school compound. As explained in chapter 3, girls appeared to experience some challenges to



Fig. 6.8. Front view of the school toilet with a wooden door located behind the Nursery classroom block.

use a dirty toilet or squat in a public area within the school compound to excrete. Except for urine, pupils, regardless of the circumstance, had to defecate inside the toilet. I think the school management felt that dumping excreta indiscriminately outside the toilet posed more disturbing images compared to the urine. A female cleaner cleaned it from Monday to Friday at close of school with water she bought from a private borehole located nearby. Like Ahmed, three interviewees suggested other ways to fix some school resources to benefit pupils:

ME You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the playground. Why will you do that?

Obi . . . (stuttering) I - i -i -i don't like it. The place [is] very rough. . . . Rough playground is not good for me to play. I can wound myself there.

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the chairs and tables. Why will you do that?

Kije Ehn! Yes. Uncle, it's because the chairs, they (his classmates) always write something on [them]. I want the classroom to be nice.

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would paint the classroom Why will you do that?

Ojuare Because the school wants help. So that when visitors come into the class they will see how the

class is beautiful.

In an emotion filled response, Obi felt restricted to play at school during break due to the risks the poor condition of the playing arena posed to health. Like him, the other children were unhappy with the poor state of their classrooms, the seats and tables. They wanted the facilities and equipment refurbished to make the classroom and playing area attractive and safe for children to use.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Curriculum content

14 approved subjects were listed in the timetable. Each classroom had copies of the subject timetable indicating the list of subjects in the curriculum. The timetable was pasted on a conspicuous location inside the classroom for easy reference. It was structured into morning lessons, break and afternoon lessons. Core subjects such as English, Mathematics and primary Science were listed in the morning across the three classrooms. Pupils learned art based subjects when they returned from break. Lessons for each subject run for 40 minutes and lessons held from Monday to Friday. Unfortunately, there were no provisions in the timetable for IRE. I assume the school carefully excluded IRE to deny the Islamic teachers and pupils the opportunity to offer the subject. When other pupils were taking part in Christian Religious Education (CRE), some of their Muslim colleagues would either refuse to join them or teachers would force them to participate contrary to their religious upbringing and the provision in national policy as stated in chapter 4. Once, a boy in primary 5B walked to the teacher and delivered a message from his parent, saying to his teacher while fidgeting and frowning:

‘uncle, my father said like this [said that] he will remove me from this school to another school if I continue to learn Christian Religious Knowledge’ (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Lesson plan

Each teacher prepared lesson notes for each subject daily for his or her classroom every semester. Each term had between 13 – 14 weeks. Lesson notes were largely written in English in line with policy as stated in chapter 4. And they were written under different subsections describing the steps teachers had to follow to teach and assess pupils. Teachers submitted completed lesson notes to the headmistress to check. The school head carefully read the lessons planned for each

subject. While marking the note, she paid attention to grammar, spellings, concepts, behavioural objectives and lesson materials to make sure they were accurate and adequate for pupils.

If satisfied, she placed a right tick in the lesson notes, signed and dated it to indicate approval. Otherwise, she directed the teacher/s concerned to correct the lesson note/s and addressed the queries satisfactorily and resubmits to her for further checking and approval. Teachers were not allowed to deliver lessons without receiving prior authorisation from the headmistress as any teacher who did so risked disciplinary actions. This was done to guide against imparting wrong information to pupils. Approved lesson notes were returned to teachers. These documents served as teaching guides and sources of reference for teachers during classroom instruction. For example:

The teacher in primary 5A prepared a lesson note on English on the topic 'tortoise pays the price'. Under a subsection he termed 'introduction' he wrote: the teacher asks the pupils if anyone of them can relate one of the tortoise stories before telling them about the tortoise story in the lesson'. Then he writes: The tortoise said, 'I am cold and tired. Can I have my hen, please? My hen, my beautiful hen, says the tortoise. I don't want your goat. Give me my hen' (Teacher lesson note: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

This lesson used the character of the tortoise to stir a conversation among pupils so as to motivate them to participate by changing what the tortoise had said in direct speech to reported speech.

Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson

Lessons started at 8:00am local time, after morning devotion. As the lesson commenced pupils followed teacher instruction to stand, sit and clap hands several times. At the end of the exercise, teachers announced a code of conducts for all pupils in the classroom. The rule was made to regulate the behaviours of learners throughout the duration of the lessons. Pupils were told to sit erect and keep quiet. On some occasions they were also directed to fold their arms so as not to touch the colleague next to them. Again, they were asked to face front and maintain regular focus on the teacher while the lesson was in progress.

Teachers stood rigidly at the front to teach. Occasionally, they walked through the aisles while explaining concepts. While doing so, s/he paused briefly to ensure learners did not disrupt the lesson. Most of the time the teachers used verbal

explanations to deliver the lessons to pupils in English. Sometimes they used *Efik* language to interpret the explanations. Teacher-directed instruction made some pupils to become passive at lessons, a situation linked to my explanation in chapters 2 and 3. Pupils raised their hands up to ask and answer questions and they had to receive teacher permission first before they could talk. For example, pupils in primary 5A learned adjectives on English. As the teacher explained the lesson, once in a while he called a child to the front of the classroom to demonstrate adjectives.

He would say, 'Odili is a good girl'. Also, he used Efik to interpret the English version. He said, 'Odili edi eti eyen anwan. Eti is an adjective'. (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

The lesson in primary 5B was 'marriage' on Social Studies. Pupils learned different marriage practices. The teacher called some girls and boys to demonstrate the way people in different cultures practiced monogamy, polygyny and polyandry.

One girl asked, 'uncle is it good for a man to marry four wives'? The teacher answered, 'yes, it is good if you are a Muslim'. Explaining further, he said, 'Christians are taught to marry one wife, but some of them actually marry over four wives. Some men, who do not go to church or mosque, also marry more than one wife. Even in Islam, you can find some Muslim men who have only one wife'. A few pupils looked at the teacher and exclaimed 'ehen' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

In primary 5C, pupils used some realia to learn 'addition of three digit numbers' on Mathematics. These were sticks cut into short uneven length, and bottle corks, which they used to solve the sums. Children called these materials counters. The teacher asked questions randomly to both boys and girls. At some points she called the children in turns to work the sums on the blackboard. Almost all children, including some research participants, showed interest in the lesson. They raised their hands to perform the tasks as the teacher bade them. Obi also took active participation during the lesson. The teacher asked pupils '1 + 0 is equal what?' He volunteered to answer the question:

'1 + 0 is ehm ehm'. The teacher completed the statement and said, '1 + 0 is equal to 1'. Later, she asked the other pupils to clap for him (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Though happy to see the way Obi and some children were engaged in the lesson, but then I wondered whether a similar situation also took place when I was not in the classroom to observe them. However, still some boys and girls sat quietly and

listened to the teacher. They sometimes stared blandly into space at lesson and the teacher seemed not to have noticed them.

Pupil voice

I think it was a breach of classroom regulations for a child to make comments without, first, obtaining teacher consent. A female participant in primary 5A interjected the teacher to ask a question during lesson. The teacher said to her, 'ITK (I too know) keep quiet first and let me say what I am saying'. Almost simultaneously, some of the girl's classmates exclaimed, 'oooh, you too talk nah! [oh, you talk too much!]'. Thereafter, the teacher ignored the girl and continued teaching. The girl placed her index finger on her lips to gesture 'shut up' to her colleagues who had called her a talkative.

A boy in primary 5B, wanted to say something during lesson and the teacher said to him, 'No. Just listen'. The pupil stopped as the teacher commanded (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

At the end of the lesson, the teacher asked, 'is there any question'? It was startling to see all pupils chorus, 'no, aunty' and copied notes from the board. Speaking to interviewees regarding the way they participate at lesson, two of them provided the following views:

ME	When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is this happening?
Tah (<i>a boy</i>)	. . . they used to sit down quietly and listen [to] what the teacher is talking. They want to learn.
Ebie (<i>a girl</i>) They want to pay attention to the teacher, they want to be . . . clever.

These pupils did not regard 'sitting down quietly to listen to the teacher' as being passive at lessons. Rather, they understood the measure their peers adopted as a means to express enthusiasm to learn. For them, some pupils needed to concentrate passively so as to be able to grasp what the teacher is explaining to them in a distraction free atmosphere. For instance, 'paying attention' is understood by Ebie as a strategy that can facilitate learning for her peers and that could in effect enable them to become intelligent, as it is represented in the discourse of being 'clever'. These views suggested the naivety of some pupils in accepting passivity as a way to ensure compliance to classroom rules at lessons.

Talking further regarding pupil voice, eight interviewees expressed opinions on the issue, thus:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so? |
| Kije | Because they don't understand (the lesson) . . . when they ask other pupils will laugh at them. |
| Tah | Because they did not listen to the teacher. |
| Aloka | They don't understand what the teacher is saying (teaching). |
| Mbua | Uncle, we always be afraid, because I can make a mistake. |
| Ebie | <i>(Paused and looking down)</i> uncle, I don't know what is happening o. |
| Ojuare | . . . sometimes they will say something in Maths. |
| Obi | Hmmm! When you want to talk they go talk say who tell you to talk [When you want to talk the teacher will say, who told you to talk?]. |
| Eyare | It is because they don't understand the lesson, and the teacher does not allow us to make noise when she is teaching. The noise (will) distract her. She will not feel happy when pupils want to explain the lesson. |

One theme permeating the various views of these interviewees is suppression of pupil voice during lesson. It is discernible from their statements about the way teachers imposed themselves as authoritative figures in the classrooms. Feelings of intimidation and panic are also reflected in the views and behaviours of the pupils. Even when they did not understand the lesson, they felt hesitant to ask questions to seek clarifications from the teachers. Kije's opinion portrayed the way pupils felt frightened to ask questions at lessons because their peers would 'laugh at them'. Pupils laugh to mock peers who have asked a question. The perception of some of the pupils is that it is wrong to stop the teacher to make queries when the teacher has yet to give approval to do so otherwise she will not be 'happy' with such a pupil.

Note the way Ebie paused and looked down when talking to me. Obi, on the other hand, did not only state the obvious on the issue, he also exclaimed 'hmmm'. Their expressions hinted to the risk they faced to ask questions or make comments when the teacher is still teaching. The tone 'happening o' in Ebie's account is in Pidgin English. By suffixing the word 'happening' with the vowel 'o' in the Pidgin sense of it, Ebie highlighted the extent of fear she was experiencing to comment

about the situation due to the danger, I presume, was involved in the issue. Perhaps, this pupil did not quite trust me. She feared I could disclose her information to her teacher and she might be punished for revealing the issue to an external body. The teaching strategy failed to engage pupils at lesson for the mere fact that they were ‘children’ as also noted in chapters 3 and 5.

However, during interview four interviewees suggested some ways to resolve this problem, thus:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| ME | What should your teacher do for you to learn better? |
| Aloka | I want our uncle to teach us very well and what we don't understand we can ask him questions |
| Ebie | Ehnn (<i>scratches her head with the hand</i>), our teacher shou--uld not teach us hard things |
| Ahmed | I think our uncle can bring something like orange (real objects) in the class[room] when we are learning . . . |
| Kije | I want our teacher to be teaching us well, like he can give us homework let us do. |

Aloka talked in terms of making classroom engagement to be dialogical. From her view, exchanges in the classroom would create avenues for children to make queries when they do not understand the concepts the teacher is imparting to them. When that happens, pupils would be able to discuss, share ideas and comprehend the lesson. Her opinion corresponds with the dialogic learning discourse, a discourse that encourages interactive lesson in which pupils can have the opportunity to talk and express their views concerning what they are learning. According to her, to ‘ask’ the teacher ‘questions’ is to enable the pupils seek clarifications about issues that are unclear to them so as to ‘understand’ the lesson better.

Her colleague, Ebie, added that they would learn well when the teacher did not teach them ‘hard things’ so that they do not feel mystified by them. To me, she was actually not implying that pupils would not learn difficult concepts at some points. Rather, as can be read from her body language, she was calling on teachers to simplify difficult concepts in ways that they could understand. Connotatively, pupils also participate better at lesson when concepts are being explained to them in simple terms. In addition, it involves teaching that takes cognizance that children are beginner English users, especially within a non-native English context.

More so, the teaching strategy being referred to in Ahmed's view indicate the use of realia at lessons. He was talking within the concrete learning discourse. Concrete learning discourse recommends that pupils should learn with real objects to enable them participate in the lesson and understand the concepts more easily. While suggesting that his teacher can bring 'orange' to lesson, this pupil believed that pupils would be engaged actively when they learn about concepts in tangible terms.

Another way they felt they can be engaged, according to the last interviewee, is for teachers to give them homework to do. Homework means that they will do the assignment at their convenience sometimes at home; not in the classroom. Assignment can give them space to engage in individualised learning and keep them busy at home. In that way the pupils can do some rudimentary inquiries to discover new ideas and demonstrate certain level of originality in the tasks. In line with that, I observed that completed homework was handed in to the teachers the next school day.

Medium of instruction

Other classroom activities required pupils to answer teachers' questions mostly during lessons. In this case, the children produced verbal feedback to questions. Some pupils encountered challenges to say or write the answers correctly in English. I found these sentences in the English notebook of a male participant in 5B on a lesson on Dictation:

Aminat a tiwn brother. The want to ahive. A comment in red ink was also seen on the book of this boy. It reads: 'Is this English or French'?

Also, a girl stood up to answer a question during lesson on Computer Studies. The teacher asked her to explain how a computer works. She said,

'uncle, the computer is a electron[ic] thing wey dey [that] collect data ehm ehm ehm'. She placed her finger in her mouth and chewed the fingernail.

A male participant in primary 5A lent his dictionary to another boy. While handing over the book, he said to him:

'my dictionary have tear. Please hold it well o'.

Pupils also did some classroom assignments taken either from the subject they had learned or their text books. Each of them had 20 - 30 minutes to complete the work. Slow writers hardly had extra time to finish their work. Thus, the children rushed to complete their work. Upon completion, they submitted their notebooks to

the teachers to mark. When the time stipulated expired the teachers started asking them to pass their books. For example, a remark in red ink was seen on the class assignment of a female participant in primary 5C on Reading. It read:

'it seems you don't understand the assignment' (Pupils' note books: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Also, her peers did assignments and submitted their notebooks to the teacher to mark. After marking the assignments, the teacher gave the books to a girl and asked the pupil to distribute them to her classmates. One male participant complained that he had not been given his book. The teacher asked to know what had happened to the boy's book and the girl replied:

'aunty, I have give him'. Her classmates laughed (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Pupils who had used all the time allowed still had to pass their books regardless of whether they have finished writing. Teachers felt unhappy when any child expressed reluctance to submit his or her book. When that happens the teachers personally dragged the book away from the child/ren concerned or authorise class representatives to do so. Some children have had their books unmarked or torn because they could not submit them at the specified time. Those who secretly forwarded their books to be marked in defiance did so at the risk of having them thrown away by teachers.

While speaking with the interviewees, eight of them expressed views that provided further clue to the experience of pupils regarding the language they used as follows:

ME	I have noticed that when one pupil said something wrong everybody else will laugh and make fun of him or her. Does this happen quite often?
----	---

Kije	Yes.
Aloka	No. No. . . .
Tah	Yes.
Mbua	(Paused) Yes.

ME	Is it only this same pupil you make fun of?
----	---

Kije	It is the same pupils because they laugh at somebody (else) too.
Eyare	Yes. It's still the same pupil.

ME	Why is this happening?
Tah	Because they talk the wrong thing. Like when they want to spell 'happiness', they will spell h-a-p-p-y. That one is 'happy'. Then they did not put h-a-double 'p'-i-n-e-double 's'. That one is 'happiness'.
Aloka	. . . if they make mistakes we will laugh. Sometimes we used to correct them.
Ebie	(Paused) . . . we will correct them before we laugh at them [because] we want them to [pay] attention and want them to be clever.
Ojuare	Other pupils make fun and say something [other pupils make fun] because [what they say] is funny.
Umu	Other pupils in the classroom will make fun when they say something wrong too . . .
Obi	Because they know pass them. [Because they are more intelligent than them - their classmates, who have said something wrong].

These views further showed that some children used jokes to ridicule particular peers who committed errors in communication in English. While some pupils derived fun from the situation, the reaction from others was to retaliate derisively against classmates who have behaved in a similar way towards them in the past. From Aloka's excerpts, even when some of the children assisted the victims to improve on their communication skills, they did so in a disparaging manner. The intention is actually not to support their classmates to increase participation at lesson, but to use them as objects of ridicule. Pupils appeared to regard peers who were not adept English users as being illiterate and unintelligent.

But, two interviewees gave some suggestions to address language barriers among the learners to facilitate pupil participation at lessons, thus:

ME	You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?
Mbua	[It] help me read my books correctly [well]. Hmmm our teacher don't always tell me to come and read. He always tell me you cannot read. That's why I said I will read my books correctly
ME	You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?
Umu	Uncle, so that I will learn how to read and write (in English) in school and I can do very well. I can read

very well; it's only writing that I cannot write very well.

Mbua believed her teacher formed a negative impression about her reading skills. She 'always' felt ignored because the teacher thought she 'cannot read'. Impliedly, her teacher 'always' made her to stay passively in the classroom when other pupils were active in the lesson on reading. That has rather inspired her to develop resilience to improve her reading skills because of the way her teacher used to snub and underestimate her reading competences. In the same vein, Umu has decided to enhance her literacy skills to be able to engage more actively in academic tasks.

Peer teaching and collaboration

I saw some children in primary 5A reading their English textbooks. Three of the female research participants could not pronounce the word 'astonished' correctly. One of the girls suggested they ask other colleagues to help. She asked, 'Paul, please read this word for me, a-s-t-o-n-i-s-h-e-d'. The colleague read the word for her. Later, she said to self, 'what does this word mean'? Another female classmate volunteered and said, 'it means surprised'. She looked at the colleague who had helped her and smiled. A girl in primary 5B, did not come to school for three days due to sickness. She later came to school when she eventually got well. On this very day, the teacher gave a class assignment on Agricultural Science. She met with a female peer to explain to her the lessons they had learnt on the subject on the days she was not in school. The colleague taught her and she completed the tasks. Pupils in primary 5C were having a lesson on Mathematics. The teacher asked them: 'when we add 2 to 3, what will be the answer'?

As the pupils thought about the answer, one boy and girl whispered some ideas about the question to each other. After that, the boy shouted to say the answer, saying, 'aunty, it's 5' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Seating and social interaction

Pupils sat in rows leaving aisles in between the seats in all the classrooms (*see fig. 6.9*). The blackboard was placed on the wall in front of the classroom (*see fig. 6.10*) as with the practice in chapters 7 and 8. Teachers appointed a pupil – boy or girl - who was more confident and physically stronger compared to their peers as class representatives. Another justification for their selection was that they had good communication skills in English.



Fig. 6.9. Some pupils in the classroom.

Boys were nonetheless seen to be inclined to spend more time with boys and girls with girls. Although the pupils enjoyed the presence of the opposite gender in the classroom, majority of them, however, demonstrated preferences for

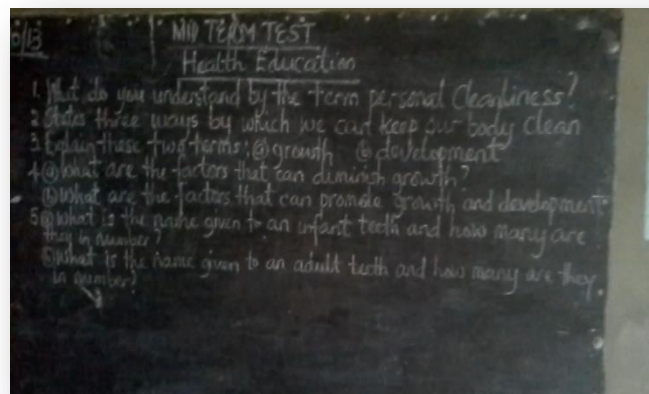


Fig. 6.10. The blackboard showing mid-term test on Health Education. See timetable pasted beside the board to the left.

the gender groups that shared similar designs of uniform and interaction styles with them. Boys sat on the same seats talking with and touching the other boys and girls engaged with fellow girls. Teachers only applied on-the-spot strategies as personal efforts to alter the status quo in a bid to engage pupils in a cross gender interaction. In primary 5B, the teacher asked the girls to sit with the boys and vice versa. But, the arrangement appeared to be only a temporary fix. The children took the new structure just for a short time, sometimes lasting from the time they received the instruction and after particular lessons. Soon after they returned from recess, they separated, may be driven by impulse, to reverse to the old order. This amplified gender differences between the boys and girls and made them feel socially excluded in the midst of their peers.

Ordinarily, however, pupils hardly have face-to-face relationship with their teachers except during lessons. If they must do so then it has to be based on a learner–teacher basis as I mentioned in chapter 3. They saw teachers sometimes as being unapproachable. Even among the learners, some pupils seemed to have created a red line barring some peers from socialising closely with them. Apart from the gender discrimination mentioned earlier, some of Obi's classmates used to refuse to sit with him in the classroom. One boy, however, actually sat with him, but kept some distance in between them. Whenever Obi said something his peers would laugh at him.

Pupils had their break at 10:40am local time. On the playground some boys and girls ran all over the place chasing one another. Others kicked an empty plastic bottle around the open field as it is done in the game of soccer. Every one of them pushed and pulled each other so as to get to the bottle first. They laughed, screamed, and shouted each other's name in excitement during the activity. They used English to communicate with each other. Although Obi also took part in the game, other children were subtly avoiding him. You need to read their body language carefully to be able to notice it. 40 minutes later break ended and they all moved back into their classrooms to continue lessons for the remainder of the day. When I interviewed the participants to get their views about their participation at playtime, one of them provided a response regarding their experience regarding Obi:

ME During play time I have seen that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say there are such children from your classroom?

Kije . . . (*paused*) it's because when their friends want to play with them, when they cannot play fine their friends will say they should not play with them again. So they will play on their own. Uncle, eh Obi don't used to play well. He will pouring saliva when we are playing with him and he used to behave stupid stupid. He don't even know something [he is unintelligent]. We don't used to like it.

This interviewee spoke within the medical constructionist stance that perceives social and educational barriers facing some pupils as products of their impairments. Obi is being represented in the discourse of ‘they’. According to Kije, Obi ‘cannot play fine’ because he was spitting, and that behaviour is regarded as being ‘stupid’. He used the word ‘stupid’ twice in reference to Obi’s behaviour to actually highlight

how he thought impairment had reduced Obi's social competencies. In addition, his other colleagues discriminated against him because they viewed him as being unintelligent. This indicates the way other children stereotype their peers with physical challenges.

The exclamation in Kije's account is used to narrow attention to Obi. The use of the phrase 'pouring saliva' emblematises disease, implying that impairment is communicable. Also, the condition was seen to limit Obi's ability to learn as represented in the discourse of 'he don't even know something'. The pronoun 'we' is a plural reference Kije used for self and other children at school. It means he and the other children did not 'like' to play with Obi because he was portraying some behaviour, which perhaps is out of the accepted norm at school.

Speaking further on pupil participation in interaction, eight interviewees stated:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Ahmed | Yes. |
| Tah | They are from primary 2 |
| Mbua | Some (of them) come from my classroom and some are not from my classroom. |
| Obi | Yes. |
| Ojuare | No. They are not from our classroom. Our classroom is only playing alone with our classroom or our classmates. |
| Eyare | Yes. |
| ME | Why do you think they have no one to play with? |
| Obi | Me I dey like to play with Francis [I like to play with Francis]. |
| Ahmed | Because they are in primary 2. That's why we don't want them to play with us. |
| Aloka | No. Because my classmates used to say that we should not play with them. . . |
| Mbua | Uncle, I have some [friends], but not all the children. |
| Ebie | We are not their classmates. That's why. It's our classmates that said we should not play with them. Let us play with only ourselves. |
| Eyare | It is because they don't want to join us [to play]. They want to play with other pupils because they don't like how we are laughing at them. |

Pupils also segregated one another in interaction on account of seniority at school and differences in classrooms. It indicates a replication of adult-child relationship following the teacher-pupil pattern of interaction. On the playground, they socialised mostly based on equality in year of study. Even at that, there was also discrimination

within group as members had selected friends within particular classrooms with whom they played and they did so to prevent being ridiculed by other children. Obi's explanation that he had Francis as his only playmate at school confirmed the refusal of other children to accept him into their friendship groups due to impairment.

Peer victimisation

There was a boy in primary 5B who used to push, trip and make some unfriendly gestures at his classmates. He also attacked some of them verbally.

Another boy coughed in the classroom on one occasion during lesson. The bully said to him, 'that cough that you are coughing, ehem ehem ehem' (Field notes, Kenwa primary school, 2013).

During interview with participants to ascertain why they will not like to work with some of their peers to execute school projects, four of them replied:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper? |
| Kije | Because they always do something (i.e. behave) like they are the seniors. When we are sweeping in the [classroom] they will be insulting [pupils]. They will say (<i>demonstrating with the finger</i>) 'you do this, you do that'. [But] they [themselves] will not do it. They will always stand one place [doing nothing]. |
| Ahmed | Because Israel wants to fight with me. Mfonobong used to carry cane and flog me while Ruquayatu used to slap me. |
| Tah | Queen, because when I talk anything [she] will go and tell our uncle or aunty or Aloka and they (teachers and pupil) will flog me. Nura, that day I hit his belly and I said sorry. He went and told Aloka and she flogged me. Edor, because, because, because, he used to, he used to . . . carried cane. When he carried cane he'll flog other pupils and he is not the class prev[f]ect. |
| Ebie | Buki is a trouble - maker. Eshua wanted to beat me when uncle was not around. Friday. . . . Friday is a troublemaker. |

These perspectives suggest that some pupils in the school were bossy, aggressive, saucy or vengeful towards other peers. Others took their classmates' properties without consent. Non-offenders were sometimes beaten by the teacher because the aggressor/s had made a false allegation to the teacher against them. As a result, some

pupils decided to be unfriendly with some classmates whom they regarded as exhibiting behaviours that were offensive to them.

As shown in Kije's disclosure, some pupils humiliated their weaker peers, commanding them to clean up the classroom without themselves taking part in the activity. On the other hand, Tah mentioned Aloka as the class representative and the pupil who had the authority to 'flog' other pupils when they go wrong in the classroom. I assume the teacher authorised her to beat her colleagues. And she did so to assist her teacher and to exercise power. Also, it established the fact that she used to 'beat' her peers to force them to stay quiet and passive in the classroom. Edor is particularly mentioned, again, by Tah as one bully who used the 'cane' to hit his colleagues. Tah, was unhappy about the situation and saw the actions as occurring in clear breach of the law because Edor was not the class 'prev[f]ect' [a responsible authority] to apply corporal punishment on other pupils. It shows that some boys and girls were hostile to their peers and that constrained the victims from interacting with the bullies. This is connected to my explanation on the issue in chapter 3.

School discipline

Like Aloka, teachers also held long canes in their hands at lessons. Although they sometimes used the cane as pointer to draw pupil attention to certain concepts on the board during lessons, they often utilised it for punitive measures. For example, in primary 5C, some children were called by the teacher to solve one mathematical sum on the board. The task was to solve subtraction of three digit numbers under place value: hundreds, tens and units. One girl walked to the board and solved the sum wrongly. The teacher used a cane and flogged her hands. Elsewhere, when the primary 5B teacher was marking pupils' notebooks some pupils were discussing among themselves. The teacher instructed the class representative to list the names of children that were talking. She produced the list for the teacher and he caned the victims. However, in primary 5A, the teacher asked pupils to read a passage in their English textbook. Some of the boys and girls did not read well. The teacher frowned and ordered them to kneel down on the floor. During conversations with participants regarding pupil voice and school attendance, two of them digressed to express their views about pupil experience of discipline in the school as follows:

- ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. Why is it so?
- Umu Uncle, because if they (pupils) say and they have a mistake they (teachers) will flog them. Because they are afraid, let them (teachers) not beat them if they make a mistake.
- ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too?
- Ebie Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school. Martin and Okon (also a boy) did not . . . do their homework and our teacher beat them.

These views suggest that pupils suffered corporal punishment even when they asked questions and erred. The term ‘if’ used in Umu’s statement is not merely a conditional word, but to imply the reluctance pupils felt to talk during lesson. The understanding from that expression is that pupils would like to talk and make contributions when lesson is on-going to enable them learn better. But, they felt held back for fear that they could make ‘a mistake’ and get beaten for it. Teachers considered it as an offence for pupils to make wrong inputs during lesson and when that happens, the teacher ‘flog them’. And according to Ebie’s, some pupils: Martin and Okon, were unhappy with the practice and, thus opposed the application of corporal punishment on them. It is responsible for the refusal of these boys ‘to do their homework’. Still, the teacher ‘beat them’. Teachers used the cane regularly to enforce discipline on any behaviour they considered as being prohibitive and to command respect from pupils, and that made some children to be passive at school as I explained in chapters 2 and 3.

Two participants, however, recommended one measure that could address the issue:

- ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn better?
- Umu Uncle, I don't want our teacher to flog us when we talk something wrong [we make mistakes] when is teaching.
- Obi I don't want uncle to, to beat us.

Some of the pupils were actually unhappy with the application of this method. Perhaps, they realised that corporal punishment was rather unsupportive to the effect that it made some children feel scared to contribute at lesson.

Pupil hairstyle

Almost all *Hausa/Fulani* girls from Islamic backgrounds had woven or plaited hairstyles at school, similar to the case in chapter 7 (*see fig. 6.6 above*). The school possibly granted them permission to do so. Apart from the religious angle of it, hairdos appeared to be a mark of female identity within traditions of the children's tribes. They wore hijabs on their heads on their way to school. As soon they had the school in their sight, they removed these veils and hid them inside their school bags before entering the school's compound. It indicated that they were not allowed to use hijabs. On the other hand, unlike the *Hausa/Fulani* girls, females from other tribes and Christian background neither wore hairstyles nor use veils (*see fig. 6.6 above*). I speculate that the school outlawed hairstyles among them. So they always have low haircuts while at school. As with the Christian girls, boys from across these religions also had low haircuts. None of them barbed their hair in any fashionable way. Besides, all pupils, irrespective of background, were banned from using any jewellery at school.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Pupils who were learning and not learning

Evidence from the preceding sections indicate that pupils who were learning were those who were attending school regularly and participating fully in academic and social activities. Others who were not learning included children who were skipping school days and not being fully engaged in classroom programmes. For example, there were pupils whose houses were far away from school; pupils who could not pay school fees; those who could not complete academic tasks as a result of learning difficulties, some *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim children and the child with impairments. Those who could not have their social needs met comprised girls, aggressive pupils and the child with impairments. In spite of that, all pupils were required to take examinations.

Examinations

School assessment records and my observations indicated that promotion examination constituted the process for moving pupils from one year to the other beginning from when they start primary 1 until they get to the last grade, primary 6. At grade 6 they took common entrance examination to be able to complete primary education to move to junior secondary school. Every pupil was expected to pass these examinations to be eligible to progress at school. However, the focus was on pupils in primary 5. See table 6.3 for further details about year-by-year progress of pupils via examination to primary 5, starting from 2007/2008 to 2011/2012 sessions:

Table 6.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing 2011/2012	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012						
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Efik	21	8	20	8	18	8	16	8	14	6	Christians	Not indicated	Not indicated	7	2
Ibibio	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	6	46			2	-
Yoruba	5	4	3	4	2	3	2	2	-	-				5	4
Igbo	5	2	5	2	4	2	3	2	3	2				2	-
Ekoi	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5	6				-	-
Hausa/ Fulani	14	8	14	8	12	8	11	8	9	7	Muslims			5	1
											16				
Total	90		87		79		74		62		62			28	
Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics; Class attendance registers for primary 5A, 5B and 5C 2011/2012															

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*; Class attendance registers for primary 5A, 5B and 5C 2011/2012

As shown in table 6.3, 90 pupils had places in the school to start primary 1 in the 2007/2008 academic year. 62 of them out of that number progressed having passed promotion examinations to primary 5, in particular, in the 2011/2012 academic session. *Efik* pupils were more in number. However, except for *Igbo*, there was fair representation of pupils from *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulani* and *Ekoi* respectively. Yoruba did not have any representatives again among the pupils in the 2011/2012 session. Still, males were more than females, and Christians outnumbered Muslims.

Classroom placement

Attendance registers indicate that the pupils in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 session were distributed, I presume, according to their performances in the promotion examinations into various classrooms as shown on table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A, 5B and 5C

Tribe	Gender											
	2011/2012			2011/2012								
	B	G	T	Primary 5A			Primary 5B			Primary 5C		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
Efik	14	6	20	8	2	10	5	3	8	1	1	2
Ibibio	4	6	10	1	3	4	3	3	6	-	-	-
Yoruba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Igbo	3	2	5	2	2	4	1	-	1	-	-	-
Ekoi	5	6	11	1	-	-	-	2	2	4	4	8
Hausa/ Fulani	9	7	16	-	-	-	4	2	6	5	5	10
Total	62			19			23			20		

Source: 2011/2012 class attendance register for primary 5A, 5B and 5C

Table 6.4 shows that 19 pupils out of 62 who advanced to primary 5, were placed in primary 5A. *Efik* pupils outnumbered colleagues from the other tribes. All of them were Christians and a greater number of them were boys. 23 of their peers were placed in primary 5B. Now, not only are pupils from other tribes including *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ibibios* found in this classroom, they also almost tie in number with their peers from *Efik*. *Igbo* and *Ekoi* pupils were, however, very minimal in number compared to the other tribes. Still, Christians were in the majority than Muslims and boys also outnumbered girls. Also, 20 pupils were placed in primary 5C. Greater number of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois* respectively with very few of them from *Efik*. There was parity in the number of Christians and Muslims as well as boys and girls in this classroom. Still, it is not shown whether any of the children has impairments and the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils. Also, no *Yoruba* pupil is seen again across the three classrooms.

Grade repetition

As the participants have explained above, some pupils who failed to meet certain requirements in the examinations were delayed in making progress in primary school unlike their peers. This is linked to my explanation on the issue in chapters 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8. Evidence in assessment records is also indicated on table 6.5:

Table 6.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year

Tribe	Gender										Pupils missing	Religion of missing pupils	
	2007/ 2008		2011/202		2011/2012								
					Primary 5A		Primary 5B		Primary 5C				
					B	G	B	G	B	G			B
Efik	21	8	14	6	8	2	5	3	1	1	7	2	Christians 22
Ibibio	6	6	4	6	1	3	3	3			2	-	
Yoruba	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	
Igbo	5	2	3	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	2	-	
Ekoi	5	6	5	6	1	-	-	2	4	4	-	-	
Hausa/ Fulani	14	8	9	7	-	-	4	2	5	5	5	1	Muslims 6
Total	90		62		19		23		20		28		28

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2011/2012.

Table 6.5 points that, in the 2011/2012 academic session, 28 pupils were missing in primary 5 from the initial 90 who had places to start primary 1 in the school in the 2007/2008 session. Majority of them came from *Efik*, *Ibibio* and *Yoruba* respectively. Only a few of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois*. Boys were more than girls and, in the same way, Christians outnumbered Muslims. These pupils may have failed the examinations and repeated grades or dropout from school.

While speaking with the interviewees about what they could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, two of them digressed to say something about examinations:

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?

Aloka Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?

Ebie I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance. I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].

These pupils were talking within the position of an examination discourse. This discourse has to do with showing competency in meeting certain examination standards for pupils to be able to make progress at school. The understanding as seen from the statement: 'so that I can write my common entrance', is that to pass examination was a requirement, which the pupils must fulfil to be able to move to the next year in the school or complete primary education. In order to pass, these pupils have decided to 'pay attention', 'listen' to the teacher so as to be able to 'read' and 'understand' their books - to learn well. It implies that the shortages noticed in the overall number of pupils who took the promotion examinations to leave school at primary 6 and those who progressed to primary 5 were those who did not pass and may have repeated grade, a subject I am going to analyse next.

The findings points that factors such as limited pupil voice, lapses in national education policy, poor funding for primary education in the rural area, local traditions, poor instructional strategies, school fees, English as MoI, promotion examination, gendered practices, lapses in curriculum content, long distance to school, tribal and religious prejudices, negative perceptions against children with impairments and peer victimisation were responsible for the exclusion and marginalisation of some children in terms of presence, participation and achievement at *Kenwa*.

CONCLUSION

The information presented in this chapter for *Kenwa* has indicated that across the various tribes present at school under the UBE, boys outnumbered the girls in school enrolment. Also, children from the majority tribes who were linked to Christianity were over-represented in school admission compared to their existing counterparts. More so, because some of the pupils were unable to pay school fees, teachers prevented them from attending school regularly. Some parents were also seen to initiate pupil absence from school to rather engage them in domestic duties. The school lacked ramps with negative effects on pupil mobility and attendance. However, almost all of them walked to and from school daily and that further

reduced the rate of attendance for some children whose houses were far away. Some of these issues appeared to systematically shut the school door against children with impairments. The only child with impairments who had the privilege to be there was facing discrimination from peers and staff.

Nevertheless, lessons were mainly teacher driven. At such time teachers used the cane to enforce law and order in the classroom, creating fear in some children, thus making them to become more inactive at lesson. So, the children had virtually no opportunity to voice their concerns and let their voices to be heard. Pupils, however, developed the habit of ridiculing their peers whenever they made mistakes in spoken English during lessons and that appeared to hinder the victims' attempts to participate at lesson. Furthermore, the school seemed not to recognise the ethno-religious practices of some pupils by banning Muslims from learning IRE and using hijab, and preventing Christians from making hairstyles at school.

In interaction, teachers did not have close relationship with the children. The children modelled this adult-child relation among themselves and also formed different social groups to systematically discriminate each other further. As progress of children at school was examination based, some children who had learning difficulties and poor attendance were vulnerable to failure and to repeat grades. In consequence, some of them seemed to drop out of school. Others were unable to complete primary education the same time with their peers.

However, when I interviewed some pupils, they made some suggestions to help the school rethink its practices on inclusion in terms of learner voice, pedagogy, discipline, school interaction, resourcing and maintenance of the school. In the next chapter I analyse data on pupil in/exclusion for my second case, *Edor Agom*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EDOR AGOM PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

Edor Agom primary school was sited in *Basarawa*, a settler rural community located outside Calabar Municipality. Reaching approximately 41 kilometres north of the city, turn right onto an earth road that passed through a rubber farm. Move further inside until the bushy path disappears and then descend into a valley. The community lay ahead after the valley. On approach of the village was the *Basarawa* livestock market where some residents sold cattle, goat and fowls in small scale. Also, *Basarawa* was located near *Eshueya* district as mentioned in chapter 6.

Majority of the people were *Hausa/Fulanis* who led a sedentary nomadic lifestyle. Other residents included *Igbos*, *Ekois*, *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. Like chapter 6, *Efiks* also defined themselves as landlords of the community. Members of the non-*Hausa/Fulani* tribes were largely Christians because *Basarawa* was located in a dominant Christian southeast of Nigeria while the *Hausa/Fulanis* were mostly Muslims as I explained in chapters 4 and 6. The community members spoke local languages associated with their particular tribes. English and Pidgin English were, nevertheless, the dominant means of communication in the community similar to my explanations in chapters 4, 6 and 8.

Education in the traditional setting was given to boys and girls in consonance to the social roles of the children akin to my explanations in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6. It is however not clear whether children with impairments were in the community, and if they were, whether there were any educational provisions for them.

The state government founded *Edor Agom* in 1987 to provide primary education for all eligible children in the community under UBE as I mentioned in chapters 3, 4, 6 and 8. The school stood beside the community road, about 100 yards from the livestock



Fig. 7.1. The school road from Basarawa livestock market showing some community members, houses, shops, and motor vehicles owned by some villagers. Some pupils in school uniforms walking to school.

market. It was located in a populated area surrounded by houses and shops (*see fig. 7.1*).

The school had two brownish red iron gates, and a fence that encircled the entire school compound. Inside, there were seven concrete buildings and a bare playground. One of the buildings was the administrative block housing the head teacher's, deputy head teacher's offices and meeting hall. On the wall of this building was the school's signpost. An emblem reflecting one organisation was placed under the signboard. Black characters were inscribed underneath the symbol to read: *Golando* 'Adopt-A-School' (*see fig. 7.2*). *Golando* was an oil company that I assumed assisted government provide the school with some equipment under its corporate social responsibility (CSR) policy.



Fig. 7.2. Some pupils sweeping parts of the school compound in the morning. Golando's logo is placed on the wall beside the van.

The building standing right of the head teacher's office housed primary 6 classrooms and the one opposite primary 6 block, to the left of the administrative office, accommodated primary 5 and parts of primary 2 classrooms. The other building sitting directly opposite the administrative block housed the Nursery and primary 1 classrooms. These buildings formed a square space at the middle. Pupils called this place chapel. Nigeria and Cross River State flags were hoisted there.

At the back of primary 6 building was the primary 3 classroom block. Behind the primary 5 and 2 block was another building housing parts of primary 1 and primary 2 classrooms. Also, behind the Nursery block were the school toilet and store. Ceilings, iron doors and windows were fitted to all buildings. Concrete steps



Fig. 7.3. The second school gate. The mosque is standing behind the brown truck

were constructed at the entrance to allow movement of children in and out of the

classrooms and offices, but there were no ramps. Scanty grassland stretched from the toilet round to the back of primary 3 building meeting the bare playground at the second and first gates. There were no flowers and recreational equipment in the school. A mosque stood east of the school (*see fig. 7.3*). As some children arrived school in the morning they dashed into their classrooms, kept their school bags and took brooms to clean their classrooms and school compound. Even younger children in the lower classrooms took part in the sanitation. Sometimes, they played and giggled with each other as they worked (*see fig. 7.2 above*).

All pupils wore school uniforms just like the cases in chapters 6 and 8. Girls wore light blue short sleeve gowns that had white hems. The boys wore white short-sleeve shirts and sky-blue shorts. The sleeves and pockets of the shirts had light blue hems. All pupils used predominantly brown sandals and white socks.

School hour started at 7:45am local time. As a boy rang a hand bell, pupils and teachers converged at the chapel for morning devotion (*see fig. 7.4*) similar to the practice in chapters 6 and 8.

A teacher conducted the programme and was assisted by other teachers to control the pupils. During the meeting, she said to them, 'hands together, eyes close'. Pupils responded accordingly. She instructed



Fig. 7.4. Pupils and teacher having morning devotion at the chapel.

again, 'Psalms 23' to ask them to recite the prayer, 'the Lord is my shepherd', authored by King David in the Holy Bible. At this time, some pupils were not saying this prayer. However, taking further orders from the teacher, the pupils sang the Cross River State and Nigerian national anthems and pledges. Pupils spent 15 minutes on the devotion. At the end they sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms.

PUPIL PRESENCE

My focus was on primary 5. Three teachers, including two females and a male were in-charge of primary 5A/5B and 5C. Pupils in primary 5A and 5B merged to use one classroom as I mentioned in chapter 5. Their peers in primary 5C, however, used a separate classroom. The teachers for primary 5A /5B were *Ekoi* and *Efik* women respectively while their male co-teacher who took care of primary 5C was also an *Efik* man.

Enrolment and attendance

157 children had places to start primary 1 in the school in the 2007/2008 academic session. Data on table 7.1 shows the changes in composition of the class and demographics of the pupils for five years commencing from when they were placed in the school to the current year in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 session.

Table 7.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012					2011/ 2012	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Hausa/ Fulani	21	17	20	16	17	14	16	13	14	10	Muslims 24	Not indicated	Not indicated	7	7
Igbo	16	11	16	10	13	9	12	8	9	6	Christians			7	5
Ekoi	19	12	18	10	16	8	13	8	12	7	72			7	5
Ibibio	15	9	13	9	12	8	12	8	10	6				5	3
Efik	9	28	8	26	7	22	6	20	4	18				5	10
Total	157		146		126		116		96		96			61	

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Table 7.1 indicates a fair numerical representation of pupils from the different tribes. As shown in the year-by-year composition of the class, boys, represented by the letter B, and girls, denoted by the letter G, were almost evenly represented. However, Muslims, mostly composed of pupils from the *Hausa/Fulani tribe*, were far behind Christians in number. Records did not show whether any of these children had impairments and the linguistic backgrounds of all the children. Furthermore, the table shows that, in the 2011/2012 session, 61 children stopped going to school, and among them, boys were more than girls.

Demographics of participants

Some pupils from this classroom were selected to take part in the study as stated in chapter 5. Details about the participants are shown on table 7.2:

Table 7.2: Demographics of participants

S/N	Name of participant	Gender	Age	Religion	Tribe	Language	Years in school
1	Odey	albino boy	12	Christian	Ibibio	Ibibio	5
2	Alhaji	boy	14	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5
3	Abrama	girl	16	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5
4	Ekwo	boy	11	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
5	Olom	boy	11	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
6	Akon	girl	12	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
7	Mairo	girl	13	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5
8	Abu	boy	12	Muslim	Yoruba	Yoruba	5
9	Enie	girl	14	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
10	Amina	girl	13	Muslim	Hausa/Fulani	Hausa	5

Source: 2011/2012 classroom registers for primary 5; Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Table 7.2 illustrates that participants were recruited from among the diverse backgrounds of children who were in primary 5 as mentioned in chapter 5. Like the case in chapter 6, there was no data to show the language and albinism statuses of children in the context (*also see table 7.1*). I was however able to ascertain the language and albinism statuses of participants through interaction with them and my hunch as an insider.

One of the participants was Odey, an albino boy. He was in primary 5A/5B classroom. While in this classroom, I noticed that Odey was late to school on this day. He arrived when the first lesson had started. He walked pass me at the teacher's table and sat down with another boy. Suddenly, the teacher queried, 'Odey, why are you coming to school now'? He answered, 'aunty, I was waiting for my mother to finish cooking so that I can eat and come'. I presume he walked to school after having breakfast late at home. 'If you come late next time I will be angry with you', the teacher warned. 'Aunty, er am sorry', he apologised. After this dialogue, the teacher continued with the lesson. Seeing Odey in this classroom indicated that an albino child was also present in the school. While familiarising with the pupils in the classroom I knew that he was an *Ibibio* and a Christian. Also, pupils told me that Odey had been in the school since four years (Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014). During interview with participants about pupil presence, all of them stated:

- ME I have noticed that this school is built within *Hausa/Fulani* community. Why is it so?
- Odey (*albino boy*) Because there was no primary school here in this *Hausa* [community].
- Alhaji (*a boy*) . . . I am hearing that it is *Hausa* school, only *Hausa* [children].
- Abrama (*a girl*) So that children for *Basarawa* mek dey come *makaranta* [so that the children living in *Basarawa* can go to school].
- Ekwo (*a boy*) Yes. It's Hausas that have the school because this is their community.
- Olom (*a boy*) Ehen! I said that government built the school here in *Basarawa* so that all children, like those *Hausa*, can go to school. So that the pupils will not be staying in their houses and they will not be following cow to the bush every time.
- Akon (*a girl*) Because this is ehm er *Hausa* school. This is their side [*Hausa* settlement] that is why they (government) built the school here. So that we may study here.
- Mairo (*a girl*) So that they (government) will help us the pupils to learn.
- Abu (*a boy*) They (government) just build it (the school) because of the Muslims.
- Enie (*a girl*) So that small children, big children can go to school. These children are *Igbos* and *Hausas* and *Efik* pupils.
- Amina (*a girl*) (*Paused*) Because of . . . (*sighs*). Because of the poor that have no money to send their children to. . . school.

Views from these pupils surmise that, initially, there was no primary school in *Basarawa*. Government later established *Edor Agom* in order to enable children, especially, *Hausa/Fulanis*, receive formal education. Ekwo's answered 'yes' is in support of my argument. It is confirmed by other interviewees. The understanding in Olom's disclosure is that the government sited the school near the *Hausa/Fulani* pupils to discourage them from staying at home to herd 'cows' and rather attract them to school. That is why he exclaimed 'ehen'! to accentuate his position. In contrast, Amina exclaimed to be able to process her thoughts and express her views. Nevertheless, in addition to the *Hausa/Fulani* children, other pupils also stated that 'Muslims', 'small and big children', '*Igbos* and *Efiks*' as well as children from 'poor' homes were also present in the school. The phrase 'small and big children' seems to refer to the inclusion of underage and overage children at school.

Speaking further on the issue five of them stated:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | Which children are schooling in your school? |
| Alhaji | There are many children from <i>Basarawa</i> , <i>Bakoko</i> . .
. . The children are Christians and <i>Hausa</i> . |
| Abrama | The children plenty, from <i>Hausa</i> , <i>Igbo</i> , Calabar. |
| Enie | Boys and girls from Hausa and <i>Efik</i> . |
| Odey | They are Christians, they are Muslims, they are any
type of language. Some from . . . any type of village
and come here. . . |
| Akon | They are many, some from Junction, some from
<i>Obot Oka</i> and some from <i>Eka Afia</i> . |

These pupils talked about the children who were enrolled in the school in terms of peers who came from different streets, tribes and religions. Alhaji's view further indicated that, in addition to Christians, Muslim children also registered in the school as represented in the discourse of '*Hausa*'. Further reference to the word '*Hausa*', in Abrama's and Enie's excerpts, nonetheless, is used in that situation to mean that tribal *Hausa/Fulani* children were also among the pupils present in the school. The mention of '*Igbo*' and '*Calabar*' is much akin in ethnic connotation with the use of '*Hausa*'.

School fees and domesticity

Contrary to the UBE policy on free education for children, pupils were being levied at school as I explained in chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8. For instance, a parent once walked into the classroom in primary 5C to the table where I was sitting. He said to me, 'please I came to pay Ewa's school fees. I am his father'. I asked how much he was paying. He mentioned 'N600 (£2.50)', adding that he would come back another day to pay the balance of the charges for the same child. I asked a girl in the classroom to call the teacher who was at the headmaster's office to collect his note of lesson to come and attend to the man.

On arrival the teacher collected the money from the parent and recorded it in a book to indicate that the boy had paid. After the parent left, I asked the teacher whether pupils pay school fees in the school and he answered 'yes, my brother'. On further enquiry, he explained to me that the government instructed all (state) schools to charge pupils N600.00 (£2.50) for school fees, N50 (30p) for examination answer sheets, one big bundle of broom, one toilet roll and machete. When valued in cash parents spent a total of N1000.00 (£5.00) to provide all items for each child.

Afterwards, the teacher asked pupils who were yet to pay the above levies to stand up. One male participant did not stand upright to be identified. The teacher was angry as a result. He abused the boy in *Efik*, '*enyene iso nte ake ka de ino ke Calabar South*'. It means, 'your face looks like you went and stole in Calabar South'. He later reminded them to pay the charges and asked them to sit down. Speaking with the interviewees in relation to pupil attendance, two of them rather provided more information about their experience in respect to funding their studies:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?

Abu Yes.

Odey Yes.

ME Why is it so?

Abu Dey thing wey mek [the thing] is that some of them their parents don't have money to send them to school like to pay school fees for them.

Odey Because their fathers no get money to pay school fees for them [Because their fathers do not have money to pay their school fees].

It is indicative from these views that some children were not attending school regularly due to non-payment of fees. It suggests to me that primary education was meant for children who could afford to pay for it and that is in contrast to the right of all children to free primary education as contained in the EFA policy stated in chapters 2, 3 and 4. When asked what they would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, Abrama said something about school fees:

Abrama I- - -I - - want mek pupil no bring school fees [I want pupils not to pay fees] . . . so that they go fit come school [so that they can attend school].

This pupil felt school fees prevented some of them from attending school. So, she would rather want payment of school fees abolished in the school. In other words, pupil presence might improve when primary school education is genuinely free.

Three other interviewees looked at the cause of irregular pupil attendance at school from another perspective:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children? |
| Ekwo | No. |
| Olom | No. |
| ME | Are they other pupils who did not come to school? |
| Ekwo | Yes. |
| Olom | Yes. |
| Mairo | Yes. |
| ME | Why is it so? |
| Mairo | . . . their mothers will go and leave the house for them, so they will stay in their house[s] and prepare food for their mothers. |
| Ekwo | Some of them it is caused by their parents. Their parents can tell them to stay back at home and follow them and carry something [some products] and go and sell, and stay away from school. |
| Olom | Some of them like staying at home and help their parents to sell products or go to farm. |
| Abrama | . . . I finish <i>makaranta</i> I go home. [After school I'll go home]. I go market [to] help my mother. They (her parents) buy me sandals. . . Nah [it is] my money I [used to] buy socks [for myself]. |

These responses suggest parents initiated absence to make some pupils to stay at home to perform domestic duties rather than go to school. Some children, however, succumbed to pressure from poverty to engage in income earning activities to assist parents pay family bills. For example, Abrama, goes to the market after '*makaranta*', (meaning school in *Hausa* language), to assist her mother sell so as to generate money to help in buying parts of her school uniform as I mentioned in chapter 3.

School toilet

I was happy to see that the toilet was a water cistern and its surroundings were looking neat and tidy (see fig. 7.5) unlike the cases in chapters 6 and 8. Pupils used the toilet to defecate. But, they used just one section of the toilet and it was locked most of the time. Due to that, some of the children could not access it when in hurry. They



Fig. 7.5. The school toilet.

sometimes hid at the back of the toilet to urinate and defecate. As some of these pupils toilet outside, it sometimes produced disturbing images and odour around the school environment to discomfort pupils.

During interviews, seven participants suggested for the provision of better school equipment for pupils, thus:

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the chairs and benches. Why will you do that?

Alhaji Because I want pupils to sit on fine fine seats.
Akon If I get [have] power I go [will] buy chairs . . . and nobody will sit on the ground [floor]. . .

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the fan. Why will you do that?

Olom We don't have fan in our classroom. I change [fixed] the fan because we want to collect [have] good air in the [classroom].

ME You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the blackboard. Why will you do that?

Odey So that they [teachers] will use it to write lessons on the board and to teach me.

ME You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the grass.

	Why will you do that?
Enie	They can cut the grass because they are too big [bushy]. They will cut them low so that the school compound will be fine.
Amina	. . . I need, I need flowers in this school.
Ekwo	Like all that backyard there and the grass, I can change them and put rocks. Like this place now. They use it to urinate. Some pupils when they come to our school they will say the school is not neat and that they will not come to this school. That one will pursue them and they will not learn well in the school.

The central message from these views is that pupils would want to see improvement in provision and maintenance of school facilities and equipment so as to enhance the aesthetics of the school, create more classroom accommodation in order to attract children to the school.

In the same vein, Mairo talked about school uniform, thus:

ME	You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the uniform. How do you mean?
Mairo	If I change the uniform, it can help pupils to come to this school and everybody will be happy to learn, then the school will be looking so fine.

This pupil wants the school uniform changed possibly to a new one with more appealing colours and designs to attract some children to enrol in the school.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Curriculum content

Pupils offered 14 subjects. These subjects were listed on the timetable including Mathematics, English, primary science, *Efik* and CRE. Pupils took part in lessons involving these subjects in the morning and afternoon. In between the morning and afternoon lessons they go on break. 40 minute lessons were allocated to each subject and for break. Copies of the timetable were pasted on the wall on a noticeable position in the classroom. Apart from the other subjects pupils generally offered, *Efik* and CRE were listed for the interest of *Efik* pupils and Christians respectively. Subject provision for the other tribes and Muslims were not made in the timetable to advantage pupils who belonged to such backgrounds. All pupils,

irrespective of tribe and religion, were made to participate in *Efik* and CRE lessons akin to the practice in chapter 6.

During interview with participants about religious activities, they all said:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | I have noticed that some children do not like to sing some songs during morning devotion. Why is it so? |
| Alhaji | Whether they do not know how to sing the songs. They do not like to sing the new songs. Ehm like <i>(he sings the song)</i> ♪oh mama sell for crops oh mama sell for crops. It's another teacher that used to sing that song, Mrs Okah. |
| Ekwo | . . . Some of them do not like singing songs in devotion time. Because they don't want to learn the song, like the Hausa, because they are not from English [cannot sing English songs]. |
| Olom | Some of them do not know how to sing some songs. |
| Abu | Because they did not fit do it [because they cannot do it]. Like this song <i>(he sings the song)</i> ♪day by day, day by day, and the national anthem. |
| Akon | Maybe they did not teach them the national anthem and other songs, especially little children and the big ones. |
| Amina | Others [other children] does [do] not know the songs. . . |
| Abrama | The pupils that don't used to sing the songs are Hausa. Because when they sing God's song, praise, they don't used to sing, that it is not their God. |
| Mairo | Some of them they cannot hmm sing. They cannot sing <i>(she sings a song)</i> ♪praise glory fire, praise glory god, praise glory holy ghost, praise the river more. |
| Enie | Because Efik or Hausa pupils cannot sing the songs like Efik songs. . . . Some of them are from Hausa community and do not know how to sing the songs. . . . Some of them do not like to sing. . . <i>(she sings)</i> ♪good morning Jesus. They will keep quiet until when we march into the class. |
| Odey | Yees. Some used to say to serve Nigeria is not by force. Some Hausa and Christian pupils used to say that. Some Hausa children used to say that they don't like to sing the songs because they used to call Jesus. That's they don't sing that song. They do not used to do like this. [They] just read Quran. |

These disclosures showed that some of the pupils could not sing unfamiliar school songs. Others had difficulties to sing some songs rendered in English. However,

Hausa/Fulani children, particularly, deliberately refused to join their peers to sing Christian choruses as indicated in their reactions during morning devotion. The mention of 'Jesus' and 'Quran' by Odey represent pupils' beliefs in both Christianity and Islam. His position clarified that Muslims were those who were not reciting the Christian prayers and singing the choruses due to their Islamic principles. This gives a sense as to how pupils strove to challenge the status quo in order to protect their ethno-religious backgrounds.

Lesson plan

Primary 5 teachers prepared lessons notes daily on every subject listed in the school curriculum in English in line with national education policy requirement as stated in chapter 4. Before executing classroom instructions, the headmaster, first, read and approved lesson notes to ensure the contents were satisfactory. In doing so, he paid specific attention to the topic, learning materials, behavioural objectives; presentation and evaluation sections of the documents to ensure contents of the lesson notes were correct and appropriate for pupils. He placed a right tick on any area he found satisfactory or made some changes on places, which required improvement and then endorsed the lesson note by signing and dating it. For example under presentation section of the lesson, the primary 5A teacher prepared this lesson for her pupils:

Get the pupils aware of the day's lesson which is on teaching of new words in module one (of the pupil's English text book). Write out the words: may, could, would, can etc. Teach pupils to pronounce them correctly (Teacher lesson note, Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson

Lessons commenced at 8:00 local time after morning devotion. In primary 5C the children were learning 'work people do in our communities' on Citizenship Education. The teacher explained:

Members of our communities do different jobs. They work as cow sellers, traders, doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers, lawyers and so on and so forth. People do these occupations to earn money to feed their families and to help our communities develop (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Towards the end of the lesson, the teacher re-explained the lesson briefly and asked, 'does any of you have any question'? A female participant answered 'yes uncle'. The teacher said to her, 'go on'. She said, 'uncle, I want to ask, how does people help our

community to develop'? He answered, 'for example, as a teacher, you will teach the children to know how to read and write. Government will pay the teacher money for teaching the children, and the children will be able to read and write'. Another child put up her hand to ask a question. The teacher said, 'ehn Itoro ask your question'. Itoro asked, 'uncle, please what is the meaning of 'earn'? He replied, 'the word 'earn' means to have money'.

Another male participant asked 'uncle, can a woman be a builder'? The teacher answered 'yes, a woman can also build a house'. The boy was not satisfied with the answer. He looked at the teacher in surprise. Due to his reaction, the teacher stated further, 'women can also do most of the jobs men do like building a house, driving a taxi etc.' I noticed that the teacher was always directing questions to these particular pupils. However, later, another girl said to her male classmate in a low tune, 'a man is not supposed to plait hair. The Bible forbids that'. The boy queried, 'then why did you not plait your hair'? She answered, 'I am in school. I will plait when I finish school'. Having heard their debate, the teacher explained to all pupils 'there are men who work as hairdressers and they make money from that job. In some communities men and women plait their hair. In other communities, it is only the women who plait or weave their hair'.

At the end of this session, the teacher said, 'OK. Now, it is my turn to ask you my questions'. One of the questions he asked caught my attention. He called one boy who sat in front of the classroom. He said, 'Elijah, name one job people do in our communities'. Elijah answered, 'uncle, palm wine tapper'. A few of Elijah's classmates laughed. But, the teacher cautioned them to stop laughing at what Elijah had said. Rather, he asked them to clap for Elijah. He explained to them afterwards that palm wine tapping is also an occupation. People who practiced it make money from selling their palm wine to others in the community. Demonstrating, he added, 'customers will drink the palm wine like we used to drink coke'. I assume, pupils thought palm wine tapping is not a worthy occupation and as such the practitioners may not earn much income and social worth compared to other professions. As he said that, some of the pupils chuckled in amusement. At the end he wrote the note on the board. Another female participant corrected a misspelling on the teacher's note. He said to her, 'thank you, good girl'. Pupils copied the note from the blackboard. When they had finished writing they piled up their books on the teacher's table for them to be marked.

However, when the primary 5A/5B teachers walked into the classroom, the class representative hit her desk several times and commanded, 'class greet'! All pupils stood up and greeted the teachers. I could hear pupils in primary 5C doing almost the same thing in their classroom. Like the case in chapter 6, these children also called their female teacher 'aunty' and the male 'uncle'. CRE was the first subject listed on the timetable. The lesson for that morning was 'the birth of Jesus Christ'. One of the female teachers stood rigidly in front of the classroom to teach in English. Once in a while she walked through the aisles while explaining the concepts, sometimes in Pidgin English. The teacher talked dominantly while pupils stayed quietly to listen as I mentioned in chapters 2, 3 and 6. At such time, you could only hear some children cough, clear their throats, shuffle their feet on the floor perhaps to sit more comfortably, or laugh when the teacher made funny statements. She said:

Joseph and his pregnant wife, Mary travelled from Nazareth in Galilee to take part in a census in Bethlehem as the head of the Roman Empire, King Herod had authorised all its citizens. In Bethlehem, Mary went into labour. She was delivered of baby Jesus in a manger because there was no better place for the family to lie (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Religious attitudes

An interesting aspect of the lesson on CRE occurred when the teacher explained that Jesus Christ is the son of God, adding that he was born to bring salvation to mankind in the world. Immediately, a Muslim boy - my research participant - reacted to the teacher's statement. He exclaimed 'hnn!' and grimaced, looking puzzled. The teacher looked at him and asked, 'Alhaji, why did you make that sound'? The pupil forced a smile on his face and scratched his head. His teacher asked him again, 'do you want to ask a question'? He nodded his head shyly in agreement. Speaking in a low voice, the child enquired, 'aunty, if Jesus is the son of God, what about Prophet Mohammed'? The teacher replied, 'that is a good question' and then turning to other pupils in the classroom, she asked 'who can answer that question'? Another boy, a Christian, raised up his hand to volunteer (*see fig. 7.6*). The teacher said to him, 'ye-es' to



Fig. 7.6. Pupil learning in the classroom. Girls with woven hairstyles are Hausa/Fulanis. Some pupils raised their hands to seek teacher permission to make contributions at lesson.

encourage him to speak up. The boy replied, 'aunty, Jesus Christ is the son of God and Mohammed is a prophet of Allah'. In appreciation to the boy's answer, the teacher asked other pupils to clap for him. Thereafter the teacher explained, 'Mohammed is the messenger of God and leader of the Muslims. Christ is the son of God. People who believe in Jesus Christ are called Christians'. As the teacher later concluded the lesson, she asked the pupils, 'do you understand'? All pupils chorused 'yes aunty'. She asked further, 'any question'? Every pupil kept mute at this time. The teacher said again, 'if there is no question, take down this note from the board'. Minutes later she told them to pass their books on her table so that she could check and mark them.

Pupil voice

I interviewed the participants about their interaction at school and three of them rather talked about the way they participated at lesson, thus:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening? |
| Enie | So that they can learn well. |
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so? |
| Amina | Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions. |
| Abrama | Nah [it is] Peter dey [who] ask[s] questions for [in the] class. |

The first two pupils considered the behaviour of other peers as a way to concentrate at lesson, similar to the case in chapter 6. The understanding of these interviewees is that the pupils were not passive in the classroom rather they acted that way to avoid distractions and to be able to ask questions later to seek clarifications to areas of interest. The third interviewee, however, indicated that some of the pupils, especially Peter, actually had the opportunity to ask questions during lessons. These accounts imply that some pupils listened first before making comments at the end of the lesson while very few make contributions during lesson.

The other six interviewees, however, offered different perspectives on the issue:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so? |
| Alhaji | They are shy. I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question. |
| Olom | Because they (pupils) do not know what to ask them (the teachers). . . . May be some of them are afraid to ask questions. |
| Abu | That one some of them don't understand the lesson. That is why they cannot ask questions. |
| Mairo | It's the teacher that will say that. If they finish teaching, then they will say stand up and ask questions. |
| Odey | Because my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly] and we too we ask her questions, she can answer correct[ly]. |
| Akon | Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question'? |
| ME | Does the teacher encourage them to talk? |
| Alhaji | No. Because the teacher does not know what you (the pupils) want to ask. |

These perspectives suggest that a considerable number of pupils did not talk much in the classroom, including asking questions and making contributions because of fear and the fact that their peers would laugh at them, perhaps when they make mistakes. They were gripped with fear to the extent, even when they did not understand the lesson; they felt hesitant to ask questions to seek clarity from the teachers. According to Alhaji's second excerpt, some teachers did not see the need to engage pupils in lesson and spur them to make inputs because they assumed some of the children would not know what questions to ask at such time. It is discernible from the statements of the first three interviewees that pupils voice is minimal at school as I also explained in chapters 3 and 6.

Talking further, four interviewees suggested ways to address the situation to enable them participate more at lesson:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | What do you think your teacher should do for you to learn well? |
| Mairo | I think our uncle should always allow us to ask questions in the classroom. |
| Abu | Pupils should ask questions and what they don't understand they should ask our teacher to tell [explain to] them. |
| Enie | I want when we ask questions our teacher should answer it well for us. |
| Akon | . . . I want our teacher to ask us simple questions; not hard hard questions. . . |

The perspectives imply that pupils would prefer classrooms where they could have the freedom to engage teachers in dialogue. Such discussions might afford them the opportunity to criticise lessons, ask questions, seek clarifications from teachers at lessons, have those queries properly resolved by the teachers and understand the information they are sharing. The reference to 'hard hard questions' in Akon's opinion is an appeal made on teachers to refrain from asking learners difficult questions, but presumably to simplify the questions to enable them participate in providing the answers.

Medium of instruction

Pupils also used note books to take notes and to do assignments. A girl in primary 5A did a class assignment from module 1 of her English textbook, probably, on the instruction of the teacher. She answered five questions from a passage she had read from her textbook. But, she made a mistake in the fifth question. She wrote: 'why was Emeka think Nigeria is better now'? The teacher corrected the verb 'was' in red ink. She wrote on top of the error the word 'does'. Now the question read: 'why does Emeka think Nigeria is better now'?

Also, a boy in primary 5B did a class assignment taken from unit 1 of his English reader. He was asked to provide five answers to the question: 'what did you do during the holidays'? He made mistakes in two of the answers he supplied. He wrote, 'I wtched television'. His teacher corrected the error 'wtched' to 'watched' and his answer changed to: 'I watched television'. In the fourth answer, the boy wrote: 'I go to market with my father'. Again, the teacher changed the word 'go' to 'went' in

red ink and the correct sentence read, 'I went to market with my father'. Having done that, the teacher marked the answers and the boy scored all five answers correct.

In primary 5C a female participant did a similar assignment as with her male colleague in primary 5B. She wrote: 'I travel to Akwa Ibom last week'. Her teacher corrected the word 'travel' to 'travelled' in red ink. Her second answer read, 'I travel to visit my mother who live in Abuja'. The teacher consequently added an 's' to it so that the whole sentence now read, 'I travel to visit my mother who lives in Abuja'. The first verb, 'travel' in that sentence should have been in the past tense 'travelled'. I think, the teacher did not notice the error because the teacher marked both answers correct. These corrections indicated that the teachers had checked their work (Pupils note books: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014).

The use of Pidgin English as a means of communication at lessons motivated me to interview participants on the issue. Seven of them responded thus:

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils used pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening? |
| Alhaji | I think some children don't used to understand English, like big English. So our teacher will use Pidgin English so that they will understand and learn well. |
| Abrama | So that those pupils who don't hear [understand] English very much can hear [understand] English, like Glory, Mary, Ether, Margaret. |
| Ekwo | Some of them cannot speak English very well that's why they use Pidgin English. Like these Hausa children they cannot speak English. When our teacher talks to them in English they will not understand. The person is not sure of what he or she is going to ask or say. . . |
| Mairo
Olom | So everybody will learn how to speak English.
(<i>Cuts in</i>) Broken [Pidgin] English. So that the pupils will understand the lesson. There are many pupils that do not understand English especially these Hausa pupils. |
| Abu | It's happening because some of the children don't know [how to speak] English very well, like Bassey, Rose and Glory. Because they (teachers) want us to learn. |
| Enie | So that when they [teachers] are writing something on the blackboard when they [teachers] read the thing in English they (pupils) will understand. Some children from Efik and Hausa don't understand English. |

Opinions from the pupils indicated that some children across the different backgrounds had poor communication skills in English, especially high sounding English words, as represented in the discourse of 'big English' in Alhaji's statement. This hints to the difficulties some of them faced to successfully complete classroom assignments as seen in the cases above. As a result, some teachers used Pidgin English sometimes to address language barriers at lesson to enable pupils take part and this is similar to my explanation in chapters 4 and 6.

Perception about children with impairments

In another interesting lesson in primary 5A/5B, the teacher was teaching pupil reading. She came across the phrase, 'physically ill' in the passage she read to pupils. She said, 'it means handicap', a label that is akin to the way the national education policy categorised these children in chapter 4. Demonstrating with her body, she explained further to clarify the pupils:

handicap is a person who has bad legs, closed eyes (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Her explanation sounded awful to me. I felt unhappy about it because one of the girls - a participant - in the classroom had a scar around the lower eyelid of her left eye that looked as though she had suffered fire burns. As I was thinking about the way this particular pupil would feel about the comments, the teacher stated further:

a handicap is a person who is mentally derailed. His head is not correct. They cannot think well (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Immediately, I turned to look at the girl's reaction. She sat calmly listening to the lesson. She seemed not to be bothered about the teacher's statement. She did not notice I was looking at her neither did her peers.

Seating and social interaction

Four to five pupils sat in rows facing the blackboard; leaving aisles in between the seats in the classroom (*see figs. 7.7 & 7.8*). Interaction among them was differentiated. Boys sat with boys and girls with girls mostly according to religion. The *Hausa/Fulani* girls clustered together. Very few children from the various backgrounds interspersed among their classmates. The blackboard was at the front of the classroom. Some educational charts were pasted on the walls inside the classroom (*see fig 7.8*). But, all classrooms had no electricity and projectors like the situation in chapters 6 and 8. Two girls served as class representatives. During interaction with some of the pupils, I realised that the teachers appointed these girls because they were the most confident pupils compared to their peers in the classrooms.



Fig. 7.7. The classroom showing seating organisation.

While writing his lesson note for the following week, the primary 5C teacher asked the pupils to lend him a ruler to rule a line in his work. A boy volunteered to lend him his ruler. The teacher rejected the boy's offer and said to him, 'I don't want it. You put it inside your mouth', and rather collected a ruler from one girl. The teacher raised his head and saw another boy in his classroom who had rashes on his body. The teacher said to him, 'we will send you away before you pass it (the disease) to another person'. Apart from this incident, I never saw the teacher relate closely with the pupils except during lesson and this is what was observed in the other classrooms.



Fig. 7.8. A section of the classroom showing the blackboard.

Among the pupils, I saw a female participant borrow a ruler from one of the boys during lesson. Other girls were chatting and laughing in low tunes amongst

themselves. Also, some of the boys used the tip of their fingers to playfully tap the back of the head of their colleagues who sat next to them and pretended not to be the ones who have touched the fellows. Some of the children being touched laughed and reciprocated. Others complained and appealed to their peers to stop the play. This is what you would see among some pupils across grades.

Odey was one of the pupils who were playing with peers. As he sat on the desk with three other boys in the middle of the classroom, I saw that he was closer to one boy compared to others. He was always talking, sharing ideas and playing with this particular boy. Once, he fought with one of his male colleagues in the classroom and the primary 5B teacher caned him. The other boy was not punished. Odey cried bitterly and said he was not going to participate in classroom programmes for that day. He flung his school bag onto the chapel and threatened to go home in protest. While he was still crying and complaining, the primary 5A teacher remarked, 'it's like he has mental problem'. The primary 5C teacher also witnessed the incident and said to him in *Efik*, '*eyen nkpo nsop*', meaning 'a child who is possessed with witchcraft'. It was the head teacher who pacified Odey and asked him to return to the classroom. Sobbing, he collected his bag from where he had abandoned it, walked back into the classroom and sat down. I interviewed Odey to ascertain the way he interacted with his peers and he stated:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Odey When other pupils see me they used to abuse me in Calabar (*Efik* language) like *afia mkpai*, *afia ino* - it means white thief and it used to affect me *ba-a-ad*. I do not used to feel fine when they abuse me.

It appears some pupils have negative attitudes and beliefs against albinism. The pupils demonstrated this practice by calling Odey names. The emphasis '*ba-a-ad*' showed that he felt very unhappy about the situation. He was fazed not just for the negative tags, which his peers gave him, but also by the fact that those labels made him feel alienated among his peers at school.

Views from seven interviewees regarding the issue were thus:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Alhaji | . . . They do not want to show person answer because if you are [speaking] the same language [with them] they will show you answer. But, if you are not [speaking] the same language [with them] they will not show you [answer]. |
| Odey | Because I am not close to them . . . |
| Akon | . . . Because they don't have friends. |
| ME | During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom? |
| Alhaji | No. From another class. |
| Abrama | Yes. |
| Enie | Some pupils do not have money that is why they do not have friends. |
| Amina | Yes. |
| Odey | No. They are from another class. Even in our classroom everybody has his friend . . . |
| Akon | No. Another class. They are from primary two and three. |
| ME | Why do they not have anyone to play with? |
| Alhaji | Because whether they are new [comers] or they do not know anybody. |
| Ekwo | Me I always play with pupils that know something [who are intelligent]. |
| Oka | Because they are stealing. |
| Enie | Some of them do not want children to play with them. |
| Amina | Because they have not friends to play with. |

These disclosures illustrated the lines along which pupils socialised with each other. These included similarity in language, seniority in year of study, poverty, intelligence, impairment, stealing, religious extremism and perhaps introversion. What this means is that the children used these categories to differentiate peers whose characteristics bear no semblance with members of particular groups from mingling with them. These characterisations served as a culture that defined boundaries for socialisation among the pupils. It is, particularly, startling to see in Enie's first excerpt that some pupils seemed to avoid friends who are from poor homes, thus reproduced social inequality at school. That is a perception that led some of them to perhaps look down on their colleagues from poor homes. On the other

hand, the reference which Alhaji made to the new pupils is somewhat equivocal. The fact, however, that these newcomers were not yet familiar with their peers suggested that they had probably not adapted to the culture of exclusion that exists among the different social groups at school.

At 10:00am local time a boy sound a bell. Most of the pupils screamed 'yay'! Another boy shouted, 'it is time for break'. Afterwards, the teachers said to them, 'stand up and pray and go out for break'. All pupils stood up and said this prayer:

*Thank you god for you're so sweet
Thank you god for saving me
Thank you god for the day I've seen
Thank you god for everything
Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen.*
(Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014)

Having said the prayer, they greeted the teachers and dashed out of the classroom to play. At the playground, my attention was drawn to six girls who were standing and facing each other, clapping their hands and swinging their legs back and forth in unison and in quick successions. At a point, one of them discontinued. Her playmate said to her in Pidgin English: 'you don fail' [you have failed]. Others, nonetheless, carried on with the game. Also, I saw one boy produce a ball-like object. He threw it on the ground and started kicking it all over the place. Soon, other boys joined him to kick the object. They were saying to each other in English: 'pass the ball to me na'. Due to the hard surface of the playground, some of them were seen sustaining injuries on their bodies while playing.

Odey stood alone watching his peers play. After that, he started dancing and later walked back into his classroom and sat down alone. His actions evidenced the negative attitudes he faced from peers and teacher as indicated above. Other pupils, however, stood in clusters at two different spots on the playground near the school's main gate. There were buying snacks from one man and a woman. I noticed that some of the children did not have the money to buy the foods too. As a result, they followed their peers who had bought the food ostensibly wanting to have a share from it. A few of them, however, shared the food with some friends including their siblings. After 40 minutes of play the bell sounded again and all of them went back to their classrooms to continue learning.

I interviewed other participants regarding the way they socialised with their peers and nine of them made these disclosures:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME | If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper? |
| Alhaji | Because they can do something well . . . they can work hard. Ehn, for example, if we want to put the blackboard in our class[room], Ruquaya and can Bassey can tell you how to put it well. Maimuna follow us to do it. |
| Abrama | Akan, Salaha, David. I say Salaha, like him fit [can] carry tha---at black thing (charcoal) for [from] their house come for [to the] school. All of us, Salaha, Akan and David go [will] carry am [it and] put for [on] our blackboard. |
| Ekwo | Because Felix is intelligent. If there is something that you don't have intelligence to do, Felix will tell you how to do it. David is strong. If you tell him to help you and hold this thing he can help you [do it]. Kufre is the same thing. Kufre is action boy [active]. So him and David. That's why I chose two of them while Felix is intelligent. That's why I chose them. |
| Mairo | . . . They can tell you, like advise you about how to write well and to read well. If you cannot read well they can read it for you. That's why I said they are intelligent. |
| Olom | Because they are my best friends and they work very hard. They help to spell anything [word] that I don't know. |
| Abu | The thing that make me want to work with Ghaddafi is because he is my best friend. We live together in the same house and school in one school. His father and my father are brothers. David is my friend. . . |
| Enie | Because they are big. . .Yes. Why I said that because they are big is because they are big girls. They used to teach me how to read and to learn other subjects in the classrooms |
| Amina | Because they are my friends. . . If I don't read [well] they will correct me. |
| Akon | . . . They are very intelligent. Ahhnnn uncle, Immaculata and Mary know Maths, and Esther know[s] English Language. They used to help me to learn these subjects. |

Views from these pupils demonstrated that friendships, intelligence, peer tutoring, physical strength and blood ties also underlay pupil participation in collaborative work at school. Enie talked about ‘big girls’ to mean that she made friends with older female colleagues who also doubled as her peer tutors. The physical sizes of the girls perhaps, compared to self, made her feel comfortable to interact with them. Regardless of that, pupils were drawn towards peers whom they believed possess some skills that could benefit them. The different excerpts meant that interpersonal relations encouraged teamwork among pupils at school.

However, one response from Odey on the issue was thus:

- | | |
|------|---|
| ME | Why will you not like to work with Emman, Daniel, and Stephen? |
| Odey | I don't like to work with <i>Hausas</i> . . . It's because, these <i>Hausas</i> every time they will be praying and say[ing] Allah. And they used to kill people like Boko Haram. . . |

This showed the complexity in the practice. His views illustrated that even within particular groups; children had individual pupils with whom they bonded. He digressed from talking about Emman, Daniel and Stephen to make very uncomplimentary statements about his tribal *Hausa/Fulani* peers. The former, I presume, did not pose serious security risks to him that is why he did not speak further about them. He associated the latter with Boko Haram. His perception is that virtually all members of this terrorist organisation were tribal *Hausa/Fulanis* and Muslims. Due to the criminal activities of these insurgents, as I also noted in chapter 3, Odey perceived pupils from these backgrounds as also being overzealous in religious beliefs, deadly and as a people who must be avoided. That made him form a negative impression about peers who are linked to this tribe and religion, thus giving him a feeling of insecurity to interact with them at school.

School discipline

In primary 5A/5B, a boy was talking to another peer during lesson. Suddenly, the primary 5A teacher paused, looked at him sternly and said to him in a harsh tone in *Efik*, '*ikpa mi akpe duo fi ke idem diono te ama nam idiok nkpo*'. It means, 'if my cane touches your body know that you have committed an offence'. As the lesson progressed, she called a boy to answer a question she had asked the

learners. The boy answered the questions wrongly. She said to him: 'goat, you cannot answer'.

A female pupil also stood up and made a wrong contribution to the lesson and she said to the girl, 'you are not saying it correctly'. She asked another girl to answer a question. The pupil did not answer it correctly as well and the teacher also said to her in disappointment, 'even you cannot talk'. Now speaking further apparently to all pupils, she warned, 'when next I ask you a question on what I have taught you and you look at me as a humpty dumpty,' and continued teaching. In primary 5C, a male participant made a noise during lesson. His teacher pointed his finger at the boy and abused him in *Efik* saying, '*afo okpon ibuo otodo. Ukponoke idem fo?*' It means 'you big head. Will you respect yourself'? When I interviewed participants regarding administration of discipline at school, nine of them disclosed:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil? |
| Alhaji | Maybe dem be dey make noise in the classroom, that's why [Maybe they were making noise in the classroom, that's why]. |
| Abrama | It's Olah, our teacher dey beat am because him been no write well for him book [It's Ola, our teacher that beat him because he did not write well in his book]. |
| Ekwo | Because they came late to school. |
| Mairo | Because if our teacher is teaching on the blackboard they will be playing. They will not hear what the teacher is saying. |
| Abu | Because the child came to school with dirty uniform. Our teacher tell us that we should wash our uniform[s] when it is dirty. If we don't wash our uniform[s] she will flog us. |
| Enie | Yes, uncle one boy used to thief [steal] our pen[s]. So our aunty will be beating him so that he will not steal our thing again. |
| Amina | Because the pupil was making noise in the class[room]. So aunty used a ruler and beat him. |
| Odey | Uncle, aunty used to beat all those children that used to thief [steal] our pens and curse [abuse] us in the classroom. |
| Akon | Maybe that day our teacher tell us to sweep our classroom. So some pupils were not sweeping so aunty beat them. |

The disclosures from these pupils confirmed my observation that teachers used corporal punishment and invectives against any pupils who had erred virtually in any way at school as stated in chapters 2, 3 and 6.

During further interviews, two participants made some recommendations to resolve the situation:

- | | |
|------|---|
| ME | What should your teacher do for you to learn well? |
| Olom | . . . Let aunty not used cane when she is teaching pupils. . . . |
| Ekwo | I want our teacher not to beat us when we say something that is wrong . . . |

These pupils were opposed to the use of corporal punishment on them when they have made wrong contributions in the classroom. It implied that the cane made them feel frightened to make inputs at lessons. Rather, as can be understood from Ekwo's excerpt, there were calling for the adoption of teaching strategies that can encourage them to contribute at lessons without fear of harassment and oppression. It suggests a kind of interactive classroom environment in which pupil voice provides an opportunity to engage them in school programmes.

Pupil hairstyle

I saw some girls with woven or plaited hairdos at school (*see fig. 6.6 above*) similar to the practice in chapter 6. Others did not. Initially, I could not ascertain the backgrounds of these girls. Also, it was unclear who gave them permission to do so and the basis on which they were granted the authorisation. I was curious about the issue. I interviewed the participants. Eight of them made these disclosures on the issue:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair? |
| Mairo | These children are from <i>Basarawa</i> . |
| Akon | Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they allow them to plait their hair. |
| Ekwo | Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. . . . Only <i>Hausa</i> pupils that they permit to weave their hair. . . |
| Enie | Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that . . . Hausa pupils should plait their hair |
| Olom | . . . It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their |

	hair because it's their culture. . .
Amina	Because they (pupils) are from <i>Hausa</i> Because that is the Hausa tradition.
Ebu	It's <i>Hausa</i> [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.
Abu	Because they are Muslims. . .
Odey	It's only Muslims that used to plait. . .

Some of the interviewees used the pronoun 'they' to indicate that the school management gave the approval for the *Hausa/Fulani* girls to weave and plait their hair. Enie pointed that the school authorities preferentially issued the authorisation to the girls on the grounds that the headmaster was also a member of that tribe. In spite of that, the pupils assumed the school decided to allow their *Hausa/Fulani* peers to make their hair in order to respect that aspect of their culture and tradition as it is being represented in the discourse of 'law' as seen in Ebu's excerpt. As indicated in Abu's and Odey's accounts, the *Hausa/Fulani* pupils had school permission to carry hairstyles because they were Muslims. Understandably, pupils from other tribes and religion were denied a similar privilege because they did not have any powerful authority in the school to also protect their interests in that direction. It gives the impression that there was a tussle whereby the beneficiaries were making efforts to preserve their *Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic values within a dominant non-*Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic environment. But, the school head was seen to influence the situation in a way that did not equally respond to the diversity of the pupils.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Pupils who were learning and not learning

As explained in the presence and participation sections, pupils who were learning comprised a few of those who were able to attend school regularly, some who were actively engaged at lessons and also interacting well with peers. Others were, however, not learning well. Poor school attendance resulting from inability to pay school fees inhibited learning for them. Passive involvement in classroom programmes due to dominant influence in teacher activities and oppression from peers impeded the way some of them were also learning. Barriers to pupils learning are also attributed to negative attitudes of practitioners and peers against the children with impairments.

Religious conflicts also hindered learning, particularly, for *Huasa/Fulani* Muslim pupils. Moreover, some pupils could not learn well due to language barrier in English as MoI. This is evidenced in the case of those children who were unable to complete assignments. Also, rigid application of disciplinary measures appears to weaken pupil enthusiasm to learn. However, evidence in the preceding sections show that some pupils were not achieving fully in interaction. These included aggressors, Muslims, children with learning difficulties, albino child, younger children and even children from very poor homes. In the face of these issues, these children were subjected to examinations, a theme I will examine next.

Examinations

Similar to the case in chapter 6, assessment records showed that pupils in *Edor Agom* took promotion and common entrance examinations to qualify for a higher classroom and to leave primary education. As stated earlier, the concentration was on pupils in primary 5. See details about the way the pupils progressed from 2007/2008 to 2011/2012 school session via examination on table 7.3:

Table 7.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012					2011/ 2012	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Hausa/ Fulani	21	17	20	16	17	14	16	13	14	10	Muslims 24	Not indicated	Not indicated	7	7
Igbo	16	11	16	10	13	9	12	8	9	6	Christians 72			7	5
Ekoi	19	12	18	10	16	8	13	8	12	7				7	5
Ibibio	15	9	13	9	12	8	12	8	10	6				5	3
Efik	9	28	8	26	7	22	6	20	4	18				5	10
Total	157		146		126		116		96		96			61	

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*; Class attendance registers for primary 5A/5B and 5C.

Table 7.3 states that 96 pupils out of the initial 157 who had places in the school progressed, year-by-year, through promotion examinations to primary 5. Pupils from *Hausa/Fulani* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo*, *Ekoi* and *Ibibio* respectively. Christians were about thrice more than Muslims. Boys were more than girls by two

pupils. Data did not indicate whether pupils with impairments were among them. Also, there was no information to show the language the pupils speak.

Classroom placement

Class attendance registers illustrated that primary 5 pupils in the 2011/2012 session were distributed into different classrooms as shown on table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A/5B and 5C

Tribe	Gender											
	2011/2012			2011/2012								
	B	G	T	Primary 5A			Primary 5B			Primary 5C		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
Hausa/ Fulani	14	10	24	4	1	5	6	4	10	4	5	9
Igbo	9	6	15	-	1	1	5	3	8	4	2	6
Ekoi	12	7	19	2	1	3	3	4	7	7	2	9
Ibibio	10	6	16	8	2	10	2	1	3	-	3	3
Efik	4	18	22	4	10	14	-	3	3	-	5	5
Total	96			33			31			32		

Source: 2011/2012 class attendance registers for primary 5A/5B and 5C

Table 7.4 shows that, in the 2011/2012 academic period, primary 5A had 33 pupils. Majority of them were *Efiks* and *Ibibios*. A few of their peers were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Ekois* and *Igbos*. Christians outnumbered Muslims and boys also outnumbered girls, however, by three pupils. Primary 5B on the other hand, had 31 pupils. Most of them were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Igbos* and *Ekois*. Very few of them were *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. Christians were more than Muslims. Boys and girls were almost equal. Also, primary 5C had 32 pupils. A considerable number of them were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Ekois*, *Igbos* and *Efiks*. A few others were *Ibibios*. Christians were over twice more than Muslims. This time girls were more than boys by two pupils.

The shortfall that occurred in the overall number of pupils who took the qualifying examinations to progress and complete primary school at primary 6 as well as those who progressed to primary 5 hints that some of them repeated grades as you would learn in the following theme.

Grade repetition

Data from the assessment records showed that some pupils who could not meet certain requirements in the promotion examinations did not progress at school alongside their peers, similar to my explanations in chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 8. See further details on table 7.5:

Table 7.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year

Tribe	Gender										Pupils missing		Religion of missing pupils
	2007/2008		2011/2012		2011/2012								
	B	G	B	G	Primary 5A		Primary 5B		Primary 5C		B	G	
Hausa/ Fulani	21	17	14	10	4	1	6	4	4	5	7	7	Muslims 14
Igbo	16	11	9	6	-	1	5	3	4	2	7	5	Christians
Ekoi	19	12	12	7	2	1	3	4	7	2	7	5	47
Ibibio	15	9	10	6	8	2	2	1	-	3	5	3	
Efik	9	28	4	18	4	10	-	3	-	5	5	10	
Total	157		96		33		31		32		61		61

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Table 7.5 demonstrates that 61 pupils did not progress with their 96 colleagues from the 2007/2008 session to primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year. Except for *Igbos*, pupils from the other tribes were almost evenly represented. Christians outnumbered Muslims.

When I interviewed participants about their interaction with peers, one of them went on to provide a response that connected examination:

ME If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?

Abu . . . David is my friend. I came and met him in primary 3.

This view implied that David repeated and Abu was promoted to do the same year with him as represented in the discourse of ‘I came and met him in primary 3’.

Consequently, the outcome of this case shows that issues such as limited pupil voice, lapses in national education policy, poor funding for primary education in the rural village, school fees, promotion examination, lapses in curriculum content,

long distance to school, tribal and religious discrimination, barriers in English as MoI, gendered practices, negative perception against children with impairments, insufficient school accommodation, corporal punishment, domesticity and aggression were responsible for the exclusion and marginalisation of some children in terms of presence, participation and achievement at *Edor Agom*.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of data for *Edor Agom* in this chapter have shown that the school was located in *Basarawa* intent to attract pupils from the settler *Hausa/Fulani* tribe and peers from other groups to formal education under the UBE. Some children from different backgrounds within the community and its environs enrolled and were attending school. Although the school is seen to make some efforts to positively respond to the needs of pupils, it did not sustain that commitment to include them.

For instance, *Efik* and *Ibibio* children and Christians were over-represented in registration compared to their peers from other tribes and religion. Muslims, in particular, were not participating well at lessons due to exclusion of IRE from the curriculum and dominance of Christian activities. Inability to pay school fees was forcing some pupils to stay out of school. And some parents rather engaged their children at home as child labourers. Most of the pupils, however, suffered insufficient classroom accommodation limiting the chance for some of them to be actively engaged at lessons. Use of didactic teaching methods and corporal punishment reduced their participation further. More so, teacher directed more attention to the more confident pupils to disadvantage others. Some pupils who experienced some constraints to read, write and speak in English were assaulted by teachers, thus leaving them traumatised and passive.

Social interaction between teachers and pupils indicated an adult-child pattern. The children modelled this among themselves. There were negative trends in such interactions among pupils whereby some of them attached stereotypes to peers from other ethno-religious associations and the child with albinism in order to deprive them of the opportunity to take part in cross interaction. Yet, pupils did not have a voice to express their views about the ways these barriers were affecting their schools lives.

Faced with these problems, these pupils still had to pass promotion examinations to make progress at school. Those who failed the tests ended up

spending more years in school unlike their peers. However, during interview some of them called for a change in the inclusive direction to enable the school remove disadvantages to their education in terms of classroom practices, provision of school infrastructure and review in school discipline. Thus, the next chapter presents data analysis on pupil in/exclusion in my third case, *Bunyia*.

CHAPTER EIGHT

BUNYIA PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

Bunyia primary school was located in *Ogbudu*, a rural area located north outside Calabar. At approximately 37 kilometres along the Calabar - Ikom highway, turn left onto a tarred street called *Irruan* (see fig. 8.1). Walk about 50 yards from the highway passing shops that lined both sides of the street.

The school sits on the right after a police station. School records indicated that *Bunyia* was originally founded and managed as a Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) school. Further evidence of this is that the Roman



Fig. 8.1. Irruan street from the Highway. A child is walking on it. Standing right of the child is the school fence.

Catholic Church building stood beside the school (see fig. 8.2).

Natives of *Ogbudu* were mostly members of *Ekoi* tribe. *Igbos*, *Efiks*, *Ibibios*, *Yorubas* and *Hausa/Fulanis* also resided in the area. The *Ekois*, I presume, succeeded to impose

themselves as indigenes to deprive other tribes the right to education. The presence of small farms and shops around the school suggested that the community members practiced subsistence economy. *English* was the dominant language among them as a national



Fig. 8.2. Parts of the school compound. The building with green roof is the Roman Catholic Church. The building lying horizontal to the church is one of the classroom buildings.

policy requirement as mentioned in chapters 4, 6 and 7. Locals also spoke various languages reflecting their tribes, and Pidgin English. *Efik* language was also commonly used among residents due to their interactions with the *Efiks* or

geographic contiguity of the village to Calabar as I explained in chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7.

The school gate, painted dark and light green, stood by the roadside. The school fence encircled the school round about (*see figs. 8.1 & 8.2*). Beside the gate was the school sign board. The sign post had an inscription on it that read, adopted by: West Oil & Gas Company. A gravel motorway stretched from the gate inwards to the school compound. A white wooden fence was built to frame parts of the sides of this driveway. One green two-storey building stood near the gate inside the school. It was the only upstairs and newest of all school buildings (*see fig. 8.3*). A black marble plaque was placed on the wall at the entrance of this building. Carvings on the plaque bore an emblem at the top reflecting: 'West Oil & Gas Company FZE. Commissioning of twelve



Fig. 8.3. Front view of the school compound. Some pupils and a staff are walking on the gravel motorway inside the school.

classrooms @ Bunyia Primary School, Ogbudu by His Excellency Mr. Okine Ewa, Governor of Cross River State on September 23, 2013'. It became clear to me that this organisation was actually assisting to supply school facilities and classroom equipment to complement government effort to provide better education for pupils.

Primary 4, 5 and 6 classrooms occupied the ground, middle and topmost floors respectively. The headmistress' office was on the ground floor. The office door was fitted with iron burglary proof. Next to the storey building and facing the driveway was the primary 1 classroom block. Opposite primary 1 was the block that housed the nursery and parts of primary 2 classrooms. An expansive land extended from the frontage of this building to the upstairs and school gate (*see figs. 8.2, 8.3 & 8.4*).



Fig. 8.4. Rear view of the school compound showing some pupils and staff.

Pupils used this place as playground. The field was the only recreational facility at school.

However, at the back of the nursery was another building that accommodated the deputy headmistress' office, primary 3 and parts of primary 2 classrooms. An overhead water tank was built here too. Children used it to get their water needs at school. Also, pupils utilised the space in between primary 3 blocks and Nursery building as assembly area (*see fig. 8.5*). Nigeria and Cross River State flags were hoisted at the assembly ground. Like the upstairs, all other buildings were constructed with cement, painted dark and light green and roofed with aluminium sheets. White iron doors and shutters were fitted in the classrooms. The school buildings had stairs to enable some pupils to access the classrooms, but there were no ramps as with the situation in chapters 6 and 7. Nevertheless, at the backyard of primary 3 and 2 building was a shed-like kitchen (*see fig. 8.7*). A farm stood near this kitchen and it extended to the school toilet, located at the extreme end of the backyard.

All pupils wore school uniforms like the practice in chapters 6 and 7. Girls in the primary section used white sleeveless pinafore and those in the nursery used white sleeve pinafore. The boys wore white short sleeve shirts on white shorts. All pupils used white socks and brown sandals.

School hours started at 7:45am local time when the bell was rung to signal time for morning devotion similar to the practice in chapters 6 and 7. As children gathered at the assembly area, a female teacher stood in front of them and instructed, 'line up children'. She was the teacher responsible for leading morning devotion for that day. Pupils followed the order and



Fig. 8.5. The open space in between these two buildings behind the leafy tree is the assembly ground.

queued according to their classrooms and gender. Co-teachers stood at different spots to assist to control the pupils. As pupils took positions, the lead teacher directed them to recite the Lord's Prayer, sing the Nigerian and Cross River State anthems and pledges. This meeting lasted 15 minutes.

PUPIL PRESENCE

My attention was mainly on primary 5. Three female teachers from *Ekoi* tribe were each responsible for pupils in primary 5A, 5B and 5C. All of them were Christians.

Enrolment and attendance

During interaction a female teacher informed me that, initially, some parents complained that school places were preferentially offered children who practiced Catholicism. As it was the only school in the community at the time, many eligible children within the village were excluded due to their non-Catholic backgrounds, a situation akin to my explanation on faith schools in chapter 2. That was the situation until the state government eventually took over management and changed its status to a public school to provide wider opportunities for other children and to increase pupil enrolment in line with the EFA as I explained in chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7.

410 children had places to start primary 1 in the school in the 2007/2008 academic session. Data on table 8.1 presents the changes in configuration of the class and demographics of the pupils for five years commencing from when they had offer in the school to the current year in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 session.

Table 8.1: Enrolment and demographics of pupils

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012					2011/ 2012	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Ekoi	35	63	35	63	35	62	35	61	35	61	Christians	Not indicated	Not indicated	-	2
Efik	37	49	36	49	36	48	34	48	33	48				4	1
Ibibio	65	49	65	47	65	45	65	43	65	40				-	9
Igbo	34	35	34	33	33	32	33	30	33	29				1	6
Yoruba	16	27	16	27	16	26	16	26	16	26				-	1
Total	410		405		398		391		386		386			24	

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Table 8.1 presents year-by-year enrolment of pupils and it indicates that pupils from *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo* and *Yoruba* respectively. All of them were Christians. Girls, denoted by the letter G, outnumbered boys, represented by the letter B. It was unclear whether any of them had impairments. Data also did

not reveal the language the pupils speak. The table however shows that 24 pupils were probably not attending the school again, and among them, girls were more than boys.

Demographics of participants

Some pupils were drawn from this classroom, as stated in chapter 5, to take part in the study. Information concerning the backgrounds of the participants is presented on table 8.2:

Table 8.2: Demographics of participants

S/N	Name of participant	Gender	Age	Religion	Tribe	Language	Years in school
1	Paul	boy	13	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
2	Achua	boy	11	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
3	Usha	girl	12	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
4	Akpre	girl	13	Christian	Efik	Efik	5
5	Ebu	boy	12	Christian	Igbo	Igbo	5
6	Asaa	girl	12	Christian	Ibibio	Ibibio	5
7	Abuon	boy	11	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
8	Omari	girl	11	Christian	Ekoi	Ekoi	5
9	Azun	girl	12	Christian	Yoruba	Yoruba	5
10	Ayi	boy	13	Christian	Efik	Efik	5

Source: 2011/2012 classroom registers for primary 5; Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Table 8.2 shows that participants in the study were selected across the backgrounds of children available in primary 5. Although the linguistic background of the pupils is not revealed by data, as shown on table 8.1, I was however able to ascertain the language each participant speaks while interacting with them and by my assumption as an insider.

Among the pupils in primary 5 I noticed Akpre, who later became one of my participants in primary 5B. Her real name suggested that she is *Efik*. She wore faded uniform and looked haggard unlike other children. She sat on the desk with her female classmate near the window at the back of the classroom. She was talking sometimes shyly with her partner and as she did that she demonstrated with her hands in a sluggish manner. I realised she was coming to school irregularly. The days she came to school she arrived late, sometimes when lessons had far begun. While interviewing participants about the groups of children present in the school, they all disclosed thus:

ME	Where do the children who are schooling here in your school come from?
Paul (<i>a boy</i>)	From different places like <i>Ikot Enebong</i> and 12 Kilo.
Achua (<i>a boy</i>)	They come from Calabar . . .
Usha (<i>a girl</i>)	<i>Biase</i> .
Akpre (<i>a girl with learning difficulties</i>)	Some of them come from <i>Ugep</i> and <i>Ogoja</i> . That's the only places I know.
Ebu (<i>a boy</i>)	They can come from <i>Akwa Ibom</i> or (<i>sighs</i>). . .
Asaa (<i>a girl</i>)	They come from <i>Efik, Anang, (sighs)</i> . . .
Abuon (<i>a boy</i>)	Some of them come from <i>Igbo, Atam, Ibibio, Yoruba</i> . . .
Omari (<i>a girl</i>)	They come from different communities like <i>Akwa Ibom</i> and <i>Ikot Abasi</i> .
Azun (<i>a girl</i>)	. . . many children that live in <i>Ikot Omin</i> . . .
Ayi (<i>a boy</i>)	Some of them come from <i>Yoruba</i> or <i>Igbo</i> .

These interviewees revealed the identities of pupils in the school in terms of those from various tribes such as *Efik, Anang, Ibibio, Igbo* and *Yoruba*. Others explained in terms of pupils who lived in streets within *Ogbudu*; local government areas within Cross River and neighbouring states. The word ‘*atam*’ in Abuon’s excerpt is another name *Efiks* used to describe people from *Ekoi* tribe. However, there is a contrast in the ‘sigh’ in Ebu’s and Asaa’s excerpts. The former used the exclamation to signify that there was nothing further to say while the latter used it to demonstrate effort to think further to be able to supply more information. Accounts from these pupils clarified my assumption that a considerable number of the children came from different backgrounds within *Ogbudu* and its environs.

School fees

At the end of the morning devotion the deputy headmistress announced to pupils calling on them to pay ₦200.00 (£1.00). She explained to them that that amount is divided into ₦100.00 (50p) for Parents Teachers Association (PTA), ₦50.00 (30p) for examination fee and another ₦50.00 (30p) for continuous assessment. Speaking further, she condemned the situation where some children go home and lie to their parents that their teachers sent them home for failing to pay ₦200.00 levy and handicraft e.g. broom. It raised a question within me as to whether, actually, pupils did not face any consequences for failing to pay these charges. I

interviewed the participants regarding their experience on the issue. Six of them disclosed, thus:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too? Why is it so? |
| Azun | It's the children. Because if their mother send them to sell something they will not come to school again. Their mother could tell them to stay in the house and hold baby for her. |
| Omari | No. They are many. Because they don't like to come to school because of the work they are doing like packing sand [to sell] . . . |
| Usha | Yes. It's because they don't like to come to school. They like selling in the market. Some will be selling garri (a kind of starchy powder made from cassava), oil and fish. It's their parents that give it to them to sell. |
| Akpre | Yes. Because they are helping their mother to sell something like oil. |
| Ebu | It's only Aniebiet. Because her uniform is not good. |
| Abuon | . . . some of them have not paid their school fees. |

Views from these pupils are within the child abuse and child labour discourse respectively. One aspect of child abuse, as illustrated in their perspectives describes the engagement of some school children in domestic chores. On the other hand, child labour connotes the involvement of children in income generation activities instead of going to school. These children undertook these activities to assist parents in childcare and to also help them pay bills, including covering part of the cost of their education at school. This could be why Ebu named Aniebiet, as the pupil who was not in school. May be Aniebiet stayed at home to assist parents raise some money to buy her a new school uniform. However, Abuon stated it clearly that some pupils had not paid their fees and that was having negative effects on their attendance at school as I also noted in chapters 3, 6 and 7.

Free school meal

Apart from that, one Thursday morning the primary 5A teacher announced to pupils to go out from the classroom and collect food. On hearing the good news, some of the children shouted, 'yee-es' and all of them moved out of the classroom onto the school compound.

Outside the classroom I saw pupils also coming out from the other classrooms. All of them walked towards the kitchen (*see fig. 8.6*). I noticed there were some strange looking women who dressed like chefs standing at the kitchen, and were carrying some food packed in disposable plates.



Fig. 8.6. The school kitchen. The vegetation around the shed is the school farm.

Some teachers stood around the pupils and were directing them to queue in front of the kitchen and stop being disorderly. This time they did not form lines according to classroom, but in the order of height, providing opportunity for children in the lower classrooms to stand in front of the senior pupils. There was a cacophony of noise coming from pupils. The chefs called the pupils forward in turns and served them food. One female teacher advised the pupils in a loud voice, 'when you collect the food, say thank you, aunty'. 'And when you have collected, go and stay in your classroom and eat your food'. So each recipients said, 'thank you, aunty' or 'thank you, madam' when s/he collects food. But, some of them opened the lid of the disposable plate hurriedly to eat the food. It was so amazing to see that some pupils were impatient to use the spoons attached to the plates to eat. Rather, they were eating with their bare hands. Regardless of the teacher's instruction, some of them were already eating the food, licking the food crumbs stuck to their hands, spoons and lips as they walk towards their classrooms.

Speaking with interviewees regarding their experience about the food, they all stated:

ME	I noticed that some people come to your school to cook some food for the children. What kind of food do they cook for the children?
Akpre	Because so many pupils have not eaten to come to school and so many pupils don't have father and mother.
Achua	The owner of the school [head of the Oil Company] send the people to come and be giving us food every Thursday.
Ebu	Our mother do not have money to prepare food, we'll just come to the school and they will give us food and we'll not be hungry again. . .
Paul	Because they look at the children and see that their body is not fine that is why they cook indomie noodles, rice and chicken and give us so that our body will be fresh.
Asaa	To make the children look healthy and study well.
Abuon	Our mama that builds this school gives some money for them to come and cook food for us and make this school the best in this village. They give us indomie and juice. There are some children who are poor and do not have food to eat. So when they come to school they give them some to eat to hold their bellies.
Omari	. . . it is the owner of the school that sent them to go and cook for the school.
Azun	They are from the company of West Oil.
Ayi	On Thursday they cook indomie and give egg to us to eat. It's because they show love to us.
Usha	Sometimes when school close they will cook rice and chicken with indomie for us.

These pupils explained that children were served (indomie) noodles, rice, chicken, eggs and juice to eat. The chefs were staff of West Oil & Gas Company. They were sent to the school by the owner of company to provide the children with the food. The organisation did that because some children came to school hungry as their parents were poor and could not provide them with this basic need at home. So, the company was also assisting parents to keep the children healthy and enable them attend school unlike the cases in chapters 6 and 7. The term 'to hold their bellies' in Abuon' excerpt connotes that the pupils were served the food to prevent some of them from experiencing rumbling stomachs due to starvation. I presume the organisation was undertaking this programme as a moral responsibility and that is

what Ayi implied to as 'show love' to pupils. Apart from feeding the children, again in Abuon's excerpt, it was also to make the school 'the best in the village' in terms of the help it provided, compared to its counterparts, to attract more pupils to enrol and attend school. The extent and/or regularity of the support the company provided made some pupils to mistake the Company's head as the 'owner' of the school. A similar reference recurred when Abuon referred to the benefactor of the school as 'our mama'.

School environment and location

I heard some pupils talking among themselves in primary 5B classroom that the school used to be in a very bad condition. It had dilapidated classroom buildings and equipment. Some classrooms were littered with excreta and infested by lizards, snakes and insects. Parents hated the school so much they refused to enrol their children there. It was West Oil & Gas Company that eventually helped to improve the facilities and classroom equipment for pupils. Looking at the infrastructure in the school I noticed that almost all of them bore the markings of the company. I assume the company made the provisions under its CSR policy.

Bunyia had an expansive land as well as spacious and adequate classroom accommodation. Classroom seats were even more than pupils. While doing interviews with participants regarding participation of pupils in interaction in the classroom, one of them rather said something about accommodation, thus:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Achua No uncle, we are not sitting alone. We are sitting [in] two[s].

What this pupil said corroborated my observation that there were sufficient classroom seats for all pupils.

During further interviews with participants about pupil presence, one of them said something connected to pupil decision to change school in relation to health and safety:

ME Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Achua Yes. Because some of them said they are going to change school. They said they don't like our school because of pooing (defecating) on the floor [of the classroom].

From this view, it shows that some pupils 'change' school willingly because they do not like the physical environment in the former one. But, this pupil has revealed that some pupils and/or members of the public come into the school, presumably after school hours, to defecate in the classrooms thereby dirtying the environment. Poor hygiene of the school environment is represented in the discourse of 'pooing'. Implicitly, the school is unclean as indicated in the accounts of some children above. In consequence, some pupils probably felt ashamed to attend and/or associate with an unclean school and thus decided to change school on health and safety grounds to another one that is clean, healthy and attractive.

When I interviewed participants about the reason pupils were attending the school, eight of them made disclosures in terms of location of the school:

ME Why are children schooling here in your school?

Paul Because their house is not far.

Akpre Because the school is good.

Usha May be this school is the best, maybe that's why they (their parents) bring them in this school.

Abuon I am in this school because my mother was selling here and she told my dad that in this school they usually teach very well. So my dad removed me from my former school because they don't usually teach well or give notes. So I came here.

Achua Because in the other school they don't teach well like here.

Omari Because in this school they can teach well. . .

Ayi Because this school is very fine. . .

Ebu It's my father that told me to come to this school because my cousin was teaching in this school.

Views from these pupils indicate that some children were attending *Bunyia* due to its geographical proximity to their homes. Others were there because the school is

‘good’ as shown in Akpre’s view. The quality of teaching available is being illustrated in the discourse of being ‘good’. Even some parents as shown in Abuon’s and Achua’s views acknowledged that and withdrew their child from a former school and rather enrolled the child at *Bunyia* on the advice of the mother. Such attraction to the school can also be read from under the breath of Ebu’s excerpt. His cousin assumedly recommended the school to his father requesting him to get a place there for Ebu given its attractive resources. The beauty of school, the quality of infrastructure and classroom equipment available are further being represented in the discourse of ‘very fine’ in Ayi’s view and that attracted children to the school.

Talking about pupils who come to school irregularly, two interviewees made disclosures connected to Akpre and her peers, thus:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Why is it so?

Ayi Yes, only these two pupils. Because Uncle, like Akpre her house is very far. She cannot come to school every day.

ME Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Asaa Yes. Because the place that they are living is too far.

Responses from these pupils suggested that Akpre is among the children who did not attend school regularly. The children also come to school late due to distance from their homes to school and this is linked to my explanation in chapter 3.

School toilet

In terms of sanitation, the surrounding of the toilet had overgrown grasses and a dumpsite, littered with excreta and other harmful objects (*see fig. 8.7*). In some occasions, some girls squatted in hidden spots outside to toilet and this



Fig. 8.7. Some pupils standing near the toilet, painted light green.

is similar to my explanations in chapters 3 and 6.

School uniform

When I asked interviewees what they would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in school, one of them said something about changing uniform:

Paul	Yes. I want them (school management) to change our uniform. Our uniform is not good. If you play it will dirty fast. They should change it to green and white. I like mek dem [they should] wear white and come to school on Monday to Thursday and mek dem [they should] wear anything and come to school on Friday. [I will like pupils to wear the white uniform to school from Monday to Thursday, but they should wear other clothes to school on Friday].
------	---

This pupil seemed to be unhappy with his current school uniform. He did not like wearing the all-white costume to attend school every day because, according to him, it is hard to maintain. On that note, he called on the school management to change it to green and white. I presume he wanted the shirt/blouse to be white and short/skirt to be green or the other way round. It is, however, not clear the reason he was particular about these colours. A clue to it is that the colours symbolised the green and white in the Nigerian flag – indicating patriotism. More so, the fact that he wanted pupils to wear this proposed dress code to attend school from Monday to Friday with the exception of Friday was, perhaps, to enable them use it for a long time. To ‘wear anything’ to school on Fridays does not suggest a call for pupils to dress indecently to school on Friday. Rather, it is a discourse that represents use of decent mufti by pupils on this day. Also, pupils appear not to be laden with too much classroom activities on Friday. That tended to give them enough space to play and get dirty in the process. When pupils use mufti on this day they may be able to preserve their uniforms and to save cost for parents.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Curriculum content

16 subjects were listed on the school timetable. The timetable was pasted on a obvious location on the wall for easy reference. It was structured in a way that allowed pupils to have lessons in the morning and afternoon. In between these two periods, they observed break. Pupils learned these subjects from Monday to Friday. On each day they received lessons for at least seven subjects. Further examination of the timetable showed that pupils learned English and Science oriented courses mostly in the morning and learned the art based in the afternoon. The last activity they did on Friday was compound cleaning. This is linked to why Paul wanted children to wear mufti to school on Fridays.

Lesson plan

Every teacher in primary 5 prepared lesson notes daily in all the subjects. First the school head had to approve contents of the lesson notes to ensure they were correct and adequate before the teacher delivered the lesson to pupils.

Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson

Classroom programmes started at 8:00am local time. In primary 5C a girl hit the desk and gave a command in English, 'class greet!' All pupils stood up on their benches and greeted the teachers. Later, the teacher stood up from her seat and asked, 'what is the time now'? Some of the pupils responded, 'the time is eight thirty'. She enquired further, 'so, what used to happen in the class[room] at eight thirty in the morning'? Once again, some of the children answered, 'lesson'. Others said, 'we are going to learn something'. The lesson was 'Values and Peace on Civic Education'. On the timetable I noticed that the first lesson listed was English and wondered the reason she was teaching Civic Education instead. While explaining the lesson she stated, 'we were supposed to learn English Language now, but we have to learn Civics today because we did not learn it yesterday after break. There was no time for us to do so'. One interesting issues in the lesson was the remarks she made in her explanations emphasising that,

no matter your tribe, we should co-operate as citizens of Nigeria. Though Boko Haram have killed Christians in the north, we should not retaliate by killing Muslims in the south at Muslim settlements (Field notes: Bunyia primary school, 2014).

The lesson lasted 40 minutes. She asked pupils to copy the note from the blackboard.

In primary 5A pupils were learning English on the topic, 'using the words 'could', 'can', 'would', 'please' and 'may' to make correct sentences'. The teacher asked pupils to make sentences in English using these words. One male and female participant showed more interests to answer the teacher's questions. The boy said, 'could you give me your pen'? The girl said to the class, 'me I will do that number 2 for aunty'. When given the chance, she said, 'I can write'. 'Correct! Clap for her', said the teacher. All children clapped for the girl as instructed. Another girl, however, raised a concern that she did not understand the lesson. The teacher asked her in Pidgin English, 'which one no clear, I go explain am'? [which one is not clear so that I can explain?]. The girl pointed at the words she did not understand. The teacher consequently re-explained as promised.

In primary 5B, the lesson was about table tennis on Physical and Health Education. The teacher asked two boys - one is my participant - to demonstrate how the game is being played. As they carried on with the demonstration, the teacher requested their peers to applaud them and the pupils did accordingly. While they were still playing, other pupils took keen interest in the activity. They stood up, left their seats and stretched their necks to watch the demonstration. The pupils laughed and cheered in excitement.

However, teachers stood at the front of the classroom to orchestrate almost all activities at lesson. Pupils sat attentively to follow teacher leads like the practice in chapters 6 and 7. For example, in primary 5A, the teacher pointed at one big girl - a participant – and said to her, 'madam, go and read'. The pupil stood reluctantly at the front of the classroom and improperly read the passage the teacher had chosen from the English lesson. The teacher said to her, 'aunty madam, you go and sit down'. Other children laughed as she walked dejectedly back to her seat. In primary 5B, the teacher read the names of some officials in the game of table tennis, which she had written on the blackboard. She asked the pupils to read after her. Four boys sat at the middle of the classroom and could not pronounce the name, 'umpire' correctly. The teacher looked at them and said:

and you are all boys, yet you don't know (Field notes: Bunyia primary school, 2014).

Later, pupils in this classroom had another lesson entitled, 'telephone conversation' on English. This time the teacher asked a girl to read. She read slowly, but correctly.

It seemed the teacher felt bored or was impatient with the way the child was reading. So, she said to the reader, 'this one cannot read. Who can read faster to take over from her'? One boy moved forward and read in her stead.

Medium of instruction

Some pupils sometimes switched to Pidgin English when conversing with peers. A boy in primary 5B was discussing with a male colleague of his in the classroom. He could not pronounce some words correctly in the official English. Surprisingly, his teacher cautioned him saying, 'oga, speak English; not broking [Pidgin English] . . . here'. Moved by this incident, I decided to interview participants to ascertain their experience about the medium of instruction. They said:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that the teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other during lesson. Why is that happening? |
| Ayi | Because the children are from different villages and they speak Pidgin English and their (local) languages too. They cannot speak English. |
| Achua | Some of the children are not speaking good English. That is why they used to use <i>Efik</i> and English to teach them. |
| Paul | Because some of them . . . cannot speak correct English. |
| Usha | When the aunty want to talk to us, sometimes she will use good English. Sometimes she will use Pidgin English. |
| Akpre | Uncle, to use it to correct us and in teaching so that we will be intelligent . . . |
| Ebu | Because other pupils in the class don't know how to speak English. |
| Asaa | Because they want other pupils to know [how to speak] English. |
| Omari | So that the children will understand what they are learning. |
| Azun | So that the students can speak English well. |
| Abuon | Because many of the teachers are not well trained they speak broken [Pidgin English]. |

The understanding from these perspectives is that the classrooms comprised children from various villages and linguistic backgrounds. A considerable number of them used Pidgin English often to communicate generally with peers from other backgrounds. That was because they could not speak the official English fluently. In consequences, some of the teachers used Pidgin English and sometimes *Efik* to

simplify lesson, aiding pupils to participate and facilitate understanding. Akpre used the words to 'correct us' and 'intelligent' to imply the way teachers used Pidgin English as a substitutive language to help pupils enhance the way they learn. More so, there were some teachers who, like the pupils, could not speak fluent English due to poor professional training as captured in Abuon's excerpt. The teachers also used Pidgin English so as to be able to teach as I noted earlier.

Pupil copied notes and did assignments using their notebooks. A female participant in primary 5A did a class work. She was instructed to write five words with three syllables. She wrote: Ga -ma - liel, com - pu - ter, an - in -Ny, so - lu - tion, mathe - ma - tics. The teacher ticked four right and one wrong and remarked 'good', on the pupil's work. A male participant in primary 5B did a class work on English. He was instructed to use the words 'if', 'but', 'granted' and 'though' to make correct sentences. He developed six sentences from these words. The teacher ticked four right and two wrong and wrote the remark, 'good' in his work. A male participant in primary 5C spelt 16 English words. 10 of them were written correctly. Six words were, however, wrong. Correction was done for the misspelled words.

While examining Akpre's notebooks, I saw that she did an assignment on reading and comprehension on English. She was to produce sentences in answer to five questions. She did not supply correct answers to the questions contained in the passage she had read. The teacher marked her work and wrote: one out of five and circled the score. Also, she wrote a remark, 'v. poor' on her book (Pupils' notebooks: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

Pupil voice

In primary 5C pupils, learned Home Economics in the afternoon. I saw one boy sitting quietly at the back of the classroom. I kept close watch on him to see whether the teacher would notice him and probably engage him. Throughout the duration of the lesson, that boy remained passive. His teacher was always paying attention to some of the pupils in the classroom who were calling, 'aunty, aunty', seeking her permission to make some inputs.

I spoke with participants about the way they were taking part at lesson and they said:

- ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?
- Usha So that the other pupils will not disturb them when they are learning.
- ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is this happening?
- Paul Because some of them they think they have known all the things they are teaching. Like me when they are teaching, what I don't know I will ask the teacher a question when the teaching is teaching.
- Achua Immediately they (pupils) know something all of them will begin to carry their hands up to ask questions.
- Asaa If our aunty teach, our aunty will say let us ask questions. We'll ask.
- Abuon They are so respectful. They wait for you teachers to ask them whether they have any questions to ask. So that is when all of them will raise their hands up to ask questions because they don't just stand up and ask a question like that.
- Ebu Because they allow the teacher to write and to allow the teacher to explain.
- Ayi They (teachers) want them (pupils) to take the lesson very well (seriously). They want to understand the lesson. They can stop the teacher and ask questions.
- ME What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?
- Paul The teacher will answer . . . the question or carry the question and ask pupils who know and they will tell me the answer.
- Achua The teacher will tell them (pupils) when I am teaching what you don't know ask me.
- Usha They tell them to ask questions. Or anything they don't understand they will tell the pupils to ask questions.
- Akpre The teachers will answer their questions . . .
- Ebu She answers the questions and the pupils listen.
- Asaa The teacher will call the pupils one by one and ask them to ask questions.
- Abuon Our aunty (teacher) will say that is good when you ask her a question and she will answer it for you.

- Omari She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o.
- Azun When you ask aunty (teacher) questions she will tell another pupil who knows book [is intelligent] to answer the question.

The disclosures from these interviewees suggests that although pupils had some opportunities to talk and make enquiries to actively engage in lessons others preferred to learn in a distraction free environment. So the latter chose to sit quietly in the classroom to enable them grasp the lesson. Paul's excerpt implied that some of the passive pupils may have already understood the lesson when it was being imparted and saw no need to ask questions for clarity. But, some pupils still wanted to share their thoughts with peers in the classroom regardless of whether they were already familiar with the concepts. There were yet some pupils who, out of respect, chose to wait for their teachers to finish teaching before they could ask questions to seek clarity on the grey areas. However, Ayi's excerpt connoted that some pupils abused the opportunity they had to make comments. In consequence, teachers adapted their instructional techniques to the situation ensuring pupils asked questions in the classroom when it was necessary. This was to make them attach some seriousness to participation so as to benefit from the lesson.

While probing the interviewees further on the issue, four of them disclosed that:

- ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until when the teacher has finished teaching. Why is this happening?
- Akpre It's good for them because they are not making noise when [the] teacher is teaching.
- Omari It's madam that cause it. If she finishes writing madam will say: 'who has a question'? They (pupils) will lift up their hands and say they have something to say.
- Azun Because they fear the aunty.
- ME What will be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?
- Omari She will say: 'if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o'.
- Ayi If you ask the teacher a question and you did not ask well (not to ask good question), she will flog you. If the question is correct she will not beat you. She will answer the question.

It implied that pupils learned under a set of rules. They had to wait until the end of the lesson, raise their hands to indicate interest to make inputs and wait to be recognised by the teacher before they could express their thoughts or make queries. It can be understood from the perspective and orientation of Akpre that the attempt of some pupils to talk during lesson was tagged as a distractive 'noise'. As a consequence, some of the children experienced 'fear' to do so to prevent being punished by the teacher. It resembled a situation where you have to wait for a dictator to lift the ban on freedom of expression before you can talk, and in this case pupils did so in order not to incur the teacher's wrath. Even when they had the privilege to talk, they appeared to follow the dictates of the teacher to qualify to talk. They had to ensure what they say would be correct and make sense to the teacher or they get whipped for making 'stupid' inputs. Reference to 'stupid question o' in Omari's second excerpt is a Pidgin English version. It is an emphasis of the way teachers warned pupils not to ask nonsensical questions. Apart from beating the pupils, teachers sometimes ignored any queries a child had made in the classroom. Wrong contributions from some pupils were seemingly prohibitive and intolerable to teachers. It is implicit that some pupils did not participate due to fear. Others decided to be passive in order not to suffer any consequences for breaching standing order guiding classroom lessons.

Further responses from four of the participants indicated that particular pupils experienced this barriers the most:

ME	When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?
Abuon	. . . our aunty separates those who cannot read and leave those who can read.
Ayi	(Thinking) Some children sit on their own because they cannot read.
Omari	Because our aunty used to call them block head.
Azun	Because our aunty don't want us to copy [from] another person.

These views suggest that some of the pupils were slow learners. As a result, some teachers attached stereotypes to the affected pupils, as indicated in Omari's excerpt, and prevented them from collaborating with their peers at lesson.

Provision of writing materials for pupils

Consequent to these challenges pupils faced in the classrooms, I asked interviewees what they could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, a participant, however, said something related to provision of books for pupils:

Ayi	Change book. I mean that I will change all the students' note books, their text books. I will buy some of the books and will be giving them set by set and then Nursery I will give them 20 leaves and primary I will give them 80 and 40 leaves so that they will be able to write. And text books I will be giving them three in all classes.
-----	---

This suggests that some pupils had insufficient notebooks and curriculum textbooks to take part in academic activities at school. A considerable number of them, compared to their peers, appeared not to participate well in taking up-to-date notes on various subjects and reading. Against this backdrop, providing pupils with these learning materials, according to Ayi, might enhance their participation.

Concrete learning

Seven interviewees, including Ayi supplied more recommendations that might assist to resolve the problem to advantage the way pupils participated:

ME	What should your teacher do for you to learn well?
Achua	Ehn, I think our teacher should teach us and let us see the things she is teaching us. Like if she is teaching us Agriculture, we can go and work in the school farm.
Ayi	Like when the teacher is teaching, we can see the pictures of things so that we can learn well . . .
Usha	I want us to be asking our teacher questions when we are learning.
Akpre	Our aunty should teach us let us understand. She should explain what she is teaching well for us.
Ebu	I want the teacher to give us assignment so that we can teach ourselves.
Omari	The teacher should teach us and give us homework. If we fail anything she should do correction.
Abuon	I want the teacher to give us home work to do.

The data surmised that pupils would like to be very actively engaged in what they are learning. As such, they would prefer to 'see the things' they are learning. Within this

context, according to Achua, pupils wanted to have the opportunity to do practical learning, for example, when they are in Agriculture lesson. It indicated that the lessons they received in the classrooms were largely based on theories and unable to meet their desires to feel, smell, taste and see the concepts. Practical learning, perhaps, is one way to complement the theory, concretise the materials they are learning and to arouse their enthusiasm to learn. This is much akin to Ayi's reference about the use of 'pictures' for learning in the classroom. Also, having the opportunity to do 'assignments or homework' and 'ask questions', according to the children, might enable them participate more and have a bi-directional communication between them and the teachers at lessons. It is likely these strategies could stimulate their creativity, motivate them to make queries, seek clarifications, criticise the teacher, and encourage independent learning and to discover.

Speaking further, Abuon wanted the intervention to occur in terms of teacher quality:

ME	If given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, what will you change?
----	---

Abuon	Change the teachers. Yes, because not all of them can do their jobs well. So I will look for teachers that have gone to school well and put [employ] them.
-------	--

He felt pupils were being short-changed by these teachers on account of poor teaching. Discernibly, he was indirectly making a call, perhaps, on government to hire professionally qualified teachers to do the job and help pupils learn well.

Teacher quality

His peers looked at it from the stance of supply of better classroom equipment:

Azun	Change the blackboard. Put that black board that they used to show light and show something on the wall (projector) when the teacher is teaching.
Asaa	Change the fan. . . . I will put the fan. The fan is not fine.

The first respondent would like to see projectors installed in the classroom to complement the conventional blackboard, vary medium of instruction to meet the needs of some visual learners and make for interactive learning. In addition, her colleague suggested that fans have to be fitted in the classroom. The need for good fans in the classroom is represented by the discourse of 'fine'. In other words, the use

of good fans in the classrooms would enable them to learn in comfort especially in hot weather.

School discipline

In relation to discipline, during the English lesson mentioned above in primary 5A the teacher asked two boys and a girl to take turns to read the notes on the board. Unfortunately, these children could not read correctly. Even, one of them stood up on his desk and could not utter a word to pronounce any of the words written on the board. 'Oya [c'mon], come out and kneel down here', the teacher commanded them, pointing at a spot in front of the classroom. In obedience the three children knelt on the floor to read after other colleagues who could read better. However, a girl walked into the classroom late in primary 5B while the lesson was in progress in the morning. The teacher caned her and later asked her to sit down.



Fig. 8.8. Pupils learning in the classroom. The teacher is holding a cane in her right hand.

In primary 5C, the teacher was explaining the lesson while holding a cane in her hand (*see fig. 8.8*). She waved the stick and made some gestures with it occasionally as she explained the lessons to pupils. It is unclear whether, like her co-teacher in primary 5B, she also used the stick to flog pupils when they have gone wrong. As I pondered on this issue, she turned and faced the board, used the stick and pointed at some words she had written to draw pupil attention to them.

Speaking with interviewees about discipline at school, seven of them stated:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil? |
| Paul | Uncle, because the pupil did not do his homework well that's why they (teachers) beat him. |
| Achua | Because they used to pinch us in the class. We will not do them anything and they will be looking for our trouble, so aunty will beat them. |
| Usha | Because the pupil wear mufti and come to school. |

Akpre	Her uniform was dirty and she did not wash it
Ebu	Because the person cannot read and write well. . . . may be because they were playing [foot]ball in the classroom. That is why our teacher beat them.
Asaa	Because that day one girl did not barber her hair before she come to school. So aunty beat her and told her to barber her hair.
Abuon	Because they don't pay attention when the teacher is teaching. Some of them like that if the teacher does not beat them they will not know how to read and they will be making noise in the classroom and fighting other children.
Omari	Because the pupil did not pay his fees like handwork and school fee.
Ayi	. . . it's because the pupils was fighting in the classroom . . .
ME	How does this flogging by the teacher help you to learn?
Paul	When the teacher beats [us] we will not make noise in the classroom.
Asaa	Yes, it will help the pupil to respect the teacher.
Abuon	It help us so that we can know what the teachers tells us to do and we can learn well.

These views indicate that pupils were whipped for performing virtually any actions the teachers considered as being contrary to school policy as I mentioned in chapters 2, 3, 6 and 7. Some of the pupils seemed to have accepted the practice naively as a norm. They regarded it as one way by which they could be motivated to participate at lessons and comply with school rules. From Asaa's second excerpt, it is implied that some teachers, on the other hand, opportunistically used the situation to command 'respect' from pupils. To me, that can negatively affect pupil participation at school.

However, three participants made some suggestions to address this matter:

ME	What should your teacher do for you to learn well?
Paul	I don't want aunty to hold the cane when she is teaching us. It used to make me be afraid to talk when she is teaching.
Asaa	. . . I don't want our aunty to be cursing us [calling us names) when we don't know how to answer her questions.
Azun	Aunty used to flog us. I don't want her to flog us again.

These pupils want to be able to engage in a classroom lesson where teachers do not use the cane either to teach or punish erring pupils. Also, they would be happy should teachers stop to use invectives to disparage them, especially, when they have made inappropriate contributions at lessons. They would be able to take part in lessons in a classroom environment that is devoid of fear and intimidation.

Social interaction

However, close interaction between the teachers and pupils took place only at lessons and when they wanted the children to run errands for them. Pupils sat in rows, creating aisles in between the seats. The blackboard was placed on the wall in front of the classrooms, but classrooms had no electricity and projectors similar to the cases in chapters 6 and 7. Girls sat mostly with girls and boys with boys. Bigger girls and boys sat at the back while their smaller colleagues sat at the front of the classroom. Both genders sat together only on a few chairs.

At 10:00am local time, a bell sounded and I heard a pupil's voice say, 'stand up and pray. It's time for break'. Every pupil stood up and prayed:

Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen
(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

At the playground (*see fig. 8.9*) one female participant was carrying some snacks in two small plastic containers.

She was helping her teacher to sell the snacks within the school's premises. A few of her peers were following her.

Akpre, one of the participants mentioned earlier, was walking soberly and alone. A boy came to her and initiated play and she calmly turned him down. 40 minutes

later, a teacher rang a hand bell and all pupils queued at the entrance of the storey building. A teacher stood in front of them. She instructed and they sang this prayer:



Fig. 8.9. Aerial view of the school soccer field/playground.

♪ *Some have food, but cannot eat
 some can eat, but have no food
 we have food and we can eat
 glory be to you oh Lord
 Oh Lord as we are going in now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen*
 (Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

Afterwards, the pupils dispersed to their classrooms to continue learning. I spoke with participants about their experience regarding interaction in school and they responded, thus:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | Why did you write that you would like to work with
. . .
. . . Christian, Grace and Precious? |
| Paul | Because they are my best friends.
. . . Esther, Juliet and Aniebiet? |
| Usha | I like the way they are doing something and they
have a good character . . .
. . . Godspower, Queen and Daniel? |
| Achua | (stuttering) because they like behaving well . . .
. . . Blessing, Emmanuel and Queen? |
| Omari | They are [my] very good friends
. . . Blessing, Udeme and Glory? |
| Akpre | Because they can arrange things [well].
. . . Anthony, Freewill, Emmanuel? |
| Ebu | . . . We always share something together [in
common].
. . . Blessing, Mercy and Queen? |
| Asaa | Because they are good to me and me I always like
to play with them . . .
. . . Bassey, Emmanuel and David? |
| Abuon | Because they know how to write and read. So if I
work with them I learn from them and they will
learn from me. |

. . . Christian, Grace and Ekanem?

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Azun | Because they are brilliant. . .Okokon, Ezekiel and Emmanuel. |
| Ayi | Because we [learn] very well in the class. |
| ME | Why will you like to work with them? |
| Paul | When they give us anything that I don't know I. will ask her and she will tell me. |
| Usha | If I ask them for pen, they'll borrow [lend] me |
| Akpre | I mean they can arrange things well because when our aunty is not around, three of us will gather together and read our books. |
| Ebu | When they buy their things like biscuit they always share it with me and if I buy my own I will share with them. |
| Asaa | If something happens to me they will come and help, like when someone looks for my trouble they can come and help [me]. |
| Abuon | As in when they give us class work I cannot even write it. So they teach me how to write. |
| Omari | Sometimes when I want to read, the one I do not know they will help me to correct it. |
| Azun | They used to help me. Because if I read and I don't know the place they will tell me. |
| Ayi | They help me. The thing that I cannot pronounce, they pronounce it correctly for me. Them too, they thing that they cannot pronounce I will pronounce. |
| Achua | . . . I said they like behaving well, like when they (teachers) teach something in the class, they don't play; they will listen to the aunty. |

These perspectives suggest that some of the pupils sometimes engaged in peer teaching and collaboration at lesson and play. It seemed some pupils engaged in teamwork to help each other resolve situations that appeared to disadvantage them at school. Implicitly, these children took the responsibility to provide some support to one another to improve their study, get some comfort and safety while at school.

While speaking further with participants seven of them provided responses that indicated issues that disadvantaged them in interactions:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| ME | During break time I have seen some children who do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom? Why do you think they don't have any one to play with? |
| Paul | Yes. Because everyone hates them. When they ask them to give them some pencils to use and write, they'll refuse. |
| Omari | Our madam said if they cannot read we should not play with them. |
| Achua | No. Some of them are from primary two or primary three. We play with only pupils in our class[room]. |
| Usha | They are from our class[room]. They don't want to play and dirty their clothes. |
| Ayi | It's eh primary two, primary one. All those little children that we don't like to play with. |
| Asaa | . . . they are from another classroom like primary four. |
| Ebu | . . . they like playing ball. I don't like playing ball. I like playing with my church member. She is in primary three. I like playing basketball, running and volleyball. We don't have these games in this school. |

It seemed other pupils avoided interacting with some colleagues due to the refusal of some children to lend their peers writing materials. Other children, however, stayed away from playing with their peers in order not to dirty their uniforms. In some situations, the teachers were the ones who discouraged some children from making friends with their peers so as to punish the latter on the assumption that they had poor reading competencies. A considerable number of children befriended colleagues on the basis of year of study. What that connotes is that seniority in school, as you can see in Ayi's excerpt, seemed to create demarcations in pupil relationships. Nonetheless, this practice did not permeate all friendships. The understanding from Ebu's reference: 'my church members', showed that some children rather tended to bond with peers who belonged to the same faith as them. In this case, the pupil year of study did not matter anymore. Rather, strong attitudes towards one's religious denomination at this point led some pupils to choose peers from whom to dissociate, a practice connected to my explanation in chapter 2. Also, unavailability of some sporting equipment prevented some pupils from meeting, competing, having fun and

interacting with peers from other backgrounds. It portrayed a complex exclusionary practice largely determined by individual preferences and prejudices.

Peer victimisation

When pupils were writing notes in primary 5A, a girl took her male colleague's pen that he kept on the desk without his consent. Frowning, the boy commanded her in *Efik*, '*nim pen odo idagha emi*', meaning, 'keep that pen now'. So, she flung the pen back at him, looking disappointed. Soon after, two other boys started arguing over a seat. One of the boys used the tip of his pen to stab his peer's hand, but the victim was unhurt. The teacher intervened and stopped them. A female participant and a boy in primary 5B exchanged blows during lesson. They accused each other of making noise and interrupting the lesson. In primary 5C, one big boy refused to let another boy to sit with him. When the opponent insisted that he would sit, the aggressor started a fight. In the scuffle, the aggressor injured the opponent in the lower lip. He did not apologise to the victim. The teacher later stopped them. But, the victim stared angrily at the aggressor, and gesticulating, he swore that he was going to revenge at break. During interview, four other participants linked these disadvantages in interaction to aggression, thus:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME | Why will you not like to work with . . .

. . . Imaobong, Tony and Dorcas? |
| Usha | It's because if I didn't do them anything they will go
and report me [to the teacher].

. . . Edem, David and Esther? |
| Abuon | Because they like cursing [abusing] somebody.
They will call you idiot.

. . . Esther, Imaobong and Juliet? |
| Ebu | Especially, Esther if she just see me come to school
she'll start calling me oyibo [whiteman]
. . . David, Joshua and Imaobong? |
| Akpre | They beat me every day. |

I assume some pupils made false report against their peers, thus making the teachers to punish the victims wrongly. At times some pupils used invectives, such as 'oyibo'

in Ebu's excerpt, on their classmates probably to provoke or make them feel uncomfortable. Also, there were some children who 'beat' their peers, according to Akpre, on daily basis, thus making the victims to stay in fear and not engage in school activities.

While asking the interviewees what they could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school, two of them spoke in terms of elimination of aggressive behaviour:

- | | |
|-------|--|
| Ebu | Change bad habits. . . . Like now the pupils fight and when you keep your things, they'll come and steal them. . . |
| Akpre | Change playing. Because some children are playing and are giving [other] children wounds (injuries) in their bodies. |

These pupils decried the situations where some of their peers attacked other children, causing them body injuries and making some of them lose their 'things' – symbolising personal property. Arguably, they were, in consequence, indirectly asking the school to check bullying so as to guarantee safety for pupils and their property to enable them increase their participation at school.

Participation of girls in soccer

Also, responding to my question on what they would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school, another interviewee said something related to inclusion of girls in traditionally male sport events:

- | | |
|------|--|
| Usha | Change football . . . the boys will not allow us to enter the field and play football too. |
|------|--|

This perspective is to encourage cross gender participation among pupils. This could eliminate the dominance of boys, for example, in football at playtime and spur the girls to also take part in the sport. It symbolises an advocacy for equal participation of boys and girls in extracurricular programmes at school.

Pupil hairstyle

Contrary to the cases in chapters 6 and 7, every pupil in *Bunyia* had a low haircut. The hairdo was plain and had no form of fashionable design. I asked to know the reason behind this practice and the interviewees made the following disclosures:

ME	I have noticed that children in your school cut their hair low. Why is this happening?
Ebu	Because in our school they (pupils) don't plait hair. That's why.
Paul	Because it's the headmistress that said they should cut their hair low. So that their hair will look fine.
Akpre	The headmistress said we should barb our hair so that we will not look like village people who are just coming back from farm. If children barb their hair they (teachers or headmistress) will use razor blade and cut it.
Achua	Because . . . it is a primary school. It's not a university. That is why they don't have to keep their hair. They have to cut their hair low so that they will be clean and neat.
Usha	Because our teachers don't want bushy hair. If you barb punk to school they (teachers) will drive you home.
Asaa	. . . They (teachers) said they (pupils) should not barb their hair and put ear-rings [to school].
Abuon	If children weave and barber their hair they (teachers and pupils) will think that the children are not in this school.
Omari	. . . If the girls plait or the boys barb style the teachers will send them away (home) to go and barber their hair very well [cut their hair low].
Azun	Because some children keep their hair and they don't even wash it.
Ayi	If you don't cut your hair they, our aunties, will put scissors in your hair [use scissors to barb your hair].

It is indicative from these disclosures that the school management banned pupils from carrying hairstyles and body piercings at school. The low cut also served as a mark of identity among pupils. Teachers believed pupils would not be able to maintain hairdos and body piercings. Also, they felt that allowing pupils to adorn their bodies with these fashion designs could make them look dirty like some peasant farmers who are returning from 'farm' in the 'village' as contained in Akpre statement, as well as look different from their peers at school. Some of the pupils, as shown in Achua's excerpt, seemed to be indoctrinated to believe that these fashions were meant for only 'university' students. Primary school children were not allowed to partake in the fashion due to the reasons mentioned earlier. Teachers enforced compliance to these practice by using 'scissors' to cut some defaulters' hair or send them home to have the hair cut.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

Pupils who were learning and not learning

Issues about pupil presence and participation above suggest that some pupils were learning well at school; others were not. The former comprised children who were leaving near the school, some of them who attended school and lessons regularly, their peers who had paid complete fees and were often attending school and children who actively took part in classroom activities. The latter consisted of some learners whose homes were far away from the school and were skipping school days as a result, children who missed attendance on account of inability to pay fees, pupils with learning difficulties, children who were passive at lessons and their peers who had language barriers in English.

With regards to interaction, evidence in the foregoing sections indicates adult-child relationship between teachers and pupils. On the other hand, a few children were relating well with their peers and others were not. The former included children who undertook collaborative learning and those who seemed to have skills to engage in cross interaction with colleagues. The latter had different social groups to discriminate peers who did not share similar characteristics with them. So, social exclusion occurred on the basis of learning groups, gender and religious faith. Bullies and children from junior primary sections were also not accepted by some relationship groups among the children. In the face of these issues, all of them were required to take examinations as you will learn in the next theme.

Examinations

Like the cases in chapters 6 and 7, pupils in *Bunyia* took promotion examinations. They were expected to pass these tests to progress to a higher classroom and transit from primary to junior secondary schools. However, as stated earlier, focus was on pupils in primary 5. See further details in relation to progress of the children from the 2007/2008 to 2011/2012 academic year on table 8.3:

Table 8.3: Progression of pupils to primary 5

Tribe	Gender										Religion	Language	Impairment	Pupils missing	
	2007/ 2008		2008/ 2009		2009/ 2010		2010/ 2011		2011/ 2012					2011/ 2012	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G				B	G
Ekoi	35	63	35	63	35	62	35	61	35	61	Christians	Not indicated	Not indicated	-	2
Efik	37	49	36	49	36	48	34	48	33	48				4	1
Ibibio	65	49	65	47	65	45	65	43	65	40				-	9
Igbo	34	35	34	33	33	32	33	30	33	29				1	6
Yoruba	16	27	16	27	16	26	16	26	16	26				-	1
Total	410		405		398		391		386					24	

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2009, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*; attendance registers of primary 5A, 5B and 5C for the 2011/2012 academic session.

Table 8.3 presents year-by-year progress of pupils, indicating that 386 pupils out of the initial 410 pupils who had places to start primary 1 in the 2007/2008 academic session advanced to primary 5 in the 2011/2012 session. The *Ibibios*, *Ekois*, *Efiks* and *Igbos* outnumbered peers from *Yoruba*. All of them were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. Data did not show whether any of them had impairments and the language pupils speak.

Classroom placement

Class attendance registers showed that the children were distributed into primary 5A, 5B and 5C in the 2011/2012 session as presented in the table 8.4:

Table 8.4: Pupils on roll in primary 5A, 5B and 5C

Tribe	Gender											
	2011/2012			2011/2012								
	B	G	T	Primary 5A			Primary 5B			Primary 5C		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
Ekoi	35	61	96	10	29	39	14	15	29	11	17	28
Efik	33	48	81	12	15	27	13	19	32	8	14	22
Ibibio	65	40	105	27	17	44	21	9	30	17	14	31
Igbo	33	29	62	12	14	26	18	9	27	3	6	9
Yoruba	16	26	42	9	3	12	5	18	23	2	5	7
Total	386			148			141			97		

Source: 2011/2012 class attendance register for primary 5A, 5B and 5C

Table 8.4 explains that in the 2011/2012 academic year, 148 pupils were in primary 5A. Pupils from other tribes were fairly represented, but a minority of them were *Yorubas*. All pupils were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. 141 pupils were placed in primary 5B. Pupils from the various tribes shown on the table were fairly represented. All of them were Christians. Boys and girls were almost equal in number. 97 pupils were in primary 5C. Children from *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo* and *Yoruba*. All of them were Christians. Girls were more than boys. Besides, learners from *Ibibio*, *Efik* and *Ekoi* dominated peers from *Igbo*, *Yoruba* and *Hausa/Fulani* respectively. Data did not show whether any pupils with impairments were in the school and language the pupils speak. However, the difference from the total number of pupils who sat for the promotion examinations and those who moved to primary 5 illustrated that some of them repeated grades, a theme I will analyse next.

Grade repetition

Data from school assessment records showed that pupils who could not satisfy certain requirements in the examinations did not progress alongside their peers to the next year at school similar to my explanations in chapters 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7. See more details on table 8.5:

Table 8.5: Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2011/2012 school year

Tribe	Gender										Pupils missing		Religion of missing pupils
	2007/2008		2011/2012		2011/2012								
					Primary 5A		Primary 5B		Primary 5C				
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	
Ekoi	35	63	35	61	10	29	14	15	11	17	-	2	Christians 386
Efik	37	49	33	48	12	15	13	19	8	14	4	1	
Ibibio	65	49	65	40	27	17	21	9	17	14	-	9	
Igbo	34	35	33	29	12	14	18	9	3	6	1	6	
Yoruba	16	27	16	26	9	3	5	18	2	5	-	1	
Total	410		386		148		141		97		24		
Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2009, 2011). <i>School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics</i> ; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2011/2012.													

Table 8.5 shows that 24 pupils out of 410 pupils that has places in the 2007/2008 session did not progress to primary 5 in the 2011/2012 academic year. It seemed the children failed promotion examinations and repeated grades or dropout from school.

During interview about discipline at school, one participant, however, said something regarding promotion examination, thus:

ME When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?

Usha Uncle . . . we will be able to know something that they (teachers) teach us so that we can pass our exam and go to another class.

This view further confirmed that pupils had to pass examination to be able to progress to the next year at school.

The findings suggest that factors such limited pupil voice, as lapses in national education policy, poor funding for primary education in the rural community, school fees, poor teaching practices, barriers in English as the main medium of instruction, tribal and religious discrimination, promotion examination, corporal punishment, domesticity and aggression accounted for the exclusion and marginalisation of some children with regards to presence, participation and achievement at *Bunyia*.

CONCLUSION

Data analysis for *Bunyia* in this chapter has illustrated that the school was established to provide opportunities for all children residing within *Ogbudu* community and its environs to have primary education. Enrolment records and views from pupils indicated a substantial presence of children from various backgrounds living in *Ogbudu* and its neighbourhoods in the school. Some lessons were delivered in ways that engaged very few pupils enabling pupil contribution at such occasions. More importantly, some lessons were given to promote inter-religious and ethnic tolerance among pupils. Also, pupils were given free school meal as a way to attract them to school.

In spite of that, boys were lagging girls in enrolment. Pupils from some tribes were over-represented compared to peers from counterpart tribes. All learners in the school were Christians. Inability to pay school levies prevented some pupils from attending school regularly. However, classroom instruction was largely didactic in which case teacher voice dominated at lessons, allowing little opportunity for some pupils to also contribute. Those of them who contravened school policy were subjected to corporal punishment. These caused some of the affected pupils to

become more passive at school. A considerable number of pupils experienced difficulties to communicate in English and that also limited them from participating in classroom tasks. Besides, some pupils were not having their social needs met due to differences in gender, faith, age, seniority in year of study and absence of some sports. Because progress at school was determined by promotion examination, some pupils who were not learning well were underachieving and repeating grades.

However, during interview some pupils recommended some strategies that could facilitate their inclusion at school. Overall, they would like the school to make some changes in school resources, rethink its instructional and disciplinary practices in ways that would promote pupil presence, participation and achievement. The next chapter is a cross-case interpretation of data concerning pupil in/exclusion in the three case schools.

CHAPTER NINE

MAKING SENSE OF PUPIL INCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents cross-case interpretation of data from the three schools: *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* as contained in chapters 6, 7 and 8. The discussion continues to follow the overarching themes of pupil presence, participation and achievement, which serve as the conceptual framework of in/exclusion for this study and guided by my strategic questions outlined in chapter 3. The main focus is on addressing the first two research questions: (1) How far are pupils included in schools? (2) What are the challenges to inclusion they experience in schools? Links are also made with the perspectives regarding pupil in/exclusion discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Nested within these organisational frameworks, the chapter looks mostly at within school issues, illustrating commonalities and distinctions in the way provision in/excludes pupils in the three cases. In addition, I consider how beyond-school issues affect pupil in/exclusion in the three schools. Although the research did not involve me in collecting data about these external factors directly, my findings do give some indications as to how they bear on the experience of children in the schools.

PUPIL PRESENCE

My discussion of data about pupil in/exclusion in this section looks at pupil enrolment and attendance in relation to national education policy, school fees and domesticity, school environment, school location, free school meal, perception about pupil gender, majority-minority dichotomy in pupil enrolment, medium of instruction and school toilet in *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia*.

Enrolment and attendance

Evidence in chapters 6, 7 and 8 showed that learners who had places in the three schools were boys and girls living in the respective rural districts: *Eshueya*, *Basarawa* and *Bunyia*. These pupils came from a mix of tribes, religions, languages and abilities. Odey in chapter 7 clarified that the pupils '*are Christians, they are Muslims, they are any type of language. Some from . . . any type of village and come here*' - *Edor Agom* - to school. Also, *Olom*'s account in chapter 6 implied that the

school was sited in *Basarawa* to encourage inclusion of *Hausa/Fulani* children who ‘stay in their houses’ and ‘follow cow to the bush every time’ in schooling. Understandably, the establishment of the schools in these villages is an effort in some sense to deemphasize some local traditions that hinder some children from schooling. This not only placed the children in formal education, but served to help them unlearn some of the cultural practices that may be contrary to it.

Consequently, most pupils living in the rural district of *Eshueya* were attending *Kenwa*, their peers resident in *Basarawa* were attending *Edor Agom* while those dwelling in *Ogbudu* were attending *Bunyia* in that order. Disclosures from some interviewees, particularly in chapters 7 and 8, pointed that these children chose to attend these schools due to nearness to their homes. However, my explanations in chapters 6 and 7 as well as the disclosure of Odey above showed that *Eshueya* is proximate to *Basarawa*, and as such, some children in these villages were attending both *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom*. These children decided to attend schools in neighbouring villages because their friends were also there and they felt welcomed in those schools.

Despite government effort to widen pupil enrolment in the schools, there was an out-of-school population that I identified across the three contexts. Among these absentees were children of primary age and their overaged peers living within the communities who could not get places in any of the schools. These included: girls, children from the settler tribes, children with impairments and children who enrolled, but were not attending school. Also, there were children from some minority backgrounds. It is implicit that provisions in national education policies posed some challenges to genuinely ensure presence of all children in the schools, a theme I will consider next.

Interpretation of national education policy

The government’s focus on providing primary schools within the contexts that I referred to in chapters 6, 7 and 8 spurred a rethink about school as one mean to develop mass education of children within the communities. This was in response to both international and national declaration of the rights of all children to education as documented in UNESCO (1990), FRN (2004), Reichert (2006), Armstrong, Spandagou & Armstrong (2009), United Nations (2011), and Humphreys & Crawford (2014). It is for that reason that *Edor Agom* was sited in *Basarawa* to

enable *Hausa/Fulani* children and their peers from other backgrounds in the community to participate in schooling as some of the pupils have stated in chapter 7. It is for a similar purpose and in line with the idea of inclusion as a school for all (UNESCO, 2001; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Peters, 2002; Ainscow et al., 2006; UNESCO, 2008; Ainscow & Sandill, 2010) that government took over management of *Bunyia*, as explained in chapter 8. Compliant to policy objective to provide free and compulsory primary education for all, as indicated in the works of the authors named above in chapters 2, 3 and 4, some Christian pupils from the *Efik*, *Ekoi*, *Ibibio*, *Yoruba Igbo* tribes, and Muslims from *Hausa/Fulani* tribes, were able to receive places in the various primary schools located within their villages.

Despite that, as noted in chapters 2, 3 and 4, the national policy is seen to place greater emphasis on numerical representation of children in enrolment as a means to ensuring their inclusion in schooling (*see* Ball & Youdell, 2009; Peters 2004). In other words, it was largely concerned with having the children registered in a school without a follow-up process to support the way they attend. And as far as I could determine, teachers had inadequate training to be able to work in a multicultural school environment and to respond to diverse needs of the pupils. Thus, the strategies aimed at promoting inclusivity were improvised by individual teachers. Faced with certain issues in practice, some teachers took measures to evolve and implement policy locally to fill the void in national policy, inspired changes or challenged the status quo by attempting to broaden access to school for some children who were disadvantaged, especially girls, and children from minority groups e.g. *Hausa/Fulani* Muslims. Even then, it raised questions concerning teacher skills and ability to sustain the commitment to accommodate all children.

School fees and domesticity

A further issue concerned the impact of school fees on enrolment and attendance. In contrast to policy requirement mentioned in chapter 4 on free basic education, in practice, the schools were charging children fees as evidenced in chapters 6, 7 and 8. This made it difficult for some eligible children within the communities to seek registration in the schools. For example, Abu in *Kenwa*, stated, '*... some of them their parents don't have money to send them to school like to pay school fees for them*'. Meanwhile, others who had places could not attend school regularly as specified in the accounts of some pupils across the three schools in this

respect. In order to enforce payment, the schools engaged in fee drives as exemplified in the case of *Kenwa* where the teachers were calling names of debtors to compel them to comply. The practice ignored the fact that the communities in which these children lived were subsistence rural villages as indicated in chapters 6 and 7. A large number of the families as contained in the disclosures of some pupils were economically poor and as such unable to meet the financial cost for educating their children.

It is in line with the argument in chapter 3 that school fees such as these become a form of taxation that imposes a burden on poor children and their families (United Nations Children's Fund, 2009; Iscan et al., 2015). According to Humphreys & Crawford (2014), one out-of-school factor contributing to non-enrolment in Nigeria is inability to pay school cost and fees. For example, in chapter 6, you saw that some of the children in *Kenwa* who got sent home for non-compliance were unhappy. In the other schools some of the debtors were prevented from attending school regularly. The schools utilised the revenue accruing from collection of fees to augment the meagre funds government supplied them as Kattan (2006) has argued. It is against this backdrop that Adesina (2004) noted the education is not absolutely free as stated in policy because experience in the field showed that the propaganda is more of a political gimmick than a statement of good intention. And the effects of non-payment were, nonetheless, having adverse effects on pupil enrolment and attendance.

In response to these difficulties, some children seemed to be compelled to employ tough measures so as to realise their aspirations to get education. As you saw, quite a number engaged in child labour, whereby they worked to generate income to assist parents defray their school bills (ILO, 2010b; Ikwuyatum, 2010; Blume & Breyer, 2011). Evidence of this, for example, is contained in the disclosure of Omari in *Bunyia* in chapter 8. She said many pupils '*do not like*' to come to school because of the work of they are doing like packing sand to sell'.

It is the tension between the desire to go to school and the need to earn an income that is being represented in the child's discourse as 'not liking'. Also, in chapter 7, Abrama in *Edor Agom*, stated that it was the money she made when she helped her mother sell some products in the market that she used to buy herself socks to complete her school uniform. She was implicitly not happy to contribute financially to her education because it was limiting her attendance at school. The

understanding is that the subjects did these jobs to raise money to fund their education, thus stayed away from school in the process. Some children in the other school contexts also supplied similar reports. Some parents seem to initiate absenteeism for pupils and rather engage them in household work. For instance, in chapter 6, Obi in *Kenwa* hinted that parents keep some children at home so as to provide care for their siblings instead of going to school. These issues resonate with the view of Geir (2000:13) that ‘in situations where education is not affordable or parents see little value in education, families send children to work, rather than to school. This particularly affects children in poverty, and those belonging to culturally and socially disadvantaged and excluded groups’. This practice keeps the aim of including all children through a free and compulsory universal basic education far from being realised. Now, let us consider how this was reflected in what I saw happening in the school environment..

School environment

It was evident that effort had been made to allow easy access of some children into other sections of the schools and classrooms. For instance, *Kenwa* in chapter 6 was positioned on a steep land and valley, and steps were built on the side of the hill so that children could move to and from the classrooms located in the valley. In chapter 7 and 8, I explained how classrooms in *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* had steps as well to enable some of the children access the buildings with ease. However, the latter schools were built on flat land in conspicuous spots within the different communities to highlight their importance to children. This was to further motivate children to go to school, and some of them responded accordingly by getting registered and attending these schools.

Apart from constructing steps around the school facilities, there were, however, no ramps in all the three schools. This can create barriers in terms of mobility to younger children and their peers who have challenges in movement. Absence of ramps in the schools suggests inadequate resolve on the part of the educators to further respond to diversity. Even *Kenwa* that was sitting on a wavy land did not have these facilities. Furthermore, classroom accommodation in *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* was provided without giving much thought about the number of children domiciled within the host local districts who were eligible to enter school. These two schools had poor classroom accommodation including seats. Teachers cramped

pupils in primary 5A and 5B together into one hall in *Edor Agom* as seen in chapter 7 and seats became inadequate for them as a result. It partly confirms Akinlua (2007) argument that government implements universal primary education whereas school infrastructure remains stagnant, thus creating difficulties for the school to adapt to current educational procedures and challenges. This has strong connection with the out-of-school population in these villages.

Bunyia, however, had large classroom sizes, enough classroom accommodation and seats for all pupils and that enabled the children to stay in relative comfort. Some interviewees in chapter 8 stated that some children were attending the school due to its attractive infrastructure and quality of teaching. Also, the school had a large school compound and arena for play contrasting the cases in *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* where the playgrounds were small. Interestingly, facility and equipment upgrade in *Bunyia* was courtesy of West Oil & Gas Company. But, then the assistance from this organisation in this direction was part of its CSR and it was voluntary. Also, the assistance, to me, serves as a promotional tool to boost business operations of the company within the community hosting the beneficiary school. With that objective in mind, the philanthropy became poor in resolve to ensure presence of children in the school. As such it was only able to supply the school with educational resources that it could at the time just to enhance its public relation.

Like West Oil, *Golando* Oil Company also supplied learning resources to *Edor Agom*. It was however unable to adequately address the issue of insufficient classroom accommodation for the pupils. *Kenwa* could not access charity funding or support, like its two counterparts, in any company apart from what the government provided it. Pupils in the school suffered poor educational facilities and equipment. Absence and/or poor partnership funding from private individuals, groups and organisations to schools, in the circumstance, also served to limit the capacity of schools to be able to take more children living within these local communities. This gives insight as to why the schools charged pupils fees, but exposed the inadequacy in government expenditure to improve public primary schools in some rural areas in the state to be able to accommodate more children in such places.

School location

A few pupils had the opportunity to attend school due to proximity of the location to their homes. For example, in chapter 7, one of the pupils stated that children were attending *Edor Agom* 'because their house is not far'. In many instances however the distance between the homes of some children and the schools presented another barrier to their enrolment and attendance. However, as far as I could determine, limited efforts were yet to take place in the three schools to support the presence of children whose houses were located far away from the schools. Some of the affected pupils had to skip school days as result. For instance, in chapter 6, Mbua reported that 'some days, *Gedina* don't used to come to school. Sometimes she will be coming late to school and she used to say that her house is far'. In chapter 8, Ayi also stated: 'yes, only these two pupils. Because uncle, like *Akpre* her house is very far. She cannot come to school every day'.

The school did not have provision for transport to facilitate regular attendance of children, as implied in the view of a child in chapter 6, who talked about 'big aunty to buy a bus'. These children commuted to and from school sometimes covering long distance walk almost on daily basis. Although trekking, arguably, enhances physical activities of pupils, nevertheless, the constraints associated with the exercise can be overwhelming.

As explained in chapter 3, researchers have noted that concerns about non-motorised travels involve situations where the child walks alone, passing through bushy and secluded paths (like in the case of *Kenwa*) at the risk of attacks by predators and abductors (Gibson, 2004; Ahlport et al., 2008). Even when they have to travel in the company of other children, including siblings, the challenges to cope with some companions who tagged along with them slowly could be taking them plenty of time to arrive school. Given that these schools sit within the tropics, pupils can sometimes walk in torrential rainfall, get drenched and face the risk of being swept away by flood. At other times these children can travel in scorching sunlight, thus become more susceptible to illnesses to affect their school attendance.

For example, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* were located near busy areas. The roads leading there, as I stated in chapter 6, experienced huge traffic and there were no road signs. And some of the children brave the regular flow of motorists and cyclists who plied these motorways on their way to school at the peril of accidents. This is one reason some of the children arrived late in their schools. Quite frankly,

this is one aspect of schooling that also bars children with impairments from the schools. To me, buses were unavailable because the schools considered them too luxurious for pupils to use. While paucity of funds can serve to undermine effort to acquire school buses, government, at the same time, also is likely to regard such commitment as undeserving for elementary school pupils.

Kenwa, on the other hands, was built in a ‘hidden corner’, on undulating land. Due to the bumpy and bushy landscape of the area and the fact that the school site was also obscured from the rest of the community, it is implicit in the discourse of the ‘hidden corner’, that schooling is unwelcome in the community. There is a perceived understanding among some of the locals regarding schooling as a means to eradicate valued traditions and disconnect the schooling population from their histories, languages, religions, tribes and cultures.

Consistent with Dei (2005), the idea of schooling as a medium to include all children in formal education is attached a colonising label, which is seen as an attempt to supplant local cultures with a foreign way of life. A hidden site is thought of as one avenue to downplay the importance of a school so as to enable children retain their local cultures. As shown in the perspectives of Bangsbo (2008) and Namukwaya & Kibirigwe (2014), conflicts between local customs and schooling have, as a result, problematised thinking about inclusive schooling within the context. In the process, it is the children who bear the brunt. Without consideration to the benefits in schooling, narrow-minded thinking among some community members rather considered it a risk to allow some children to be in school. Such myopic stance to save the face of local culture inhibits the rights to education of other children in *Eshueya* district at school.

Free school meal

One novel practice in *Bunyia* was the supply of free food to its pupils, as I explained in chapter 8. West Oil & Gas Company supplied this food aid so that the school can cater for the nutritional needs of children. This meal was given to pupils apparently on the recognition that the school is located in an economically impoverished rural area. Learners were regarded as being disadvantaged on the criteria that they: (1) lived in a predominantly subsistence rural community; (2) belonged to low income households; (3) lacked nutritionally balanced diet; and (4) are sometimes deprived of food at home. Akpre, a pupil in this school, for instance,

stated: '*. . . so many pupils have not eaten to come to school and so many pupils don't have father and mother*', and this disclosure bolsters the above claim.

A considerable number of children were therefore seen as being both nutritionally and educationally at risk on account of poverty. As a response, breakfast was integrated into school programme to attract children to the school and ensured they stay healthy while attending school. Asaa, another pupil in the school, buttressed that the free school meal '*. . . make the children look healthy and study well*'. Kenwa did not give free school meal to their pupils due to the reason related to poor funding stated above. On the reverse side, the scope in provisions available in *Edor Agom* under the CSR of *Golando Oil Company* overlooked food programme for pupils. The children in the two contexts can be nutritionally at risk. For example, in chapter 7, a pupil disclosed that '*. . . there are some children who are poor and do not have food to eat*' and as such feel demotivated to attend school. The dominant need to mass educate children in these local communities blurred government focus regarding the children's nutritional needs. The concern towards pupils is seen to consist in convincing them to register in their local schools without care for their nourishment to mitigate poor attendance.

Having analysed the aspect of free school meal, let us now examine other factors in relation to pupil registration and attendance in the three schools, starting with perception about pupil gender.

Perception about pupil gender

My evidence indicates that gendered enrolment resulted in the overrepresentation of males across contexts. For example, as I explained in chapters 4, 6 and 7, preference for males motivated some parents to prioritise education of boys over that of the girls. The remoteness of these communities and historical lessons they share seem to keep some members tied to conservative traditions in which girls are socialised to perform subordinate roles to boys. Commenting on the situation in the developing world, Lewis & Lockheed (2007) refer to the situation as interaction between gender and culture. Girls, arguably, suffered disproportionately in enrolment rates compared to boys across school due to norms and values within communities (Avalos, 2003 & Anugwom, 2009; Unterhalter, 2011). As I explained in chapter 3, the opportunity cost of keeping girls at school rises as their value as potential brides appreciates and as their domestic chores increases (Gibson, 2004;

Marah, 2006). The priority attention boy education receive, unlike the girls, is buoyed by notions of 'maleness'. Even in situations where families have the economic means to afford education for the children, it is likely the boy would access school first (*cf.* O'Connor, 2010). So placing the boy first in school is seen among some parents/caregivers as a service provided for him to develop skills that can enhance his prospects for employment to be able to support his family (financially), including the girl/woman.

Girls are consequently de-empowered in order to perpetuate male superiority in the family and society. Such a practice can trivialise the worth of the girl in community development, hence the hesitation to ensure she equally gets a place at school like the boy (Joseph, 2012; Makama, 2013). The situation suggests the way some families still grapple with local cultures to negotiate access of the girl child to school. It is a kind of localised hesitancy to include, but prefers to curtail the rights of these children to education, thus sabotaging global and national campaign for compulsory universal schooling.

Manifestation of the discrepancies within school occurred in their level of sensitivity to gender in enrolment. Both *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* had more boys than girls as I illustrated in chapters 6 and 7. Nonetheless, a reverse of this took place in chapter 8 - *Bunyia* - as the boys were rather lagging behind the girls in number. The numerical advantage the girls achieved in this school points to the commitment of educators and families to remove threats to education of the girl child in conjunction with the prescription in EFA. Arguably, certain collaboration took place among principal actors in and outside the school geared towards enabling the school makes appropriate provisions to scale up the amount of girls living within *Ogbudu* district who get places in *Bunyia*.

Majority-minority dichotomy in pupil enrolment

Efiks and *Ekois* succeeded in defining themselves as the dominant groups of *Eshueya*, *Basarawa* and *Ogbudu*, the rural villages hosting *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* respectively. That majority-minority dichotomy conferred greater educational prospects on the *Efiks* and *Ekois* in whose rural villages these schools are located to disadvantage other groups. Accordingly, children from *Efik* and *Ekoi*, in particular, outnumbered peers from *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Yoruba* tribes respectively across contexts in enrolment figures.

Pupils of *Ibibio* origin, however, also gained advantage in receipt of school places, compared to other minority settler groups within the three contexts, arguably due to the enthusiasm among them for schooling. Although policy guaranteed compulsory education for all to include both the indigenous and non-native children in the local schools, in practice, however, the schools were, on the one hand, contending with influence from the natives to replicate their supremacy in admission of their native children and, on the other hand, struggle from the settler groups to also demand their rights to equal school enrolment for their children. The segregation against inclusion of the minority groups in registration capitalised on the gap in enrolment procedures to seize space for change. It draws attention to the question of whose interest is the registration serving? The school is seen to create hierarchies to reflect native-dominant practices in pupil enrolment.

Apart from the between-school disparities, variations also existed in enrolment of children within schools. For example, overall enrolment of children in *Bunyia* outnumbered the cases in *Edor Agom* and *Kenwa*. *Bunyia* offered 410 places in the 2007/2008 academic sessions for children within the host community and environs as against 157 and 90 which were available in *Edor Agom* and *Kenwa* during a similar period for children within their respective localities. *Bunyia*, nevertheless, could not reproduce that remarkable performance in representation of the characteristics of children who were enrolled. *Hausa/Fulani* children, for instance, were registered in both *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* as with peers from the other tribes; none of them was seen in *Bunyia*.

On the other hand, while *Yoruba* children had few places in *Kenwa* and *Bunyia* primary schools, none of them, however, existed in *Edor Agom*. This occurred possibly because no *Yoruba* child was living in *Basarawa*. *Yorubas* resident in neighbouring villages who would want to register in the school were, perhaps, not welcomed there. Aside that, most *Hausa/Fulani* pupils were enrolled in *Edor Agom* with a minority of them in *Kenwa* due to the reasons stated earlier in this regard under the section on enrolment and attendance. Beyond that, the schools and parents could have also expressed will to enable access for these children.

It is also evident that the majority-minority tussle regarding admissions favoured Christians more than Muslims in all schools. Members of the communities hosting these schools were largely Christians, except for *Basarawa*, the settlement hosting *Edor Agom*, which was inhabited by nomadic *Hausa/Fulani* Muslims. As

stated previously, the contiguity of this *Hausa/Fulani* settlement in *Basarawa* to *Eshueya* made *Kenwa* to also become accessible to the Islamic children comprising mainly the *Hausa/Fulani*. Otherwise they would have been restricted to studying only in *Edor Agom*. Perceived disputes arising from contentions for supremacy between Christians and Muslims in Nigeria generate conflicts and deep-seated enmity between practitioners of both religions within the study sites, the effect of which may have contributed to reduce more school places for Muslims in the three cases. It aligns with my argument in chapter 3 that majority-minority are a separatist creation in the form of a strategy to demand for unequal entitlement of the various categories of people to available resources, including education.

Another perception connected to the argument about Christian-Muslim conflicts is that some Muslim families in the contexts leaned more towards Islamic education, thus making children from this background vulnerable to exclusion from *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia*, whose curricular are patterned after a Western model. Families, in this case, seem to deprive children from schooling in a bid to prevent them from learning cultures, which they considered as alien and injurious to Islamic practices, as represented in the discourse of the *Hausa/Fulani* pupils who 'stay at home' and 'follow cows to the bush every time' in the statement of Odey above. However, no Islamic child was enrolled in *Bunyia* in the 2007/2008 academic year. Absence of these children in this school is closely linked to Gibbon & Silva (2006) argument in chapter 2 about the exclusionary pressures from faith schools, and my explanation in chapter 8 concerning how the practice restricted non-Catholics from accessing the school.

Efforts which the schools made to further open their doors to also accept children with impairments were hampered by the reluctance to include them due to perceived inability to cope with the challenges they present. In addition, as explained in chapters 2 and 3, national education policy regarding education of children with impairments is tilted more towards integration than inclusion of the children into regular schools. For example, we saw in chapter 6 how Obi was the only child with physical challenges who was enrolled in *Kenwa*. No other child from this category was seen in chapters 7 and 8. The school allowed Obi to be there because he suddenly developed impairments after he had spent four years as a pupil. But, when he fell sick and his parents felt that the sickness had impaired his speech and reduced his rate of learning, they wanted to keep him out of school.

Some researchers also express the view that due to lack of awareness of the potentials of people with impairments, consideration and expenditure on services for them are regarded as waste of limited resources (Mba, 1995; Dei, 2005). It is an example of the special educational needs view about inclusion which I mentioned in chapter 2. Such a perception about impairments caused some families within the communities to see their children who have impairments as a tragedy that requires cure and help to enable them escape restrictions to their education following the pattern Kisanji (1998) described in East Africa. It is either Obi's parents shelved their decision to exclude him or had mutual agreement with the school authorities about retaining him on compassionate grounds; not because policy made it obligatory that he has to be present there. And when the school could not cope with his needs, it decided to marginalise by placing him in primary 5C classroom in which peers with almost similar abilities were grouped. So, the dominance of children without physical challenges in the schools is due to the designation of the institutions as ordinary schools.

Medium of instruction

It should be noted that in general, prior to their enrolment, the children were familiar with local languages associated with their respective tribes as I have stated in chapters 6, 7 and 8. For example, the *Efiks*, speak *Efik*, *Ekoi* used *Ejagham*, *Ibibios* communicate in *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulanis* speak *Hausa*, *Igbo* speak *Igbo* and *Yorubas* speak *Yoruba*. For some of them, these languages might be their first languages. Others perhaps learned the dominant *Efik* within the communities as their first local language before learning the distinct languages of their native tribes subsequently. Many of them, however, learned to speak Pidgin English at home and school. Whatever the medium of communication the children used and how they have learned it, to some extent, resulted from the amount of dominance of the language users and interaction of the individuals with the users within the linguistic setting.

It is such a complex situation that can make some children become bilingual and multilingual in the various local languages respectively. For instance, instead of speaking a single language, an *Efik* child might communicate with peers both in native *Efik* and Pidgin English; *Hausa/Fulani* child could also be doing so in native *Hausa*, *Efik* and Pidgin English while their *Ekoi* counterpart may speak the native *Ekoi*, *Efik* and Pidgin English. Even so the children are influenced by adult relatives

to give utmost priority and esteem to the local language that reflects the tribe to which his immediate family belongs – that is for a child whose parents are all members of the same tribe, or the language spoken by the parent who is more significant in his or her life – that is for a child whose parents originate from different tribal groups as it is being implied in chapter 8. Such a complex language situation and the attachment of some families to their local language could deter some parents from keeping their children in school so as not to confuse or expose them to an alien language. According to Humphreys & Crawford (2014), in Nigeria families need children to have a good foundation in their first language – often a local language, before changing to a medium of instruction, and one in-school factor contributing to non-enrolment is inability to understand the MoI.

School toilet

Another such situations that impeded access of children to school were poor school sanitation facilities. The toilets in *Kenwa* and *Bunyia* were in particular bad states. Indeed, the former was extremely inadequate – only one toilet was available for both pupils and staff (*see fig. 6.8*). Although the same cannot be said about the situation in *Edor Agom*, the toilet there was, however, always locked. That created inconveniences for learners across school. Some pupils experienced difficulties to use these toilets. When the toilets were being engaged by some pupils, their peers could not access them during emergencies. As such some of them would either wait for a long time for their peers to finish using the toilet so that they could have their turns or simply go outside when the need to toilet became so pressing, and that can constitute health hazards for other pupils at school.

Others, especially pupils whose houses were near, can also used the opportunity to go home during school hours so as to use the toilet and may fail to return to school afterwards. The indecent toilets available, especially at *Kenwa* and *Bunyia*, can constitute more risks to health, particularly, to the girls in terms of managing female menstruation, fear of contracting venereal disease, and social concerns, such as privacy and risk to harassment. So they had to sometimes brave embarrassment by staying in open areas to toilet. Other research conducted in DCs, including Africa e.g. Adukia (2014) also found that poor sanitation facilities block access and encourage some children, mostly pubescent girls, to drop out of school. Lidonde (2004) and WaterAid (2005) added that some girls are discouraged from

attending schools while others are encouraged to dropout due to inadequate school toilet facilities.

Having examined in/exclusion in relation to pupil presence at school, let me now consider the way the children participate in school activities across contexts.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Following my explanations in chapters 2, 3, 6, 7 and 8, here my discussion of data about in/exclusion examines pupil engagement and disengagement in terms of curriculum content, lesson plan, medium of instruction, engagement in classroom lesson, pupil voice, peer victimisation, perception about children with impairments, perception about pupil gender, religious attitudes, seating and social interaction, peer tutoring and collaboration, extra-curricular activities, school discipline and pupil hairstyle.

Pupil engagement and disengagement

The evidence in chapters 6, 7 and 8 indicated that quite a number of boys and girls participated in lessons (e.g. confident children, fast learners), and social activities, such as children who belonged to similar genders, tribes and religions/faiths. Certain obstacles were, however, seen to inhibit the engagement of their peers. Some of these issues have something to do with the relevance and responsiveness of the school curriculum to individual learners.

Curriculum content

The organisation of the curricular enabled active engagement of some children in academic and social programmes in the schools. Contents of the curriculum were written largely in English in line with national education policy (FRN, 2004) in that regard, as shown in chapter 4. English was utilised as a means to avert linguistic crisis among the multilingual backgrounds of the pupils, and to integrate them into the Nigerian national community. More so, evidence from all three schools shows that classroom timetables were structured into three sections to reflect core subjects in the morning and other courses in the afternoon.

The core subjects were numerate courses and science oriented. The afternoon subjects were mostly art based and each of them was allocated forty minutes. In between both periods, the children were allowed to go on recess. The timing of the core subjects, to me, is informed by the thinking that in the morning

children feel ready psychologically to actively engage in learning better the numerate and science based courses that involve a lot of communicative tasks and rational thinking such as English, Mathematics and Primary Science.

At break time pupils are meant to rest, play and recoup the energy lost at lessons so as to also remain active to engage with the remaining courses in the afternoon. Placement of mostly art based subjects in the afternoon suggests that the exhaustion, which some children would have experienced from morning lessons, could limit their interests and reduces their attention span to learn further. Thus, subjects such as Social Studies, Civics and CRE were placed in the afternoon as contents of these subjects involved interesting stories, and storytelling is interactive activating children's interests to participate as well as encourage them to be attentive at lesson.

The time allocated for the different school activities in the timetable suggested that it is intended to be child-centred. For instance, it allowed time for the children, generally, to take part in all subjects listed for the day and week. Particular courses were also run within short periods to avert boredom. Such devotion of care and purpose ensured every child is engaged and understands the lessons. Moving forward, the discussion will examine the lesson plan in relation to pupil participation.

Lesson plan

The examination of teacher lesson notes by head teachers is meant to guarantee adequacy and correctness in content for pupils. It also created opportunities for head teachers to effect their leadership responsibilities and assume the role of an internal assessor of the contents of the documents. This was exemplified by the care with which they crosschecked grammar, spellings, concepts, behavioural objectives and lesson materials, as shown in chapters 6, 7 and 8. It seemed to me that these practices helped heads to check inadequacies in contents of the lessons, improve instructional resources, teaching approaches for practitioners and learning outcomes for children. In so doing they were able to draw on their training and experience to provide advice and support necessary to enhance teaching and learning. Remarks which school heads made to enhance contents of lesson notes can sometimes stimulate more intellectual activities in teachers and encourage them to explore new possibilities in the classrooms in an inclusive direction.

Medium of instruction

Lesson notes were written and implemented in English. Use of English here enabled the children have common language and encouraged equal communication with peers and teachers at lesson as I have stated. English language became facilitatory to assimilate pupils into a homogenous linguistic school community. Moreover, it is when all children can understand the language of instruction that they are able to ask questions, make criticisms and enjoy the lesson.

Writing about the challenges of inclusive schooling in Ghana, Dei (2005) views this practice as innovations that provide promising communicative alternatives in school instruction and interaction to advantage all learners. The occasional use of Pidgin English in addition to the official English, as we saw in the three schools, was a spontaneous provision, which teachers applied in classroom instruction. It became a temporary alternative language for use at lessons in recognition of the fact that it is a language prominently used in informal settings within the three communities.

A majority of the pupils were familiar with English but, as indicated by the interviewees in chapters 7 and 8, many pupils from the various tribes had difficulties to communicate in official English. So, Pidgin English as an alternative choice was a response to the language difficulties the pupils experienced, driven towards forestalling disadvantaging them as beginner English learners.

In all the schools, children were required to learn one language of the immediate environment, in addition to English. You would have expected them to learn languages of the popular tribes existing within particular rural settlements in which the schools were located. *Efik* was used as the second language in *Kenwa* quite alright. But, *Hausa* should have been the second language in *Edor Agom* and *Ekoi* in *Bunyia*. Surprisingly, *Efik* was also adopted as language of the immediate environment in *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* due to claims by the *Efiks* as the dominant tribe in *Eshueya* and *Basarawa*; and *Bunyia* primary school due to the proximity of the community in which the school was built to *Efiks* in Calabar. Although the adoption of this second language tends to enable the children, especially those from the settler tribes, to also integrate into the dominantly local *Efik* communities, practice in *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia*, nonetheless, is not in line with policy in this regard.

Barriers in language also affected teachers alike. In chapter 8, for instance, one of the pupils revealed, ‘. . . many of the teachers are not well trained . . . they

speak broken [Pidgin English]'. It means that some teachers were also not adept English users due to poor teacher training. When faced with strange and difficult concepts, some teachers experienced problems to deliver the lesson for some pupils to understand. In that circumstance, Pidgin English also helped ease explaining the concept for them, simplify the concepts and make for a smooth flow of information in teaching and learning. In chapter 6, the switch was from English to *Efik* language as illustrated in the situation where the teacher interpreted the sentence, '*Odili is a good girl*' to its *Efik* version '*Odili edi eti eyen anwan*' and went ahead to explain to pupils that '*eti*' (good) is an adjective. One purpose that pervaded this swap in language was to guarantee pupil participation and understanding. With that priority in mind, explanations and interpretations of the lesson in Pidgin English and *Efik* became necessary.

Efik was nonetheless regarded more as a medium of instruction for *Efik* lessons. As a result, pupils had to subjugate their local languages to English, which was the main school language. Whilst the native *Efik* speaking children learned just one language - English, their peers from the other tribes had to learn two languages outside their familiar local languages - first *Efik* and then English. Given that they were socialised to attach huge importance to languages associated with their tribes in order to sustain their cultures, the non- *Efik* children saw English (even *Efik*) not only as prominent language/s, but particularly as language/s that in a way imposed inferiority upon languages that reflect their original tribes. Although children from other tribes could be liberal to also learn and accept other languages, including English, their *Hausa/Fulani* peers were implicitly conservative and closely attached to the *Hausa* language that they sometimes resented English and felt hesitant to participate in other language lessons. As one of the interviewees indicated in chapter 7, Pidgin English is not used entirely because of the challenges *Hausa/Fulani* pupil experienced to switch from *Hausa* to English, but impliedly due to the averseness to learn the official English as a result of close attachment to their local language. The language barrier served as one reason pupils from the other tribes also experienced difficulties completing classroom tasks. Examples include those cases where some of the pupils experienced inability to do class assignments correctly in writing and speaking in English.

Engagement of pupils in classroom lesson

With regards to pupil engagement in classroom instructions, as you saw in chapter 6, before starting to explain the concepts, the teacher asked pupils in *Kenwa* to stand, sit and clap their hands. These pre-lesson exercises served as a means to inspire interest in all children in the lesson, especially those who needed to be ‘pushed’ before they can act. Also, it prevented some of them from falling asleep at lesson. The understanding is that keeping awake enables some pupils to pool their energies towards engaging in lessons and to gain from it. It was partly the reason teachers in this school and in *Edor Agom* took brief walk through the aisles while teaching (*see fig. 7.6*). Besides, the movement was also purposed to check disruptive behaviours among some pupils during lesson.

Quite a number of what appeared to be confident children expressed enthusiasm to participate at lessons. That happened because teachers sometimes provided necessary stimuli and opportunities for them to do so. Even from the account of pupils at *Edor Agom* and *Bunya* implied that some of them had some chances to participate. For example, we saw in chapter 8 how two boys had the chance to demonstrate how the game of table tennis is being played in a lesson on Physical and Health Education. And some of their peers laughed and cheered in excitement in reaction to the actions. The available stimuli also inspired Obi to attempt to supply answer to his teacher’s question during Mathematics lesson as shown in chapter 6.

In the same school, a girl asked, ‘*uncle is it good for a man to marry four wives*’? Some pupils expressed surprise by exclaiming ‘*ehen*’ in reaction to the teacher’s explanations regarding the different marriage practices in various religions during lesson on CRE. In chapter 7, their male Muslim colleague was curious and queried at lesson on the same subject, ‘*aunty, if Jesus is the son of God, what about Prophet Mohammed*’? A Christian classmate volunteered to respond to that question, saying, ‘*Jesus Christ is the son of God and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah*’. One boy exclaimed ‘*hnn*’ when the teacher stated that Jesus is the son of God and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah. He was nonetheless naïve not to notice that the explanation contained subtle connotations to despise his religious beliefs. The classification of Jesus Christ as ‘son’ and Mohammed as ‘messenger’ of God was biased and derisive. It placed these two religious leaders on an unequal pedestal. A son earns more power and right from his father than a messenger – servant. It means

that Jesus, as a son, is more powerful and recognised than Mohammed, a servant. And that glorifies Christianity over Islam within the context.

Feeling enthused, another boy in chapter 7 asked in a different lesson on Civic Education, '*uncle, can a woman be a builder*'? Their peer who was in another classroom felt astonished when the teacher explained that a woman can also build a house (i.e. perform the role of civil engineer) in response to his query. This feedback portrayed commitment to gender sensitivity, making the children to understand that males and females can equally participate in all occupations available in the society. It was one way the school strove to deconstruct the different social roles ascribed to boys and girls as a result of gendered practices. Also, the ideas behind the various lessons on CRE in chapter 6, and the one on Civic Education in chapter 7 are motivational. Pupils are likely to regard any aspect of the different marriages, occupations and religions as an aberration, rather to acknowledge them as valued practices occurring within acceptable norms in different societies. It suggests that the intention was to make them develop inter-ethnic and religious tolerance, understanding, forgiveness, sacrifice and reconciliation. It was in addition to these moral instructions that teachers also demonstrated the usefulness of the various cultural practices in community development and, in a sense, encouraged the learners to consider them as necessary tools to ensure a peaceful and harmonious society as well as spur pupils from these backgrounds to increase participation. More than that, the message might help keep the children connected to their local histories, cultures and environments.

Elsewhere in chapter 8, the lesson on Physical and Health Education showed the way the teacher rather reaffirmed gender inequalities between male and female contrary to the equality stance on Civic Education in chapter 7. For instance, in her reaction towards the four boys who could not pronounce the word '*umpire*', she stated, '*. . . you are all boys, yet you don't know*'. Her disappointment aligns to the perception that portrays a boy/male as being capable of superior (academic) performance due to maleness. Outcomes from the boys, surprisingly to the teacher, negated that notion. The mood of the teacher while making that statement has the capacity to diminish the confidence of the affected children to learn further.

Despite that, teachers sometimes made positive remarks or encourage other children to show some appreciation to the inputs their peers have committed to lesson. For instance, in chapter 6, the teacher asked other pupils to clap for Obi for

the effort he made to provide the answer in the Mathematics lesson. A similar incidence occurred in chapter 8 when the teacher said, *Correct! Clap for her* in response to the girl who supplied the answer, *I can write* during the English lesson. In chapter 7, the teacher remarked, *that is a good question* when the boy critically enquired to ascertain whether Jesus Christ or Mohammed was the son of God. These acknowledgements highlighted the importance of pupil comments and queries in inspiring deliberations and debates among peers in the classroom. The boy's response to the query gives indication about his interest in the lesson and the desire to talk and share his ideas concerning the issue in contention. More interesting is the realisation that the enquirer and respondent were Muslims and Christians. The exclamation that the former made in response to the teacher's claim about Jesus and Mohammed and the drive from the latter to volunteer an answer to the question about these religious leaders showed the release of emotions by these pupils as they engaged in the lesson. Reward served in this case to sustain the tempo in the involvement of some pupils in lesson.

Some pupils had the advantage of having classroom instructions reviewed for them. For example, as you saw in chapters 7 and 8, teachers re-explained the lesson to ensure pupils really understood the contents. Pursuant to the need to maximise participation for all pupils, notes were printed clearly on the blackboards with chalk - see *figs. 6.10 and 7.8*. Legible handwriting was one way the schools demonstrated sensitivity in response to a pluralistic classroom population. The measure helped prevent some pupils with visual impairments from being passive when their peers were taking notes. In particular, this is an expression of value for pupils with eye defects by ensuring they also identify the characters written on the board, read the information while copying notes.

While these classroom practices were taking place, it was also noticeable that the attention of teachers was, nevertheless, drawn towards pupils who were vocal and supplying responses to teacher questions, thus sometimes neglecting their peers at lessons. It is one factor that is connected to the isolated boy mentioned in chapter 8 who sat quietly at the rear of the classroom and remained passive while the lesson was ongoing. Because the other children impressed the teacher with their responses at lesson, her focus was stuck to them thereby making this boy become invisible.

Coupled with that, the uncomplimentary remarks, which teachers and other children made appeared to sometimes impair participation of children in the classrooms. A girl in chapter 8, for example, could not complete a classroom task during English lesson and the teacher said to her, '*aunty madam, you go and sit down and the other children laughed at her*' Both 'aunty' and 'madam' are titles attached to adult females to indicate respect within the context of the school. However, on this occasion, their usage on the girl was to label her. The more reason the teacher used both titles together in reference to her, triggering laughter from her peers to ridicule her. Such a practice can also deflate the ego and weaken the confidence and passion of the affected child to take responsibility in what she was learning. No wonder the child walked dejectedly back to her seat in what I imagine to be an expression of shame. Next, I will look at how this affects pupil voice.

Pupil voice in the schools

Pupil voice is one issue that was critical across the three cases. In fact, attention to learner voice was minimal across the three schools. Teachers were dominantly orchestrating almost every activity at lesson while standing rigidly at the front of the classrooms. In general, pupils talked less while the teachers talked more. Examples in all the schools illustrate how pupils sat quietly to listen and followed teacher leads at lessons. At such time they imposed their ideas, values and beliefs on the children.

The approach has the tendency for teachers to adopt a 'bossy' disposition, leading them to be seen as omniscient personalities, and the learners to be perceived as 'empty vessels' that needed to be filled with worthwhile information and learning viewed as an additive process (Napoli, 2004). Learners in all schools sometimes had to wait until the end of the lesson before they can ask questions. Of particular note is the case described in chapter 6, where the teacher said to a girl who interjected to ask a question during lesson, '*ITK (I too know) keep quiet first and let me say what I am saying*', and this is in contrast to the notion of recognising the agency and legitimacy of children to express their views and perform active roles to shape education provision (Holdsworth, 2000; Flynn, 2014). The child in question placed her index finger on her lips to gesture '*shut up*' to her classmates possibly to cover up the humiliation.

So, the children learned to reverence teachers as powerful authorities and find teacher ideas sometimes sacrosanct to the extent they cannot criticise them. By virtue of their youth and experience, the school regards the views of children as of limited value and legitimacy. Reflecting ideas in the literature reviewed in chapter 3, particularly, Flutter & Ruddock (2004) and Fielding (2008), the children became silent and passive recipients of what others defined as education. Rather, they are placed in highly prescribed situations, which they have not made any contributions to construct (Toshalis & Nakkula, 2012). As such, their involvement in curriculum planning, implementation and review in school is limited. We saw that in the way the schools chose school uniforms and class representatives for pupils without inputs from pupils whom they represent. Against this practice, Youens & Hall (2004) argued that it is better to ask the children what they think and actively listen to the answer. This does not consist in ‘just listening’, but taking into serious account the opinion of the child and see to its implementation as appropriate.

It occurred to me that an undemocratic school environment like this thrived because the schools did not have trust in the abilities of pupils. In many instances it seemed that the children were considered as having not developed sufficient conceptual and linguistic competencies to be able to make useful contributions to enhance aspects of school life, even when such issues directly concern them. This relates to the argument of Rudd, Colligan & Naik (2007) that this can significantly reduce the way children control their learning patterns and increase the risk to their disengagement at school. As I have illustrated, the pupils in these schools were vulnerable to huge influence from teachers and learned under a traditional teaching approach that reflects instructor-subordinate relationship.

The prevalent application of the didactic method at lessons made some pupils to regard the idea of sitting down quietly to listen to the teacher as the acceptable way to learn. According to Shirley (2015), the one-directional production of impartation of information during instruction can be uninspiring, isolate the learner and ineffective. That is one reason other learners ridiculed or condemned their peers when they made efforts to ask questions to seek clarifications to some concerns, as shown, for example, in the situation in chapter 6 where some girls exclaimed, *‘oooh, you too talk nah!’* to silence their female colleague who had interrupted the teacher to make a query. Others however expressed displeasure to application of the technique in the classroom as it deprived them of space to express

their thoughts, criticise and share ideas with classmates. Due to the domineering influence of teachers some of them feared to ask questions even when they did not understand the lesson as shown in the various statements of the children in the three schools. This method can weaken the confidence and self-esteem of the children as Shirley (2015) has pointed out.

Pupil voice, according to Robinson (2014), is an important part of change where the views of the pupils become part of the person's ability to form his or her own views and express them freely in all aspects of schooling. Rather than participate in the lesson as co-partners with teachers in making meanings to their work together, as suggested by writers in the West, such as Fielding (2004), the children appeared to learn in fear. You would have expected the class prefects to have the privilege to be more actively involved to 'voice pupil concerns' by virtue of the leadership roles they performed and given that they were appointed by the schools. Unfortunately, they only served to run errands for teachers and were also largely subjected to similar conditions as their peers whom they represented.

All children could only make comments at lessons after obtaining teacher permission. They learned under a code of conduct in the classroom. As I have mentioned, it was mandatory for them to raise their hands to indicate that they had contributions to make, get teacher approval before they could talk (*see fig. 7.6 in chapter 7*). These happened following efforts of some practitioners to perpetuate the authoritarian norm at school.

You can detect from the reaction of the Muslim boy who asked questions about Jesus Christ being the son of God and Mohammed in the religious lesson in chapter 7 that he was initially afraid and hesitant to ask the question until urged by the teacher to do so. Even his Christian colleague who volunteered answer to the question, first, had to obtain approval before talking. Also, in chapter 8, the girl who was so keen to do a task in an English lesson had to wait for the teacher to give approval before sharing her idea as it is being expressed in the discourse of '*a chance*'. Actions which these learners had performed were in compliance to the existing standing order in the classroom. Pupils who acted contrary to this were either ignored, instructed to keep quiet, mocked or abused by tutors and other children. Obi revealed this further in chapter 8 that, '*when you want to talk they [teachers] go talk say [would say], who tell you to talk*'. In contrast to Fielding (2012), the situation fails to take the participatory culture in democracy seriously in

education. Such a classroom environment indicates that practice is not genuinely committed to include.

Peer victimisation

Evidence across the three cases in chapters 6, 7 and 8 reveals that some children were bullying their peers. Others were making false reports to teachers against their colleagues. These situations caused discomfort for victims such that it made the school unsafe for some of the children (Olweus, 1996; Popoola, 2005). The situation adversely affected engagement among pupils in interaction. It confirms the work of Ojedokun, Ogunbamila & Kehinde (2013) in chapter 3 where they argued that peer victimisation is one factor in exclusion of children – both victim and aggressor, from friendships at school. Children who suffer aggression can react by distancing themselves either as a safety measure or prevent from bonding with the attacker or both. And in the view of McLleod & Fettes (2007) and Christine et al. (2014), children who experience distress as result peer victimisation have poorer learner engagement compared to their psychologically stable colleagues. Pupils who are psychologically and emotionally traumatised have less interest in and poor concentration in classroom tasks (Gumra & Arsenio, 2002).

Perception about children with impairments

As members of the various local communities, some of the learners were ingrained with beliefs, myths, misconceptions and half-truths against associating with peers from other backgrounds. Many children reproduced what is being projected to them by adults and other significant people in their lives. For example, in chapter 6, a boy expressed negative perception about Obi, stating that other children do not like to play with him, because *'he used to pour saliva, behave stupid and does not even know something'*. Similar to that, in *Edor Agom*, a teacher constructed a physically ill child as:

a person who has bad legs, closed eyes, mentally derailed. His head is not correct. They cannot think well.

It can be understood from this description that there is poor knowledge about children with impairments as well as issues that disable their education among some educators. Apparently, these children are seen as constituting a problem to the school. As such, very little respect and value is ascribed to them within the context. This definition of these children is embedded in the medical constructionist model

(Avoke, 2002) that regards them as suffering from diseases that require diagnosis and remediation. So intense is the belief that the teacher seemed to construe them as being less human. Driven by that orientation she appeared to be predisposed to deny them rights to participation in mainstream classroom, thus making opportunity to learn for them in the school to be far from being realistic. These negative attitudes paint gloomy prospects for inclusion of individuals with impairments with respect to their engagement in school within the context in future. Of course this is one way in which other children are indoctrinated to think that inclusion of peers with physical challenges in ordinary schools is a venture, which has huge cost to education in terms of welfare of the 'normal' children. In which case, they also see their co-existence with the latter as occurring outside popular norms, and risky.

This corresponds with the result of Anumonye (1991) investigation of the problem of inclusion in Nigeria that children with impairments at the primary school levels were socially isolated as they just sat in the classrooms and never participated in any activities outside the confines of the classroom.

Perception about pupil gender

Enie, a female participant in the second case in chapter 7, complained that boys would not allow girls to join them in the field to also play soccer due to gender differences. The continued dominance of males in 'traditional masculine' sports like soccer raises the question about inclusion of females at the same level in the context. This can be described as part of the interaction between gender and culture in education (Lewis & Lockheed, 2007), and the school served as a tool to perpetuate gender inequities in access to participation between boys and girls in the context. Some boys may have (culturally) assigned maleness – involving aggressive activities - to soccer and that classification perhaps motivated them to consider the participation of girls in the game at school as being inappropriate. Efforts by girls to also take part in the sport are assumedly regarded by boys as a prohibitive quest to challenge male dominance as well as change the status quo in culture. It is possible for such a practice in primary schools to marginalise girls in mainstream sporting activity, especially in circumstances where the only equipment available for sport in the school is for soccer as evidenced in chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Religious attitudes

One area of the curriculum that reflected religious attitudes in participation are the religion based subjects and lessons. In all the schools CRE was listed in the timetable. It was one way the schools expressed acceptance, respect and value for Christianity and Christians. In addition to CRE, the three schools conducted Christian programmes during morning devotion to further impart Christian doctrines to the children. While performing this practice, pupils felt obliged to regard Jesus Christ as their object of worship, reinforce their beliefs in his existence, acknowledged him as the spiritual being that directs all affairs of mankind and renewed their allegiance to this deity. Classroom instructions in this subject were therefore a continuation in the teachings of Christian philosophies and ethics to pupils. It created another forum for the children to meet to discuss about God and Christian living. Pupils consequently can have some opportunity to share ideas with colleagues and learn more concerning Christian culture.

Unlike the Christians, there was no religious provision for Muslims. Even *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* that had a significant number of Muslims did not have IRE listed in their timetables. In *Kenwa*, in particular, the Muslim teacher was prevented from teaching Muslim pupils IRE for which the state government had deployed her to the school. Muslims were rather required to take part in CRE lessons alongside their Christian classmates thereby denied them the right to practice Islam at school. In this way, the school appeared to implicitly apply covert coercion on Muslims to convert from Islam to Christianity in contrast to national policy provision.

All of this appeared to limit Muslim pupils' sense of belonging in the religious sense. You can imagine the disapproval, tension and passivity with which some of these children participated in the lesson. An obvious example of the conflict between both religions is illustrated in chapter 6 where the Muslim boy in *Kenwa* delivered the threat message to his teacher that his father is considering withdrawing him from the school if he did not stop participating in CRE lessons. Given the circumstance, the boy is likely to flout school rules not to participate in any religion based lesson or receive exemption from taking part in CRE lessons.

Evidence that other Muslim pupils were resistant and did not consensually take part in the activities that reflect the other religion is reflected in their reactions at morning devotion in chapters 6 and 7. Their reactions seemed to me to involve a soft form of antagonism. When Christian songs and prayers were being delivered at such

meetings, some of them could not sing or pray well, their peers were hesitant to participate while others kept mute. It was against their beliefs and upbringing to practice any religion that is not Islam. According to Hadad (1983) doing so is considered as being defeatist; subservient, driven by inferiority and causing the religion to lose relevance in society. A Muslim who mixes other religions with Islam can be assigned a derogatory tag as a *kafir* – unbeliever, and it can be seen as an act of apostasy for a Muslim to defect to another religion. Wrongdoers could face punishment such as being rejected or excluded within the Islamic community - *umma*. Aligned to the views of Achunike (2008) regarding religious practices in Nigeria, this religious orientation made some Muslim children feel threatened. As such, they were unprepared to, among other things, risk losing their Islamic identities as penalty for violating Islamic injunctions following their efforts to conform to Christian practices in order to please the school.

Religious politics also, by extension, impacted on social activities of pupils, particularly those with Islamic affiliations. For instance, in chapter 7, the albino boy, stated that he detested collaborating with the *Hausa/Fulani* peers due to their Islamic beliefs and he linked them with the deadly activities of Boko Haram terrorists in the north east of the country. The connection made about his peers to the terrorist group in Nigeria is understood from the position that the terrorists are largely *Hausa/Fulani* Muslims. As members of the same background, he believed that his *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim peers would have also learned to practice religious killings, thus posing a risk to him to interact with them at school. This attitude connects Oladunjoye & Omemu (2013) statement that the spate of violence involving members of the armed Islamist Boko Haram has ‘ethnified’ terrorism in the country.

Such ethno-religious prejudices coupled with gender difference is also seen to motivate *Hausa/Fulani* pupils in *Edor Agom* to sit together in the classroom – girls with girls and boys with boys. And in chapter 8, a boy stated that he ‘likes playing with his church member’ to also suggest religious intolerance even among Christians.

Seating and social interaction

Although in all three schools, some pupils of different genders and tribes interspersed to sit with some colleagues in the classrooms, application of traditional teaching approaches nevertheless largely accounted for the rows seating that obtained in all the classrooms, rather than by considerations to make pupils

participate at lessons. Within this seating organisation there were likely to be differences in pupil engagement at lesson, dependent on position, with maximum pupil involvement across the front to the middle and decreased participation at the rear of the room in line with Ngware, Ciera, Musyoka & Oketch (2013) description of the situation in Kenya. Also, the formation was inflexible and can reduce group work among learners. Besides, none of the classroom furniture had adjustable devices suitable for the natural curvatures of individual pupil. This raised question about pupil comfort in using this equipment. Some of the children can experience pains and backache while sitting on these desks to affect their involvement in lessons.

Except for *Bunyia*, the benches in *Knewa* and *Edor Agom* were old, and that constituted safety concerns for children in the classroom. Children used these seats at the risk of body injuries and torn uniforms. Also, pupils were restricted to using only the blackboard for lessons in the classrooms in all schools. Projectors were unavailable to limit their options for boards that support interactive lesson. Even if there were to have these projectors, the appliances would have been useless still because there was no electricity to power them. And lack of electricity can also make it problematic for them to learn in dark environment. Coupled with that is the fact that the schools, as mentioned in chapters 6, were located within thick tropical vegetation where the weather can sometimes become cloudy and dark to affect pupil visibility in the classrooms.

In terms of socialisation, close interaction between pupils and teachers was very limited. For example, in all the schools, social connections between the child and teachers occurred in a manner that portrayed them as possessing different statuses within a hierarchy in the three schools. Pupils learned to regard themselves as apprentices and holding a lower position in the social structure. Teachers assumed the roles of masters and authorities occupying high and privileged positions within the framework. It made both parties to consider each other as standing on an unequal ground in favour of the latter. Based on cultural patterning of school processes (Hoadley, 2010), some teachers within the local contexts believed that familiarity with children can breed insolence. Cheminais (2008) stated further that others are anxious that maintaining close social connections can give some pupils chance to criticise the work and actions of teachers unnecessarily. Some teachers lack the skills to engage children in social interaction. There are also some practitioners who prefer

to distance themselves from pupils either due to unpleasant experiences with children in the past or for the sheer need to perpetuate unequal power balance. The children can therefore become less acceptable and less respectable for teachers as members of the higher social group. It formed part of the school practices that strengthened the authoritarian norm I stated previously.

Among the learners, except for the few cases where some pupils had some contacts with each other in the classrooms, as mentioned earlier, various social interaction models appeared among them across contexts. For instance, perceptions about gender difference resulted in a situation where girls across the three contexts mostly sat with girls and vice versa. More so, in all the schools, the learners were careful not to interact with bullies, peers from poor homes as shown in the example of the female participant in chapter 8 who reported that some pupils did not have friends because they were from poor homes. It expressed their decision to avoid association with poverty. Also, children discriminated against peers with learning difficulties as way of avoiding to identify with failures or potential failures. Their peers exhibited adult-child relation by refusing to socialise with children who are younger to them in terms of age and year of study. Furthermore, such prejudices in interaction also affected colleagues from different tribes, religions and faiths, children with impairments and pupil from different genders. It is such a versatile and wider way in which discrimination occurred among pupils. Differences in pupil identity generated a powerful barrier to the ability to partake in mainstream interaction. According to Cheminais (2008), writing in the West, some pupils worry about the unpredictability of engaging peers who do not share similar traits with them in close relationships. Others are wary about the loss or attenuation of identity and change in balance of power to undertake indiscriminate interaction. There are some who lack the confidence and skills to perform cross-interaction.

All of these examples suggest that exclusion assumes socio-cultural, religious, economic and sexist dimensions in the denial of the capability of pupils to freely relate with and be respected by others. Children have organised themselves into social groups, clusters, networks and cliques to devalue members of the other groups. The choices individual pupils make about whom to interact made it difficult for all learners to enjoy equal freedoms to a common citizenship at school. The practice singled out particular children as being undeserving of recognition and value as mentioned in the different scenarios above. Exclusion in interaction can limit

chances for pupils suffering exclusion from showcasing their potentials which, in turn, deprives others who promote exclusion from gaining from such resources. It can even threaten order and the success of the school. Now, let us look at peer teaching and collaboration among these children in the schools.

Peer teaching and collaboration

In chapter 6 in particular, a boy and girl made silent exchanges with each other so as to collaboratively develop an idea to solve a sum during the Mathematics lesson. Also, in chapters 7 and 8, some children disclosed that some peers engaged in peer tutoring. The instructional strategy allowed the school to attempt to efficiently manage a classroom of diverse learners including children with impairments and learning difficulties. Peer tutoring created some opportunities for the school to accommodate diverse learners and increased response opportunities for the children, ensure additional time for positive feedback and maximises the amount of time the learner is on-task. This suggests that group work holds value for children experiencing difficulties in engaging in learning and others who are at risk of marginalisation.

Extra-curricular activities

Pupils were seen to mostly concentrate on taking part in academic subjects without provisions for them to also experience extra-curricular activities. You can decipher that organised recreational programme involving pupils were not seen in the three schools. Children only improvised these activities among themselves as exemplified in chapter 6 where they produced football-like substance with which they played at break time and in chapter 7 where the boys were kicking a football a colleague had provided, as well as the situation in the same school where the girls stood together, facing each other to clap their hands and swing their legs in unison. Even in chapter 8, a pupil disclosed that the school did not have games like basketball, athletics and volleyball.

Academic programmes appeared to override co-curricular activities due to concerns to raise academic test scores. This focus on academic learning is likely not to enable the pupils balance their cognitive development with the physical and emotional aspects through involvement in non-academic experiences. It deprived pupils who have minimal aptitude for academics the opportunity to engage in structured school-based non-academic activities that interest them. Some of them

could feel bored to stay in such a bookish environment. Inadequate provision for recreational programmes is correlated with some school vices like truancy and lateness. Pupils who feel dissatisfied with classroom work are at risk to drop out since they find no other events to occupy them. Mahoney & Cairns (1997) viewed that as lack of engagement to mediate between extra-curricular activities and school dropout. Ryan & Powelson (1991) stated that disengagement from school also arises from a lack of contact and alliance with peers through co-curricular activities.

The practice portrays the school as a place meant basically for intellectual exercise and eligible for children who can meet that requirement. That is also because academic achievement is regarded as a means to assist some children bridge the gap in socio-economic inequalities within the contexts (Nwagwu, 1981; der Berg, 2008). An excessive priority for scholastic prowess and success, nevertheless, has the tendency to trivialise legitimate non-academic undertakings. Besides, it can restrict future career choices for children to trajectories that are inevitably academic related, thereby constrains the society to also benefit from the non-academic occupations e.g. sports. The school is seen to lack the capacity to challenge the issues and inspire reforms in inclusive terms.

School discipline

The disciplinary measures that obtained in the three schools were punitive. Some of the children experienced name calling and corporal punishment. For example in chapter 7, some teachers made these uncomplimentary statements in English and *Efik* on some pupils: '*humpty dumpty*' and '*enyene iso nte ake ka de ino ke Calabar South*' - 'your face looks like you went and stole in Calabar South'. The albino boy, was also called '*eyen nkpo nsop*', meaning 'a child who is possessed with witchcraft'. Teachers used these abusive statements against the children when they engaged in behaviour that the teachers considered inappropriate at school. Although these invectives were not seen in chapters 6 and 8, however, pupils across the three schools were beaten with canes so as to enforce law and order and to force them to participate in lessons. You saw a teacher holding a cane in chapter 8. As I explained above, the victims comprised some children who were unable to complete classroom assignments, pupils who made wrong contributions at lessons as well as those who have violated school rules. This is in line with Jotia (2008) perspective about

corporal punishment stated in chapter 3. Sometimes, even the innocent ones were also punished, when their peers wrongfully accused them of wrongdoing.

Many children can suffer body injuries and stigmatisation when teachers applied these punishments. Discomforts that arise from the pains and humiliation can create fear in some victims and cause them to lose interest. Some highly capable pupils who have such experiences are at the risk of becoming passive suddenly and to underperform. Nonetheless, the diatribe towards the albino surmises that the attackers were implementing the knowledge and beliefs they have acquired against children with albinism. The assault was intent to assign him to a different category to negatively affect his interaction at school. Assignment of stereotypes to children and use of corporal punishment, regardless of background, was seen to generate adverse psychological effects on some victims. Some children in the schools felt unhappy with the methods. For instance, in chapter 6, the albino boy complained: '*. . . it used to affect me ba-a-ad. I do not used to feel fine when they abuse me*'. In accordance with the view expressed by Ojedokun, Ogungbamila & Kehinde (2013) in chapter 3, peer victimisation is a factor that excludes children - both victim and perpetrator, from friendships at school. For instance, a child could keep his or her distance from a peer who is aggressive or tell the colleague outright that they have ceased to be friends. Commenting further on assessment of violence against children at the basic level in Nigeria, Federal Ministry of Education (2007b) stated that corporal punishment and psychological abuse on children diminish pupil participation at school. And it is closely connected to the idea of 'disciplinary exclusion' as defined by Ainscow et al. (2006).

Pupil hairstyle

Girls from *Hausa/Fulani* tribe, in particular, had some concession to wear distinctive hairstyles, as I explained in chapters 6 and 7. Hairdos appeared to have both identification and artistic values within the *Hausa/Fulani* tribe, perhaps, in other tribes too. While banning the use of hijabs, the permission, however, granted these girls to make hairstyles indicated the effort by these schools to relax their tough stance against certain ethno-religious practices among some of their pupils. Implicitly, the school regarded the hijab as possessing more religious significance linked to Islam than tradition and, as such, was intolerable. The understanding about the consent, which the schools gave the *Hausa/Fulanis* to make hairstyles is that the

practice transcend other cultures, which the other children represent and will not be too obvious in portraying Islam at school. In chapter 7, some pupils interpreted the authorisation, which the *Hausa/Fulani* girls had as being preferential and having religious undertone on the basis that the head teacher is also an *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim. On a larger scale, however, the school chose to pay respect to some ethnic values of these pupils and jettisoned the religious aspects to douse the conflicts between Christianity and Islam. These practices did not obtain in *Bunyia* apparently because no *Hausa/Fulani* child was in its register at the time of this study.

Non-participation of males in the cultural expressive art gives some insights that prevailing social canons within the communities expect males to keep their hair low so as to differentiate them from females. This standard, arguably, varies among tribes. But, the schools tended to act on the spur of the dominant practices within the host villages to ask all boys, irrespective of tribe, to keep their hair low to strike a uniformity among them in that regard. It shows how the schools have replicated societal norm in this respect to correspond with the views of Hoadley (2010). The question this raises is why the school fail to grant girls from the other tribes a similar privilege to also take part in making hairdos like their *Hausa/Fulani* peers. The reasons some of the pupils in *Edor Agom* and *Kenwa* gave as factors the schools adduced to deny them opportunity to also participate in the practice underlined their compliance to some school rules. Such justifications demonstrated that the schools capitalised on pupil naivety to disadvantaged them. My next discussion will focus on relationships in the schools.

So far, discussion of data in the preceding sections has focused on in/exclusion in the three primary schools with regards to pupil presence and participation. The subsequent section moves on to analyse the contexts in relation to pupil achievement.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

My argument in this section takes account of pupils who were learning and not learning, focusing in particular on the roles of examinations and classroom placement and grade repetition in pupil in/exclusion in the three contexts.

Pupils who were learning and not learning

My evidence indicates that, in all the schools, children who appeared to be learning effectively tended to share certain characteristics. Specifically, they were those who attended school regularly, fast learners and a few of their peers who had confidence to make contributions during lessons. Others comprised pupils who had good communication skills in English and well-nourished children. However, there were some of their colleagues who were learning on the margins. These included nutritionally at risk children as I stated in chapters 7 and 8, and pupils experiencing learning difficulties. As I have explained, poor attendance at lessons due to non-payment of school fees and teacher authoritarian attitudes towards children were also impeding some children from learning well. In addition, use of English as the MoI and available traditional teaching strategies favoured fast learners to disadvantage the slow learners. The schools did not have provisions or additional support to include pupils with learning difficulties and learners with impairments.

Social relationships tended to take place among learners who shared similar traits, for example, *Hausa/Fulani* children, girls, pupils with learning difficulties, bullies, children from different religious groups, children from very poor homes and children with impairments. That often made other peers who did not share common features with members of the different social groups to feel dissatisfied at school.

Poor social interaction among children occurred further following failure of the schools to organise extra-curricular activities for them, thus causing limitations in development of interpersonal relations skills among the children. Faced with these problems, all of them were still expected to take examinations to be able to progress at school as I explain in what follows.

Examinations and classroom placement

Evidence in the assessment records in the three schools showed that as achievement at school was examination based some children who were enrolled to start primary 1 progressed through the years with their peers to primary 5 in the 2011/2012 academic year. These children were distributed across three divisions of

the class as evidenced by the three cases in chapters 6, 7 and 8. For instance, *Kenwa* had 62 pupils out of which 19 were placed in primary 5A, 23 in 5B and 20 in 5C. 157 pupils were in the class in *Edor Agom* and among them 33 were in primary 5A, 31 in primary 5B and 32 in primary 5C. Also, they were 410 pupils in *Bunyia* and 148 of them were placed in primary 5A, 141 in 5B and 97 in 5C.

However, primary 5 pupils in *Kenwa*, unlike their peers in *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia*, were distributed to the various divisions of the class based on the ranking of their achievements in examination as stated in chapter 6, a practice that some researchers in the West, for example, Kutnick, Sebba, Blatchford, Galton, Thorp, MacIntyre & Berdondini (2005) termed as ‘ability grouping’ and Sukhnandan & Lee (1998) and Dunne (2010) referred to as ‘streaming’. The issue of Obi, boy with impairments in chapter 6 who was placed in primary 5C to learn with peers who have similar abilities and his peers who were grouped in primary 5A and 5B respectively perhaps on the basis of their test scores is an example of the way the school practices streaming.

Proponents of ability grouping maintained that pupils in homogenous classes learn better as it allows teachers the opportunity to direct the curriculum more to pupils’ needs (Alexander, Cook & McDill, 1978; Rehberg & Rosenthal, 1978; Wilson & Schmidt, 1978). Others opposed to the practice argued that the rigid composition of learners reinforces inequalities in the sense that it increases achievement for pupils in higher level group and lowers achievement for those in the lower level group (William & Bartholomew, 2004; Dunne, 2010). Also it stands in opposite direction to the notion of inclusion as ‘a school for all’ as proposed by Ainscow & Sandill (2010) in chapter 3 and the African perspective about the concept by Eleweke & Rodda (2002) and Ajuwon (2008) as a ‘classroom for all’. Homogenous grouping of learners promotes exclusion because it limits access of diverse children to participation in a common curriculum, contradicting UNESCO (2004) advocacy for curriculum differentiation in pedagogy as a way to respond to learner diversity within inclusive settings. Streaming is anti-mixed ability grouping in education of diverse children as it regards such practice as a problem rather than a strength, and it encourages segregation. Rather than give the opportunity to pupils to benefit from their diversity, streaming promotes social exclusion among and between pupils in the higher level group and lower level group.

Whereas pupils who progressed to primary 5 in *Kenwa* were streamed, other pupils across the three schools were however not so fortunate to make progress compared to their peers. Problems arising from poor school attendance and participation in learning limited the opportunity for them to prepare adequately for examinations. As a result, some of the affected children did not perform well in the examinations. Examinations, nonetheless, can allow for a homogenous ability group to include children with higher abilities, but excludes peers with lower abilities in a bid to sustain academic excellence. Based on the number of children enrolled from the different backgrounds, the children affected across school comprised boys and girls from minority tribes and their Islamic peers. Within members of the majority tribes, the rate of examination failure was more among girls in *Kenwa* and *Edor Agom* except in *Bunyia*. Effects of these situations, in general, appeared more among pupils with learning difficulties in all three schools. For instance, 28 pupils from a total of 90 in *Kenwa*, 61 pupils from a total of 157 in *Edor Agom* and 24 pupils out of a total of 410 in *Bunyia* did not progress to grade 5 in the 2011/2012 school year.

As seen among the pupils who advanced to primary 5 in the 2011/2012 academic year, 28 in *Kenwa*; 61 pupils in *Edor Agom* and 24 in *Bunyia* were missing from the overall number representing the diverse pupils in the class. These children did not make it to the same year of study with their peers in the three schools, and this is connected to grade repetition and school dropout.

Grade repetition

Pupils who failed the examinations were asked to repeat grades in all the three schools. This was seen as increasing their acquisition of knowledge and proving again through examinations that they can meet certain academic requirement to convince the school that they can cope with advanced learning in higher classrooms. However, research on this strategy is less optimistic regarding the use of this approach. For example, according to Ndaruhutse et al. (2008), grade repetition can lower the self-esteem and motivation of pupils, giving them the perspectives that they are failures and bad learners. Some repeaters may also feel bored and discouraged to commit more effort to learn the same materials they have already learned in the previous year. Sometimes they might not be able to bear the shame of having to do the same classroom again with younger children. Low motivation resulting from grade repetition could lead to further repetitions.

Furthermore, pupils who repeat years of study spend longer time in schooling and that has a serious disadvantage on overaged children. Moreover, it increases the cost of schooling. Parents of some repeaters could lose belief and confidence in the academic abilities of their children. Some families whose children are affected are prone to suspend funding on the child's education. The tendency is even higher, especially, among poor parents. Many households in these places, as stated in chapters 6, do not have much value for schooling. Others have limited finance to sponsor their children in school. Some children are raised in homes that are probably experiencing crises e.g. single parent homes, relations etc, and as such, some of them would have started school late. The fact that children with impairments have little opportunity to learn in these schools is also evident in data. A situation where these children are made to repeat years of study can provide adequate excuse for their sponsors to withdraw them from schooling. And as far as I can determine promotion examinations and grade repetition increased the chances of school dropout and impedes completion of primary school for some children. In consonance with Ndaruhutse et al. (2008), the children who were mostly affected in the practice in all three schools included girls, religious and tribal minorities, children from the poorest homes, working children and children with impairments.

CONCLUSION

The discussion of my findings in this chapter has indicated that the government provided *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunya* primary schools in the three rural districts in Cross River State, Nigeria essentially to include diverse primary age children as a means of ensuring mass education of these children in these local communities. The aim to include children from these localities in schooling was to remove barriers to ensure equal participation of diverse children in schooling in terms of enrolment and attendance. Consequently, boys and girls from various backgrounds including children with impairments got registered in the neighbourhood schools.

Nevertheless, quite a number of children in the communities could not have admission due to poor infrastructure, equipment and support services at school. Offer of school places for pupils, numerically, was inadequately representative of their

respective backgrounds. Some of the pupils who were in school were not attending regularly for various reasons.

As such, that was having negative effects on their participation in school. And because some children were not engaged in school programmes due to poor attendance, they were not able to learn well and succeed. You can see from data in the three schools that pupils who were making progress at school included those who were participating and learning well, and those whose performances met certain requirements in the tests. Others who failed were asked to redo grades thereby spent longer years in schooling. Also, because the schools were too academic oriented, some pupils could not have the need to develop their social skills met in school. Besides, the schools did not have response opportunities to support children who were disadvantaged and vulnerable to exclusion. The next chapter presents the research findings, examines the implications and provides the final conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TEN

LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS

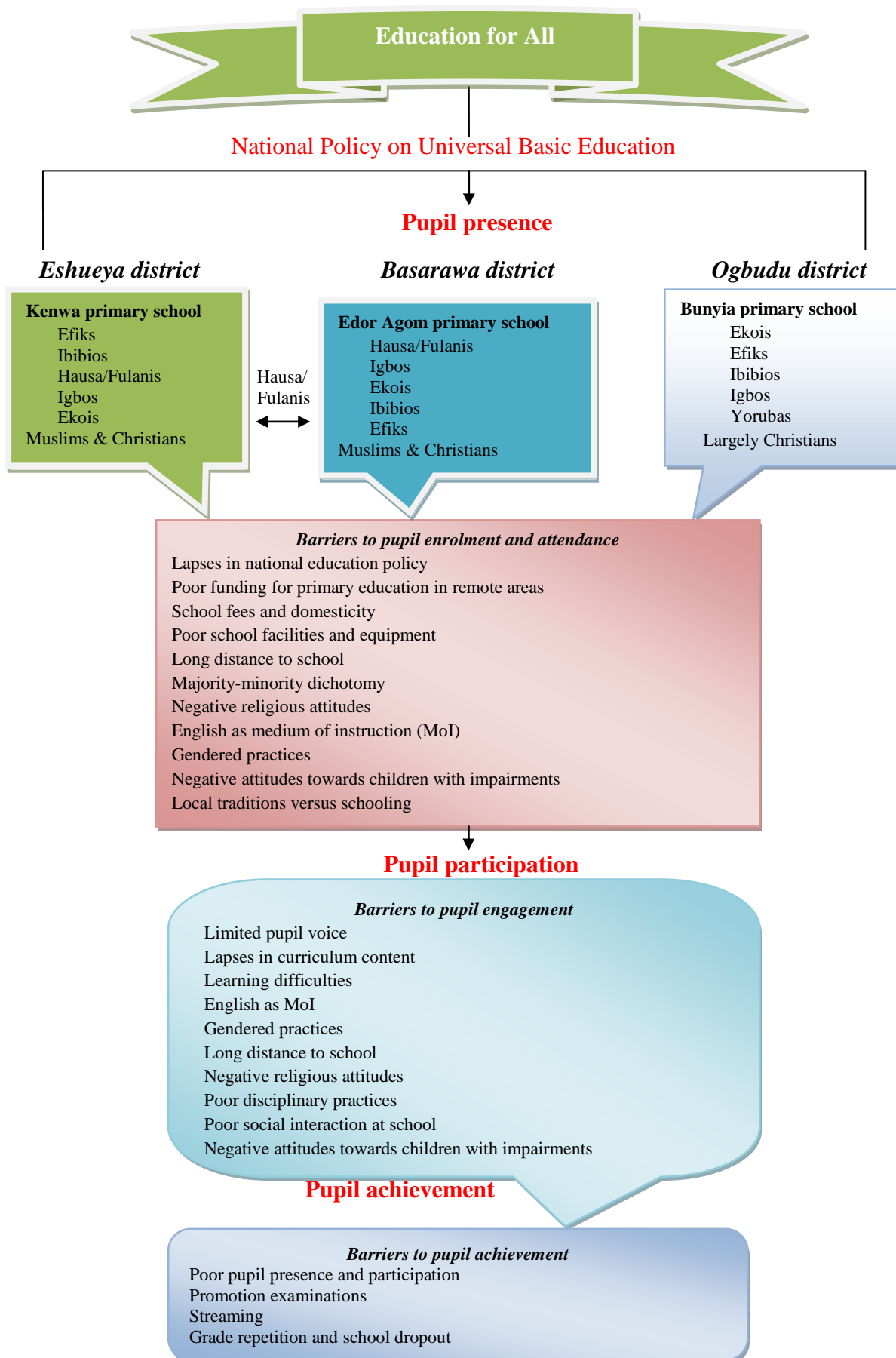
INTRODUCTION

This closing chapter draws together my analysis of the findings of my research. In this way, it explains how my research contributes to knowledge in relation to the agenda of the thesis. The chapter goes on to focus on my third research question, which is about the implications of these findings for future policy and practice in Nigeria. These proposals are informed by the issues that emerged from the study. In presenting them, however, I am conscious of the risk of going beyond the evidence I have presented. Nevertheless, my findings offer what I believe to be pointers that are worthy of serious consideration for the research context. Finally, I also consider the wider implications of the research for the international context.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The cross-case interpretation of data in the previous chapter led me to develop a diagrammatical representation of the interactions between the factors that appeared to influence in/exclusion of pupils in the three schools (*see figure 10.1*).

Fig. 10.1. Diagrammatical illustration of the cases and findings.



As summarised in the diagram, my findings have thrown light on a range of interconnected barriers that faced learners in the three schools. For some, this means that they were unlikely to attend school on a regular basis. Amongst those who did attend some were not always engaging in what the schools provided. However, even amongst those that were present and participating, there were pupils who were failing to achieve effectively as a result of other barriers.

My findings indicate that there was a mix of children from various cultures who were present in *Kenwa*, *Edor Agom* and *Bunyia* as a result of the nationwide UBE programme. However, despite the good intentions of government to provide education for all, I found that the experiences some pupils were having on ground in the school did not match provisions in the national education policy. Some pupils were still not present in school. Furthermore, some of their peers who registered were not always attending regularly due to certain barriers that emanated from within the schools. In addition, further barriers appeared to arise from beyond the school, as illustrated in the diagram.

Amongst those pupils who were regular in attendance I found that some were not engaging well with the experiences provided at the schools. Since these children were most of the time passive at school, they were not learning well. This reinforces the argument that when pupils are less active in school programmes, it is likely that their level of learning will also reduce.

Limited engagement with the views of pupils was one powerful issue that had a huge negative effect on access and participation of children. A considerable number of pupils did not have adequate opportunities to express their views on the ways available provisions were impacting their inclusion at school. As such quite a number of the children were seen to be facing challenges in relation to presence participation. And as progress in school across the three contexts was determined by promotion examinations, progress was limited amongst those children who were not able to perform well during such tests. This meant that those pupils who could not meet the requirements of the tests were subsequently excluded from making further progress within the system. Some of these underachievers were asked to repeat grades whilst others simply dropped out.

In addition to these factors within schools, issues in the wider context were seen to provide further barriers to the education of children in this part of Nigeria. These were associated with remoteness, subsistence economy, weak integration into

national education, poor educational provisions and local ideological beliefs that are resistant to change that favour inclusion.

A huge population in Cross River State reside in rural communities. The rural location keeps the population far away from central government based in the city. The distance also makes them vulnerable to marginalisation in receipt of adequate educational provisions from government, and even other corporate entities that promote education; the reason being that the responsible agencies seemed to place their interests as being of low priority. Also, the geographical concentration of children from minority groups within the local communities implies that national educational policies and programmes can underestimate or overlook their disadvantages. Poor provisions reduced the chances for them to develop and make progress at school. Impliedly, the disadvantages, which some pupils experienced at school in terms of presence and participation can lead to exclusion in relation to their achievement and vice versa.

IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As I have shown, the continuation of exclusionary practices undermines the capacity of schools to include all children. This analysis has important implications for policy, practice and research in regards to deploying appropriate resources to ensure every child is included in the education system. I start by examining the implications from the policy perspective.

Policy

As indicated in chapter 4, there is perceived caution on the part of the Nigerian government and that is shown in the reluctance to move national education policy in a way that it can clearly become inclusive. At the moment the provisions are on the inclusive path, but not yet inclusive education oriented. To drive the existing policy beyond the brink of its potentials for it to be inclusion-based, the Nigerian education policy requires revision to ensure that:

1. Education places a strong emphasis on learner voice in accordance with article 12 of the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child to promote inclusive education. Learner voice is a recent strategy that is gaining prominence in educational research (MacBeath, et al., 2003; Mitra, 2003; Flutter & Ruddock, 2004; Rose & Shevlin, 2004; Whithead & Clough, 2004; Fielding, 2008;

Messiou, 2013) as a means to reduce teacher dominance and ensure learner centred and democratic schooling. Pupil voice allows them to actively participate, enjoy what they are learning and partner with teachers to make contributions to improve the school in the inclusive direction. It is a rights-based approach to acknowledging children as possessing the legitimacy and agency to share their perspectives at school and taking active responsibility for what they are learning and how they are learning it. The engagement of children's views is a strategy connected to the notion of democratising education and redefining the role of children as active partners in bringing positive change in ways that can eliminate risks to their exclusion and marginalisation at school. Having a voice means to have a say and being heard rather than being subjected to performing actions following what others have prescribed. So, it involves opening up space and minds not just to the sound of the voice but also to the potency of the voice to make a difference at school.

In addition to making policy provisions for the perspectives of children in education:

2. Continued and adequate budgetary provisions should be the hallmark to facilitate inclusive education for all Nigerian children. To this end, sustainable partnership funding shall be pooled from local and state governments and relevant agencies to provide sufficient facilities and equipment for educational institutions to be able to have a response system that can support the needs of diverse learners and made accessible to afford the individual a far more diversified and flexible choice.

3. Inclusion needs to be the central philosophy (i.e. 'a principled approach to education' for providing free education for every Nigerian child of school age whatever the circumstances of the individual. By re-focusing provisions towards inclusion will enable the country as a signatory of the UN convention on the rights of children to further widen the opportunities and possibilities, not only for *all* children to be placed in school, but more importantly, ensure they also participate and achieve at school. The reform can spark interest among educators, policymakers and agencies in a way that will help them explore possible measures to eliminate disadvantages to education for groups of children who are vulnerable to exclusion and marginalisation, especially in remote areas in line with UNESCO (1994), Eleweke & Rodda (2002), Peters (2004), Ainscow (2005) Dei, (2005) and Ainscow & Miles (2008).

4. The language of instruction in primary schools should be English and the language of immediate environment hosting the school. Apart from English, the use of the language of the community in which the school is located has the capacity to lessen the situations where dominant tribes seize the gap in policy to impose their language on the minority groups at school. The Nigerian Pidgin English, on the other hand, shall further serve as a complementary school language to maximise classroom participation for all children as beginner English learners. Provision for Pidgin English legitimises its usage among school children and develops in some of them more confidence to engage in dialogic communication with teachers and peers at lessons in ways that are beneficial to them. Also, the inclusion of Pidgin English can help some children to smoothly transit from their homes to school and to gradually learn to understand the official English with ease.

5. All necessary facilities that would ensure easy access to education should be provided to ensure inclusion of children with impairments in regular schools. This measure will be in accordance with the Salamanca Statement on inclusive education that ‘regular schools with an inclusive orientation are the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all’ (UNESCO 1994: viii). Special units, grouping as well as streaming (Sukhnandan & Lee, 1998; Kutnick et al., 2005; Dunne, 2010) shall cease to exist so as to check risks to exclusion and marginalisation of children with different abilities within the school system. It means the administrative organisation of SUBEB has to be restructured to better give it the capacity in terms of personnel, finance, status and statutory mandate to provide inclusive education for all primary age children in the state. Changes in policy are likely to lead to changes in practice, the issue I will look at next.

Practice

Reforms in education policy in the inclusive direction also mean changes have to take place in practice to facilitate implementation of provisions in policy. In line with that:

1. There should be a powerful emphasis on the importance of pupil voice in the pre-service and in-service training of teachers. It implies adopting democratic management strategy in an inclusive school environment to create opportunity for the voices of children to be heard and thrive in practice. A focus on pupil voice helps provide space for children to share their views and feel that their perspectives concerning their school life are valued, trusted by educators and powerful to influence changes to advantage them (MacBeath, et al. 2003; Mitra, 2003; Flutter & Ruddock, 2004; Rose & Shevlin, 2004; Whithead & Clough, 2004; Fielding, 2008; Messiou, 2013). For example, in chapters 6, 7 and 8 some children made some recommendations requesting for the acquisition of a school bus, employment of qualified and skilful teachers, creation of opportunity for concrete learning, change in school uniform, abolition of corporal punishment, opportunity for learner talk at lesson, maintenance of classroom equipment and playgrounds and provision of sporting equipment at school. These suggestions from the pupils are clear evidence that children can make valid and useful contributions to help the school remove disadvantages to their education. The role of the teacher should be that of a facilitator creating chance for the children to express their concerns, listen to them and involve them in implementing the changes they want. Learner voice can help to improve the effectiveness of practitioner perspectives in developing inclusive practices at school.

According to Cook-Sather (2006:5), 'the culture of schooling that keeps learners captive to dominant interests, notions and practices prevents practitioners from listening to learner's own creative ideas about how systems can change and meet their needs' (*also see* Cruddas & Haddock, 2003; Fielding, 2004a). In the pursuit to enhance practice and learning, educators often times ignore important critics whose comments and ideas can provide deeper understanding to the way available provisions in school affect inclusion of diverse learners. One issue at the heart of the commitment to reposition the prevalent traditional teaching and learning in the context is a mandate to integrate what pupils say for practice. It will challenge the hierarchies of practice, particularly associated with use of didactic strategy in

instruction, where the learners are often predisposed to domination by teachers. Change consequently based on the perspectives of learners is not premised on unreflective incorporation of pupil's views or accepting pupil voice for practice just for the sake of it. Rather, it is change based on the need to widen participation and shared commitment to trigger a shift on the part of teachers, parents, community members, pupils and researchers in relationships in terms of the ways of thinking and feeling about knowledge, language, power and self (Oldfather, 1995; Cook-Sather, 2006). Creating opportunities to involve views of pupils serves a strategy by which pupils and educators establish a strong foundation upon which to build those relationships (Fletcher, 2003).

This assumes a re-definition of the provisions for pre-service and in-service training of teachers with a stress on learner perspective as a means to shape and question the processes and procedures for producing and sharing knowledge at school (Youens & Hall, 2004). It is not intent 'to diminish the power, expertise and agency of the teacher' (Cook-Sather, 2006:2). Instead, feedback from pupils has the potentials to enhance provisioning of education to advantage all, including the teacher expertise. Both prospective and serving teachers would learn to 'speak by listening' (Freire, 1998:4) and recognise the 'mutuality of learning between the teacher and the learner' (Fielding, 1999:21) in the classroom. Learning to listen is to acknowledge pupils' voices as having the capacity to construct knowledge and enable the understanding of issues of interest independent of others instead of yielding to the attitude to speak for them. So 'if freed from whatever restrains it from coming into being' (Mazzei & Jackson, 2012:745), learner voice can be credible to express learner experience and perception about schooling (Nelson, 2015). While keeping that in perspective, Fletcher (2003) drew attention to the point that the involvement of learner voice may not be easy or yielding positive results immediately. It requires change in the system of schooling as well as in attitudes of learners themselves, parents, educators and community members. Engagement of pupil voice is a transformative process for enriching practice in inclusive schooling, taking into account variations and changes in contexts.

In addition to providing opportunity for pupil voice to thrive in practice:

2. The curriculum for teacher training education needs amendment to enable teacher training colleges to produce highly motivated, confident, knowledgeable and skilful inclusive education specialists adequate for primary schools. Refresher courses and in-service training are also recommendable to help practicing teachers further develop their skills to be able to work with diverse children in inclusive schools.

3. The provision of more primary schools for communities would help check the problem of distance and accommodation for all primary age children within the communities. The physical built of the school has to be designed to enable it respond to diversity. It implies that the usual lookalike architectural design of primary schools prevalent in sub-Saharan Africa have to give way to distinct buildings that are adapted to particular local contexts to also meet environmental sustainability and health and safety requirements. However, whatever the physical structure of the school, there should be ramps, steps and handrails, and classroom equipment should have adjustable seats and interactive boards for the children. This will enhance school enrolment, attendance of children and flexible seating organisation in the classrooms.

4. Free school meal served as a catalyst for attracting children to school in poor rural communities. There is therefore the need to take a cue from that practice to make food programme part of school experience for children. Having such provisions for schools might not pose much challenge in rural zones. A considerable number of the locals in rural Nigeria are farmers (Akinola, 2007; International Fund for Agricultural Development - IFAD, 2012). One possible strategy is to use the PTA to mobilise its members to implement the food programme. It is a school-community mobilisation of which purpose is to ensure no child goes to school on empty stomach. Food served to the children has to be sourced locally and sufficient in nutritional value to cater for the health needs of children. Food can be served to the children in-school as breakfast or as take-home ration (Del Rosso, 1999; Tomlinson, 2007; Adelman, Gilligan & Lehrer, 2008; World Food Programme, 2013). The school can start by serving every pupil food once every week and

progress later to feed them on daily basis as the capacity improves. Free school meal is a measure aimed at ensuring food aid reaches the child most in need of food. Also, it helps them to increase enrolment, attendance and to concentrate in learning rather than being distracted at school due to hunger or malnutrition. Furthermore, the food programme will relieve very poor families of the financial cost of schooling for their children.

5. At-risk learners are more likely to be consistent in attendance, engage in school activities and less likely to drop out when the school does not have a rigid enforcement of rules (Finn & Voelkl, 1993), also when they know that the school has a fair and flexible disciplinary policy (Rumberger, 1995; Willms, 2003). Apart from that, the introduction of a strong legal instrument can go a long way to protecting the rights of all children to be included in general school settings in all contexts. When there is available law to promote inclusion in access and engagement, it is likely for achievements for a considerable number of pupils to also increase at school.

6. Schools need to extend themselves to the locals moving forward to establish a robust partnership and together explore spaces that can consolidate inclusive practices in and out of the school. This implies that the management of the school has to adopt a democratic approach to engage different persons in and outside the school e.g. teachers, parents and community members, in debates, negotiations and discussions on how the school can best serve the diverse children living within the local communities in an inclusive way (*cf.* Riehl, 2000). It is a method that provides opportunity for the schools to utilise localised knowledge and resources in varied ways to resolve threats e.g. local traditions, gendered practices, language barriers, child labour, domesticity, peer victimisation, religious attitudes, ethnic prejudices and teacher performance to inclusion of children.

7. Classroom programmes require adaptation of instructional procedures to be able to reach out to every child. It is what UNESCO (2004) referred to as changing teaching practices using curriculum differentiation to respond to learner diversity. It is a reform in pedagogy that shows that the traditional teaching-at-the-front method and rote learning is not enough to motivate children to participate at

lesson. The inclusive teaching involves identifying and acknowledging the needs of all learners; not only those who can adjust to the usual didactic instructional strategy or the most outspoken and confident ones in the classroom. It is about having passion and sustaining the commitment to develop instructional objectives, materials and procedures so that no child is ignored in the learning process. This idea brings to the forefront the importance of getting to know ones pupils (UNESCO, 2004) and patterning classroom practices in flexible ways to stimulate the enthusiasm of the learner to take part. The right to speak in the classroom has to shift from the pre-allocation of turns by the teacher to self-selection by the learners so that the pupils now take control of the management of turn taking of classroom air time to address each other and teachers directly whilst the teacher serves as a moderator (Cadzen, 1988, 2001).

8. Given the possible challenges associated with working with mixed ability children in an inclusive classroom, there is the need for collaboration among teachers and pupils to support one another through group reflections, criticisms, peer coaching and to build positive relationships (Fuchs, Fuchs & Burish, 2000; Topping, 2005; Tiwari, 2014). Team work helps improve confidence in and interdependence among the peers. The helper learns more by teaching (Topping, 2005). In situations where large class size is inevitable there can be teaching assistants to lessen the pressure for the substantive teacher.

Pupils spend substantial amount of their time in the classroom than at play (Pianta, Hamre & Allen, 2012). They will feel engaged and learn much more when peers and teachers care for them personally in a sensitive and compassionate way. A sense of close, supportive social connection with peers and teachers expands the space for non-alienated relationships and participatory learning among children (*see* Pianta, Hamre & Allen, 2012). Social interaction in inclusive schools thrives via a strategy I will term as the ‘inclusion interaction mode’ (IIM). This is a catch-it-all approach that seeks to assist in addressing the exclusionary pressures in relational engagements among pupils and school staff along the lines of similarities in characteristics. Thus, it is a recommendation of a pattern of interaction in which members regards each other as a valued resource for learning and as a complement. It transcends the teacher-pupil relationship and other social cliques. It takes the notion of cross-interaction a step further in the sense that, while the former is a

practice that superficially conceals differences among members of the social group, the latter serves as a defining feature of relationships among diverse people in an inclusive setting. Without sounding overambitious, IIM³ aims to remove the cultural and ideological issues that cause differentiations in backgrounds and competence level of individual child and teacher so as to assist them develop a bond in which there is equal value for all members of the group. Everyone shall be treated with respect regardless of social standing and that can address the issue of unequal power relations.

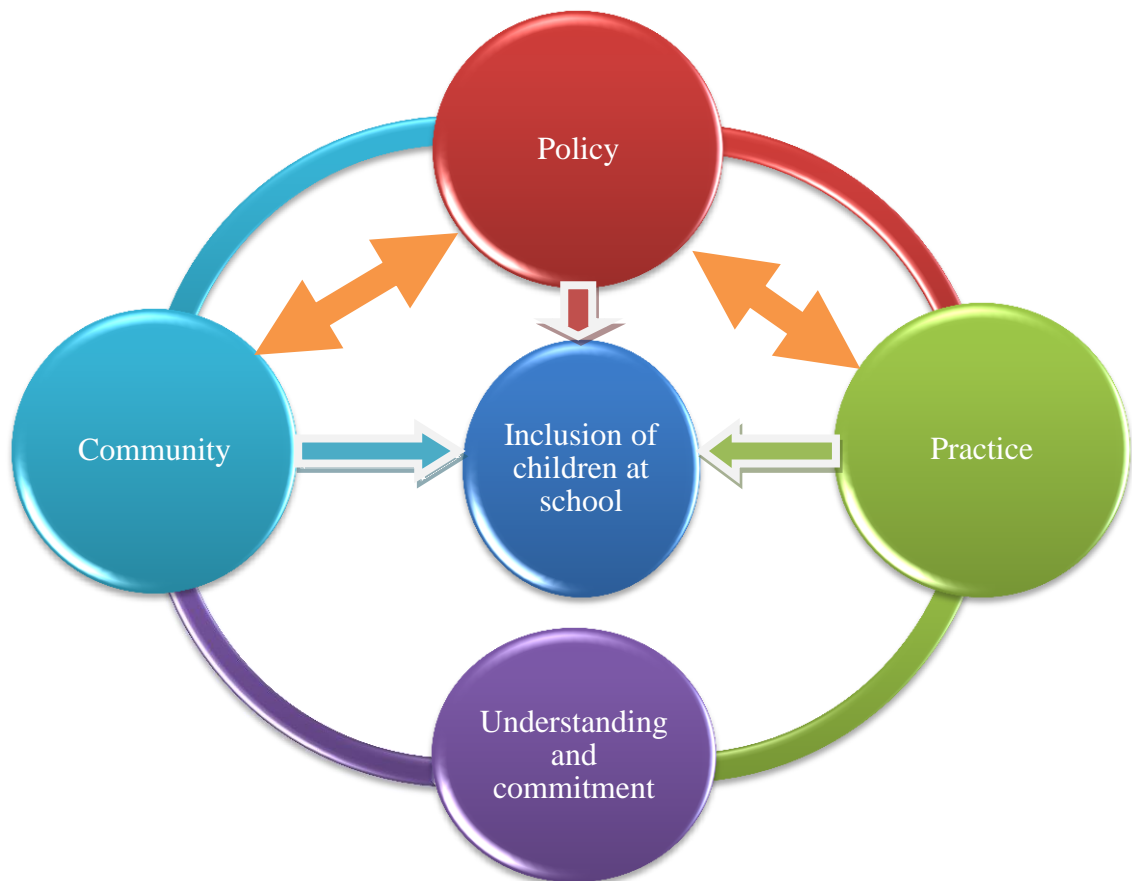
9. Automatic promotion (Brophy, 2006, Ndaruhutse et al. 2008) has to constitute the means for enabling achievement and progress of all children at school. Automatic promotion (sometimes referred to as social promotion) is a no-child-left-behind measure that is opposed to the counterproductive effects of grade repetition on the educational system. The practice involves moving a learner to the next grade irrespective of whether s/he meets qualification requirements in order to keep the person at par with the their peers at school (Hernandez-Tutop, 2012). Assessment of children has to move from the practice where the expectation is for children to provide specific answers to specific questions to that where they are guided to research, analyse, criticise, discuss and understand simple concepts. This will demonstrate that the educational system is beginning to change to include, affecting the school. According to (Hernandez-Tutop, 2012:3), it is a change from: (1) a stress on merit to a stress on efficiency; (2) a focus of individual to group learning; (3) a belief in different capability to equal capability; (4) adjusting pupils to school to adjusting the school to the pupil; and (5) a focus on the best pupils to the average pupils. It is a progressive reform from merit promotion (Hernandez-Tutop, 2012) and seeks to institutionalise automatic promotion of children so that children are generally promoted (Ndaruhutse et al. 2008). However, to recommend application of social promotion in a non-consolidated inclusive context in Nigeria implies that repetition needs to be limited to a few special cases where there are demonstrable grounds supported by objective evidence for believing that a child's educational well-being would be better served by retention (Ndaruhutse et al. 2008). This approach will help lower dropout rate among disaffected pupils at school.

³ Inclusion interaction mode - a measure aimed at promoting regard for every individual as a valuable resource in order to improve cross interaction among diverse people in inclusive settings.

A framework for inclusion

From my engagement with all the interlinked issues that serve as conditions for promoting inclusion I developed a framework illustrating four interconnected conditions for including all children at school. I term it as context-based framework for inclusion (*see fig. 10.2*).

Fig. 10.2. *Context-based framework for inclusion.*



The idea in the diagram is that inclusion arises through continued and sustained interface between policy, practice and pro-inclusion enactments within the local communities. However, it is with understanding and commitment in each of the other three components that it can become possible to enhance the effectiveness of inclusion. It means policy makers, teachers, school leaders, parents, NGOs, community members and children, need to be clear in their minds about what it means to include and accept inclusion as the way of the future (UNESCO, 2008) to guaranteeing education for all. From there all stakeholders can concertedly articulate their thoughts better to identify resources and response strategies that can foster

inclusive schooling. Also, they have to understand the context for inclusion and passionately regard inclusive schooling as an obligation, which they must perform to be able to address disadvantages to education of diverse children. You need to first of all be able to adequately understand an issue and value it before you can make informed decisions regarding what actions are required to resolve the problems associated with it.

Given these recommendations, it is advised that a primary school in the rural area can serve as a demonstration centre to experiment inclusive schooling. Adopting such a strategy can assist government, practitioners, parents and pupils to control whatever problems that may arise from the school and improve on it. Lessons drawn from the demonstration school would enable stakeholders to make informed decisions for implementing inclusion on a large scale.

Having examined the implications in practice, I will now look at the implications on research for the wider international context.

Research

Outcomes of the research indicate that you cannot simply import ideas from anywhere and expect them to work within a particular context. The cross-sectional nature of data from the three cases means that generalisation of findings from the present research were limited to the population existing within the contexts in which I undertook the study. Suggestions to address the obstacles to inclusion of children were therefore offered with caution to avert mindless application of practices arising from recommendations from the wider international research community, rather to allow a critical modification of provisions in policy and practice so as to apply them to suit local contexts. Research in other settings might produce similar or different results.

Quantitative methods, qualitative procedures or mixed methods approach can be employed to perform further inquiry focusing on: (1) using learner voice to promote inclusion in Nigeria, (2) learner engagement: a pathway to inclusive schooling in rural zones, (3) assessment of automatic promotion on learner achievements in school, (4) effects of teacher development on inclusive schooling. These studies can take place within Nigeria or other contexts in Africa. It is implicit therefore that certain limitations emerged to hinder the process of the present study.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The conduct of this research using qualitative techniques might raise disputations regarding the transferability of findings. More so, there may be some weaknesses in the analysis and interpretations of data. This case study took a multi-sectional dimension and the level of intensity involved in the analysis of all interlink issues might be questioned. This is because it was arguably a maiden doctoral research to be undertaken within my research location on inclusion of primary age children. So, the intention was to draw attention to issues that posed challenges to inclusion of children under EFA within my research contexts in order to inspire further research to promote inclusive practices in Nigeria.

The focus on children made it impossible for me to also include adult participants in the study. The challenges involved in terms of the choices I had in the process of selecting the case schools with staff of SUBEB and recruiting pupil participants in the schools could affect the knowledge generated from data in relation to representativeness, authenticity and trustworthiness and skew the outcome of the study. The nearly one month strike involving teachers in CRS and some of the potential participants who decided not to participate prolonged my fieldwork and delayed my data collection.

As a beginner researcher, collecting data direct from children could raise queries about the strength of data source and validity of data. For example, data generation regarding pupil presence in the case schools were relatively minimal and this limited my ability to analyse this key factor. Pupil perspectives nonetheless provide some knowledge about who was present and absent in the circumstance. The experience gained, however, in doing the research has better positioned me for increased participation both as a researcher and practitioner to assist to ensure sustainable inclusive practices becomes the culture in schools and communities in Nigeria and the rest of the developing world.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The research reported in this thesis has shown that many primary age children in Nigeria, particularly those living in remote locations, are still at risk of exclusion and marginalisation from education. Confronted by these challenges, there is need for a change that will seek to make the EFA strategy more inclusive, so as to expand its mandate and resources beyond a simple focus on improving access to

schools. I argue in the light of my findings that inclusive education can serve as an alternative strategy to make that change possible in order to guarantee education that is genuinely for *all* children, irrespective of their personal characteristics or circumstances in the society.

As I have explained, the use of presence, participation and achievement as a framework for my research encouraged me to dig much deeper into the experiences of children of education as it is currently provided. This led me to reveal some barriers that might otherwise be overlooked. In this way, the thesis pointed to a format for analysis that could be used in other parts of the world.

As far as Nigeria is concerned, this thesis has pointed to the measures that can be employed to remediate the obstacles to inclusion facing children in the country's schools. This has implications in terms of future policy, practice and research.

REFERENCES

- Abberley, P. (1987). The concept of oppression and the development of a social theory of disability. *Disability, Handicap and Society*, 21: 5-19.
- Abdullahi –Idiagbon, M. S. (2007). The sociolinguistics of Nigerian Pidgin (English) on university campuses. In Adeyanju, D. (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics in the Nigerian context*, pp 201-16. Ile-Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.
- Abraham, N. M. & Leigha, M. B. (2008). Teaching manpower and infrastructure availability in migrant fisherfolk schools in Bayelsa: Implication for Access to Quality Basic Education.
- Achunike, H. C. (2008). Religious practices in Nigeria as a source of social conflict. *Journal of Library Studies*, 12(1&2): 286-95.
- Adelman, S., Gilligan, D. O. & Lehrer, K. (2008). How effective are food-for-education programs? A critical assessment of the evidence from DCs. *Food Policy Review*, 9. Washington, DC: International Policy Research Institute.
- Adenipejun, O. (2009). Nigeria: rising figure of children, adult and illiterate worry stakeholder. Accessed January 6, 2015 via <http://allafricacom/stories/2000901220121.html/e.books>.
- Adesina, S. (2000). Universal basic education: primary education and the problem of qualified Teachers. In Adepoju, T. L. (Ed.), *Planning and implementation of universal basic education in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Education Industries Nigeria Ltd.
- Adesoji, A. (2010). The Boko Haram uprising and Islamic revivalism in Nigeria.” *Africa Spectrum* 45(2):95–108.
- Adeyemo, S. A. (2010). The relationship between students’ participation in school based extracurricular activities and their achievement in Physics. *International Journal of Science and Technology Education Research*, 1(6): 111-17.
- Adukia, A. (2014). Sanitation and education. Accessed on 22 December, 2014 via http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/adukia/files/adukia_sanitation_and_education.pdf.
- Ahlport, K., Linnan, L., Vaughn, A., Evenson, K. R. & Ward, D. (2008). Barriers to and facilitators of walking and bicycling to school: Formative results from the non-motorized travel study. *Health Education and Behavior*, 35: 221–44.
- Aikman, S. & Unterhalter, E. (2005). *Beyond access: transforming policy and practice for greater gender equality in education*. Oxford: Oxfam, GB.
- Aina, J. K. & Olanipekun, S. S. (2013). Effects of English Language on academic performance in Physics and Computer Science among College of Education students. *American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences*, 4(2): 13-352.

Ainscow, M. & Miles, S. (2008). Making Education for All Inclusive: where next? *Prospects*, 38: 15-34. Accessed February 16, 2015 via doi: 10.1007/s11125-008-9055-0.

Ainscow, M. & Sandill, A. (2010). Developing inclusive education systems: the role of organisational cultures and leadership. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1-16, iFirst Article. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group.

Ainscow, M. (2005). Developing inclusive education systems: what are the levers for change? *Journal of Educational Change*, 6(2): 109-24.

Ainscow, M. (2005). Understanding the development of inclusive education system. *Journal of Research in Educational Psychology*, 7, (3): 5-20.

Ainscow, M. (2006). Inclusive education ten years after Salamanca: setting the agenda. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, xxi(3): 231-38.

Ainscow, M. Booth, T. & Dyson, A. (2006). *Improving schools, developing inclusion*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 15.

Ainscow, M., Dyson, A. & Kerr, K. (2006). *Equity in education: mapping the territory: The first annual report of the Centre for Equity in Education*. Manchester, UK: University of Manchester, Centre for Equity in Education.

Ajayi, I. A. & Ekundayo, H. T. (2010). *Contemporary issues in educational management*. Ikeja, Lagos: Bolabay.

Ajayi, I. A. & Osalusi, F. M. (2013). Mass failure of students in West African Senior School Certificate Examinations (WASSCE) in Nigeria: the teacher's perspective. *Case Studies Journal*, 2(4).

Ajuwon, P. M. (2008). Inclusive education for students with disabilities in Nigeria: benefits, challenges and policy implications. *International Journal of Special Education*, 23(3).

Akinlua, A. (2007). Driving Curriculum Content and Practice in Higher Education in Nigeria towards Relevance. *Reforming Higher Education in Africa*.

Akinola, S. R. (2007). Coping with infrastructural deprivation through collective actions among rural people in Nigeria. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 16(1): 30-47.

Aldridge, J. & Cameron, S. (1999). Interviewing child witnesses: questioning techniques and the role of training. *Applied Developmental Science*, 3(2): 136-47.

Alexander, K., Cook, M. & McDill, E. (1978). Curriculum tracking and educational stratification. *American Sociological Review*, 43, pp. 47-66.

Alwy, A. & Schech, S. (2004). Ethnic inequalities in education in Kenya. *International Education Journal*, 5(2).

- Amnesty International (2014). Nigeria: more than 1,500 killed in armed conflict in North Eastern Nigeria in early 2014. Amnesty International, 31 March 2014, London.
- Amouzou, A. (2006). Reconceptualising gender in Nigerian literature: the dynamics of womanist ideology in Flora Nwapa's fiction. *Revue du CAMES – Nouvelle serie B*, 007(1).
- Amuchie, A. A., Ngozi, A. & Audu, C. T. (2013). An appraisal of the universal basic education in Nigeria. *Global Journal of Management and Business Research Administration and Management*, 3(11). USA: Global Journal Inc.
- Anaduaka, S. U. & Okafor, c. F. (2013). The universal basic education (UBE) in Nigeria: problems and prospects. *Basic Research Journal of Education Research and Review*, 2(3): 42-48.
- Andrews, J. & Lupart, J. L. (2000). *The inclusive classroom: educating exceptional children* (2nd ed.). Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada.
- Andrew, S. L. & Orodho, J. A. (2014). Socio-economic factors influencing access to informal education in informal settlements: a case of Kibera, Nairobi County, Kenya. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 2(3).
- Antaki, C., Billig, M., Edwards, D. & Potter, J. (2002). *Discourse analysis means doing. A Critique of six analytic shortcomings*. DAOL Discourse Analysis Online [Electronic Version], 1(1).
- Anyanwu, J. C. & Erhijakpor, A. E. O. (2007). Education expenditure and school enrolment in Africa: illustrations from Nigeria and other SANE countries. *Economic Research Working Paper*, 9. Tunis: African Development Bank.
- Aremu, A. O. & Soka, B. O. (2003). *A multi-causal evaluation of academic performance of Nigerian learners: Issues and implications for national development*. Department of Guidance of Counselling, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.
- Arhedo, P. A, Adomeh, I. O. & Aluede, O. (2009). School counsellor roles in the implementation of the Universal Basic Education (Scheme) in Nigeria. *Edo Journal of Counselling*, 2(1).
- Armstrong, F. & Moore, M. (2004). *Action research for inclusive education: changing places, changing practices, changing minds*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Armstrong, F., Armstrong, D. & Barton, L. (2000). *Inclusive education: policy, contexts and perspective*. London: David Fulton.
- Asikhia, O. A. (2010). Students teachers' perception of the causes of poor academic performance in Ogun state secondary schools (Nigeria): Implications for counselling for national development. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 13(2): 299—42.
- Australian Government (2011). *Country advice Nigeria. Tensions between Ebijakara and Ebom communities in Cross River State – status of Christians/Muslim tensions*. Accessed January 9, 2015 via https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1788_1336831071_nga38012.pdf.

- Ayara, N., Essia, U. & Udah, E. (2013). The universalization of basic education in Nigeria: the Cross River state experience. *Wudpecker Journal of Public Administration*, 1(1): 007-019.
- Backman, Y., Alerby, E., Bergmark, U., Gardelli, A., Hertting, K., Kostenius, C. & Ohrling, K. (2012). Improving the school environment from the student perspective: tensions and opportunities. *Education Inquiry*, 3(1): 19-35.
- Badri, A. Y. (2014). School-gender based violence in Africa: Prevalence and consequences. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(2): 1-20.
- Bailey, R., Pearce, G., Winstanley, C., Sutherland, M., Smith, C., Stack, N. & Dickenson, M. (2008). *A systematic review of interventions aimed at improving the educational achievement of pupils identified as gifted and talented*. EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.
- Bangsbo, E. (2008). Schooling for knowledge and cultural survival: Tibetan community schools in nomadic herding areas. *Education Review*, 60(1): 69-84.
- Barton, L. (2003). *Inclusive education and teacher education: a basis of hope or a discourse of delusion*. Inaugural professorial lecture delivered at the Institute of Education, University of London.
- Barton, L. (2003). *Inclusive education and teacher education: a basis of hope or a discourse of delusion*. Inaugural professorial lecture delivered at the Institute of Education, University of London.
- Bategeka, L. & Okurut, N. (2006). Universal primary education, Uganda. Policy Brief 10. Inter-regional Inequality Facility.
- Baxter, P. & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4): 544-59.
- Beall, J. & Laure-Helene, P. (2005). DFID social exclusion review. The London School of Economics and Political Science. Accessed January 8, 2015 via <http://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/2301.pdf>.
- Beall, J. (2002). *Globalisation and social exclusion in cities: framing the debate with lessons from Africa and Asia*. DESTIN Working Paper Series 02-27. London: London School of Economics.
- Bearison, D. (1991). *They never want to tell you: children's talk about cancer*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bell, J. (2005). *Doing your research project*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bellamy, C. (1999). *The state of the world's children: education*. New York: UNICEF.
- Benbow, J., Mizrachi, A., Oliver, D. & Said-Moshiro, L. (2007). *Large class sizes in the developing world: what do we know and what can we do?* USAID, Equip 1.

Bennett, J., Gash, H. & O'Reilly, M. (1998). *Ireland: integration as appropriate segregation where necessary*. In Booth, T. & Ainscow, M. (Eds.), *From them to Us*. London: Routledge.

Biggs, J. (1998). Learning from the confucian heritage: so size doesn't matter?, *International Journal of Educational Research*, 29, 723-738.

Blatchford, P. & Mortimore, P. (1994). The issue of class size for young children in schools: what can we learn from research. *Oxford Review of Education*, 20: 411-28.

Blatchford, P., Bassett, P. B. & Brown, P. (2011). Examining the effect of class size on classroom engagement and teacher-pupil interaction: differences in relation to pupil prior attainment and primary vs secondary school. *Learning and Instruction*, 21: 715-30.

Blume, J. & Breyer, J. (2011). Micro finance and child labour. Employment sector. *Employment working paper* No. 89. ILO, Geneva.

Boorman, G., Nind, M. & Clarke, G. (2009). *Seeking educational inclusion and engagement with girls experiences of disaffection and exclusion: the impact of voice*. Paper presented at the British Educational Research Association annual conference. University of Manchester, 2-5.

Booth, T. & Ainscow, M. (2002). *Index for inclusion: developing learning and participation in schools*. University of Manchester: Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education (CSIE).

Booth, T. (1999). *Viewing inclusion from a distance: gaining perspective from comparative study*. *Support for learning*, 14(4): 164-70.

Brackett, M. A., Reyes, M. R., Rivers, S. E., Elbertson, N. A. & Salovey, P. (2011). Classroom emotional climate, teacher affiliation and student conduct. *Journal of Classroom Interaction*, 46(1): 27-36.

Brandes, D. & Ginnis, P. (1986). *A guide to student-centred learning*. London: Blackwell Publishers.

British Council Nigeria (2012). *Gender in Nigeria report 2012. Improving the lives of girls and women in Nigeria. Issues, policies, actions (2nd ed.)*. Department for International Development.

Brophy, J. (2006). *Grade repetition*. UNESCO. Accessed February 16, 2015 via <http://www.unesco.org/iiep/PDF/Edpol6.pdf>.

Brown, K. (2006). New educational injustices in the "new" South Africa: a call for justice in the form of vertical equity. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 44(5): 509-519.

Brown, P. A. (2008). A review of the literature on case study research. *Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education*, 1(1).

Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice. Its social psychology*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

- Bruck, M., Ceci, S. J. & Hemmrooke, H. (1998). Reliability and credibility of young children's report. From research to policy and practice. *American Psychologist*, 53(2): 136-51.
- Bruns, B. Mingat, A. & Rakotomalala, R. (2003). *Achieving universal primary education by 2015. A chance for every child*. The international Bank for reconstruction and development/ The World Bank: 29.
- Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Bourke, B. (2014). Positionality: reflecting on the research process. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(18): 1-9
- Bull, R. (1992). Obtaining evidence expertly: the reliability of interviews with child witnesses. *Expert Evidence: The International Digest of Human Behavior, Science and Law*, 1: 5-12.
- Bull, R. (1996). Good practice for video recorded interviews with child witnesses for use in criminal proceedings. In Davies, G., Lloyd-Bostock, S., McMarran, M. & Wilson, T. (Eds.), *Psychology, Law and Criminal Justice: International Developments in Research and Practice*, pp. 100-17. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Burke, K. & Beegle, K. (2004). Why children aren't attending school: the case of North-western Tanzania. *Journal of African Economies*, 13(2): 333-55.
- Burnett, N. (2008). *What kind of UNESCO for what kind of education?* Hugh Gaitskell Memorial Lecture. Accessed February 18 via http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/shared/shared_uccer/unescopdfs/Hugh_Gaitskell_Lecture_Burnett_2008_.pdf.
- Cabrera, A. F. & Nora, A. (1994). College students' perceptions of prejudice and discrimination and their feelings on alienations: a construct validation approach. *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies*, 16(3-4): 387-409.
- Cadzen, C. B. (1988). *Classroom discourse. The language of teaching and learning* (1st ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Cadzen, C. B. (2001). *Classroom discourse. The language of learning and teaching* (2nd ed.). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Carcary, M. (2009). The research audit trial – enhancing trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 7(1): 11 – 24. Accessed March 12, 2015 via www.ejbrm.com.
- Cardone, D. & Dent, H. (1996). Memory and interrogative suggestibility: the effects of modality of information presentation and retrieval conditions upon the suggestibility scores of people with learning disabilities. *Legal Criminal Psychology*, 1: 165-77.
- Centre for Studies in Inclusive Education - CSIE (2008). *Supporting inclusion, challenging exclusion. The UNESCO Salamanca Statement*. <http://www.csie.org.uk/inclusion/unesco-salamanca.shtml>.

Chang, M. J. (2002). Turning in upon ourselves: where is the real educational discourse on diversity? *Review of Higher Education*, 25(2): 125-140.

Chapman, C., Ainscow, M., Miles, S. & West, M. (2011). *Leadership that promotes the achievement of students with special educational needs and disabilities*. Effectiveness & research improvement group, University of Manchester.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory*. London: Thousand Oaks.

Christensen, C. (1996). Disabled, handicapped or disordered: 'What's in a name'? In Christensen, F. R. C. (Ed.), *Disabilities and the dilemmas of education and justice*. Buckingham: Open University Press; 63-77.

Christine, M., Totura, W., Karver, M. S. & Gesten, E. L. (2014). psychological distress and student engagement as mediators of the relationship between peer victimization and achievement in middle school youth. *Journal of Youth Adolescence*, 43: 40-52.

Cobb, P. (1994). Where is the mind? Constructivist and socialcultural perspectives on mathematical development. *Educational Researcher*, 23(7): 13-20.

Coetzee, D. (2001). South African education and the ideology of patriarchy. *South African Journal of Education*, 24(1).

Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in Education*, 5th Edition. London: Routledge.

Cook-Sather, A. (2006). Sound, presence and power: 'student voice in educational research and reform'. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 36: 2, 359-90.

Cook-Sather, A., Bovill, C. & Felten, P. (2014). *Engaging students as partners in learning and teaching: a guide for Faculty*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Cooper, H. M., Hedges, L. V. & Valentine, J. C. (2009). *The handbook of research synthesis and meta-analysis*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Corbett, J. (1996). *Bad mouthing: the language of special needs*. London: Falmer.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative enquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*.

Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Cuddas, L. & Haddock, L. (2003). *Girl's voices: supporting girls' learning and emotional development*. Stratfordshire, England: Trentham Books.

Czerniawski, G., Garlick, S., Hudson, T. & Peters, P. (2009). *Listening to learners*. Continuum. Widening Participation. Accessed February 11, 2015 via <http://escalate.ac.uk/downloads/7985.pdf>.

Dart, G., Nkanotsang, T., Chizwe, O. & Kowa, L. (2010). Albinism in Botswana junior secondary schools – a double case study. *British Journal of Special Education*, 37(2).

de Haan, A. & Simon, M. (eds.) (1998). Poverty and Social Exclusion in North and South. *IDS Bulletin* 29 (1).

de Waal, E., Mestry, R. & Russo, C. J. (2011). Religious and cultural dress at school: a comparative perspective. *PER/PELJ*, 14(6).

Deatrick, J. A. & Faux, S. A. (1989). Conducting studies with children and adolescents. In Morse, J. M. (Ed), *Qualitative Nursing Research: A Contemporary Dialogue*, pp. 185-203. Rockville, MD: Aspen.

Dei, G. J. S. (2005). The challenge of inclusive schooling in Africa: a Ghanaian case study. *Comparative Education*, 41(3): 267-89.

Del Rosso, J. M. (1999). *School feeding programs: improving effectiveness and increasing the benefit to education. A guide for program managers*. The Partnership for Child Development.

Department for International Development – DFID (2007). *Moving out of poverty – making migration work better for poor people*. Accessed January 8, 2015 via http://www.migrationdrc.org/publications/other_publications/Moving_Out_of_Poverty.pdf.

DeStephano, J., Moore, A. S., Balwanz, D. & Hartwell, A. (2007). *Reaching the undeserved: complementary models of effective schooling*. Accessed March 24, 2015 via <http://www.epdc.org/sites/default/files/documents/Compilation%20Reaching%20the%20Underserved.pdf>.

DFID (2005). *Reducing poverty by tackling social exclusion*. DFID.

Docherty, S. & Sandelowski, S. (1999). Focus on qualitative methods: interviewing children. *Research in Nursing and Health*, 22, pp. 177-85. John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Du Toit, L. (1996). An introduction to specialised education. In Engelbrecht, P., Kriegler, S.M. & Booysen, M.I. (eds), *Perspectives on Learning Difficulties*. Pretoria: Van Schaik: 5-20.

Dunleavy, J. (2008). Listen up: student voice and educational change. *Canadian Education Association*, 48(2): 31.

Dunne, A. (2010). Dividing lines: streaming, access to the curriculum and junior certificate achievement in Ireland. *Combat Poverty Agency Working Paper Series* 10/05.

Dunne, M. & Leach, F. (2005). *Gendered school experiences: the impacts on the retention and achievement in Botswana and Ghana*. London, DFID.

Dunne, M., Bosumtwi-Sam, C., Sabates, R. & Owusu, A. (2010). Bullying and school attendance: a case study of senior high school students in Ghana. CEATE PATHWAY TO ACCESS. *Research Monograph* No. 41.

Dyson, A. (2005). Philosophy, politics and economics? The story of inclusive education in England. In Mitchell, D. (Ed.), *Contextualising Inclusive Education*. London: Routledge.

Dyson, A., Farrell, P., Polat, F., Hutcheson, G. & Gallannaugh, F. (2004). *Inclusion and pupil achievement*. Department for education and skills. Research report RR578.

EFA Global Monitoring Report (2009). *Education for all by 2015. Education's international response to the global monitoring report*. Accessed March 24, 2015 via <http://download.eiie.org/docs/IRISDocuments/Education/Education%20For%20All/Global%20Monitoring%20Report%202009/2009-00090-01-E.pdf>.

EFA Summary Report (2010). *Reaching the marginalised*. London: UNESCO.

Eggen, P. & Kauchak, D. (1999). *Educational psychology: windows on classrooms* (4th ed.). Prentice Hall.

Ejere, E. I. (2010). Absence from work: a study of teacher absenteeism in selected primary schools in Uyo, Nigeria. *International Journal of Business and Management*, 5(9).

El Obaid, R. (2002). Universality of human rights and cultural relativism. Accessed August 2, 2003 via <http://www.ch-f.ca/english/education/files/pdf>.

Eleweke, C. J. & Rodda, M. (2002). The challenge of enhancing inclusive education in DCs. *International Journal on Inclusive Education*, 6 (2): 113-26.

English, L. & Halford, G. (1995). *Mathematics education models and processes*. USA: Lawrence Earlbaum.

Entwistle, H. (2012). *Class, culture and education*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Essien O. E (2003b). The minority questions re-visited. In Ndimele, M. O. (Ed.) *Four Decades in the Study of Languages in Nigeria. A Festschrift for Kay Williamson*: 27-38. Aba: National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLA).

Etsey, K. (2005). Causes of low academic performance of primary school pupils in the Shama sub-metro of Shama Ahanta East Metropolitan Assembly (SAEMA) in Ghana. Paper presented at the Regional Conference on Education in West Africa, Dakar, Senegal. 1st—2nd November.

Etuk, G. R., Ering, S. O. & Ajake, U. E. (2012). Nigeria's Universal Basic Education (UBE) Policy: A sociological analysis. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 2(7): 179-83

- Evans, D., Kremer, M. & Ngatia, M. (2009). *The impact of distributing school uniforms on children's education in Kenya*. Accessed February 5, 2015 via <http://www.povertyactionlab.org/publication/impact-distributing-school-uniforms-childrens-education-kenya>.
- Fabunmi, M. (2009). Historical analysis of educational policy formulation in Nigeria: Implications for educational planning and policy. *International Journal of African & African-American Studies*, 4(2): 2.
- Faux, S. A., Walsh, M. & Deatrick, J. A. (1988). Intensive interviewing with children and adolescent. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 10(2): 182-94.
- Federal Ministry of Education (2007b). *Assessment of violence against children at the basic level in Nigeria*. Abuja: FME with UNICEF.
- Federal Ministry of Education (2008). *The development of education. National report of Nigeria*. For the forty-eighth session of the International Conference on Education. Theme: Inclusive Education, the way of the future. Geneva, Switzerland. Accessed January 6 via http://www.ibe.unesco.org/National_Reports/ICE_2008/nigeria_NR08.pdf
- Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development (2000). National report on follow-up to the world summit for children. *End-Decade Review (EDR) Report*. Accessed 14 October, 2015 via http://www.unicef.org/specialsession/how_country/edr_nigeria_en.PDF
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1977, 19981, 1998). *National Policy on Education*. Abuja: Federal Government Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). *The Constitution*. Abuja: Federal Government Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN) (2004) *National Policy on Education (4th Edition)*. Lagos: NERDC Press.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria Gazette (2004). No. 66, Vol. 91, Act No. 8. PPA113-A124.
- Fielding, M (2010). The voice of students in an inclusive school, keynote presentation at the International Congress on Inclusive Education and XXVII National Conference of Special Education and Universities, University of Cantabria, Spain, accessed February 11, 2015 via http://www.decd.sa.gov.au/speced2/files/pages/Better%20Pathways/Readings%20and%20Reports/Michael_Fielding__The_voic.doc.
- Fielding, M. & Bragg, S. (2003). *Students as Researchers: making a difference*. Cambridge: Pearson.
- Fielding, M. & Rudduck, J. (2002). *The transformative potential of student voice: confronting the power issues*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the British Educational Research Association, University of Exeter, England, 12-14 September.

- Fielding, M. (2004a). Transformative approaches to student voice: Theoretical underpinnings, recalcitrant realities. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2): 295-311.
- Fielding, M. (2008). Interrogating student voice: pre-occupations, purposes and possibilities. *Critical Perspectives in Education*, Summer 2008.
- Fielding, M. (2012). Beyond student voice: patterns of partnership and the demand of deep democracy. *Revista de Educacion*, 359, pp. 45-65.
- Fielding, M. (1999). Radical collegiality: affirming teaching as an inclusive professional practice. *Australian Educational Researcher* 26(2): 1-34.
- Finn, J. D. & Voelkl, K. E. (1993). School characteristics related to student engagement. *Journal of Negro Education*, 62(3).
- Fivush, R. & Hamond, N. R. (1990). Autobiographical memory across the preschool years towards reconceptualizing childhood amnesia. In Fivush, R. & Hudson, J. A. (Eds), *Knowing and Remembering Young Children. Emory Symposia in Cognition*, 3: 223-48. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fivush, R. (1993). Developmental perspectives on autobiographical recall. In Goodman, G. S. & Bottoms, B. L. (Eds.), *Child victims, child witnesses: understanding and improving testimony*, pp. 1-24. New York: Guilford Press.
- Fivush, R., Hamond, N. R., Harsch, N., Singer, N. & Wolf, A. (1991). Content and consistency in young children's autobiographical recall. *Discourse Processes*, 14: 373-88.
- Flutter, J. & Rudduck, J. (2004). *Consulting Pupils: what is in it for schools?* London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Flynn, P. (2014). Empowerment and transformation for young people with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties engaged with student voice research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 49(2).
- Fox, R. (2001). *Constructivism examined*. Oxford Review of Education, 27(1): 23-35.
- Frederickson, N. & Cline, T. (2005). *Special educational needs, inclusion and diversity: a textbook*. Berkshire: Open University Press: 65.
- Fredricks, J. A., Blumenfeld, P. C. & Paris, A. H. (2004). School engagement: potential of the concept, state of the evidence. *Review of Educational Research*, 74 (1): 59-109.
- Fredriksen, B. (2005). Keeping the promise: what is holding up achieving primary education for all African children? *Finance and Development*, 42(2). Washington DC: IMF.

- French, S. (1993). Disability, impairment or something in between? In Swain, J., Finkelstein, V., French, S. & Oliver, M. (Eds.), *disabling barriers—enabling environments*, pp. 17–25. London: Sage/Open University Press.
- Freire, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of freedom*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. p.4
- Fries-Britt, S. L. & Turner, B. (2002). Facing stereotypes: a case study of black students on white campus. *Journal of College Student Development*, 42(5): 420-429.
- Fuchs, D., Fuchs, L. S. & Burish, P. (2000). Peer-assisted learning strategies: An evidence-based practice to promote reading achievement. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice*, 15(2): 85–91.
- Gacheche, K. (2010). Challenges in implementing a mother tongue-based language-education policy: policy and practice in Kenya. *POLIS Journal*, 4.
- Gale, T. (2000). Rethinking social justice in schools: how will we recognise it when we see it? *International journal of inclusive education*, 4(3): 253-69.
- Garuba, A. (2003). Inclusive education in the 21st century: challenges and opportunities for Nigeria. *Asia Pacific Disabilities Rehabilitation Journal*, 14(2): 191-200.
- Gerschel, L. (2003). *Connected the disconnected: exploring issues of gender, race and SNE within an inclusive context*. London: David Fulton Publisher.
- Gibbon, S. & Silva, O. (2006). *Faith primary schools: better schools or better pupils?* London: Centre for Economic of Education.
- Gibson, S. (2004). *Girls' education in Africa: an overview of what works*. Bristol: the IDL group, p.8.
- Gideon, A. & Sorkaa, Y. T. (2008). The role of education in national development in Nigeria. *NASHER Journal* 6(2): 256-66
- Goodenow, C. (1992). *School motivation, engagement, and sense of belonging among urban adolescent students*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED349364).
- Goodenow, C. (1993b). The psychological sense of school membership among adolescents: Scale development and educational correlates. *Psychology in the Schools*, 30: 70-90.
- Goodman, G. S. & Bottoms, B. L. (Eds.). (1993). *Child victims, childwitnesses: understanding and improving testimony*. New York: Guilford.
- Gordon, B. N., Jens, K. G., Hollings, R. & Watson, T. E. (1994). Remembering activities performed versus those imagined: implications for testimony of children with mental retardation. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*, 23: 239-48.

- Gordon, M. (2010). Student voice key to unlocking inclusive educational practice. *Canadian Journal for New Scholars in Education*. Special Issue.
- Gorman, J. (1980). The school-age child as historian. *Paediatric Nursing*, 5: 39-40.
- Greene, S. & Harris, E. (2011). Qualitative research methodology: a review of the current literature and its application on the qualitative component of growing up in Ireland. *Qualitative Literature Review*, 1.
- Grossman, H. (2004). *Classroom management for diverse and inclusive schools* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Grout-Smith, J., Tanner, S., Postles, C. & O'Reilly, H. (2012). Because I am a girl. Africa report 2012. Progress and obstacles to girls education in Africa. Dakar: Polykrome.
- Guba, G. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gudjonsson, G. H. & Clare, I. C. H. (1995). The relationship between confabulation and intellectual ability, memory, interrogative suggestibility and acquiescence. *Personality Individual Differences*, 19: 333-38.
- Gumora, G., & Arsenio, W. F. (2002). Emotionality, emotional regulation, and school performance in middle school children. *Journal of School Psychology*, 40(5): 395-413.
- Hackett, R. I. J. (1999). Conflict in the classroom: educational institutions as sites of religious tolerance/intolerance in Nigeria. *BYU Law Review*, 537.
- Hallman, K. & Grant, M. (2004). Poverty, educational attainment, and livelihoods: how well do young people fare in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa? *Horizon Research Summary*. Washington, D.C.: Population Council. Hall & Grant.
- Hammersely, M. (2001). On systematic reviews of research literatures. *British Journal of Educational Research* 27: 543-554.
- Hargreaves, D. H. (1982). *The challenge for the comprehensive school: culture, curriculum and community*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Harper, S. R. & Quaye, S. J. (2009a) Beyond sameness, with engagement and outcomes for all. *Student Engagement in Higher Education*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 1-15.
- Hemmingson, H. & Borell, L. (2002). Environmental barriers in mainstream schools. *Child: Care, Health and Development*, 28(1): 57-63.
- Henry, L. A. & Gudjonsson, G. H. (1999). Eyewitness memory and suggestibility. in children with mental retardation. *American Journal on Mental Retardation*, 104 (6): 491-508.

Herjanic, B., Herjanic, M., Brown, F. & Wheatt, T. (1975). Are children reliable reporters? *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 3: 41-48.

Hernandez-Tutop, J. (2012). *Social promotion of grade repetition: what's best for the 21st century student?* Accessed April 16, 2015 via <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED532287.pdf>.

Heylighen, F. (1997). *Epistemological constructivism*. Accessed October 5, 2015 via <http://pespmc1.vub.ac.be/construc.html>.

Hoadley, U. (2010). *What do we know about teaching and learning in primary schools in South Africa?* A review of the classroom-based research literature. A report for the Grade 3 improvement project of the University of Stellenbosch, supported by the Western Cape Education Department and Western Cape Provincial Treasury.

Holdsworth, R. (2000). Schools that create roles of value for young people. *UNESCO International Prospects*, 30(3): 349-62.

Hopkins, D. (2008). *A Teacher's guide to classroom research*. Fourth Edition. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Howe, M.L., Courage, M. L. & Peterson, C. (1994). How can I remember when "I" wasn't there: *Long term Retention of Traumatic Experiences and Emergence of the Cognitive Self Consciousness and Cognition*, 3: 327-55.

Humphreys, S. & Crawford, C. (2014). Review of the literature on basic education in Nigeria. Issues of access, quality, equity and impact. *EDOREN - Education Data, Research and Evaluation in Nigeria*, p. 5. Accessed 23 December, 2014 via <https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=review-of-the-literature-on-basic-education-in-nigeria.pdf&site=320>.

Ibadin, V. O. (2004). Economics and financing of education. In Nwagwu, N. A.; Ijeoma, M. E. & Nwagwu, C. C. (Eds), *Organization and Administration of Education: Perspectives and Practicals*. Benin city: Festa Printing Press Ltd. pp.135-55.

Ikwuyatum, G. O. (2010). *Child labour and the progress towards the attainment of the Education for All (EFA) goals in Nigeria*. Accessed February 5, 2015 via <http://nau.edu/uploadedFiles/Academic/COE/About/Projects/Child%20Labour%20and%20The%20Progress%20Towards%20The%20Attainment%20of%20the%20Education%20For%20All.pdf>.

Imam, H. (2012). Educational policy in Nigeria from the colonial era to the post-independence period. *International Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1: 181-24.

International Education Guide (2011). *The assessment of education from the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Alberta, Canada: International Qualifications Assessment Services (IQAS)

International Fund for Agricultural Development – IFAD (2012). Enabling poor rural people to overcome poverty in Nigeria. Accessed January 8, 2015 via <http://www.ifad.org/operations/projects/regions/pa/factsheets/ng.pdf>

International Labour Organisation (2010b). Accelerating action against child labour, global report under the follow-up to the ILO declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work. ILO, Geneva.

Iscan, T. B., Rosenblum, D. & Tinker, K. (2015). School fees and access to primary education: four decades of policy in sub-Saharan Africa. *JEL classification*, 122, 128, 055.

Israel, M. & Hay, I. (2006). *Research ethics for social scientists*. London: SAGE.

Jackson, C. (1999). Social exclusion and gender: does one size fit all? *The European Journal of Development Research* 11(1): 125-46.

Jacob, B. A. & Lars, L. (2009). The effect of grade retention on high school completion. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 1(3): 33-58.

Jin, L. X. & Cortazzi, M. (1998). Dimensions of dialogue: large classes in China. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 29, pp. 739-761.

Johnstone, C. J. (2007). Inclusive education in Lesotho. In Engelbrecht, P. & Green Lena (Eds.), *Responding to the Challenges of Inclusive Education in Southern Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik: 33.

Jonassen, D. H. (1992a). objectivism versus constructivism: do we need a new philosophical paradigm? *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 39(3): 5-14.

Jones, A. & Naylor, R. (2014). The quantitative impact of armed conflicts on education in Nigeria: counting the human and financial costs. CfBT Education Trust 2014.

Jones, D. P. H. (1992). *Interviewing the sexually abused child*. Oxford. England: Gaskell.

Jorgensen, M. & Phillips, L. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: SAGE Publications.

Joseph, J. (2012). Perspectives on gender inequality and the barriers of culture on education . *Journal of Community Positive Practice*, 4.

Jotial A. L. & Boikhutso, K. (2012). How corporal punishment undermines a democratic society: is its use necessary in Botswana schools? *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 3(2): 119-26.

Jotial A. L. (2008). *Educating for deep democratic participation in the post-colonial Botswana*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Muller.

Kattan, R (2006). Implementation of free basic education policy. *Education Working Paper Series*, 7: Washington DC: The World Bank

- Kattan, R. B. & Burnett, N. (2004). *User fees in primary education*. Education Sector, Human Development Network. Washington D. D.: The World Bank.
- Khan, K. S., Kunz, R., Kleijnen, J. & Antes, G. (2003). Five steps to conducting a systematic review. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 96(3): 118-21.
- Khandker, R. S., Lavy, V. & Filmer, D. (1994). Schooling and cognitive achievements of children in Morocco: Can the government improve outcomes? *World Bank Discussion Paper 264*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Kinder, D. R. & Sears, D. O. (1981). Prejudice and politics: symbolic racism versus racial threat to the good life. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 4(3): 414-31.
- Kisanji, J. (1998). The march towards inclusive education in non-western countries: retracing the steps. *International Journal on Inclusive Education*, 2(1): 55-72.
- Klasen, C. (1998). *Social exclusion and children in OECD countries: some conceptual issues*. Paris. OECD.
- Kuh, G. D., Kinzie, J., Buckley, J. A., Bridges, B. K. and Hayek, J. C. (2007). Piecing together the student success puzzle: research, propositions, and recommendations. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 32(5). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1996). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kutnick, P, Sebba, J., Blatchford, P., Galton, M., Thorp, J., MacIntyre, H. & Berdondini, L. (2005). The effects of pupil grouping: literature review. *Research Report*, 688. Department for Education and Skills.
- Kuyini, A. B. & Desai, I. (2007). Principals' and teachers' attitudes and knowledge of inclusive education as predictors of effective teaching in Ghana. *Journal of Research in Special Education*, 7(2): 104-13.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage.
- Kyle, J. G. (1993). Integration for deaf children. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 8(3): 201-20.
- Lafon, M. (2009). *The impact of language on educational access in South Africa*. CREATE PATHWAY TO ACCESS. Research Monograph no. 24.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire, and dangerous things*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lamb, M. E. (1994). The Investigation of child sexual abuse: an interdisciplinary consensus statement. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 18: 1021-1028.

- Lambert, V. & Glacken, M. (2011). Engaging with children in research: theoretical and practical implications of negotiating informed consent/assent. *Nursing Ethics*. 18(6): 781–801.
- Larreguy, H. A. & Marshall, J. (2014). *The effect of education on political engagement in non-consolidated democracies: evidence from Nigeria*. Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. Accessed January 3, 2015 via http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/jmarshall/files/nigeria_paper_v13.pdf.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Leach, F., Dunne, M. & Salvi, F. (2014). School-related gender-based violence. A global review of current issues and approaches in policy, programming and implementation responses to School-related gender-based violence (SRBGV) for the education sector. *Background Research Paper Prepared for UNESCO*.
- Leicester, M. (2008). *Ideas in action. Creating an inclusive school*. London: Continuum: p.3.
- Lewis, M. (1991). Self-knowledge and social influence. In Lewis, M. & Feinman, S. (Eds.). (Eds.), *Social influences and socialization in infancy*, pp. 111–34. New York: Plenum.
- Lewis, M. A. & Lockheed, M. (Eds.) (2007). *Exclusion, gender and education: case studies from the developing world*. Washington DC: Center for Global Research.
- Lidonde, R. (2004). Scaling up school sanitation and hygiene promotion and gender concerns. School Sanitation and Hygiene Education Symposium. The Way Forward: Construction is Not Enough! *Paper presented at School Sanitation & Hygiene Education Symposium*, Delft, the Netherlands. WEDC, GWA. Accessed February 5, 2015 via <http://www.irc.nl/page/13136>.
- Lietz, C. A. & Zayas, L. E. (2010). Evaluating qualitative research for social work practitioners. *Advances in Social Works*, 11(2): 188-202.
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lincoln, Y. & Guba, E. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, 20: 15-25.
- Lipsky, D. K. & Gartner, A. (1999). *Inclusive Education: a requirement of a democratic society*. In Daniels, H. & Gardner, P. (Eds), *World Year Book of Education 1999. Inclusive Education*. London: Kogan Page Limited: p.15.
- Liu, C. A. & Matthews, R. (2005). Vygotsky's psychology: constructivism and its criticisms examined. *International Educational Journal*, 6(3): 386-399.
- Liu, S., Joy, M. & Griffiths, N. (2010). *Students' perceptions of the factors leading to unsuccessful group collaboration*. 10th IEEE International Conference on Advanced Learning Technologies.

- Llewellyn, A. (2000). Perceptions of mainstreaming: A systems approach. *Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology*, 42(2): 106–15.
- Lusthaus, E. & Forest, M. (1989). *Promoting educational equality for all students*. In Stainback, S., Stainback, W. & Forest, M. (Eds.), *Educating all students in the mainstream of regular education*, p.3. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co.
- Maarman, R. (2009). Manifestations of ‘capabilities poverty’ with learners attending informal settlement schools. *South African Journal of Education*, 29(3): 317–32.
- MacBeath, J., Demetriou, H., Rudduck, J. & Myers, K. (2003). *Consulting pupils: a toolkit for teachers*, Cambridge: Pearson Publishing.
- MacBeath, J., Galton, M., Steward, S., MacBeath, A. & Page, C. (2006). *The costs of inclusion*. London: National Union of Teachers.
- Mahoney, J. L. & Cairns, R. B. (1997) Do extracurricular activities protect against early school drop out? *Developmental Psychology*, 33(2): 241-53.
- Maigida, A. Y., Ibrahim, O. M. & Agbonlahor, A. A. (2009). Education of the physically handicapped in Nigeria: within or outside context? *African Journal of Historical Sciences in Education*, 5(1&2).
- Majanga, E. K., Nasongo, J. W. & Sylvia, V. K. (2011). The effect of class size on classroom interaction during Mathematics discourse in the wake of free primary education: a study of public primary schools in Nakuru Municipality. *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences*, 3(1): 44-49.
- Makama, G. A. (2013). Patriarchy and gender inequality in Nigeria: the way forward. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(17).
- Makoelle, T. M. (2012). The state of inclusive pedagogy in South Africa: a literature review. *Journal of Sociology and social anthropology*, 3(2): 93-102.
- Manacorda, M. (2010). The cost of grade repetition. *Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Marah, J. K. (2006). The virtues and challenges of traditional African education. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 1(4).
- Mazzei, L. & Jackson, A. (2012). Complicating voice in a refusal to “let participants speak for themselves”. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18(9): 745-751.
- Mba, P. O. (1995). *Special education and vocational rehabilitation*. Ibadan: Cobat.
- McInerney, D. M. & McInerney, V. (2002). *Educational psychology: constructing learning* (3rd ed.). prentice Hall.
- McLeod, J. D. & Fettes, D. L. (2007). Trajectories of failure: The educational careers of children with mental health problems. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(3): 653–701.

- McLeskey, J. & Waldron, N. L. (2002). Inclusion and school change: teacher perceptions regarding curricular and instructional adaptations. *Teacher Education and Special Education*, 25: 41-54.
- McMahan, J. (1996). Cognitive disability, misfortune, and justice. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 25: 3–35.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B., Johnstson-Bailey, J., Lee, M. J., Lee, Y., Ntseane, G. & Muhamad, M. (2001). Power and positionality: negotiating insider/outsider status within and across cultures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(5): 405-416.
- Messiou, K. (2012). *Confronting marginalisation: a framework for promoting inclusion*. London: Routledge.
- Messiou, K. (2013). Engaging with students' voices: using a framework for addressing marginalisation in schools. *Revista de Investigacion en Educacion*, 11(3): 86-96.
- Meyer, J. W. (1977). The effects of education as an institution. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(1), pp. 55-77. Accessed July 17, 2013 via <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2777763>.
- Miles, M. B. & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis. An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.
- Miles, S. & Singal, N. (2008). The Education for All and Inclusive Education debates: conflicts, contradictions or opportunity? *International Journal of Inclusive Education*.
- Miller-Grandvaux, Y. & Yoder, K. (2002). *A literature review of community schools in Africa*. Washington D.C.: Support for Analysis and Research in Africa (SARA) project.
- Milne, R. & Bull, R. (1999). *Investigative interviewing: psychology and practice*. Chicester: Wiley.
- Milne, R. & Bull, R. (2001). Interviewing witnesses with learning disability for legal purposes. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 29: 93-97.
- Mitra, D. (2003). Student voice in school reform: reframing student-teacher relationships. *McGill Journal of Education*, 38(2).
- Mitra, D. (2006). Increasing student voice and moving toward youth leadership. *The Prevention Researcher*, 13(1).
- Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement*.

- Mittler, P. (2000). *Working towards inclusive education: social contexts*. London: David Fulton Publishers.
- Mkonongwa, L. M. (2014). *Conception and perceptions about inclusive education in Tanzania: is it well understood and implemented?* TEN/MET Quality Education Conference 18th-19th June. Accessed March 25, 2015 via <http://www.tenmet.org/Droop/Docs/QEC%202014/Mkonongwa.pdf>.
- Morgan, C., Petrosino, A. & Fronius., T. (2014). Eliminating school fees in low income countries: a systematic review. *Journal of MultiDisciplinary Evaluation*, 10(28).
- Morris, J. (1991). *Pride against prejudice*. London: Women's Press.
- Mouton, J. S., Blake, R. R. & Fruchter, B. (1955). The Reliability of socio-metric measures. *Sociometry*, 18(1). American Sociological Association.
- Muijs, D. (2004). *Doing quantitative research in Education with SPSS*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Namukwaya, V. A. & Kibirigwe, I. (2014). Factors affecting primary school enrolment and retention of pupils in Kotido District, Uganda. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(8). Rome: MCSER Publishing.
- Napoli, R. (2004). *What is student-centred learning?* Educational Initiative Centre: University of Westminster.
- Naschold, F. (2002). *Aid and the Millennium Development Goals*. ODI Opinions 4. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Nathanson, R. & Crank, J. N. (2004). *Interviewing children with disabilities*. NACC Children Law Manual.
- National Bureau of Statistics (2010). *Annual abstract of statistics*. Federal Republic of Nigeria. Abuja.
- National Population Commission (2010). *2006 population and housing census. Priority table volume 111. Population distribution by sex, state, LGA & senatorial district*. Abuja, Nigeria.
- Ndaruhutse, S., Brannelly, L., Latham, M. & Penson, J. (2008). Grade repetition in primary schools in sub-Saharan Africa: an evidence base for change. CfBT Education Trust.
- Nelson, E. (2015). Student voice as regimes of truth: troubling authenticity. *Middle Grades Review*, 1(2) Student voice: authentic or contrived?
- Nelson, K., Creagh, T. & Clarke, J. (2012). *Social justice and equity issues in the higher education context*. The Australian Government Office for Learning and Teaching.

Nelson Mandela Foundation (2005). *Emerging voices: a report on education in South African rural communities*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Ngware, W. J., Ciera, J., Musyoka, P. K. & Oketch, M. (2013). The influence of classroom seating position on student learning gains in primary schools in Kenya. *Creative Education*, 4(11): 705-12.

Nigerian National Population Commission (2013). *Nigeria over 167 million population: implications and challenges*. Accessed January 3, 2015 via <http://www.population.gov.ng/index.php/84-news/latest/106-nigeria-over-167-million-population-implications-and-challenges>.

Nishimura, M. Yamano, T. & Sasaoka, Y. (2005). *Impact of the universal primary education policy on educational attainment and private cost in rural Uganda*. Accessed February 5, 2015 via <http://www3.grips.ac.jp/~yamanota/UgandaUPE%20Oct%202005.pdf>.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1992). Human functioning and social justice: in defense of Aristotelian essentialism. *Political Theory*, 20: 202–46.

O'Connor, M. C. (1998). Can we trace 'efficacy of social constructivism'? *Review of Research in Education*, (23): 25-71.

O'Connor, P. (2010). Is senior management in Irish Universities male-dominated? What are the implications? *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 18(1): 1-21. University of Limerick.

O'Reilly, D. (2005). Social Inclusion: A Philosophical Anthropology' in *Politics*, 25(2): 80-88.

OECD (2012), *Equity and quality in education: supporting disadvantaged students and schools*. OECD Publishing. Accessed January 21, 2015 via <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en>.

Ogola, F. O. (2010). *Free education in Kenya's public primary schools. Addressing the challenges*. Addis Ababa: Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa.

Ojedokun, O., Ogungbamila, A. & Kehinde, D. (2013). Perception of parental bonding and tendency to perpetrate aggressive behaviour in sample of Nigerian students. *Frontier in Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 2(3): 117-24.

Oketch, M. O. & Rolleston, C. M. (2007). *Policies on free primary and secondary education in East Africa: a review of the literature*. CREATE PATHWAY TO ACCESS Research Monograph No. 10.

Okolo, P. O. (2014). Managing minority problems in Nigeria: the case of the ethnic minorities of the Niger Delta region. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 5(6).

Oladunjoye, P. & Omemu, F. (2013). Effects of Boko Haram on school attendance in Northern Nigeria. *British Journal of Education*, 1(2): 1-9.

- Olaleye, A. Ogundele, O., Deji, S., Ajayi, O., Olaleye, O. & Adeyanju, T. (2012). Attitudes of students towards peers with disabilities in an inclusive school in Nigeria. *Disabilities, CBR & Inclusive Development*, 23(3): 65-75.
- Olaniyan, O. (2011). The determinant of child schooling in Nigeria. *AERC Research Paper 217*. African Education Research Consortium, Nairobi.
- Oldfather, P. (Ed.) (1995). Learning from student voices. *Theory into Practice*, 43 (2).
- Olofintoye, T. T. (2010). Towards inclusion: the trends of psycho-social adjustment of students in Nigerian integrated junior secondary schools. *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences*; 5:1146–1150.
- Olweus, D. (1996). The revised Olweus bully/victim questionnaire. Bergen, Norway: Research Center for Health Promotion (HEMIL), University of Bergen, N-5015 Bergen, Norway.
- Omara-Achong, T. E., Edwin-Nwosu, N. L., Edu, E. A. & Nkang, A. E. (2012). Survey of indigenous vegetable specie in parts of Ogoja and Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria. *European Journal of Experimental Biology*, 2(4): 1289-1301.
- Omodiaogbe, S. A. (1992). 150 years on: English in the Nigerian school system – past present and future. *ELT Journal*, 46(1). London: Oxford University Press.
- Omotayo, D. M. (2010). *Management of Universal Basic Education Scheme for Qualitative Education in Nigerian*. <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3673/is_2_129/ai_n31126656/> Accessed: August 7, 2013.
- Onwuameze, N. C. (2013). Educational opportunity and inequality in Nigeria: assessing social background, gender and regional effects. PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) thesis, University of Iowa. Accessed February 14, 2015 via <http://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/2598>.
- Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) (1998). The future of female-dominated occupations. OECD Publishing.
- Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) (2004). Women and men in OECD countries: labour market. Accessed February 19, 2015 via <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/19/14/38172488.pdf> (03.05.2010).
- Orstby, G. & Urdal, H. (2010). Education and civil conflict: a review of the quantitative, empirical literature. *Background Paper prepared for Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011*. The Hidden Crisis: armed conflicts and education.
- Osaghae, E. E. (1998). Managing multiple ministry problems in a divided society: The Nigerian experience. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36 (1): 1 – 24.
- Osili, U. O. & Long, B. T. (2008). Does female schooling reduce fertility? Evidence from Nigeria. *Journal of Development Economics*, 87(1): 57-75.

- Otite, O. & Olawale, I. A (Eds) (1999). *Communal conflicts in Nigeria: management, resolution and transformation*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Owoaje, E. T., Ige, O. & Bamgboye, E. (2011). Working school children in a Nigerian community: revisiting the issue. *International Journal of Health Research*, 4(1).
- Owoeye, J. S. & Yara, P. O. (2011). Class size and academic achievement of secondary school in Ekiti State, Nigeria. *Asian Social Science*, 7(6).
- Oxoby, R. (2009). Understanding social inclusion, social cohesion and social capital. *Economic Research Paper*: 2009-09. Department of Economics, University of Calgary. Accessed January 7, 2015 via http://lcerpa.org/public/papers/LCERPA_2009-09.pdf.
- Oyelere, R. U. (2010). Africa's education enigma? The Nigerian story. *Journal of Development Economics*, 87(1): 128-39.
- Page, D. (2008). Systematic Literature Searching and the Bibliographic Database Haystack'. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 6(2): 171-80.
- Papaioannou, D., Sutton, A., Carroll, C., Booth, A. & Wong, R. (2010). Literature searching for social science systematic reviews: consideration of a range of search techniques. *Health Information & Libraries Journal*, 27: 114-22.
- Perlman, N. B., Ericson, K. I., Esses, V. M. & Isaacs, B. J. (1994). The developmentally handicapped witness: competency as a function of question format. *Law and Human Behavior*, 18: 171-87.
- Peters, S. (2004). *Inclusive education: an EFA strategy for all children*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Phillips, D. C. (1995). The good, the bad, and the ugly: the many faces of constructivism. *Educational Research*, 24(7): 5-12.
- Piaget, J. (1970). *Genetic epistemology*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pianta, R. C., Hamre, B. K. & Allen, J. P. (2012). Teacher-student relationships and engagement: contextualising, measuring, and improving the capacity of classroom interactions. In Christenson, S. L. et al. (Eds.) *Handbook of Research on student engagement*.
- Pillemer, D. B. & White, S. H. (1989). Childhood events recalled by children and adults. In Reese, H. W. (Ed.) *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*, 21: 297-340. New York: Academic.
- Pinnock, H. (2009). *Language and education: the missing link – how the language used in Schools threatens the achievement of Education for All*. London: CFBT Education Trust/Save the Children Alliance.
- Poole, D. A. & Lamb, M. E. (1998). *Investigative interviews of children*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

- Popoola, B. I. (2005). Prevalence of peer victimisation among secondary school students in Nigeria. *International Education Journal*, 6(5): 598-606.
- Pradhan, R. (2006). *Understanding social exclusion and inclusion; theories, methodologies and data*. Kathmandu, June 3, 2006, Organised by Social Science Baha and the Social Inclusion Research Fund Secretariat/SNV.
- Priestley, M. (1998). Constructions and creations: Idealism, materialism and disability theory. *Disability & Society*, 13: 75-94.
- Prus, R. C. (1996). *Symbolic interaction and ethnographic research. Intersubjectivity and the Study of Human Lived Experience*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Raditloaneng, W. P. (2013). Analysis of gender-based domestic violence and reactions in South Africa. *Wudpecker Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 1(5): 060-070.
- Raskin, D. & Yuille, J. (1989). Problems in evaluating interviews of children in sexual abuse cases. In Ceci, S. J., Ross, D. F. & Toglia, M. P. (Eds.), *Perspectives On Children's Testimony*, pp. 184-207. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Rehberg, R. & Rosenthal, E. (1978). *Class and merit in American high schools*. New York: Longman.
- Reichert, E. (2006). Human Rights: an examination of universalism and cultural relativism. *Journal of comparative social welfare*, 22 (I): 23-36.
- Republic of Kenya (2004a). *National Action Plan on Education For All 2003-2015*. Nairobi: Government Printers.
- Rich, J. (1968). *Interviewing children and adolescents*. New York: Macmillan.
- Riddell, A. (2003). The introduction of free primary education in sub-Saharan Africa. Background paper prepared for the Education for All global monitoring report 2003/4. *Gender and education for all: a leap to equality*.
- Riehl, C. J. (2000). The principal's role in creating inclusive schools for diverse students: a review of the normative, empirical, and critical literature on the practice of educational administration. *Review of educational research*, 70(1): 55-81.
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (2007). Active education: Physical Education, physical activity and academic performance. *Active Living Research*. Fall, Research Brief. San Diego.
- Roberts, F. O. N., Odumosu, O. & Nabofa, M. (2009). Religions and development in Nigeria: a preliminary literature review. *Religions and Development Working Paper 31*. University of Birmingham: International Development Department.
- Robinson, C. (2014). *Children, their voices and their experiences of school: what does the evidence tell us?* York: Cambridge Primary Review Trust.

Robson, C. (1995). *Real world research: a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, p. 63.

Robson, C. (2005). *Real world research: a resource for social scientist and practitioner-researchers (second edition)*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Rose, R. (2008). Promoting inclusion in primary classroom. In Forlin, C. & Lian, M. J. (Eds.), *Reform, inclusion and teacher education*. London: Routledge.

Rose, R. & Shevlin, M. (2004). Encouraging voices: listening to young people who have been marginalised. *Support for Learning*, 19(4).

Rousse, H. (2003). *Education for All: A gender and disabilities*, New York: UNESCO.

Rudd, T., Colligan, F. & Naik, R., (2007) *Learner voice: a handbook*, Bristol: Futurelab.

Rumberger, R. W. (1995). Dropping out of middle school: A multi-level analysis of students and schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 32(3): 583–625.

Ryan, R. M., & Powelson, C. (1991). Autonomy and relatedness as fundamental to motivation and education. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 60, 49–66.

Sabates, R. Akyeampong, K., Westbrook, J. & Hunt, F. (2010). *School dropout: patterns, causes, changes and policies*. UNESCO: Education for all global monitoring report 2011.

Sackey, H. A. (2007). The determinants of school attendance and attainment in Ghana: a gender perspective. *African Economic Research Consortium Paper 173*. Nairobi.

Save the Children (2005). *Ending corporal punishment of children in South Africa*. Accessed February 10, 2015 via <http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/pdfs/EndingCP-SouthAfrica.pdf>.

School Fee Abolition Initiative (2009). *Six steps to abolishing primary school fees: operational guide*. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank: 28-390.

Sen, A. (2000). Social exclusion: concept, application and scrutiny. *Social Development Paper, 1*, Asian Development Bank.

Serbessa, D. D. (2006). Tensions between traditional and modern teaching-learning approaches in Ethiopian primary schools. *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, 9(1): 123-40.

Shenton, A. K. (2004). *Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research Projects*. Education for Information 22(2004) 63-75 IOS Press. Accessed 24 February 24 via http://www.angelfire.com/theforce/shu_cohort_viii/images/Trustworthypaper.pdf.

Shirley, D. (2015). Education for voice.: challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Education Change*, 16, pp. 125-28.

Sightsavers (2011). *Policy paper: making inclusion education a reality*: 3 Accessed August 12, 2013 via <http://www.sightssavers.com>.

Silverman, D. (2005). *Doing qualitative research, second edition*. London: SAGE Publication.

Simmons, C. A., Graham, A. & Thomas, N. (2014). Imagining an ideal school for wellbeing: locating student voice. *Journal of Educational Change*.

Stainback, S. & Stainback, W. (Eds.) (1996). *Inclusion: a guide for educators*. Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple case study analysis*. London: The Guilford Press.

Stake, R. E. (2008). Qualitative case studies. In Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Los Angeles: Sage.

State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics*.

Steer, L. & Wathne, C. (2009). *Achieving universal basic education: constraints and opportunities in donor financing*. Overseas Development Institute.

Steffe, L. P. & Gale, J. (1995). *Constructivism in education*. Hillsdale, NJ: Earlbaum.

Steward, M. S. & Steward, D. S. (1996). Interviewing young children about body touch and handling. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 61(4, Serial No, 248).

Subban, S. & Sharma, U. (2005). Understanding educator attitudes towards the implementation of inclusive education, *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 25(2). Accessed August 19, 2013 via <http://www.dsqsds.org/article/view/545/722>.

Sukhnandan, L. & Lee, L. (1998). *Streaming, setting and grouping by ability: a literature review*. Berkshire: National Foundation for Educational Research.

Tangen, R. (2008). Listening to children's voices in educational research: some theoretical and methodological problems. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 23(2): 157-166

Taylor, L. & Parsons, J. (2011). Improving student engagement. *Current Issues in Education*, 14(1). Accessed February 7, 2015 via <http://cie.asu.edu/>

- Terhart, E. (2003). Constructivism and teaching: a new paradigm in general didactics? *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(1): 25-44.
- Terzi, L. (2005). A capability perspective on impairment, disability and special needs: towards social justice in education. *Theory and Research in Education*, 3(2): 197-223.
- Thompson, R. J. & Gustafson, K. E. (1996). *Adaptation to chronic childhood illness*. Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Thurlow, M. L., Elliott, J. & Ysseldyke, J. (2003). *Testing students with disabilities*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Tilley, J. (2000). Cultural relativism. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 22(2): 501–49.
- Tiwari, M. (2014). Peer tutoring: a step forward towards inclusion. *Educationia Confab*, 3(7).
- Tomasevski, K. (2006). *State of the right to education, Worldwide: free or fee: 2006 Global Report*. Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Tomlinson, M. (2007). *School feeding in east and southern Africa: improving food sovereignty or photo opportunity*. Regional Network for Equity in Health in Southern Africa. EQUINET Discussion Paper Number 46.
- Topping, K. J. (2005). Trends in peer learning. *Educational Psychology*, 25(6). London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis.
- Toshalis, E. & Nakkula, M. (2012). *Motivation, engagement and student voice. The student at the centre series*. Teaching and learning in the era of the common core. A jobs for the future project.
- Trowler, V. (2010). *Student engagement literature review*. Department of Educational Research, Lancaster University. Accessed February 7, 2015 via https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/sites/default/files/StudentEngagementLiteratureReview_1.pdf.
- Turner, B. (2002). The problem of cultural relativism for the sociology of human rights: Weber, Schmitt and Strauss. *Journal of Human Rights*, 1(4): 506–87.
- Uduh, C. A. O. (2009). Managing examination crisis in Nigeria: The West African Examinations Council (WAEC)'s experience. A paper presented at the 27th annual conference of the Association for Educational Assessment in Africa (AEAA) in Yaounde, Cameroon. August 24—28.
- Ugot, M. & Ogar, M. N. (2014). Language and power in Cross River State, Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(10): 648-56. Rome-Italy: MCSER Publishing.

Una Children's Rights Learning Group (2011). *Children's rights in cultural contexts*, Una Working Paper 7, Belfast: Una, p.11. Accessed August 2, 2013 via <http://www.unaglobal.org>.

UNESCO (2005). *Fast-tracking girls' education. A progress report for the education for all - fast-track initiative*. Washington D.C.: EFA.

UNESCO (2011). *Guidelines for inclusion: ensuring access to education for all*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1990). *World declaration on education for all and framework for action to meet basic learning skills*. New York: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1990). *World declaration on Education for All*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (1994). *The Salamanca Statement and framework for action on special education*. Adopted by the World Conference on Special Needs Education: Access and Quality. Spain: UNESCO, p. viii.

UNESCO (2000). *The Dakar Framework for Action. Education for All: meeting our collective commitments*. World Education Forum, Dakar, Senegal, 26-28 April.

UNESCO (2001). *Monitoring report on Education for All*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2001). *The open file on inclusive education*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2002). *Education for all: Is the world on track? EFA global monitoring report 2002*. Paris: UNESCO. Accessed March, 23, 2015 via http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/global_co/policy_group/hlg_2002_monitoring_complete.pdf.

UNESCO (2003). *EFA global monitoring report 2003/4*. Accessed January 30, 2015 via http://www.unesco.org/education/efa_report/2003.

UNESCO (2003). *Overcoming exclusion through inclusive approach in education: a challenge, a vision-conceptual paper*, Spain, Paris: UNESCO: 4.

UNESCO (2004). *Changing teaching practices using curriculum differentiation to respond to students' diversity*. France: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2011). *EFA global monitoring report. Regional overview: sub-Saharan Africa*.

UNESCO (2012). *Action plan Nigeria. High Level International Round Table on Literacy. "Reaching the 2015 Literacy Target: Delivering on the Promise"*. Paris, 6-7 September. Accessed January 3, 2015 via <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/pdf/Nigeria.pdf>.

UNESCO (2012). *Global education for meeting. Sub-Saharan Africa 2012 EFA report*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO (2015). *Education for All 2000-2015: achievements and challenges*. Global Monitoring Report. UNESCO Publishing.

UNESCO (2008). *Inclusive Education: the way of the future*. 48th International Conference on Education. Reference Document. Geneva.

UNESCO (2009). *Policy guidelines on Inclusive Education*. France. UNESCO.

UNESCO and UNICEF (2013), Envisioning education in the Post-2015 development agenda”. Executive summary. Global thematic consultation on education in the post-2015 development agenda. Accessed January 28, 2015 via en.unesco.org/post2015/sites/post2015/files/Post-2015_EN_web.pdf.

UNESCO, (2012). *Sub-Saharan Africa 2012 EFA report*. Global Education for All Meeting, Paris, November 20-23, 2012.

UNICEF (2005): At glance: Nigeria.

UNICEF (2009). *Child friendly schools evaluation: country report for Nigeria*. Evaluation Office, New York.

United Nations (2011). *Status of the convention on the rights of the child*. Report of the Secretary-General.

United Nations Children Fund (2007). *Information Sheet, Girl's Education*. Nigerian Country Office, September, 2007.

UN General Assembly Resolution 44/25 of 20 November, 1989, entry into force 2 September, 1990 in accordance with article 49, *Conventions on the Rights of the Child*.

Universal Basic Education Commission of Nigeria (2004). Standard action plan based on the UBE Act. Nigeria.

Universal Basic Education Commission of Nigeria (2010). *Free primary education*. Accessed August 7, 2013 via <<http://ubeconline.com/>>.

Universal Basic Education Commission of Nigeria (2011/12). *Pupil enrolment by class by gender in primary schools*. Accessed January 3, 2015 via <http://ubeconline.com/Pre/2012%20pry%20enrl%20by%20state.pdf>.

Unterhalter, E. (2013). Education targets, indicators and a post-2015 development agenda: Education for All, the MDGs and human development. Working paper series. The Power of Numbers: A critical review of MDG targets for human development and human rights. Accessed February 17, 2015 via http://fxb.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2013/09/Education-MDGs-Draft-4_Working-Paper.pdf.

United States Agency for International Development - USAID (2010). *School fees abolition: parents' perspectives*. USAID, Washington.

- Unterhalter, E. & Heslop, J. (2011). *Transforming education for girls in Nigeria and Tanzania. A cross-country analysis of baseline research*. Institute of Education, University of London. Funded by Comic Relief and the Tubney Charitable Trust.
- Unterhalter, E., North, A., Arnot, M., Lloyd, C., Moletsane, L., Murphy-Graham, E., Parkes, J. & Saito, M. (2014). Interventions to enhance girls' education and gender equality. *Education Rigorous Literature Review*. Department for International Development.
- Ushe, M. U. (2012). Religious conflicts and education in Nigeria: implication for national security. *International Journal of Educational Research and Development*, 1(2): 011-022.
- Van den Branden, K., Van Avermaet, P. & Van Houtte, M. (Eds) (2011). *Promoting equity and excellence in education; towards maximal learning for all students*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Van Maanen, J. (1979). The fact of fiction in organizational ethnography. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24: 539-611.
- Vehmas, S. (2004). Ethical concept in the analysis of disability. *Mental retardation*, Volume 42, Number 3: 209-222.
- Vitello, S. J. & Mithaug, D. E. (Eds.) (1998). *Inclusive schooling: national and international perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- von Glasersfeld, E. (1989). Cognition, construction of knowledge, and teaching. *Synthese*, 80, pp. 121-140.
- Vrasidas, C. (2000). Constructivism versus objectivism: implications for interaction, course design, and evaluation in distance education. *International Journal of Educational Telecommunication*, 6(4): 7.
- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wallace, B. (2010). Tackling underachievement. Maximising opportunities for all pupils in an inclusive setting. In Wallace, B., Leyden, S., Montgomery, D., Winstanley, C., Pomerantz, M. & Fitton, S. (Eds.) (2010), *Raising the achievement of all pupils within an inclusive setting*. London: Routledge.
- WaterAid Ethiopia. (2005). Schoolgirls: towards health, dignity & wellbeing. Accessed February 5, 2015 via <http://www.wateraid.org/~media/Publications/schoolgirls-health-dignity-sanitation.pdf>.
- Webb, E. T., Campbell, D. T., Schwartz, R. D., Sechrest, L. & Grove, J. B. (1981). *Non-reactive Measures in the Social Sciences (2nd ed)*. Dallas: Houghton-Mifflin.
- Wedell, K., Stevens, C., & Walker, T. (2000). Points from the SENCo-Forum: Putting inclusion into practice. *British Journal of Special Education*, 27(2): 100.
- West, L. (2004). *The learner's voice. Making Space? Challenging space?* From the Keynote Address, 2004, Canterbury Action Research Network (CANTARNET)

Conference, reported in *The Enquirer*, Spring 2005. Accessed February 11, 2015 via <http://www.nya.org.uk/hearbyright>.

Westbrook, J., Durrani, N., Brown, R., Orr, D., Pryor, J., Boddy, J. & Salvi, J. (2013). *Pedagogy, curriculum, teaching practices and Teacher Education in DCs*. Final Report. Education Rigorous Literature Review. Department for International Development.

Whithead, J. & Clough, N. (2004). Pupils, the forgotten partners in education action zones. *Journal of Education Policy*, 19(2). Taylor & Francis, Taylor & Francis Group.

White, S. (2008). The emerging politics of republican democracy. In White, S. & Leighton, D. (Eds.), *building a citizen democracy*, (7-22). London: Lawrence & Wishart.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S. & Mandle, C. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4): 522-37.

Wiliam, D. & Bartholomew, H. (2004). It's not which school but which set you're in that matters: The influence of ability grouping practices on student progress in mathematics, *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2):279-293.

Williams, S. C. (2002). How speech-feedback and word prediction software can help students write. *Teaching Exceptional Children*, 34(3): 72-78.

Willms, J. D. (2003). *Student engagement at school: a sense of belonging and participation. Results from PISA 2000*. Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Accessed February 7, 2015 via <http://www.unb.ca/crisp/pdf/0306.pdf>.

Wilson, B. J. & Schmits, D. W. (1978). What's new in ability grouping? *Phi Delta Kappan*, 59, pp. 535-536.

Wiske, M. S. (1998). *Teaching for understanding: linking research with practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Wood, E. (2003). The power of pupil perspectives in evidence-based practice: the case of gender and underachievement, *Research Papers in Education*, 18 (4): 365-83.

Wood, Levinson, Postlethwaite & Black (2011:17). *Equity matters*. Education International Research Institute, University of Exeter. Accessed February 18, 2015 via <http://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/Equity%20Matters.pdf>.

Woodcock, M. (2013). *Social inclusion: its significance for development theory, research and policy*. World Bank and Harvard University. Paris: UNESCO.

Woolfolk, A. (2001). *Educational psychology (8th ed.)*. Allyn and Bacon.

World Bank (2009). *Abolishing school fees in Africa. Lessons from Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi and Mozambique*. Washington DC.: The World Bank.

World Bank (2009). *Six steps to abolishing primary school fees. Operational guide*. Washington D. C.

World Bank (2013). *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity*. Washington, DC: World Bank. ISBN 978-1-4648-0010-8.

World Food Programme (2013). *State of school feeding worldwide 2013*. Rome: World Food Programme.

Wronka, J. (1998). *Human rights and social policy in the 21st century: a history of the idea of human rights and comparison of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights with United States Federal and State Constitutions (Rev., ed.)*. Langham, MD: University Press of America.

Yamada, S. (Ed.) (2007). *The local meaning of educating all, and the process of adopting EFA development goals in Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia*. Tokyo: National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies Development Forum.

Yamamoto, K., Soliman, A., Parsons, J. & Davies, O.L. (1987). Voices in unison: stressful events in the lives of children from six countries. *Journal of Child Psychology*, 28: 855–64.

Yara, P. O. (2010). Class size and students' Mathematics achievement of senior secondary schools in Southwestern Nigeria. *The Social Sciences Journal (TSS)*, 5(2): 108 – 12.

Yarrow, L. J. (1960). Interviewing children. In Mussen, P. H. (Ed.), *Handbook of Research Methods in Child Development*: 561–602. New York: John Wiley.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research. Design and methods, fourth edition*. Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case study research design and method, third edition*. London: SAGE Publications.

Youens, B. & Hall, C. (2004). *Incorporating students' perspectives in pre-service teacher education. Lessons from the pupil mentor*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association.

Zigmond, N. & Baker, J. M. (1995). Concluding comments: Current and future practices in inclusive schooling. *The Journal of Special Education*, 29(2): 245-50.

PILOT STUDY APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Interview Guide

For Pupils

1. Who did your parents send to school first between you and your brother/sister?
2. Why did your parents educate your brother/sister or you first?
3. How do your parents usually assist with your studies at home?
4. Why are you attending this school and not the one in the neighbourhood?
5. How do you study at home after school?
6. Which of your teachers do you like most?
7. Why do you like the teacher?
8. How do you usually participate during teaching and learning?
9. Why do you participate during teaching and learning?
10. Do your teachers usually ask you questions during teaching and learning?
11. Why do your teachers (not) ask you questions during teaching and learning?
12. Do you usually ask your teachers question during teaching and learning?
13. Why do you (not) ask your teachers questions during teaching and learning?
14. Does your school take children who are more than 16 years?
15. How do you co-operate with your friends in school?

APPENDIX B

Focus Groups

For school pupils

Topic:

Bo has noticed that some girls and boys in our villages find it difficult to go to school. Others are in school, but they are not learning well. Can you explain what is happening to Bo? Bo is saying all children including girls and boys should have equal opportunities to be included in schooling in primary schools. What can you say to that?

Note: Bo is the name of the puppet or doll I will use to get responses from the school children.

APPENDIX C

Photo-elicitations

For school pupils and out-of-school participants

Bo does not know what is happening in the pictures. Could you describe what you think is happening in the pictures to Bo.

Gender equality/classroom Organization

1.



Back view of a classroom: Pupils sit in rows in the classroom to learn in a primary school in Nigeria

2



Side view of classroom: Girls and boys in the classroom in a primary school in Nigeria

3.



Front view of classroom: Girls and boys in the classroom in a primary school in Nigeria

Vocation/Discrimination

1.



A shoe shine boy polishing a customer's shoe in Haiti

2.



A young Nigerian hawker with bananas for sale

3.



A young Nigerian girl carrying baby sister on the back

Socio-economic status

4.



Girls in secondary school in a Southern African country

2.



Some Nigerian children returning from school

3.



Children drawing water from a watering hole in an Eastern African country

APPENDIX D

School of Education

The University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester
M13 9PL
England, UK.

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

7 June, 2012.

The Chairman
Universal Basic Education Board
Calabar
Cross River State
Nigeria.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A DOCTORAL RESEARCH IN
PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN RURAL CROSS RIVER STATE, NIGERIA**

I wish to seek your permission and approval to conduct a research entitled 'An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School Community in rural Cross River State, Nigeria'. This study will investigate the experiences of male and female children in the primary school. It will also explore the experiences of a small number of children who are out of school. The study will focus on culture, family issues as well as school access, process and outcome. The study is part of my research dissertation leading to the award of PhD Education by The University of Manchester.

The research has the potential to address national educational issues and make some positive contributions towards the development of the country's education. It might provide a framework for exploring reality and examining the policy on universal basic education and gender equality within the research location and in the entire Nigeria's educational system to facilitate achievement of gender parity in basic education in the country.

I request your assistance to identify one primary school located in a rural area within Cross River State from your records. Kindly inform the school about the study too. The village in which the school is sited will also take part in the project. Participants will include a management staff of the Cross River State universal basic education board (SUBEB), a school head, teachers, pupils aged eight and above, in primary five, a village head, parents/guardians and youngsters, aged 10+, who are out of primary schools. Participation in the study is voluntary. Study subjects are free to withdraw from taking part in the study at any time without giving a reason. However, **children are a vulnerable group and cannot**

self-consent. Consequently, parents/guardians and/or teachers will give informed consent and assent on behalf of these persons.

Focus groups (using photo-elicitations) and interviews will be used to collect data from participants and these activities will be recorded using audio-tape and field notes. Participants will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. I will send transcripts to participants to check and ensure that the data are recorded honestly. Later, I will write letters to participants to give them feedback about the outcome of the research and to thank them for their contributions during the study. Only I and my supervisors will access the data. Data will be published in my doctoral thesis and relevant academic journals.

Participants can contact me directly via the address above to indicate their interests to take part in the research. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please contact my supervisors: Dr. Susie Miles at the address above or via susie.miles@manchester.ac.uk.

I anticipate your co-operation. Best regards.

Moses A. Ewa
Student ID: 7567899

Cc:

Honourable Commissioner
Ministry of Education
Cross River State
Nigeria

APPENDIX E

School of Education
The University of Manchester
Oxford Road, Manchester
M13 9PL, England, UK

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

7 June, 2012.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A DOCTORAL RESEARCH IN
YOUR PRIMARY SCHOOL**

I request your permission and approval to undertake a study entitled 'An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School Community in rural Cross River State, Nigeria' in your school. This study will investigate the experiences of male and female children in the primary school. It will also explore the experiences of a small number of children who are out of school. The study will focus on culture, family issues as well as school access, process and outcome. The project is part of my academic requirements leading to the award of PhD Education by the University of Manchester, England.

Participants will include a management staff of the Cross River State universal basic education board (SUBEB), a school head, teachers, pupils aged eight and above, in primary five, a village head, parents/guardians and youngsters, aged 10+, who are out of primary school. Participation in the study is voluntary. All participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. **However, children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent. I will request teachers and/or parents to give informed consent and assent on their behalf.**

Focus groups (using photo-elicitations) and interviews will be used to collect data from participants and the activities will be recorded using audio-tape and field notes. Participants will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. I will send transcripts to participants to check and ensure that the data are recorded honestly. Later, I will write letters to participants to give them feedback about the outcome of the research and to thank them for their contributions during the study. Only I and my supervisors will access the data. Data will be published in my doctoral thesis and relevant academic journals.

Participants can contact me directly via the address above to indicate their interests to take part in the research. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please contact my supervisors: Dr. Susie Miles at the address above or via susie.miles@manchester.ac.uk.

I anticipate your co-operation. Best regards.

Moses A. Ewa
Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX F

School of Education

The University of Manchester
Oxford Road, Manchester
M13 9PL, England, UK

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

7 June, 2012.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I wish to invite you to participate in research entitled 'An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School Community in rural Cross River State'. This study will investigate the experiences of male and female children in the primary school. It will also explore the experiences of a small number of children who are out of school. The study will focus on culture, family issues as well as school access, process and outcome. The research is part of my academic requirements leading to the award of PhD Education at the University of Manchester, England.

Participants will include a management staff of the Cross River State universal basic education board (SUBEB), a school head, teachers, pupils aged eight and above, in primary five, a village head, parents/guardians and youngsters, aged 10+, who are out of primary schools. Participation in the research is voluntary. I will request parents to permit their children to speak to me please so that I can also collect their views. All participants have the right to withdraw from participating in the study at any time without giving a reason.

Children are a vulnerable group and cannot give consent and assent independently. I will request you to permit your children to speak to me, please.

Focus groups (using photo-elicitations) and interviews to collect data from participants and these activities will be recorded using audio-tapes and field notes. Participants will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. I will send transcripts to participants to check and ensure that the data are recorded honestly. Later, I will write letters to participants to give them feedback about the outcome of the research and to thank them for their contributions during the study. Only I and my supervisors will access the data. Data will be published in my doctoral thesis and relevant academic journals.

Please contact me directly via the address above to indicate your interests to participate in the research. All the information you provide will be kept securely. Your real names will not be used in my doctoral dissertation and other publications. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please contact my supervisors: Dr. Susie Miles at the address above or via susie.miles@manchester.ac.uk.

I will be glad to receive your co-operation. Thank you.

Moses A. Ewa

Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX G

Consent Form**An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School
Community in rural Cross River State, Nigeria****Please
Initial
Box**

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions and had these answered satisfactorily | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I understand that the data supplied in the focus groups/photo-elicitations and interviews will be included in the researcher's thesis/dissertation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I agree that any data collected may be passed to other researchers | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I agree that any data collected may be published in anonymous form in academic books or journals | <input type="checkbox"/> |

I agree to take part in the above research

Name of participant-----
Date-----
Signature-----
Name of person taking consent-----
Date-----
Signature

APPENDIX H

School of Education Ethical Approval for Pilot Studies

The ethics pro-forma must contain answers to all the questions indicated in the boxes below, if they do not apply please state why.

SECTION A PILOT STUDY DETAILS

Name of Student:	MOSES APIE EWA
Student ID (quoted on library/ swipe card):	7567899
Name of Supervisor:	DR. SUSIE MILES & MR. DAVE HALL
Programme (MEd, PGCE MSc MPhil, PhD, DEd Psy, BA etc) FT/PT:	PhD Education
Year of Study	2011/2012

Programme Director:	Prof. Kevin Woods
Title of Project:	An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School Community in rural Cross River State, Nigeria – Pilot Study
Project Start and End Dates:	From ethical approval being granted – to NOVEMBER, 2012
Location(s) where the project will be carried out:	Cross River State, Nigeria
No risk, or acceptable levels of risk (measures documented)	Acceptable levels of risk
Student Signature:	Moses Apie Ewa
Supervisor Signature:**	Susie Miles

** Supervisor signature confirms that the student has the relevant experience, knowledge and skills to carry out the pilot study in an appropriate manner.

SECTION B ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS (Please expand boxes to fit answers)

1. Aims and Objectives of the Project and the main ethical issues which may arise

A. Provide a statement of your research aims and objectives including research questions.

This study will investigate the ways male and female children are included in the primary school in rural Cross River State, Nigeria. The study will focus on culture, family issues as well as school access and participation.

The following are the research questions:

1. How are girls included in the primary school in terms of access and participation in rural Cross River State, Nigeria?
2. How are boys included in the primary school in the primary school in rural Cross River State, Nigeria?

B. You should outline the main ethical issues

I will work with children; aged eight to 16 in a primary school in rural Cross River State, Nigeria and my questions may raise some sensitive issues.

2. Methodology

A. Please outline the design and methodology of the project, including the methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis, with particular emphasis on the role of the pilot study.

This research is a case study (Yin, 2009) of a primary school located in a rural area in Cross River State, Nigeria. The case will be inclusion of female and male children in primary education.

Focus groups (using photo-elicitations) and interviews will be used to generate primary data.

The pilot study is to enable me to determine the suitability of these methods and to develop good research questions for the primary research.

B. A description of the research procedures/activities as they affect the pilot study participant and any other parties involved.

A focus group (using photo-elicitations) will be used to generate data from four children and interviews will be used to collect data from the other four children in a public area which is mutually beneficial to both participants and researcher within the primary school.

C. Please state your experience in conducting the research procedures/ activities and provide supporting evidence.

I have conducted a study involving children during my undergraduate in Nigeria. I have also conducted some interviews and focus groups with Nigerian adults living in Manchester.

Attach copies of any draft instrument / interview guide / screen prints, and so on.

3. Participants

A. Give the number of participants; sex; age group and location

Eight participants, four girls and four boys, aged eight to 16.

B If your pilot study includes vulnerable populations please explain why it is necessary to include them in your study, including measures you will take to avoid coercion.

Children are included in the study to enable the researcher look at the issue through the eye of the children. Their participation in the study will be voluntary and all participants have the right to withdraw their participation from the research at any time without giving a reason.

4. Recruitment

A. Detail the recruitment and selection methods you will use for your pilot project and why they are appropriate;

Participants will be recruited by stratified sampling. This technique will ensure equal representation of boys and girls in the research.

B. How will your recruitment policy avoid putting any overt or covert pressure on the individual to consent?

Information sheets and consent forms will be given to participants to study.

C. How long will the participant have to decide whether to take part in the pilot study?

Two weeks

D. State any payment or any other incentive that is being made to any pilot study participant. Specify and state the level of payment to be made and/or the source of the funds/gift/free service to be used and the justification for it.

No payments will be made to participants.

5. Risk and Safeguards

Please outline any adverse effects or risks for pilot study participants

There is no adverse risk. Should risk occur I will inform my supervisor who will in turn communicate to the ethics committee.

A) What is the potential for adverse effects of a physical nature; risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or inconvenience, to pilot study participants?

None

B) Will any topics discussed (questionnaire, group discussion or individual interview) be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could take place during the pilot study?

Sensitive and emotive issues may be raised and I will follow-up with debrief with participants and/or parents/teachers after the interviews and focus group discussions.

C) What is the potential for adverse effects, risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or inconvenience, of a physical or psychological nature to you as the researcher?

Participants and researchers are at no identifiable risks during the study.

D) What precautions have been taken to minimise or mitigate the risks identified above?

The research will be conducted in the school during school hours.

6. Consent

Detail how informed consent/assent will be obtained.

Information sheets and consent forms will be distributed to participants to study and give consent to take part in the study. Two weeks later, the researcher will collect data from the respondents through focus group (using photo-elicitations) and interviews.

Teachers and parents will be requested to give informed consent and assent on behalf of the children.

NB Although this is a pilot study that may be conducted with family and/or friends it is still important that you gain informed consent.

Attach draft Information Sheets & Consent Forms.

7. Data Protection and confidentiality

A. Will the pilot study use any of the following activities at any stage?

- ☐ Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, e-mails or telephone numbers
YES
- ☐ Publication of direct quotations from respondents **YES**
- ☐ Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals
- ☐ Use of audio/visual recording devices **YES**
- ☐ Storage of personal data on any of the following:

- ☐ Manual files
- ☐ Home or other personal computers
- ☐ University computers
- ☐ Private company computers
- ☐ Laptop computers **YES**

B. Please provide details on the measures you will employ to (a) protect the confidentiality of the participant and (b) comply with the Data Protection Act and the University Data Protection Policy

Names of participant and school will be anonymous. All information which participants would supply will be held securely by the researcher and kept in a locked drawer in the researcher's home

8) Participant Feedback Provide detail on how the feedback will be disseminated if you are giving feedback to pilot study participants.

Letters will be written to participants by the researcher to inform them about the outcome of the pilot study and to thank them for their contributions to the research.

9. Sponsorship

Provide information on whether the study is in receipt of any external funding. Confirm who will act as sponsor of the research.

My supervisor is my sponsor.

10. Conflict of Interest

Have any conflicts of interest been identified in relation to this pilot study?

No

APPENDIX I

RESEARCH RISK AND ETHICS ASSESSMENT

School of Education, University of Manchester

The School of Education is committed to developing and supporting the highest standards of research in education and its associated fields. The *Research Risk and Ethics Assessment* (RREA) resource has been created in order to maintain these high academic standards and associated codes of good research practice. The research portfolio within the School of Education covers a wide range of fields and perspectives. Research within each of these areas places responsibilities of a differing nature on supervisors and students subject to course, level, focus and participants. The aim of the *Research Risk and Ethics Assessment* is to assist supervisors and students in assessing these factors.

The School has determined three levels of *Research Risk* each of which has a number of associated criteria and have implications for the degree of ethical review required. In general, the research risk level is considered to be:

- **High** IF the research focuses on groups within society in need of special support, or where it may be non-standard, or if there is a possibility the research may be contentious in one or more ways.
- **Medium** IF the research follows standard procedures and established research methodologies and is considered non-contentious.
- **Low** IF the research is of a routine nature and is considered non-contentious⁴.

Agreement to proceed with research at each of these levels is provided by an appropriate University Research Ethics Committee, a School of Education Research Integrity Committee member, or by the supervisor/tutor respectively.

How to complete the Research Risk and Ethics Assessment (RREA) form.

This form should be completed by School of Education students and their supervisors in all cases, except where a pre-approved assignment template currently exists⁵.

Students and supervisors should complete this form in consultation with the School of Education *Ethical Practice Policy Guidelines*⁶. There are five main sections to this document, with three additional sections for UG/PGT research seeking supervisor/tutor approval for LOW risk studies:

All students

- Section A – Research Summary Information (page 2)
- Section B – Outline of Research (page 3)
- Section C.1 – Criteria for HIGH risk research (page 5)
- Section C.2 – Criteria for MEDIUM risk research (page 7)
- Section C.3 – Criteria for LOW risk research (pages 8)

UG/PGT students and Prof Doc students completing Research Papers only

- Section D.1 – Criteria for LOW risk PGT/UG approval (pages 10-11)
- Section D.2 – LOW risk supervisor approval criteria and signature (page 11)
- Section D.3 – Minor Amendments to LOW risk study and supervisor approval (page 12)

Instructions on procedure are provided at the end of each section.

It may be appropriate for supervisors and students to review and discuss responses to these questions together. A member of the School's Research Integrity Committee should be contacted if there are questions

⁴ A reasonable person would agree that the study includes no issues of public or private objection, or of a sensitive nature.

⁵ For courses with approved templates see: <http://www.education.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ethics>

⁶ <http://www.education.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ethics/>

about the most appropriate response to any question⁷. Instructions on subsequent stages of the process are provided at the end of each section.

⁷ A list of current RIC members is available at: <http://www.education.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ethics/>

RESEARCH RISK AND ETHICS ASSESSMENT

School of Education, University of Manchester

To be completed by QA administrator

RIA reference			
Date received		Date approved	

SECTION A - SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

This section should be completed by the **person undertaking the research**.

A1. Name of Person/Student:	Ewa, Moses Apie		
A2. Student ID (quoted on library/ swipe card):	7567899		
A3. Email Address:	moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk		
A4. Name of Supervisor:	Dr. Susie Miles		
A5. Supervisor email address & contact phone no.:	susie.miles@manchester.ac.uk		
A6. Programme (PhD, ProfDoc, MEd, PGCE, MSc, BA etc):	PhD Education		
A7. Year of Study	2011/2012	A8. Full/Part-time	Full-time
A9. Course Code	EDUC 60531		
A10. Title of Project:	An Exploration of the Experiences of Boys and Girls in a Primary School Community in rural Cross River State, Nigeria (Pilot Study)		
A11. Participant Recruitment Start Date:	<i>On confirmation of ethical approval</i>	A12. Submission Date:	
A13. Location(s) where the project will be carried out:	Cross River State, Nigeria		
A14. Student Signature:	Ewa, Moses Apie		

The following section to be completed by the SUPERVISOR

A15. Assessed Risk Level	<input type="checkbox"/>	Low	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes	Medium	<input type="checkbox"/>	High
A16. Supervisor Signature							
A17. Date							

SECTION B – DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH

This section should be completed by **the person undertaking the research**.

B1. Provide an outline description of the planned research (250 words max).

This will investigate the ways male and female children are included in the primary school in rural Cross River State, Nigeria. The study will focus on culture, family issues as well as school access and participation.

The research questions are as follow:

1. How are girls included in the primary school in terms of access and participation in rural Cross River State, Nigeria?
2. How are boys included in the primary school in terms of access and participation in the primary school in rural cross river state, Nigeria?

B2. The principal research methods and methodologies are (250 words max):

This research is a case study (Yin, 2009). It will be a case study of a primary school located in a rural area in Cross River State, Nigeria. The case will be inclusion of female and male children in primary education.

Focus groups (using photo-elicitations) and interviews will be used to generate primary data.

Potential participants will be identified and recruited by the student researcher

Information sheets and consent forms will be given to potential participants to study.

The research will include eight children – four males and four females.

B3. Please indicate which of the following groups are expected to participate in this research:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Children under 16, other than those in school, youth club, or other accredited organisations.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Adults with learning difficulties, other than those in familiar, supportive ⁸ environments.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Adults who are unable to self-consent
<input type="checkbox"/>	Adults with mental illness
<input type="checkbox"/>	Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the researcher
<input type="checkbox"/>	Prisoners
<input type="checkbox"/>	Young Offenders
YES	Other vulnerable groups (please detail) Children, aged eight to sixteen

OR

<input type="checkbox"/>	None of the above groups are involved in this study
--------------------------	---

B4. Number of expected research participants.

8

B5. The research will take place (tick all that apply):

<input type="checkbox"/>	within the UK
<input type="checkbox"/>	within the EU
YES	within the researcher's home ⁹ country if outside the EU
<input type="checkbox"/>	wholly or partly in non-EU countries which are not the home country of the researcher

⁸ The person with learning difficulties has appropriate support within the setting from accredited support workers or family members.

⁹ The researcher's 'home country' is defined as one in which (1) the researcher holds a current passport through birthright or foreign birth registration, (2) a country where the researcher has resident status, or (3) where the researcher holds a permit or visa to work, has a contract of employment, and is not a UK tax-payer.

SECTION C – RESEARCH RISK ASSESSMENT

The following sections should be completed by the person undertaking the research in discussion with their supervisor/tutor with advice from a member of the School's Research Integrity Committee where appropriate.

C.0 – Criteria for research classified as **HIGH RISK** – NRES

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

The study involves primary research with adults who are unable to self consent

The study involves primary research with NHS patients or NHS staff, or on NHS premises

The study involves primary research with prisoners/young offenders

If any of these options are selected then please complete an NRES application. See your supervisor for further guidance.

C.1 – Criteria for research classified as **HIGH RISK** (tick any that apply)

I/we confirm that this research:

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

involves vulnerable or potentially vulnerable individuals or groups as indicated in B3

addresses themes or issues in respect of participant's personal *experience* which may be of a sensitive nature (i.e. the research has the potential to create a degree of discomfort or anxiety amongst one or more participants)

cannot be completed without data collection or associated activities which place the researcher and/or participants at *personal* risk

requires participant informed consent and/or withdrawal procedures which are not consistent with accepted practice

addresses an area where access to personal records (e.g. medical), in collaboration with an authorised person, is not possible

involves primary data collection on an area of public or social objection (e.g. terrorism, paedophilia)

makes use of video or other images captured by the researcher, and/or research study participants, where the researcher cannot guarantee controlled access to authorised viewing.

will involve direct contact with participants in countries on the Foreign and Commonwealth Office warning list¹⁰

will involve direct contact with participants in countries outside of the European Union or the researcher's home country (see footnote 6, page 4)

involves face to face contact with research participants outside normal working hours¹¹ that may be seen as unsocial or inconvenient

will take place wholly or partly without training or qualified supervision

requires appropriate vaccinations which are unavailable

will take place in locations where first aid and/or other medical support or facilities are not available within 30 minutes

¹⁰ <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/>

¹¹ For example, in the UK, normal working hours are between 8am-6pm, Mon-Fri inclusive.

☐ may involve the researcher operating machinery, electrical equipment, or workplace vehicles, or handling or working with animals at the research location(s), for which they are not qualified, and where a qualified operative or handler is not available to act as supervisor.

<p>A. PGR research</p> <p>If ONE OR MORE of the HIGH risk criteria have been selected ethical approval must be sought from a UREC committee. The person undertaking the research and their supervisor should agree this risk assessment and submit:</p>	<p>B. PGT/ UG research <u>not</u> reviewing/evaluating professional roles or practice</p> <p>If ONE OR MORE of the HIGH risk criteria have been selected ethical approval must be sought from a UREC committee. The supervisor and person undertaking the research should agree this risk assessment and submit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Completed RREA form • Completed the UREC form 	<p>C. PGT or UG research reviewing / evaluating professional roles or practice,</p> <p>If ONE OR MORE of the HIGH risk criteria have been selected ethical approval must be sought from the School of Education (SoE) Research Integrity Committee (RIC). The supervisor and student agree this risk assessment and submit:</p> <p>Completed RREA form</p>
--	--	---

The documents listed above should be submitted to:

- Mrs. Debbie Kubiena, Room B3.10 along with your PhD Research Plan for consideration at the PhD/Prof Doctorate Review Panel.
- The Quality Assurance Administrator via Ethics.Education@manchester.ac.uk by your supervisor. In doing so, supervisors confirm that they have agreed the assessed risk level and that the documents are complete and correct. The QA Administrator will arrange authorisation for your documents to be submitted to UREC.
- The Quality Assurance Administrator via Ethics.Education@manchester.ac.uk by your supervisor. In doing so, supervisors confirm that they have agreed the assessed risk level and that the documents are complete and correct. The QA Administrator will forward your completed documents to a member of the SoE RIC committee for approval.

If no HIGH risk items are ticked supervisors and students should continue to section C.2 on the next page

C.2 – Criteria for research classified as **MEDIUM RISK** (tick any that apply)

I/we confirm that this research:

YES	is primary research involving children or other vulnerable groups which involves direct contact with participants ¹² .
	study is on a subject that a reasonable person would agree addresses issues of legitimate interest, where there is a possibility that the topic may result in distress or upset in <u>rare</u> instances.
	is primary research which involves substantial direct contact ¹³ with adults in non-professional roles
	is primary research which focuses on data collection from professionals responding to questions outside of their professional concerns.
YES	is primary research involving data collection from participants outside of the EU or the researcher's home country via direct telephone, video, or other linked communications.
	is practice review/evaluation involving topics of a sensitive nature which are not personal to the participants.
	involves visits to site(s) where a specific risk to participants and/or the researcher has been identified, and the researcher may not be closely supervised throughout
	requires specific training and this is scheduled to be completed before fieldwork starts, or, training will not be undertaken but the research will be closely supervised by an academic advisor with appropriate qualifications and skills
	requires vaccinations which have been received, or are scheduled to be received in a timely fashion
	requires face to face contact with research participants partly outside normal working hours ¹⁴ that may be seen as inconvenient
	takes place in, or involves transport to and from, locations where the researcher's lack of familiarity may put them at personal risk
	may require the operation of machinery, electrical equipment, or workplace vehicles, or handling or working with animals at the research location(s), for which they are not qualified, but such operation or handling will be undertaken under close supervision from a qualified operative or handler

If ONE OR MORE of the **MEDIUM risk** criteria have been selected, ethical approval must be sought from the School of Education (SoE) Research Integrity Committee (RIC). The supervisor and student should agree this assessment and submit:

- Completed RREA form
- Completed School of Education Ethical Approval Application form¹⁵
- Supporting documents.

Documents should be submitted to either

- PGR Thesis** - Mrs. Debbie Kubiena, Room B3.10 along with your PhD Research Plan for consideration at the PhD/Prof Doctorate Review Panel.
- All other cases** - to the Quality Assurance Administrator via Ethics.Education@manchester.ac.uk **by your supervisor**. In doing so, supervisors confirm that they have agreed the assessed risk level and that the documents are complete and correct. The QA Administrator will forward your completed documents to a member of the SoE RIC committee for approval.

¹² This does not include research in locations where children are present if they are not the focus of the research.

¹³ For example in focus group or one to one interview in private locations, and not 'market research' which is characterised by brief interaction with randomly selected individuals in public locations

¹⁴ In the UK normal working hours are between 8am-6pm, Mon-Fri inclusive.

¹⁵ This document and guidance for completion can downloaded from <http://www.education.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ethics>

If none of the HIGH or MEDIUM risk criteria have been ticked, supervisors and students should continue to section C3 on the next page

C3 – Criteria for research classified as **LOW RISK**

C 3.1 **Research not involving human participants**

I/we confirm that this research (tick as appropriate):

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is not of high nor medium risk to the researcher, in accordance with the criteria provided in sections C.1 and C.2 respectively. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Secondary research (i.e. it will use material that has already been published or is in the public domain). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Secondary data analysis (i.e. it will involve data from an established data archive) |

If you have ticked one of the options in C3.1 above, and C3.2 does not apply, you should now complete section C3.3 ➡

C3.2 **Research involving human participants**

I/we confirm that this research (tick as appropriate):

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is not of high nor medium risk to the researcher, or participants, in accordance with the criteria provided in sections C.0, C.1 and C.2 respectively. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | A reasonable person would agree that the study addresses issues of legitimate interest without being in any way likely to inflame opinion or cause distress ¹⁶ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Practice review (i.e. the research involves data collection from participants on issues relating to the researcher's professional role, in a setting where the researcher is employed or on a professional placement) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Practice evaluation (i.e. the research involves data collection on a student's professional role, in a setting where the researcher is employed or on a professional placement. The data collected will be used for comparison against national or other targets or standards). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Primary research on professional practice with participants in professional roles. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Market research (i.e. the research may involve data collection from the general public approached or observed in public locations for the purposes of market investigation). |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | is Primary research using a questionnaire completed and returned by participants with no direct contact with the researcher. |

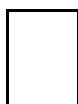
C 3.3 **Research context**

I/we confirm (tick as appropriate):

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | the research will be conducted wholly with the European Union, or outside the EU but in the researcher's home nation, |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | the researcher is not in a position to coerce potential participants |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | the location(s) of the research are not listed on the Foreign and Commonwealth Office warning lists ¹⁷ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Primary or practice research involves <u>no</u> vulnerable group (as indicated in question B3). |

¹⁶ A reasonable person would agree that the study includes no issues of public or private objection, or of a sensitive nature.

¹⁷ <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/>



Primary or practice research will be conducted in a public space or building (e.g. the high street, the University campus, a school building, etc)

- ⇒ ***UG and PGT research that involves only low risk criteria go to Section D.1 page 10***
- ⇒ ***PGR students should follow the directions below.***

PGR Panel Students

If ONE OR MORE of the **LOW risk** criteria above have been selected, ethical approval must be sought from the School of Education Research Integrity Committee. The supervisor and student should agree this research risk assessment and submit:

- Completed RREA form
- Completed the School of Education Ethical Approval Application form¹⁸.
- Supporting documents

Documents should be submitted to:

Mrs. Debbie Kubiena, Room B3.10 along with your PhD Research Plan for consideration at the PhD/Prof Doctorate Review Panel.

For UG, PGT research and Prof Doc students completing Research Papers that involve only LOW risk criteria go to Section D.1 page 10

¹⁸ This document and guidance for completion can downloaded from <http://www.education.manchester.ac.uk/intranet/ethics>

SECTION D – UG/PGT Ethical Approval Application for LOW risk research

D. 1 Research ethics criteria I/we confirm (tick as appropriate):

Codes of Practice

	I/we have read the School of Education Ethical Practice and Policy Guidelines
	the researcher will abide by the School of Education's Ethical Protocol detailed therein
	the researcher is aware of and will abide by any organisation's codes of conduct relevant to this research

Researcher skills/checks

	all necessary training procedures for this research have been completed
	all appropriate permissions have been obtained to use any database or resource to be analysed in Secondary research
	all relevant enhanced CRB checks have been completed
	written permission to be on the site to conduct primary research has been received

Risks to researcher

	the researcher will not travel through or work in research locations which may have unlit areas, derelict areas, cliffs, or local endemic diseases
	no specific vaccinations are required to undertake this research
	first aid provision and a trained first aider are available where appropriate
	the researcher will only operate machinery, electrical equipment, or workplace vehicles, or handle or work with animals at the research location(s) if they are qualified to do so
	the researcher will not give out personal telephone information to participants, or owners of secondary data resources, in relation to the research project
	Primary or practice research will be carried out within normal working hours ¹⁹ at a time convenient to participants.
	Public and private travel to and from the primary or practice research location(s) are familiar to the researcher and offer no discernable risk.

Rights of participants

	participant information sheets (PIS), consent forms, questionnaires, and all other documentation relevant to this research have been discussed with supervisor/tutor named in A.5
	PIS and consent forms have been confirmed by the supervisor named in A.5, as covering required headings illustrated in the School of Education Participant Information and consent templates

¹⁹ For example, in the UK normal working hours are between 8am and 6pm Mon-Fri inclusive.

<input type="checkbox"/>	the researcher understands the Data Protection Act and the University Data Protection Policy and all data will be handled confidentially and securely, including storage on encrypted devices.
--------------------------	--

Research Integrity

<input type="checkbox"/>	no data will be collected before approval of the study by the supervisor/tutor
<input type="checkbox"/>	the student researcher will immediately report any issues arising during the course of the study that conflict with the School of Education protocol, to the supervisor who has signed the ethics approval and suspend data collection pending advice from that supervisor/tutor
<input type="checkbox"/>	the researcher will report any proposed deviation from the research specification outlined in this assessment to the supervisor/tutor to update the current assessment or clarify any need for further approvals BEFORE such changes are made

Research output

<input type="checkbox"/>	the only publication/output from this research will be the assignment or dissertation unless consent has been obtained from participants for further dissemination
--------------------------	--

D.2 Supervisor confirmation that research constitutes LOW risk as assessed above.

When satisfied that the assessment is correct, the **supervisor** should complete this section.

For 'low risk' research approval relevant **items in bold must be ticked** and one or more of the specific research criteria as appropriate

The supervisor confirms:

<input type="checkbox"/>	The submission has been discussed and agreed with the person(s) undertaking the research.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The student has had appropriate training and has the skills to undertake this study, or has qualified supervision in place.
<input type="checkbox"/>	The research activities outlined in the proposal involve low risk to the student researcher or potential participants.

and one or more of the following as appropriate:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Primary or Practice research will not address issues of public or social objection or of a sensitive nature.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Information giving and consent taking processes follow School of Education guidance.
<input type="checkbox"/>	Secondary research assignment/project has appropriate resource or database access permissions.
<input type="checkbox"/>	They will act as custodian for data used for any study that results in a publication (dissertation or otherwise) and will arrange for archiving of data within the School for a minimum period of 5 years.

<i>Supervisor's signature:</i>		<i>Date:</i>	
---------------------------------------	--	---------------------	--

IF all relevant items in BOLD are confirmed and in addition all specific criteria relating to primary, practice or secondary research are confirmed as appropriate, the supervisor should submit:

- Completed RREA form
- Student research proposal, or equivalent, on which the assessment is based

- Supporting documents²⁰

Documents should be submitted electronically to the Quality Assurance Administrator via Ethics.Education@manchester.ac.uk **by the supervisor**. In doing so, supervisors confirm that they have agreed the assessed risk level and that the documents are complete and correct. The QA administrator will acknowledge receipt of the documents and provide formal confirmation of ethical approval via email to both student and supervisor. Copies of all documents should be retained by the supervisor.

Amendments to proposed research design for LOW risk research

Any minor²¹ amendment to low risk approved research submissions should be recorded and signed-off by the supervisor in section D.3 below as necessary. Substantial changes to research will require a reassessment and revised ethical approvals. A revised copy of the RREA showing the approved amendments, and any amended supporting documents, should be forwarded electronically to The QA administrator via ethics.education@manchester.ac.uk. The QA administrator will provide formal acknowledgement of approval of the change by email. A copy should be retained by the supervisor.

D.3 To be completed if/when applicable:

<i>Minor²² amendment to assessed research agreed (1):</i>			
<i>Details of amendment</i>			
<i>This section will record any applications made during the life time of the Project regarding minor changes from what was approved.</i>			
<i>Supervisor's signature:</i>		<i>Date:</i>	

²⁰ Supporting documents include recruitment adverts/emails, draft questionnaires/interview topic guides, information sheets and consent forms

²¹ Minor amendments are those that do not alter the character of the research or the participant groups

²² Minor deviations from previously approved research submissions are defined as those which neither change the nature of the study nor deviate from any participatory research groups previously identified. Supervisors should contact a member of the SoE Research Integrity Committee for advice if in doubt.

MAIN RESEARCH APPENDICES

APPENDIX J

Observation Manual

1. Participant pupil/s participation in lessons and extra-curricular activities
2. Participants' interest and enthusiasm regarding learning and assigned task
3. Safety and security- verbal or physical bullying or tensions among students
4. Interactions with teachers of different ethnicities and religions in various school settings
5. Teachers' efforts to engage all pupils and establish equality of opportunities and fair play in rewarding and punishing or reprimanding any pupil etc.
6. Relationship with peers - friendships, indifference or tension?
7. Language—fluency in English and any episodes of switching to home language in different school settings
8. Facilities and the extent of pastoral care to fulfil pupils' physical & emotional needs
9. Respect for pupils' religious and cultural norms and values
10. Facilities for effective teaching and learning (learning aids and materials, necessary equipment, furniture etc.)
11. Teachers' appearance (professional or otherwise) and style of teaching, examples, references and anecdotes to explain their lesson
12. Physical surroundings- bulletin boards displays, pupils' appearance (style and uniform etc.)
13. Learning material and lesson content: easily understandable, appropriate to fulfil pupils' diverse needs, free of any religious bias and delivered sensitively considering the age, gender, ethnic and religious background of various pupils

APPENDIX K

Interview Guide

Step 1 -Explaining the procedure: the investigator will have a group meeting with the selected ten pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school as appropriate, to introduce himself, familiarize himself with the pupils and to discuss with them the purpose of the study. An explanation will also be given regarding the ethical stance of the researcher. All of this will be explained as follows:

My name is Mr. xxxx and I will like to discuss with you about the life of children in school. I will use my tape recorder and note book to record the discussions. I will not tell anyone what you tell me during the discussions. I will give information sheets and consent forms to your parents/teachers. I need you to discuss with them so that they can inform me whether you would like to talk to me.

Step 2 -Message in a container: the researcher will have another group meeting with the same children and they will be asked to write on sheets of paper what they would like to do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school. Having done that, they will fold the papers and submit inside a container, which the investigator will provide.

Step 3a – Sociometry: now the investigator will meet with individual pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school as appropriate. During the meeting, the pupils will be asked to use sheets of paper to write their preferences regarding which of their peers they would like to work with. These responses will be given to the researcher. The instruction will be as follows:

If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Also write down the names of three children you would not like to work with.

Step 3b – Individual interviews: as the children hand in the papers, the investigator will interview them individually, starting with questions regarding their choices of peers. Then using examples of critical incidents that have been noted during the observation and ideas from the message in a container, the interviewer will ask the pupils to say more about their experiences in schools. Whilst the exact themes of these interviews will vary from pupil to pupil, it is anticipated they would focus on questions such as the examples in appendix C:

Step 4 – Ending the interview: at the end of the interview, each interviewee will be asked whether s/he has anything more to say. Once again they will be reassured that their responses will be treated as being confidential (*see appendix C*).

APPENDIX L

Sample interview questions

Kenwa, Edor Agom and Bunyia Primary Schools**Message in a container:**

1. If you have the chance to change the way you learn, the way you interact with your classmates or any other pupil in your school, write down what you would do

Sociometry:

1. If the teacher were to ask you to place a new board in the classroom, write down the names of three pupils in your classroom that you would like to work and the names of three pupils you would not like to work with.

Individual interview:

1. I have noticed that in your classroom some children sit on their own. Why is this happening?
2. When I was in your classroom I noticed that when one pupil said something wrong everybody else laughed and made fun of him/her. Does this happen quite often? Why? Is it always the same pupils that you make fun of?
3. During play time I have seen some children who don't have anyone to play with. Would you say there are such children from your classroom? Why do you think they have no one to play with?
4. When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen with only these children, or are they other pupils who do not come to school too? Why is it so?

Interview questions added during fieldwork in Kenwa primary school:

5. Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper?
6. When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
7. What should your teacher do for you to learn better?

Interview questions added during field work in Edor Agom primary school:

5. When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
6. Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper?
7. I have noticed that this school is built within Hausa/Fulani community. Why is it so?
8. Which children are schooling in your school?
9. I have noticed that some children do not like to sing some songs. Why is it so?
10. When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils used Pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening?
11. When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair?

12. When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?
13. What should your teacher do for you to learn well?

Interview questions added during field work in Bunyia primary school:

5. Where do the children who are schooling here in your school come from?
6. Why are children schooling here in your school?
7. I noticed that some people come to your school to cook some food for the children. What kind of food do they cook for the children?
8. When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
9. What will be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?
10. When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils used Pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening?
11. Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper?
12. When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?
13. What should your teacher do for you to learn well? I have noticed that children cut their hair low to school in your school. Why is this happening?

Ending the interview:

1. What more would you like to say?

APPENDIX M

Letter to Staff of Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board

School of Education

The University of Manchester

Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

26 July, 2013.

The Executive Chairman
Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board
Murtala Muhammed Highway
Calabar
Cross River State, Nigeria

Thro:

The Director,
School Services
SUBEB
Murtala Muhammed Highway
Calabar
Cross River State, Nigeria

Dear Sir/Madam,

**NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH AND APPEAL TO SELECT PRIMARY
SCHOOLS**

I wish to invite you to participate in my research entitled *a study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria*. The study will, in particular, inquire the extent to which children who come from different backgrounds feel included in primary schools in rural areas in Cross River State, Nigeria, the barriers to inclusion of children in school, the resources that can be mobilized to address these barriers and the potential of learner voice in analysing the ways children are included in schools within the research location. I will focus on pupils' access, learning and participation in relation to inclusive schooling. The research is located around the United Nation (1994) declaration on inclusive education. It will contribute new ideas to assist stakeholders improve schools and develop inclusive practices. Also, the study is to enable me obtain the degree: PhD Education at the University of Manchester, England, UK.

Sir, I wish to appeal that you use your records to identify and select three primary schools in rural locations within the state to participate in the study. Learners in each of the schools should be pupils from various backgrounds including language, ethnicity, gender, religion and special educational needs (SEN).

Participation in the study is voluntary. The children have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. Also, you have the right to decide that your schools should not to participate in the research at any time without giving a reason.

Thirty pupils from three public primary schools in rural locations in the state will take part in the project. I will contact school heads to negotiate access to their schools and the teachers to seek their help in identifying and recruiting ten 11-16 year old pupils from each selected school suitable to participate in the research. I will distribute information sheets regarding the research to school heads and teachers to read and decide whether to participate in the study. Also, I will provide information sheets about the study to pupils to read and say whether to take part in the study. However, children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent to take part in research. I will ask pupils to meet with their parents to discuss and decide whether to participate in the study. Consequently, I will also give information sheets and consent forms about the research to parents. I will request them to give informed consent and assent on behalf of their children to participate.

Three observations and one interview will be used to generate primary data from pupils within their schools. Each of the data collection activities with pupils will last 30 minutes. Data will be recorded using my audio-tape and field notes. Children will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. If sensitive and emotive issues arise, I will debrief the individual participants concerned after collecting data, as required. That means if the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will be able to discuss with the child who this person is and which teacher we should tell about the harm. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy.

Secondary data will include children's note books; the teachers' lesson notes, class registers, school time tables, school diaries etc in primary five. I can guarantee that all information shared will be confidential with me and used only for the purpose for which consent is given. The children will have the opportunity to read and check the transcripts to ensure their information are recorded correctly. Finally, data will be published in my doctoral dissertation, executive summaries and peer reviewed journal articles. Real names of schools and participants will be covered in pseudonyms during publication of data and result of the study even if they have no objections to the use of their real names. My supervisors may access the anonymous data to ensure the methods being used are appropriate. Data may also be shared with the university and other organisations interested in the research in line with data protection guidelines of the University of Manchester.

Find attached my supporting documents for your information. Please direct all correspondence to me **or** via the address above. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please you can contact my supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall at the address above or via mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk and dave.hall@manchester.ac.uk.

Since I will have access to children, I have undergone satisfactory criminal records checks at the University of Manchester. I can assure you that the pupils will be safe while working with me during the research. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with members of the research team, please contact the University of Manchester Research Practice and Governance Co-

ordinator by either writing to 'The Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator, Research Office, Christie Building, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL', by emailing: Research-Governance@manchester.ac.uk, or by telephoning 0161 275 7583 or 275 8093

I anticipate your co-operation, please. Best regards.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Moses A. Ewa', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Moses A. Ewa
Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX N

Letter to school heads

School of Education

The University of Manchester

Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

26 July, 2013.

Dear Sir/Madam,

**REQUEST FOR PERMISSION/APPROVAL TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN
YOUR PRIMARY SCHOOL**

I wish to invite your school to participate in my study entitled *a study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria*. The Education Authority has approved that I use your school in the study. I also request your permission to enable me access your school for the study. The study will specifically investigate how far children who come from various backgrounds feel included in primary schools in rural areas in Cross River State, the barriers to inclusion of children in school, the resources that can be drawn on to address these barriers and the potential of learner voice in analysing the ways children are included in schools within the research location. I will focus on pupils' access, learning and participation in relation to inclusive schooling. The research is located around the United Nation (1994) declaration on inclusive education. It will contribute new ideas to assist stakeholders improve schools and develop inclusive practices. Also, the study is to enable me obtain the degree: PhD Education at the University of Manchester, England, UK.

Participation in the study is voluntary. The children have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. You also have the right to decide that your school should not participate in the project at any time without giving a reason.

Thirty 11-16 year old pupils from three public primary schools in rural communities of the state will participate in the study. I will involve ten of these pupils from different backgrounds including language, ethnicity, religion, special educational needs (SEN) and gender, from your school in the study. I will contact the teachers to request their help in identifying and selecting ten children in primary five suitable to take part. I will supply information sheets concerning the study to the teachers to read and decide whether to participate in the study. I will also provide information sheets about the study to pupils to read and say whether to participate in the study. However, children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent to take part in research. I will ask pupils to meet with their parents to discuss and decide whether to participate in the study. Consequently, I will also give information sheets and consent forms about the research to parents. I will request them to give informed consent on behalf of their children to participate in the study.

Three observations and one interview will be used to collect primary data from pupils in the classrooms and playgrounds within the school. Each of the data collection activities with the pupils will last 30 minutes. Data will be recorded using

my audio-tape and field notes. Children will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. If sensitive and emotive issues arise, I will debrief the individual participants concerned after collecting data, as required. That means if the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will be able to discuss with the child who this person is and which teacher we should tell about the harm. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy.

Secondary data will include children's note books; the teachers' lesson notes, class registers, school time tables, school diaries etc. in primary five. All information you provide will be confidential with me and used only for the purpose for which consent is given. The children will have the opportunity to read and check the transcripts to ensure their information are recorded correctly. Finally, data will be published in my doctoral dissertation, executive summaries and journal articles. Real names of the school and pupils will be covered in pseudonyms during publication of data and result of the study even if you have no objections to the use the school's and children's real names. My supervisors may access the anonymous data to ensure the methods being used are appropriate. Data may also be shared with the university and other organisations interested in the research in line with data protection guidelines of the University of Manchester.

Please contact me directly **or** via the address above to indicate your interests to participate in the research. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please you can contact my supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall at the address above or via mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk and dave.hall@manchester.ac.uk.

Since I will have access to children, I have undergone satisfactory criminal records checks at the University of Manchester. I can assure you that the pupils will be safe while working with me during the research. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with members of the research team, please contact the University of Manchester Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator by either writing to 'The Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator, Research Office, Christie Building, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL', by emailing: Research-Governance@manchester.ac.uk, or by telephoning 0161 275 7583 or 275 8093

I anticipate your co-operation, please.

Best regards.

Moses A. Ewa
Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX O

Teacher information sheet

School of Education

The University of Manchester

Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

26 July, 2013.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I wish to invite you to my study entitled *a study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria*. The study will in particular examine how far children who come from different backgrounds feel included in primary schools in rural areas in Cross River State, Nigeria, the barriers to inclusion of children in school, the resources that can be used to address these barriers and the potential of learner voice in analysing the ways children are included in schools within the research location. I will focus on pupils' access, learning and participation in relation to inclusive schooling. The research is located around the United Nation declaration on inclusive education. It will contribute new ideas to assist stakeholders improve schools and develop inclusive practices. Also, the study is to enable me obtain the degree: PhD Education at the University of Manchester, England, UK.

Participation in the study is voluntary. All children have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. You also have the right to decide not to participate in the study at any time without giving a reason.

I would like to ask ten 11-16 year old pupils in your class to participate in the study. The Education Authority and the head teacher have approved my project and agreed that I may approach you for help in identifying and selecting potential participants. If you agree to participate, I will request you to assist to identify and select children from each of these five different backgrounds: language, ethnicity, religion, special educational needs (SEN) and gender, suitable to take part in the study in your class.

Children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent. I will provide information sheets about the study to pupils to read and say whether to participate in the study. I will ask pupils to meet with their parents to discuss and decide whether to participate in the study. Consequently, I will also give information sheets and consent forms about the research to parents. I will request them to give informed consent on behalf of their children to participate.

Three observations and one interview will be used to collect data from pupils in the classroom and playgrounds within the school. Each of the data collection activities with the pupils will last 30 minutes. Data will be recorded using my audio-tape and field notes. The children will be requested to give consent to record their responses and to also process the data. If the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will be able to discuss with the child who this person is and which teacher we should tell about the harm. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to

the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy.

Other data that I will collect will include children's note books; teachers' lesson notes, class registers, school time tables, school diaries. I can assure you that all information which you and your pupils give will be securely held by me and used only for the purpose for which consent is given. The children will have the opportunity to read and check the transcripts to ensure their information are recorded correctly. Finally, data will be published in my doctorate project and journal article. Real names of the school and pupils will be disguised during publication of data and result of the study even if the school and pupils have no objections to the use of their real names. My supervisors may access the anonymous data to ensure the methods being used are appropriate. Data may also be shared with the university and other organisations interested in the research in line with data protection guidelines of the University of Manchester.

If you would like to take part please contact me directly **or** via the address above to indicate your interests to take part in the research. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information. Should you require further information about ethics of the study, please you can contact my supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall at the address above or via mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk and dave.hall@manchester.ac.uk.

Since I will have access to children, I have undergone satisfactory criminal records checks at the University of Manchester. I can assure you that the pupils will be safe while working with me during the research. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with members of the research team, please contact the University of Manchester Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator by either writing to 'The Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator, Research Office, Christie Building, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL', by emailing: Research-Governance@manchester.ac.uk, or by telephoning 0161 275 7583 or 275 8093

I look forward to receiving your co-operation.

Best regards.

Moses A. Ewa
Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX P

Parental information sheet

School of Education

The University of Manchester

Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

26 July, 2013.

Dear sir/madam,

I am going to do research in your child's school. Through this research I want to find out about how children who come from different backgrounds learn. I will also try to find out about issues that hinder children from learning. In this way, I hope to collect information that can help to improve the children's education. In addition, this work will help me obtain a doctorate degree at the University of Manchester in England.

Participation in the study:

I am hoping that your child will participate in the study as a volunteer. This means that s/he has the right to decide not to take part at any time, without giving a reason. As parents, you also have the right to decide that your child should not to take part in the project at any time without giving a reason.

Children involved in the study:

The primary school education office, the school headmaster/mistress and teacher have agreed that I should do this research in your child's school and in his or her classroom. The class teacher has chosen your child to take part. Now, I need your permission for your child to take part in the study. Please I will request you to talk to your child about the study and write to let me know whether you have agreed that s/he can take part and whether your child is willing to take part in the research.

I have sent this information letter and consent form about my research to you. I will also give the information letter about the study to your child, once you have told me that you agree that s/he can take part, to read and say whether s/he wants to take part in the research. I request you to read the information sheet and consent form carefully and discuss them with your child and say whether s/he should take part in the study. Also, I need you to please sign the consent form and send it back to me within **two weeks** through your child or the teacher to confirm to me that your child has agreed to take part in the study.

My duty and your child's information in the study:

I will watch your daughter or son along with nine other children three times in the classroom and playgrounds in the school. Also, I will talk to him or her in a group and individually about what it is like to be at school. I will work with your child for 30 minutes. I will use my tape recorder and research note book to record the information. I will ask your child if s/he agrees for me to record and use her or his data. If your child seems unhappy with my questions during interview and is sad as a result, I will change the topic to another one. If your child says that s/he is being

harmed, or might harm another child, it would be my duty to inform the school about it. I will be able to discuss with your child who this person is and which teacher we should tell about the harm. After collecting data, I will inform the teachers about the issue to ensure they provide further support to make the affected pupils happy.

I will also use your child's note books; the teachers' lesson notes, class registers, school time tables, school diaries etc. to collect more data. I will keep all the information your child and his or her teacher give me safely and use it for the purpose for which your child has agreed to give the information. I will give back written copies of the information in paper form to your child. S/he will read and check the information on the paper to ensure that I have recorded his or her information correctly. Finally, I will write the data in my doctorate degree project and text books. The real name of your child and the school will be written in nicknames in my degree project and text books even if they have agreed that I should use their real names.

Indicating your interest to participate and safety of your child in the study:

Please read the consent form attached to this letter. If you agree that your child can take part, and your child also is willing to take part, initial and sign the form. Please send the form to me through your child or the teacher to confirm to me that you have agreed that your child can participate and your child is also willing to take part in the research.

Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you want more information. Please you can also contact my supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall at the address above or through mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk and dave.hall@manchester.ac.uk if you need more information about the research.

Since I will have access to children, I have done a satisfactory criminal record screening at my university named the University of Manchester. So I can assure you that your child will be safe as I work with him or her during the study. If there are any issues regarding this research that you would prefer not to discuss with members of the research team, please contact the University of Manchester Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator by either writing to 'The Research Practice and Governance Co-ordinator, Research Office, Christie Building, The University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL', by emailing: Research-Governance@manchester.ac.uk, or by telephoning 0161 275 7583 or 275 8093

I will be happy if you can co-operate with me.

Thank you.

Moses A. Ewa

Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX Q

Child's information sheet

School of Education

The University of Manchester

Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL

Email: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk

26 July, 2013.

Dear pupil,

I am visiting your school for the next few weeks to find out about how you and your classmates learn. This work will help me to get a degree at my university in England

Your teacher has suggested that you might help me in this work by telling me about your life at school. If you are happy to take part, I will come into your classroom to see you and your classmates during some lessons. I will also sometimes come to your playground to see you and your classmates during play time. Also, I will like to have a look at your notebooks to know how you and your classmates learn. I would also like you to talk with me, on your own and in a group with some of your classmates, about what it is like being at school.

As you will know, I have already contacted your parents for permission to ask you to take part and they have agreed. They also said that they had talked to you and you are interested in taking part in the research. However, you do not have to take part if you do not want to. If you do take part, you can change your mind and stop being part of the research. If you stop taking part, no one will be unhappy with you and it will not affect your school work in any way.

Please also note the following:

- You will take part as a volunteer;
- You do not have to answer my questions if you do not want to;
- When you do tell me things I will check with you that I have noted the information correctly; and
- Nobody else will be told what you tell me unless you say that you or someone else is being harmed. If that happens I will agree with you which teacher we should tell about the harm.

I will take this information letter to your teacher and ask him/her about your answer to take part.

Please ask me if any of this information is not clear to you.

Moses A. Ewa

Student ID: 7567899

APPENDIX R

A study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria

Parental consent form

If you are happy your child should participate please complete and sign the consent form below

Please initial or tick box

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 7. I confirm that I have read the attached information sheet on the above study and have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions and had these answered satisfactorily | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. I confirm that I have met with my child regarding the above study and, together, we have had the opportunity to discuss and consider the information, asked questions and had these answered satisfactorily | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. I can confirm that my child has agreed to participate in the study | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. I can confirm that my child will read the transcripts to ensure his or her data is recorded correctly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. I understand that my child's participation in the study is voluntary and that s/he is free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. I understand that the data supplied in my child's notebook, observations and interviews will be included in the researcher's thesis/dissertation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes from my child's interview | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. I understand that the interview will be audio-taped | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. I agree that any data collected may be passed to my research supervisors and other organisations interested in the study in accordance to the policy on data protection of the University of Manchester | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. I agree that any data collected may be published in anonymous form in academic books, journals and other publications | <input type="checkbox"/> |

I agree that my child, (name:) may take part in the above research and wish to submit this consent form to you to confirm my agreement above

----- Name of parent giving consent	----- Date	----- Signature
----- Name of person taking consent	----- Date	----- Signature

APPENDIX S

School of Education Ethical Approval Application Form

The ethical approval application form must contain answers to **all** the questions indicated in the boxes below, if they do not apply please state why.

SECTION 1 Student Details /Identification of the person responsible for the research

Name of Student:	Moses Apie Ewa
Student ID (quoted on library/ swipe card):	7567899
Email Address:	moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk ewamosrule@yahoo.com
Name of Supervisor:	Prof Mel Ainscow & Prof Dave Hall
Programme (PhD, Prof Doc, MEd, PGCE, MSc, BA etc):	PhD
Year of Study	2012/2013
Full/Part-time	Full-time
Title of Project:	A study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria
Project Start and End Dates:	On confirmation of ethical approval to September, 2015
Location(s) where the project will be carried out:	Cross River State, Nigeria
No risk, or acceptable levels of risk (measures documented)	Acceptable levels of risk
Student Signature:	Moses Ewa
Supervisor Signature:** Date:	Prof Dave Hall 1.8.13

** Supervisor signature confirms that the student has the relevant experience, knowledge and skills to carry out the study in an appropriate manner

SECTION 2 PROJECT DETAILS (Please expand boxes to fit answers)

2. Aims and Objectives of the Project

A. Provide a statement of your research aims and objectives including research questions.

The study aims to explore the lived experiences of children in primary schools in rural communities of Cross River State, Nigeria. It focuses specifically on how far children feel included in schools in rural locations in the state. The study will address the following research questions:

1. How far do pupils feel included in schools?
2. What are the barriers to inclusion they experience in schools?
3. What resources might be drawn on to address these barriers?

B. What is the justification for the research? (why is it an area of importance/ has any similar research been done)

A review of literature reveals that 10.5 million children (or 30% of the primary school-age cohort) do not have access to primary education in Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education of Nigeria, 2009; United Nations Children's Fund, 2007; Baba, 2011). There is also evidence that children from certain backgrounds are particularly vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2012), and that this challenge is a particular feature of schools in rural districts (Aguolu, 1979; Sampson, 2004; Lewis & Lockheed, 2006; Adesoji & Alao, 2009; Popoola, 2012; Bamidele, 2012).

The study is drawing on recent thinking in the field of inclusive education (Kisanji, 1995; Riehl, 2000; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002; Dei, 2005; Ainscow *et al*, 2006; Armstrong & Miles, 2008; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010), to investigate the barriers to inclusion of children in school, the resources that can be drawn on to address these barriers (Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Randeree, 2006; Tanye, 2008; Fakolade & Adeniyi, 2009; Turney & Kao, 2009) and the potential of learner voice (Fielding & Bragg, 2003; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004) in analysing the ways children are included in schools within the research location.

C. What are the main ethical issues and what steps will be taken to address them?

The study will involve children in primary schools in rural locations in Cross River State, Nigeria. Sensitive and emotive issues may arise during data collection.

Staff of the Cross River State Universal Basic Education (SUBEB) will use their record assist to identify and select three primary schools for the study. Access to the schools will be negotiated with the schools heads. Teachers will use class registers to identify and select pupils in primary five through purposive sampling.

Written permission letters (see appendices D and E) will be submitted to officials of SUBEB and head teachers respectively to use the schools for the research. Participant information sheets and consent forms (see appendices F, G and H) will be distributed to the teachers, parents and children to give informed consent and assent to participate in the project. Two weeks will be given to the children to decide whether to take in the study. However, children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent to participate in research. Therefore, parents will give informed consent and assent on behalf of their children before they can take part in the project.

Participation in the study is voluntary and all participants have the right to withdraw from participating in the study at any time without giving a reason. Audio tapes and field notes will be used to record data from pupils. Participants will give consent to the recording and processing of the data. If sensitive and emotive issues arise, individual participants concerned will be debriefed after collecting data, as required. Data will be securely held by me and locked in personal drawer.

All names of schools and participants will be covered in pseudonyms during publication of result of the study, even if participants have no objection to the use of their real names. Only my supervisor/s will access the anonymous data to ensure the methods used are appropriate. Children will read and check transcripts to ensure their responses are recorded correctly

2. Methodology

A. Please outline the design and methodology of the project, including the methods of data collection and the methods of data analysis and the theoretical framework that informs it.

The research design:

A case study approach will be adopted for this research since this fits the nature and context of the research and the fact that 'how' and 'what' research questions are being formulated to guide the study (Stake, 2006). In addition, the scope of the study is on a contemporary issue within a real life situation (Yin, 2009) and the researcher has little control over events. Three rural schools will be the cases to be investigated and the emphasis will be on exploring these contexts mainly through the lens of the pupils.

Choosing the schools:

Three state primary schools located in rural communities will be selected for the study. Initially, staff of the State Universal Basic Education Board will be contacted to use their records to identify and select the schools. Three schools will facilitate selection of pupils that will be representative of diverse characteristics and cultures, and to ensure thorough examination and analysis of the phenomena under study.

Sampling:

The study is school-based and child-focused. Whilst recognising the roles of teachers and parents in shaping pupils' experiences of schooling, the researcher, however, intends to primarily use the views of children to examine the practice of inclusion in primary schools within the research site.

Thirty 11-16 year old pupils in primary five will participate in the study. Children at that age range can usually understand issues and engage in discussions about the life of children in school. More so, pupils in primary five can generally understand, read and write simple texts in English, which is largely the language of instruction in all Nigerian schools. Consequently, ten pupils will be drawn from each school to participate in the study. Children from a range of varied backgrounds, taking account of language, ethnicity, religion, special educational needs (SEN) and gender will be recruited for the study. Work will be done with teachers in each school to use class registers to identify and recruit these pupils by purposive sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Robson, 2011).

Generating data:

Three methods will be used to generate data: documentary and archival analysis, participant observations and semi-structured interviews (Robson, 2011). In addition, a research diary will be kept to record and reflect on the research process and supervision discussions, and to supplement field notes (Hopkins, 2008).

Data will be generated in each school in three phases as follows:

Phase 1: Documentary/archival analysis:

Data about pupils in primary five will be carefully collected from the school heads and/or teachers, and examined in line with this study. Such data will include the children's demographics, attendance and assessment records, school time-tables, school policy, teacher lesson notes, pupils' note books and curricular documents. This will assist to examine the ways the schools and pupils conduct themselves in accordance with the focus of this research.

Phase 2: Participant observations:

Three participant observations will be conducted in each school (Robson, 2011). The intention is to investigate the issues through the eye of the researcher, to facilitate examination of the research contexts and phenomena relevant to the focus of the study and research questions; to guide the interviews (Messiou, 2003) and to collect rich data. These observations will explore power dynamics and help to create familiarity between the observer and participants. In doing the observations, I will watch the activities involving pupils and look for critical incidents (Angelides & Ainscow, 2000) that may arise from their life experiences about academics and interactions in school in relation to the focus of the study. Each observation will last 30 minutes.

Armed with an observation manual (see *appendix A*), I will follow pupils in one arm of primary five to their classroom and playgrounds to observe them. Thus, pupils in either primary five A, B, C etc will be observed to enable me focus attention on pupils in one stream of primary five in each school to generate data relevant to the focus of the study. Observations will also be done about the entire school environment. Systematic field notes will be written in relation to the indicators contained in the observation manual. The pupils may speak different local language/s at the playgrounds in addition to English. Schools in which pupils speak local language/s that I can understand will be used so that no interpreter will be needed.

Phase 3: Semi-structured interviews:

Using an interview guide (see *appendix B*), one off individual interviews will be held with 30 pupils across the three schools – ten interviewees per school. Each interview will last 30 minutes. These data collection activities will spread over one month. Interviews will help to examine the issues through the eyes of the pupils.

A series of steps will be applied prior to interviewing the pupils in order to protect their interests (see Mouton *et al*, 1955; Angelides & Ainscow, 2000; Messiou, 2003; Robson, 2011). Each of these steps will last 30 minutes and will be carried out on different days in each school.

Step 1 - Explaining the procedure: the investigator will have a group meeting with the selected ten pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school, as appropriate, to introduce himself, familiarize himself with the pupils and to discuss with them the purpose

of the study. An explanation will also be given regarding the ethical stance of the researcher. All of this will be explained as follows:

My name is Mr. xxxx and I will like to discuss with you about the life of children in school. I will use my tape recorder and note book to record the discussions. I will not tell anyone what you tell me during the discussions. I will give information sheets and consent forms to your parents/teachers. I need you to discuss with your parents or teachers so that they can inform me whether you would like to talk to me.

Step 2 - Message in a container: the researcher will have another group meeting with the same children and they will be asked to write on sheets of paper what they would like to do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school. Having done that, they will fold the papers and submit inside a container, which the investigator will provide.

Step 3a – Sociometry: now the investigator will meet with individual pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school as appropriate. During the meeting, the pupils will be asked to use sheets of paper to write their preferences regarding which of their peers they would like to work with. These responses will be given to the researcher. The instruction will be as follows:

If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Also write down the names of three children you would not like to work with.

Step 3b – Individual interviews: as the children hand in the papers, the investigator will interview them individually, starting with questions regarding their choices of peers. Then using examples of critical incidents that have been noted during the observation and ideas from the message in a container, the interviewer will ask the pupils to say more about their experiences in schools. Whilst the exact themes of these interviews may vary from pupil to pupil, it is anticipated they would focus on questions such as the examples in appendix C:

Step 4 – Ending the interview: at the end of the interview, each interviewee will be asked whether s/he has anything more to say. Once again they will be reassured that their responses will be treated as being confidential (see appendix C).

The English used in the questions will be phrased in straightforward way for the pupils to understand. Participants will be children who can speak sufficient level of English so that no interpreter will be required for the interviews.

Data analysis:

Data analysis will be informed by the thinking on inclusive education. Each school will constitute a case for the purposes of analysis (Robson, 2011). The perspectives of the pupils will be analysed in the context of the extent to which they feel included in their various schools. More specifically, the analysis will seek to throw more light on the barriers they see themselves as facing and the resources available to resolve these barriers.

Qualitative approaches will be employed to analyse data emerging from documentary analysis, observations and interviews. Firstly, data from documentary analysis, observations and preliminary steps (the written tasks) in phase three - semi-structured interviews, will be written repeatedly to refine the data into meaningful categories. If some responses are rendered in local language/s they will be presented verbatim, but analysed in English. From these grids of categories will be developed for examining, analysing and

making sense out of it (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to answer the research questions. With rigorous reasoning, critical thinking and theorising, the data will be coded and condensed (Basil, 2003). After one week the data will be re-coded to find consistencies, variations in the results, patterns and structures of the data. Data from these sources will be fully and thoroughly transcribed and examined.

Tape-recorded interviews will be transcribed into written forms to facilitate analysis. Interviews will be replayed and repeatedly listened to identify and transcribe the parts linked to the research. This method will help to distinguish responses made by particular participants. Memos will be produced and recorded systematically and reflected upon after session of listening (Charmaz, 2006). Transcripts, field notes and memos will be read and re-read to locate evidence and identify themes from the texts relevant to the focus of the study. Hence each round of documentary analysis, observations and interviews will lead to refining categories and developing key themes from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data analysis will therefore be based on key themes emerging from the data. As a second stage of data analysis, discourse analysis will be performed to further examine the ways participants use words, phrases etc to construct their own versions of their perceptions, values and attitudes (Antaki, *et al*, 2002) in relation to the research.

While keeping the existing literature in mind the chances of discovering novel phenomena through the research will be kept open (Strauss, 1987). At the final analysis evidences taken from the various data sources within the different participants and from each participant will be compared and contrasted to get new data. Contrasting data will be used to provide more insights and to examine the issue in greater depths while overlapping data will be utilized corroboratively in the analysis. Dependent on the outcome of the analysis described above, I will consider using a qualitative computer program (e.g. Nvivo) in order to contribute to the efficacy of the analysis. The investigator will analyse data in a PhD study room at the School of Education, University of Manchester in the UK.

B. A description of the research procedures/activities as they affect the study participant and any other parties involved.

Data collection activities will be carried out during fieldwork following the phases above. This is to ensure one phase leads to the other and ease collection of rich data from pupils to address the stated research questions. Three observations will be conducted in each school in different days. A sequence of techniques will be applied in the interviews and each of them will be performed in different days in each school. Children's language will be used with pupils during data collection. These strategies will help to create familiarity between me, pupils and teachers; to build confidence in them and check power dynamics, which may arise between the researcher and participants, and even the teachers.

Pupils will also be asked whether they are willing for their responses to be tape-recorded. Data collection will last averagely 30 minutes each. Pupils who can speak language/s that I understand will be used so that no interpreter will be required. Data will be collected during term time in order to meet the pupils in school. Classrooms and playgrounds within the schools will be used for meeting, observing and interviewing the pupils in the day time. Observations and interviews will be recorded in field notes and a tape recorder respectively so as to preserve data. Memos will be written in each session of data collection (Charmaz, 2006) to facilitate data analysis.

C. Please state your experience in conducting the research procedures/ activities and provide supporting evidence.

I have also learned and practiced how to gather data using observations on MSc Educational Research at the University of Manchester. I have carried out a pilot study with children in Nigeria. Interviews and a focus group using photo-elicitation (see copies attached) were used to generate data from them. This was to test the suitability of the methods to the primary research.

Attach copies of any draft instrument / interview guide / screen prints, and so on.

3. Participants

A. Give the number of participants; sex; age group and location

30 pupils; males and females; 11-16 years old; state primary schools in rural locations in Cross River State, Nigeria

B Will your project include participants from any of the following groups? (Tick as appropriate)

- ☐ Children under 16 **Yes**
- ☐ Adults with learning difficulties
- ☐ Adults with mental illness
- ☐ Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the researcher
- ☐ Prisoners
- ☐ Young Offenders
- ☐ Other vulnerable groups (please detail)

C. If your project includes vulnerable populations please explain why it is necessary to include them in your study, including measures you will take to avoid coercion.

The study aims to explore the extent to which children feel included in primary schools in rural sites in Cross River State, State. Thus, the issue will be examined through the perspectives of children.

Participation in the study is voluntary and all participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. Information sheets will be distributed to children to read (see appendix H). However, children cannot self-consent to participate in research. Information sheets and consent forms will be given to parents and parents. Parents will be requested to give informed consent on behalf of children before they are allowed to participate in the study (see appendices F, G & I). Information sheets and consents form will be worded to meet the probable levels of literacy of parents and teachers respectively. Parents will sign off or initial the consent forms to indicate that they have discussed with their children and have agreed that the children should participate in the study. Parents will send signed consent forms to me to confirm that they have had discussions with the child about the research and the child is in agreement to participate in it. I will get the consent forms through the teachers or pupils. Parents will be given two weeks to decide whether their children should participate in the research. Once the consent of parents for their children to participate in the research has been gained child research participants will be asked to give their verbal assent to participate in the research at least one week prior to the collection of research data.

4. Recruitment (please append any advertisement you will use)

A. How will potential participants be:

- i) Identified
- ii) Approached and Recruited

i) Staff of the state universal basic education board will use their records to assist to identify and select the primary schools. I will obtain permission from head teachers to access the selected schools. Teachers will use class registers to identify and select participants.

ii) Then, teachers will assist in recruiting pupils through purposive sampling, taking into account language, ethnicity, gender, religion and special educational needs. I will inform pupils that I will like to meet with them to discuss about the life of children in school.

B. How will your recruitment policy avoid putting any overt or covert pressure on the individual to consent?

Written information sheets and consent forms will be distributed to children to give informed consent and assent to participate in the study.

C. How long will the participant have to decide whether to take part in the study?

The children will be given two weeks to decide, through their parents, whether to participate in the research.

D. State any payment or any other incentive that is being made to any study participant. Specify and state the level of payment to be made and/or the source of the funds/gift/free service to be used and the justification for it.

No payments will be made to participants to participate in the study.

5. Risk and Safeguards

Please outline any adverse effects or risks for participants

A potential adverse effect for participants in the study is the loss of educational opportunities during the collection of data. I will discuss with class teachers the most opportune moments for the collection of research data so that this adverse effect can be minimised. I will also conduct interviews out of class teaching time. If other unanticipated adverse effects or risks for participants arise during the study, I will inform my supervisors before agreeing upon a suitable course of action. A further potential adverse effect is that children will become upset or embarrassed by my questions during interviews. If, in the research process, the children feel upset or embarrassed by my questions I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further.

A. What is the potential for adverse effects of a physical nature; risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or **inconvenience**, to participants?

Because data collection will take place out of class teaching time no potential for adverse effects have been identified. If, in the research process, the children feel upset or embarrassed by my questions I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further.

B. Will any topics discussed (questionnaire, group discussion or individual interview) be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could take place during the project?

If sensitive and emotive issues arise, I will debrief the individual participant concerned after collecting data, as required. If, in the research process, the children feel upset or embarrassed by my questions I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. Prior to conducting interviews I will check with each child whether or not they are happy to answer questions in the areas focused upon. If any child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will be able to discuss with the child who the person is and which teacher we can tell about the harm. After collecting the data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy.

C. What is the potential for adverse effects, risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or inconvenience, of a physical or psychological nature to **you** as the researcher?

I have identified no potential for adverse effects, risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or inconvenience, of a physical or psychological nature to myself as the researcher.

D. What precautions have been taken to minimise or mitigate the risks identified above in A, B, C?

Data collection will occur outside of class teaching time. If the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will be able to discuss with the child who the person is and which teacher we should tell about the harm. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teacher identified by the child to ensure s/he provides further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy.

6. Consent

A. Detail how informed consent/ assent will be obtained.

Written information sheets will be distributed to the children to read (see appendix H). However, since children cannot self-consent to participate in research, information sheets and consent forms will be given to parents and teachers. Parents will be requested to give informed consent on behalf of their children before they are allowed to participate in the study (see appendices F, G & I). Information sheets and consent forms will be worded to meet the probable levels of literacy of parents and teachers respectively. Parents will sign off or initial the consent forms to indicate that they have discussed with their children and have agreed that the children should participate in the study. Parents will submit signed consent forms to me to confirm that they have had discussions with the child about the research and the child is in agreement to participate in it. I will get the consent forms through the teachers or pupils. Parents will be given two weeks to decide whether their children should participate in the research. Once consent from parents has been received, verbal assent to participate will be gained from all children at least one week prior to their direct involvement in the study.

I have received training on information giving and consent giving on the masters programmes: MA Educational Leadership and School Improvement and MSc Educational Research, I did at the University of Manchester. I have applied this training in practice

during my dissertation and the pilot study I conducted with children in Nigeria in the processes leading to the PhD.

B. If the participants are to be recruited from a vulnerable groups (3B) give details of the extra steps taken to assure their protection.

Parents will be requested to give informed consent and assent on behalf of children before they are allowed to participate in the study

Attach draft Information Sheets & Consent Forms for each participant group.

8. Data Protection and confidentiality

A. Will the pilot study use any of the following activities at any stage?

- ☐ Electronic transfer by email or computer networks
- ☐ Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, e-mails or telephone numbers
- ☐ Publication of direct quotations from respondents **Yes**
- ☐ Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals
- ☐ Use of audio/visual recording devices **Yes**
- ☐ Storage of personal data on any of the following:

- ☐ Manual files
- ☐ Home or other personal computers **Yes**
- ☐ University computers **Yes**
- ☐ Private company computers
- ☐ Laptop computers

B. Please provide details on the measures you will employ to comply with the Data Protection Act and the University Data Protection Policy?

Documentary analysis, observations and interviews will be recorded in field notes and voice recorder with the consent of the participants. I will then transcribe the data by typing them up as words files in the researcher's university's computer which is in a secure, private location and saved in the university's secure network drive. Transcripts will be given to the children to read and check that their information is recorded correctly. The names of the participants will be coded and the key to the code will be kept in locked filing cabinet located in the researcher's home. The data will be used only for the purpose for which consent is given.

C. What measures have been put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data? Give details of whether any encryption or other anonymisation procedures have been used and at what stage?

Data will be confidential and anonymous and will be securely held by me and locked in a personal drawer.

D. Where will the analysis of the data from the study take place and by whom will it be undertaken?

Data will be analysed by me and that will take place within the PhD study room at the School of Education, University of Manchester in the UK.

E. Who will have control of and act as the custodian for the data generated by the study?

My supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall and I will have custody of the data generated by the study. Data will also be shared with the university and other organisations interested in the study in line with data protection policy of the University

of Manchester.

F. Who will have access to the data generated by the study?

My supervisors and I will access the data generated by the study.

G. For how long will data from the study be stored?

Five years

8) Reporting Arrangements

A. Please confirm that any adverse event will be reported to the Committee

If adverse situations of any kind occur during the study, I will inform my supervisor who in turn will communicate to the ethics committee for actions and solution to enable the study continue afterwards.

B. How is it intended the results of the study will be reported and disseminated?
(Tick as appropriate)

- ☐ Peer reviewed scientific journals **Yes**
- ☐ Internal report
- ☐ Conference presentation **Yes**
- ☐ Thesis/dissertation **Yes**
- ☐ Written feedback to research participants **Yes**
- ☐ Presentation to participants or relevant community groups
- ☐ Other/none e.g. University Library

C. How will the results of research be made available to research participants and communities from which they are drawn?

Staff of the study schools will be given written summaries of the findings. An executive summary of the larger report will be distributed to the respective local education authorities across the particular schools Cross River State to communicate findings to primary schools in rural areas and the teachers engaged with pupils.

D. What arrangements are in place for monitoring and auditing the conduct of the research?

My supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Prof Dave Hall will monitor the study. Also, student eprog will be completed regularly to facilitate auditing of the conduct of the research.

E. What are the criteria for electively stopping the research prematurely?

If adverse situations occur during the study.

9. Sponsorship

Provide information on whether the study is in receipt of any external funding. Confirm who will act as sponsor of the research.

My supervisor is the sponsor of the research

10. Conflict of Interest

Have any conflicts of interest been identified in relation to this project?

There will be no conflict of interests during the study.

SECTION 3 - MINOR AMENDMENT TO RESEARCH PROJECT

Application for Approval of Minor Amendment²³ to a Research Study

Details of proposed amendment (please give as much detail as possible)

The title of the research is now revised to:

A study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria.

Supervisor Declaration

I agree that the amendment proposed does not change the character of this research or the participant groups.

I confirm that the research risk assessment for the study as MEDIUM remains.

Supervisor's signature*

Prof Dave Hall

Date.

1.8.13

Please send applications for amendment to ethical approval for MEDIUM risk research to the School Quality Assurance Administrator at ethics.education@manchester.ac.uk who will pass on the request to the RIC member who authorised the original application wherever possible.

²³ Minor amendments are those that do not alter the character of the research or the participant groups

APPENDIX T

UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

COMMITTEE ON THE ETHICS OF RESEARCH ON HUMAN BEINGS

School of Education

This form should be completed by the Student and the Main Supervisor, after reading the guidance notes. It should then be sent to the School for signing off at School Level. (Both electronic and hard copies are required at ethics.education@manchester.ac.uk & B3.8 Ellen Wilkinson Building)

Please note that if you feel a question is not relevant to your research it is not sufficient to insert Not Applicable, you must explain why.

1. Title of the research

Full title: A study on the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria

2. Chief Investigator / Investigator (In the case of UG Applications the student is always the investigator, supervisor is the chief investigator)

	Students Details	Supervisors Details
Student ID No	7567899	
Title	Mr	
First Name	Moses Apie	
Surname	Ewa	
Current Programme/Post	PhD Education	
Qualifications	B.Ed, MA	
Discipline Area (SoE)	Education	
Telephone Number	07424730315	
Email Address	moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk ewamosrule@yahoo.com	
For UREC information: Any correspondence can be made via the School of Education using the below information if necessary		
School Contact	Ethics.education@manchester.ac.uk B3.8 Ellen Wilkinson Building, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, M13 9PL	
Please copy all email communications in connection to this application to the School of Education Contact for application tracking purposes.		

3. Details of Project

3.1 Proposed study dates and duration

Start date: On confirmation of ethical approval

End date: February, 2014

3.2 Is this a student project?

Yes

If so, what degree is it for?

3.3. What is the principal research question/objective? (Must be in language comprehensible to a lay person.)

The principal objective for my study is to: use the views of children in order to shed more light on the challenges of including all children in primary schools in a rural district in Nigeria. In so doing, the intention is to generate findings that will inform future policy and practice within the country and in other similar contexts. With these overall purposes in mind, the study will address the following research questions:

1. *How far do pupils feel included in schools?*
2. *What are the barriers they experience?*
3. *What resources might be drawn on to overcome these barriers?*

3.4. What is the scientific justification for the research? What is the background? Why is this an area of importance / has any similar research been done?

(Must be in language comprehensible to a lay person.)

A review of literature reveals that 10.5 million children (or 30% of the primary school-age cohort) do not have access to primary education in Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Education of Nigeria, 2009; United Nations Children's Fund, 2007; Baba, 2011). There is also evidence that children from certain backgrounds are particularly vulnerable to marginalization and exclusion (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2012), and that this challenge is a particular feature of schools in rural districts (Aguolu, 1979; Sampson, 2004; Lewis & Lockheed, 2006; Adesoji & Alao, 2009; Popoola, 2012; Bamidele, 2012).

Drawing on recent thinking in the field of inclusive education (Kisanji, 1995; Riehl, 2000; Eleweke & Rodda, 2002, Dei, 2005; Ainscow et al, 2006; Armstrong & Miles, 2008; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2010), the study will investigate the barriers to inclusion of children in school, the resources that can be drawn on to address these barriers (Booth & Ainscow, 2002; Randeree, 2006; Tanye, 2008; Fakolade & Adeniyi, 2009; Turney & Kao, 2009) and the potential of learner voice (Fielding & Bragg, 2003; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004) in analysing the ways children are included in schools within the research location.

The study will focus on three interconnected aspects of inclusion as follows:

- *Access, which relates to the capacity of the school system to accommodate all its school-age population; the accessibility of school places to every individual child; universal registration; universal attendance at first grade as well as universal attendance of all pupils through primary cycle (Lloyd & Hewett, 2003; cf. Ware et al, 2011).*
- *Learning, which is concerned with the extent to which children are achieving the purposes of lesson (Wang et al, 1990; Kember & Gow, 1994; Wenger, 2004)*
- *Participation, which involve the ways pupils are included as active partners in classroom programmes and their interactions with peers and teachers in school (Wenger, 2004; Rudduck & Flutter, 2000).*
-

3.5. How has the scientific quality of the research been assessed? (Tick as appropriate)

- ☒ ☐ Independent external review
- ☐ Review within a company
- ☐ Review within a multi-centre research group
- ☒ Internal review (e.g. involving colleagues, academic supervisor)
- ☐ None external to the investigator
- ☐ Other, e.g. methodological guidelines (give details below)

If relevant, describe the review process and outcome. If the review has been undertaken but not seen

by the researcher, give details of the body which has undertaken the review:

The research was discussed with my three supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow, Dr. Susie Miles both academics and professionals in Inclusive Education, and Mr Dave Hall who is an academic and professionals in Educational Leadership and School Improvement at the University of Manchester. They feel it is necessary for me to do research on Inclusive Education which is presumably a new thinking in education community in Nigeria. Review of the study was also done via independent reading by the researcher.

3.6. Give a full summary of the purpose, design and methodology of the planned research, including a brief explanation of the theoretical framework that informs it. It should be clear exactly what will happen to the research participant, how many times and in what order. Describe any involvement of research participants, patient groups or communities in the design of the research. (This section must be completed in language comprehensible to the lay person.)

Literature in the developed world has demonstrated the relevance of children's views in analysing the practice of inclusion in schools (Fielding & Bragg, 2003; McBeath et al, 2003; Flutter & Rudduck, 2004). This study builds on these findings, using the views of children in order to throw more light on the challenges of including all children in rural schools in Nigeria. In so doing, the intention is to generate findings that will inform future policy and practice within the country and in other similar contexts.

The research design:

A case study approach will be adopted for this research since this fits the nature and context of the research and the fact that 'how' and 'what' research questions are being formulated to guide the study (Stake, 2006). In addition, the scope of the study is on a contemporary issue within a real life situation (Yin, 2009) and the researcher has little control over events. Three rural schools will be the cases to be investigated and the emphasis will be on exploring these contexts mainly through the lens of the pupils.

Choosing the schools:

Three state primary schools located in rural communities will be selected for the study. Initially, staff of the State Universal Basic Education Board will be contacted to use their records to identify and select the schools. Three schools will facilitate selection of pupils that will be representative of diverse characteristics and cultures, and to ensure thorough examination and analysis of the phenomena under study.

Sampling:

Thirty 11-16 year old pupils in primary five will participate in the study. Children at that age range can understand issues and engage in discussions about the life of children in school. More so, pupils in primary five can generally understand, read and write simple texts in English, which is largely the language of instruction in all Nigerian schools. Consequently, ten pupils will be drawn from each school to participate in the study. Children from a range of varied backgrounds, taking account of language, ethnicity, religion, special educational needs (SEN) and gender will be recruited for the study. Work will be done with teachers in each school to use class registers to identify and recruit these pupils by purposive sampling (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Robson, 2011).

Generating data:

Three methods will be used to generate data: documentary and archival analysis, participant observations and semi-structured interviews (Robson, 2011). In addition, a research diary will be kept to record and reflect on the research process and supervision discussions, and to supplement field notes (Hopkins, 2008).

Data will be generated in each school in three phases as follows:

Phase 1: Documentary/archival analysis:

I will engage in discussions with head teachers and teachers to start the process of collecting data. In particular, data about pupils in primary five will be carefully collected from the school heads and/or teachers and examined in line with this study. Such data will include the children's demographics, attendance and assessment records, school time-tables, school policy, teacher lesson notes, pupils' note books and curricular documents. This will assist to examine the ways the schools and pupils conduct themselves in accordance with the focus of this research.

Phase 2: Participant observations:

Building on the lessons learnt from the pilot study and documentary analysis, three participant observations will be conducted in each school (Robson, 2011). The intention is to investigate the issues through the eye of the researcher, to facilitate examination of the research contexts and phenomena relevant to the focus of the study and research questions; to guide the interviews (Messiou, 2003) and to collect rich data. Three observations will help to check power dynamics and create familiarity between me and participants. The observer will achieve this by becoming part of the participants to watch and look for critical incidents (Angelides & Ainscow, 2000) that may arise from their

experiences of academics and interactions in school in relation to the focus of the study. Each observation will last 30 minutes.

The observations will focus on school facilities, access to school, classroom programmes and interactions between pupils and their peers and teachers. Armed with an observation manual (*see appendix A*), the observer will follow pupils in one arm of primary five to their classroom and playgrounds to observe them. Thus pupils in either primary five A, B, C etc will be observed to enable me concentrate. Observations will also be done about the entire school environment. Systematic field notes will be written in relation to the indicators contained in the observation manual. The pupils may speak different local language/s at the playgrounds in addition to English. Schools in which pupils speak local language/s that I can understand will be used so that no interpreter will be needed.

Phase 3: Semi-structured interviews:

Using an interview guide (*see appendix B*), one off individual interviews will be held with 30 pupils across the three schools – ten interviewees per school. These data collection activities will spread over one month. Interviews will help to examine the issues through the eyes of the pupils. This will focus the study around aspirations of the pupils, school processes, perceptions and attitudes of parents, peers and teachers towards access and participation of the children at school and pupil voice in consonant with the research questions and aim stated above.

A series of steps will be applied prior to interviewing the pupils in order to protect their interests (*see Mouton et al, 1955; Angelides & Ainscow, 2000; Messiou, 2003; Robson, 2011*). Each of these steps will last 30 minutes and will be carried out in different days in each school.

Step 1 - Explaining the procedure: the investigator will have a group meeting with the selected ten pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school as appropriate, to introduce himself, familiarize himself with the pupils and to discuss with them the purpose of the study. An explanation will also be given regarding the ethical stance of the researcher. All of this will be explained as follows:

My name is Mr. xxxx and I will like to discuss with you about the life of children in school. I will use my tape recorder and note book to record the discussions. I will not tell anyone what you tell me during the discussions. I will give information sheets and consent forms to your parents/teachers. I need you to discuss with your parents or teachers so that they can inform me whether you would like to talk to me.

Step 2 - Message in a container: the researcher will have another group meeting with the same children and they will be asked to write on sheets of paper what they would like to do if given the opportunity to change one thing in their school. Having done that, they will fold the papers and submit inside a container, which the investigator will provide.

Step 3a – Sociometry: now the investigator will meet with individual pupils in the classroom or elsewhere in the school as appropriate. During the meeting, the pupils will be asked to use sheets of paper to write their preferences regarding which of their peers they would like to work with. These responses will be given to the researcher. The instruction will be as follows:

If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Also write down the names of three children you would not like to work with.

Step 3b – Individual interviews: as the children hand in the papers, the investigator will interview them individually, starting with questions regarding their choices of peers. Then using examples of critical incidents that have been noted during the observation and ideas from the message in a container, the interviewer will ask the pupils to say more about their experiences in schools. Whilst the exact themes of these interviews may vary from pupil to pupil, it is anticipated they would focus on questions such as the examples in appendix C:

Step 4 – Ending the interview: at the end of the interview, each interviewee will be asked whether s/he has anything more to say. Once again they will be reassured that their responses will be treated as being confidential.

The English used in the questions will be phrased in straightforward way for the pupils to understand. Participants will be children who can speak sufficient level of English so that no interpreter will be required for the interviews.

Procedures:

Data collection activities will be carried out during fieldwork following the phases above. This is to ensure one phase leads to the other and ease collection of rich data from pupils to address stated research questions. Three observations will be conducted in each school in different days. A sequence of techniques will be applied in the interviews and each of them will be performed in different days in each school. Children's language will be used with pupils during data collection. These strategies will help to create familiarity between me, pupils and teachers; to build confidence in them and check power dynamics, which may arise between me and participants, and even the teachers.

Pupils will also be asked whether they will like their responses to be tape-recorded. With such a friendly environment, rich data can be collected from the participants. Data collection will last 30 minutes each. Pupils who can speak language/s that I understand will be used so that no interpreter will be required. Data will be collected during term time in order to meet the pupils in school. Classrooms and playgrounds within the schools will be used for meeting and, observing and interviewing the pupils in the day time. Observations and interviews will be recorded in field notes and tape recorders respectively so as to preserve data. Memos will be written in each session of data collection (Charmaz, 2006) to facilitate data analysis.

3.6.1. Has the protocol submitted with this application been the subject of review by a statistician independent of the research team?(Select one of the following)

☐ No – justify below

Statistics are not being used in this study.

3.6.2. If relevant, specify the specific statistical experimental design, and why it was chosen?

N/A

3.6.3. How many participants will be recruited?

If there is more than one group, state how many participants will be recruited in each group. For international studies, say how many participants will be recruited in the UK and in total.

Thirty pupils from three public primary schools in rural Cross River State, Nigeria will participate in the study. Ten 11-16 year olds in primary five will be selected from each school by purposive sampling, taking into account language, gender, ethnicity, religion and special educational needs.

Document analysis – School time tables, pupils note books, teacher lesson notes, attendance and assessment records, class registers involving pupils in primary five in each of the three selected primary schools

Observation - observation of pupils in one arm of primary five in each of the three schools. Observations will also be done the entire school environment.

Individual interviews – ten pupils in primary five in each of the three schools

3.6.4. How was the number of participants decided upon?

This decision to recruit 30 pupils is to ensure children from the various backgrounds mentioned above are recruited in line with the focus of the study.

If a formal sample size calculation was used, indicate how this was done, giving sufficient information to justify and reproduce the calculation.

The number of pupils was decided upon based on the focus of the study and limited timescale. Ten pupils will be selected from each school using purposive sampling, taking into considerations such backgrounds of pupils as ethnicity, language, gender, special educational needs and religion in accordance with the interest of the study

3.6.5. Describe the methods of analysis (statistical or other appropriate methods, e.g. for qualitative research) by which the data will be evaluated to meet the study objectives.

Data analysis:

Qualitative approaches will be used to analyse data from archival documents, observations and interviews. Data analysis will be informed by the thinking on inclusive education. Each school will constitute a case for the purposes of analysis (Robson, 2011). The perspectives of the pupils will be analysed in the context of the extent to which they feel included in their various schools. More specifically, the analysis will seek to throw more light on the barriers they see themselves as facing and the resources available to resolve these barriers.

Qualitative approaches will be employed to analyse data emerging from documentary analysis, observations and interviews. Firstly, data from documentary analysis, observations and preliminary steps (the written tasks) in phase three – semi-structured interviews, will be written repeatedly to refine the data into meaningful categories. If some responses are rendered in local language/s they will be presented verbatim, but analysed in English. From these grids of categories will be developed for examining, analysing and making sense out of it (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to answer the research questions. With rigorous reasoning, critical thinking and theorising,

the data will be coded and condensed (Basit, 2003). After one week the data will be re-coded to find consistencies, variations in the results, patterns and structures of the data. Data from these sources will be fully and thoroughly transcribed and examined.

Tape-recorded interviews will be transcribed into written forms to facilitate analysis. Interviews will be replayed and repeatedly listened to identify and transcribe the parts linked to the research. This method will help to distinguish responses made by particular participants. Memos will be produced and recorded systematically and reflected upon after session of listening (Charmaz, 2006). Transcripts, field notes and memos will be read and re-read to locate evidence and identify themes from the texts relevant to the focus of the study. Hence, each round of documentary analysis, observations and interviews will lead to refining categories and developing key themes from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data analysis will therefore be based on key themes emerging from the data. As a second stage of data analysis, discourse analysis will be performed to further examine the ways participants use words, phrases etc. to construct their own versions of their perceptions, values and attitudes (Antaki, et al, 2002) in relation to the research.

While keeping the existing literature in mind the chances of discovering novel phenomena through the research will be kept open (Strauss, 1987). At the final analysis evidences taken from the various data sources within the different participants and from each participant will be compared and contrasted to get new data. Contrasting data will be used to provide more insights and to examine the issue in greater depths while overlapping data will be utilized corroboratively in the analysis. A suitable qualitative computer program (e.g. Nvivo) will be used to organize codes, condense the data and facilitate analysis. I will analyse data in a PhD study room at the School Education, University of Manchester in the UK.

3.7. Where will the research take place?

The study will take place in three public primary schools in rural areas in Cross River State, Nigeria

3.8. Names of other staff involved.

The other staff members involved in the study are my supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Mr Dave Hall

3.9. What do you consider to be the main ethical issues which may arise with the proposed study and what steps will be taken to address these?

The study will involve children in primary schools in rural locations in Cross River State, Nigeria. Sensitive and emotive issues may arise during data collection.

Staff of the Cross River State Universal Basic Education (SUBEB) will use their record to assist to identify and select three primary schools for the study. Access to the schools will be negotiated with the schools heads. Teachers will use class registers to identify and select pupils in primary five through purposive sampling.

Written permission letters will be submitted to officials of SUBEB and head teachers respectively to use the schools for the research (see appendices D and E). Participant information sheets and consent forms (see appendices F, G and H) will be distributed to the participants to give informed consent and assent to participate in the project. Two weeks will be given to the participants to decide whether to take in the study. However, children are a vulnerable group and cannot self-consent to participate in research. Teacher and/or parents will give informed consent and assent on behalf of children before they can take part in the project.

Participation in the study is voluntary and all participants have the right to withdraw from participating in the study at any time without giving a reason. Audio tapes and field notes will be used to record data from pupils. Participants will give consent to the recording and processing of the data. If sensitive and emotive issues arise, individual participants concerned will be debriefed after collecting data, as required. Data will be securely held by me and locked in personal drawer.

All names of schools and participants will be covered in pseudonyms during publication of result of the study, even if participants have no objection to the use of their real names. Only my supervisor/s may access the anonymous data to ensure the methods used are appropriate. Children will read and check transcripts to ensure their responses are recorded correctly.

I am aware of the issues of working with children as I am a trained teacher. In 20 December, 2011 I had a Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check done and am in custody of it. Pupils will be observed and interviewed in the classrooms and playgrounds within their respective schools.

3.9.1. Will any intervention or procedure, which would normally be considered a part of routine care, be withheld from the research participants?

☐ No

If yes, give details and justification

4. Details of Subjects.

4.1. Total Number

30 pupils

4.2 Sex and Age Range

Male and female; 11 – 16 years old

4.3 Type

Pupils in primary schools in rural areas in Cross River State, Nigeria

4.4. What are the principal inclusion criteria? (Please justify)

Pupils will be included taking into consideration language, ethnicity, religion, gender and special educational needs in line with the focus of the study.

4.5. What are the principal exclusion criteria? (Please justify)

N/A

4.6. Will the participants be from any of the following groups? (Tick as appropriate)

- ☐ Children under 16 **YES**
- ☐ Adults with learning difficulties
- ☐ Adults who are unconscious or very severely ill
- ☐ Adults who have a terminal illness
- ☐ Adults in emergency situations
- ☐ Adults with mental illness (particularly if detained under mental health legislation)
- ☐ Adults with dementia
- ☐ Prisoners
- ☐ Young offenders
- ☐ Adults in Scotland who are unable to consent for themselves
- ☐ Healthy volunteers
- ☐ Those who could be considered to have a particularly dependent relationship with the investigator, e.g. those in care homes, medical students.
- ☐ Other vulnerable groups

Justify their inclusion

The study aims to explore the extent to which children feel included in primary schools in rural sites in Cross River State, Nigeria. Thus, the issue will be examined through the perspectives of children. They are therefore included in the study so as to achieve this aim.

4.7. Will any research participants be recruited who are involved in existing research or have recently been involved in any research prior to recruitment?

☐ No

If Yes, give details and justify their inclusion. If Not Known, what steps will you take to find out?

4.8 How will potential participants in the study be (i) identified, (ii) approached and (iii) recruited?

i) Staff of the state universal basic education board will use their records to assist to identify and select the primary schools. I will obtain permission from head teachers to access the selected schools. Teachers will use class registers to identify and select participants.

ii) Then, teachers will assist to recruit pupils through purposive sampling, taking into account language, ethnicity, gender, religion and special educational needs. I will inform pupils that I will like to meet with them to discuss about the life of children in school.

Where research participants will be recruited via advertisement, please append a copy to this application

4.9 Will individual research participants receive reimbursement of expenses or any other incentives or benefits for taking part in this research?

☐ No

If yes, indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided

5 Details of risks

5.1 Drugs and other substances to be administered

Indicate status, eg full product licence, CTC, CTX. Attach: evidence of status of any unlicensed product; and Martindales Pharmacopoeia details for licensed products

DRUG STATUS DOSAGE/FREQUENCY/ROUTE

This research is not based on medical or health sciences. Neither of the above is applicable.

5.2 Procedures to be undertaken

Details of any invasive procedures, and any samples or measurements to be taken. Include any questionnaires, psychological tests etc. What is the experience of those administering the procedures?

None of the measures listed above will be used in this study.

5.3 Or Activities to be undertaken

Please list the activities to be undertaken by participants and the likely duration of each

Interview - Each participant will be interviewed and the activity will last 30 minutes.

5.4 What are the potential adverse effects, risks or hazards for research participants, including potential for pain, discomfort, distress, inconvenience or changes to lifestyle for research participants?

None

5.5 Will individual or group interviews/questionnaires discuss any topics or issues that might be sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting, or is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action could take place during the study (e.g. during interviews/group discussions, or use of screening tests for drugs)?

☐ No

If yes, give details of procedures in place to deal with these issues:

5.6 What is the expected total duration of participation in the study for each participant?

Each participant will spend 30 minutes

5.7 What is the potential benefit to research participants?

I will develop ideas, through this project, to assist primary school teachers implement practices that will serve the academic and social needs of all children equally in the same school settings. It will also further research in inclusive education.

5.8 What is the potential for adverse effects, risks or hazards, pain, discomfort, distress, or inconvenience to the researchers themselves? (If any)

None.

6. Safeguards

6.1 What precautions have been taken to minimise or mitigate the risks identified above?

Participants will be told that the study is not to examine them. The information that will be used will remain confidential and anonymous. If sensitive and emotive issues arise, I will debrief the individual participants concerned after collecting data, as required.

6.2 Will informed consent be obtained from the research participants?

☐ Yes

If Yes, give details of who will take consent and how it will be done. Give details of the experience in taking consent and of any particular steps to provide information (in addition to a written information sheet) e.g. videos, interactive material.

Written information sheets and consent forms will be distributed to participants. Participants will be given two weeks to decide whether to participate in the study. Parents/cares and/or teachers will give informed consent on behalf of children before they can participate in this study.

I have had the experience of getting informed consent from pupils from the pilot study conducted in Nigeria (see attached ethics forms)

If participants are to be recruited from any of the potentially vulnerable groups listed in Question 4.6, give details of extra steps taken to assure their protection. Describe any arrangements to be made for obtaining consent from a legal representative.

If consent is not to be obtained, please explain why not.

Where relevant the committee must have a copy of the information sheet and consent form.

6.3 Will a signed record of consent be obtained?

☐ Yes

If not, please explain why not.

6.4 How long will the participant have to decide whether to take part in the research?

Two weeks

6.5 What arrangements have been made for participants who might not adequately understand verbal explanations or written information given in English, or who have special communication needs? (e.g. translation, use of interpreters etc.)

Pupils who can speak sufficient level of English and those who can speak local languages that I can understand will be used in the study so that there will be no need for interpreters.

6.6 What arrangements are in place to ensure participants receive any information that becomes available during the course of the research that may be relevant to their continued participation?

Transcripts will be given to pupils to read and check to ensure that their responses were recorded correctly.

6.7 Will the research participants' General Practitioner be informed that they are taking part in the study?

☐ No

If No, explain why not

N/A

6.8 Will permission be sought from the research participants to inform their GP before this is done?

☐ No

If No, explain why not

6.9 What arrangements have been made to provide indemnity and/or compensation in the event of a claim by, or on behalf of, participants for (a) *negligent* harm and (b) *non-negligent* harm?

This study has no adverse effects to participants

7. Data Protection and Confidentiality

Participants will give consent to the recording, processing of the data and publishing of the findings. Research supervisors may access the anonymous data to ensure the methods used are appropriate. Data will be confidential and securely locked in personal drawer/s.

7.1 Will the research involve any of the following activities at any stage (including identification of potential research participants)? (Tick as appropriate)

- ☐ Examination of medical records by those outside the NHS, or within the NHS by those who would not normally have access
- ☐ Electronic transfer by magnetic or optical media, e-mail or computer networks
- ☐ Sharing of data with other organisations
- ☐ Export of data outside the European Union
- ☐ Use of personal addresses, postcodes, faxes, e-mails or telephone numbers
- ☐ Publication of direct quotations from respondents **YES**
- ☐ Publication of data that might allow identification of individuals
- ☐ Use of audio/visual recording devices **YES**
- ☐ Storage of personal data on any of the following:
 - ☐ Manual files including X-rays
 - ☐ NHS computers
 - ☐ Home or other personal computers **YES**
 - ☐ University computers **YES**
 - ☐ Private company computers
 - ☐ Laptop computers

Further details:

7.2 What measures have been put in place to ensure confidentiality of personal data? Give details of whether any encryption or other anonymisation procedures have been used and at what stage?

Documentary analysis, observations and interviews will be recorded in field notes and voice recorder with the consent of participants. I will then transcribe these data by typing them up as word files on the researcher's university computer which is in a secure, private location and saved on the university's secure network drive. The name of participants will be coded and the key to this code will be kept in a locked filing cabinet located in the researcher's home.

7.3 Where will the analysis of the data from the study take place and by whom will it be undertaken?

I will undertake the analysis of the data and it will take place in the PhD study room located within the School of Education at the University of Manchester, UK.

7.4 Who will have control of and act as the custodian for the data generated by the study?

The supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Mr Dave Hall and I will have control of and act as the custodians of the data which is generated in the study.

7.5 Who will have access to the data generated by the study?

My research supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Mr Dave Hall and I will access the data generated by the study

7.6 For how long will data from the study be stored?

Five Years

Give details of where they will be stored, who will have access and the custodial arrangements for the data:

The data will be stored on the university computers for the duration of my PhD at which point it will be deleted.

8. Reporting Arrangements

8.1 Please confirm that any adverse event will be reported to the Committee

Yes, any adverse effects will be reported to the committee.

8.2. How is it intended the results of the study will be reported and disseminated?

(Tick as appropriate)

- ☐ Peer reviewed scientific journals
- ☐ Internal report
- ☐ Conference presentation **YES**
- ☐ Thesis/dissertation **YES**
- ☐ Written feedback to research participants **YES**
- ☐ Presentation to participants or relevant community groups
- ☐ Other/none e.g. Cochrane Review, University Library

8.3 How will the results of research be made available to research participants and communities from which they are drawn?

Staff of the study schools will be given written summaries of the findings. An executive summary of the larger report will be distributed to the respective local education authorities across the particular schools in Cross River State to communicate findings to primary schools in rural areas and the teachers engaged with pupils.

8.4 Has this or a similar application been previously considered by a Research Ethics Committee in the UK, the European Union or the European Economic Area?

☐ No

If Yes give details of each application considered, including:

Name of Research Ethics Committee or regulatory authority:

Decision and date taken:

Research ethics committee reference number:

8.5 What arrangements are in place for monitoring and auditing the conduct of the research?

The supervisors will monitor progress of the study. Relevant sections of the student's eprog will be completed as part of the monitoring and auditing process

Will a data monitoring committee be convened?

☐ No

What are the criteria for electively stopping the trial or other research prematurely?

Participants are free to end the interview or their participation at any point.

9. Funding and Sponsorship

9.1 Has external funding for the research been secured?

☐ No

If Yes, give details of funding organisation(s) and amount secured and duration:

Organisation:

UK contact:

Amount (£):

Duration: Months

9.2 Has the external funder of the research agreed to act as sponsor as set out in the Research Governance Framework?

☐ Not Applicable

9.3 Has the employer of the Chief Investigator agreed to act as sponsor of the research?

☐ Yes

9.4 Sponsor *(must be completed in all cases where the sponsor is not the University)*

Name of organisation which will act as sponsor for the research:

The School of Education, University of Manchester. Supervisors: Prof Mel Ainscow and Mr Dave Hall

10. Conflict of interest

10.1 Will individual researchers receive any personal payment over and above normal salary and reimbursement of expenses for undertaking this research?

☐ No

If Yes, indicate how much and on what basis this has been decided:

10.2 Will the host organisation or the researcher's department(s) or institution(s) receive any payment of benefits in excess of the costs of undertaking the research?

☐ No

If Yes, give details:

10.3 Does the Chief Investigator or any other investigator/collaborator have any direct personal involvement (e.g. financial, share-holding, personal relationship etc.) in the organisation sponsoring or funding the research that may give rise to a possible conflict of interest?

☐ No

If Yes, give details:

11. Signatures of applicant(s)

.....Moses Apie Ewa.....
Name

.....Moses Ewa.....
Signed

.....21 March, 2013.....
Date

.....
Name

.....
Signed

.....
Date

12 Signature by or on behalf of the Head of School

The Committee expects each School to have a pre-screening process for all applications for an ethical opinion on research projects. The purpose of this pre-screening is to ensure that projects are scientifically sound, have been assessed to see if they need ethics approval and, if so, go to the relevant ethics committee. It is **not** to undertake ethical review itself, which must be undertaken by a formal research ethics committee.

The form must therefore be counter-signed by or on behalf of the Head of School to signify that this pre-screening process has been undertaken

I approve the submission of this application

.....
Name

.....
Signed by or on behalf of the Head of School

.....
Date

APPENDIX U

FIELDWORK RISK ASSESSMENT

School of Education, University of Manchester

This form should be completed by anyone planning research which is to be conducted off campus or involves conducting interviews alone, and does not correspond to the RREA 'low risk' fieldwork criteria as detailed on the RREA form.

The form has two main functions:

1. it provides guidance and asks questions that will encourage staff, students and supervisors to think systematically through a range of potential risks in ways that should help them to avoid difficulties.
2. it provides evidence that potential risks to personal safety are being appropriately managed.

Students, should complete the Fieldwork Risk Assessment in discussion with supervisors and submit it along with the RREA, and other research documents, for ethical review.

Staff, should submit this assessment with their UREC documentation for in-School review and subsequent University Research Ethics Committee ethical approval.

NB: Your Fieldwork Risk Assessment (FRA) should be treated as a 'living document' and updated as necessary throughout your fieldwork period. When a FRA is updated, students should send a copy should to their supervisor who will take any further action necessary. Staff should send an updated copy of their FRA to the School Research Development Manager.

YOUR RESEARCH PROJECT DETAILS

Project title	A study of the inclusion of primary school children in a rural district in Nigeria
Research type (circle one)	Staff ²⁴ PhD Masters Undergraduate
Researcher(s) name(s)	Moses Apie EWA
Supervisor(s) name(s) (where relevant)	Prof Mel Ainscow Prof Dave Hall
Date	1 August, 2013

This form is divided into three sections. Please indicate which of the Fieldwork risk sections, listed below, are relevant to your project.

Tick any that apply

Section 1:	Travel overseas ²⁵ (not to your home country)	
Section 2:	Off campus fieldwork visits (not vocational placement, or regular employment settings)	
Section 3:	Conducting fieldwork alone	Yes

²⁴ For staff research to be undertaken by Research Assistants/Associates, please list the names of the RAs involved and complete this form in collaboration with them.

²⁵ Richard Fay or Charlotte Woods are happy to act as points of contact for student and supervisor queries regarding conducting research abroad.

Please now complete the fieldwork risk assessment items for each section you have ticked. Finally, complete the Declaration Section.

Section 1 - Travel overseas (not in your home country)

➔ Complete all items below.

➔ Where you do not foresee any risks relating to a particular item, please state 'No risks identified', do not leave the item blank.

1. Governmental Advice about the Proposed Destination

What advice do the UK authorities (i.e. FCO) give regarding the proposed destination? Summarise the main points below and for each separate point indicate what implications their advice has for you and your study.

For example, do the FCO advise that you register with them during your visit to this location? If so, have you now done so? Do they advise that you avoid certain regions within the country concerned? If so, have you stated that your visit will indeed avoid such regions?

Overall, in the box below you need to provide the University with clear reassurance that you have attended to, and heeded, the advice which the UK authorities have given about your proposed destination. If you can identify other sources of similar advice, please do in this section also.

No risks identified. The fieldwork will be in my home country and is not listed among UK's warning zones in the world.

The following sections may pick up on issues already raised but you should nonetheless complete all sections below.

2. University Advice about the Proposed Destination (this up-to-date advice may also be helpful for staff)

What advice does the Study Abroad Unit give regarding the proposed destination? Summarise the main points below and for each separate point indicate what implications their advice have for you and your study.

The university has to grant ethics approval for me to embark fieldwork. It will ensure that both the children who are the participants and researcher are not at risk.

3. Travelling to your destination

What potential risks can you identify regarding travel to and from the proposed destination? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, 'If you plan to extend your stay beyond the period of the fieldwork, have you taken out travel insurance to cover any periods not covered by the University's insurance? Are certain means of transport seen as being particularly risky? What documentation do you need? How will you safeguard these documents? Will anyone else have copies of them? Who will know of your travel arrangements?

No risks identified

4. Health Considerations

What potential risks to your health can you identify (given your particular medical circumstances) when you visit this particular country? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, what health advice is given for travellers such as yourself (i.e. outsiders to the context in question) for visits to this context? Have you followed this advice? Are there any aspects of your own medical history and condition which need to be considered with regard to the health risks associated with the proposed destination? If you have health issues, have you completed a medical 'fit to travel' form with Occupational Health? Have you had all the necessary vaccinations? What medication / first aid are you taking with you?

No risks identified

5. Dietary Considerations

What potential risks to your health can you identify (given your particular dietary needs and habits) when you visit this particular country with its particular dietary traditions and (lack of) possibilities? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, what risks might be associated with locally-prepared food and how will you minimise these risks? What risks are associated with local drinking water supplies and what can you do to minimise these risks?

No risks identified

6. Physical Hazards

What potential risks can you identify given the range of climates and type of terrains you will be spending some time in during your proposed visit? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, are there climate risks such as monsoons and flooding, severe wintry conditions, tornados and so on? Is the terrain particularly challenging, e.g. mountainous, heavily-forested, off the beaten track etc)?

No risks identified. The study is school based. All data will be generated from the children within their classrooms and schools.

8. Biological hazards overseas

What potential risks can you identify given the plant, insect and animal life of the country you are proposing to visit? The University's Occupational Health Service can provide relevant advice, vaccinations etc, so you are advised to make an appointment with them. Use the box below to identify any risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

No risks identified

9. Potential stressors when travelling overseas

Given your own character strengths (and weaknesses), and given the type of context in which you are proposing to spend time for your research study, what kinds of stress might be at play? Use the box below to identify such stressors and to indicate your proposed strategy for addressing them.

For example, how likely is it that you will, in the proposed context, experience significant culture shock, time pressures, loneliness, isolation, language barriers, unfamiliar and uncongenial settings (e.g. very crowded cities and transport), and so on?

My interview questions might raise sensitive and emotive issues that may upset the children. If the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will discuss with the child who this person is. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy. In addition, I will inform my supervisor who in turn will communicate to the ethics committee for actions and solution to enable the study continue afterwards.

Section 2: Off campus fieldwork locations

- ➔ Complete all sections below –
- ➔ Where you do not foresee any risks relating to a particular item, please state 'No risks identified', do not leave the item blank.

1. Belongings

While the number and value of personal belongings carried with you on fieldwork should be minimized to avoid unwanted attention or loss. You should have the following items with you when conducting fieldwork off campus:

1. your staff/ student card
2. enough money for expected and unexpected expenses, including the use of taxis.
3. a phone card in case you need to use a public telephone.
4. a personal alarm – carried in a place that it is easily accessible (e.g. pocket and not briefcase).
5. A comprehensive A-Z of the area (and a torch and spare batteries) can also be very useful in an emergency.

What personal belongings will you take with you on fieldwork visits and how will you minimize risks associated with carrying any of these belongings?

My student card, money, field notes and tape recorder. They will be carried by me in a locked brief case

2. Accommodation

What potential risks can you identify regarding **all** the places you are likely to stay during your visit? When staying in a hotel you should avoid letting others overhear your name and room number. Never let unknown people into your room unless it is clearly safe to do so. If you hear a disturbance, stay in your room and phone for help. Use the box below to identify these types of risk and indicate what measures you are taking to reduce them wherever possible.

For example, is suitable accommodation easily available to you? Have you organised this in advance? Is such accommodation fully secure? How will you safeguard your possession and valuables?

No risks identified. Fieldwork will be conducted in schools located near my house.

3. Fieldwork visits

Wherever possible, investigators should study a map of the area, or visit the location in advance to plan their journey. Do you know the location of **hubs of activity** such as shops, pubs, schools or the local police station which may provide you with a possible escape route should this be necessary?

If travelling by **car**, do you know the safest place to park, eg. a well-lit area after dark? Try and park as close as possible to the destination, to allow for a 'quick get-a-way' if necessary. If forced to stop, stay in your car and speak through a slightly open window. Plan for what you will do if your car breaks down.

Can you ensure **equipment and valuable items** are kept out of sight during fieldwork travel?

If using **public transport**, have you should checked its reliability? Do you have a telephone number for a reputable local taxi firm?

Whilst **taxis** can be hailed in the street, it is advisable to pre-book. **Do not under any circumstances get into a private hire vehicle that you have not pre-booked as you will not be insured and this can potentially be very dangerous.**

When **walking**, face oncoming traffic in areas where 'kerb crawling' is possible, and keep to busy, well lit roads if you can.

What do you know about the area where you will conduct your fieldwork? What are your travel arrangements? How will you minimise any risks you have identified?

I am familiar with the terrain of the fieldwork because I come from there. I will pre-book a taxi that will take me to my fieldwork and back home. My valuables: money, tape recorder and field notes will be kept in a locked brief case, held by me.

4. Activities

What potential health risks can you identify in relation to all the activities you plan to be involved in whilst making fieldwork visits? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, what activities are involved in your research project? Are there any particular risks associated with them over and above what you have already covered in the RREA form? What other incidental activities might you be involved in? What risks can you identify for these activities and what steps are you taking to reduce the potential risks?

My interview questions might raise sensitive and emotive issues that may upset the children. If the children feel embarrassed by my questions during interview and are upset as a result, I will change the topic to another one to avoid distressing them further. If a child states that s/he is being harmed, or might harm another child, I will discuss with the child who this person is. After collecting data, I will bring the issue to the attention of the teachers to ensure they provide further support adequate to make the affected pupils happy. In addition, I will inform my supervisor who in turn will communicate to the ethics committee for actions and solution to enable the study continue afterwards.

5. Equipment Considerations

What potential health risks can you identify regarding any equipment you intend to use during your proposed fieldwork visits? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, do you need to have any specialist skills for such equipment? Do you have these skills? Are there any maintenance and repair issues to be considered?

No risks identified. I will use tape recorder to collect data during interviews and I can use this equipment very well. In the event of equipment malfunction or damage, I will repair it. I have skills to repair simple electronics such radios and tape-recorders.

6. Personal safety during fieldwork visits

In addition to the areas already covered, what other risks might there be to your safety and well-being? Use the box below to identify such risks and to indicate what measures you are taking to reduce these risks wherever possible.

For example, what Accident and Emergency provision is in place? Are there any possible risks associated with social unrest? Or local crime?

No risks identified. Should any unpleasant situation arise, I will contact the police by calling the police emergency line 911.

7. Intercultural Challenges

Spending time living in another society, or conducting research with cultural groups different from your own, brings with it the need to be prepared for possible intercultural challenges during your interactions. The Study Abroad Unit has relevant advice in this area, which may be helpful to those conducting research with different cultural groups both outside and within the UK. Use the box below to identify the possible cultural backgrounds you expect to encounter and to indicate what measures you are taking to become familiar with these cultural backgrounds wherever possible.

For example, are there particular religious practices that you need to be aware of and sensitive to? Are there taboo behaviours which you need to be aware of and abide by? How should you dress to appropriately take account of the cultural norms?

No risks identified. I will ensure that I dress modestly to prevent violating the values of the people within my research sites. I will be careful as I interact with teachers and pupils to conform to the established norms of the people and prevent conflicts between me and the people.

Section 3: Conducting fieldwork alone

NB: Personal Safety

Your personal safety working off-campus is paramount. It is considered more important than the successful completion of interviews.

You SHOULD NOT:

- Enter someone's home if you feel uncomfortable or unsafe.
- Enter a house if the person you have arranged to see is not there.
- Undertake an interview or assessment in a bedroom.
- Give a personal telephone number or address to an interviewee.

➔ Complete all sections below –

➔ Where you do not foresee any risks relating to a particular item, please state 'No risks identified', do not leave the item blank.

1. Understanding Interviewees

You should take time to investigate and understand the individual circumstances of interviewees before conducting an off-campus interview. If appropriate, you should be aware of the psychological/behavioural history of interviewees. Being aware of potentially volatile individuals and/or circumstances in advance can help you to plan accordingly. Where you have concerns, 'vet' the potential interviewee by phone first, and cancel if you are uneasy.

Are there any notable personal circumstances, individual to your interviewees? What measures will you put in place to take account of these factors?

No risks identified. I will work with teachers to facilitate my discussions with pupils and collection of data.

2. Maintaining Contact

It is essential that, when conducting off-campus interviews, you maintain contact with a nominated a member of University staff/ family member or friend.

Who will be your nominated contact? What is their relationship to you?

Contact's name	Prof Mel Ainscow and/or Prof Dave Hall
Your relationship to contact ²⁶	Research supervisors

Checklist of details needed by your nominated contact

Your itinerary and appointment times - name, address and telephone contact of interviewee(s) / destination.	
---	--

²⁶ If a family member or friend is the nominated contact then the School Research Development Manager must be informed of their identity and contact details – see Declarations below.

Overnight accommodation details where applicable.	
Your mobile telephone number.	
Time you leave the University/ home.	
How you intend to get to the interview location (car registration if appropriate).	
Time of interviews and expected duration of the visit.	
Contact information for the Head of School/Head of School Administration for cases of emergency.	

NB: You must contact your nominated person when you arrive at the interview location. In the presence of the interviewee, you should inform them where you are, and who you are with.

Please confirm that you will follow the guidelines above, OR provide information about how your plans will differ and what alternative safeguards you will put in place.

I can confirm that I will follow all the guidelines above.

3. On Arrival

There are a number of ways in which you can further enhance your personal safety when conducting interviews alone and off campus. These include:

- Asking a colleague to accompany you if you feel uncomfortable.
- Let interviewees know you have a schedule. Upon arrival, establish you have the correct person by asking “by what name do you prefer to be called?” Explain your research role and the conditions of confidentiality to the interviewee(s) and offer them the opportunity to ask questions.
- If you prefer to decline refreshments, avoid offence by carrying your own water bottle.
- Develop an appropriate exit strategy (what to say etc) should you wish to terminate an interview early.
- Take steps to leave a situation immediately if you feel unsafe or uncomfortable.
- Adopt a friendly and professional manner when conducting interviews but be careful not to be over-familiar. Avoid sitting on settees next to the interviewee and try to sit nearest to the exit.
- Ask for household pets to be shut in another room if their presence during the interview is a cause of concern.

If at any point during the interview, you feel unsafe; you should excuse yourself, go to another room, and use your mobile to call for assistance. You may wish to consider introducing codes in case of a threatening situation. For example, phoning to ask the contact to check if you have left a ring-binder on the desk could be a code for "I do not feel safe; please send someone to the house."

Please confirm that you will follow the interview safety guidelines above, OR provide information about how your plans will differ and what alternative safeguards you will put in place.

I can confirm that I will follow the interview safety guidelines above.

4. On Completing an Interview

Once the interview has been completed, you should contact your nominated person to let them know you have left safely. If the interview goes on longer than anticipated, you should contact your nominated person to inform them.

The nominated person should be instructed to:

- ☒ ring you half an hour after the scheduled finish time.
- ☒ If there is no answer, they should ring again 30 minutes later.
- ☒ If there is still no reply, they should inform the Head of School/ Head of School Administration.

Where the nominated contact has been unable to get in touch with you, the Head of School/ Head of School Administration may then authorise two members of School staff to go to the interview location to check on your safety. If this is not practical, e.g. the fieldwork is taking place out of the Manchester area, or overseas, then the local police to the area will be informed.

Please confirm that you will follow the guidelines above, OR provide information about how your plans will differ and what alternative safeguards you will put in place.

I can confirm that I will follow the guidelines above.

Declarations

Researcher Declaration:

By signing this completed document, I declare that the information in it is accurate to the best of my knowledge and that I will complete the actions that I have indicated I will complete.

Signature: Moses Ewa

Date 1 August, 2013

Name (in capitals): MOSES APIE EWA

Student ID: 7567899

School of Education (SoE) Emergency Contact Information Card:

All who conduct research off campus must carry a SoE Emergency Contact Information Card at all times. Please confirm that you will do so.

I confirm I will carry a School of Education Emergency Contact Information Card during all fieldwork visits.

Signed Moses Ewa

Date 1 August, 2013

Please also provide the following information, as appropriate:

Travel details (to fieldwork destination)

1. Date of departure: On
confirmation of ethical
approval

Details of itinerary:

2. Date of return: February,
2014

Details of itinerary:

Contact information

1. I can be contacted as follows during fieldwork:

Email address: moses.ewa@postgrad.manchester.ac.uk Phone: +234 (0) 703 271 2776

2. Contact person at destination (overseas travel / accommodation):

Name: Prof Mel Ainscow

Relationship to you: Main supervisor

Email address: mel_ainscow@yahoo.co.uk
mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk Phone:

3. Contact person for fieldwork visits (as nominated in item 2):

Name: Prof Mel Ainscow

Email address: mel_ainscow@yahoo.co.uk
mel_ainscow@manchester.ac.uk Phone:

Supervisor sign off (where appropriate)

I/We have read the above and discussed it with the student applicant. I/We are satisfied that they are aware of and have taken reasonable steps to mitigate the risks associated with their planned fieldwork.

Supervisor signature Prof Mel Ainscow

Date 1 August, 2013

Supervisor signature

Date

On Behalf of the School of Education:

I agree that the above assessment satisfactorily addresses all relevant fieldwork risks identified in the named project.

Authorised Fieldwork Risk Assessor

Authorised Signature

Date

Name (print)

APPENDIX V

SAMPLES OF THE ORIGINAL DATA FOR THE THREE SCHOOLS

Day	Time	Subject
Monday	7:45 - 8:00	Math
Monday	8:00 - 8:45	Science
Monday	8:45 - 9:20	English
Monday	9:20 - 10:00	Math
Monday	10:00 - 10:40	Science
Monday	10:40 - 11:20	English
Monday	11:20 - 12:00	Math
Monday	12:00 - 12:40	Science
Monday	12:40 - 1:20	English
Monday	1:20 - 2:00	Math
Tuesday	7:45 - 8:00	Math
Tuesday	8:00 - 8:45	Science
Tuesday	8:45 - 9:20	English
Tuesday	9:20 - 10:00	Math
Tuesday	10:00 - 10:40	Science
Tuesday	10:40 - 11:20	English
Tuesday	11:20 - 12:00	Math
Tuesday	12:00 - 12:40	Science
Tuesday	12:40 - 1:20	English
Tuesday	1:20 - 2:00	Math
Wednesday	7:45 - 8:00	Math
Wednesday	8:00 - 8:45	Science
Wednesday	8:45 - 9:20	English
Wednesday	9:20 - 10:00	Math
Wednesday	10:00 - 10:40	Science
Wednesday	10:40 - 11:20	English
Wednesday	11:20 - 12:00	Math
Wednesday	12:00 - 12:40	Science
Wednesday	12:40 - 1:20	English
Wednesday	1:20 - 2:00	Math
Thursday	7:45 - 8:00	Math
Thursday	8:00 - 8:45	Science
Thursday	8:45 - 9:20	English
Thursday	9:20 - 10:00	Math
Thursday	10:00 - 10:40	Science
Thursday	10:40 - 11:20	English
Thursday	11:20 - 12:00	Math
Thursday	12:00 - 12:40	Science
Thursday	12:40 - 1:20	English
Thursday	1:20 - 2:00	Math
Friday	7:45 - 8:00	Math
Friday	8:00 - 8:45	Science
Friday	8:45 - 9:20	English
Friday	9:20 - 10:00	Math
Friday	10:00 - 10:40	Science
Friday	10:40 - 11:20	English
Friday	11:20 - 12:00	Math
Friday	12:00 - 12:40	Science
Friday	12:40 - 1:20	English
Friday	1:20 - 2:00	Math

School A. | Teacher's Lesson note on English Language.

3. Briefly explain what happened to them before they cried out to God.

SUMMARY: Go through the lesson by laying emphasis on the important points.

CONCLUSION: The Pupil copy read and submit their notes for marking

MORAL LESSON

1. Whenever we are in trouble or danger, We should always call on God in prayer and he would surely answer and save us.
2. God never fail in his promises

Assignment:

Read Exodus 12 and explain in your own words how God save the Israelites.

NOTE OF LESSON ON ENG. 1A

TOPIC: Reading Comprehension

(10 marks) Power the price

CLASS: Primary 3

DATE: 18th Oct. 20

DURATION: 40 minutes

SEX: Mixed

REFERENCE MATERIAL: Primary

glue for Nigeria primary

OBJECTIVES: At the end of

lesson, pupils should be able

1. Read the comprehension passage

collectively and individually

2. Answer the questions that

3. Understands the other details

that involves the character

ENTRY BEHAVIOUR: The pupils

been hearing different things

about the tortoise and its

clay but they haven't heard

out this particular one.

INTRODUCTION: The teacher

the pupils, if any one of

can relate any of tortoise stories before telling them about the lesson's tortoise story.

PRESENTATION: The teacher explains the lesson while the pupils listen attentively.

Step 1: Reading/ comprehension passage: Tortoise Praises the pride the teacher reads the passage while the pupils read after him.

Step II: Direct Speech

Use each (or quotation) marks to show the words people say; for example, Tortoise said "I am cold and tired"

2 "You can leave it next to my son's bed" said the farmer. The farmer said "You can leave it next to my son's

bed."

EVALUATION: Ask the pupils questions based on the lesson. He test their level of understanding.

1. Change the position of the sentence in words.

(c) Tortoise asked "Can I have my hen, please?"

(b) "My hen, my beautiful hen, I care Tortoise"

(c) Tortoise said, "Mule, I don't want your goat. Give me your son."
SUMMARY: The teacher goes through the lesson by laying emphasis on the important points.
CONCLUSION: The pupils recite the passage, answer the questions, do their class work.

Submit their notes for marking

3. States the adverse effect of old pests.

Assignment:-

1. Give three examples of direct speech
2. Give three examples of indirect speech.

NOTE OF LESSON ON HOME ECO

TOPIC: Household Pests

CLASS: Primary 3

DATE: 14th Oct - 18th Oct, 2013.

DURATION: 40 minutes

SEX: mixed

REFERENCE MATERIALS: Modern

Home Economics for primary

schools and a shiny house pests

OBJECTIVES: At the end of this

lesson, pupils should be able

to:-

1. Define household pests
2. Mention some household pests

ENTRY BEHAVIOUR: The pupils been seeing most of these old pests in their houses. But don't know why they are pests.

INTRODUCTION: The teacher the pupils to mention some household pests that they know have been seeing in their houses.

PRESENTATION: The teacher explains the lesson

Step 1: Household Pests

Meaning: Household Pests

these insects or animal

destroys us in our houses

They are dangerous and

harmful to our health

we should destroy and clear

6 I've found my English book. I lost it last week.

7 They played a lot of music. It was very loud.

8 Here is the dictionary. You asked me to buy it.

9 This book is very interesting. You gave it ~~you~~ to me.

10 Aminat has a friend. She always help her.

Answer

11 A dictionary is a book which gives the meanings of words.

12 A cheetah is an animal that runs very fast.

3 my teacher is a kind P who helps all her pupils.

4 A bee is an insect which

5 yesterday I met an boy who your sister

6 I've found my English book. I lost it last week.

7 I played a lot of music very loud.

Note: when are joining something, you don't use it.

8 there is the dictionary the asked me to buy it.

9 This book is very interesting. that you gave it to

10 Aminat has a friend who help her.

10/10

1. 10/10

1 The white cloth must be clean before tying

2 The string should be tied loosely around the cloth (~~lose~~) (~~false~~) (false)

3 The string is to stop the dye colouring tied areas
Quotation (True) True

4 Diagram (a) shows you how to make circular patterns. Quotation

(a) if you want a striped pattern, if you want a circular pattern,

5 The cloth should be put in the light dye before the dark dye.

6 The cloth should be left in each dye for ten minutes. dye for five to eight minutes.

7

cut off the string after the first dye

(True)

Is this how to spell (true)?

Learn to present neat and correct work

Do your correction. It seems you don't understand the assignment

Correction

Is this how to spell (true) Learn to present and correct work. Do your correction. It so you don't understand the assignment.

checked
16/6/19

10) That boy played a music that was very loud.

11) Here is the dictionary, you asked me to buy it.

12) That the dictionary you asked me to buy it.

13) This book is very interesting, you gave it to me.

14) That book is very interesting you gave it to me.

15) Arminat has a friend. She always helps her.

16) That Arminat has a friend she always helps her.

17) You don't seem to understand the lesson.

26/9/17

Correction

Reading 2

Class work

Page 20

DICTATION

Arminat has a twin brother. He is also in the same class. Arminat and Usman are both want to achieve this year.

well. Is this English language or French?

Correction

Arminat has a twin brother. He is also in the same class. Arminat and Usman have both want to achieve this year.

26/9/17

26/9/17

MORE ASSIGNMENT ON active and Passive Sentence

Indicate, if the following sentence are

in the active or Passive form

1) the boy is washing his clothes Active

2) the washing of clothes being done Passive

3) Youba woman make Adire cloth Active

4) Adire clothes is made by youba women Passive

5) We made the boys yesterday Active

6) The girl remove the clothes after five minutes Active

7) The boys who made yesterday Active

8) The girl Remove the clothes after five minutes Active

9) The clothes was removed after five minutes Passive

10) Mary tie the string tightly around the cloth Active

11) The string is tightly around the cloth Passive

Learn to write ACTIVE and PASSIVE correctly

The dictionary is used to

1) words or look at words under

2) understand the meaning, the opposite

3) word and to crosscheck grammatical

4) in English language.

5) It also tells about the action

6) verb of the word. The dictionary also

7) how the word can be used as sentence

8) for example, the twenty six letters

9) English alphabet are:-

A B C D E F G H I J K L M

N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

As such, words in the dictionary are

according to their order of alphabets

alphabetically order for example, the word

comes before the word find because,

F letter is the word begins (F) comes

before 'Th' of find (F) in the alphabet

Order.

Therefore, word can be arranged in

their order in the dictionary as follows

A by first letters of these words, Sea

adult, bold, cold, hard, poor, small, up, Zek

Collection

g off the string (True)

newspapers? ~~but~~

~~Answer: Because ^{big}biggy dirty you follow're
your father will Bill that why the song the con
white newspaper~~

Your father will be
while newspaper

16 | 9 | 013

3 why should you ask ~~enough~~ to be so fast for
 ter and mix the dyes.

himself IT IS BECAUSE IF YOU WANT TO DO BY YOUR
 own hot water on yourself
 self IT KILLS PAIN ON YOU, OR THE DYE CAN STAIN
 ground -

950001 -

(1) Speedway 200
7.5 x 60 ft

16/9/30 ~~Thursday~~ It is because if your mother used to
be a cook and cook and wash that why you can wash
mother

I immediately so that if you want to see, ^{proper}
you keep it for a long time it will not clean
learn to explain yourself in simple and correct
English

Correction

Q. Question: The cloth should ~~not~~ be

self it can pull on you, or the dye can stretch ground-

correction

Question: Who does Atinuke call next?
Answer: Atinuke call Mrs Okocha next.

Question: what message does Atinuke leave for Chike?

Answer: the message that Atinuke leave for Chike was to phone her when she get home.

Soon

Reading
Page 20
Class Work

1) Question: does Chike call Atinuke?
Answer: Yes Chike call called Atinuke.

2) Question: does Chike know the answer to Atinuke's question?

Answer: No, Chike does not know the answer to Atinuke question.

3) Question: who will know the answer?
Answer: Mrs Okocha will know the answer.

Answer:

4) Question: what is Chike's Father Phone number?
Answer: Chike's Father Phone number is 4327.

5) Question: what is the telephone number of Tukur and Yuff?

Answer: The telephone number of Tukur and Y is 432774.

6) Question: What does Atinuke say when she understands she has made a mistake?

Answer: Atinuke says she has dialled the wrong number.

7) Question: What is the answer to Atinuke question?

Answer: the answer to Atinuke question is Ghana became independent in 1957.
Answer: yes you had just say the 1957 you are still on

DICATION
Chike is my best friend. He is in same at school as William Aminah and they often telephone each other to ask to for with homework or to arrange a meeting.

8) Question: who will visit each other to play games or watch Television together?

Answer: Chike and Yuff will visit each other to play games or watch Television together.

9/10/13

1) Questions: Did Chike called attorney
Answer: Yes Chike called attorney

2) Questions: Does Chike knows the
Answer: No Chike doesn't know the answer to attorney's question

3) Questions: who will know the answer
Answer: Chike's father will know the answer

4) Questions: what's Chike's father's telephone number
Answer: Chike's father's telephone number is 432 771

5) Questions: What is the telephone number of Tukur and Yusuf?

Answer: the telephone number of Tukur and Yusuf is 432

6) Questions: What does Attorneys says when she understand the one have ~~dated~~ made a date

Answer: Attorneys said I'm sorry I've dialed the wrong number

7) Questions: what is the answer to attorney's question?

Answer: the answer to attorney's question is that Chike's father became independent in 1937

answer It is because if you want to do By your self It can Pour hot water on your self the dye can stain in the ground

why Should you clean the bowls immediately you finish?

Answer It is because if your mother use to use it to cook and wash that doing you can wash it immediately so that if your mother want to use it if you keep it for a long time it will not clean

20/9/17
17/9/17

Grammar

17/9/2013

~~There~~ ~~There~~ is a great difference between an active sentence and a passive sentence - Because an Active sentence is in the

present Continuous form while the passive sentences is in the form

The passive is made using verb be and the past principle. It can also be used in all verb sentences Therefore a sentence in the active or passive and with the thing or person in sentence is about now be now let us compare the active and passive sentences examples are

- ① you tie the string tightly around the clothes (Active)
The string is tied tightly around the (Passive)

Another Example you should cover the workspace with newspapers (Active) about what you should do with newspapers (Passive)

Reading

(True)

(True)

(True)

What is the meaning of all this?

English Language 11/11/13

Reading

Are the statements true or false?

(True)

(True)

(True)

English Language 11/11/13

Reading

Are the statements true or false?

The white cloth must be clean before tying

(True)

The string should be tied loosely around

the cloth

(True)

The string is to stop the dye colouring

tied areas.

ANS (True)

(d) Diagram (a) shows you how to make the

Patterns

ANS (True)

(e) The cloth should be left in the light

dye vessel for 24 hrs

ANS (True)

(f) The cloth should be left in each dye for

minutes

ANS (True)

(g) Put the string over the first dy

Group

(h) The cloth should be folded before left

off the string

ANS (True)

(i) Why should the workspace be covered

with old newspaper?

ANS: To prevent the dye from getting on the floor.

the floor

(j) Why should you use an adult to heat

water and mix the dyes?

ANS: To prevent the dyes from getting on the floor.

Using dye

School B Teacher Lesson Note

Note of lesson on English Language

Lesson: Teaching of new words so mod. E

Class: Primary 5A

Date: 22nd Oct; 2014

Time: 40 minutes

Behavioural Objectives: By the end of the lesson pupils should be able to a) Pronounce new words correctly b) Realise the meaning of the words c) Read the words in the passage with ease.

Instructional materials: pupils reader.

Entry behaviour: pupils have sense the use of must, have and ought.

Test of entry behaviour: Ask pupils questions based on their entry behaviour.

Presentation: Get the pupils aware of the day's lesson which on teaching of new words in module one.

Activity I Write out the words May, could, would, can etc and teach pupils to pronounce them correctly.

Conclusion: Revise mark pupils books.

Home work: Ask pupils to read module one and get prepare for comprehension lesson in the next lesson.

Note of a lesson on CRE
Lesson: God creates us Gen 1:27
Psalm 139:14 The story of creation

Class: Primary 5A

Date: 22/10/13

Duration: 40 minutes

Specific Objectives: During and at the end of the lesson pupils should be able to a) Pupils Realise that God created us b) use Adam and Eve as example of God's creation and that they were the first man and woman on earth c) state the meaning verse meaningfully.

Entry Behaviour: Pupils have been

on the chalk board this)

Secondary School

Countries

Africa

Town

Village

Boarding School

Africa

Nigeria.

Activity II: Read these words with correct pronunciation.

Activity II: Let pupils read after you, guide them and correct their mistakes.

Evaluation: Call the pupils one after the other and see how pupils can read the passage fluently after learning new words.

Chalk board Summary: Let pupils write these words in their English books.

School B | English Language Pupils Notebooks

English Language 25/10/13 Comprehension module I Questions

① Why was Emeke walking slowly?
Ans Emeke was trying to read his Book
as usual.

2 Did every one go to School fifty years
Ans years ago? only a few children went
to school.

③ Where did Walter's father live
when he was a boy?
Ans My father said Port Harcourt
used to be just a small place

④ Why did our Secondary School used
to be boarding schools. all
secondary school use
Ans because there were very few of
them and the pupils came from
far away.

English Language

Nigeria Primary English RKS

Unit 1

Read the parts mark class after you

Teacher

Question

What did you do during the holiday?

1. Watched television ~~and the~~

2. Visited our families ✓

3. ~~and~~ Played football ✓

4. Stayed at home ✓

5. Played football ✓

31/10/13

Q.7

English Language
Comprehension
Module I

Questions

Q.1 Why was Emeke walking slowly?
A. Emeke was trying to read his book as usual.

Q.2 Did every one go to school fifty years ago?

A. No only as few children go to school.

Q.3 Where is Wakama's father when he was a boy?

A. Wakama's father was in Port Harcourt.

Q.4 Why did all Secondary School used to be boarding school?

A. All Secondary School used to be boarding school because there were

5

very few of them and the pupils came far away.

Q.5 Why was Emeke thinking Nigeria is better now?

A. Life used to be very hard for people in our country but now one of the best and richest countries in Africa.

23/10/13

Correction 23/10/13
Why does Emeke think Nigeria is now?

A. There was electricity in that when he was a boy he used to do home work by the light of a kerosene lamp.

Scanned with

A Girl's note book in Primary 5C

English Language

21/12/2015

Nigeria Primary English BKS

Unit 1

Read the pupils' math class after you teacher.

Questions

What did you do during the holidays?

① I traveled to Abuja ~~last week~~.

② I traveled to visit my mother who lives in Abuja.

③ I ~~travel~~ learn to read and write.

④ I always play football.

⑤ I am going to school.

31/10/15

English Language

1st November, 2015

Exercise 2 model 1. msc. pgs. 8 & 9.

Read these sentences

A. IF my friend comes

B. IF my friend comes, we'll go to the river

A. IF it rains

B. IF it rains, I'll be wet.

Now complete these sentences.

① IF he runs fast - ~~he~~ he will be tired

② IF I pass my exams - I will be happy

③ IF Kuntz uncle become rich. He will be happy

④ IF you catch a big fish. I will eat it.

Good odds

- i. It is a verb with only one form.
 ii. It main meaning suggest command or obligation

iii. It ~~mean~~ has no past and participle

Examples:

- a. I must go to church on Sunday.
 b. I ~~fevours~~ must read her book today.
 c. I must go to school on Friday.
 d. I must wash my clothes today.
 e. I must read my book today.
 f. I must go to football field today.
 g. I must go to stadium today.
 h. I must go to hospital today.

25/10/13

construction with defining relative such as who, which and that

Defining relatives describes a person, there fore "who" is use for person, "which" is use for animals and thing, "that" is use for person and things.

examples:

"who" - who is your father?

"which" - which is your room?

"that" - That red car is my father's car.

Class work

use these word for sentences

1. who is your sister?

2. which is your goat?

3. that is your pot.

25/10/13

English Language 23/10/2021

Comprehension

Module 1 Questions

1. Why was Emeka walking slowly?
Emeka was trying to read his book as usual

2. Did every one go to school fifty years ago? No, only a few children went to school

3. Where did Wakara's father live when he was a boy?

Wakara's father was in Port Harcourt

4. Why did all secondary school used to be boarding schools?

Because there were very few of them and the pupils came from far place

5. Why does Emeka think Nigeria is better now? and life used to be very hard for people but now it is one of the best country

Correction 23-10-2021

(5) because there were day school

50/10

The use of must 23/10/2021

must have to do with situation. It is a kind of powerful statement or because it is in story that certain things should be done they way there are:

(i) It is verb with only one form

(ii) It is main meaning suggest command or obligation

obligation

(iii) It has no past and participle

Example:

(a) I must go to church on Sunday

English Language

21st Oct 2013

Teaching of new words in module I

Secondary school

come on

countries

Africa

12

town

village

boarding schools

Pupils

Nigeria

Kero sine

Sentences

1. ~~I~~ I am going to secondary school.

2. Nigeria is my countries.

3. ~~my~~ my friend come on.

4. ~~This~~ This is my countries.

5. my friend is going to boarding school.

2/10/13

Class Work

Use these words for sentences.

"Who" — Who are you?

"Which" — Which school are ~~you~~ ^{you} in?

"That" — that is my pen.

28/10/13

Boys notebook in Primary 5B

Nigeria Primary English BKS

28/10/13

Unit I

Read the Parts mark class after your teach.

Questions

What did you do during the holidays?

1, I went to visited my families.

2, I ~~watched~~ ^{watched} television.

3, I went to visit my friend.

4, I ^{went} ~~go~~ to market with my father.

5, I Played at home with my sisters.

31/10/13

Exercise 3. mod. 1 mac. Prq. Bks

Read these sentences

A. If my friend comes...

B. If my friend comes, we'll go to the river

A. If it rains...

B. If it rains, I'll be wet.

Now complete these sentences.

~~if he rains~~

31/10/2013

Unit 1
The Nigeria Primary English Book 2

Unit 1

Read the parts mark class after your teacher

Questions

What did you do during the holiday?

(1) I visited our families

(2) I listened to music

(3) I watched television

(4) I followed my mother and
go to the market

(5) I stay at home

Good

31/10/13

31/10/13

1st Nov, 2013

Exercise 3 mod. 1 mac. 1 pg. 200

Read these sentences

(A) If my friend comes ...

(B) If my friend comes, we'll go to
river.

(A) If it rains ...

(B) If it rains I'll be wet

Now complete these sentences.

(A) If he runs fast, we'll fall down

(B) If I pass my exams, I will
happy.

(A) If Kunkles uncle becomes, we will
happy.

(B) If you catch a bug, you will
eat it.

School C Teacher Lesson

Note.

as NUMBER AND NUMERATIONS

Whole NUMBERS

9) L. C. M of 2-digit numbers

10) H. C. F of 2-digit numbers

Principles of needs and wants:

1) Advantages of wage spending

and buying

Athletic: Track and Field

Events) Track Events: Long

distance Races. Examples:-

800 meters

1) 1, 500 meters

11) Cross Country or marathon

3) Techniques/Skills:

1) Start

2) Running action

3) Pace and stride length.

4) Breathing

5) Running ~~for~~ tactics

6) finishing

File reading book.

Social / Inter Marriage

1) Meaning of inter-caste marriage.

2) Advantages and disadvantages of inter-caste marriage.

Science / Drug use:

1) Normal use of drugs

2) Excessive use of drugs.

Processing and selling of agri-

Science / Agri-products.

Handwriting - My child heard the instruction.

ing of your father and do not for sake

the law of your mother.

C. R. K Paul studied under Gandhiji

Acts 18: 3, 22, 23

5) Paul persecuted the church

Acts 8: 1-3

Imaginative Composition

C. G. A

Meaning of imaginative Composition

Experiences that can be compared

Civic Edu. Reasons for giving National Anthem

10th of lesson on Social Structures

Topic: 2.5 hours

Pass: 60

Lesson: 1. How ethnic marriage:

2.5 Ability: Average

3. Mixed

4. Age: 8-11 years

5. Action: no materials

6. Educational objective: At the end of

lesson the pupils should be able to

1. select intra ethnic marriage

and

2. identify between intra ethnic

marriage

and the advantages and disadvantages

of intra ethnic marriage

by behaviour: The pupils have seen

and marriages on weddings;

1. Inheritance: Ask inheritance child.

2. How they conduct marriage in their

culture

ethnic marriage is a marriage

between members of the same

group. Example: marriage

between a man and a woman

from the same ethnic group.

Example: marriage between

a man and a woman from

the same ethnic group. Example

marriage between a man and

a woman from the same ethnic

group. Example: marriage

between a man and a woman

from the same ethnic group.

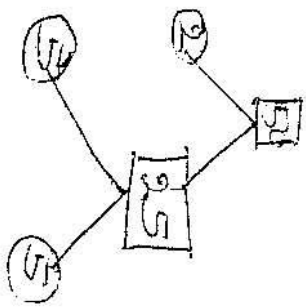
Example: marriage between

a man and a woman from

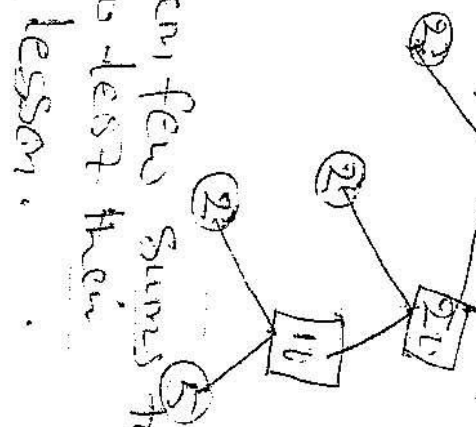
the same ethnic group. Example

marriage between a man and

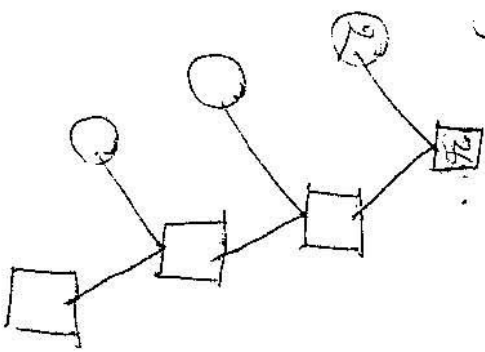
a woman from the same ethnic



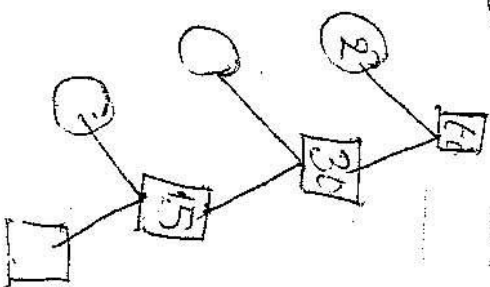
Example 2 (3)



Exercises: Give them few sums to solve on their own to test their understanding of the lesson.

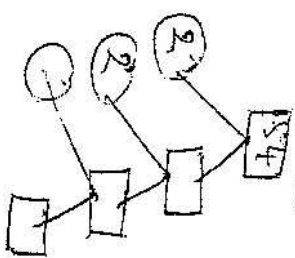


(5)

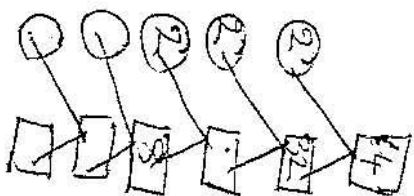


Conclusion: Make them come correct them where necessary. More work find the multiples numbers 6 and 12 (3) find the l.c.m. and 24.

Study the factor trees below and the missing numbers:



(5)



Note of lesson on English Language

Date: 29/10/2013

Class: 6C

Lesson: Using of 'if' Preposition

Characteristics of 'if' Preposition

e.g. "H" I wear wings like ~~an~~ ^a ~~bird~~ ^{bird} | he

have fly.

As given the President, I will make
misses happy.

416-2571

But to itself to include
new phenomena which has
been

三

of Pried.

that he lied everything we could

ed my image.
Thursdays: Tuesday \Rightarrow a conjecture

multiplicates through a factor (qualitative)

Example - "The right" is drunk, he is

studies II Pupils give not exam

that can be represented or composed, such as market scene, village square, school environment, prayer in the family, broken festival, wedding ceremony, etc. Summary: Guide them to copy points correctly.

Conclusion: Mark their work and correct them where necessary.

Home Work: Draw a school environment and market square that you have not seen before.

~~27/10~~

Note of lesson for Wednesday 30/10/23

Class: 6C

Subject: English Language

Lesson: Reading / Comprehension Unit 2

A letter of complaint Page 8 and 9.

Class Ability: Average.

Sex: Mixed

Age range: 8 - 10 years

Duration: 40 minutes

Girl with learning difficulties

Notes on Physical and Health Education

summary

132250154

#5 The curriculum for

Physical Education

66th C.M.P.A.

67th & 68th C.M.P.A.

69th C.M.P.A.

The C.M.P.A. is a

1576 to 1900

1600 to 1900

1700 to 1900

1800 to 1900

1900 to 1900

Notes on English Language

English Language

132250154

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

The English Language

Shard C | Pupil Notebooks Contd.

6 Only a few wealthy people will be able to pay the cost

~~Page 11~~
11/10

... and ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

to check

more of ...

Why? If I ...

If I ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

... the ...

Shel C | Upil Note Books

we knew even was going for him were
 corner of the farm to another. Ed let
 dragged him to him him in withing
 but Oron would ~~not~~. Ed let - after Ted
 him four teacher was used one more
 him six strokes of cane and asked him
 to return to his work

A few minutes later one woman went
 to see the headmistress (Oron
 ran to Ed and snatched him there. They
 time. Ed let if he him and there) on
 The ground as they were on the
 ground each gave other woman blow
 when the other began self-satisfied. They
 Oron has a shaven face and Ed let
 lips were bleeding

CLASS WORK

Answer these questions
 What did the fight take place?

at school

How many people were involved in the fight?
Two people

3. What cause the fight?

the cause the was money judges the
 is when the fight began

4. What is the result of the fight?

Ed let was working in the farm and he
 began even to come on work with him
 5. What is the name of their teacher?

Mr. Eusa

6. What type of essay is this?

A Narrative Essay

7. What is the main idea of the story?

class work
next these

en did the fight take place
y were making ridges
many people were involved in the fight
involved two people edet and won
at causes the fight
cause when fishes baggor won
win him in winning won will
Edet reported him to the teacher
even the judge him six stro of
and asked him six stro of care
asked him to make one returner

hat is the name of their teacher
Enuwa
but type of essay is the is
is reporting type of essay

English Language 24/10/2014
Reading comprehension unit I (one)

An argument should be fallacious in which
can be commercialised

- i. vainish
- ii. interested
- iii. ~~unaffected~~ expectable
- iv. subsidised
- v. operator
- vi. Profites
- vii. trouble makers

QUESTIONS

Q. Why is the education and development
of the youth in Nigeria important?
Ans. because it is very the training and
education of its youth persons are not
handed train cars

Q. — is the things that only Nigeria
business operators would

Ans. are most wish ourselves if the in the
passage a business operators also
hens called a question and can study

no syllable words! bag - king
 so - thy can - ting
 sub - ject
 ov - er
 ast - ment
 i - on
 in - on

Letter interaction and stress 22/08/2014

Syllable is a unit of written or spoken words with one syllable example: cup
 own etc word with two syllables: known - der - der
 Tip - cher etc.
 other syllable words: win - der - der - der
 a - ble - der - der - der - der - der

Class words

its five words with three syllable.

no - ma - der

no - po - der

no - po - der

no - po - der
 no - po - der

no - po - der

no - po - der
 no - po - der

on Monday, the 21st of October, 2013 Edet and
 Okon fought in the school garden. They were
 mixing ridges when the fight began. To our be-
 liever was asked them to make one ridge.
 Then, while Edet working Okon was going from
 one corner of the farm to another Edet begged
 Okon to join him in working but Okon would
 not. Edet re-ported him of our teacher who
 who gave him six strokes of cane and aske
 d him to return to his work.

A few minutes later our madam went to see
 the he a miss tres. Then Okon rein to beat and
 slapped him three times. Edet lifted him and
 threw on the ground. As they started on the
 ground each gave others many blows. When
 in the other boys separated them Okon was ci-
 Swollen face and bruises li were

use of "if" "But" "Granted" and "though"

"these word introduces a conditional statement."

Example: "If I have wings I will fly."

"If I am President I will make the masses happy."

"But" - But is used to introduce something new; other than what has already been mentioned.

Example: "But" he is a thief and should not be fired.

"But" he lied against me and I am punished my image.

though it is a conjunction that indicates that a factor ^{judges} what was said before. Example: "though" he is drunk he still talks sense.

class were

once 2 (two) sentences each using

ut

etc were

"though"

Sentences

if I were you I would have been

happy

2. If I were that man I would have driven the car

driven the car

3. But I leave my class

4. But I am ^{highly} new

5. Though he like the ^{city}?

6. Though she have the Book

2. 2/1/10

only a few interesting persons could be added to pay the cost.

~~Section for Section~~

place) and upon an SO_2 absorber. The

10-1-2016 President's Office 10/1/2016

case.
But I need no introduction concerning me.
After this what has already been mentioned.
Example But he is a thief and should not be
punished.

2.972 "But" we tried against me and furnished my image.

"Though" is a conjunction that relates two sentences. Another qualities what was said before. For example, "although it rains, he still walks" member

James M. Smith, Jr.

10. 11. 1941

John A. C. 1871

Make (can)gements each using

② Why? If I don't have enough time for myself.

If I goes with I would be at
very low car. ~~high~~ ~~low~~

2990. But he is good in school.

Einzelne = 100 - 1000

Do not try to touch the feet of the statue

Though to company, have ~~collected~~ ^{collected} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ 90

1955

12

1

intended to misrepresent
ing, informing.

Correction

~~intended to misrepresent~~
~~ing, informing.~~

mediated action is not taken, I will
enter admission into the community.
I will therefore appreciate your quick
attention in dealing with this problem
yours faithfully
Esther Ogilvie

Pronunciation Practice.

(1) ant (11) Police

(2) bench (12) adventurer

(3) cap (13) succeed

(4) down (14) deliver

(5) egg (15) important

(6) hundred (16) forever

(7) notice

(8) kernel

(9) ~~mispronunciation~~ Lintils

(10) mispronunciation

ant	11
Police	12
adventurer	13
succeed	14
down	15
deliver	16
important	17

Answer These questions

on Monday the 21st of October, 2019

few people know and who?

boxes of the riges X

They were making ridges when the high began X

5th Feb

essay writing: Reporting type or ~~essay~~

نہایت

10/

21032084

Reading Convention 1

the argument: the life education becomes

~~6929~~ 6929 + 100

Of the young people is tangled coral

11/29/2011

children want avuls protists

5.254.2141990.11

It is also possible

the Young People are the Future of our Nation

Balling Corporation 24 10-26-73

The Cost will vary with R_{PO} P.O.F. + expected $b_{Y/X}$

pitious Education of the young People is handled carel

A general business, ~~where I want to~~ ~~quit~~ ~~retire~~

Trioub/parais

127 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106

The four years of the future at all as

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

2

9221

Home work

1102017K

3

we	EmEm	okon	AKPne
we	Ek, Em	okon	AKPne
we	EmEm	ekon	AKPne
we	EmEm	okon	AKPne
we	EmEm	okon	AKPne

苗

/2/ we	EmEm	okan	AkPne
we	EmEm	okan	AkPne
we	EmEm	okan	AkPne
we	F.mEm	okan	AkPne
we	EmEm	okan	AkPne

13

[illegible]

English Language 5-11-2012

Reading Comprehension

Practical English Book II

Unit 1

1.1

1.2

1.3

1.4

1.5

1.6

1.7

1.8

1.9

1.10

1.11

1.12

1.13

1.14

1.15

1.16

1.17

1.18

1.19

1.20

class work 5-10-2012

Answer the following questions

(1) Where were you and family going to?

(2) How far was the place?

(3) What was the road named?

(4) What happened to the car?

(5) Who carried the rest of the journey?

APPENDIX W

MEMO, TRANSCRIPTS AND CODES FOR THE THREE SCHOOLS

MEMO

Transcripts need to have relevance to the:

1. Participants;
2. Researcher; and
3. Reader

KENWA PRIMARY SCHOOL

Sch. cont

Kenwa primary school is located in *Eshueya*, a rural community, lying approximately 30 kilometres outside the north of Calabar, the capital city of Cross River State in Nigeria. On the Calabar - Ikom highway, turn right and travel four kilometres through an untarred access road until you get to the village. *Aka Ogbudu*, is one of the untarred streets connecting the main community road and leads down to the school. Parts of the community are situated on undulating land and surrounded by thick tropical vegetation. Gully erosion sites are located near the hills and valleys, and these places are used as dumpsites. *Eshueya* experiences plenty of rainfall and sunshine at various times of the year due to its location in the tropics.

Residents of *Eshueya* come from *Efik*, *Igbo*, *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Hausa/Fulani* tribes. Members of *Efik* tribe are, however, seen to be more dominant. It seems, *Efiks*, in the cause of history, succeeded in defining themselves as indigenes in order to deny other tribes whom they have branded as settlers equal rights to education. The identity of children may be traced to the tribe to which their father belongs.

Efik and English were the major media of communication among community members. The dominance of the *Efik* language could be connected to the indigene status, which the *Efiks* enjoy and requirement in national policy regarding language of the immediate environment. English, on the other hand, gained acceptance because policy requires that it be used as national language. Apart from the official English, community members also speak Pidgin English – a kind of slang. They used this language in informal settings. On the contrary, Christianity and Islam were the two major religions in *Eshueya*. Practitioners of the former seemed to outnumber the latter, and that could be linked to the location of the community in a predominantly Christian southeast of the country. The Christians were largely drawn from amongst the *Efiks*, *Ibibios*, *Ekois* and *Igbos*. The Muslims included mostly the *Hausa/Fulanis*. Given their dependence on parents, children were likely to be influenced to practice the religions of their parents, especially, their father's.

Provisions for education of boys and girls are fitted to the expected social roles of the children. Boys are socialised to engage in occupations, which particular tribes derived its livelihood while girls are socialised to learn domestic roles. Discernibly, children with disabilities, regardless of gender, receive little or no education.

However, further down *Aka Ogbudu*, mentioned earlier, is *Kenwa* primary school. It is located on a 'hidden corner' towards the end of the street. *Kenwa* is a public primary school established by the state government in 2001. After the school gate *Aka Ogbudu* becomes a narrow footpath leading into a bushy valley and rising again onto a luxuriant hill.

On approach of the school is the school gate. Standing to your left is the fence. On the inside, the school compound is bumpy and extends from the hilltop to the valley. Five concrete buildings and a toilet are in the school. Three of them, painted green,

were on the hill. Two others located in the valley had rough walls, but with cemented floors. All five buildings were roofed with zincs. Doors and window shutters made of wood and glass were fitted to these buildings. Near the school gate was the administrative block, housing the head teacher's and deputy head teacher's offices. It is fitted with burglary proof, air conditioner, glass windows and mosquito net. Primary 1, 2 and 3 classroom block is standing to the right of the head teacher's office. Nursery 1 and 2 classroom block is standing left of the administrative office.

At the front of all school buildings on the hilltop was a semi-circle. Pupils used this place as the assembly ground. The Nigeria's and Cross River State's flags were hoisted at this space. Close to the flags, on the fenced side of the school compound was an old swing.

Access to classrooms in the valley is possible through descent of a narrow concrete steps constructed on the side of the slope. There were no ramps in the school. Primary 4, 5 and 6 buildings were located in the valley, and they stood in such a way that the space in front of them assumed an L-shape, surrounding an open field, which children used to play. Primary 5 classrooms, in particular, were partitioned into 5A, 5B and 5C respectively. All classrooms had no electricity and projectors.

Boys and girls used green and white fabric to sew uniforms. Also, they wore white pair of socks with a pair of black sandals. Girls' dresses vary greatly from the boys' in terms of design. They used pinafore made predominantly of green fabric. It was sewn below the knee in length. A white piece of cloth measuring about six inches in width was sewn to the front of the gown to cover the entire length of the uniform. The sleeves were hemmed with a very thin white cloth that was attached at the front

of the gown. The boys wore white shirts with short sleeves on green shorts. A green tie was sewn to the collar of the shirt and pinafore at the front.

Upon arrival in the morning, the children walked to their classrooms to keep their belongings. School hours commenced at 8.00am local time when the bell is rung. Children and teachers respond to the bell by gathering at the assembly area to conduct morning devotion, led by a teacher. Other teachers stood around to help control the pupils. At this meeting, pupils performed Christian choruses and prayers, sang the national and state anthems and recited the pledges. When the Christian songs and prayers were being sung, the Muslims teachers did not participate as doing so might contravene their Islamic beliefs. Unlike them, some Muslim pupils took part in the Christian worship. Probably, they did so naively. Nevertheless, the proclivity to Christian way of worship is connected to the dominance of Christianity in the context. Morning devotion provided opportunity for teachers to announce school plans and expectations from pupils. At the end of the meeting, lasting 30 minutes, pupils sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms to start lessons.

PP – s/stff

Kenwa primary school had teachers and a non-academic staff. These persons belonged to the different backgrounds stated above. Pupils called the male teachers ‘uncle’ and, female teachers ‘aunty’ to mean ‘aunt’. It is unclear the level of educational qualifications of the teachers and years of teaching experience. However, my focus is on primary 5. This classroom had three teachers including two males and one female who were responsible for primary 5A, 5B and 5C respectively. Both male teachers were *Efik* Christians and the female teacher was a *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim. Teachers used smart clothes at school; however, the Muslim teachers also covered

their heads with hijab - a veil used by females in the Islamic world. The primary 5C teacher was among three Islamic teachers government deployed to teach Muslim pupils Arabic, in addition to other subjects in the curriculum.

PP – p/enr

84 children were registered in primary one in the 2006/2007 academic session. See details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		40	47.62
		Boys	27	67.50
		Girls	3	32.50
	Ibibio		23	27.39
		Boys	19	82.61
		Girls	4	17.39
	Hausa/Fulani		10	11.90
		Boys	9	90.00
		Girl	1	10.00
	Igbo		6	7.14
		Boys	3	50.00
		Girls	3	50.00
Ekoi		5	5.95	
	Boys	3	60.00	
	Girls	2	40.00	
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Language	Not indicated			
Religion	Muslims	10	11.90	
	Christians	74	88.10	
Gender	Males	61	72.62	
	Females	23	27.38	
Final total number of children			84	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table above illustrates that *Efik* and *Ibibio* pupils outnumbered peers from the other existing tribes respectively. Christians among them were over seven times

more than the Muslims. Similarly, boys outnumbered the girls. Data did not indicate whether children with special educational needs were included. More so, records did not show their linguistic backgrounds.

90 children were also enrolled in primary one in the following 2007/2008 academic session. See further details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2007/2008 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		29	32.22
		Boys 21		72.41
		Girls 8		27.59
	Ibibio		12	13.33
		Boys 6		50.00
		Girls 6		50.00
	Hausa/Fulani		22	24.44
		Boys 14		63.64
		Girls 8		36.36
	Igbo		7	7.78
		Boys 5		71.43
		Girls 2		28.57
Religion	Ekoi		11	12.22
		Boys 5		45.45
		Girls 6		54.55
	Yoruba		9	10.00
		Boys 5		55.56
		Girls 4		34.44
Pupils with special educational needs	Language	Muslims	24	26.67
		Christian	66	73.33
Gender	Not indicated	Not indicated		
		Males 56		62.22
		Females 34		37.78
Final total number of pupils			90	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table indicates that *Efik* and *Hausa/Fulani* pupils outnumbered their colleagues from the other tribes respectively. Now, children from the *Yoruba* tribe

also had places in the school. Again, Christians were more than Muslims. Boys were over-represented compared to girls. Records did not show whether any children with special educational needs were among the pupils. Data also did not demonstrate the language the pupils speak. These disparities in pupil enrolment have connections to the disadvantages emanating from native-settler conflicts, religion and disability issues within the community. Perhaps, registration of children consistently favoured *Efik* children on the basis that the school is sited within their native community. The dominance of the Christian over Muslim children appears to give further indication about the location of the school in a predominantly Christian southeast of Nigeria. Over-representation of the males, compared to the females, tends to connote preference for male education to reflect the different ways boys and girls were socialised within the customs of these tribes. The rough topography of the school and absence of ramps seem to block presence, for example, of children with disabilities in the school.

PP – p/impm

During morning devotion, I noticed Obi. He stood in the same queue with children in primary 5. Other pupils in this classroom wore uniforms. He wore mufti. I became curious and wanted to learn further about him. As pupils marched into their classrooms after the devotion, I followed them. Reaching primary 5 building, I realised that he marched with his classmates into primary 5C. He was the biggest and tallest child among the pupils in this classroom and looked older than his peers in age. On a closer look, I noticed that, unlike the other children, Obi was rather talking slowly. That prompted me to do further observations in this classroom to watch the way he learns and socialises with his peers. In one of such occasions, I realised that

. . . *Obi had speech defects and learning difficulties. He was of Hausa/Fulani tribe and a Muslim* (Field notes: *Kenwa* primary school, 2013).

This encounter made me think that the school also enrolled children with special educational needs to address my query in enrolment record in that regard. While interviewing participants about the presence of pupils at school, three of them supplied responses that rather revealed the identity of some children present:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Kije (*a boy*): Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too.

Ahmed (*a boy*): . . . other pupils do not come to school too.

Ojuare (*a boy*): They other pupils don't always come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Kije: Like Obi (a boy with SEN) and Umu (a girl). . .

Ahmed: Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school

Ojuare: Uncle, there was a time Obi did not come to school. He stayed that time (he stayed for a long time) and he did not come to school. . . . He was sick.

The mention of Obi as one of the two children who did not come to school further clarifies that, actually, there is a boy with disabilities who is learning with his typical peers in the school. The attention given to the 'days' and 'time' in which Obi skipped school, signified the amount of care they have for him. Besides, the children also named Umu - a non-disabled pupil, who like Obi did not come to school too. These discussants appear not to attach stereotypes to their peers on account of identity. There is a perceived feeling of sameness among the children. From Ojuare's second excerpt, being 'sick' is to acknowledge that Obi, as a human, can be ill. Sickness in that sense is understood as a temporary condition that poses no threat to Obi's

education or threatens the wellbeing of other pupils. Instead, it is like any other pupil who could be unwell and recover from it when given medical treatment. In other words, Obi's condition is seen as not being out of acceptable norm in school.

However, I later noticed that Obi was the only pupil with impairments in the school. I learned from his teacher that Obi had been a pupil in the school for over five years. He was not born with any physical disabilities, but developed these conditions in primary 4 thanks to a sickness that infected his central neural system. He stopped school for about one year because the illness was severe. His parents sought medical treatment to ensure he gets well so as to recommence schooling. When they noticed that the sickness had impaired his speech and slowed down his rate of learning, they wanted to keep him out of school. It is unclear, however, why Obi's parents abandoned their decision and kept him back in school. School management presumably placed him in primary 5C. This classroom comprised children who had least abilities compared to their peers in primary 5A and 5B. Perhaps, Obi had the opportunity to continue learning in the school on the ground that he developed the sickness while he was already a pupil in the school or that teachers can cope with him. In spite of that, placing him in primary 5C to learn with pupils who have similar competencies as him suggests that he is not very welcome in the school.

PPA-s/curr

14 approved subjects were listed in the timetable. Each of the classrooms had copies of the subject timetable indicating list of subjects in the curriculum. According to the timetable, pupils spent 40 minutes to learn each subject from Monday to Friday. This document was structured into three divisions: morning lessons, break and afternoon lessons. Pupils learned some subjects in the morning and afternoon respectively. In between these two periods they observed break. The timetable was pasted on a

conspicuous location inside the classroom probably for easier reference. Core subjects such as English, Mathematics and primary Science were listed in the morning across three classrooms. Pupils learned other subjects when they returned from break. Unfortunately, there were no provisions in the timetable for Arabic. Maybe, the school carefully excluded the subject to deny the Islamic teachers and pupils the opportunity to offer it. When other pupils were learning Christian Religious Education, some of their Muslim colleagues would either refuse to join them or teachers would force them to learn it too contrary to their religious upbringing. Once, a boy in primary 5B walked to the teacher and delivered a message from his parent. He said to his teacher while fidgeting and frowning,

‘uncle, my father said like this [said that] he will remove me from this school to another school if I continue to learn Christian Religious Knowledge’ (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Each teacher prepared lesson notes for his or her classroom every semester –known among the pupils as ‘term’. Each term had between 13 – 14 weeks. Teachers prepared lesson notes daily for each subject contained in the curriculum. Lesson notes were largely written in English. And they were written under different subsections pointing the steps the teacher needed to follow to teach and assess pupils. Teachers submitted completed lesson notes to the headmistress to check. The school head carefully read the lessons planned for each subject. While marking the note, she paid attention to grammar, spellings, concepts, behavioural objectives and lesson materials to make sure they were accurate and adequate for the learners.

If satisfied, she then placed a right tick in the lesson notes and approved by signing and dating it. Otherwise, she directs the teacher/s concerned to re-write the lesson note/s and addressed the queries satisfactorily and resubmit to her for further checking and approval. Marked lesson notes were returned to teachers. Teachers

were not allowed to deliver lessons without receiving prior authorisation from the headmistress as any teacher who does so risked disciplinary actions. This was done to guide against imparting wrong information to the pupils. These documents served as teaching guides and sources of reference for teachers during classroom instruction. For example:

The teacher in primary 5A prepared a lesson note on English on the topic 'tortoise pays the price'. Under a subsection he termed 'introduction' he wrote: the teacher asks the pupils if anyone of them can relate one of the tortoise stories before telling them about the tortoise story in the lesson'. Then he writes: The tortoise said, 'I am cold and tired. Can I have my hen, please? My hen, my beautiful hen, says the tortoise. I don't want your goat. Give me my hen' (Teacher's lesson note: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

This lesson used the tortoise as an interesting character to stir a conversation among pupils so as to motivate them to participate by changing what the tortoise had said in direct speech to reported speech.

PPS-p/int

Pupils sat in rows and columns, leaving aisles in between them. Teachers did not have staff room. They kept their tables and chairs at the front of their classrooms perhaps to be able to have a better view of the children. Lesson notes, classroom dairies and attendance registers for each classroom were in the custody of each classroom teacher and they kept these documents in their drawers for safety. However, the blackboard was placed on the wall in front of the classroom. This is what you are likely to see in the other classrooms. Each classroom had a class representative. Teachers appointed the most intelligent child or the pupil – boy or girl - who is physically stronger compared to their peers as pupil leaders. Another

justification for their selection was that they have good communication skills - reading, writing and speaking, in English.

Boys were nonetheless seen to be inclined to spend more time with boys and girls with girls. Although the pupils enjoyed the presence of the opposite gender in the classroom, majority of them, however, demonstrated preferences for the gender groups that shared similar designs of uniform and interaction styles with them. Boys sat on the same seats talking with and touching the other boys and girls engaged with fellow girls. Teachers only applied on-the-spot strategies as personal efforts to alter the status quo in a bid to engage pupils in a cross gender interaction. In primary 5B, the teacher asked the girls to sit with the boys and vice versa. But, the arrangement appeared to be only a temporary fix. The children took the new structure just for a short time, sometimes lasting from the time they received the instruction and after particular lessons. Soon after they returned from recess, they separated, may be driven by impulse, to reverse to the old order. This amplified gender differences between the boys and girls and made them feel excluded in the midst of their peers.

PPA-t/strat

Lessons started at 7:45am local time. Before this time, the teacher took attendance to know pupils who were present and absent for the day. This was what happened in the other classrooms too. At the commencement of lesson teachers instructed the children to exercise their bodies. For instance, s/he says, 'class stand, sit, clap your hands' several times. At the end of the activity/ies, s/he established a code of conducts in the classrooms. Teachers usually announced these standards of behaviour to the pupils; the regulations were temporary and not codified in a document as you would normally expect. As such they were made to regulate the behaviours of learners throughout the duration of the lessons. Pupils were told to sit erect and keep

quiet. On some occasions they were also directed to fold their arms to prevent them from touching the colleague next to them. Again, they were asked to face front and maintain regular focus on the teacher while the lesson was in progress.

What followed these activities was explanation of the lessons to the pupils. S/he stood rigidly at the front to teach. Occasionally, the teachers walked through the aisles while explaining concepts. As they moved around, s/he paused briefly to ensure learners did not disrupt the lesson. All the time the teachers used verbal explanations to deliver the lessons to pupils in English. Sometimes they used *Efik* language to interpret the explanations. The voices of teachers dominated as they orchestrated almost every activity at lessons. Pupils raised their hands up to ask and answer questions and they had to receive teacher permission first before they could talk. This practice was probably to ensure respect and order in the classroom. For example, pupils in primary 5A learned adjectives on English. As the teacher explained the lesson, once in a while he called a child to the front of the classroom to demonstrate adjectives.

He would say, 'Odili is a good girl'. Also, he used Efik to interpret the English version. He said, 'Odili edi eti eyen anwan. Eti is an adjective'. (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

The lesson in primary 5B was 'marriage' on Social Studies. Pupils learned different marriage practices. The teacher called some girls and boys to demonstrate the way people in different cultures practiced monogamy, polygyny and polyandry.

One girl asked, 'uncle is it good for a man to marry four wives?' The teacher answered, 'yes, it is good if you are a Muslim'. Explaining further, he said, 'Christians are taught to marry one wife, but some of them actually marry over four wives. Some men, who do not go to church or mosque, also marry more than one wife. Even in Islam, you can find some Muslim men who have only one wife'. A few pupils looked at the teacher and exclaimed 'ehen' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

In primary 5C, pupils used some realia to learn 'addition of three digit numbers' on Mathematics. These realia included sticks cut into short pieces and bottle corks, which they used to solve the sums. Children called these materials counters. The teacher asked questions randomly to both boys and girls. At some points she called the children in turns to work the sums on the blackboard. Almost all children, including some research participants, showed interest in the lesson. They raised their hands or fingers to perform the tasks as the teacher bade them. Obi was one of the research participants who took active participation during lesson. The teacher asked pupils '1 + 0 is equal what?' He volunteered to answer the teacher's question.

He replied, '1 + 0 is ehm ehm'. The teacher completed the statement and said, '1 + 0 is equal to 1'. Later, she asked the other pupils to clap for him (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Though happy to see the way Obi and some children were engaged in the lesson, but then I wondered whether a similar situation also took place when I was not in the classroom to observe them. However, still some boys and girls sat quietly and listened to the teacher. They sometimes stared blandly into space at the lesson and the teacher seemed not to have noticed them.

It seems it was a breach of classroom regulations for a child to make comments without, first, obtaining teacher consent. A female participant in primary 5A interjected the teacher to ask a question during lesson. The teacher said to her, 'ITK (I too know) keep quiet first and let me say what I am saying'. Almost simultaneously, some of the girls' classmates exclaimed, 'oooh, you too talk nah! [oh, you talk too much!]'. Thereafter, the teacher ignored the girl and continued teaching. The girl placed her index finger on her lips to gesture 'shut up' to her colleagues who had accused her of talking too much.

A boy in primary 5B, wanted to say something during lesson and the teacher said to him, 'No. Just listen'. The pupil stopped as the teacher commanded (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

At the end of the lesson, the teacher asked, 'is there any question?' It was startling to see all pupils chorus, 'no, aunty' and copied notes from the board.

Speaking to participants regarding the way they participate during lesson, two of them provided the following views:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is this happening?

Tah (*a boy*): . . . they used to sit down quietly and listen [to] what the teacher is talking. They want to learn.

Ebie (*a girl*): . . . They want to pay attention to the teacher, they want to be . . .clever.

In line 3 the pupil does not seem to regard 'sitting down quietly to listen to the teacher' as passive learning. Rather, he tends to indicate that his peers adopted that measure to express enthusiasm to learn. To Tah, the practice is one way to avoid distractions as a noisy and distractive environment is likely to generate disorderliness in the classroom, impair understanding and compromise the quality of learning. Consequently, some pupils had to concentrate so as to be able to grasp what the teacher is explaining to them in a distraction free environment. Even in line 5, the pupil explains that 'paying attention' facilitates learning for her peers and that could in effect enable them to become intelligent, referred to as 'clever'. These views suggest the naivety of some pupils in accepting passivity as a way to ensure compliance to classroom rules and effective learning.

PP-p/vc

Talking further regarding pupil voice, eight participants expressed opinions on the issue, thus:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
- Kije: Because they don't understand (the lesson) . . . when they ask other pupils will laugh at them.
- Tah: Because they did not listen to the teacher.
- Aloka (*a girl*): They don't understand what the teacher is saying (teaching).
- Mbua (*a girl*): Uncle, we always be afraid, because I can make a mistake.
- Ebie: (paused and looking down): uncle, I don't know what is happening o.
- Ojuare: . . . sometimes they will say something in Maths.
- Obi (*boy with impairments*):Hmmm. When you want to talk they [teachers] go talk say who tell you to talk (When you wants to talk the teacher will ask you, who told you to talk).
- Eyare (*a girl*): It is because they don't understand the lesson, and the teacher does not allow us to make noise when she is teaching. The noise (will) distract her - the teacher. She will not feel happy when pupils want to explain the lesson.

One theme permeating the different views of these pupils is suppression of pupil voice at lessons. You can discern from their statements the way teachers impose themselves as authoritative figures in the classrooms and talk dominantly during lesson. As such pupils appear to learn, holding the teachers in awe. Even when they did not understand the lesson, they felt hesitant to ask questions to seek clarifications from the teachers. Feelings of intimidation and panic are also reflected in the views and behaviours of the pupils. In line 5, Kije's opinion portrayed the way pupils felt frightened to ask questions during lessons because their peers would 'laugh at them'. Pupils laugh to mock peers who have asked a question. Some of these pupils think

that it is wrong to stop the teacher to make queries when the teacher has yet to give approval to do so otherwise she will not be 'happy' with such a pupil.

Note the way Ebie paused and looked down in line 7 when talking to me. On the other hand, Obi did not only state the obvious on the issue, he also exclaimed 'hmmm' in line 9. Their expressions hint to the risk they face to ask questions or make comments when the teacher is still teaching. The phrase 'happening o' (line 7) is Pidgin English. By suffixing the word 'happening' with the vowel 'o' in the Pidgin sense of it, Ebie was highlighting the extent of fear she was experiencing to comment about the situation due to the danger she thought was involved in the issue. Perhaps, this pupil did not quite trust me. She feared I could disclose her information to her teacher and she might be punished for revealing the issue to an external body. The teaching strategy rendered pupils virtually inactive during lesson for the mere fact that they are 'children'.

However, four participants suggested some ways to resolve this problem, thus:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME: | What should your teacher do for you to learn better? |
| Aloka: | I want our uncle to teach us very well and what we don't understand we can ask him questions |
| Ebie: | Ehnn (scratches her head with the hand), our teacher shou--uld not teach us hard things |
| Ahmed: | I think our uncle can bring something like orange (real objects) in the class[room] when we are learning . . . |
| Kije: | I want our teacher to be teaching us well, like he can give us homework let us do. |

In line 2, the pupil talked in terms of interactive classroom lesson. From her viewpoint, an inclusive classroom provides avenues for children to make queries when they do not understand the concepts the teacher is imparting to them. When that happens, pupils might be able to discuss, share ideas and grasp the lesson. Her

view corresponds with the dialogic learning discourse, a discourse that encourages interactive lesson in which pupils might have the opportunity to talk and express their views concerning what they are learning. According to her, to ‘ask’ the teacher ‘questions’ (line 2) is to enable the pupils seek clarifications about issues that seem unclear to them so as to ‘understand’ the lesson.

Her colleague added in line 2 that they would learn well when the teacher did not teach them difficult concepts so that they do not feel mystified by them. To me, she was actually not implying that pupils would not learn difficult concepts at some points when she said teachers should not teach them ‘hard things’. Rather, as can be read from her body language, she was calling on teachers to simplify difficult concepts in ways that they can understand. Connotatively, pupils learn better when concepts are being explained to them in simple terms. In addition, it involves using English, taking cognizance of the fact that the children are beginner English users, especially within a non-native English context.

More so, eclecticism might take place when the teacher combines other teaching strategies with realia as indicated in Ahmed’s excerpts. In line 3 the word ‘think’ is used to suggest the teaching technique the pupil felt might be appropriate to include pupils during lesson. He was talking within the concrete learning discourse. Concrete learning discourse recommends that pupils should learn with real objects to enable them understand the concepts more easily. While suggesting that his teacher can bring ‘orange’ to lesson, this pupil believed that pupils would feel included and learn better when they learn about concepts in tangible terms.

Another way they felt they can learn, according to the last discussant, is for the teachers to give them homework to do. Homework means that they will do the

assignment in their various houses; not in the classroom. Assignment will probably give them space to engage in independent studies and keep them busy at home. The pupils may do some rudimentary inquiries to discover new ideas and demonstrate certain level of originality in the tasks. It will motivate them to take risk in the work and to achieve.

PPA-s/disc

Whenever the teachers were teaching, they held a long cane in their hands. Although teachers sometimes used the cane as pointer to draw attention of pupils to certain concepts on the board during lessons, they utilise it mostly for punitive measures. For example, in primary 5C, some children were called by the teacher to solve one mathematical sum on the board. The task was to solve subtraction of three digit numbers under place value: hundreds, tens and units. One girl walked to the board and solved the sum wrongly. The teacher used a cane and flogged her hands.

The primary 5B teacher was marking pupils' notebooks. Some pupils were discussing among themselves. The teacher instructed the class representative to list the names of children that were talking. She produced the list for the teacher and he caned the victims. However, in primary 5A, the teacher asked pupils to read a passage in their English textbook. Some of the boys and girls did not read well. The teacher frowned and ordered them to kneel down on the floor. During my conversations with participants regarding pupil voice and school attendance, two of them, however, digressed to express their views about pupil experience of discipline in the school as follows:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. Why is it so?
- Umu (*a girl*): Uncle, because if they (pupils) say and they have a mistake they (teachers) will flog them. Because they are afraid, let them (teachers) not beat them if they make a mistake.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too?
- Ebie: Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school.
- ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?
- Ebie: Martin and Okon (also a boy) did not come to school that day because our teacher beat them. They did not do their home work and our teacher beat them.

These views suggest that pupils suffer corporal punishment even when they ask questions and commit errors. The term ‘if’ used in line 3 is not merely a conditional word, but to imply the reluctance pupils feel to talk during lesson. The understanding from that expression is that pupils would like to talk and make contributions when lesson is on-going to enable them learn better. Sadly, they felt held back for fear that they could make ‘a mistake’ (line 4) and get beaten for it. Teachers tend to see it as an offence for pupils to make wrong inputs during lesson and when that happens, the teacher ‘flog them’ (line 3). And you can see in line 10, that some pupils: Martin and Okon, were unhappy with the practice and, thus opposed to the application of corporal punishment on them. The refusal of these boys to come to school was a consequence of their protests. Perhaps, it was for the same reason they felt discouraged or declined ‘to do their homework’ as indicated in line 10. Still, the teacher ‘beat them’ for not doing their homework. Teachers used the cane

dominantly to 'enforce' discipline on any behaviour they considered as being prohibitive and command respect from the pupils, and that makes some of them to partly participate in school programmes.

Two participants, however, recommended one measure that could address the barrier:

Umu: Uncle, I don't want our teacher to flog us when we
 he talk something wrong (we make mistakes)
 when is teaching.
Obi: I don't want uncle to, to beat us.

Some of the pupils were actually unhappy with the application of this method due to the bodily injuries and psychological effects it leaves on victims. Perhaps, they realised that corporal punishment was rather unsupportive to the effect that it made some pupils to feel scared to participate in lesson and sometimes cause them to stay away from school and would want it abolished.

Pupils also did some classroom assignments using their notebooks. These tasks were taken either from the subject they had just learned or their text books. Each of them was allowed 20 - 30 minutes to complete the work. Slow writers hardly had extra time to finish their work. Due to that situation, the children rushed to complete their work. Upon completion, they submitted their notebooks to the teachers to mark. When the time stipulated expired the teachers started asking them to pass their books. Pupils who had used all the time allowed still had to pass their books regardless of whether they have finished writing. Teachers felt unhappy when any child expressed reluctance to submit his or her book. When that happens the teachers personally dragged the book away from the child/ren concerned or authorise the class prefects to do so. Some children have had their books unmarked because they could not submit their books at the time the teachers had specified. Pupils who secretly

forwarded their books to be marked in defiance did so at the risk of having the book thrown away by teachers.

PPA-p/moi

However, the children sometimes did also homework. Homework was an academic task, which the pupils did at their homes. Completed homework was handed in to the teachers on the next school day. Those children who were slow to complete their homework suffered a similar fate like the situation with the class assignments. Other classroom activities required pupils to answer teachers' questions mostly during lessons. In this case, the children produced verbal feedback to questions. Some pupils encountered challenges to say or write the answers in a way that was acceptable. I found these sentences in the English notebook of a male participant in 5B. The lesson was Dictation. He wrote:

Aminat a tiwn brother. The want to ahive. A comment in red ink was also written on the book of this boy. It reads: 'Is this English or French?'

A remark in red ink was seen on the class assignment of a female participant in primary 5C on Reading. It read:

'it seems you don't understand the assignment' (Pupils' note books: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Such uncomplimentary remarks, which perhaps teachers make on pupils' books, might weaken their morale to learn at school. Some pupils could regard these negative reports about their performances as also intended to ridicule them.

A male participant in primary 5A lent his dictionary to another boy. While handing over the book, he said to him:

'my dictionary have tear. Please hold it well o'.

In primary 5B, a girl stood up to answer a question during lesson on Computer Studies. The teacher asked her to explain how a computer works. She said,

'uncle, the computer is a electron thing wey dey [that] collect data ehm ehm ehm'. She placed her finger in her mouth and chewed the fingernail.

Also, in primary 5C, pupils did assignments and submitted their notebooks to the teacher to mark. After marking the assignments, the teacher gave the books to a girl and asked the pupil to distribute them to her classmates. One male participant complained that he had not been given his book. The teacher asked to know what had happened to the boy's book and the girl replied:

'aunty, I have give him'. Her classmates laughed (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

While speaking with the participants, eight of them expressed views that provided further clue to the experience of pupils regarding the language they used as follows:

ME: I have noticed that when one pupil said something wrong everybody else will laugh and make fun of him or her. Does this happen quite often?

Kije: Yes

Aloka: No. No. . .

Tah: Yes

Mbua: (Paused) Yes

ME: Is it only this same pupil you make fun of?

Kije: It is the same pupils because they laugh at somebody (else) too.

Eyare: Yes. It's still the same pupil.

ME: Why is this happening?

Tah: Because they talk the wrong thing. Like when they want to spell 'happiness', they will spell h-a-p-p-y. That one is 'happy'. Then they did not put h-a-double 'p'-i-n-e-double 's'. That one is 'happiness'.

Aloka: . . . if they make mistakes we will laugh. Sometimes we used to correct them.

Ebie: (Paused) . . . we will correct them before we We laugh at them (because) we want them to (pay)attention and want them to be clever.

Ojuare: Other pupils make fun and say something (other pupils make fun) because (what they say) is funny.

Umu: Other pupils in the classroom will make fun when they say something wrong too . . .

Obi: Because they know pass them.
(Because they are more intelligent than them - their classmates, who have said something wrong).

Based on these views, it seems some children used jokes to ridicule particular peers who commit errors in communication in English. While some pupils derived fun from the situation, the reaction from others was to retaliate derisively against classmates who have behaved in a similar way towards them in the past. From Aloka's excerpts, even when some of the children assisted the victims to improve on their communication skills, they did so in a disparaging manner. The intention is not actually to support their classmates to learn better, but to use them as objects of caricature. Pupils appeared to regard peers who were not adept English users as being illiterate and unintelligent.

But, four participants gave some suggestions to address poor communication to facilitate learning, thus:

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?

Mbua: [It] help me read my books correctly [well].
Hmmm our teacher don't always tell me to come and read. He always tell me you cannot read.
That's why I said I will read my books correctly.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?

Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?

- Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].
- Umu: Uncle, so that I will learn how to read and write (in English) in school and I can do very well. I can read very well; it's only writing that I cannot write very well.

These pupils feel improvement in reading and writing skills in English might assist them to improve on their learning. One of the pupils even indicated in lines 3-4 that her teacher formed a negative impression about her reading skills. She 'always' felt ignored because the teacher felt she 'cannot read'. By implication, her teacher 'always' made her to stay passively in the classroom when other pupils were taking part in the lesson on reading. She was inspired to become an active reader to improve her reading skills because she felt challenged by the way her teacher used to snub her and perhaps underestimate her reading competences. Moreover, because examinations, largely written in English, are used to determine progress of pupils at school, other pupils decided to pay more attention to the teacher at lesson and to enhance their literacy skills to be able to perform well in the examinations so that they do not fail and repeat grades. Understandably, inability to read and write may cause them to fail examination and repeat grades.

PP, PPA-s/fee

Both the ministry and school seemed to impose dues on pupils and expected compliance. These included school fees, handicrafts, examination fees, toilet tissues and foolscaps. By conversion, these items are valued at about £5.00. I learned from the teachers that the school usually allow children until the end of the semester to make payments or settle the debts. Pupils collected money from their carers to pay for these school charges. On some occasions their parents come to the school to pay

on their behalf. Teachers were directed by the headmistress to keep record of pupils who had complied with the requirement. Towards the approach of semester examination, she instructed teachers to sanction any learners who owed or were yet to complete settling all charges. Once, one of the male teachers entered every classroom holding a note book and was calling names of pupils. As he did that the pupils stood up. Later, he told them to pack their books and go home because they had not paid some levies. I felt unhappy to see that happen because the children would miss lessons for that day. The affected pupils were not happy either. Some of them were frowning and grumbling. Others walked slowly to illustrate reluctance to go home. It was during this incidence that I confirmed pupils were subjected to paying levies at school. In my discussions with participants about pupils' attendance at school, five of them went further to tell me about pupils' experience concerning school fees:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils?
- Aloka: (Cuts in) it's because of school fees . . .
- Kije: Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too
- Ahmed: Yes, there other pupils who do not come to school too.
- Umu: It's only them.
- ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?
- Kije: Like Obi and Umu . . .
- Ahmed: Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school
- ME: Why is it so?
- Kije: Uncle, it's because of school fees.
- Ahmed: Because they don't like to come to school every day,. . . because they (teachers) send (them) home to get their school fees.

Tah:	Because they did not pay their school fees.
Umu:	Uncle, whether it's school fees.
Eyare:	It happens with only them because of their school fees.

In lines 3, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 the pupils were speaking around the school fees discourse. It is a discourse that emphasises the imposition of certain school charges on school children. The pupil interjected in line 4 suggesting to me that school fees were a common factor that prevented pupils from being present and learning at school. And Obi and Umu were the two pupils mentioned in lines 9 and 10, as not having regular attendance at school because teachers sent them 'home' from school to get 'their school fees' and that somewhat supported my argument in that respect. However, for using the word 'whether' in line 14, the pupil was rather evasive in her opinion on the issue. May be, she felt it would be an embarrassment to her to say it in clear terms because she was probably aware she was one of the children affected by the practice. Without doubts, these children were partly participating in lessons because teachers sometimes prevented them from attending school on account of their indebtedness. It provides an insight about other pupils who probably suffered similar fate at school.

However, Obi, one of the participants, looked at the issue of pupil attendance at school from the perspective of parental influence:

Obi:	Whether their mother went to farm and has a baby. She tells them to stay at home and tell them to take care of the baby.
------	--

Initially, Obi talked with some level of uncertainty when he used the word 'whether' to say how mothers sometimes prevented their children from attending school regularly. However, he later sounded more confident to mention that some children stayed away from school because their 'mother' instructed them to stay at home to

take care of their younger sibling while they go to farm. Assumedly, some parents entrust responsibility to their older children to care for their younger relations in their absence. Some pupils succumbed to such pressure from the family and perilously sacrifice their studies to serve the needs of their family members and to also assist parents perform domestic duties.

Almost all *Hausa/Fulani* girls from Islamic backgrounds had woven or plaited hairstyles at school. The school may have granted them permission to do so. Apart from the religious angle of it, hairdos appear to be a mark of female identity within traditions of the children's tribes. They wore hijabs on their heads on their way to school. As soon they have the school in their sight, they removed these veils and hid them inside their school bags before entering the school's compound. It seems they were, however, not allowed to use hijabs. On the other hand, unlike the *Hausa/Fulani* girls, females from other tribes and from Christian backgrounds neither wore hairstyles nor use veils. The school seemed to have outlawed hairstyles among them. So they always have low haircuts while at school. As with the Christian girls, the boys from across these religions also had low haircuts. None of them barbed their hair in any fashionable way. In addition, all pupils, irrespective of background, were banned from using any jewellery at school.

Another participant examined the issue from the standpoint of commuting to school:

Mbua: Yes, there are other pupils in my classroom who don't come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Mbua: Uncle, some days, Gedina (a girl) don't used to come to school. Sometimes she will be coming late to school and she used to say that her house is far.

Clearly, Gedina could not go to school for some days because her house was far away from her school. It was for a similar problem that she came to school late. Perhaps, the girl walked to school. Due to these factors, she was unable to have adequate participation at lessons compared to her peers. The example of Gedina might be representative of other children who are not really taking part in school activities because there are no alternative measures to facilitate the way they commute between their homes and school.

Ahmed, however, provided a suggestion to solve the problem, thus:

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would buy a school bus. Why will you do that?

Ahmed: (Paused) because I want big aunty to buy a bus . . . to drive somebody (pupils) to school and Basarawa. Because. Pupils school bus there is no used to walk to school.

‘Big aunty’, in the opinion of this pupil seems to mean headmistress. His understanding of is that the headmistress, as symbol of the school management, needs to buy a school bus. Also, his reference to ‘*Basarawa*’ signifies ‘home’. Apart from him, there seems to be other pupils who lived in *Basarawa*. Presumably, the school does not have a bus. Provision of a school bus may therefore enable pupils, like Gedina, to commute the school and their homes much easily and to arrive early at school, preventing them from missing lessons. Besides, when they are being transported in the bus, they might also be protected from kidnappers, predators, scorching sun and rainfall. More so, they might feel valued to travel in the school bus to their homes and school.

PPA-p/int

Inside the classroom, some children moved to their peers to make certain enquiries on issues of concern. Others sometimes did so while carrying their (text or note) books in their hands. They approached classmates, probably called the person's name, and then asked a question. Some of the colleagues being approached for help obliged the enquirer/s by helping them solve the problems. For instance, in primary 5A, the pupils read their English textbooks. Three of the female research participants could not pronounce the word 'astonished' correctly. One of the girls suggested they ask other colleagues to help them. She asked saying: 'Paul, please read this word for me, a-s-t-o-n-i-s-h-e-d'. The colleague read the word for her. Later, she said to self, 'what does this word mean?' Another female classmate volunteered and said, 'it means surprised'. She looked at the colleague who had helped her and smiled. A girl in primary 5B, did not come to school for three days due to sickness. She later came to school when she eventually got well. On this very day, the teacher gave a class assignment on Agricultural Science. She met with a female peer to explain to her the lessons they had learnt on the subject on the days she was not in school. The colleague taught her and she completed the tasks. Pupils in primary 5C were having a lesson on Mathematics. The teacher asked them a question, saying: 'when we add 2 to 3, what will be the answer'?

As the pupils thought about the answer, one boy and girl whispered some ideas about the question to each other. After that, the boy shouted to say the answer, saying, 'aunty, it's 5' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Apart from these cases of teamwork, close interactions between pupils and their teachers in the school were virtually non-existent. Ordinarily, pupils hardly have face-to-face contacts with their teachers except during lessons. If they must do so then it has to be based on a learner – teacher basis. They saw teachers as being

socially far away from them and, sometimes, unapproachable. Even among the learners, some pupils seemed to have created a red line barring some peers from socialising closely with them. One of which is the gender discrimination mentioned earlier. In addition, some of Obi's classmates used to refuse to sit with him in the classroom. One boy, however, actually sat with him, but kept some distance in between them. Whenever Obi said something his peers laughed at him.

Pupils had their break at 10:00am local time. On the playground some boys and girls ran all over the place chasing one another. Others kicked an empty plastic bottle around the open field as it is done in the game of soccer. Every one of them pushed and pulled each other so as to get to the bottle first. They laughed, screamed, and shouted each other's name in excitement during the activity. They used English to communicate with each other. Although Obi also took part in the game, other children were subtly avoiding him. You need to read their body language carefully to be able to notice it. Forty minutes later break ended and they all moved back into their classrooms to continue learning for the remainder of the day. When I interviewed participants to get their views about their participation at playtime, one of them provided a response regarding their experience, particularly, with Obi:

ME: During play time I have seen that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say there are such children from your classroom?

Kije: . . . (paused) It's because when their friends want to play with them, when they cannot play fine their friends will say they should not play with them again. So they will play on their own.

ME: You said some pupils cannot play fine and your friends will say you should not play with them again. How do you mean?

Kije: Uncle, eh Obi don't used to play well. He will pouring saliva when we are playing with him and

he used to behave stupid stupid. He don't even know something (he is unintelligent). We don't used to like it.

From lines 7-9, he spoke within the medical constructionist stance that perceives pupils with impairments as having health conditions that impede their social and educational competences. Obi's peer detested to play with him because he was spitting, and his classmate regarded that as a 'stupid' behaviour. In addition, his other colleagues discriminated against him because they viewed him as being unintelligent. This indicates the way pupils categorise some of their peers as behaving in inappropriate and unacceptable way at play. According to Kije, other pupils excluded their peers from their playgroup because 'they cannot play fine'.

The exclamation in line 7 is used to narrow attention to Obi. The use of the phrase 'pouring saliva' (line 8) emblematises disease, implying that Obi was suffering from a disease. Further to that, he used the word 'stupid' twice in line 8 in reference to Obi's behaviour to actually highlight that Obi did not use to 'play well' at play time due to his diseased body. Also, Obi does not 'know something' due to his abnormalities. 'We' is a plural pronoun and Kije used it to refer to self and other typical children in the school. What that means is that he and the other children do not 'like' to play with Obi because he was portraying some behaviour, which perhaps is out of the accepted norm at school. The school and children now felt that Obi's current state of health, unlike his pre-impairment state, was threatening to the welfare of his colleagues as well as the standard of education of the school. Probably, that is why the school placed him in primary 5C to learn with pupils with seemingly like abilities. It is for a similar reason other children were distancing themselves from relating with him.

Speaking further on pupil participation in interaction, eight participants stated:

Ahmed:	Yes
Tah:	They are from primary 2
Mbua:	Some (of them) come from my classroom and some are not from my classroom.
Obi:	Yes
Ojuare:	No. They are not from our classroom. Our classroom is only playing alone with our classroom or our classmates
Eyare:	Yes
ME:	Why do you think they have no one to play with?
Obi:	Me I dey like to play with Francis [I like to play with Francis].
Ahmed:	Because they are in primary 2. That's why we don't want them to play with us.
Aloka:	No. Because my classmates used to say that we should not play with them. . .
Mbua:	Uncle, I have some (friends), but not all the children.
Ebie:	We are not their classmates. That's why. It's our classmates that said we should not play with them. Let us play with only ourselves.
Eyare:	It is because they don't want to join us (to play). They want to play with another pupils because they don't like how we are laughing at them.

Pupils also segregated one another in interaction on account of seniority in years of study at school and differences in classrooms. It indicates a replication of adult-child relationship following the teacher-pupil pattern of interaction. On the playground, they socialised mostly based on the sameness in classrooms. Even at that, there was also discrimination within group as members had selected friends within particular classrooms with whom they played and they did so to prevent being ridiculed by other children. A wider demarcation, however, occurred in the relationships between the typical children and Obi. Obi's explanation that he had just one playmate – Francis - at school tends to confirm the refusal of other children to accept him into their friendship groups due to his perceived disability status.

Either in the classroom or on the playground, some of the pupils complained and accused one another for behaving in an offensive manner. In some cases, they went to their teachers to make reports about their classmates' offensive behaviour towards them. There was a boy in primary 5B who used to push, trip and make some unfriendly gestures at his classmates. He also attacked some of them verbally.

Another boy coughed in the classroom on one occasion during lesson. The bully said to him, 'that cough that you are coughing, ehem ehem ehem' (Field notes, Kenwa primary school, 2013).

During interview with some participants to ascertain why they will not like to work with some of their peers to execute school projects, seven of them replied:

- ME: Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper?
- Kije: Because they always do something (i.e behave) like they are the seniors. When we are sweeping in the [in the classroom] they will be insulting [pupils]. They will say (demonstrating with the finger) 'you do this, you do that'. [But] they [themselves] will not do it. They will always stand one place [doing nothing].
- Ahmed: Because Israel wants to fight with me. Mfonobong used to carry cane and flog me while Ruquayatu used to slap me.
- Tah: Queen, because when I talk anything [she] will go and tell our uncle (the male teacher) or our aunty (the female teacher) or Aloka and they (teachers and pupil) will flog me. Nura, that day I hit his belly and I said sorry. He went and told Aloka and she flogged me. Edor, because, because, because, he used to, he used to . . . carried cane. When he carried cane he'll flog other pupils and he is not the class prev[f]ect.
- Ebie: Buki is a trouble- maker. Eshua wanted to beat us when uncle was not around. Friday. . . . Friday is a troublemaker.

These perspectives suggest that some pupils in this school were bossy, aggressive, saucy or vengeful towards other peers. Others take their classmates' properties without consent. Non-offenders were sometimes beaten by the teacher perhaps

because the aggressor/s had made a false allegation to the teacher against them. As a result, some pupils decided to be unfriendly with some classmates whom they regarded as exhibiting behaviours that were offensive to them.

In line 4-5 you see that some pupils humiliated their weaker peers, commanding them to clean up the classroom without themselves taking part in the activity. On the other hand, in lines 8, Aloka is illustrated as the class representative and the pupil who was given the authority to 'flog' other pupils when they go wrong in the classroom. It is not clear who permitted her to beat her peers. I will assume the teacher authorised her to punish her colleagues when they violate a rule in the classroom. And she did so to assist her teacher and to exercise power. Aloka's excerpt confirmed that she was actually the class representative. Also, it established the fact that she used to 'beat' her peers to force them to stay quiet and calm in the classroom. Edor is particularly mentioned in lines 11 as another bully who used the 'cane' to hit his colleagues. One of them, Tah, was unhappy about the situation and saw the actions as occurring in clear breach of the law because Edor was not the class 'prev[f]ect' (a responsible authority) (line 12) to apply corporal punishment on other pupils. It shows that both boys and girls were bullying their peers making them to survive in hostile environment at school and constraining them to interact.

One water cistern toilet mentioned previously was located on a slope behind the nursery classroom. It had a rough wooden door and floor. Two persons could use it at the same time. So when one child is in the toilet another pupil would wait for the user to finish, or s/he could urinate at any hidden corner within the school compound. Girls appeared to experience some difficulties and embarrassment to use a dirty toilet or squat within the compound to excrete, sometimes in the full glare of the public.

Except for urine, pupils, regardless of the circumstance, had to defecate inside the toilet. The school management perhaps felt that dumping excreta indiscriminately outside the toilet posed more disturbing images compared to the urine. You need to pour water into the toilet from a bucket to be able to flush it. A female cleaner cleaned it from Monday to Friday after close of school with water she bought from a private borehole located near the school.

Nevertheless, three participants suggested ways to fix some school resources to support their education:

ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the playground. Why will you do that?

Obi: . . . (stuttering) I - i -i -i don't like it. The place [is] very rough. . . . Rough playground is not good for me to play. I can wound myself there.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would paint the classroom Why will you do that?

Ojuare: Because the school wants help. So that when visitors come into the class they will see how the class is beautiful.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the chairs and tables. Why will you do that?

Kije: Ehn! Yes. Uncle, it's because the chairs, they (his classmates) always write something on [them]. I want the classroom to be nice.

Like the toilet, these pupils are unhappy with the poor conditions of their playground, classrooms and classroom equipment. In an emotion filled response, Obi felt restricted to play at school, especially during break, due to the poor condition of the playing arena and the risks it poses to health. Like Obi, the other children were probably not happy with the poor state of their classrooms, the seats and tables, and

perhaps not proud to talk to their friends about their school. So they wanted the equipment refurbished to beautify the classroom and playing area for them to look attractive to guests and be safe for pupils to use.

Pupils' activities at school occurred in terms of learning and socialisation. Vast majority of pupils learning in the school were typical children. The undulating environment within the community and school compound unfortunately prevented some disabled children, such as pupils who use wheelchairs, from attending the school too. Even younger pupils in the nursery section appeared to experience some difficulties to access some classrooms, particularly; those sited in the valley as there were no ramps to facilitate free movement to those places. The lack of electricity inside the classrooms meant that the children, whether typical or disabled, could learn in darkness. Dark clouds resulting from the rain engulfed the whole environment including classrooms to impair the vision of some children at lessons. Unavailability of power supply is, by extension, linked to the absence of projectors in the classrooms as these equipment mostly work on electricity. In consequence, some pupils relied hugely on the extent to which teachers were able to verbally explain (hard) concepts to be able to learn well.

PPA-t/strat

As seen above, classroom instructions were indeed reliant on traditional teaching methods allowing teachers to orchestrate almost all school activities, providing space for them to impose their ideas, values and beliefs on pupils and encouraging a one-directional flow of communication favouring the teachers more than pupils. Some examples are seen in primary 5A and 5B where the teachers commanded the girl and boy who wanted to make some comments during lessons to keep quiet. Furthermore, the technique appears not to recognise different ability levels of pupils. Instead, it

offered advantages in learning to pupils with higher competences and disadvantages others. Higher performers among the pupils were seen to receive more attention and support from teachers to spur them to make more contributions, as the teacher permits, during lessons. Moreover, teachers assaulted pupils to force them to learn and to enforce order at lesson. Drawing from pupil's experience, pupils hardly talk at lesson unless they have received prior teacher permission. In spite of that, fast learners also tended to feel more inspired, compared to their colleagues, to complete assignments and pass examinations.

PA-exm, gr/rep

Pupils were subjected to qualifying examinations at the end of the semester. This examination constituted the process for moving them from one year to the other starting from the when the person starts primary one until s/he gets to primary 6. In this classroom, they take another qualifying test called common entrance examination to be able to complete primary education. Every pupil was expected to pass these examinations to be eligible to progress to a higher classroom or secondary school. See tables below for further details:

Pupils who progressed to primary 6 and sat for the common entrance examination in the classroom in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category		Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik			36	42.86
		Boys	24		
		Girls	12	33.33	
	Ibibio			17	20.24
		Boys	13		
		Girls	4	23.53	
	Hausa/Fulani			5	5.95
		Boys	4		
		Girl	1	20.00	
	Igbo			5	5.95
Boys		2	40.00		
Girls		3	60.00		
Ekoi			3	3.57	
	Boy	1			33.33
	Girls	2			66.67
Religion		Muslims	5		5.95
		Christians	61		72.62
Gender		Males	44		52.38
		Females	22		26.19
Final total number of pupils				66	78.57

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table illustrates that among the 84 pupils who had places to start primary one in the 2006/2007 academic session as earlier shown in table, 66 of them progressed via promotion examinations to primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year. You can see from this table that pupils from *Efik* and *Ibibio* outnumbered their peers from *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. Also, females as well as Islamic pupils were trailing their male and Christian counterparts respectively. There was no data to indicate whether there were any children with special educational needs among them and the linguistic backgrounds of the children.

Pupils who passed common entrance examination in primary 6 in 2013

Item	Category	Number		Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik			31	36.91
		Boys	21		67.74
		Girls	10		32.26
	Ibibio			15	17.86
		Boys	12		80.00
		Girls	3		20.00
	Hausa/Fulani			5	5.95
		Boys	4		80.00
		Girl	1		20.00
	Igbo			5	5.95
Boys		2		40.00	
	Girls	3		60.00	
				3	3.57
	Boy	1		33.33	
	Girls	2		66.67	
Religion	Muslims		5	5.95	
	Christians		54	64.29	
Gender	Males		40	47.62	
	Females		19	22.62	
Final total number of pupils				59	70.24

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table signifies that out of the 66 pupils that wrote the common entrance, 59 of them passed. Still, pupils from *Efik* and *Ibibio* outnumbered colleagues from the *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. Similarly, the males and Christians were more than the females and Muslims respectively among these pupils. Again, there was no indication as to whether that number included pupils with special educational needs, and it also did not show the languages these pupils speak. Pupils who passed this common entrance examination were promoted to start secondary school education.

Pupils who failed common examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		5	5.95
		Boys		60.00
		Girls		40.00
	Ibibio		2	2.38
		Boy		50.00
		Girl	1	50.00
Religion		Christians	7	8.33
Gender		Males	4	4.76
		Females	3	3.57
Final total number of pupils			7	8.33

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table shows that five *Efik* and two *Ibibio* pupils out of 66 of them that sat for the common entrance examination failed the test. All of them were Christians. Boys were more than girls. These pupils were asked to repeat primary 6. It is not clear, however, whether any of the pupils had special educational needs and it is also unclear as to the language the pupils speak. These pupils were asked to repeat primary 6.

Pupils missing in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		4	4.76
		Boys	3	75.00
		Girl	1	25.00
	Ibibio		6	7.14
		Boys	6	100.00
	Hausa/Fulani		5	5.95
		Boys	5	100.00
	Igbo		1	1.19
		Boy	1	100.00
	Ekoi		2	2.38
		Boys	2	100.00
Religion		Muslims	5	5.95
		Christians	13	15.47
Gender		Males	17	20.23
		Female	1	1.19
Final total number of pupils			18	21.42

Sources: Compared and extracted from State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics* and Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table illustrates that 18 pupils did not progress along with their 66 colleagues in table earlier to primary 6 out of the initial 84 pupils who were registered. Pupils from *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulani* and *Efik* were more than their peers from *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. More so, boys were more than girls. Also, the Christians were more than Muslims among the pupils. These pupils, like others, may have repeated classrooms for failing examinations or withdrawn from the school. It is, however, unclear whether any of the children has special educational needs. Also, data did not indicate the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils. Impliedly, disadvantages in

learning and achievement in the school seem to be more among children from the settler tribes, girls and disabled children.

Pupils who progressed to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category		Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik			20	22.22
		Boys	14		70.00
		Girls	6		30.00
	Ibibio			10	11.11
		Boys	4		40.00
		Girls	6		60.00
	Hausa/Fulani			16	17.77
		Boys	9		56.25
		Girl	7		43.75
	Igbo			5	5.56
		Boys	3		60.00
		Girls	2		40.00
	Ekoi			11	12.22
		Boys	5		45.45
		Girls	6		54.55
Religion	Muslims		16	17.77	
	Christians		46	51.11	
Gender	Males		35	38.88	
	Females		27	30.00	
Final total number of pupils				62	68.88

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

As earlier shown in table above, 90 pupils had places to start primary one in the 2007/2008 academic year in the school. Now, data in table earlier indicates that out of that number, 62 of them progressed having passed promotion examinations to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic session. Pupils from *Efik* were more in number. However, except for *Igbo*, there was fair representation of pupils from *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulani* and *Ekoi* respectively. Still, males were more than females, and Christians also outnumbered the Muslims among the pupils. It is not clear whether

there were any children with special educational needs. Besides, data did not indicate the language the pupils speak.

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		9	10.00
		Boys	7	77.78
		Girls	2	22.22
	Ibibio		2	2.22
		Boys	2	100.00
	Hausa/Fulani		6	6.67
		Boys	5	83.33
		Girl	1	16.67
	Igbo		2	2.22
		Boys	2	100.00
Religion	Yoruba		9	10.00
		Boys	5	55.56
		Girls	4	34.44
	Muslims		7	7.78
		Christians	21	23.33
Gender	Males	21		23.33
	Females	7		7.78
Final total number of pupils			28	31.11

Sources: Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007, 2012/2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Information in table indicates that 28 pupils were missing in primary 5 from the initial 90 who had places to start primary one in the school. Majority of them came from *Efik*, *Ibibio* and *Yoruba* respectively. Only a few of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois*. You can see that boys were more than girls and, in the same way, Christians outnumbered Muslims among the pupils. These pupils may have failed promotion examinations and repeated grades or withdrawn from the school. In spite of that, data did not show whether any of them has special educational needs and the language of the children. On the contrary, the number of boys compared to girls,

Christians compared to Muslims, suggest that children from the former backgrounds got more enlistments into the school than the latter.

While speaking with my participants about what they could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, two of them digressed to say something about examinations:

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the you read your books. Why will you do that?

Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?

Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].

These pupils were talking within the position of an examination discourse. This discourse has to do with setting examination standards for pupils to attain to be able to earn promotion to a higher classroom or school. In order to pass these pupils have decided to 'pay attention' 'listen' to the teacher perhaps to learn well, 'read' and 'understand' their books. The understanding as seen from the statement: 'so that I can write my common entrance', is that to pass examination was an obligation, which the pupils must fulfil to be able to move to another year in the school or complete primary education. Inability of any of them to satisfy this academic requirement would amount to examination failure and grade repetition. This corroborates a similar issue, which occurred in the documentary analysis above.

Attendance registers indicate that pupils in primary 5 were distributed perhaps according to their performances in the promotion examinations into various classrooms in primary 5 as shown in the tables below:

Pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		10	11.11
		Boys	8	80.00
	Ibibio	Girls	2	20.00
			4	4.44
		Boy	1	25.00
		Girls	3	75.00
	Igbo		4	4.44
		Boys	2	50.00
Gender	Ekoi	Girls	2	50.00
			1	1.11
		Boy	1	100.00
Religion	Christians		19	21.11
Gender	Males		12	13.32
	Females		7	7.78
Final total number of pupils			19	21.10

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register for primary 5A

Data on table shows that 19 pupils out of 62 who advanced to primary 5, were placed in primary 5A. *Efik* pupils outnumbered colleagues from the other existing tribes. All of them were Christians and a greater number of them were boys.

Pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		8	8.89
		Boys		62.50
	Ibibio	Girls	6	37.50
		Boys		50.00
		Girls		50.00
		Boys		66.67
	Hausa/Fulani	Girls	6	33.33
		Boys		66.67
	Igbo	Girls	1	1.11
		Boy		100.00
Religion	Ekoi		2	2.22
		Girls		100.00
		Muslims	6	6.67
Gender		Christians	17	18.89
		Males	13	14.45
		Females	10	11.11
Final total number of pupils			23	25.56

Source: 2012/2103 class attendance register for primary 5B

Information on table illustrates that 23 pupils were placed in primary 5B. Now you can see that not only are pupils from other tribes including *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ibibios* found in this classroom, they also almost tie in number with their peers from *Efik*. *Igbo* and *Ekoi* pupils were, however, very small in number compared to the other tribes. Still, Christians were in the majority than Muslims and boys were also greater in number than girls. Data is silence regarding whether any of the pupils had special educational needs. In the same vein, there is no information to indicate the language of the children.

Pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		2	2.22
		Boy	1	50.00
	Hausa/Fulani	Girl	1	50.00
			10	11.11
		Boys	5	50.00
		Girls	5	50.00
	Ekoi		8	8.89
		Boys	10	50.00
Religion		Girls	10	50.00
		Muslims	10	11.11
Gender		Christians	10	11.11
		Boys	10	11.11
		Girls	10	11.11
Total number of pupils			20	22.22

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register for primary 5C

Data on table demonstrates that 20 pupils were placed in primary 5C. Greater number of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois* respectively with very few of them from *Efik*. You can notice parity in the number of Christians and Muslims as well as boys and girls in this classroom. Still, it is not shown whether any of the children has special educational needs and the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils. However, the placement of Obi's in this classroom hints to the negative attitudes of some teachers towards disability. It also explains why data could not say whether any other children with special educational needs were also present in the school. More so, the representation of pupils from the settler tribes and native *Efik* in this classroom points to the argument on native-settler conflict in the community. And no *Yoruba* pupil is seen again across the three classrooms. It is unclear whether they repeated grades, withdrew or dropped out from school somewhere along the line. Either ways, it is

apparent these pupils did not progress with peers from the other tribes to primary 5 in this school.

PP, PPA-p/excl

Aside from that, the equivalence in the number of boys and girls and pupils from Christian and Muslim religions in table 5.11 suggest that most of the children in primary 5C were girls and Muslim pupils. It shows the way the school appears to replicate inequalities between males and females as well as Christians and Muslims. This could explain why girls were under-represented in school placements and Muslim pupils were denied the opportunity to learn Arabic like their Christian peers. And like Obi, the placement of these pupils in primary 5C seems to demonstrate the way the disadvantages they face is resulting in their underachievement. However, the aspect that concerns the language of pupils is also not captured in data probably because English, and sometimes *Efik*, are used as the media of instruction and communication among pupils and teachers.

PPA-P/moi

Difficulties experienced by some children to communicate in English inhibit their expression of ideas and supply of correct answer at lessons. This explains the reason some of them could not do their English assignments correctly as seen above. Also, it has connection to the situation where the girl was unable to correctly explain to her teacher the way a computer works during lesson. Although teachers sometimes also used *Efik* to explain some concepts to enable some pupils learn well, they, however, appear not to re-commit their skills to including pupils at other times. Evidence involves the case above where teachers threw away some pupils' books and refused to assess their work for failing to complete their assignments late.

PPA-s/fees2

Pupils who were able to pay school fees had better chances to learn and achieve unlike their peers. As mentioned earlier, the practice whereby teachers were given the authority to send some pupils home, especially, towards the end of the semester for failure to pay fees prevented the victims from participating fully in lessons and social activities at school. Because examinations were taken at the end of the semester, some of these pupils seem not to have the prospect to participate in revisions and prepare adequately for the test. It is likely some of them do not take the exams at all as they may not have the money still to pay fees as required. The situation provides a clue that affected children are likely to fail examinations or drop out of school in the circumstance.

PPA-p/int2

Patterns of interactions between pupils and their teachers and among pupils suggest segregatory structures. Bossy dispositions by some teachers seem to keep them far away from associating well with their pupils. Even class representatives do not seem to have the advantaged privilege to interact with teachers because, basically, their leadership role only enabled them to assist teachers as errand boys or girls. And that tends to prevent the children from approaching the teachers and receiving needed support to complement learning and facilitate academic achievements.

PPA-p/moi2

On the flipside of it, although there seems to be a few collaborations among some pupils as seen in the case of the pupils who were trying to pronounce the word ‘astonished’ in the English lesson; those who shared thoughts at the Mathematics lesson and the girl who was assisted by her colleague to complete the task on Agricultural Science, a considerable number of pupils across backgrounds, however,

appear not to have their social needs fully met. Relationships among pupils illustrate discriminations occurring among them on the basis of gender, year of study, disability and aggression. While some pupil sometimes avoided cross gender interaction, friendships with younger children in lower classrooms and bullies, a worse scenario, however, occurred to the child with disabilities. This is being exemplified by the boy who created a wide gap on the bench while sitting on it with Obi, and the pupil who said some pupils refused to interact with Obi at playtime because, according to him, Obi behaved in a ‘stupid’ way and also ‘pours saliva’.

EDOR AGOM PRIMARY SCHOOL

Sch.cont

Edor Agom primary school is sited in *Basarawa*, a settler rural community located outside Calabar Municipality. When you have moved out of Calabar along the Calabar-Ikom highway, travel approximately 41 kilometres north of the city to the first rubber plantation located along that road. Turn right onto an untarred road that passes through the plantation. Keep moving further inside until the bushy path finally disappear and then descend a hill into a valley. On the right side of this valley, there is deep gully erosion. At the end of the road is *Basarawa* settlement. As you enter the community, one important landmark to the school, which you are certain to see is the *Basarawa* livestock market. Residents of the village sell cows, goats and sheep in this market. So you are sure to see some traders, particularly males, who use flesh from slaughtered animals to make *suya* for sale. Inside the village you will notice that the road you used is the community's access road and it is motor able. Houses and shops are built in linear pattern along this road to the market and school.

During my site visit in 2014, I met with some teachers. In our conversation, they told me that the community is originally owned by the *Efiks*. According to my informants, initially the place used to be a forest and uninhabited by man. However, following the arrival of the *Hausa/Fulani* nomads in Cross River State from the north of Nigeria, the state government and *Efik* landlords decided to rent the land to them to live and do business. So the vast majority of the residents were ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* and they are Muslims. Ever since then the people lead a sedentary nomadic lifestyle. Other settlements lie around *Basarawa*. These comprise *Igbos*, *Ekois*, *Ibibios* and *Efiks*, co-existing with the *Hausa/Fulanis* as minority ethnicities. Members of these counterpart tribes are largely Christians. Originally, only the

section that is dominated by the *Hausa/Fulanis* was known as *Basarawa*. Now even the adjoining settlements are being incorporated into *Basarawa* due to their proximity to the place the community.

While on fieldwork, I observed that, apart from herding cattle, *Hausa/Fulani* men also worked as bureaux de change, while the females participated in the other occupations as civil servants, traders, transporters and artisans. Member of the other tribes also served as civil servants as well as peasant farmers. However, the males, across tribes, rode commercial cyclists - known in the local parlance as *okada* or *alalok*. *Basarawa* people speak local languages associated with their particular ethnicities. English and Pidgin are, nevertheless, the dominant means of communication across the tribes.

The major community road splits into two forming a junction at the entrance of *Basarawa* market. One road passes beside the market and goes straight down linking other parts of the village. The other one turns right at the junction. Follow the road that turns right and you are on your way to *Edor Agom* primary school. The school was founded in 1987 as a mainstream school. It is located in a central and populated area surrounded by houses and shops, and it is standing about 100 yards away from the market. A mosque is standing east of the school.

On approach of the school, after walking 100 yards from the junction, there is the school fence and main entrance gate painted brownish red and creamy. The fence forms a square-like enclosure round the entire school compound. Another gate is situated near the mosque area. I noticed that this second gate was always locked. As you enter the school compound you will first find a grassless playground, the administrative block that houses the head teacher's and deputy head teacher's offices,

a meeting hall and primary healthcare centre. Head teachers keep school records in their offices and they also use the offices to hold meetings with staff and visitors. A teacher told me that the primary healthcare office is established and managed by the state ministry of health, adding that the centre is located in the school to enable the villagers and pupils access it easily to get healthcare services. Two nurses worked Monday to Friday in the healthcare unit. The centre delivered Medicare to the locals and school personnel. The locals, especially women and children, visited this healthcare centre on these days to get medicine, first aid treatment and counselling services by the staff on how to practice healthy living. On the other hand, pupils and teachers go there to receive drugs and first aid treatment when they are ill.

The school's signpost is placed on the wall of the administrative building. Also, there is an emblem reflecting the colours of one organisation placed underneath this signpost. The logo bears the name and mission of the organisation. Black bold characters are inscribed underneath the symbol to read: *Golando* 'Adopt-A-School'. I learned that *Golando* is an oil company that adopted the school under its corporate social responsibility (CSR) policy. As part of this policy, the company supplies the school with classroom equipment, renovates the school facilities, provides school records approved by government and awards scholarships to deserving pupils.

Within the school compound there are seven other buildings, constructed in cement concretes and roofed with corrugated iron zinc. Virtually, all the buildings have steps constructed at the entrance. Two of these buildings stand on either side of the administrative block and the third is located directly facing the doors of the administrative building. The building that stands to the right of the head master's office houses primary 6 classrooms and the one opposite primary 6 block to the left

of the administrative office accommodates primary 5 and parts of primary 2 classrooms.

The other building sited directly opposite the administrative block houses Nursery and primary 1 classroom building. At the back of primary 6 building you will see the primary 3 classroom block and standing behind the primary 5 and 2 block is another that accommodates parts of primary 1 and primary 2 classrooms. Also, standing behind the Nursery block is the school toilet and store. A piece of grassy land stretches from the toilet round to the back of primary 3 building up to the second gate. I saw that pupils also used this area as playground. However, the first four buildings mentioned earlier formed a square assembly ground at the middle. The school calls this refuge point the chapel. Nigeria's and Cross River State flags are hoisted at the frontage of the administrative building at the chapel. You can access the chapel by using a narrow gate located in between the administrative building and the primary 6 building. Inside the chapel, you will find another narrow corridor located in between the Nursery block and the extremes of primary 6 and 3 classroom buildings. Both office and classroom buildings have cemented walls and floors. Ceilings, iron doors and windows are fitted to these buildings. Like the fence and gate, the buildings are painted brownish red and creamy except the store that is painted blue and white. It not clear why the store has a different paint from other buildings. All ten participants I selected for the study shared their views with me about the location of the school. Listen to them:

- ME: I have noticed that these school is built within
Hausa/Fulani community. Why is it so?
- Odey (*albino boy*): Because there was no primary school here in this
Hausa [community]. Only secondary school dey
[was there].
- Alhaji (*a boy*): Because they say for this school nah [is] Hausa
school . . . I am hearing that it is Hausa school,

- only Hausa [children].
- Abrama (*a girl*): So that children for Basarawa mek dey come *makaranta* (school).
- Ekwo (*a boy*): Yes. It's Hausas that have the school because this is their community.
- Olom (*a boy*): Ehen! I said that government built the school here in Basarawa so that all children, like those Hausa, can go to school. So that the pupils will not be staying in their houses and they will not be following cow to the bush every time.
- Akon (*a girl*): Because this is ehm er Hausa school. This is their side [Hausa settlement] that is why they [government] built the school here. So that we may study here.
- Mairo (*a girl*): So that they [government] will help us the pupils to learn.
- Abu (*a boy*): They [government] just build it [the school] because of the Muslims.
- Enie (*a girl*): Because the government asks our headmaster to open [build] the school. So that small children, big children can go to school. These children are Igbos and Hausas and Efik pupils.
- Amina (*a girl*): (Paused) Because of . . . (sighs). Because of the poor that have no money to send their children to . . . school.

The excerpts of Odey, Alhaji and Abrama indicate that, initially, there was no primary school in *Basarawa*. Due to that, the *Edor Agom* primary school was later established in order to include the children, especially, *ethnic Hausa/Fulanis*, in formal education, spur them to go to school and to close the gap in primary education among children in the area. In line 9, Ekwo used the word 'yes' to emphasise this argument. Speaking in lines, 12, 15, 17 and 18, the pupils clarified that it is the 'government' that built the school. And the understanding in Olom's excerpt in line 13 is that the government sited the school near, particularly, the *Hausa/Fulani* pupils so that, instead of staying at home and herding 'cows', they will rather embrace schooling. He exclaimed 'ehen!' in line 11 to accentuate his position. In addition to the ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* children, the pupils also stated that their peers from other backgrounds such as 'Muslims' (line 17), 'small and big children' (line 19), ethnic

'Igbos and Efiks' (line 20) as well as children from 'poor' homes (line 22) were also included in the school. The discourse regarding 'small and big children' makes reference to inclusion of children who are under the official entry age, those who have attained primary school age and even school dropout.

In her excerpts, Enie did not literally imply that the 'headmaster' actually built the school in *Basarawa* while acting on the request of government that called on him to do so. Rather, she tended to perceive the headmaster as a stakeholder in education who facilitated the establishment of the school there to benefit the children. However, in lines 14 - 21, Akon and Amina exclaimed 'ehm er' and sighed to be able process their thoughts and express their views.

PP-s/stff

When I checked the staff records I learned that the school had teaching and non-teaching staff from different background. Details about the staff are in the table below:

Staff information

Teaching staff

Gender	Tribe	Religion	Educational qualification	Year of experience	Total
8 males	5 Hausa/Fulanis	4 Muslims	7 Graduates	5 - 34	30
22 females	14 Efiks	26 Christians	23 NCE holders		
	1 Igbo				
	10 Ekois				

Non-teaching staff

2 males	2 Efiks	3 Christians	1 SSCE	10 - 13	3
1 female	1 Ibibio		2 FSLC		

Source: State universal basic education board, Cross River State (2013). School enrolment and staff disposition. Section C: Enrolment and statistics.

Table indicates that *Edor Agom* primary school had 30 teachers and three non-teaching staff. Eight of the teachers are males and 22 are females. Among them 5 were ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis*; 14 were *Efiks*; one *Igbo* and 10 *Ekois*. Four teachers out of the 30 were Muslims and 26 of them were Christians. Also, seven of the teaching staff had obtained bachelor degrees and 23 had National Certificate of Education (NCE). These teachers have had between 5 - 34 years of teaching experience. Among the non-academic staff, there are two males and one female. Ethnically, two of them were ethnic *Efiks* and their colleague was an *Ibibio*. More so, one among them has the senior secondary certificate of education (SSCE), which is equivalent to the GCSE in the UK. The rest have only completed primary education and holds the first school leaving certificate (FSLC).

The school has one head master and a deputy head mistress. The headmaster is from the *Hausa/Fulani* tribe and a Muslim while his deputy is an *Efik* and a Christian. Both of them are university graduates. However, the head teacher has 23 years teaching experience and his vice has 34 years teaching and she was the oldest teacher in the school. All teachers dressed in formal clothes.

PP-p/enr

My major focus is on the primary 5 teachers. I noticed that three teachers, including, a male and two females were in-charge of primary 5 classrooms. All of them are NCE holders from Christian backgrounds and have had between 7 - 20 years teaching experience. Primary 5A and 5B were managed by the females while their male co-teacher was taking care of primary 5C. Primary 5A and 5C teachers were *Efiks* and their colleague in primary 5B was an *Ekoi* woman. When I was doing classroom observations, I saw that pupils in primary 5A and 5B were using the same room to learn. Their peers in primary 5C, however, had a separate room to learn.

When I was on site visit, I learned that most of the children registered in the school were from *Basarawa*. A few of their colleagues, however, came from the neighbouring villages. These children were aged between five and seven years. 157 children were given places in the school in the 2007/2008 academic session. See details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2007/2008 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani	Boys	21	55.26
		Girls	17	44.74
	Igbo	Boys	16	59.26
		Girl	11	40.74
	Ekoi	Boy	19	61.29
		Girl	12	38.71
	Ibibio	Boys	15	62.50
		Girls	9	37.50
	Efik	Boys	9	24.32
		Girls	28	75.68
Religion	Muslims	38		24.20
	Christians	119		75.80
Gender	Males	80		50.96
	Females	77		49.04
Total number of pupils enrolled			157	100.00

Source: Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Table shows that over 24% of the pupils were ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis*. Among them, more than 55% were boys and 44% were girls. More 17% of their peers were ethnic *Igbos*, and that comprised over 59% boys and 40% girls. Ethnic *Ekois* had close to 20% representation. Within that population, over 61% were boys and 38% were girls.

More than 15% others were from Ibibio tribal background. Among them more 62% were boys and 37 were girls. Ethnic *Efiks* covered more than 23% representation and that included over 24% boys and 75% girls. Across these ethnicities, the boys and girls had almost equal representation. In terms of religion, the Muslims were under-represented, having over 24% compared to the Christians who had nearly 26% representation. That happened because the Muslims were emanated from only the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group.

PP, PPA-exm, gr/rep

I focused attention chiefly on primary 5 classrooms. Primary 5 was divided into three classrooms, 5A, 5B and 5C. While examining classrooms registers, I realised that 96 pupils from across different backgrounds were on roll in primary 5 during the 2012/2013 academic year. See further details on the table below:

Number of pupils in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		24	15.29
		Boys	14	58.33
		Girls	10	41.67
	Igbo		15	9.55
		Boys	9	60.00
		Girl	6	40.00
	Ekoi		19	12.11
		Boy	12	63.16
		Girl	7	36.84
	Ibibio		16	10.19
		Boys	10	62.50
		Girls	6	37.50
	Efik		22	14.01
		Boys	4	18.18
		Girls	18	81.82
Religion	Muslims	24		15.29
	Christians	72		45.86
Gender	Males	49		31.21
	Females	47		29.93
Total number of pupils in primary 5			96	61.15

Source: Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Table signifies that more than 15% representation was taken by ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* children. Within that, over 58% were boys and 41% girls. Ethnic *Igbos* had over 9% representation and that is made up of 60% boys and 40% girls. More than 12% of them were ethnic *Ekois* including over 63% boys and 36% girls. Their peers from *Ibibio* tribe had more than 10% representation, and among them, over 62% were boys and 37% girls. Ethnic *Efiks* had more than 14% representation. Within this population, over 18% were boys and 81% were girls. Across these tribes boys and girls had fair representation in the school. Christian pupils outnumbered their counterpart Muslims because only *Hausa/Fulani* pupils practiced the latter religion.

Among these pupils, 33 of them were placed in primary 5A; 31 were in primary 5B and 32 in primary 5C. Further details in the following tables:

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		5	5.21
		Boys 4		80.00
		Girl 1		20.00
	Igbo		1	1.04
		Girl 1		100.00
	Ekoi		3	3.13
		Boys 2		66.67
		Girl 1		33.33
	Ibibio		10	10.42
		Boys 8		80.00
Religion	Efik		14	14.58
		Girls 10		71.43
	Muslim		5	5.21
		Christian 28		29.17
	Gender		18	18.75
		Males 15		15.63
		Females		
	Total number of pupils on roll		33	34.38

Source: 2012/2013 attendance register for primary 5A

Table illustrates that over 5% of the pupils were ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* pupils. 80% of these pupils were boys and 20% were girls. More than 1% came from Igbo tribe among whom 100% were girls. Over 3% were ethnic *Ekois* and more than 66% of them were boys and over 33% were girls. More than 10% belonged to *Ibibio* tribe including 80% boys and 20% girls. Over 14% came from *Efik* ethnic origin, comprising over 28% boys and more than 71% girls. Across these tribes, over 5% of the pupils were Muslims and more than 29% were Christians. Among them, more than 18% are males and over 15% are females. Overall, over 34% of the pupils in the school were in this classroom.

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		10	10.41
		Boys 6		
	Igbo	Girl 4	8	8.33
		Boys 5		
	Ekoi	Girls 3	7	7.29
		Boys 3		
	Ibibio	Girl 4	3	3.13
		Boys 2		
	Efik	Girl 1	3	3.13
		Girls 3		
Religion	Muslim	10		10.41
	Christian	21		21.88
Gender	Males	16		16.67
	Females	15		15.62
Total number of pupils on roll			31	32.29

Source: 2012/2013 Attendance register for primary 5B

Table indicates that more than 10% of the pupils were tribal *Hausa/Fulani*s. 60% of them are boys and 40% are girls. Over 8% were ethnic *Igbos* comprising more than 67% boys and 37% girls. More than 7% belonged to *Ekoi* ethnic group including over 42% boys and 37% girls. Over 3% were ethnic *Ibibios* and that composed of more than 66% boys and 33% girls. More than 3% were from *Efik* tribe, all of whom are girls. In terms of religion, over 10% of the pupils were Muslims and up to 22% of their peers were Christians. Across these backgrounds, more than 16% of the children are males and over 15% are females. In all, more than 32% of the children in the school were placed in this classroom.

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number		Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani			9	9.37
		Boys	4		44.44
		Girl	5		55.56
	Igbo			6	6.25
		Boys	4		66.67
		Girls	2		33.33
	Ekoi			9	9.37
		Boys	7		77.78
		Girl	2		22.22
	Ibibio			3	3.13
Girl		3		100.00	
Religion	Efik			5	5.21
		Girls	5		100.00
		Muslim	9		9.38
		Christian	23		23.95
Gender	Males	15		15.62	
	Females	17		17.71	
Total number of pupils on roll				32	33.33

Source: 2012/2013 attendance register for primary 5C

Table shows that over 9% representation in this classroom is taken by ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* pupils and that comprised more than 44% boys and 55% girls. Over 6% were tribal *Igbo* pupils including over 66% boys and 33% girls. More than 9% were ethnic *Ekoi* children and that is composed nearly 88% boys and over 22% girls. Over 3% of the pupils belonged to *Ibibio* ethnic group all of whom are girls. Also, over 5% of their peers were ethnic *Efiks* and all of them are girls. Among pupils from the various ethnic groups, more than 9% of them were Muslims and close to 24% of their colleagues were Christians. In terms of gender, the males had over 15% representation while the females had more than 17% representation in the pupil population. Overall, more than 33% of the children in the school were in primary 5C.

I had to interview the study participants to get their perspectives regarding the pupils who had places in the school. Five of them supplied views relevant to the issue, thus.

- ME: Which children are schooling in your school?
- Alhaji: There are many children from Basarawa, Bakoko The children are Christians and Hausa.
- Abrama: The children plenty, from Hausa, Igbo, Calabar.
- Enie: Boys and girls from Hausa and Efik.
- Odey: They are Christians, they are Muslims, they are any type of language. Some from . . . any type of village and come here. . .
- Akon: They are many, some from Junction, some from Obot Oka and some from Eka Afia.

Views from the pupils confirmed that the school included children from a range of various backgrounds in its enrolment, especially, as shown in Odey's excerpts. From a discourse stance, the use of Hausa in line 3 is in the religious sense of it; not tribal. Alhaji used the word to imply that, in addition to the Christians, Muslim children were also learning at *Edor Agom* primary school. Further reference to a similar word in lines 4 - 5, nonetheless, has ethnic connotation. In using the word '*Hausa*', Abrama and Enie meant that ethnic Hausa/Fulani children were also among the pupils in the school. The mention of '*Igbo*' and '*Calabar*' is much akin in ethnic import with the use of '*Hausa*' except that the respondents utilised them rather to, pointedly, indicate ethnic *Igbo* and *Efik* pupils respectively.

Moreover, in addition to the pupils living within *Basarawa* as signified in Alhaji's statement in lined 3, other pupils came from the neighbourhoods. It is being specified in Akon's excerpts that other pupils came from Junction, *Obot Oka* and *Eka Afia*. While expressing their views, the pupils used some of these adjectives, in some cases as synonyms, to describe the backgrounds of their peers who were also included in the school. Based on these perspectives, it is clear pupils who were learning in the

school belonged to different ethnic, religious and linguistic identities as well as those who come from different geographical locations.

Edor Agom primary school starts at 7:45am local time. One of the non-teaching staff is a security, known among the pupils as gateman. It was he who kept the keys to the school gate. At 7:45am he would open the gate to let in some of the pupils - early arrivals - who were already waiting outside. I felt pleased to see that some of these children who had arrived early at school dash into their classrooms to keep their school bags and then take brooms to clean their classrooms and school compound. Even younger children in the lower classrooms were carrying brooms to sweep the classroom floors and parts of the playground. It was so lovely to watch them holding the cleaning equipment in their tiny hands to keep the school clean. Sometimes, you see them playing and giggling with each other as they work. They try to do this as quickly as possible so as to allow enough time to attend the morning devotion. On the stroke of 8:00am the gateman rang the hand bell to announce to pupils and teachers to converge at the chapel for morning devotion. Prior to this occasion, some of the staff would have signed in the time book at the headmaster's office to indicate that they were at work.

PP, PPA-p/id

At the chapel, a lead teacher stands on a raised platform at the veranda of the administrative block to direct the proceedings of the morning devotion. Other teachers stand around to assist. Facing the pupils, the lead teacher directed the pupils to form queues according to their classrooms, gender and height. I participated in these drills. And in one of such occasions, it was a female who conducted the programme. When the pupils had taken their positions at the assembly ground, the teacher said to them, 'hands together, eyes close'. The pupils responded accordingly

and she instructed again, 'Psalms 23' to ask them to recite this prayer authored by King David in the Holy Bible. After saying the prayer, she later asked them to sing the Cross River State anthem and pledge, Nigerian national anthem, and pledge. However, as the programmes were going on I saw some pupils who had arrive the school a little late carrying their school bags and rushing to join their peers at the chapel. It took them 15 minutes to complete the devotion. At the end of the devotion, they pupils sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms.

I observed that all children wore uniforms to school. The girls wore short sleeve gowns, made mainly of light blue fabric. White clothes were used to cover the borders of the gown at the neck and sleeves. Some of the children's gowns had a belt attached to the waist of the gown. It was also made of light blue cloth. The boys wore white short-sleeve shirts and sky-blue shorts. One pocket was sewn to the front of the shirt at the left breast area. The sleeves and pockets of the shirts were hemmed in light blue linens. But, there were some boys whose shirts were completely white. There was no blue fabric sewn to the hems of their shirts. White buttons were, however, sewn to the front of the boys' shirts from top to bottom. All pupils used predominantly brown sandals and some of them wore white socks with the shoes.

I noticed that some of the female pupils wove or plaited their hair to school. However, initially, I could not ascertain the identities of these girls. Also it is not clear who gave them permission to do so and the basis on which they were granted the authorisation. I felt curious to know further the reason that was happening. I discussed with the participants and eight of them made statements that bear relevance to this issue as follows:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair?
- Mairo: These children are from Basarawa.
- Akon: Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they allow them to plait their hair.
- Ekwo: Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. . . . Only Hausa pupils that they permit to weave their hair. . .
- Enie: Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that . . . Hausa pupils should plait their hair. . .
- Olom: . . . It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their hair because it's their culture. . .
- Amina: Because they [pupils] are from Hausa. . . . Because that is the Hausa tradition.
- Ebu: It's Hausa [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.
- Abu: Because they are Muslims. . .
- Odey: It's only Muslims that used to plait. . .

Now it is clear from the pupils' views that it was the ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* girls living in *Basarawa* main community that used hairstyles at school. Speaking in lines 7 - 10, the pupils stated that the school authorities gave the approval for them to weave and plait and their hair. The pupils used the pronoun 'they' in lines 7 - 9 to refer to school management. Talking in line 7, Akon pointed that the school authorities preferentially issued such authorisation to the *Hausa/Fulani* children due to the fact that the headmaster was also an ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* man. In spite of that, the pupils assumed that the school decided to allow their *Hausa/Fulani* peers to make their hair in order to respect that aspect of their culture (lines 8, 11 and 12). The word 'law' in Ebu's excerpt is a discursive reference to the tradition (or culture) of the *Hausa/Fulani* girls. Apart from the tribal perspective of the issue, other children, speaking in lines 14 - 15, also felt that their *Hausa/Fulani* colleagues had school permission to carry hairstyles because they were Muslims. From the pupils'

perspectives, it is apparent the school management gave the approval for these girls to make their hair so as to promote their ethno-religious values.

PP-s/env

During my study at the school, I decided to have a look at the toilet mentioned earlier. Not only did I find that it was a water cistern (WC) toilet, also I was happy to see that the place and its surroundings were looking neat and tidy. The surrounding grass was trimmed so low that you can see the earth. I think the grass was cut that way to prevent some harmful reptiles from dwelling there. Pupils used the toilet to defecate.

PPA-s/curr

I learned that all teachers, including those in primary 5, were each responsible for the pupils in their classrooms. In consequence, the primary 5 teachers prepared lessons using their notes of lesson and delivered the lessons to the pupils. Teachers wrote lessons notes daily on every subject in the school curriculum for 12 - 13 weeks (the duration of a semester). While doing that they ensured contents of the lessons notes complied with the instructional plan outlined in the curriculum module and dairy. I examined the teacher's lesson note for primary 5A.

She prepared her lesson note on the topic 'Teaching of new words in module 1' on English. As stated in the teacher's document, the instructional material was 'pupil's reader'. She created two separate subsections in her lesson note and worded them 'entry behaviour and test of entry behaviour' respectively. These were presumably the sections she dedicated to pupil activity. Under the former, she wrote: 'pupils have revise[d] the use of must, have, and ought'. For the latter, she wrote: 'ask pupils questions based on their entry behaviour'. Coming immediately after the latter was

another subsection, which she produced and worded as 'presentation'. It was here the actual teaching and learning of the new lesson was done. In this section, she stated: 'get the pupils aware of the day's lesson which [is] on the teaching of new words in module one' (Teacher lesson note: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014). Module one is another name for chapter one in the English textbooks the pupils used.

Before teachers execute classroom instructions, the headmaster would, first, carefully read and approve lesson notes to ensure the contents are satisfactory. I observed that, when the head teacher checked the lesson notes, he would pay specific attention to the topic, learning materials, behavioural objectives, presentation and evaluation sections of the documents. He would place a right tick in red ink on any area he found satisfactory or make some changes on places, which required improvement and then endorse the lesson note and appended his signature and date to indicate approval.

PP-s/accm

When you step into primary 5A and 5B classroom - pupils in these classrooms merged to use one hall, you meet the primary 5A teacher's desk placed beside the entrance at the front of the pupils' seats. Her colleague's table is positioned near the window almost opposite her table. However, the primary 5C teacher's desk is located directly opposite the entrance, still at the front of his classroom. Pupils across these classrooms sit in rows. An aisle is created in between the seats and wall at the front of the classrooms. Teachers used that place as the rostrum. The blackboard, painted black is placed on that same wall at the front. Some wall charts carrying educational pictures and information are published on the classroom walls.

PPA-p/vc

On the contrary, while I was in the classroom, I observed that the pupils had class representatives, both girls, appointed by their teachers. At some points, I became inquisitive as to why both pupil leaders were females. I realised during my interaction with some of the pupils that these girls were the most brilliant pupils and exhibit some level of maturity compared to their peers in the classrooms.

PPA-t/str

I learned that pupils offered 14 subjects. These courses were listed on the time-table and the learned them in the morning and afternoon. Copies of the time-table were pasted on the wall on an eye-catching position.

Pupils finished the morning devotion and marched into the classrooms as I have stated previously. Soon the primary 5A and 5B teachers walked in too and the class representative hit her desk, '*kpom, pkom pkom* several times and commanded, 'class greet!' All pupils stood up and saluted 'good moooorning aunties'. The teachers responded, 'good morning, sit down. All pupils sat down again. I could hear pupils in primary 5C doing almost the same thing in their classroom. I knew that the pupils called their female teacher 'aunty' and the male 'uncle'. Both teachers in primary 5A and 5B later made to sit on their desks and one of them asked the children to settle down and prepare for lesson. I checked my watch and it was 8:30am local time. Pupils began learning at 8:30am and the lesson was 'the birth of Jesus Christ' on Christian Religious Education (CRE). CRE was the first subject listed on the time-table. One of the female teachers taught the lesson in English and Pidgin English. She delivered the lesson via verbal explanation. While teaching she walked around the aisles

Pupils sat and listened as she narrated the story. She said, 'Joseph and his pregnant wife, Mary travelled from Nazareth in Galilee to take part in a census in Bethlehem as the head of the Roman Empire, King Herod had authorised all its citizens. In Bethlehem, Mary went into labour. She was delivered of baby Jesus in a manger because there was no better place for the family to lie'.

A very interesting aspect of this lesson occurred when the teacher explained that Jesus Christ is the son of God, adding that he was born to bring salvation to mankind in the world. Immediately, a Muslim boy and my research participant, who sat near the back of the classroom, reacted to the teacher's statement. He exclaimed 'hnn!' and grimaced, looking puzzled. The teacher looked at him and asked, 'Alhaji (a pseudonym), why did you make that sound? The pupil forced a smile on his face and scratched his head with his right fingers. His teacher asked him again, 'do you want to ask a question?' He nodded his head shyly in agreement. Speaking in a low voice, the child enquired, 'aunty, if Jesus is the son of God, what about Prophet Mohammed?' The teacher replied, 'that is a good question' and then turning to the other pupils in the classroom, she asked 'who can answer that question?' Another boy raised up his hand to volunteer. This volunteer came from a Christian background. And the teacher said to him, 'ye-es' to encourage him to speak up. Getting that approval from the teacher to talk, the boy said, 'aunty, Jesus Christ is the son of God and Mohammed is a prophet of Allah'. In appreciation to the boy's answer, the teacher asked other pupils to clap for him. Thereafter the teacher added, 'Mohammed is the messenger of God and leader of the Muslims. Christ is the son of God. People who believe in Jesus Christ are called Christians'. I learned that for pupils to make contributions in the lesson, they have to, first raise their hands or fingers up and wait to be recognised by the teacher. As the teacher concluded the lesson, she asked the

pupils, 'do you understand?' All pupils chorused 'yes aunty'. She asked further, 'any question?' Every pupil kept mute at this time. And the teacher said again, 'if there is no question, take down this note from the board'. She walked to the blackboard, white chalk in her hand and wrote the note for the pupils in clear characters. Minutes later she told the pupils to copy the note and pass their books on her table so that she could check and mark them.

When I visited primary 5C I met the children learning 'work people do in our communities' on Citizenship Education - also known as Civics. The lesson took place in the afternoon as indicated on the timetable. It was an interesting lesson. The teacher had written the name of the subject, topic and date clearly in white chalk on the board. Facing the pupils who were already seated, he was explaining: 'Members of our communities do different jobs. They work as cow sellers, traders, doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers, lawyers and so on and so forth'. People do these occupations to earn money to feed their families and to help our communities develop'. Towards the end of the lesson, the teacher re-explained the lesson briefly and asked, 'does any of you have any question?' A female participant answered 'yes uncle'. The teacher said to her, 'go on' and she asked 'uncle, I want to ask, how does people help our community to develop?' He answered and said, 'for example, as a teacher, you will teach the children to know how to read and write. Government will pay the money teacher for teaching the children, and the children will be able to read and write'. Another put up her hand to ask a question. The teacher said, 'ehn Itoro ask your question'. Itoro asked, 'uncle, please what is the meaning of 'earn'?'. He replied, 'the word 'earn' means to have money'.

Another male participant asked 'uncle, can a woman build a house - that is to be a builder?' The teacher answered 'yes, a woman can also build a house'. The boy was

not satisfied with the answer. He looked at the teacher in surprise. Due to the boy's reaction, the teacher stated further, 'women can also do most of the jobs men do like building a house, driving a taxi etc.' Later, another girl said to her male classmate in a low tune, 'a man is not supposed to plait hair. The Bible forbids that. Her colleague queried, 'then why did you not plait your hair'. She answered, 'I am in school. I will plait when I finish school'. Having heard their debate, the teacher explained to the whole pupils 'there are men who work as hairdressers and they make money from that job. In some communities men and women plait their hair. In other communities, it is only the women who plait or weave their hair; they men do not do that'.

At the end of this session, the teacher said, 'OK now it is my turn to ask you my own questions'. One of the questions he asked caught my attention. He called one boy who sat in front of the classroom. He said, 'Elijah (an alias), name one job people do in our communities'. Elijah answered, 'uncle, palm wine tapper'. A few of Elijah's classmates laughed. However, the teacher cautioned them to stop laughing at what Elijah has said. Later, he asked them to clap for Elijah. They did. And he explained to them afterwards that palm wine tapping is also an occupation. People who practiced it make money from selling their palm wine to others in the community. Demonstrating, he added, 'customers will drink the palm wine like we used to drink coke'. Perhaps, pupils thought palm wine tapping is not a worthy occupation and as such the practitioners may not gain much social worth compared to other professions. As he said that, some of the pupils chuckled in amusement. At the end he wrote the note neatly on the board. Another female participant corrected a misspelling he had done on his note written on the board and he said to her 'thank you, good girl'. He asked them to take down notes. Pupils copied the note from the blackboard using

blue or black pens. When they have finished writing they piled up their notebooks on the teacher's table to be marked.

I had to speak to the study participants to enable them share their experience with me in relation to the instructional strategy. Three of them said thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Enie: So that they can learn well.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Amina: Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions.

Abrama: Nah [it is] Peter dey [who] ask[s] questions for [in the] class.

Speaking, Enie and Amina considered the behaviour of other peers as a way to concentrate and grasp what they were learning. In other words, according to them, the pupils were not sitting down passively in the classroom instead they acted that way to avoid distractions and to learn 'well' and be able to ask questions later to seek clarifications in areas of interest. Abrama's excerpts, however, evidenced that some of the pupils, especially Peter, actually had the opportunity to ask questions during lessons. Implicitly, some of the pupils listen first before making comments at end of the lesson while some of their classmates make contributions as the lesson progresses.

PP- p/alb

Sitting in the primary 5A and 5B classroom I saw an albino boy (who later became a research participant) walk into the classroom hanging his school bag on his head. He was somewhat late to school on this day because he arrived when the first lesson had started. He walked passed me at the teacher's table and greeted, 'good morning, sir'. 'Good morning, fine boy', I replied. He went and sat down with another boy. Suddenly, the teacher queried, 'Odey, why are you coming to school now?' He answered, 'aunty, I was waiting for my mother to finish cooking so that I can eat and come'. He may have walked to school from his home after having breakfast. Later, the teacher threatened him, 'if you come late next time I will be angry with you'. 'Aunty, er am sorry', he apologised. After this dialogue, the teacher continued with the lesson.

Odey's accent gave me a clue that he could be an ethnic *Ibibio* boy. I had to verify, however. In my familiarisation meeting with the pupils in the classroom I confirmed that he was actually an *Ibibio* and a Christian. During my interaction with the teachers, I learned that Odey had been studying in the school since four years (Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014). I was glad to learn that the school gave him a place to learn with the other children.

PPA-p/engm

Pupils used note books to take notes and to do assignments. I decided to have a look at some of their exercise books to see what they had written. I found that a girl in primary 5A did a class assignment from module one of her English textbook, probably, on the instruction of the teacher. She answered five questions from a passage she had read from her textbook. However, she made a mistake in the fifth question. She wrote one word in this question in error. She wrote: 'why was Emeka

think Nigeria is better now?' The teacher corrected the verb 'was' in red ink. She wrote on top of the 'was' the word 'does'. Due to the correction, the question now read: 'why does Emeka think Nigeria is better now?'

Also, a boy in primary 5B did a class assignment taken from unit 1 of his English reader. He was asked to provide five answers to the question: 'what did you do during the holidays'? He made mistakes in two of the answers he supplied. I observed that he misspelt a word in the second answer. He wrote, 'I wtched television'. His teacher struck out and corrected the error 'wtched' to 'watched'. The teacher wrote the correct word on top of the wrong one in red ink so that his answer changed to: 'I watched television'. In the fourth answer, the boy supplied the wrong past tense in his sentence. He wrote, 'I go to market with my father'. Again, the teacher changed the word 'go' to 'went'. She wrote the correction on top of the wrong word in red ink. Now the correct sentence read: 'I went to market with my father' (Pupils note books: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014). Having done that, the teacher marked the answers right in red ink, thus the boy scored all five answers correct.

In primary 5C a female participant did a similar assignment as with her male colleague in primary 5B. While providing answers, she wrote one word in the first sentence in present tense instead of past tense. I saw that she wrote, 'I travel to Akwa Ibom last week'. Her teacher corrected the word 'travel' to 'travelled' in red ink. Her second answer read, 'I travel to visit my mother who live in Abuja'. The teacher consequently added an 's' to it to correct it for the whole sentence to read 'I travel to visit my mother who lives in Abuja'. The first verb, 'travel' in that sentence should have been in the past tense 'travelled'. Perhaps, the teacher did not notice the error. Regardless of that, the teacher marked both answers correct in red ink. Apart from these corrections seen in the individual pupil's notes, there were two note books

belonging to a girl and boy in primary 5A and 5C respectively, in which the contents contained the heading 'correction'. These pupils corrected the errors they did in their class work and submitted to their teachers to mark. I saw a single tick in these places and the word 'seen' written therein, in red ink obviously to indicate that the teachers had checked their work (Pupils note books: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014).

PPA-p/int

As I was with the pupils in the primary 5A and 5B classroom I witnessed that a few of them sat to together regardless of background. I could see pupils from the *Huasa/Fulani*, *Ibibio* and *Efik* interspersed among their peers. Soon a female participant turned to her male classmate and borrowed a ruler from him during lesson. Other girls were chatting and laughing in low tunes amongst themselves. Also, some of the boys used the tip of their fingers to tap the back of the head of their colleagues who sat next to them on the bench in the classroom and pretended not to be the ones who have touched the fellows. Some of the children being touched laughed and reciprocated. Others complained and appealed to their peers to stop the play. This is what you would see in primary 5C.

However, Odey was one of the pupils who were playing with peers in the classroom. As he sat on the desk with three other boys in the middle of the classroom, I saw that he was closer to one of the boys with whom he shared the seat compared to others. He was always talking, sharing ideas and playing with this particular boy in the classroom. In the middle of these interactions among the children in primary 5A and 5B, I heard a voice say, 'answer to your names'. The primary 5B teacher flipped the register open to take pupil attendance for the day. When she called the name of any children, the person will respond 'present aunty'. Volunteers answered 'absent' for any of their peers who were not in school for that day. She assisted her colleague to

take attendance for primary 5A as well. I spoke with my participants about their experience regarding the way they socialise with their peers, thus:

- ME: If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?
- Alhaji: Because they can do something well. . . they can work hard. Ehn, for example, if we want to put the blackboard in our class[room], Ruquaya and Bassey can tell you how to put it well. Maimuna can follow us to do it.
- Abrama: Akan, Salaha, David. I say Salaha, like him fit carry tha---at black thing (charcoal) for their house come for school. All of us, Salaha, Akan and David go carry am put for our blackboard.
- Ekwo: Because Felix is intelligent. If there is something that you don't have intelligence to do, Felix will tell you how to do it. David is strong. If you tell him to help you and hold this thing he can help you [do it]. Kufre is the same thing. Kufre is action boy [active]. So him and David. That's why I chose two of them while Felix is intelligent. That's why I chose them.
- Mairo: . . . They can tell you, like advise you about how to write well and to read well. If you cannot read well they can read it for you. That's why I said they are intelligent.
- Olom: Because they are my best friends and they work very hard. They help to spell anything [word] that I don't know.
- Abu: The thing that make me want to work with Ghaddafi is because he is my best friend. We live together in the same house and school in one school. His father and my father are brothers. David is my friend. . .
- Enie: Because they are big. . . Yes. Why I said that because they are big is because they are big girls. They used to teach me how to read and to learn other subjects in the classrooms
- Amina: Because they are my friends. . . If I don't read [well] they will correct me.
- Odey: Because they are caring for me. When somebody wants to beat me they block [stop] the (stammering) person.
- Akon: . . . They are very intelligent. Ahnnnn uncle, Immaculata and Mary know Maths, and Esther know[s] English Language. They used to help me to learn these subjects.

Views from these pupils demonstrate that friendships, intelligence, peer tutoring, physical strength and blood ties underlie collaboration among them at school. Enie made reference to ‘big girls’ to discursively describe the size of her friends who also doubled as her peer tutors. The size of the girls, compared to other children, perhaps makes her feel similar with them in stature. Regardless of that, pupils tend to be drawn towards peers whom they believe possess some skills that can benefit them. Such co-operation makes them feel protected from aggressors; have a sense of belonging and motivate them to learn. You can discern from the different excerpts that team work appears to enable the pupils enhance their interpersonal relations skills, literacy abilities as well as up the performances of some of them in specific subjects at school.

However, not quite long I saw a boy sound a bell *bgagam, gbagam, gbagam*. Most of the pupils screamed ‘yay! I was wondering why the pupils felt so excited on hearing the sound of the bell. A boy shouted, ‘it is time for break’. I checked my watch and it was 10:40am local time. Afterwards, the teachers said to them almost simultaneously, ‘stand up and pray and go out for break’. All pupils stood up and said this prayer:

Thank you god for you’re so sweet
Thank you god for saving me
Thank you god for the day I’ve seen
Thank you god for everything
Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen.

(Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014)

When they have finished saying the prayer, one of them drummed the table, ‘*kpom, kpom, kpom*’ and another pupil shouted, *cla-a-a-ass gre-e-et*. They all chorused, ‘good mo-o—orning teachers’ and later dashed out of the classroom onto the playground to play. I had to follow them to the playground to see what they were

doing. I saw that the pupils played virtually everywhere except the administrative building. My attention was later drawn to six girls who were standing and facing each other, and playing a game. These girls were clapping their hands and swinging their legs back and forth in unison and in quick successions. At a point, one of them discontinued. Her playmate said to her in Pidgin English, 'you don fail', meaning 'you have failed'. That is why she stopped. Others, nonetheless, carried on with the game. Also, I noticed one boy who produced a ball-like object. He threw it on the ground and started kicking it all over the place. Soon, other boys joined him to kick the object around the playground. They were talking to each other in English, saying, 'pass the ball to me na'.

While these children were playing, I saw some of their peers standing in clusters at two different spots on the playground near the school's main gate. There were buying for themselves snacks in local currency from one man and a woman. At the one spot, the man was seen sitting on his bicycle and selling ice cream and yoghurt to the pupils. Standing at another corner was a woman who was also selling ice cream and buns to them. I noticed that some of the children did not have the money to buy the foods too. As a result, they followed their peers who had bought the food ostensibly wanting to have a share from it. A few of them, however, shared the food with some friends including their relations. All of a sudden the bell sounded again and I saw all pupils moving back into their various classrooms. They had break for 40 minutes, ending at 11:20am. Getting inside the classrooms, the pupils in primary 5, in particular, repeated the previous prayer. But this time, they revised the second to the last line of the prayer a bit to end thus:

. . . Oh Lord, as we have come in now, please be with us in Jesus name . . .

(Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014)

When they had done that they greeted the teachers once more, including me, sat down to have afternoon lessons. At 1:30pm I heard the bell again. The teachers said to the pupils, 'the school is over, stand up and pray and go home'. Now some of the pupils hurriedly packed all their school property into their bags, stood and prayed:

Now the day is over
Night is drawing near
Shadows of the evening
Seen across the sky
Oh Lord, as we are going home now, please be with us and our teachers in
Jesus name.
Amen.

(Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014)

Having done that, they closed the windows, locked the door and then moved out of the classrooms and went home. The teachers, however, went to the headmaster's office and signed out before going to their houses. Only the school head, staff of the healthcare centre and security delayed perhaps to complete other duties attached to their offices.

The different ways in which the school provides opportunities to engage all pupils in the school have been examined from researcher and pupil viewpoints in the preceding sections. Issues that impede their inclusion in school will now be treated.

PPA-s/env

The playground in *Edor Agom* primary school, in many places, is bare and has a hard surface. It appears to pose a risk to the children while at play as some of them were seen sustaining injuries on their bodies. No recreational equipment was seen anywhere in the school. I saw that the pupils were only kicking any object they could find on the playground to simulate a soccer match. Others were either standing idle at a corner or roaming the school compound. Apart from the stairs, the school does not have ramps. As you enter the classrooms, you will see electrical wires and some

bulbs connected in the classrooms, but there is no light. In fact, throughout the period I was in the school for this study I did not experience power supply. Always, the pupils were learning in the day time.

PA-exm, gr/rep

I checked the enrolment records and saw variations among the 103 pupils registered to start school in the 2006/2007 academic session in the school. See further details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani	Boys	13	56.52
		Girls	10	43.48
	Igbo	Boys	6	85.71
		Girl	1	14.29
	Ekoi	Boy	7	53.85
		Girl	6	46.15
	Ibibio	Boys	20	64.52
		Girls	11	35.48
	Efik	Boys	12	41.37
		Girls	17	58.62
Religion	Muslims	23	22.33	
	Christians	80	77.67	
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special Educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	58	56.31	
	Females	45	43.69	
Total number of pupils registered			103	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table indicates that children of ethnic *Hausa/Fulani*, *Ibibio* and *Efik* origin outnumbered their peers from *Igbo* and *Ekoi* backgrounds respectively. Within individual tribe, except for *Efik*, the boys were more represented compared to the

girls. Also, children of Islamic identities were under-represented unlike their Christian colleagues. The demographic data did not cover the linguistic and special educational needs backgrounds of the pupils.

I was sitting in primary 5C on one occasion towards the end of the second semester. The children were taking a test and their teacher said to them, ‘you people (guys) should write the test well and remember that your second term exam is around the corner’. Some of the pupils responded, ‘yes, uncle’. The teacher’s advice gave me a clue that pupils take semester examination in the school, perhaps, to enable the teacher and education authorities assess their academic performance. When I checked their assessment records, I found that, not only did they write semester examinations, but also promotion examination. Unlike the former, the latter was a test, which they took to progress from one year to another in the school. For them to complete primary education and/or qualify to transit to secondary school education, they had to write the common entrance examination. Have a look at the data on the following table:

Pupils who sat for common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		17	16.51
		Boys	9	52.94
		Girls	8	47.06
	Igbo		5	4.85
		Boys	4	80.00
		Girl	1	20.00
	Ekoi		9	8.7
		Boy	6	66.67
		Girl	3	33.33
	Ibibio		23	22.33
Boys		13	56.52	
Girls		10	43.48	
Efik		21	20.39	
	Boys	11	52.38	
	Girls	10	47.62	
Religion	Muslims	17	16.51	
	Christians	58	56.31	
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special				
Educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	43	41.75	
	Females	32	31.07	
Total number of pupils who sat for the qualifying exams			75	72.82

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Table illustrates that the majority of the pupils who took this qualifying examination were ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. Ethnic *Igbo* and *Ekoi* pupils were in the minority. Across the tribes, the females and Muslims were lagging behind the male and Christian counterparts respectively in representation. Besides, the language and special educational needs statuses of the children were not covered by data. Overall, 75 pupils took the examination out of 103 children who, initially, had places to learn in the school, representing shortfall of 27.18% from the total pupil population.

Pupils who passed the qualifying examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		9	12.00
		Boys	5	55.56
	Igbo	Girls	4	44.44
			5	6.67
		Boys	4	80.00
		Girl	1	20.00
	Ekoi		8	10.66
		Boy	6	75.00
	Ibibio	Girl	2	25.00
			20	26.67
Boys		10	50.00	
Girls		10	50.00	
Efik		18	24.00	
	Boys	8	44.44	
	Girls	10	55.56	
Religion	Muslims	9	12.00	
	Christians	51	68.00	
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	33	44.00	
	Females	27	36.00	
Total of pupils who passed the qualifying exams			60	80.00

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Table indicates that majority of the children were ethnic *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. The rest belonged to *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Ekoi* tribes. Across the tribes, boys were more than girls. In terms of religion, Christians were over-represented compared to the Muslims. In all, 60 pupils out of 75 of them who sat for the examination passed and were consequently given places to start secondary schools.

Pupils who failed the common entrance examination in the 2012/2013 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		8	10.67
		Boys	4	50.00
		Girls	4	50.00
	Ekoi		1	1.33
		Girl	1	100.00
	Ibibio		3	4.00
		Boys	3	56.52
Religion	Efik		3	4.00
		Boys	3	100.00
		Muslims	8	10.67
		Christians	7	9.33
Language		Not indicated		
Pupils with special educational needs		Not indicated		
Gender		Males	10	13.33
		Females	5	6.67
Total number of pupils who failed the qualifying exams			15	20.00

Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Table illustrates that a greater number of the pupils who failed the common entrance examination were the ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* pupils. A minority of them came from *Ekoi*, *Ibibio* and *Efik* tribes respectively. Amongst them, the Muslims and Christians were represented almost equally. All through these backgrounds, the number of males doubled that of the females. However, data did not indicate the language these pupils speak and their special educational needs backgrounds. These pupils were asked to repeat grades, implying that they spent additional year/s in the school to ensure they meet the standard to be eligible to progress to higher education.

While screening the primary 5 attendance registers I noticed a shortfall from the initial 157 pupils mentioned earlier who were registered in the school in the year 2009. See the table below for details:

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage	
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		14	8.92	
		Boys			7
	Girls	7	50.00		
	Igbo		12	7.64	
		Boys			7
	Girl	5	41.67		
	Ekoi		12	7.64	
		Boy			7
	Girl	5	41.67		
	Ibibio		8	5.10	
Boys		5			62.50
Efik	Girls	3	37.50		
		15	9.55		
	Boys			5	33.33
	Girls			10	66.67
Religion	Muslims	14	8.92		
	Christians	47	29.93		
Language	Not indicated				
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated				
Gender	Males	31	19.75		
	Females	30	19.10		
Total number of pupils			61	38.85	

Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2009, 2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Table shows that the bulk of pupils who are unaccounted for were ethnic *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo*, *Ekoi* and *Efik* pupils. A few of them were of *Ibibio* ethnic origin. The number of Muslims was less than the Christians. However, both males and females from across these identities were fairly represented. It is not unclear the

language they speak and their special educational needs backgrounds. In all, nonetheless, 61 pupils across backgrounds did not progress with their colleagues to primary 5. Probably, these children were asked to repeat grades or drop out of school.

In my conversation with the participants, two of them said thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?

Alhaji: No.

ME: Anoda pupils dey wey no dey come school?
Are they other pupils who did not come to school?

Alhaji: Hmm. They will come today and they will not come next day.

ME: Why is it so?

Alhaji: Sometimes if they hear that visitors are coming to see those pupils that can read and write. Ehn if they hear that they are coming to those who cannot read and write, they will not come to school. They will stay at home so that the visitors will not come and send them back [home].

ME: If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?

Abu: . . . David is my friend. I came and met him in primary 3

From the experience of these pupils, there were other peers of his who were not coming to school regularly. The exclamation 'hmm' clarifies his first response 'No', and he spoke further in line 9 to confirm my argument that there are some pupils who were skipping school days. According to Alhaji, these irregular attendees engaged in the practice for fear that they may be sent home for their inability to read and write.

It is not clear who were the 'visitors' (line 12) that asked affected pupils to stay at home, perhaps, as a punishment for their poor reading writing skills. Maybe supervisors from the education board visit the school from time to time on routine checks of the performance of staff and pupils. These are the authorities whom, I presume, have the powers over the school head and teachers. Perhaps, they are the people who Alhaji referred to as the 'visitors' (line 14) that would prevent slow learners from coming to the school.

Possibly, teachers also have the power, not only to ask some pupils who fail exams to repeat grades, but could also keep them out of school. Teachers and perhaps the education authority believe allowing these children to stay in school could compromise the quality of education. Impliedly, some pupils are driven by the subtle actions of the school management and education authorities to drop out of school. Abu's excerpt bolsters the argument. He named David as his friend and stated further that he met David in primary three. What that connotes is that David repeated primary 3 while Abu was promoted perhaps from primary 2 to now do the same year with David. It is obvious in this case that the child rather than the school is regarded as the problem in education.

PPA-p/vc

An issue that drew my attention again while in these classrooms was the positions the teachers usually stand during classroom instructions. I noticed that they were always standing rigidly on the rostrum in front of the classroom to teach the pupils. It was on rare occasions that they moved through the aisles, got closer to some of the children while delivering instructions. In addition, some of them were teaching in a hurry, leaving pupils with little opportunity to ask questions and make other contributions that could actively engage them in the lesson. Most of the time, the

teachers were talking dominantly while the pupils sat quietly listening. At such time, you could only hear some of the pupils cough, clear their throats, shuffle their feet on the floor perhaps to sit more comfortably on the seats, or laugh when the teachers have made funny statements.

However, on one occasion I saw that some of the children in primary 5C raised their hands. It was to signal the teacher that they wanted to ask questions. So their teacher was attracted by it and they only stood up from their seats to say something when the teacher had given them permission. I observed that the teacher was always directing questions to these particular pupils. Later, I realised those were pupils who had the courage or who are more intelligent than their peers to answer or ask questions during lessons. I sampled the opinion of the participants to their get views about the way they are learning in the classroom. Eight of them said thus:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
- Alhaji: . . . They are shy. I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question.
- Olom: Because they [pupils] do not know what to ask them [the teachers]. . . . May be some of them are afraid to ask questions.
- Abu: That one some of them don't understand the lesson. That is why they cannot ask questions.
- Enie: Because the aunty is writing. . .
- Amina: Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions.
- Mairo: It's the teacher that will say that. If they finish teaching, then they will say stand up and ask questions.
- Odey: Because my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly] and we too we ask her questions, she can answer

- correct[ly].
- Akon: Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question?'
- ME: Does the teacher encourage them to talk?
- Alhaji: No. Because the teacher does not know what you [the pupil] want to ask.

The data shows that pupils do not talk much in the classroom, including asking questions and making contributions because of fear and the fact that their peers might laugh at them, perhaps when they make mistakes. They are gripped with fear to the extent, even when they do not understand the lesson; they feel hesitant to ask questions to seek clarity from the teachers. According to Alhaji, the teacher assumed pupils do not know that is why they do not find it necessary to ask questions or talk to contribute to lessons in the classroom. As a result, the teachers do not see any need to engage the pupils actively in the lesson and spur them to make inputs to advantage them. The understanding, in other words, is that they would like to participate and contribute to lessons provided their teachers stopped exhibiting bossy dispositions and adopt mien and teaching techniques that can motivate them to talk to express their views to what they are learning.

PP, PPA –p/imp

What interested me most was the lesson in primary 5A and 5B. The teacher was teaching pupil reading. She came across the phrase, 'physically ill' in the passage she read to the pupils. She said, 'it means handicap'. Demonstrating with her body, she explained further to clarify the pupils,

'handicap is a person who has bad legs, closed eyes'.

(Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014)

Her explanation of the phrase 'physically ill' sounded awful to me. What made me feel unhappy about it was the fact that one of the girls - a participant - in the classroom had impairment in her lower eyelid. The scar around her left eye seemed as though she had suffered fire burns. As I was thinking about the way this particular pupil would feel about her teacher's comments, I heard the teacher state further,

a handicap is a person who is mentally derailed. His head is not correct. They cannot think well.

(Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014)

Immediately, I turned and looked at the girl. She did not notice I was looking at her neither did her peers. I wanted to see her reaction to the teacher's statements. She did not seem to feel bothered about it as she sat calmly listening to the lesson.

PPA-p/vc, s/disc

A few minutes after 8:00am local time after you have entered the school you will see the gate man ordering some of the children who have arrived the school much late to kneel on the bare ground around where the main entrance is located. He will ask them to stay on their knees until their peers complete the morning devotion. Enter the classroom and it is almost certain to find a cane placed on the teacher's table. Or, you may see the teacher holding the cane while teaching. When I was in primary 5A and 5B classroom, I observed that a boy was talking to another peer when the teacher was teaching. Suddenly, the primary 5A teacher paused, looked at the boy sternly and said to him in *Efik*, '*ikpa mi akpe duo fi ke idem diono te ama nam idiok nkpo*'. It means, 'if my cane touches your body know that you have committed an offence'. As the lesson progressed, she called a boy to answer a question she had asked the pupils. The boy answered the questions wrongly and she said to him, 'goat, you cannot answer'.

A female pupil also stood up and made a wrong contribution to the lesson and she said to the girl, 'you are not saying it correctly'. She asked another girl to answer a question. The pupil did not answer it correctly as well and the teacher also said to her in disappointment, 'even you cannot talk'. Now speaking further apparently to all pupils, she warned, 'when next I ask you a question on what I have taught you and you look at me as a humpty dumpty' and continued teaching. Also, in primary 5C, a male participant made a noise during lesson. His teacher pointed his finger at the boy and abused him in *Efik* saying, '*afo okpon ibuot odo. Ukponoke idem fo?* It means 'you big head. Will you respect yourself? I conversed with the participants on the issue and they supplied responses that indicate their experience regarding the situation thus:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
- Olom: . . . I think pupils used to be afraid of aunty's cane . . .
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?
- Alhaji: Maybe dem be dey make noise in the classroom, that's why
- Maybe they were making noise in the classroom, that's why
- Abrama: It's Olah, our teacher dey beat am because him been no write well for him book -
It's Ola, our teacher beat him because he did not write well in his book
- Akin: Na dey bad bad children wey our madam dey beat.
It's the bad children that our madam beat.
- Ekwo: Because they came late to school.
- Mairo: Because if our teacher is teaching on the blackboard they will be playing. They will not hear what the teacher is saying
- Olom: Uncle I don't know o. Maybe the pupil was talking in the classroom
- Abu: Because the child came to school with dirty uniform.

Our teacher tell us that we should wash our uniform[s] when it is dirty. If we don't wash our uniform[s] she will flog us.

Enie: Yes, uncle one boy used to thief (steal) our pen[s]. So our aunty will be beating him so that he will not steal our thing again

Amina: Because the pupil was making noise in the class[room]. So aunty used a ruler and beat him.

Odey: Uncle, aunty used to beat all those children that used to thief our pens and curse (abuse) us in the classroom

Akon: Maybe that day our teacher tell us to sweep our classroom. So some pupils were not sweeping so aunty beat them.

Although Olom sounded a bit uncertain when he used the verb 'think' in the first excerpt, his view nonetheless indicates that the teacher uses a 'cane' during classroom lesson. Pupils felt scared to see the 'cane'. It is not clear, from the pupil's point of view, whether the teacher actually used the cane to flog them. However, the fact that pupils were 'afraid' of the teacher's cane could imply that the teacher may have whipped or attempted to beat them with it. However, the perspectives of his colleagues are emphatic that teachers actually applied corporal punishment on pupils who have erred virtually in any way. Still, in his second excerpts, Olom sounded evasive regarding the issue. It is unclear why he was feeling reluctant to state in clear terms that teachers were beating them. Perhaps, he did not trust me enough to make such disclosure.

PPA-p/int

Once, Odey, albino boy fought with one of his male colleagues in the classroom and the primary 5B teacher flogged him. The other boy was not punished. Odey cried bitterly and decided he was not going to learn again that day. Later, he flung his school bag onto the chapel, left it there and threatened to go home in protest. While he was still crying and complaining, the primary 5A teacher said, 'it's like he has

mental problem'. The primary 5C teacher who also witnessed the incident said to him in *Efik*, '*eyen nkpo nsop*', meaning 'a child who is possessed with witchcraft'. It was the head teacher who called Odey and tactfully pacified him, asked him to return to the classroom and continue learning. Sobbing, he collected his bag from where he had abandoned it, walked back into the classroom, sat down and used his hands to wipe his tears. When I spoke with the participants about the way they interact with each other at school, Odey said something, which is quite unrelated to the focus of our discussion, but connected to the perceptions of the pupils about him. Listen to him:

ME: During playtime I noticed that some pupils do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?

Odey: When other pupils see me they used to abuse me in Calabar [*Efik* language] like *afia mkpai*, *afia ino* - it means white thief and it used to affect me *ba-a-ad*. I do not used to feel fine when they abuse me.

The data is indicative that pupils have negative attitudes towards albinism. Besides, it shows how children have learned and reproduced negative beliefs against albinism in school. The pupils demonstrated this practice by calling Odey names in *Efik* such as *afia mkpai*, *afia ino*. Odey felt very unhappy about the situation as indicated in his word '*ba-a-ad*'. He was fazed probably not just for the negative tags, which his peers gave him, but also by the fact that those labels tended to make him feel alienated and unwelcomed in the school.

Still, in primary 5C, I saw the teacher writing his lesson note for the following week. He asked the pupils to lend him a ruler to rule a line in his work. A boy volunteered to lend him his ruler. The teacher rejected the boy's offer and said to him, 'I don't want it. You put it inside your mouth', and rather collected a ruler from one girl. The

teacher raised his head and saw another boy in his classroom who had rashes on his body. The teacher said to him, 'we will send you away before you pass it (the disease) to another person'. Apart from this incidence, I never saw the teacher relate closely with the pupils except during lesson and this is what happens in the other classrooms, and this kind of teacher-pupil relationship is what you are likely to encounter in the other classroom.

Among the children, I observed that pupils were selective in making friends. Boys from similar religions socialised with themselves and so did the girls. *Hausa/Fulani* and Muslim girls sat together in the classroom. Their boys did the same. Children from other tribes and mostly of Christian faith also sat together. Very few children from the various backgrounds, however, interspersed among their classmates. At the playground, I saw that Odey was standing alone and watching his peers play. After that, he started dancing alone and later walked back into his classroom and sat down alone while his colleagues were still on the field playing. He stayed there until all other pupils returned from break to the classroom. I had a conversation with my participants on this issue and eight of them made some unusual statements, which are quite interesting, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Alhaji: . . . They do not want to show person answer because if you are (speaking) the same language (with them) they will show you answer. But, if you are not (speaking) the same language (with them) they will not show you (answer).

Odey: Because I am not close to them . . .

Akon: . . . Because they don't have friends.

ME: During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?

Alhaji: No. From another class
Abrama: Yes
Enie: Some pupils do not have money that is why they do not have friends.
Amina: Yes
Odey: No. They are from another class. Even in our classroom everybody has his friend . . .
Akon: No. Another class. They are from primary two and three

ME: Why do they not have anyone to play with?

Alhaji: Because whether they are new coming (comers) or they do not know anybody.
Ekwo: Me I always play with pupils that know something [who are brilliant].
Oka: Because they are stealing.
Enie: Some of them do not want children to play with them.
Amina: Because they have not friends to play with.

ME: Why will you not work with Emman, Daniel, and Stephen?

Odey: I don't like to work with Hausas. . . It's because, these Hausas every time they will be praying and say[ing] Allah. And they used to kill people like Boko Haram. . .

These disclosures illustrate the lines along which the pupils socialise with each other most of the time. According to the data, these include similarity in language, seniority in year of study, poverty, intelligence, disability, stealing, religious extremism and perhaps introversion. What this means is that the children created these categories to differentiate themselves and to exclude peers whose characteristics bear no semblance with members of particular groups from mingling with them. These characterisations serve as a culture that defines boundaries for socialisation among the pupils. It is, particularly, startling from Enie's first excerpt to see that pupils are also driven by avarice to choose their friends and to reproduce social inequality in school. That is a perception that led some of them to perhaps place low value on their colleagues from poor homes.

Nevertheless, in the second excerpt of Odey, you could understand the complexity of the practice. His views illustrate that even within particular groups; the children have individual pupils with whom they bond. In his third excerpt, Odey digressed from talking about Emman, Daniel and Stephen to make very uncomplimentary statements about his tribal *Hausa/Fulani* peers. The former, I presume, do not pose serious risks to him that is why he did not speak further about them. He nonetheless associated the latter with the Islamic terrorist group, 'boko haram', operating in the north east of Nigeria. His comments are based on the assumption that virtually all members of this terrorist sect are ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis* and Muslims. That made him form a very negative impression about any pupils in the school that is linked to this tribe and religion, thus giving him a feeling of insecurity to learn with them. Due to the criminal activities of these insurgents, Odey perceives pupils from these backgrounds as also being fanatical in religious beliefs, deadly and as a people who must be avoided. Reference which Alhaji made to the new pupils is somewhat equivocal. The fact, however, that these newcomers are not yet familiar with their peers suggests that they have probably not adapted to the culture of exclusion that exists among the pupils during interaction at school.

PPA-p/vc

All through the time I was in the school, I noticed that pupils hardly express their views concerning the way they were learning at school. It was the teachers who orchestrated nearly all classroom programmes and teacher voice always dominates at such times. The pupils follow orders. I did not experience any situation where teachers or school management makes efforts to seek children's views as to how they were learning and what solutions could be given to issues that may concern them. I spoke with the children who are participating in this study to get their opinion in this

regard. Two of them made some disclosures that are linked to the issue under examination, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Odey: . . . my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly] . . .

Akon: Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question'?

Data supplied by these children suggests that teachers deprived the pupils from having a voice, especially, during lessons. They silenced the voice of the pupils and rather preferred them to make comments on their instructions, often, at the end of the lesson. From the excerpt of Odey, you can decipher that the teachers assumed pupils do not have any valuable contributions to make towards the lessons. For that, they had to ensure pupils take in all information they impart to them so that they could regurgitate it on demand. Akon used the word 'just' in line 6 to imply that, even when teachers felt like providing the opportunity for pupils to actually talk and share their views at lessons, they did so with levity. It gives the impression that teachers belittle the children and fail to take into account their views at school. This probably emanates from their perception that children are naïve and, as such, incapable of supplying useful ideas to lessons.

PP, PPA-s/fee2

As I sat on the teacher's table in primary 5C, a man walked into the classroom. A boy hit the desk '*kpom pkom kpom*' and said, 'class greet!' 'Good morrrning, sir', the pupils stood up and greeted the man. 'Good morning children', the visitor greeted them in return and the pupils sat down again. Now, he walked to the table where I

was sitting and greeted me, 'good morning, sir'. 'You're welcome, sir', I greeted him back. He said to me, 'please I came to pay Ewa's school fees. I am his father'. He taught I was the class teacher. I asked how much he was paying and he mentioned 'N600 (£2.50)', adding that he would come back another day to pay the balance of the charges for the same child. Sadly, I was not entitled to handle cash meant for the school because I am not a staff and for ethical reasons. So, I asked a girl in the classroom to call the teacher who was at the headmaster's office to collect his note of lesson to please come and attend to the man.

The class teacher came and attended to the parent. I noticed that he collected the money from the visitor and recorded it in a book to indicate that the boy had paid. When the parent left, I asked the teacher whether pupils pay school fees in the school and he answered 'yes, my brother'. I asked again. I said, 'sir is that all the children pay?' It was then he explained to me that the government instructed all (state) schools to charge pupils N600.00 (£2.50) for school fees, N50 (30p) for examination answer sheets, one big bundle of broom, one toilet roll and cutlass/machete. Value that in cash and you will realise that parents spend a total of N1000.00 (£5.00) to provide all items for each child.

Acting as if he had just remembered something, the teacher asked pupils who were yet to pay the above fees to stand up. One of the male participants did not stand upright to be identified. The teacher was angry as a result. He abused the boy in *Efik*, '*enyene iso nte ake ka de ino ke Calabar South*'. Its equivalence in English means, 'your face looks like you went and stole in Calabar South'. He later reminded them to pay the charges and asked them to sit down. Again, I learned from the teacher that the school authorities instructed all teachers in the school to keep records of all pupils who had paid these fees and their peers who have not in their classrooms and

expected compliance accordingly. Speaking with the participants, two of them gave me replies that provided more information about their experience in respect of funding their schooling:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?

Abu: Yes.

Odey: Yes.

ME: Wetin mek e be like that? Why is it so?

Abu: Dey thing wey mek is that some of them their parents don't have money to send them to school like to pay school fees for them.

Odey: Because their fathers no get money to pay school fees for them [their fathers do not have money to pay their school fees].

You can see from the data that some of the children appear to be excluded from schooling because it is expensive, and their poor parents could not afford school fees for them. Also, it is likely some pupils who could not pay all the charges might be sent home from school by the teachers. It gives the indication that primary education is meant for only children who can afford to pay for it and that is in contrast to the right of all children to free and compulsory primary education.

PP-p/attenc

I saw that some pupils were wearing torn and dirty uniforms to school. I was keen to know further the cause of these issues. I had to speak with the participants to get pupils' view concerning the situation. Three of them told me some unusual stories, thus:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?
- Ekwo: No.
- Olom: No.
- ME: Anoda pupils dey wey no come school?
- Are they other pupils who did not come to school?
- Ekwo: Yes.
- Olom: Yes.
- Mairo: Yes.
- ME: Why is it so?
- Mairo: . . . their mothers will go and leave the house for them, so they will stay in their house[s] and prepare food for their mothers.
- Ekwo: Some of them it is caused by their parents. Their parents can tell them to stay back at home and follow them and carry something [some products] and go and sell, and stay away from school.
- Olom: Some of them like staying at home and help their parents to sell products or go to farm.
- Abrama: . . . I finish makaranta I go home. I go market go help my mother. They (her parents) buy me sandals . . . Nah [it is] my money I [used to] buy socks [for myself].

This suggests that some pupils are ordered by their parents to stay at home to perform domestic duties rather than go to school. Additionally, these parents encourage the children to engage in income earning activities perhaps to assist the family financially. Abrama's excerpt supports this argument. '*Makaranta*' means school in Hausa language. It is indicative in her opinion that she also contributes financially in her family to buy parts of her school uniform. It is not clear whether the boys are also affected by these practices. It gives the insight, however, that the role of some children, irrespective of gender, in a way appears to complement familial responsibilities for their parents. Assumedly, these parents, driven by poverty, take advantage of that to keep both boys and girls out of school, and instead

involve them in domesticity and child labour to alleviate the challenges they face to educate the children.

PPA-p/int2

In primary 5A and 5B classroom, I witnessed a situation in which a girl and boy were hitting each other with their hands during lesson. Also, I saw the albino boy bullying his peers - including boys and girls. He kicked, pushed them and snatched their books and pens from them. While in primary 5C, I observed that two girls who sat at the back of the classroom used their pens and hit a boy who sat on the desk close to them. Later, these girls and the boy exchanged abusive words. One of the female aggressors stretched out her right hand, opened her palm and fingers wide and at the same time said to the boy, '*waka*', meaning 'your mama'. The boy demonstrated in a similar way and said to her, 'you too *waka*' in retaliation. After a while they stared at each other in anger and stopped the quarrel and started talking to other classmates. I conversed with my participants about the situation. Read what two of them have to say:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why that is happening?

Abrama: Some children no wan [don't want to] talk because they say another [the other] children dey find [are looking for] their trouble.

Olom: . . . when the teacher is teaching and they will be looking for pupils trouble. . .

ME: During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Why do they not have anyone to play with?

Odey: . . . because they used to make trouble with everybody that is why everybody does not want to play with them.

The experience of the pupils is akin to my observations. Some pupils exhibit offensive behaviour towards their peers at lessons and at play thus creating fear and tension among them at school.

PPA-p/id

I noticed that unlike the girls from *Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic backgrounds, girls from other tribes and Christian religion did not wear hairdos. All of them barbed their hair low, including the boys from other backgrounds. Although the Muslim girls plaited their hair, they, however, did not use head gear at school. When these girls come nearer to the school fence, they remove their hijab and stuff them in their school bags before entering the school compound. Presumably, the school places a ban against the use of these veils at school. Apart from that, I also witnessed that any time the children were praying or singing, as I have mentioned earlier, their Muslim peers feel reluctant to sing the songs and pray with them. Rather, they keep quiet and watch the other children do it. Curiously, I decided to speak with my participants to learn about pupils' experience in that regard. Let me discuss with them:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair?
- Alhaji: Yes.
- Abrama: [If] you no plait your hair. Dem go bring [they will use] scissors [and] barb your hair for [in] school.
- Ekwo: Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. But we the Calabar pupils they told us that we should not weave our hair, but cut their culture. They told them they should cut their hair and look good. That is the proper of cutting hair and coming to school. Only Hausa pupils that they permit to weave their hair. Calabar pupils do not have the right to weave their hair and come to school. They can weave it and stay at home. The headmaster and teacher will tell you that you should not weave your hair, but cut your hair.

- Mairo: Because when they [pupils] come and enter the class the teacher will pursue them. They will come out and go to their houses and plait their hair. These children are from Basarawa.
- Olom: Some of us are not weaving. It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their hair because it's their culture. It is also Efik culture, but the teachers will not allow the Efik children to weave their hair.
- Abu: Because they are Muslims. Christian children do not weave their hair to school.
- Enie: Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that only Hausa pupils should plait their hair. The headmaster said that other pupils should not plait hair because they are Efik pupils.
- Amina: Because they [pupils] are from Hausa. It's only Hausa children; not Efik children. Because that is the Hausa tradition. Efik children, that is not their tradition, but Efik pupils can weave their hair. But in the school they cannot do that. The teachers and the headmaster do not want the Efik pupils to weave and plait their hair.
- Ebu: It's Hausa [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.
- Odey: It's only Muslims that used to plait. . .
- Akon: Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they [school management] allow them to plait their hair.
- ME: Why do other children not weave or plait their hair to school?
- Alhaji: They don't used to plait their hair. Those are Christians. When they don't cut their hair low our teacher will say why they did not cut their hair low. Is it because they have seen that Hausa pupils are plaiting their hair?
- Ebu: Efik, some of them used to plait. But when they plait hair the headmaster used to announce that they should barb their hair. Because when they [Efik children] plait their hair, when they are learning inside the class they will be scratching their hair and not listen to what they[teachers] are teaching.
- Odey: I think Efik children don't weave their hair because the teachers have been beating them to barb their hair.
- Akon: Because they are Efik [pupils]. (*Frowning*) I don't know why they [school management] don't allow Efik children to plait their hair.

The accounts of the pupils suggest that the female pupils need to be ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis* and Muslims before they can carry hairdos to school. Abrama's made the statement in her excerpt, not in a generic term to include the various identities of pupils. Rather it was from the point of view of a girl who belongs specifically to the *Hausa/Fulani* tribe as well as an Islamist. From the excerpt of Ekwo, the reference to 'Calabar' is analogous for *Efik* tribe. Natives of Calabar are often referred to as *Efiks* as *Efik* appears to be the dominant tribe and language in Calabar, the city. Similarly, Mairo used the word '*Basarawa*' in her excerpt on the notion that the girls who make their hair at school are *Hausa/Fulanis*. Most residents of *Basarawa* are members of this tribe. In other words, *Basarawa*, according to her, represent tribal *Hausa/Fulani* pupils.

The school management gave preference to these children on the strength that the head teacher is also a *Hausa/Fulani* person and a Muslim. He used the powers at his disposal to permit this particular group of pupils to come to school with plaited and/or woven hairstyles. Other pupils were nonetheless denied a similar privilege probably because they did not have any authority in the school compared him to also protect their interests in that direction. As a result, Akon in her second excerpt 'frowned' indicating her displeasure that the school discriminates *Efik* (and other) children from carry hairstyles at school too. It gives the impression that there is a tussle wherein the dominance of the other tribes and religion is threatening the existence of the *Hausa/Fulani* tribe and Islam in their midst. Unfortunately, the school adopted a rather exclusionary measure to enable the minority *Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic pupils preserve their value within a dominant Non-*Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic environment.

Let me discuss further with the participants:

- ME: I have noticed that some children do not like to sing some songs during morning devotion. Why is it so?
- Alhaji: Whether they do not know how to sing the songs. They do not like to sing the new songs. Ehm like (*he sings the song*) oh mama sell for crops oh mama sell for crops. It's another teacher that used to sing that song, Mrs Okah.
- Ekwo: . . . Some of them do not like singing songs in devotion time. Because they don't want to learn the song, like the Hausa, because they are not from English [cannot sing English songs].
- Olom: Some of them do not know how to sing some songs.
- Abu: Because they did not fit do it [because they cannot do it]. Like this song (*he sings the song*) 'day by day, day by day' and the national anthem.
- Akon: Maybe they did not teach them the national anthem and other songs, especially little children and the big ones.
- Amina: Others [other children] does [do] not know the songs and I forgot the songs.
- Abrama: The pupils that don't used to sing the songs are Hausa. Because when they sing God's song, praise, they don't used to sing, that it is not their God.
- Mairo: Some of them they cannot hmm sing. They cannot sing (*she sings a song*) 'praise glory fire, praise glory god, praise glory holy ghost, praise the river more.
- Enie: Because Efik or Hausa pupils cannot sing the songs like Efik songs. . . . Some of them are from Hausa community and do not know how to sing the songs . . . Some of them do not like to sing. . . (*she sings*) 'good morning Jesus'. They will keep quiet until when we march into the class.
- Odey: Yeees. Some used to say to serve Nigeria is not by force. Some Hausa and Christian pupils used to say that. Some Hausa children used to say that they don't like to sing the songs because the songs that they used to call Jesus. That's they don't sing that song. They do not used to do like this. [They] just read Quran.

It appears some of the pupils could not sing unfamiliar school songs. Others had difficulties to sing some of the songs because they are rendered in English. However, ethnic *Hausa/Fulani* children, particularly, deliberately refused to join their peers to sing Christian choruses. The reference Odey made to 'Jesus' and 'Quran'

discursively symbolise the beliefs pupils practice in both Christianity and Islam. His position justifies and clarifies that the Muslims refuse to sing the Christian choruses due to their Islamic principles. This gives a sense as to how pupils thrive to challenge the status quo in order to protect their Islamic identities. The situation suggests the existence of ethno-religious conflicts between practitioners of both religions in the school.

PP-p/attenc2

As you are in the school, you are certainly not going to find any school bus. You will observe also that most pupils always walk to school. That could be a factor for why some of the pupils keep late to school, particularly, those of them whose homes are located far away from the school.

For the time I spent on fieldwork in the school, I noticed that pupils in primary 5A and 5B had a joint classroom. This classroom was congested with pupils. It was difficult for pupils and even teachers to breathe fresh air in the classroom, especially in hot weather. Four pupils sat uncomfortably on a seat. Pupils who sit near the edge of the desks put their feet firmly on the floor to gain some balance on the chair. I saw them shift their legs and bodies occasionally to be able to sit securely. At times, some of the pupils resort to pushing their colleagues and asking them to create more space for them to sit or place their books to write comfortably. Sometimes when the other pupils rebuff their classmates' requests a fight will ensue among them.

PP-s/accm

Also, I observed that some pupils sit on the floor at the rostrum in front of the classroom. A few of these children placed their school bags on the floor and sat on them. During lesson, they placed their books on their legs to write. Due to this

condition, some of them got dirty from the dusty floor. I felt sorry for them especially when I noticed that the teachers were sometimes tripping on their stretched legs and matching them mistakenly at lesson. I could imagine the pains some of them feel as a result of these accidents. When I discussed with the participants regarding their experience in school, one of them made a disclosure relevant to the issue as follows:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why that is happening?

Abu: Because some of them used to sit on the floor because chairs are not there. That's why.

Abu used the term 'chairs are not there', not to express a lack of seats, rather to discursively clarify that pupils sit on the floor due to inadequate seats in the classroom. The condition probably makes them feel unimportant and unworthy and isolates them from their peers. Also, it seems it is insufficient accommodation that made the school to crowd pupils from both classrooms into one hall to learn together.

PPA-p/moi

Pupils sometimes received classroom instructions in Pidgin English. At first, I thought the teachers were using this language to create fun with the children. Not long I realised they used it at times to substitute with the official English in the classrooms. Even on the playground, I heard some of the pupils talking to each other in the same language. Astonished, I wondered why pupils used the slang in a school where official English appears to be the lingua franca. I decided to get the views of the pupils in that regard. I spoke with my participants and seven of them shared the following stories with me on the subject that will interest you:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening?
- Alhaji: I think some children don't used to understand English, like big English. So our teacher will use Pidgin English so that they will understand and learn well.
- Abrama: So that those pupils who don't hear English very much can hear English, like Glory, Mary, Ether, Margaret
- Ekwo: Some of them cannot speak English very well that's why they use pidgin English. Like these Hausa children they cannot speak English. When our teacher talks to them in English they will not understand. The person is not sure of what he or she is going to ask or say. . .
- Mairo:
Olom: So everybody will learn how to speak English. (Cuts in) Broken English. So that the pupils will understand the lesson. There are many pupils that do not understand English especially these Hausa pupils.
- Abu: It's happening because some of the children don't know [how to speak] English very well, like Bassey, Rose and Glory. Because they [teachers] want us to learn.
- Enie: So that when they [teachers] are writing something on the blackboard when they [teachers] read the thing in English they [pupils] will understand. Some children from Efik and Hausa don't understand English.
- ME: Why will you not like to work with Aisha, Zainab and Musa?
- Mairo: They cannot read and they can't write. When we are reading, they don't want to read. . .

The 'big English' in Alhaji's excerpt refers to official English. The entire data suggests that pupils from the various backgrounds have poor communication skills to speak and understand English. The effect of that can be seen in Mairo's second excerpt where she named some pupils who could not read and write in English. Connotatively, some of the children learn marginally at school due to language barrier in English.

While at the location of the toilet I noticed that all children shared one section of the toilet. Besides, the pupils' section of the toilet was locked most of the time. Due to that, some of the children could not gain access into the toilet when in hurry. They sometimes hide at the backyard of the toilet to urinate and defecate. As some of these pupils dump excreta outside the toilet, it sometimes creates disturbing images and produces odour around the school environment, thus causing some discomfort for pupils and staff.

In light of the obstacles to inclusion, which pupils experience, I spoke further with the participants and they gave me some ideas regarding the strategies they think might provide alternative pathways for them to learn and gain from lessons at school.

- ME: What do you think your teacher should do for you to learn well?
- Mairo: I think our uncle should always allow us to ask (him) questions in the classroom.
- Abu: Pupils should ask questions and what they don't understand they should ask our teacher to tell (explain to) them.
- Enie: I want when we ask questions our teacher should answer it well for us.
- Akon: . . . I want our teacher to ask us simple questions; not hard hard questions. And we should also ask our teacher questions too.
- Olom: . . . Let aunty not used cane when she is teaching pupils. . . .
- Ekwo: I want our teacher not to beat us when we say something that is wrong . . .
- Alhaji: I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question.

The data shows that pupils would prefer to learn in a classroom in which they could have the freedom to engage teachers in dialogue during lessons. Such discussions, according to them, could afford them the opportunity to ask questions, seek clarifications from teachers in lessons and have those queries properly resolved by the teachers. The reference to 'hard hard questions' in Akon's excerpt is an appeal on

- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the chairs and benches. Why will you do that?
- Alhaji: For sit. Because I want pupils to sit on fine fine seats.
- Akon: Change chairs so that everybody go sit for chair and nobody will sit on the ground [floor]. . . if I get power I go [will] buy chairs.. . . it will help our school to be beautiful.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the fan. Why will you do that?
- Olom: Ceiling fan. We don't have fan in our classroom. I change [put] the fan because we want to collect [have] good air in the [classroom].
- ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the blackboard. Why will you do that?
- Odey: So that they [teachers] will use it to write lessons on the board and to teach me.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the grass. Why will you do that?
- Enie: They can cut the grass because they are too big [bushy]. They will cut them low so that the school compound will be fine.
- Amina: . . . I need, I need flowers in this school.
- Ekwo: Like all that backyard there and the grass, I can change them and put rocks. Like this place now. They use it to urinate. Some pupils when they come to our school they will say the school is not neat and that they will not come to this school. That one will pursue them and they will not learn well in the school.

The pupils want refurbishments in both classroom equipment and facilities in the school. It is likely some of the seats in the classroom are broken. Besides, the few desks available do not seem to be enough for the pupils. Consequently, they will want to have more chairs provided for them so that some of them will not sit on the

BUNYIA PRIMARY SCHOOL

Sch.cont

Bunyia primary school is built in *Ogbudu*, a rural community located north outside Calabar, the capital city of Cross River State, Nigeria. Reaching almost 37 kilometres along the Calabar - Ikom Highway, turn left onto a tarred access road called *Irruan* and you are on your way to the school. Houses and small shops owned by residents lined the road sides. The school is sitting on the right of *Irruan*, approximately 50 yards away from the highway. As you get closer to the school you are certain to meet a police station located still on the right facing the road. *Bunyia* primary school is located in a vast land just beside the police post. A fence separates them from each other. Even, you may see the school gate and sign post painted in dark and light green by the roadside. Or, even hear pupils' voices from the school compound while standing at the police station. However, the school is actually named after a Roman Catholic Church. The church and other houses are standing near to the school. A Protestant church is also located opposite the school gate.

The original name of the school raised my curiosity. School records indicate that *Bunyia* primary was originally founded and managed the Church as a Roman Catholic mission (RCM) school. During interaction, a female teacher informed me that some parents were complaining that offer of school places were preferentially given to children who practiced Catholicism. As the only primary school existing in the community at the time, many children stayed out of school due to their non-Catholic backgrounds. As a consequence, the state government prevailed on the situation and later took over management of the school and changed its status to a public school to provide wider opportunities for other children to receive education. The teacher disclosed further that *Ogbudu* is predominantly a tribal *Ekoi* village,

adding that a range of other tribes, including *Igbos*, *Efik*, *Ibibio*, *Yorubas* and *Hausa/Fulanis* also live in the community. The vast majority of the community members work in the civil service and companies. Others are small-scale traders, transporters, peasant farmers and artisans. *English* appeared to be the dominant language in the community. Locals also speak various languages reflecting their tribal identities, and in addition, they communicate in Pidgin English. In spite of that, I learned that *Efik* language was also commonly used among the residents, perhaps, due to interaction with the *Efiks* or geographic contiguity of the village to Calabar.

A gravel motorway stretched from the gate inwards to the school compound. White wooden fence is built to frame parts of the sides of this driveway. On approach of the school compound there is a green two-storey building located very near to the gate. It is the only upstairs and newest of all the buildings in the school. A concrete pedestrian walkway is constructed in front of the building. There is a black marble plaque placed on the side of the wall at the entrance of the building. Carvings on the plaque bear an emblem at the top and a piece of information under it that reads: 'West Oil & Oil Gas Company FZE. Commissioning of twelve classrooms @ *Bunyia* Primary School, *Ogbudu* (alias) by His Excellency Mr. Okine Ewa (not real name) Governor of Cross River State on September 23, 2013'. Pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 use the ground, middle and topmost floors respectively in the upstairs for learning. One of the halls on the ground floor was used by the head teacher's. You can easily see windows of the school head's office when you enter the school and the door is fitted with iron burglary proof.

There are five other buildings in the school; three of them accommodate the nursery section, primary 1, 2 and 3 classrooms. The other two include a kitchen and toilet. Like the upstairs, all other buildings are constructed with cement, painted dark and light green and roofed with aluminium sheets. White iron doors and shutters are fitted in these facilities except the kitchen. Classroom buildings, particularly, have ceilings and electric lamp holders attached

to the ceilings. Located next to the storey building and facing the driveway is the primary 1 classroom block. On the other side of the motorway opposite primary 1 is the block that houses the nursery and parts of primary 2 classrooms. An expansive land extends from the frontage of this building to the upstairs and school gate. This place is the soccer field and playground. Two goal posts are mounted on either side of this playing arena. However, at the back of the nursery building is another building, which the deputy headmistress, primary 3 and part of primary 2 pupils use. An overhead water tank is built here too. Children used it to get their water needs at school. Also, pupils utilise the space in between primary 3 blocks and Nursery building as assembly area.

Nevertheless, at the backyard of primary 3 and 2 building is the kitchen, designed in form of a shed. A farm is sited near this kitchen and extends to the school toilet, located at the extreme end of the backyard. I felt excited to see that the school has a farm. I asked a male teacher the purpose for which it is used and he said the farmland is divided into different holdings and distributed among some of the teachers including the schools heads. Each of the owners cultivates crops there for personal use.

PP-s/env

During interaction, a male teacher told me that the school used to be in a very bad condition. It had dilapidated classroom buildings and equipment. Some of the classrooms were littered with excreta and infested by lizards, snakes and insects. Parents hated the school so much they refused to allow their children to study there. It was West Oil and Gas Company that eventually adopted the school and improved the facilities and equipment under the company's corporate social responsibility (CSR). According to him, it is the same company that provided the police station, school fence, storey building, toilet, water tank and provided new classroom seats for the pupils. Even the re-grassing in the school was funded by the same organisation. Spurred by this information, I looked at the infrastructure in the school and saw that they bore the markings of the company. It then became clear to me that this organisation is actually assisting to provide the school with facilities and classroom

equipment to probably complement government effort to provide better education for the pupils.

I engaged ten participants in conversation to get their views regarding their experience in the school. Nine of these pupils provided some interesting perspectives on the issue:

- ME: Why are children schooling here in your school?
- Paul (*a boy*): Because their house is not far
- Akpre (*girl with learning difficulties*): Because the school is good
- Usha (*a girl*): May be this school is the best, maybe that's why they (their parents) bring them in this school
- Abuon (*a boy*): I am in this school because my mother was selling here and she told my dad that in this school they usually teach very well. So my dad removed me from my former school because they don't usually teach well or give notes. So I came here
- Achua (*a boy*): Because in the other school they don't teach well like here
- Omari (*a girl*): Because in this school they can teach well. . .
- Ayi (*a boy*): Because this school is very fine. . .
- Asaa (*a girl*): Because some schools are hard to pay and the money is very expensive
- Ebu (*a boy*): It's my father that told me to come to this school because my cousin was teaching in this school.

Based on the data, the phrase 'not far' in Paul's excerpt describes the proximity of the school to the homes of some pupils. It is a discursive way to indicate how the location has, perhaps, eased transition of some pupils from their homes within the community to school as well as spur them to like schooling. Not only is the school near to some pupils' homes, it is also, according to some of the pupils, 'good'. You might derive understanding about the 'good' regarding the school from the point of view of the quality of teaching available. It appears the pupils are making some gains from the way they learn in the school. Even parents as contained in Abuon's excerpt acknowledged that and withdrew their child from a former school and rather enrolled

the child at *Bunyia* primary school on the advice of the mother to enable the child learn well.

Such a recommendation to parents in favour of the school could also be read from under the breath of Ebu's excerpt. His cousin assumedly commended the school to his father requesting him to get a place in the school for Ebu. As a former teacher in the school, s/he did not ask Ebu's father to register him in another school. Perhaps, the school actually provides opportunities for children to learn well, feel included and to succeed. Another merit ascribed to the school is the fact that it is 'very fine'. What you might decipher from the 'very fine' is discursively in terms of the beauty of the school, the quality of infrastructure and classroom equipment available for pupils to use. Furthermore, it is a school that is assumedly comparatively affordable for some pupils and their parents as it is being implied in Asaa's excerpt. The nuances in the views of the pupils tend to indicate the pride they have to talk about their school. It seems, to some of the pupils, the school, compared to other schools, is able to respond to their different needs.

Bunyia primary school had teaching and non-teaching staff. My attention was, however, mainly on the primary 5 classroom. Primary 5 had three classrooms: 5A, 5B and 5C, and three female teachers of tribal *Ekoi* origin were each responsible for pupils in these classrooms. All of them seemed to be Christians.

PP-p/enr

From the enrolment records, I realised 410 6-8+-year-olds had places to start learning in the school during the 2007/2008 academic year. A considerable number of the children seem to reside within *Ogbudu* community and its environs See further details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in the 2007/2008 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	35	35.71
		Girls	63	64.29
	Efik	Boys	37	43.02
		Girls	49	56.98
	Ibibio	Boys	65	57.02
		Girls	49	42.98
	Igbo	Boys	34	49.28
		Girls	35	50.72
	Yoruba	Boys	16	37.21
		Girls	27	62.79
	Religion	Christians	410	100.00
		Males	187	45.61
Females		223	54.39	
Total number of pupils registered			410	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table illustrates a fair numerical representation of children from the various tribes and gender in school placement at *Bunyia* primary school at the time. There is also a fair distribution of pupils between different genders within individual tribes. From the religious angle, data indicate that all pupils on roll were Christians.

PA-exm, g/rep

Further examination of the attendance records shows the number of pupils in primary

5. See details in the table below:

Pupils who progressed to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	96	36.46
		Girls		63.54
	Efik	Boys	81	40.74
		Girls		59.26
	Ibibio	Boys	105	61.90
		Girls		38.10
	Igbo	Boys	62	53.23
		Girls		47.77
	Yoruba	Boys	42	38.10
		Girls		61.90
Religion	Christians	386		94.14
Gender	Males	182		44.39
	Females	204		49.75
Total number of pupils registered			386	94.14

Source: Attendance registers of primary 5A, 5B and 5C for the 2012/2013 academic session

Data on table indicates a fair numerical representation of pupils from the various tribes and gender who progressed to primary 5 at the time. It also indicates fair distribution of pupils from the various genders within particular tribes. All of them were Christians as shown in the data.

Each classroom attendance register for primary 5 were examined. These documents illustrate the distribution of pupils into the different classrooms primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic session. Breakdown of the data is in the tables below:

Pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	10	25.64
		Girls	29	74.36
	Efik	Boys	12	44.44
		Girls	15	55.56
	Ibibio	Boys	27	61.36
		Girl	17	38.64
	Igbo	Boys	12	46.15
		Girls	14	53.85
	Yoruba	Boys	9	75.00
		Girls	3	25.00
Religion	Christians	148	36.09	
Gender	Males	70	17.07	
	Females	78	19.02	
Total number of pupils on roll			148	36.09

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5A

Pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category		Number	Total	Percentage	
Tribe	Ekoi			29		7.07
		Boys	14			
		Girls	15		51.72	
		Efik			32	
	Boys		13			40.63
		Girls	19		59.37	
		Ibibio			30	
	Boys		21			70.00
		Girls	9		30.00	
		Igbo			27	
	Boys		18			66.67
		Girls	9		33.33	
Yoruba				23		5.61
	Boys	5			21.74	
		Girls	18		78.26	
Religion		Christians	141			34.39
Gender		Males	71			17.32
		Females	70			17.07
Total number of pupils on roll				141		34.39

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5B

Table 7.5: Pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage	
Tribe	Ekoi		28	6.83	
		Boys		11	39.29
		Girls		17	60.71
	Efik		22	5.37	
		Boys		8	36.36
		Girls		14	63.64
	Ibibio		31	7.56	
		Boys		17	54.84
		Girl		14	45.16
	Igbo		9	2.20	
Boys		3		33.33	
Girls		6		66.67	
Yoruba		7	1.70		
	Boys		2	28.57	
	Girls		5	71.43	
Religion	Christians	97		23.66	
Gender	Males	41		10.00	
	Females	56		13.66	
Total number of pupils on roll			97	23.66	

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5C

Data from tables shows a fair numerical distribution of pupils from the different tribes and genders into primary 5A, 5B and 5C classrooms respectively, except that primary 5C had less pupils compared to the other two classrooms. However, there is also a fair representation of children from different genders within individual tribes. As you can see all pupils in these classrooms came from Christian backgrounds. The school appears to promote the inclusion of pupils from the respective identities in terms of offer of school placement.

PP-s/enr, p/attenc

I spoke with my research participants to get their opinions about the identities of children leaning in the school and this is what they said:

- ME: Where do the children who are schooling here in your school come from?
- Paul: From different places like Ikot Enebong and 12 Kilo
- Achua: They come from Calabar and Akwa Ibom State
- Usha: Igbo, Biase
- Akpre: Some of them come from Akwa Ibom, Ugep and Ogoja. That's the only places I know
- Ebu: They can come from Efik or Akwa Ibom or (sighs)
- Asaa: They come from Akwa Ibom, Efik, Anang, Obubra, Obudu and (sighs) Ikom
- Abuon: Some of them come from Igbo, Atam, Ibibio, Yoruba . . .
- Omari: They come from different communities like Akwa Ibom, Bakassi and Ikot Abasi and Odukpani
- Azun (*a girl*): . . . many children that live in Ikot Omin . . .
- Ayi: Some of them come from Akwa Ibom or Efik or Yoruba or Igbo.

Some of the places the pupils have mentioned are names of some streets (lines 3 & 11) within *Ogbudu*; local governments within Cross River and neighbouring states (lines 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 & 10) in Nigeria. In addition, they named some tribes such as *Efik*, *Yoruba*, *Ibibio*, *Igbo* and *Anang*. The word ‘*atam*’ contained in Abuon’s excerpt is another name given to people from *Ekoi* tribe. There is a contrast in the ‘sigh’ in Ebu’s and Asaa’s excerpts. Both interviewees perhaps used the exclamation to discursively signify that there was nothing further to say, and on the other hand, to express effort to think further to be able to supply more information respectively. Pupils seem to name these places in a bid to describe the geographical and ethnic identities of the children learning in the school. These accounts from the pupils tend to corroborate my earlier argument that a considerable number of learners at *Bunyia* primary school come from different backgrounds within *Ogbudu* and its environs.

Sch.cont2

As I was in the school in the morning I saw a female teacher ring a hand bell. I checked my watch and it was 8:00am local time. Immediately, I saw some pupils and teachers walking towards the location where the Nigerian and Cross River State flags are hoisted. This is the assembly ground. Other pupils who had just arrived the school at the time the bell was rung also moved straight to the refuge area carrying their school bags. When the children had gathered at the assembly area, another female teacher stood in front of them and instructed, 'line up children'. I presume she was the teacher responsible for leading the meeting with the children that day.

Soon, however, the pupils followed the order and queued according to their classrooms, height and gender. Co-teachers stood at different spots to assist organise the pupils. I had to join them to ascertain what they were doing. As the pupils took positions, the lead teacher continued to orchestrate proceedings of the gathering directing the pupils to recite the Lord's Prayer, sing the Nigerian national and Cross River State anthems as well as the pledge. At the end the teacher announced to them to march into their classrooms to start lessons. This programme is called morning devotion and it lasted 30 minutes. Further observations revealed that pupils and their teachers routinely perform morning devotion to mark the commencement of school hour.

PPA-p/id

All pupils wore schools uniforms. Girls in the primary section used white sleeveless pinafore and those in the nursery used white sleeve pinafore. The boys wore white short sleeve shirts on white shorts. All pupils used white socks and brown sandals.

PPA-s/curr

Classroom lessons start at 8:30am local time immediately after morning devotion. As mentioned earlier, every teacher in primary 5 was responsible for her classroom. So, each of them prepares lesson notes in all the subjects in the school curriculum. First the school head had to approve the contents of the lesson notes to ensure they are correct and adequate before the teacher delivers the lesson to her pupils.

PP-s/accm

The classrooms were large, spacious and airy. Inside you can see new desks organised in rows and columns, thus creating aisles in between the seats. Also, each of the classrooms has enough benches providing pupils with many options regarding the chair on which to sit. I was happy to see two pupils sharing a seat and they appeared to have some space and comfort to place their books to write at lessons. Bigger girls and boys sat at the back of the classroom while their smaller colleagues took the front seats. It was interesting to see some of my research participants sit and recline on their seats. The children occupied the front chairs and I saw some desks at the rear of the classroom that were vacant. At the front of the first chairs there is a rostrum. The teachers' tables are placed at a corner around this area. You are likely to meet the teachers' desks immediately you walk into the classrooms. The blackboard is placed on the wall in front of the classrooms. I noticed that each classroom had four big shutters positioned on either side of the classroom. I felt large amount of sunlight and cool air in the classrooms perhaps due to these huge windows.

When had a conversation with my participants, one of them shared his experience in a way that bears some relevance to this issue, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Achua: No uncle, we are not sitting alone. We are sitting two .

What Achua said appears to corroborate my observation illustrating that pupils sit in pairs on the desks in the classrooms. Also, it substantiates my assumption that there were sufficient seats to accommodate all pupils in the classrooms.

PPA-s/curr2

Inside the classrooms I noticed that the school time-table was pasted on the wall on a conspicuous location probably to enable pupils and teachers refer to it easily. The time-table is structured in way that allows pupils have some lessons in the morning and afternoon, In between these two periods, they observe their break. The different subjects pupils learn in the school were clearly listed on the time-table, indicating the courses they learn in the morning and afternoon respectively. I counted all the subjects and they were a total of 16 courses in addition to compound work. Pupils learned these subjects from Monday to Friday, and on each day they receive lessons on at least seven subjects. Further examination of time-table showed that pupils learn English and Science oriented courses in the morning and learn the rest in the afternoon. And the last school activity pupils do on Friday is compound work.

I walked with the primary 5 teachers to the classrooms after morning devotion. As I made to enter primary 5C I saw the pupils seated ostensibly waiting for their teacher to come and teach them. At the classroom, a girl hit the desk and gave a command in English, 'class greet!' All pupils stood up on their benches and greeted, 'good

morning teachers'. 'Good morning lovely children. How are you?' I replied. Again, all of them responded, 'we are fine, thank you and you?' I answered, 'I am fine' while smiling. After that, the teacher said to them, 'you can sit down' and all of them acted accordingly.

PPA-t/strat, p/engm

Later, the teacher stood up from her seat and asked, 'what is the time now?' Some of the pupils responded, 'the time is eight thirty'. She enquired further, 'so, what used to happen in the class[room] at eight thirty in the morning?' Once again, some of the children answered, 'lesson'. Others said, 'we are going to learn something'. Now, the teacher walked to the blackboard, wrote the subject, topic 'Values and Peace', in English and date and underlined the information with chalk. Turning to face the pupils, she announced to them in English, 'we are going to learn Civic Education'. I took a glance at the timetable and noticed that the first lesson listed was English. Within me, I wondered the reason she was teaching Civic Education and not English. It was while she was explaining to the children that she stated, 'we were supposed to learn English Language now, but we have to learn Civics today because we did not learn it yesterday after break. There was no time for us to do so'. Interesting issues in the lesson that drew my attention was the remarks she made during her explanations. She stated emphatically,

'no matter your tribe, we should co-operate as citizens of Nigeria. Though Boko Haram have killed Christians in the north, we should not retaliate by killing Muslims in the south at Muslim settlements.'

(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014)

She wrote the on the blackboard at the end of the lesson and asked pupils to copy. The lesson lasted 40 minutes. When I was in primary 5A I saw that pupils were learning English. The topic was using the words 'could', 'can', 'would', 'please' and

'may' to make correct sentences. During the lesson, the teacher asked pupils to make sentences in English using these words. One male and one female participant showed more interests to answer the teacher's questions. The boy said, 'could you give me your pen?' The girl said to the class, 'me I will do that number 2 for aunty'. When given the chance, she said, 'I can write'. 'Correct! Clap for her', said the teacher. All children clapped for the girl as instructed. Another girl, however, raised a concern that she did not understand the lesson. The teacher asked her in Pidgin English, 'which one no clear, I go explain am?' (which one is not clear so that I can explain?). The girl pointed at the words she did not understand. The teacher consequently re-explained to her.

In primary 5B, I met the pupils learning about table tennis on Physical and Health Education. The teacher asked two boys - one is my research participant - to demonstrate how the game is being played. As they carried on with the demonstration, the teacher requested their peers to applaud them and the pupils did accordingly. While they were playing, other pupils took keen interest in the activity. They stood up, left their seats and stretched their necks to watch their colleagues who were demonstrating the game at the front of the classroom. The pupils laughed and cheered in excitement. However, across these three classrooms I learned that the mode of greeting by children, conduct of lessons and medium of instruction were virtually similar.

I spoke with my research participants to obtain their views about their experience with regards to the way they were learning and this is what they said:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?
- Usha: So that the other pupils will not disturb them when they are learning
- ME: When I been dey your classroom I see say children no dey talk until when the teacher don finish to teach. Why dem dey wait until when teacher don finish to teach before dem begin to ask questions?
- When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?
- Paul: Because some of them they think they have known all the things they are teaching. Like me when they are teaching, what I don't know I will ask the teacher a question When the teaching is teaching
- Achua: Immediately they [pupils] know something all of them will begin to carry their hands up to ask questions
- Asaa: If our aunty teach, our aunty will say let us ask questions. We'll ask
- Abuon: They are so respectful. They wait for you teachers to ask them whether they have any questions to ask. So that is when all of them will raise their hands up to ask questions because they don't just stand up and ask a question like that
- Ebu: Because they allow the teacher to write and to allow the teacher to explain
- Ayi: They (teachers) want them (pupils) to take the lesson very well (seriously). They want to understand the lesson. They can stop the teacher and ask Questions
- ME: Wetin your teacher dey do when you ask questions?
- What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?

- Paul: The teacher will answer . . . the question or carry the question and ask pupils who know and they will tell me the answer
- Achua: The teacher will tell them (pupils) when I am teaching what you don't know ask me
- Usha: They tell them to ask questions. Or anything they don't understand they will tell the pupils to ask questions
- Akpre: The teachers will answer their questions . . .
- Ebu: She answers the questions and the pupils listen
- Asaa: The teacher will call the pupils one by one and ask them to ask questions
- Abuon: Our aunty (teacher) will say that is good when you ask her a question and she will answer it for you
- Omari: She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o
- Azun: When you ask aunty (teacher) questions she will tell another pupil who knows book (intelligent) to answer the question.

The data hypothesises that pupils have opportunities to make comments and enquiries in order to actively engage in lesson. But, some of the pupils seem to prefer to learn in a distraction free environment. So they sit quietly in the classroom perhaps to enable them grasp the lesson. Paul's excerpt imply that some of the pupils may have already understood the lesson when it being imparted and saw no need to ask questions for clarity. In contrast, other pupils still want to share their thoughts and ideas with their peers in the classroom regardless of whether they are already familiar with the concepts they are learning. Similarly, Paul asks questions during lessons too probably to gain more information from the concepts or to understand them better. There are yet some pupils who, out of respect, choose to wait for their teachers to finish teaching before they could ask questions perhaps to seek clarity on the grey areas. However, Ayi's excerpt connotes that some pupils tend to abuse the opportunity they have to make comments during lesson. In consequence, the teachers appear to adapt their instructional techniques to the situation ensuring pupils ask

questions in the classroom when it is necessary. This is to make them accord some seriousness to the lesson so as to benefit from it.

PP-p/ldiff

As I sat in primary 5B, I noticed Akpre, one of my interviewees and participants. She sat on the desk with her female classmate at the back of the classroom near the window. Occasionally, she would place her right hand on her right cheek. While stealing glances at her, I observed that she was sometimes talking somewhat shyly with her partner and as she did that, she would demonstrate with her hands in a sluggish manner. I was eager to know more about her. It while familiarising with the pupils then that I detected from her name that she could be a tribal *Efik* girl.

PPA-p/engm2

Every pupil copied notes and did assignments in their notebooks. Looking at some information in some of the pupils' notebooks, I found that a female participant in primary 5A did a class work. She was instructed to write five words with three syllables. She wrote: Ga -ma - liel, com - pu - ter, an - in -Ny, so - lu - tion, mathe - ma - tics. The teacher ticked four right and one wrong in red. And the teacher wrote the remark 'Good, on the pupil's work. A male participant in primary 5B did a class work on English. He was instructed to use the words 'if', but 'granted' and 'though' to make correct sentences. He developed six sentences with these words. The teacher used red ink to tick four right and two wrong. He scored four out of six. Also, the teacher wrote the remark, 'Good' in his work. A male participant in primary 5C spelt 16 English words. 10 of these words were written correctly. Six of them were, however, wrong. Correction was done for the misspelled words (Pupils' notebooks: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

PP-fsm

One Thursday morning I heard the sound of the bell. A female teacher walked into the classroom and whispered to her colleague who was sitting on her table in primary 5A and went out. Pupils were busy writing notes. Not up to two minutes after the informant walked out of the classroom, the primary 5A teacher announced to pupils to go out and collect food. On hearing the good news, some of the children shouted, 'yee-es' and all of them moved out of the classroom onto the school compound. A few of the pupils were walking faster as if to get to the destination before their peers. I followed them so see what they were doing. Outside the classroom I saw pupils also coming out from the other classrooms. All of them walked towards the kitchen. I noticed there were some strange looking women who wore aprons like chefs standing at the kitchen, and they were carrying some food packed in disposable plates.

Some teachers stood around the pupils and were directing them to queue in front of the kitchen and stop being disorderly. This time they did not form lines according to classroom, but in the order of height, providing opportunity for children in the lower classrooms to stand in front of the senior pupils. There was a cacophony of noise coming from the pupils and even teachers. The chefs were calling the pupils forward in turns and serving them food. One female teacher advised the pupils in a loud voice, 'when you collect the food, say thank you, aunty'. 'And when you have collected, go and stay in your classroom and eat your food'. So each recipients would say, 'thank you, aunty' or 'thank you, madam' when s/he collects the food. You could see some of them opening the lid of the disposable plate hurriedly to eat the food. A plastic spoon was attached to the plate. So they used these spoons to eat the food. It was so amazing to see that some of the pupils were impatient to use the spoons.

Rather, they were eating with their hands. Regardless of the teacher's instruction, some of them were already eating the food, licking the food crumbs stuck to their hands, spoons and lips as they walk towards their classrooms.

I engaged my research participants in conversation to be able to get their views regarding their experience of this practice, thus:

- ME: I noticed that some people come to your school to cook some food for the children. What kind of food do they cook for the children?
- Akpre: Because so many pupils have not eaten to come to school and so many pupils don't have father and mother
- Achua: The owner of the school (head of the Oil Company) send the people to come and be giving us food every Thursday
- Ebu: Our mother do not have money to prepare food, we'll just come to the school and they will give us food and we'll not be hungry again. . .
- Paul: Because they look at the children and see that their body is not fine that is why they cook indomie noodles, rice and chicken and give us so that our body will be fresh
- Asaa: To make the children look healthy and study well
- Abuon: Our mama that builds this school gives some money for them to come and cook food for us and make this school the best in this village. They give us indomie and juice. There are some children who are poor and do not have food to eat. So when they come to school they give them some to eat to hold their bellies
- Omari: . . . it is the owner of the school that sent them to go and cook for the school
- Azun: They are from the company of West Oil
- Ayi: On Thursday they cook indomie and give egg to us to eat. It's because they show love to us
- Usha: Sometimes when school close they will cook rice and chicken with indomie for us.

You can see from the data that pupils were served (indomie) noodles, rice, chicken, eggs and juice to eat. The chefs were staff of the Oil Company that adopted the school. And they were sent to the school by the owner of company to provide the children with the food. The views of the children suggest that some pupils come to

school hungry and that is because their parents are poor and could not provide them with this basic need at home. So the company is perhaps assisting parents to feed the children at school to keep them healthy and enable them learn well. The term 'to hold their bellies' in Abuon's excerpt discursively connotes that the pupils are served the food to prevent some of them from experiencing rumbling stomachs due to starvation. It appears the organisation is undertaking this programme as a moral responsibility, perhaps, that is what Ayi, in his excerpt implied to as 'show love' to pupils. Apart from feeding the children, again in Abuon's excerpt, it is also to make the school 'the best in the village' in terms of the help it provides, compared to its counterparts, to help pupils succeed in their studies. It is likely they give pupils food every Thursday at the end of the semester, and the extent and/or regularity of the support the company provides has made some of the pupils to mistake the Company's head as the 'owner' (lines 6 and 14) of the school. You can see a similar reference occurring in line 10 when Abuon referred to the benefactor of the school as 'our mama'. Probably, in addition to academics, the school is also providing some pupils with food needs to support their studies and facilitate their success.

PPA-p/int

As pupils in primary 5A were about to learn Mathematics in the morning some of them begging other classmates - boys and girls - to sit on same seats with them. Not long two of the pupils including a boy and girl left their benches where there were sitting originally and paired up with their peers who were making the requests. As the Mathematics lesson progressed, these collaborators were looking at each other's books comparing notes and writing. At 10:40am local time, a bell sounded and I heard a pupil's voice say, 'stand up and pray. It's time for break'. Every pupil stood up on his or her desk clasped the hands and prayed:

Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen.

(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014)

The pupils packed their notes and pens inside their school bags and walked out of the classrooms onto the field to play. Others, however, stayed around the windows of other classrooms to play with peers. I followed them to the playground to further watch how they were playing. I saw one of my female participants carrying two small plastic containers containing some snacks. She was helping her teacher to sell sweet, ice cream, chewing gum and pies to other pupils within the school's premises. A few of her female and male colleagues were also seen accompanying her around the school compound. Forty minutes later, a teacher rang a hand bell and all pupils converged at the entrance of the storey building in queues. A teacher stood in front of them. She instructed and they sang this prayer:

Some have food, but cannot eat
some can eat, but have no food
we have food and we can eat
glory be to you oh Lord
Oh Lord as we are going in now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen

(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014)

As soon as they have finished saying the prayer, all of them dispersed to their various classrooms to continue learning.

I discussed with my research participants to get their perspectives on their experience regarding interaction in school. The following excerpts are their opinions:

ME	Why did you write that you would you like to work with . . .
	. . . Christian, Grace and Precious?
Paul:	Because they are my best friends.
	. . . Esther, Juliet and Aniebiet?
Usha:	I like the way they are doing something and they have a good character . . .
	. . . Godspower, Queen and Daniel?
Achua:	(stuttering) because they like behaving well . . .

Omari: . . . Blessing, Emmanuel and Queen?
They are [my] very good friends

Akpre: . . . Blessing, Udemé and Glory?
Because they can arrange things [well]

Ebu: . . . Anthony, Freewill, Emmanuel?
. . . We always share something together
(in common)

Asaa: . . . Blessing, Mercy and Queen?
Because they are good to me and me I always like
to play with them . . .

Abuon: . . . Bassey, Emmanuel and David?
Because they know how to write and read. So if I
work with them I learn from them and they will
learn from me

Azun: . . . Christian, Grace and Ekanem?
Because they are brilliant. . . Okokon, Ezekiel and
Emmanuel.

Ayi: Because we [learn] very well in the class

ME: Why will you like to work with them?

Paul: When they give us anything that I don't know. When
they give us anything that I don't know I will ask her
and she will tell me.

Usha: . . . if I ask them for pen, they'll borrow [lend] me

Akpre: I mean they can arrange things well because when
our aunty is not around, three of us will gather
together and read our books

Ebu: When they buy their things like biscuit they always
share it with me and if I buy my own I will share
with them

Asaa: If something happens to me they will come and
help, like when someone looks for my trouble they
can come and help [me]

Abuon: As in when they give us class work I cannot even
write it. So they teach me how to write

Omari: Sometimes when I want to read, the one I do not
know they will help me to correct it

Azun: They used to help me. Because if I read and I don't
know the place they will tell me

Ayi: They help me. The thing that I cannot pronounce,
they pronounce it correctly for me. Them too, they
thing that they cannot pronounce I will pronounce

Achua: . . . I said they like behaving well, like when they
(teachers) teach something in the class, they don't
play; they will listen to the aunty.

It appears, from the data, that some of the pupils engage in peer teaching and collaboration to meet, discuss, share ideas and build friendships during lessons, classroom projects and at play. Pupils tend to collaborate more to assist their peers enhance their literacy abilities and to complete assignments. There are some pupils who are attracted to their colleagues because they are attentive in the classroom perhaps showing enthusiasm to learn. Other pupils cooperate to share snacks and pens at school. Also, some of them as indicated in Asaa's second excerpt presumably bond with their stronger peers so as to get protection against aggressors. It seems pupils work in teams to help each other resolve situations that appear to disadvantage them at school. Implicitly, these children take the responsibility to provide some support to one another to improve their study, get some comfort and safety while at school.

Sitting in primary 5C classroom in the afternoon, the bell sounded again, this time at 1:30pm. The school was over for the day. All pupils packed their writing materials into their school bags, walked out of their classrooms, talking noisily and walked home.

PA-exm, gr/rep

While checking the enrolment records, I observed some disparities in the placement of a total of 305 pupils from different backgrounds in the 2006/2007 academic year in the school. You can find further information in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	53	47.17
		Girls		52.83
	Efik	Boys	80	33.75
		Girls		66.25
	Ibibio	Boys	157	47.77
		Girls		52.23
	Igbo	Boys	12	75.00
		Girls		25.00
	Yoruba	Boys	2	100.00
		Girl		100.00
Religion	Muslims	1		0.33
	Christians	304		99.67
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special Educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	138		45.25
	Females	167		54.75
Total number of pupils registered			305	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

You can see from the data in table that pupils *Eko*, *Efik* and *Ibibio* tribes outnumbered their peers from *Ibibio*, *Yoruba* and *Hausa/Fulani* tribes. Within

individual tribes, except for *Ekoi*, *Efik*, *Ibibio* and *Hausa/Fulani*, boys were more than girls within the *Yoruba* tribe. From the religious perspective, only one pupil was a Muslim. Others were all Christians. No data shows the language of the pupils and their special educational needs backgrounds. Across these identities, however, males trailed the females by 29 pupils.

Pupils were subjected to (promotion) examinations. Further check on the documents revealed some inequalities in the number of pupils who made to the last classroom through these examinations at school. See tables below for further details:

Pupils who sat for common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	14	43.75
		Girls	18	56.25
	Efik	Boys	25	43.10
		Girls	33	56.90
	Ibibio	Boys	58	47.93
		Girl	63	52.07
	Igbo	Boys	9	75.00
		Girls	3	25.00
Religion	Christians	223		73.11
Gender	Males	106		34.75
	Females	117		38.36
Total number of pupils registered			223	73.11

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table illustrates the distribution of pupils across the various tribes in primary

6. You can see now, however, that pupils from *Yoruba* and *Hausa/Fulani* identities are missing from among the peers who progressed to primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session. More so, the only Islamic pupil who was registered at the time is also not included as with the peers from the Christian backgrounds.

Pupils who passed the qualifying examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	14	43.75
		Girls		56.25
	Efik	Boys	25	43.10
		Girls		56.90
	Ibibio	Boys	55	47.82
		Girl		52.17
	Igbo	Boys	9	75.00
		Girls		25.00
			12	3.94
Religion	Christians	217		71.15
Gender	Males	103		33.77
	Females	114		37.38
Total number of pupils who passed the exams			217	71.15

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table indicate the distribution of pupils from across the different backgrounds. All pupils from the other tribes and religions passed the examination, completed primary school and were promoted to start secondary school education. Still, you can see tribal *Yoruba* and *Hausa/Fulani* pupils are excluded from among the pupils who passed the qualifying test. Similarly, the Islamic child is not included unlike the Christian peers.

Pupils who failed the qualifying examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ibibio		6	1.96
	Boys	3		50.00
	Girls	3		50.00
Religion	Christians	6		1.96
Gender	Males	3		0.98
	Females	3		0.98
Total number of pupils 6			6	1.96

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement*

Data on table shows pupils - including boys and girls - who failed the promotional test. These pupils are from the *Ibibio* tribe. For failing the test, these children were asked to repeat primary 6. It means they had to spend additional year in the primary school until they meet this eligibility criterion to be able to merit progress to secondary schools like their peers.

However, further examination of current enrolment records of primary 5 classrooms provided more information regarding exclusion of pupils in the school. Details in the table below:

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		2	0.49
	Efik	Girls	2	100.00
		Boys	4	80.00
	Ibibio	Girl	1	20.00
		Girls	9	100.00
	Igbo		7	1.71
		Boy	1	14.29
	Yoruba	Girls	6	85.71
		Girl	1	100.00
Religion	Christians	24		5.86
Gender	Males	5		1.23
	Females	19		4.63
Total number of pupils			24	5.86

Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007, 2012/2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Data on table illustrates the backgrounds of pupils who did not progress alongside their peers to primary 5 classrooms in the 2012/2013 academic session. 24 pupils from various backgrounds out of 410 that were originally placed in the school in the 2007/2008 school year were missing. You can see that those from the *Efik*, *Ibibio* and *Igbo* tribes outnumbered their colleagues from the *Ekoi* and *Yoruba*. Within individual ethnicities, boys were more than girls. And all of them practiced Christianity. It appears these children are left behind on account of examination failures and school dropout.

When I discussed with my participants to obtain their views concerning their experience, one of them said something unusual, but connected to this issue:

ME: . . . are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Achua: Yes. Because some of them said they are going to change school. They said they don't like our school because of pooing (defecating) on the floor [of the classroom].

From the data, apart from examination failure, it appears some pupils 'change' school willingly because they do not like the physical environment in the former one. At the surface, you may have the impression that the school is clean and beautiful. But, this pupil has revealed that perhaps, some pupils and/or members of the public come into the school probably after school hours to defecate in the classrooms thereby making the environment to look filthy and smelly. 'Pooing' in Achua's reply is discursively linked to poor hygiene of the school environment. In consequence, some pupils perhaps feel ashamed to learn in and/or associate with an unclean school and thus decide to change school on health and safety grounds probably to another one that is clean and healthy for them to stay comfortably and learn.

PPA-p/diseng

In primary 5A, the pupils were learning reading on English. I observed that the teacher sat at the front of her desk to orchestrate the lesson. All the pupils sat attentively on their chairs to follow almost all the leads of the teacher during the lesson. Soon after she pointed at one big girl - a research participant – and said to her, 'madam, go and read'. The pupils stood reluctantly at the front of the classroom and read the passage the teacher had chosen from the English textbook for them. She could not read properly. Again, the teacher said to her, 'aunty madam, you go and sit down'. Other children laughed at her as she walked dejectedly back to her seat. In

primary 5B I met the children learning about the game of table tennis on Physical and Health Education as I mentioned earlier. The teacher stood at the blackboard in front of the classroom to read the names of some officials in the game of table tennis which she had written on the board. She asked the pupils to read after her. Four boys who sat at the middle of the classroom could not pronounce the name, 'umpire' correctly. The teacher looked at them and said:

. . . and you are all boys, yet you don't know.

(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014)

Later, pupils in this classroom had another lesson entitled, 'telephone conversation' on English. This time the teacher asked a girl to read. She read slowly, but correctly. It seemed the teacher felt bored or was impatient with the way the child was reading. So, she said to the reader, 'this one cannot read. Who can read faster to take over from her?' One boy moved forward and read in her stead.

I saw the pupils learning Home Economics in primary 5C in the afternoon. As I was roving my eyes around the classroom to see the way the children were being engaged in the lesson, I saw one boy sitting quietly at the back of the classroom. He appeared to be unconcerned and uninterested in the lesson. I kept close watch on the boy to see whether the teacher would notice him and probably engage him in the lesson. Throughout the duration of the lesson - 40 minutes, that boy remained passive in the lesson. His teacher was always paying attention to some of the pupils in the classroom who were calling, 'aunty, aunty' seeking her permission to make some inputs at lesson.

I spoke with my participants to sample their view regarding their experience with classroom lessons. This is what seven of them said:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?
- Asaa: Because they cannot read
- Abuon: . . . our aunty separates those who cannot read and leave those who can read
- Ayi: (Thinking) Some children sit on their own because they cannot read
- Omari: Because our aunty used to call them block head
- Azun: Because our aunty don't want us to copy [from] another person
- Akpre: They are making noise that's why my madam ask them to sit alone
- Ebu: Because they don't want us to copy what they write from them.

The data surmises that there are some slow learners among the pupils. As a result, some teachers appear to attach stereotypes to these pupils, as you might construe from Omari's excerpt, and prevent them from interacting with their peers, develop collaborations and to learn from their peers. It is likely some teachers regard the efforts of some children to share thoughts with their colleagues on some issues of interests during lesson as a distraction. So they probably decided to make the pupils 'sit alone' perhaps as a punishment or make them discontinue with the activity.

I had further conversations with them and four participants me told more stories about their experience at lessons, thus:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?
- Akpre: It's good for them because they are not making noise when [the] teacher is teaching
- Omari: It's madam that cause it. If she finishes writing

- madam will say who has a question, they (pupils)
will lift up their hands and say they have something
to say
- Azun: Because they fear the aunty
- ME How your teacher dey do when you ask questions?
- What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask
questions?
- Omari: She will say if you don't know what to say don't
ask me stupid question o
- Ayi: If you ask the teacher a question and you did not
ask well (not to ask good question), she will flog
you. If the question is correct she will not beat
you. She will answer the question.

It appears the pupils learn under a set of rules, which is, they have to wait until the end of the lesson, raise their hands to indicate interest to make inputs and wait to be recognised by the teacher before they can express their views or make queries. You might understand from the perspective and orientation of Akpre that the attempt of some pupils to talk while the lesson is still in progress is tagged as a distractive 'noise'. As a consequence, some of the children experience 'fear' to communicate during lesson perhaps to prevent being punished by the teacher. It resembles a situation where you have to wait for a dictator to lift the ban on freedom of expression before you can talk, and in this case, presumably, pupils do so in order not to incur the teacher's wrath. Even when they have been given the privilege to talk, they appear to follow the dictates of the teacher to qualify to talk. They have to ensure what they have to say will be correct and perhaps make sense to the teacher or they get whipped for making 'stupid' statements or queries. Reference 'stupid question o' in Omari's second excerpt is a Pidgin English version describing the way the teacher emphatically warns pupils not to ask nonsensical questions. Apart from beating the pupils, teachers sometimes tend to ignore any queries a child has made in

the classroom. Wrong contributions from some pupils in classroom lessons are seemingly prohibitive and intolerable to teachers. Assumedly, some pupils learn in fear. Others tend to have learned to learn passively in order not to suffer any consequences for breaching standing order guiding lessons in their classrooms.

PPA-p/vc

At no time did I witness any situation where children criticise the teachers except to reproduce, almost exactly, the learning materials imparted to them on demand.

PP-p/attenc

I realised this girl was coming to school irregularly. The days she comes to school she would arrive late, sometimes when lessons have far begun. She was wearing faded school uniform and slippers and looking haggard compared to other children. As she enters the classroom, you could see her walking to sit on the back bench near the window. I wanted to know how she was learning. Because she was one of my participants, I seize the opportunity to examine her notebooks. In her English exercise book, particularly, I saw that she did an assignment on reading and comprehension. She was to produce correct sentences in answer to five questions. I noticed she did not quite supplied correct answers to the questions contained in the passage she had read in her text book. The teacher marked her work and wrote: one out of five and circled the score in red ink. Also, she wrote a remark, 'v. poor' on her book.

I had interview with my participants and two of them made disclosures connected to Akpre and her peers, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Why is it so?

Ayi: Yes, only these two pupils. Because Uncle, like Akpre her house is very far. She cannot come to school every day

ME: Are there other pupils who do not come to school too?

Asaa: Yes. Because the place that they are living is too far.

In addition to skipping school days, it seems it is the far distance to school that may also account for her frequent lateness to school. Other classmates of hers also appear to experience a similar situation – lack of mobility to school. I assume the difficulties they experience to learn emanated because they spend plenty of energy to travel from their homes to school. So the resultant exhaustion could cause them to lose interest and concentration during lesson, thus leading to poor academic performance.

PPA/p/diseng2

During the English lesson mentioned previously in primary 5A the teacher asked two boys and a girl to take turns to read the notes on the board. Sadly, these children could not read correctly. Even, one of them stood up on his desk and could not utter a word to pronounce any of the words written on the board. 'Oya, come out and kneel down here', the teacher commanded them, pointing at a corner in front of the classroom. All three children obeyed and they stayed on their knees on the bare floor to read after other colleagues who could read better. However, a girl walked into the classroom late in primary 5B while the lesson was in progress in the morning. The teacher beat her with the cane and later asked her to sit down.

PPA-s/disc

In primary 5C, the teacher was explaining the lesson while holding a long cane in her hand. She waved the stick and made some gestures with it occasionally as she explained the lessons to pupils. I did not know whether, like her co-teacher in primary 5B, she also used the stick to flog the pupils, especially, when they have gone wrong. As I pondered on this issue, she turned and faced the board, used the stick and pointed at some words she had written there to draw the attention of the pupils to them. For the time I spent in her classroom I did not see her use the cane on her pupils. In all three classrooms, however, lessons are delivered largely via verbal explanations. Projectors and wall charts were unavailable in the classrooms.

I interviewed my participants to get hold of their experience regarding this issue and these are their views:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?
- Paul: Uncle, because the pupil did not do his homework well that's why they (teachers) beat him
- Achua: Because they used to pinch us in the class. We will not do them anything and they will be looking for our trouble, so aunty will beat them
- Usha: Because the pupil wear mufti and come to school. Her uniform was dirty and she did not wash it
- Akpre: Because the person cannot read and write well
- Ebu: . . . maybe because they were playing [foot]ball in the classroom. That is why our teacher beat them
- Asaa: Because that day one girl did not barber her hair before she come to school. So aunty beat her and told her to barber her hair
- Abuon: Because they don't pay attention when the teacher is teaching. Some of them like that if the teacher does not beat them they will not know how to read and they will be making noise in the classroom and fighting other children
- Omari: Because the pupil did not pay his fees like handwork and school fee
- Ayi: . . . it's because the pupils was fighting in the classroom . . .

ME: Na how this beating dey help you learn for school?

How does this flogging by the teacher help you to learn?

Paul: When the teacher beats [us] we will not make noise in the classroom

Usha: Uncle, . . . we will be able to know something that they (teachers) teach us so that we can pass our exam and go to another class

Akpre: . . . some pupils used to stay in their house so that aunty will not beat them

Asaa: Yes, it will help the pupil to respect the teacher . . .

Abuon: It help us so that we can know what the teachers tells us to do and we can learn well.

It appears teachers largely use corporal punishment to regulate the behaviours of pupils. You can see from the data that pupils get whipped for performing virtually any actions the teachers consider is contrary to school rules. Some of the pupils seemed to have accepted the practice naively as a norm. They regard it as one way by which they could be motivated to learn, comply with rules as well as to behave respectfully towards the teachers. You might also discern from Asaa's second excerpt that some of the teachers, on the other hand, tend to opportunistically use the situation to command 'respect' from pupils. However, there are some children, in Akpre's second excerpt, who do not appear to be happy with the practice. These pupils refuse to go to school perhaps for some days to avoid being beaten by the teachers. Also, it is likely they skip days at school to protest against the practice. It suggests some pupils learn in a hostile environment characterised by pain and fear. Rather than enjoy what they learn, they seem to feel constrained to learn, forcing some of them to develop resistance to the practice.

PPA-p/int2

Across three classrooms, pupils do not exercise close relationship with their teachers. Rather, teachers appeared to stay far away in terms of socialisation from pupils. Close interaction between them take place only at lessons and when they want the children to run errands for them. However, girls sat with girls and vice versa. It was only on a few chairs that I saw both genders sitting together. A similar pattern of interaction also occurred when the children were in the field playing. Even, I saw Akpre outside during break. She was walking soberly and alone. A boy came to her and initiated play and she calmly turned him down. Let me speak with my participants to get their views concerning the situation:

- ME: During break time I have seen some children who do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom? Why do you think they don't have any one to play with?
- Paul: Yes. Because everyone hates them. When they ask them to give them some pencils to use and write, they'll refuse.
- Omari: Our madam said if they cannot read we should not play with them
- Achua: No. Some of them are from primary two or primary three. We play with only pupils in our class[room]
- Usha: They are from our class[room]. They don't want to play and dirty their clothes
- Ayi: It's eh primary two, primary one. All those little children that we don't like to play with
- Asaa: . . . they are from another classroom like primary four
- Ebu: . . . they like playing ball. I don't like playing ball. I like playing with my church member. She is in primary three. I like playing basketball, running and volleyball. We don't have these games in this school.

It seems pupils avoid interacting with some of their colleagues due to the refusal of the latter to lend the former their writing materials. Other children, however, stay away from playing with their colleagues by choice, in order not to dirty their

uniforms. In some situations, the teachers appear to be the persons who discourage some children from making friends with their peers perhaps to punish the latter on the assumption that they have poor reading competences. A considerable number of the children are likely to correlate with colleagues on the basis of year of study. What that connotes is that seniority in school, as you might see in Ayi's excerpt, seems to create demarcations in pupil's relationships. Amazingly, this practice does not appear to permeate all friendships. You may discern from Ebu's reference: 'my church members', that some children rather tend to bond with peers who belong to the same faith as them. In this case, the pupil's year of study does not matter anymore. Rather, a radically narrow-minded idea towards one's religious denomination at this point leads some pupils to choose peers from whom to dissociate. Also, the unavailability of the sports Ebu has named tends to encourage exclusion as there is no sporting event to draw pupils from different backgrounds together to meet, compete, have fun and interact. It describes a complex exclusionary practice largely determined by individual preferences and prejudices.

When pupils were writing notes in primary 5A, a girl took her male colleague's pen which he had kept on his desk without his consent. Frowning, the boy said to her in *Efik*, '*nim pen odo idagha emi*', meaning, 'keep that pen now'. So, she flung the pen back at him, looking disappointed. Soon after, two other boys started arguing over seating space. One of the boys used the tip of his pen to stab his peer's hand, but the victim was unhurt. The teacher intervened and stopped them. A female participant and a boy in primary 5B exchanged blows during lesson. They accused each other of making noise and interrupting the lesson. In primary 5C, one big boy refused to let another boy to sit with him. When the boy insisted that he would sit, the aggressor started a fight. In the scuffle, the aggressor injured the opponent in the lower lip. He

did not apologise to the victim. The teacher later stopped them. But, the victim stared angrily at the aggressor, and gesticulating, he swore that he was going to revenge at break.

I want to converse with my participants to get their views in this regards:

- ME: Why will you not like to work with . . .
- . . . Imaobong, Tony and Dorcas?
- Usha: It's because if I didn't do them anything they will go and report me [to the teacher]
- . . . Edem, David and Esther?
- Abuon: Because they like cursing (abusing) somebody. They will call you idiot
- . . . Esther, Imaobong and Juliet?
- Ebu: Especially, Esther . . . if she just see me come to the school she'll start calling me oyibo (whiteman) . . .
- . . . David, Joshua and Imaobong?
- Akpre : They beat me every day.

I assume some pupils make false report against their peers and perhaps make the teachers to punish the victims wrongly. At times some pupils use invectives, such as 'oyibo' in Ebu's excerpt, on their classmates probably to provoke or make them feel uncomfortable. Also, there are some children 'beat' their peers, according to Akpre, on daily basis. It is likely some pupils get bullied by their peers on regular basis, thus preventing the victims from learning well at school.

PP, PPA-s/fee

At the end of the morning devotion at the assembly ground, the deputy headmistress announced to pupils calling on them to pay ₦200.00 (£1.00). Furthermore, she explained that that amount is divided into ₦100.00 (50p) for Parents Teachers Association (PTA), ₦50.00 (30p) for examination fee and another ₦50.00 (30p) for continuous assessment. Speaking further, she condemned the situation where some children go home and lie to their parents that their teachers sent them home for

failing to pay ₦200.00 levy and handicraft e.g. broom. It raised a question within me as to whether, actually, pupils do not face any consequences for failing to pay these charges. I had to speak to the participants to get their views regarding their experience on the issue. Two of them made the following disclosures:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too? Why is it so?
- Abuon: . . . some of them have not paid their school fees. . .
- Paul: Yes. Because some of them when their parents don't have money to pay their schools fees. Their parents will tell them to stay at home . . .

It is clear pupils pay school fees, and it appears, however, that some parents keep their children out of school due to inability to afford these fees. Also, it seems some other parents ask their children to rather skip school days to enable them raise money to pay up the fees before allowing them to return to school.

PP-p/attenc

Discussing further, five of my participants supplied the following views:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too? Why is it so?
- Azun: It's the children. Because if their mother send them to sell something they will not come to school again. Their mother could tell them to stay in the house and hold baby for her
- Omari: No. They are many. Because they don't like to come to school because of the work they are doing like packing sand [to sell] . . .
- ME: Are there other pupils who do not come to school too?
- Usha: Yes. It's because they don't like to come to school.

They like selling in the market. Some will be selling garri, oil and fish. It's their parents that give it to them to sell

Akpre: Yes. Because they are helping their mother to sell something like oil

Ebu: It's only Aniebiet. Because her uniform is not good.

The first four pupils were speaking within the child abuse and child labour discourse respectively. One aspect of child abuse, as illustrated in the second part of Azun's excerpt, describes the engagement of some school children in domestic chores at home. On the other hand, child labour (in lines 6 - 14) connotes the involvement of children in income generation activities instead of going to school. Perhaps, these children undertake these activities to assist parents in childcare and to also help them pay family bills, including covering part of the cost of educating them at school. This might account for why Aniebiet, named in Ebu's excerpt, was not in school, perhaps, to stay at home to assist parents raise some money to buy her a new school uniform. You can see that family pressure tends to impede some of the children from learning at school.

PA-p/id

Every pupil carries a low haircut. The hairdo is plain and largely uniform among all of them. You may not even see any form of fashionable design on their hair. I asked to know further the reason behind this practice and my participants shared the following perspectives with me on the issue:

ME: I have noticed that children cut their hair low to school in your school. Why is this happening?

Ebu: Because in our school they (pupils) don't plait hair. That's why.

Paul: Because it's the headmistress that said they should cut their hair low. So that their hair will look fine

Akpre: The headmistress said we should barb our hair so that we will not look like village people who are just

- coming back from farm. If children barb their hair they (teachers or headmistress) will use razor blade and cut it
- Achua: Because . . . it is a primary school. It's not a university. That is why they don't have to keep their hair. They have to cut their hair low so that they will be clean and neat
- Usha: Because our teachers don't want bushy hair. If you barb punk to school they (teachers) will drive you home
- Asaa: . . . They (teachers) said they (pupils) should not barb their hair and put ear-rings [to school]
- Abuon: If children weave and barber their hair they (teachers and pupils) will think that the children are not in this school
- Omari: . . . If the girls plait or the boys barb style the teachers will send them away (home) to go and barber their hair very well (cut their low)
- Azun: Because some children keep their hair and they don't even wash it
- Ayi: If you don't cut your hair they, our aunties, will put scissors in your hair.

Perhaps the school management has banned pupils from carrying hairstyles and body piercings at school. The low cut also seems to serve as a mark of identity among pupils. Teachers tend to believe that pupils will not be able to maintain hairdos and body piercings. Also, teachers feel that allowing pupils to adorn their bodies with these fashions can arguably make them look dirty like some peasant farmers who are returning from 'farm' in the 'village' (line 6) as well as look different from their peers at school. Some of the pupils, as shown in Achua's excerpt, tend to be indoctrinated to believe that these fashions are meant for only 'university' students; not children in primary schools. Teachers enforce compliance to these practice by using 'scissors' to cut some defaulters' hair or send them home to have the hair cut. Presumably, some pupils might like to have decent hairstyles at school, but the

school is denying them the privilege to do so. Some pupils who carry hairstyles to school appear to be shamed by teachers or asked to stay away from school.

PA-p/moi

Teachers occasionally delivered lessons to pupils in Pidgin English. Some of the teachers used this language when they were explaining some strange concepts. Likewise, some pupils sometimes switched to this slang when conversing with peers. A boy in primary 5B was discussing with another male colleague of his in the classroom. He could not pronounce some words correctly in the official English. Surprisingly, his teacher cautioned him saying, 'oga, speak English; not broking (Pidgin English) . . . here'. Moved by this incidence, I decided to speak with my participants to ascertain their experience about the situation. Listen to what they say:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that the teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other during lesson. Why is that happening?
- Ayi: Because the children are from different villages and they speak pidgin English and their (local) languages too. They cannot speak (official) English
- Achua: Some of the children are not speaking good English. That is why they used to use *Efik* and English to teach them
- Paul: Because some of them . . . cannot speak correct English
- Usha: When the aunty want to talk to us, sometimes she will use good English. Sometimes she will use pidgin English
- Akpre: Uncle, to use it to correct us and in teaching so that we will be intelligent . . .
- Ebu: Because other pupils in the class don't know how to speak (the official) English
- Asaa: Because they want other pupils to know [how to speak] English
- Omari: So that the children will understand what they are learning
- Azun: So that the students can speak English well

Abuon: Because many of the teachers are not well trained
 . . . they speak broken [English].

You may understand from the pupils' perspectives that the classrooms comprised children from various villages, linguistic backgrounds and perhaps tribes. And a considerable number of them tend to use Pidgin English often to communicate generally with peers from other backgrounds. That is because they cannot speak the official English well. In consequences, some of the teachers use Pidgin English and sometimes *Efik* to simplify the lesson and facilitate understanding, aid pupils to perform better in their studies. Akpre used the words to 'correct us' and 'intelligent' in a discursive sense to illustrate the way teachers used Pidgin English as a substitutive language to help pupils enhance the way they learn. More so, there seem to be some teachers who, like the pupils, could not speak fluent English probably due to their poor professional training. These teachers also use Pidgin English so as to be able to teach. This suggests that communication in official English constitutes a barrier to effective teaching and learning.

PP-s/env

Unlike other school buildings, the toilet is located in a bushy area near the school farm. The surrounding is filled with overgrown grasses; littered with excreta and other harmful objects. You could see some pupils taking rubbish from the classrooms to pour in that area. The place is such in a decrepit condition that it appears to form a habitation for insects, reptiles and rodents. In some occasions, you may see, especially, some female pupils squatting in hidden spots outside the toilet to excrete. As you stand at the primary 1 building, you might perceive some odour coming from the direction of the toilet. It is likely this smell also inconveniences some pupils while learning in their classrooms as their classroom block stands close to the toilet.

PA-p/vc, t/strat

Discussing further, the participants expressed their views on ways they think could foster their inclusion at school.

- ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn well?
- Achua: Ehn, I think our teacher should teach us and let us see the things she is teaching us. Like if she is teaching us Agriculture, we can go and work in the school farm
- Ayi: Like when the teacher is teaching, we can see the pictures of things so that we can learn well . . .
- Usha: I want us to be asking our teacher questions when we are learning
- Akpre: Our aunty should teach us let us understand. She should explain what she is teaching well for us
- Ebu: I want the teacher to give us assignment so that we can teach ourselves
- Omari: The teacher should teach us and give us homework. If we fail anything she should do correction
- Abuon: I want the teacher to give us home work to do.

The data surmises that pupils will like to be very actively engaged in what they are learning. As such, they will prefer to 'see the things' they are learning. Within this context, according to Achua, pupils want to have the opportunity to do practical learning, for example, when they are in Agriculture lesson. It seems the lessons they receive in the classrooms are largely based on theories and unable to meet their desires to feel, smell, taste and see the concepts. Practical learning, perhaps, is one way to complement the theory, concretise the materials they are learning and to arouse their enthusiasm to learn. This is much akin to Ayi's reference to the use of 'pictures' for learning in the classroom. Also, having the opportunity to do 'assignments or homework' and 'ask questions', according to the children, might enable them participate more and have a two-directional communication between them and the teachers at lessons. It likely these strategies, could stimulate their

creativity, motivate them to make queries, seek clarifications, criticise the teacher encourage independent learning and to discover.

PPA-s/disc2

Paul: I don't want aunty to hold the cane when she is teaching us. It used to make me be afraid to talk when she is teaching

Asaa: . . . I don't want our aunty to be cursing us (calling us names) when we don't know how to answer her questions

Azun: Aunty used to flog us. I don't want her to flog us again.

Perhaps, some pupils want to be able to learn in a classroom where teachers do not use the cane either to teach or punish erring pupils. Others would be happy should teachers stop to use invectives to disparage them, especially, when they have supplied wrong answers or perhaps made inappropriate contributions at lessons. They would probably like to learn in a supportive environment that is devoid of fear and oppression.

PA-t/train

ME: If given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, what will you change?

Abuon: Change the teachers. Yes, because not all of them can do their jobs well. So I will look for teacher that have gone to school well and put [employ] them.

It seems not all teachers in the school have had enough training to prepare them for the job. Abuon feels pupils are being short-changed by these teachers on account of poor teaching. You may that see he is indirectly making a call, perhaps, on government to hire professionally qualified teachers to do the job and help pupils feel included by succeeding in their studies. Connotatively, this measure might address underachievement among some pupils as a result of ineffective teaching.

PPA-p/curr mat.

Ayi: Change book. I mean that I will change all the students' note books, their text books. I will buy some of the books and will be giving them set by set and then Nursery I will give them 20 leaves and primary I will them 80 and 40 leaves so that they will be able to write. And text books I will be giving them three in all classes.

This suggests that some pupils do not have sufficient notebooks and curriculum textbooks to learn at school. A considerable number of them, consequence compared to their peers, appear not to participate fully in lessons, including taking up-to-date notes on various subjects and reading. Against this backdrop, providing pupils with these learning materials, according to Ayi, might facilitate their participation at lessons.

Azun; Change the blackboard. Put that black board that they used to show light and show something on the wall (projector) when the teacher is teaching
Achua: Change the school to be better, like building another classroom
Asaa: Change the fan. . . . I will put the fan. The fan is not fine.

Some pupils will relish the opportunity to learn with projectors. The data shows that Azun would like to see this electronic gadget installed in the classroom perhaps to complement the conventional blackboard, vary medium of instruction to meet the needs of some visual learners and ease learning for others. In addition, her colleagues suggest that more classrooms need to be provided probably to provide more accommodation for pupils to learn, and that fans have to be fitted in the classroom. Discursively, the adjective 'fine' is used to indicate fans that are working well. In other words, the use of fans in the classrooms may enable them learn in comfort especially in hot weather. This signifies that, pupils may feel comfortable to learn in a classroom equipped with modern learning materials.

PPA-p/int3

Usha: Change football . . . the boys will not allow us to enter the field and play football too

You might understand from this perspective that the pupil wants the school to encourage cross gender participation of pupils in school at play and sports. This could dwindle or eliminate the dominance of boys, for example, in football at playtime and spur the girls to also take part in the sport and perhaps other recreational events. It symbolises an advocacy for equality of boys and girls at school.

PPA-p/unif

Paul: Yes. I want them (school management) to change our uniform. Our uniform is not good. If you play it will dirty fast. They should change it to green and white. I like mek dem wear white and come to school on Monday to Thursday and mek dem wear anything and come to school on Friday. [I will like pupils to wear the white uniform to school from Monday to Thursday, but they should wear any clothes to school on Friday].

This tends to be unhappy with his current school uniform. He does not like wearing the all-white costume to school every day because, according to him, it is hard to maintain. On that note, he is calling on the school management to change it to green and white. Probably, he wants the shirt/blouse to be white and short/skirt to be green or the other way round. It is, however, not clear the reason he is particular about these colours. A clue to it is that the colours symbolise the green and white in the Nigerian flag – indicating patriotism. More so, the fact that he wants pupils to wear this proposed dress code from Monday to Friday with the exception of Friday is, perhaps, to enable them maintain it and for it to last long. To ‘wear anything’ to school on Fridays, implicitly, does not suggest a call for pupils to dress indecently to

school on Friday. Rather, it discursively represents use of decent mufti by pupils on this day. Also, pupils appear not to be laden with too much lessons on Friday. That tends to give them enough opportunity to play and get dirty in the process. Probably, when pupils use mufti on this day they may be able to preserve their school uniforms to use them again in the next week, and to save cost for their parents.

PPA-p/int4

- Ebu: Change bad habits. . . . Like now the pupils fight and when you keep your things, they'll come and steal them. . .
- Akpre: Change playing. Because some children are playing and are giving [other] children wounds (injuries) in their bodies.

You can see that these pupils are decrying the situations where some of their peers attack other children aggressively, causing them body injuries and to lose their 'things' – symbolising personal property. Arguably, they are, in consequence, indirectly asking the school to check bullying so as to guarantee their safety including that of their property thereby enabling them to learn well and participate at school.

APPENDIX X

DEVELOPING THEMES AND SUB-THEMES FOR DATA FROM THE THREE SCHOOLS

KENWA PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

Kenwa primary school is located in *Eshueya*, a rural community, lying approximately 30 kilometres outside the north of Calabar, the capital city of Cross River State in Nigeria. On the Calabar - Ikom highway, turn right and travel four kilometres through an untarred access road until you get to the village. *Aka Ogbudu*, is one of the untarred streets connecting the main community road and leads down to the school. Parts of the community are situated on undulating land and surrounded by thick tropical vegetation. Gully erosion sites are located near the hills and valleys, and these places are used as dumpsites. *Eshueya* experiences plenty of rainfall and sunshine at various times of the year due to its location in the tropics.

Residents of *Eshueya* come from *Efik*, *Igbo*, *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Hausa/Fulani* tribes. Members of *Efik* tribe are, however, seen to be more dominant. It seems, *Efiks*, in the cause of history, succeeded in defining themselves as indigenes in order to deny other tribes whom they have branded as settlers equal rights to education. The identity of children may be traced to the tribe to which their father belongs.

Efik and English were the major media of communication among community members. The dominance of the *Efik* language could be connected to the indigene status, which the *Efiks* enjoy and requirement in national policy regarding language of the immediate environment. English, on the other hand, gained acceptance

because policy requires that it be used as national language. Apart from the official English, community members also speak Pidgin English – a kind of slang. They used this language in informal settings. On the contrary, Christianity and Islam were the two major religions in *Eshueya*. Practitioners of the former seemed to outnumber the latter, and that could be linked to the location of the community in a predominantly Christian southeast of the country. The Christians were largely drawn from amongst the *Efiks*, *Ibibios*, *Ekois* and *Igbos*. The Muslims included mostly the *Hausa/Fulanis*. Given their dependence on parents, children were likely to be influenced to practice the religions of their parents, especially, their father's.

Provisions for education of boys and girls are fitted to the expected social roles of the children. Boys are socialised to engage in occupations, which particular tribes derived its livelihood while girls are socialised to learn domestic roles. Discernibly, children with disabilities, regardless of gender, receive little or no education.

However, further down *Aka Ogbudu*, mentioned earlier, is *Kenwa* primary school. It is located on a 'hidden corner' towards the end of the street. *Kenwa* is a public primary school established by the state government in 2001. After the school gate *Aka Ogbudu* becomes a narrow footpath leading into a bushy valley and rising again onto a luxuriant hill.



Aka Ogbudu leading down to the school.

On approach of the school is the school gate. Standing to your left is the fence. On the inside, the school compound is bumpy and extends from the hilltop to the valley. Five concrete buildings and a toilet are in the school. Three of them, painted green, were on the hill. Two others located in the valley had rough walls, but with cemented floors. All five buildings were roofed with zincs. Doors and window shutters made of wood and glass were fitted to these buildings. Near the school gate was the administrative block, housing the head teacher's and deputy head teacher's offices. It is fitted with burglary proof, air conditioner, glass windows and mosquito net. Primary 1, 2 and 3 classroom block is standing to the right of the head teacher's office. Nursery 1 and 2 classroom block is standing left of the administrative office.



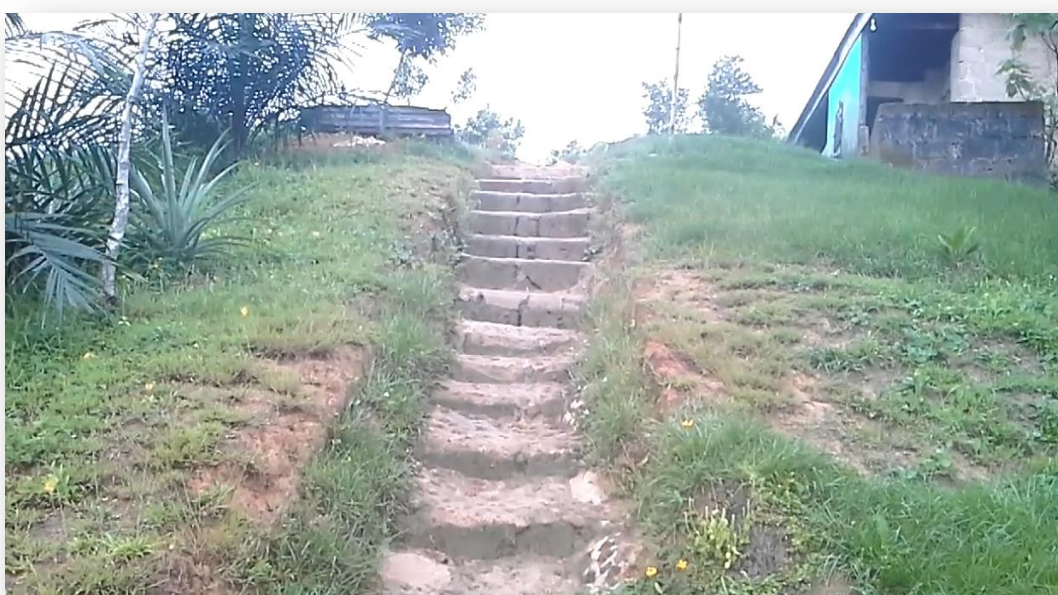
The headmistress' office showing a female teacher having a meeting with the head teacher.

At the front of all school buildings on the hilltop was a semi-circle. Pupils used this place as the assembly ground. The Nigeria's and Cross River State's flags were hoisted at this space. Close to the flags, on the fenced side of the school compound was an old swing.

Access to classrooms in the valley is possible through descent of a narrow concrete steps constructed on the side of the slope. There were no ramps in the school. Primary 4, 5 and 6 buildings were located in the valley, and they stood in such a way that the space in front of them assumed an L-shape, surrounding an open field, which children used to play. Primary 5 classrooms, in particular, were partitioned into 5A, 5B and 5C respectively. All classrooms had no electricity and projectors.



Rear view of the stairway on the hill, including the field pupils used to play and primary 3 and 4 classroom building in the valley.



Front view of the stairway.

School uniform

Boys and girls used green and white fabric to sew uniforms. Also, they wore white pair of socks with a pair of black sandals. Girls' dresses vary greatly from the boys' in terms of design. They used pinafore made predominantly of green fabric. It was sewn below the knee in length. A white piece of cloth measuring about six inches in width was sewn to the front of the gown to cover the entire length of the uniform. The sleeves were hemmed with a very thin white cloth that was attached at the front of the gown. The boys wore white shirts with short sleeves on green shorts. A green tie was sewn to the collar of the shirt and pinafore at the front.

Social life of the school

Upon arrival in the morning, the children walked to their classrooms to keep their belongings. School hours commenced at 7.45am local time when the bell is rung. Children and teachers respond to the bell by gathering at the assembly area to conduct morning devotion, led by a teacher. Other teachers stood around to help control the pupils. At this meeting, pupils performed Christian choruses and prayers, sang the national and state anthems and recited the pledges. When the Christian songs and prayers were being sung, the Muslims teachers did not participate as doing so might contravene their Islamic beliefs. Unlike them, some Muslim pupils took part in the Christian worship. Probably, they did so naively. Nevertheless, the proclivity to Christian way of worship is connected to the dominance of Christianity in the context. Morning devotion provided opportunity for teachers to announce school plans and expectations from pupils. At the end of the meeting, lasting 30 minutes, pupils sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms to start lessons.



The assembly ground showing Nigeria's and Cross River State's flags.



Pupils and teachers holding morning devotion at the assembly ground. The women in white veils are the Muslim teachers. The pupil wearing a yellow shirt is Obi - boy with impairments. The children with woven hair are the *Hausa/Fulani* girls.

PUPIL PRESENCE

The staff

Kenwa primary school had teachers and a non-academic staff. These persons belonged to the different backgrounds stated above. Pupils called the male teachers 'uncle' and, female teachers 'aunty' to mean 'aunt'. It is unclear the level of educational qualifications of the teachers and years of teaching experience. However, my focus is on primary 5. This classroom had three teachers including two males and one female who were responsible for primary 5A, 5B and 5C respectively. Both male teachers were *Efik* Christians and the female teacher was a *Hausa/Fulani* Muslim. Teachers used smart clothes at school; however, the Muslim teachers also covered their heads with hijab - a veil used by females in the Islamic world. The primary 5C teacher was among three Islamic teachers government deployed to teach Muslim pupils Arabic, in addition to other subjects in the curriculum.

Pupil enrolment

84 children were registered in primary one in the 2006/2007 academic session. See details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		40	47.62
		Boys	27	67.50
		Girls	13	32.50
	Ibibio		23	27.39
		Boys	19	82.61
		Girls	4	17.39
	Hausa/Fulani		10	11.90
		Boys	9	90.00
		Girl	1	10.00
	Igbo		6	7.14
		Boys	3	50.00
		Girls	3	50.00
	Ekoi		5	5.95
		Boys	3	60.00
		Girls	2	40.00
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Language	Not indicated			
Religion	Muslims	10		11.90
	Christians	74		88.10
Gender	Males	61		72.62
	Females	23		27.38
Final total number of children			84	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table above illustrates that *Efik* and *Ibibio* pupils outnumbered peers from the other existing tribes respectively. Christians among them were over seven times more than the Muslims. Similarly, boys outnumbered the girls. Data did not indicate whether children with special educational needs were included. More so, records did not show their linguistic backgrounds.

90 children were also enrolled in primary one in the following 2007/2008 academic session. See further details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2007/2008 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		29	32.22
		Boys 21		72.41
		Girls 8		27.59
	Ibibio		12	13.33
		Boys 6		50.00
		Girls 6		50.00
	Hausa/Fulani		22	24.44
		Boys 14		63.64
		Girls 8		36.36
	Igbo		7	7.78
		Boys 5		71.43
		Girls 2		28.57
	Ekoi		11	12.22
		Boys 5		45.45
		Girls 6		54.55
	Yoruba		9	10.00
		Boys 5		55.56
		Girls 4		34.44
Religion	Muslims	24		26.67
	Christian	66		73.33
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Language	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	56		62.22
	Females	34		37.78
Final total number of pupils			90	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table indicates that *Efik* and *Hausa/Fulani* pupils outnumbered their colleagues from the other tribes respectively. Now, children from the *Yoruba* tribe also had places in the school. Again, Christians were more than Muslims. Boys were over-represented compared to girls. Records did not show whether any children with special educational needs were among the pupils. Data also did not demonstrate the

language the pupils speak. These disparities in pupil enrolment have connections to the disadvantages emanating from native-settler conflicts, religion and disability issues within the community. Perhaps, registration of children consistently favoured *Efik* children on the basis that the school is sited within their native community. The dominance of the Christian over Muslim children appears to give further indication about the location of the school in a predominantly Christian southeast of Nigeria. Over-representation of the males, compared to the females, tends to connote preference for male education to reflect the different ways boys and girls were socialised within the customs of these tribes. The rough topography of the school and absence of ramps seem to block presence, for example, of children with disabilities in the school.

Obi, boy with impairments

During morning devotion, I noticed Obi. He stood in the same queue with children in primary 5. Other pupils in this classroom wore uniforms. He wore mufti. I became curious and wanted to learn further about him. As pupils marched into their classrooms after the devotion, I followed them. Reaching primary 5 building, I realised that he marched with his classmates into primary 5C. He was the biggest and tallest child among the pupils in this classroom and looked older than his peers in age. On a closer look, I noticed that, unlike the other children, Obi was rather talking slowly. That prompted me to do further observations in this classroom to watch the way he learns and socialises with his peers. In one of such occasions, I realised that

. . . Obi had speech defects and learning difficulties. He was of Hausa/Fulani tribe and a Muslim (Field notes: *Kenwa* primary school, 2013).

This encounter made me think that the school also enrolled children with special educational needs to address my query in enrolment record in that regard. While

interviewing participants about the presence of pupils at school, three of them supplied responses that rather revealed the identity of some children present:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Kije (*a boy*): Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too.

Ahmed (*a boy*): . . . other pupils do not come to school too.

Ojuare (*a boy*): They other pupils don't always come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Kije: Like Obi (a boy with SEN) and Umu (a girl). . .

Ahmed: Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school

Ojuare: Uncle, there was a time Obi did not come to school. He stayed that time (he stayed for a long time) and he did not come to school. . . . He was sick.

The mention of Obi as one of the two children who did not come to school further clarifies that, actually, there is a boy with disabilities who is learning with his typical peers in the school. The attention given to the 'days' and 'time' in which Obi skipped school, signified the amount of care they have for him. Besides, the children also named Umu - a non-disabled pupil, who like Obi did not come to school too. These discussants appear not to attach stereotypes to their peers on account of identity. There is a perceived feeling of sameness among the children. From Ojuare's second excerpt, being 'sick' is to acknowledge that Obi, as a human, can be ill. Sickness in that sense is understood as a temporary condition that poses no threat to Obi's education or threatens the wellbeing of other pupils. Instead, it is like any other pupil who could be unwell and recover from it when given medical treatment. In other words, Obi's condition is seen as not being out of acceptable norm in school.

However, I later noticed that Obi was the only pupil with impairments in the school. I learned from his teacher that Obi had been a pupil in the school for over five years. He was not born with any physical disabilities, but developed these conditions in primary 4 thanks to a sickness that infected his central neural system. He stopped school for about one year because the illness was severe. His parents sought medical treatment to ensure he gets well so as to recommence schooling. When they noticed that the sickness had impaired his speech and slowed down his rate of learning, they wanted to keep him out of school. It is unclear, however, why Obi's parents abandoned their decision and kept him back in school. School management presumably placed him in primary 5C. This classroom comprised children who had least abilities compared to their peers in primary 5A and 5B. Perhaps, Obi had the opportunity to continue learning in the school on the ground that he developed the sickness while he was already a pupil in the school or that teachers can cope with him. In spite of that, placing him in primary 5C to learn with pupils who have similar competencies as him suggests that he is not very welcome in the school.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

School curriculum

14 approved subjects were listed in the timetable. Each of the classrooms had copies of the subject timetable indicating list of subjects in the curriculum. According to the timetable, pupils spent 40 minutes to learn each subject from Monday to Friday. This document was structured into three divisions: morning lessons, break and afternoon lessons. Pupils learned some subjects in the morning and afternoon respectively. In between these two periods they observed break. The timetable was pasted on a conspicuous location inside the classroom probably for easier reference. Core subjects such as English, Mathematics and primary Science were listed in the

morning across three classrooms. Pupils learned other subjects when they returned from break. Unfortunately, there were no provisions in the timetable for Arabic. Maybe, the school carefully excluded the subject to deny the Islamic teachers and pupils the opportunity to offer it. When other pupils were learning Christian Religious Education, some of their Muslim colleagues would either refuse to join them or teachers would force them to learn it too contrary to their religious upbringing. Once, a boy in primary 5B walked to the teacher and delivered a message from his parent. He said to his teacher while fidgeting and frowning,

'uncle, my father said like this [said that] he will remove me from this school to another school if I continue to learn Christian Religious Knowledge' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Classroom lessons

Each teacher prepared lesson notes for his or her classroom every semester –known among the pupils as ‘term’. Each term had between 13 – 14 weeks. Teachers prepared lesson notes daily for each subject contained in the curriculum. Lesson notes were largely written in English. And they were written under different subsections pointing the steps the teacher needed to follow to teach and assess pupils. Teachers submitted completed lesson notes to the headmistress to check. The school head carefully read the lessons planned for each subject. While marking the note, she paid attention to grammar, spellings, concepts, behavioural objectives and lesson materials to make sure they were accurate and adequate for the learners.

If satisfied, she then placed a right tick in the lesson notes and approved by signing and dating it. Otherwise, she directs the teacher/s concerned to re-write the lesson note/s and addressed the queries satisfactorily and resubmit to her for further checking and approval. Marked lesson notes were returned to teachers. Teachers were not allowed to deliver lessons without receiving prior authorisation from the

headmistress as any teacher who does so risked disciplinary actions. This was done to guide against imparting wrong information to the pupils. These documents served as teaching guides and sources of reference for teachers during classroom instruction.

For example:

The teacher in primary 5A prepared a lesson note on English on the topic 'tortoise pays the price'. Under a subsection he termed 'introduction' he wrote: the teacher asks the pupils if anyone of them can relate one of the tortoise stories before telling them about the tortoise story in the lesson'. Then he writes: The tortoise said, 'I am cold and tired. Can I have my hen, please? My hen, my beautiful hen, says the tortoise. I don't want your goat. Give me my hen' (Teacher's lesson note: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

This lesson used the tortoise as an interesting character to stir a conversation among pupils so as to motivate them to participate by changing what the tortoise had said in direct speech to reported speech.

Seating arrangement

Pupils sat in rows and columns, leaving aisles in between them. Teachers did not have staff room. They kept their tables and chairs at the front of their classrooms perhaps to be able to have a better view of the children. Lesson notes, classroom dairies and attendance registers for each classroom were in the custody of each classroom teacher and they kept these documents in their drawers for safety. However, the blackboard was placed on the wall in front of the classroom. This is what you are likely to see in the other classrooms. Each classroom had a class representative. Teachers appointed the most intelligent child or the pupil – boy or girl - who is physically stronger compared to their peers as pupil leaders. Another justification for their selection was that they have good communication skills - reading, writing and speaking, in English.

Boys were nonetheless seen to be inclined to spend more time with boys and girls with girls. Although the pupils enjoyed the presence of the opposite gender in the classroom, majority of them, however, demonstrated preferences for the gender groups that shared similar designs of uniform and interaction styles with them. Boys sat on the same seats talking with and touching the other boys and girls engaged with fellow girls. Teachers only applied on-the-spot strategies as personal efforts to alter the status quo in a bid to engage pupils in a cross gender interaction. In primary 5B, the teacher asked the girls to sit with the boys and vice versa. But, the arrangement appeared to be only a temporary fix. The children took the new structure just for a short time, sometimes lasting from the time they received the instruction and after particular lessons. Soon after they returned from recess, they separated, may be driven by impulse, to reverse to the old order. This amplified gender differences between the boys and girls and made them feel excluded in the midst of their peers.



Some pupils in the classroom.

Teaching style

Lessons started at 8:00am local time. Before this time, the teacher took attendance to know pupils who were present and absent for the day. This was what happened in the other classrooms too. At the commencement of lesson teachers instructed the children to exercise their bodies. For instance, s/he says, ‘class stand, sit, clap your hands’ several times. At the end of the activity/ies, s/he established a code of conducts in the classrooms. Teachers usually announced these standards of behaviour to the pupils; the regulations were temporary and not codified in a document as you would normally expect. As such they were made to regulate the behaviours of learners throughout the duration of the lessons. Pupils were told to sit erect and keep quiet. On some occasions they were also directed to fold their arms to prevent them from touching the colleague next to them. Again, they were asked to face front and maintain regular focus on the teacher while the lesson was in progress.

What followed these activities was explanation of the lessons to the pupils. S/he stood rigidly at the front to teach. Occasionally, the teachers walked through the aisles while explaining concepts. As they moved around, s/he paused briefly to ensure learners did not disrupt the lesson. All the time the teachers used verbal explanations to deliver the lessons to pupils in English. Sometimes they used *Efik* language to interpret the explanations. The voices of teachers dominated as they orchestrated almost every activity at lessons. Pupils raised their hands up to ask and answer questions and they had to receive teacher permission first before they could talk. This practice was probably to ensure respect and order in the classroom. For example, pupils in primary 5A learned adjectives on English. As the teacher explained the lesson, once in a while he called a child to the front of the classroom to demonstrate adjectives.

He would say, 'Odili is a good girl'. Also, he used Efik to interpret the English version. He said, 'Odili edi eti eyen anwan. Eti is an adjective'. (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

The lesson in primary 5B was 'marriage' on Social Studies. Pupils learned different marriage practices. The teacher called some girls and boys to demonstrate the way people in different cultures practiced monogamy, polygyny and polyandry.

One girl asked, 'uncle is it good for a man to marry four wives?' The teacher answered, 'yes, it is good if you are a Muslim'. Explaining further, he said, 'Christians are taught to marry one wife, but some of them actually marry over four wives. Some men, who do not go to church or mosque, also marry more than one wife. Even in Islam, you can find some Muslim men who have only one wife'. A few pupils looked at the teacher and exclaimed 'ehen' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

In primary 5C, pupils used some realia to learn 'addition of three digit numbers' on Mathematics. These realia included sticks cut into short pieces and bottle corks, which they used to solve the sums. Children called these materials counters. The teacher asked questions randomly to both boys and girls. At some points she called the children in turns to work the sums on the blackboard. Almost all children, including some research participants, showed interest in the lesson. They raised their hands or fingers to perform the tasks as the teacher bade them. Obi was one of the research participants who took active participation during lesson. The teacher asked pupils '1 + 0 is equal what?' He volunteered to answer the teacher's question.

He replied, '1 + 0 is ehm ehm'. The teacher completed the statement and said, '1 + 0 is equal to 1'. Later, she asked the other pupils to clap for him (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Though happy to see the way Obi and some children were engaged in the lesson, but then I wondered whether a similar situation also took place when I was not in the classroom to observe them. However, still some boys and girls sat quietly and listened to the teacher. They sometimes stared blandly into space at the lesson and the teacher seemed not to have noticed them.

It seems it was a breach of classroom regulations for a child to make comments without, first, obtaining teacher consent. A female participant in primary 5A interjected the teacher to ask a question during lesson. The teacher said to her, 'ITK (I too know) keep quiet first and let me say what I am saying'. Almost simultaneously, some of the girls' classmates exclaimed, 'oohh, you too talk nah! [oh, you talk too much!]'. Thereafter, the teacher ignored the girl and continued teaching. The girl placed her index finger on her lips to gesture 'shut up' to her colleagues who had accused her of talking too much.

A boy in primary 5B, wanted to say something during lesson and the teacher said to him, 'No. Just listen'. The pupil stopped as the teacher commanded (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

At the end of the lesson, the teacher asked, 'is there any question?' It was startling to see all pupils chorus, 'no, aunty' and copied notes from the board.



Side view of the second building located in the valley, housing primary 5 classrooms.

Speaking to participants regarding the way they participate during lesson, two of them provided the following views:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is this happening?

Tah (*a boy*): . . . they used to sit down quietly and listen [to] what the teacher is talking. They want to learn.

Ebie (*a girl*): . . . They want to pay attention to the teacher, they want to be . . .clever.

In line 3 the pupil does not seem to regard 'sitting down quietly to listen to the teacher' as passive learning. Rather, he tends to indicate that his peers adopted that measure to express enthusiasm to learn. To Tah, the practice is one way to avoid distractions as a noisy and distractive environment is likely to generate disorderliness in the classroom, impair understanding and compromise the quality of learning. Consequently, some pupils had to concentrate so as to be able to grasp what the teacher is explaining to them in a distraction free environment. Even in line 5, the pupil explains that 'paying attention' facilitates learning for her peers and that could in effect enable them to become intelligent, referred to as 'clever'. These views suggest the naivety of some pupils in accepting passivity as a way to ensure compliance to classroom rules and effective learning.

Talking further regarding pupil voice, eight participants expressed opinions on the issue, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. Why is it so?

Kije: Because they don't understand (the lesson) . . . when they ask other pupils will laugh at them.

Tah: Because they did not listen to the teacher.

Aloka (*a girl*): They don't understand what the teacher is saying (teaching).

Mbua (*a girl*): Uncle, we always be afraid, because I can make a mistake.

Ebie: (paused and looking down): uncle, I don't know what is happening o.

Ojuare: . . . sometimes they will say something in Maths.

Obi (*boy with impairments*):Hmmm. When you want to talk they [teachers] go talk say who tell you to talk (When you wants to talk the teacher will ask you, who told you to talk).

Eyare (*a girl*): It is because they don't understand the lesson, and the teacher does not allow us to make noise when she is teaching. The noise (will) distract her - the teacher. She will not feel happy when pupils want to explain the lesson.

One theme permeating the different views of these pupils is suppression of pupil voice at lessons. You can discern from their statements the way teachers impose themselves as authoritative figures in the classrooms and talk dominantly during lesson. As such pupils appear to learn, holding the teachers in awe. Even when they did not understand the lesson, they felt hesitant to ask questions to seek clarifications from the teachers. Feelings of intimidation and panic are also reflected in the views and behaviours of the pupils. In line 5, Kije's opinion portrayed the way pupils felt frightened to ask questions during lessons because their peers would 'laugh at them'. Pupils laugh to mock peers who have asked a question. Some of these pupils think that it is wrong to stop the teacher to make queries when the teacher has yet to give approval to do so otherwise she will not be 'happy' with such a pupil.

Note the way Ebie paused and looked down in line 7 when talking to me. On the other hand, Obi did not only state the obvious on the issue, he also exclaimed 'hmmm' in line 9. Their expressions hint to the risk they face to ask questions or make comments when the teacher is still teaching. The phrase 'happening o' (line 7) is Pidgin English. By suffixing the word 'happening' with the vowel 'o' in the Pidgin sense of it, Ebie was highlighting the extent of fear she was experiencing to comment about the situation due to the danger she thought was involved in the issue. Perhaps,

this pupil did not quite trust me. She feared I could disclose her information to her teacher and she might be punished for revealing the issue to an external body. The teaching strategy rendered pupils virtually inactive during lesson for the mere fact that they are ‘children’.

However, four participants suggested some ways to resolve this problem, thus:

- ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn better?
- Aloka: I want our uncle to teach us very well and what we don't understand we can ask him questions
- Ebie: Ehnn (scratches her head with the hand), our teacher shou--uld not teach us hard things
- Ahmed: I think our uncle can bring something like orange (real objects) in the class[room] when we are learning . . .
- Kije: I want our teacher to be teaching us well, like he can give us homework let us do.

In line 2, the pupil talked in terms of interactive classroom lesson. From her viewpoint, an inclusive classroom provides avenues for children to make queries when they do not understand the concepts the teacher is imparting to them. When that happens, pupils might be able to discuss, share ideas and grasp the lesson. Her view corresponds with the dialogic learning discourse, a discourse that encourages interactive lesson in which pupils might have the opportunity to talk and express their views concerning what they are learning. According to her, to ‘ask’ the teacher ‘questions’ (line 2) is to enable the pupils seek clarifications about issues that seem unclear to them so as to ‘understand’ the lesson.

Her colleague added in line 2 that they would learn well when the teacher did not teach them difficult concepts so that they do not feel mystified by them. To me, she was actually not implying that pupils would not learn difficult concepts at some points when she said teachers should not teach them ‘hard things’. Rather, as can be

read from her body language, she was calling on teachers to simplify difficult concepts in ways that they can understand. Connotatively, pupils learn better when concepts are being explained to them in simple terms. In addition, it involves using English, taking cognizance of the fact that the children are beginner English users, especially within a non-native English context.

More so, eclecticism might take place when the teacher combines other teaching strategies with realia as indicated in Ahmed's excerpts. In line 3 the word 'think' is used to suggest the teaching technique the pupil felt might be appropriate to include pupils during lesson. He was talking within the concrete learning discourse. Concrete learning discourse recommends that pupils should learn with real objects to enable them understand the concepts more easily. While suggesting that his teacher can bring 'orange' to lesson, this pupil believed that pupils would feel included and learn better when they learn about concepts in tangible terms.

Another way they felt they can learn, according to the last discussant, is for the teachers to give them homework to do. Homework means that they will do the assignment in their various houses; not in the classroom. Assignment will probably give them space to engage in independent studies and keep them busy at home. The pupils may do some rudimentary inquiries to discover new ideas and demonstrate certain level of originality in the tasks. It will motivate them to take risk in the work and to achieve.

Mode of discipline

Whenever the teachers were teaching, they held a long cane in their hands. Although teachers sometimes used the cane as pointer to draw attention of pupils to certain concepts on the board during lessons, they utilise it mostly for punitive measures. For

example, in primary 5C, some children were called by the teacher to solve one mathematical sum on the board. The task was to solve subtraction of three digit numbers under place value: hundreds, tens and units. One girl walked to the board and solved the sum wrongly. The teacher used a cane and flogged her hands.

The primary 5B teacher was marking pupils' notebooks. Some pupils were discussing among themselves. The teacher instructed the class representative to list the names of children that were talking. She produced the list for the teacher and he caned the victims. However, in primary 5A, the teacher asked pupils to read a passage in their English textbook. Some of the boys and girls did not read well. The teacher frowned and ordered them to kneel down on the floor. During my conversations with participants regarding pupil voice and school attendance, two of them, however, digressed to express their views about pupil experience of discipline in the school as follows:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. Why is it so?

Umu (*a girl*): Uncle, because if they (pupils) say and they have a mistake they (teachers) will flog them. Because they are afraid, let them (teachers) not beat them if they make a mistake.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are there other pupils who do not come to school too?

Ebie: Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Ebie: Martin and Okon (also a boy) did not come to school that day because our teacher beat them. They did not do their home work and our teacher beat them.

These views suggest that pupils suffer corporal punishment even when they ask questions and commit errors. The term ‘if’ used in line 3 is not merely a conditional word, but to imply the reluctance pupils feel to talk during lesson. The understanding from that expression is that pupils would like to talk and make contributions when lesson is on-going to enable them learn better. Sadly, they felt held back for fear that they could make ‘a mistake’ (line 4) and get beaten for it. Teachers tend to see it as an offence for pupils to make wrong inputs during lesson and when that happens, the teacher ‘flog them’ (line 3). And you can see in line 10, that some pupils: Martin and Okon, were unhappy with the practice and, thus opposed to the application of corporal punishment on them. The refusal of these boys to come to school was a consequence of their protests. Perhaps, it was for the same reason they felt discouraged or declined ‘to do their homework’ as indicated in line 10. Still, the teacher ‘beat them’ for not doing their homework. Teachers used the cane dominantly to ‘enforce’ discipline on any behaviour they considered as being prohibitive and command respect from the pupils, and that makes some of them to partly participate in school programmes.

Two participants, however, recommended one measure that could address the barrier:

Umu:	Uncle, I don't want our teacher to flog us when we he talk something wrong (we make mistakes) when is teaching.
Obi:	I don't want uncle to, to beat us.

Some of the pupils were actually unhappy with the application of this method due to the bodily injuries and psychological effects it leaves on victims. Perhaps, they realised that corporal punishment was rather unsupportive to the effect that it made

some pupils to feel scared to participate in lesson and sometimes cause them to stay away from school and would want it abolished.

Writing skills

Pupils also did some classroom assignments using their notebooks. These tasks were taken either from the subject they had just learned or their text books. Each of them was allowed 20 - 30 minutes to complete the work. Slow writers hardly had extra time to finish their work. Due to that situation, the children rushed to complete their work. Upon completion, they submitted their notebooks to the teachers to mark. When the time stipulated expired the teachers started asking them to pass their books. Pupils who had used all the time allowed still had to pass their books regardless of whether they have finished writing. Teachers felt unhappy when any child expressed reluctance to submit his or her book. When that happens the teachers personally dragged the book away from the child/ren concerned or authorise the class prefects to do so. Some children have had their books unmarked because they could not submit their books at the time the teachers had specified. Pupils who secretly forwarded their books to be marked in defiance did so at the risk of having the book thrown away by teachers.

However, the children sometimes did also homework. Homework was an academic task, which the pupils did at their homes. Completed homework was handed in to the teachers on the next school day. Those children who were slow to complete their homework suffered a similar fate like the situation with the class assignments. Other classroom activities required pupils to answer teachers' questions mostly during lessons. In this case, the children produced verbal feedback to questions. Some pupils encountered challenges to say or write the answers in a way that was acceptable. I

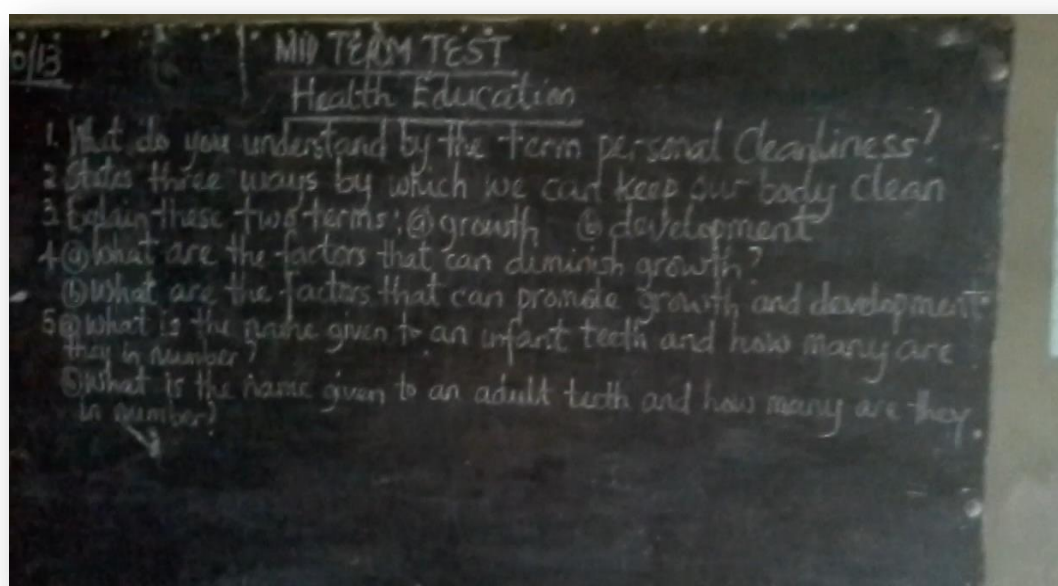
found these sentences in the English notebook of a male participant in 5B. The lesson was Dictation. He wrote:

Aminat a tiwn brother. The want to ahive. A comment in red ink was also written on the book of this boy. It reads: 'Is this English or French?'

A remark in red ink was seen on the class assignment of a female participant in primary 5C on Reading. It read:

'it seems you don't understand the assignment' (Pupils' note books: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Such uncomplimentary remarks, which perhaps teachers make on pupils' books, might weaken their morale to learn at school. Some pupils could regard these negative reports about their performances as also intended to ridicule them.



The blackboard showing mid-term test on Health Education. See timetable pasted beside the board to the right.

Pupil language

A male participant in primary 5A lent his dictionary to another boy. While handing over the book, he said to him:

‘my dictionary have tear. Please hold it well o’.

In primary 5B, a girl stood up to answer a question during lesson on Computer Studies. The teacher asked her to explain how a computer works. She said,

‘uncle, the computer is a electron thing wey dey [that] collect data ehm ehm ehm’. She placed her finger in her mouth and chewed the fingernail.

Also, in primary 5C, pupils did assignments and submitted their notebooks to the teacher to mark. After marking the assignments, the teacher gave the books to a girl and asked the pupil to distribute them to her classmates. One male participant complained that he had not been given his book. The teacher asked to know what had happened to the boy's book and the girl replied:

‘aunty, I have give him’. Her classmates laughed (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

While speaking with the participants, eight of them expressed views that provided further clue to the experience of pupils regarding the language they used as follows:

ME: I have noticed that when one pupil said something wrong everybody else will laugh and make fun of him or her. Does this happen quite often?

Kije: Yes

Aloka: No. No. . .

Tah: Yes

Mbua: (Paused) Yes

ME: Is it only this same pupil you make fun of?

Kije: It is the same pupils because they laugh at somebody (else) too.

Eyare: Yes. It's still the same pupil.

ME: Why is this happening?

Tah: Because they talk the wrong thing. Like when

- they want to spell 'happiness', they will spell h-a-p-p-y. That one is 'happy'. Then they did not put h-a-double 'p'-i-n-e-double 's'. That one is 'happiness'.
- Aloka: . . . if they make mistakes we will laugh.
Sometimes we used to correct them.
- Ebie: (Paused) . . . we will correct them before we
We laugh at them (because) we want them to
(pay)attention and want them to be clever.
- Ojuare: Other pupils make fun and say something
(other pupils make fun) because (what they say)
is funny.
- Umu: Other pupils in the classroom will make fun when
they say something wrong too . . .
- Obi: Because they know pass them.
(Because they are more intelligent than them -
their classmates, who have said something
wrong).

Based on these views, it seems some children used jokes to ridicule particular peers who commit errors in communication in English. While some pupils derived fun from the situation, the reaction from others was to retaliate derisively against classmates who have behaved in a similar way towards them in the past. From Aloka's excerpts, even when some of the children assisted the victims to improve on their communication skills, they did so in a disparaging manner. The intention is not actually to support their classmates to learn better, but to use them as objects of caricature. Pupils appeared to regard peers who were not adept English users as being illiterate and unintelligent.

But, four participants gave some suggestions to address poor communication to facilitate learning, thus:

- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change
one thing in your school you would change the
way you read your books. Why will you do that?
- Mbua: [It] help me read my books correctly [well].
Hmmm our teacher don't always tell me to come
and read. He always tell me you cannot read.
That's why I said I will read my books correctly.

- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?
- Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?
- Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].
- Umu: Uncle, so that I will learn how to read and write (in English) in school and I can do very well. I can read very well; it's only writing that I cannot write very well.

These pupils feel improvement in reading and writing skills in English might assist them to improve on their learning. One of the pupils even indicated in lines 3-4 that her teacher formed a negative impression about her reading skills. She ‘always’ felt ignored because the teacher felt she ‘cannot read’. By implication, her teacher ‘always’ made her to stay passively in the classroom when other pupils were taking part in the lesson on reading. She was inspired to become an active reader to improve her reading skills because she felt challenged by the way her teacher used to snub her and perhaps underestimate her reading competences. Moreover, because examinations, largely written in English, are used to determine progress of pupils at school, other pupils decided to pay more attention to the teacher at lesson and to enhance their literacy skills to be able to perform well in the examinations so that they do not fail and repeat grades. Understandably, inability to read and write may cause them to fail examination and repeat grades.

School levies

Both the ministry and school seemed to impose dues on pupils and expected compliance. These included school fees, handicrafts, examination fees, toilet tissues and foolscaps. By conversion, these items are valued at about £5.00. I learned from the teachers that the school usually allow children until the end of the semester to make payments or settle the debts. Pupils collected money from their carers to pay for these school charges. On some occasions their parents come to the school to pay on their behalf. Teachers were directed by the headmistress to keep record of pupils who had complied with the requirement. Towards the approach of semester examination, she instructed teachers to sanction any learners who owed or were yet to complete settling all charges. Once, one of the male teachers entered every classroom holding a note book and was calling names of pupils. As he did that the pupils stood up. Later, he told them to pack their books and go home because they had not paid some levies. I felt unhappy to see that happen because the children would miss lessons for that day. The affected pupils were not happy either. Some of them were frowning and grumbling. Others walked slowly to illustrate reluctance to go home. It was during this incidence that I confirmed pupils were subjected to paying levies at school. In my discussions with participants about pupils' attendance at school, five of them went further to tell me about pupils' experience concerning school fees:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils?
- Aloka: (Cuts in) it's because of school fees . . .
- Kije: Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too
- Ahmed: Yes, there other pupils who do not come to school too.
- Umu: It's only them.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Kije: Like Obi and Umu . . .

Ahmed: Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school

ME: Why is it so?

Kije: Uncle, it's because of school fees.

Ahmed: Because they don't like to come to school every day,. . . because they (teachers) send (them) home to get their school fees.

Tah: Because they did not pay their school fees.

Umu: Uncle, whether it's school fees.

Eyare: It happens with only them because of their school fees.

In lines 3, 11, 12 13, 14 and 15 the pupils were speaking around the school fees discourse. It is a discourse that emphasises the imposition of certain school charges on school children. The pupil interjected in line 4 suggesting to me that school fees were a common factor that prevented pupils from being present and learning at school. And Obi and Umu were the two pupils mentioned in lines 9 and 10, as not having regular attendance at school because teachers sent them 'home' from school to get 'their school fees' and that somewhat supported my argument in that respect. However, for using the word 'whether' in line 14, the pupil was rather evasive in her opinion on the issue. May be, she felt it would be an embarrassment to her to say it in clear terms because she was probably aware she was one of the children affected by the practice. Without doubts, these children were partly participating in lessons because teachers sometimes prevented them from attending school on account of their indebtedness. It provides an insight about other pupils who probably suffered similar fate at school.

Family pressure

However, Obi, one of the participants, looked at the issue of pupil attendance at school from the perspective of parental influence:

Obi: Whether their mother went to farm and has a baby. She tells them to stay at home and tell them to take care of the baby.

Initially, Obi talked with some level of uncertainty when he used the word ‘whether’ to say how mothers sometimes prevented their children from attending school regularly. However, he later sounded more confident to mention that some children stayed away from school because their ‘mother’ instructed them to stay at home to take care of their younger sibling while they go to farm. Assumedly, some parents entrust responsibility to their older children to care for their younger relations in their absence. Some pupils succumbed to such pressure from the family and perilously sacrifice their studies to serve the needs of their family members and to also assist parents perform domestic duties.

Pupil identity

Almost all *Hausa/Fulani* girls from Islamic backgrounds had woven or plaited hairstyles at school. The school may have granted them permission to do so. Apart from the religious angle of it, hairdos appear to be a mark of female identity within traditions of the children's tribes. They wore hijabs on their heads on their way to school. As soon they have the school in their sight, they removed these veils and hid them inside their school bags before entering the school's compound. It seems they were, however, not allowed to use hijabs. On the other hand, unlike the *Hausa/Fulani* girls, females from other tribes and from Christian backgrounds neither wore hairstyles nor use veils. The school seemed to have outlawed hairstyles among them. So they always have low haircuts while at school. As with the Christian

girls, the boys from across these religions also had low haircuts. None of them barbed their hair in any fashionable way. In addition, all pupils, irrespective of background, were banned from using any jewellery at school.

Pupil mobility

Another participant examined the issue from the standpoint of commuting to school:

Mbua: Yes, there are other pupils in my classroom who don't come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Mbua: Uncle, some days, Gedina (a girl) don't used to come to school. Sometimes she will be coming late to school and she used to say that her house is far.

Clearly, Gedina could not go to school for some days because her house was far away from her school. It was for a similar problem that she came to school late. Perhaps, the girl walked to school. Due to these factors, she was unable to have adequate participation at lessons compared to her peers. The example of Gedina might be representative of other children who are not really taking part in school activities because there are no alternative measures to facilitate the way they commute between their homes and school.

Ahmed, however, provided a suggestion to solve the problem, thus:

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would buy a school bus. Why will you do that?

Ahmed: (Paused) because I want big aunty to buy a bus . . . to drive somebody (pupils) to school and Basarawa. Because. Pupils school bus there is no used to walk to school.

‘Big aunty’, in the opinion of this pupil seems to mean headmistress. His understanding of is that the headmistress, as symbol of the school management, needs to buy a school bus. Also, his reference to ‘*Basarawa*’ signifies ‘home’. Apart from him, there seems to be other pupils who lived in *Basarawa*. Presumably, the school does not have a bus. Provision of a school bus may therefore enable pupils, like Gedina, to commute the school and their homes much easily and to arrive early at school, preventing them from missing lessons. Besides, when they are being transported in the bus, they might also be protected from kidnappers, predators, scorching sun and rainfall. More so, they might feel valued to travel in the school bus to their homes and school.

Pupil interaction

Inside the classroom, some children moved to their peers to make certain enquiries on issues of concern. Others sometimes did so while carrying their (text or note) books in their hands. They approached classmates, probably called the person’s name, and then asked a question. Some of the colleagues being approached for help obliged the enquirer/s by helping them solve the problems. For instance, in primary 5A, the pupils read their English textbooks. Three of the female research participants could not pronounce the word ‘astonished’ correctly. One of the girls suggested they ask other colleagues to help them. She asked saying: ‘Paul, please read this word for me, a-s-t-o-n-i-s-h-e-d’. The colleague read the word for her. Later, she said to self, ‘what does this word mean?’ Another female classmate volunteered and said, ‘it means surprised’. She looked at the colleague who had helped her and smiled. A girl in primary 5B, did not come to school for three days due to sickness. She later came to school when she eventually got well. On this very day, the teacher gave a class assignment on Agricultural Science. She met with a female peer to explain to her the

lessons they had learnt on the subject on the days she was not in school. The colleague taught her and she completed the tasks. Pupils in primary 5C were having a lesson on Mathematics. The teacher asked them a question, saying: 'when we add 2 to 3, what will be the answer?'

As the pupils thought about the answer, one boy and girl whispered some ideas about the question to each other. After that, the boy shouted to say the answer, saying, 'aunty, it's 5' (Field notes: Kenwa primary school, 2013).

Apart from these cases of teamwork, close interactions between pupils and their teachers in the school were virtually non-existent. Ordinarily, pupils hardly have face-to-face contacts with their teachers except during lessons. If they must do so then it has to be based on a learner – teacher basis. They saw teachers as being socially far away from them and, sometimes, unapproachable. Even among the learners, some pupils seemed to have created a red line barring some peers from socialising closely with them. One of which is the gender discrimination mentioned earlier. In addition, some of Obi's classmates used to refuse to sit with him in the classroom. One boy, however, actually sat with him, but kept some distance in between them. Whenever Obi said something his peers laughed at him.

Pupils had their break at 10:00am local time. On the playground some boys and girls ran all over the place chasing one another. Others kicked an empty plastic bottle around the open field as it is done in the game of soccer. Every one of them pushed and pulled each other so as to get to the bottle first. They laughed, screamed, and shouted each other's name in excitement during the activity. They used English to communicate with each other. Although Obi also took part in the game, other children were subtly avoiding him. You need to read their body language carefully to be able to notice to it. Forty minutes later break ended and they all moved back into their classrooms to continue learning for the remainder of the day. When I

interviewed participants to get their views about their participation at playtime, one of them provided a response regarding their experience, particularly, with Obi:

ME: During play time I have seen that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say there are such children from your classroom?

Kije: . . . (paused) It's because when their friends want to play with them, when they cannot play fine their friends will say they should not play with them again. So they will play on their own.

ME: You said some pupils cannot play fine and your friends will say you should not play with them again. How do you mean?

Kije: Uncle, ehn Obi don't used to play well. He will pouring saliva when we are playing with him and he used to behave stupid stupid. He don't even know something (he is unintelligent). We don't used to like it.

From lines 7-9, he spoke within the medical constructionist stance that perceives pupils with impairments as having health conditions that impede their social and educational competences. Obi's peer detested to play with him because he was spitting, and his classmate regarded that as a 'stupid' behaviour. In addition, his other colleagues discriminated against him because they viewed him as being unintelligent. This indicates the way pupils categorise some of their peers as behaving in inappropriate and unacceptable way at play. According to Kije, other pupils excluded their peers from their playgroup because 'they cannot play fine'.

The exclamation in line 7 is used to narrow attention to Obi. The use of the phrase 'pouring saliva' (line 8) emblematises disease, implying that Obi was suffering from a disease. Further to that, he used the word 'stupid' twice in line 8 in reference to Obi's behaviour to actually highlight that Obi did not use to 'play well' at play time due to his diseased body. Also, Obi does not 'know something' due to his

abnormalities. 'We' is a plural pronoun and Kije used it to refer to self and other typical children in the school. What that means is that he and the other children do not 'like' to play with Obi because he was portraying some behaviour, which perhaps is out of the accepted norm at school. The school and children now felt that Obi's current state of health, unlike his pre-impairment state, was threatening to the welfare of his colleagues as well as the standard of education of the school. Probably, that is why the school placed him in primary 5C to learn with pupils with seemingly like abilities. It is for a similar reason other children were distancing themselves from relating with him.

Speaking further on pupil participation in interaction, eight participants stated:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Ahmed: | Yes |
| Tah: | They are from primary 2 |
| Mbua: | Some (of them) come from my classroom and some are not from my classroom. |
| Obi: | Yes |
| Ojuare: | No. They are not from our classroom. Our classroom is only playing alone with our classroom or our classmates |
| Eyare: | Yes |
| ME: | Why do you think they have no one to play with? |
| Obi: | Me I dey like to play with Francis [I like to play with Francis]. |
| Ahmed: | Because they are in primary 2. That's why we don't want them to play with us. |
| Aloka: | No. Because my classmates used to say that we should not play with them. . . |
| Mbua: | Uncle, I have some (friends), but not all the children. |
| Ebie: | We are not their classmates. That's why. It's our classmates that said we should not play with them. Let us play with only ourselves. |
| Eyare: | It is because they don't want to join us (to play). They want to play with another pupils because they don't like how we are laughing at them. |

Pupils also segregated one another in interaction on account of seniority in years of study at school and differences in classrooms. It indicates a replication of adult-child relationship following the teacher-pupil pattern of interaction. On the playground, they socialised mostly based on the sameness in classrooms. Even at that, there was also discrimination within group as members had selected friends within particular classrooms with whom they played and they did so to prevent being ridiculed by other children. A wider demarcation, however, occurred in the relationships between the typical children and Obi. Obi's explanation that he had just one playmate – Francis - at school tends to confirm the refusal of other children to accept him into their friendship groups due to his perceived disability status.

Aggression

Either in the classroom or on the playground, some of the pupils complained and accused one another for behaving in an offensive manner. In some cases, they went to their teachers to make reports about their classmates' offensive behaviour towards them. There was a boy in primary 5B who used to push, trip and make some unfriendly gestures at his classmates. He also attacked some of them verbally.

Another boy coughed in the classroom on one occasion during lesson. The bully said to him, 'that cough that you are coughing, ehem ehem ehem' (Field notes, Kenwa primary school, 2013).

During interview with some participants to ascertain why they will not like to work with some of their peers to execute school projects, seven of them replied:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| ME: | Why would you not like to walk with the other pupils you have written on your paper? |
| Kije: | Because they always do something (i.e behave) like they are the seniors. When we are sweeping in the [in the classroom] they will be insulting [pupils]. They will say (demonstrating with the finger) 'you do this, you do that'. [But] they [themselves] will not do it. They will always |

stand one place [doing nothing].

Ahmed: Because Israel wants to fight with me.
Mfonobong used to carry cane and flog me while
Ruququayatu used to slap me.

Tah: Queen, because when I talk anything [she] will
go and tell our uncle (the male teacher) or our
aunty (the female teacher) or Aloka and they
(teachers and pupil) will flog me. Nura, that day I
hit his belly and I said sorry. He went and told
Aloka and she flogged me. Edor, because,
because, because, he used to, he used to . . .
carried cane. When he carried cane he'll flog
other pupils and he is not the class prev[f]ect.

Ebie: Buki is a trouble- maker. Eshua wanted to beat us
when uncle was not around. Friday. . . . Friday is
a troublemaker.

These perspectives suggest that some pupils in this school were bossy, aggressive, saucy or vengeful towards other peers. Others take their classmates' properties without consent. Non-offenders were sometimes beaten by the teacher perhaps because the aggressor/s had made a false allegation to the teacher against them. As a result, some pupils decided to be unfriendly with some classmates whom they regarded as exhibiting behaviours that were offensive to them.

In line 4-5 you see that some pupils humiliated their weaker peers, commanding them to clean up the classroom without themselves taking part in the activity. On the other hand, in lines 8, Aloka is illustrated as the class representative and the pupil who was given the authority to 'flog' other pupils when they go wrong in the classroom. It is not clear who permitted her to beat her peers. I will assume the teacher authorised her to punish her colleagues when they violate a rule in the classroom. And she did so to assist her teacher and to exercise power. Aloka's excerpt confirmed that she was actually the class representative. Also, it established the fact that she used to 'beat' her peers to force them to stay quiet and calm in the classroom. Edor is particularly mentioned in lines 11 as another bully who used the

‘cane’ to hit his colleagues. One of them, Tah, was unhappy about the situation and saw the actions as occurring in clear breach of the law because Edor was not the class ‘prev[f]ect’ (a responsible authority) (line 12) to apply corporal punishment on other pupils. It shows that both boys and girls were bullying their peers making them to survive in hostile environment at school and constraining them to interact.

School toilet

One water cistern toilet mentioned previously was located on a slope behind the nursery classroom. It had a rough wooden door and floor. Two persons could use it at the same time. So when one child is in the toilet another pupil would wait for the user to finish, or s/he could urinate at any hidden corner within the school compound. Girls appeared to experience some difficulties and embarrassment to use a dirty toilet or squat within the compound to excrete, sometimes in the full glare of the public.

Except for urine, pupils, regardless of the circumstance, had to defecate inside the toilet. The school management perhaps felt that dumping excreta indiscriminately outside the toilet posed more disturbing images compared to the urine. You need to pour water into the toilet from a bucket to be able to flush it. A female cleaner cleaned it from Monday to Friday after close of school with water she bought from a private borehole located near the school.



Front view of the school toilet with a wooden door located behind the Nursery classroom block.

Nevertheless, three participants suggested ways to fix some school resources to support their education:

- ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the playground. Why will you do that?
- Obi: . . . (stuttering) I - i -i -i don't like it. The place [is] very rough. . . . Rough playground is not good for me to play. I can wound myself there.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would paint the classroom Why will you do that?
- Ojuare: Because the school wants help. So that when visitors come into the class they will see how the class is beautiful.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the chairs and tables. Why will you do that?
- Kije: Ehn! Yes. Uncle, it's because the chairs, they (his classmates) always write something on [them]. I want the classroom to be nice.

Like the toilet, these pupils are unhappy with the poor conditions of their playground, classrooms and classroom equipment. In an emotion filled response, Obi felt restricted to play at school, especially during break, due to the poor condition of the playing arena and the risks it poses to health. Like Obi, the other children were probably not happy with the poor state of their classrooms, the seats and tables, and perhaps not proud to talk to their friends about their school. So they wanted the equipment refurbished to beautify the classroom and playing area for them to look attractive to guests and be safe for pupils to use.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

School environment

Pupils' activities at school occurred in terms of learning and socialisation. Vast majority of pupils learning in the school were typical children. The undulating environment within the community and school compound unfortunately prevented some disabled children, such as pupils who use wheelchairs, from attending the school too. Even younger pupils in the nursery section appeared to experience some difficulties to access some classrooms, particularly; those sited in the valley as there were no ramps to facilitate free movement to those places. The lack of electricity inside the classrooms meant that the children, whether typical or disabled, could learn in darkness. Dark clouds resulting from the rain engulfed the whole environment including classrooms to impair the vision of some children at lessons. Unavailability of power supply is, by extension, linked to the absence of projectors in the classrooms as these equipment mostly work on electricity. In consequence, some pupils relied hugely on the extent to which teachers were able to verbally explain (hard) concepts to be able to learn well.

Teaching style and discipline

As seen above, classroom instructions were indeed reliant on traditional teaching methods allowing teachers to orchestrate almost all school activities, providing space for them to impose their ideas, values and beliefs on pupils and encouraging a one-directional flow of communication favouring the teachers more than pupils. Some examples are seen in primary 5A and 5B where the teachers commanded the girl and boy who wanted to make some comments during lessons to keep quiet. Furthermore, the technique appears not to recognise different ability levels of pupils. Instead, it offered advantages in learning to pupils with higher competences and disadvantages others. Higher performers among the pupils were seen to receive more attention and support from teachers to spur them to make more contributions, as the teacher permits, during lessons. Moreover, teachers assaulted pupils to force them to learn and to enforce order at lesson. Drawing from pupil's experience, pupils hardly talk at lesson unless they have received prior teacher permission. In spite of that, fast learners also tended to feel more inspired, compared to their colleagues, to complete assignments and pass examinations.

Promotion examination and grade repetition

Pupils were subjected to qualifying examinations at the end of the semester. This examination constituted the process for moving them from one year to the other starting from the when the person starts primary one until s/he gets to primary 6. In this classroom, they take another qualifying test called common entrance examination to be able to complete primary education. Every pupil was expected to pass these examinations to be eligible to progress to a higher classroom or secondary school. See tables below for further details:

Pupils who progressed to primary 6 and sat for the common entrance examination in the classroom in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		36	42.86
		Boys		66.67
		Girls	17	20.24
				33.33
	Ibibio	Boys	5	5.95
		Girls		76.47
	Hausa/Fulani		5	5.95
		Boys		80.00
		Girl	5	5.95
				20.00
Gender	Igbo	Boys	3	3.57
		Girls		60.00
	Ekoi	Boy	3	3.57
		Girls		66.67
Religion	Muslims	5		5.95
	Christians	61		72.62
Gender	Males	44		52.38
	Females	22		26.19
Final total number of pupils			66	78.57

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table 5.3 illustrates that among the 84 pupils who had places to start primary one in the 2006/2007 academic session as earlier shown, 66 of them progressed via promotion examinations to primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year. You can see from this table that pupils from *Efik* and *Ibibio* outnumbered their peers from *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. Also, females as well as Islamic pupils were trailing their male and Christian counterparts respectively. There was no data to indicate whether there were any children with special educational needs among them and the linguistic backgrounds of the different identities of children.

Pupils who passed common entrance examination in primary 6 in 2013

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik	Boys	21	67.74
		Girls	10	32.26
	Ibibio	Boys	12	80.00
		Girls	3	20.00
	Hausa/Fulani	Boys	4	80.00
		Girl	1	20.00
	Igbo	Boys	2	40.00
		Girls	3	60.00
	Ekoi	Boy	1	33.33
		Girls	2	66.67
Religion	Muslims	5		5.95
	Christians	54		64.29
Gender	Males	40		47.62
	Females	19		22.62
Final total number of pupils			59	70.24

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table signifies that out of the 66 pupils that wrote the common entrance, 59 of them passed. Still, pupils from *Efik* and *Ibibio* outnumbered colleagues from the *Hausa/Fulani*, *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. Similarly, the males and Christians were more than the females and Muslims respectively among these pupils. Again, there was no indication as to whether that number included pupils with special educational needs, and it also did not show the languages these pupils speak. Pupils who passed this common entrance examination were promoted to start secondary school education.

Pupils who failed common examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik	Boys	5	5.95
		Girls		60.00
	Ibibio		2	40.00
		Boy		2.38
		Girl		50.00
Religion		Christians	7	8.33
Gender		Males	4	4.76
		Females	3	3.57
Final total number of pupils			7	8.33

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data in table shows that five *Efik* and two *Ibibio* pupils out of 66 of them that sat for the common entrance examination failed the test. All of them were Christians. Boys were more than girls. These pupils were asked to repeat primary 6. It is not clear, however, whether any of the pupils had special educational needs and it is also unclear as to the language the pupils speak. These pupils were asked to repeat primary 6.

Pupils missing in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		4	4.76
		Boys	3	75.00
		Girl	1	25.00
	Ibibio		6	7.14
		Boys	6	100.00
	Hausa/Fulani		5	5.95
		Boys	5	100.00
	Igbo		1	1.19
		Boy	1	100.00
Ekoi		2	2.38	
	Boys	2	100.00	
Religion		Muslims	5	5.95
		Christians	13	15.47
Gender		Males	17	20.23
		Female	1	1.19
Final total number of pupils			18	21.42

Sources: Compared and extracted from State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics* and Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table illustrates that 18 pupils did not progress along with their 66 colleagues to primary 6 out of the initial 84 pupils who were registered. Pupils from *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulani* and *Efik* were more than their peers from *Igbo* and *Ekoi* respectively. More so, boys were more than girls. Also, the Christians were more than Muslims among the pupils. These pupils, like others, may have repeated classrooms for failing examinations or withdrawn from the school. It is, however, unclear whether any of the children has special educational needs. Also, data did not indicate the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils. Impliedly, disadvantages in learning and achievement in

the school seem to be more among children from the settler tribes, girls and disabled children.

Pupils who progressed to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number		Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik			20	22.22
		Boys	14		70.00
		Girls	6		30.00
	Ibibio			10	11.11
		Boys	4		40.00
		Girls	6		60.00
	Hausa/Fulani			16	17.77
		Boys	9		56.25
		Girl	7		43.75
	Igbo			5	5.56
		Boys	3		60.00
		Girls	2		40.00
	Ekoi			11	12.22
		Boys	5		45.45
		Girls	6		54.55
Religion	Muslims		16	17.77	
	Christians		46	51.11	
Gender	Males		35	38.88	
	Females		27	30.00	
Final total number of pupils				62	68.88

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2012). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

As earlier shown in table above, 90 pupils had places to start primary one in the 2007/2008 academic year in the school. Now, data indicates that out of that number, 62 of them progressed having passed promotion examinations to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic session. Pupils from *Efik* were more in number. However, except for *Igbo*, there was fair representation of pupils from *Ibibio*, *Hausa/Fulani* and *Ekoi* respectively. Still, males were more than females, and Christians also outnumbered the Muslims among the pupils. It is not clear whether there were any

children with special educational needs. Besides, data did not indicate the language the pupils speak.

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		9	10.00
		Boys	7	77.78
	Ibibio	Girls	2	22.22
		Boys	2	100.00
	Hausa/Fulani		6	6.67
		Boys	5	83.33
	Igbo	Girl	1	16.67
		Boys	2	100.00
	Yoruba		9	10.00
		Boys	5	55.56
Religion		Girls	4	34.44
		Muslims	7	7.78
Gender		Christians	21	23.33
		Males	21	23.33
		Females	7	7.78
Final total number of pupils			28	31.11

Sources: Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007, 2012/2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Information in table indicates that 28 pupils were missing in primary 5 from the initial 90 who had places to start primary one in the school. Majority of them came from *Efik*, *Ibibio* and *Yoruba* respectively. Only a few of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois*. You can see that boys were more than girls and, in the same way, Christians outnumbered Muslims among the pupils. These pupils may have failed promotion examinations and repeated grades or withdrawn from the school. In spite of that, data did not show whether any of them has special educational needs and the language of the children. On the contrary, the number of boys compared to girls,

Christians compared to Muslims, suggest that children from the former backgrounds got more enlistments into the school than the latter.

While speaking with my participants about what they could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, two of them digressed to say something about examinations:

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change way one thing in your school you would change the you read your books. Why will you do that?

Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?

Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].

These pupils were talking within the position of an examination discourse. This discourse has to do with setting examination standards for pupils to attain to be able to earn promotion to a higher classroom or school. In order to pass these pupils have decided to 'pay attention' 'listen' to the teacher perhaps to learn well, 'read' and 'understand' their books. The understanding as seen from the statement: 'so that I can write my common entrance', is that to pass examination was an obligation, which the pupils must fulfil to be able to move to another year in the school or complete primary education. Inability of any of them to satisfy this academic requirement would amount to examination failure and grade repetition. This corroborates a similar issue, which occurred in the documentary analysis above.

Attendance registers indicate that pupils in primary 5 were distributed perhaps according to their performances in the promotion examinations into various classrooms in primary 5 as shown in the tables below:

Pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number		Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik			10	11.11
		Boys	8		80.00
		Girls	2		20.00
	Ibibio			4	4.44
		Boy	1		25.00
		Girls	3		75.00
	Igbo			4	4.44
		Boys	2		50.00
	Girls	2		50.00	
	Ekoi			1	1.11
		Boy	1		100.00
Religion		Christians		19	21.11
Gender		Males		12	13.32
		Females		7	7.78
Final total number of pupils				19	21.10

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register for primary 5A

Data on table shows that 19 pupils out of 62 who advanced to primary 5, were placed in primary 5A. *Efik* pupils outnumbered colleagues from the other existing tribes. All of them were Christians and a greater number of them were boys.

Pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		8	8.89
		Boys		62.50
		Girls		37.50
	Ibibio		6	6.67
		Boys		50.00
		Girls		50.00
	Hausa/Fulani		6	6.67
		Boys		66.67
		Girls		33.33
	Igbo		1	1.11
		Boy		100.00
Religion	Ekoi		2	2.22
		Girls		100.00
		Muslims	6	6.67
		Christians		18.89
	Gender	Males	13	14.45
		Females		11.11
	Final total number of pupils		23	25.56

Source: 2012/2103 class attendance register for primary 5B

Information on table illustrates that 23 pupils were placed in primary 5B. Now you can see that not only are pupils from other tribes including *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ibibios* found in this classroom, they also almost tie in number with their peers from *Efik*. *Igbo* and *Ekoi* pupils were, however, very small in number compared to the other tribes. Still, Christians were in the majority than Muslims and boys were also greater in number than girls. Data is silence regarding whether any of the pupils had special educational needs. In the same vein, there is no information to indicate the language of the children.

Pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Efik		2	2.22
		Boy		50.00
	Hausa/Fulani	Girl	10	50.00
		Boys		50.00
		Girls		50.00
				11.11
	Ekoi		8	8.89
		Boys		
		Girls		
Religion		Muslims	10	11.11
		Christians	10	11.11
Gender		Boys	10	11.11
		Girls	10	11.11
Total number of pupils			20	22.22

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register for primary 5C

Data on table demonstrates that 20 pupils were placed in primary 5C. Greater number of them were *Hausa/Fulanis* and *Ekois* respectively with very few of them from *Efik*. You can notice parity in the number of Christians and Muslims as well as boys and girls in this classroom. Still, it is not shown whether any of the children has special educational needs and the linguistic backgrounds of the pupils. However, the placement of Obi's in this classroom hints to the negative attitudes of some teachers towards disability. It also explains why data could not say whether any other children with special educational needs were also present in the school. More so, the representation of pupils from the settler tribes and native *Efik* in this classroom points to the argument on native-settler conflict in the community. And no *Yoruba* pupil is seen again across the three classrooms. It is unclear whether they repeated grades, withdrew or dropped out from school somewhere along the line. Either ways, it is

apparent these pupils did not progress with peers from the other tribes to primary 5 in this school.

Aside from that, the equivalence in the number of boys and girls and pupils from Christian and Muslim religions in table 5.11 suggest that most of the children in primary 5C were girls and Muslim pupils. It shows the way the school appears to replicate inequalities between males and females as well as Christians and Muslims. This could explain why girls were under-represented in school placements and Muslim pupils were denied the opportunity to learn Arabic like their Christian peers. And like Obi, the placement of these pupils in primary 5C seems to demonstrate the way the disadvantages they face is resulting in their underachievement. However, the aspect that concerns the language of pupils is also not captured in data probably because English, and sometimes *Efik*, are used as the media of instruction and communication among pupils and teachers.

Poor communication skills

Difficulties experienced by some children to communicate in English inhibit their expression of ideas and supply of correct answer at lessons. This explains the reason some of them could not do their English assignments correctly as seen above. Also, it has connection to the situation where the girl was unable to correctly explain to her teacher the way a computer works during lesson. Although teachers sometimes also used *Efik* to explain some concepts to enable some pupils learn well, they, however, appear not to re-commit their skills to including pupils at other times. Evidence involves the case above where teachers threw away some pupils' books and refused to assess their work for failing to complete their assignments late.

School fees

Pupils who were able to pay school fees had better chances to learn and achieve unlike their peers. As mentioned earlier, the practice whereby teachers were given the authority to send some pupils home, especially, towards the end of the semester for failure to pay fees prevented the victims from participating fully in lessons and social activities at school. Because examinations were taken at the end of the semester, some of these pupils seem not to have the prospect to participate in revisions and prepare adequately for the test. It is likely some of them do not take the exams at all as they may not have the money still to pay fees as required. The situation provides a clue that affected children are likely to fail examinations or drop out of school in the circumstance.

Pupil interaction

Patterns of interactions between pupils and their teachers and among pupils suggest segregatory structures. Bossy dispositions by some teachers seem to keep them far away from associating well with their pupils. Even class representatives do not seem to have the advantaged privilege to interact with teachers because, basically, their leadership role only enabled them to assist teachers as errand boys or girls. And that tends to prevent the children from approaching the teachers and receiving needed support to complement learning and facilitate academic achievements.

On the flipside of it, although there seems to be a few collaborations among some pupils as seen in the case of the pupils who were trying to pronounce the word ‘astonished’ in the English lesson; those who shared thoughts at the Mathematics lesson and the girl who was assisted by her colleague to complete the task on Agricultural Science, a considerable number of pupils across backgrounds, however, appear not to have their social needs fully met. Relationships among pupils illustrate

discriminations occurring among them on the basis of gender, year of study, disability and aggression. While some pupil sometimes avoided cross gender interaction, friendships with younger children in lower classrooms and bullies, a worse scenario, however, occurred to the child with disabilities. This is being exemplified by the boy who created a wide gap on the bench while sitting on it with Obi, and the pupil who said some pupils refused to interact with Obi at playtime because, according to him, Obi behaved in a 'stupid' way and also 'pours saliva'.

SUMMARY

Inclusion of pupils seems to concentrate on presence of mostly typical children in this school without much consideration as to the way they learn and achieve from it. Across the various tribes, boys outnumbered the girls in school enrolment. Also, children from *Efik* and sometimes *Ibibio* who are linked to Christianity were over-represented in school placement compared to their existing counterparts. Furthermore, the school seemed not to recognise the ethno-religious practices of some pupils by banning Muslims from learning Arabic and using hijab, and preventing Christians from making hairstyles at school.

Nevertheless, the use of didactic teaching methods made some pupils to be passive at lessons. At such lessons teachers used the cane to enforce law and order in the classroom, creating fear in some children, thus making them to attend school irregularly. As progress of children at school was examination based, traditional teaching methods do not seem to help them develop adequate literacy skills to be able to write and pass these tests. Besides, classrooms lacked ramps and electricity with negative effects on accessibility and vision making some pupils vulnerable to exclusion. A considerable number of pupils affected tended to spend more years in school and, in consequence, some of them seemed to drop out of school. Following

this situation, some pupils were unable to complete primary education the same time with their peers. More so, because some of the pupils were unable to pay school fees, teachers prevented them from attending school and taking part in lessons. Some parents are also seen to keep their children at home to perform domestic duties, thus contributing to their exclusion at school.

Some of these issues appear to systematically shut the school door against disabled children. The only child with impairments who had the privilege to learn there was facing discrimination from peers and school. The children also exhibited this prejudice towards their peers whom they regarded as being aggressive. Likewise, variations in gender tended to inhibit cross gender relationships between boys and girls. Pupils also developed the habit of ridiculing their peers whenever they make mistakes in spoken English during lessons. Apart from that, a gap is seen indicating that teachers were careful not to have close relationship with the children in order not to compromise their respect and authority. However, almost all of them walked to and from school daily, making them feel worried about their education. Disadvantages in education of children in the school are in relation to their tribes, religion, language, gender and disability.

Faced with these challenges, the children had virtually no opportunity to voice their concerns and let their voices to be heard. It was a kind of an authoritarian schooling system in which teachers had overbearing personalities on pupils, regarding them as persons who have yet to develop requisite competences to think for selves. For that reason, they were also denied the chance to engage in debates and discussions among themselves regarding the way school services are impacting on their school life.

When I interviewed some of them, they made some suggestions to help the school rethink its practices on inclusion. Consequently, they recommended the application of interactive pedagogy to actively engage them and respond to their needs at lessons. Also, they called for the abolition of corporal punishment in school to be able to learn in an environment that is free of hostility and fear. Talking on communication skills, the pupils requested the school to develop interventions that can assist them improve on their reading and writing skills to be able to meet academic requirements. Also, pupils want to see improvements in school aesthetics, including refurbishment of the playground and classroom equipment. Additionally, they will also be happy to have a school bus to use and save the time and energy they spend walking to and from school.

EDOR AGOM PRIMARY SCHOOL

THE SCHOOL CONTEXT

Edor Agom primary school is sited in *Basarawa*, a settler rural community located outside Calabar Municipality. Reaching approximately 41 kilometres north of the city, turn right onto an earth road that passes through a rubber farm estate. Move further inside until the bushy path disappears and then descend into a valley. On the right of this valley is deep gully erosion. *Basarawa* is at the end of this road after the valley. On approach of the village is the *Basarawa* livestock market where some residents sell cattle, goat and fowls.

Vast majority of the people are *Hausa/Fulani* Muslims who lead a sedentary nomadic lifestyle. However, like the first case study, the *Efiks* also defined themselves as landlords of *Basarawa* community. Around the neighbourhoods lived the *Igbos*, *Ekois*, *Ibibios* and *Efik* co-existing with the one another including members of the Hausa/Fulani tribe. Members of the former tribes were largely Christians perhaps because *Basarawa* is located in a dominant Christian southeast of Nigeria. Members of the community speak local languages associated with their particular tribes. English and Pidgin English are, nevertheless, the dominant means of communication in the community due to some reasons mentioned in *Kenwa* primary school.

Education, like the practice in *Esueya*, is given to boys and girls in consonance to the social roles of the children. Boys were trained to become breadwinners of the family and girls learned domestic duties probably to function in subservient positions to the boys. It gives a clue that disabled children receive very little education presumably because of negative perceptions at home and within the community towards them.

Edor Agom, founded by state government in 1987 as a mainstream public school, is standing by the side of the community road, about 100 yards from the livestock market. It is located in a central and populated area surrounded by houses and shops. A mosque is standing east of the school.



The school road from *Basarawa* livestock market showing some community members, houses, shops, and motor vehicles owned by some villagers, Some pupils in school uniforms walking to school.

On getting to the school, there is a school gate and fence painted brownish red and cream. The fence encircled the school compound. Another gate is situated near the mosque. Inside, there is a bare playground, the administrative block accommodating the head teacher's, deputy head teacher's offices and meeting hall. Head teachers use their offices to keep school records and hold meetings with staff and visitors.

Placed on the wall of the administrative building is the school's signpost. An emblem reflecting the colours of one organisation is placed under this signboard. Black characters were inscribed underneath the symbol to read: *Golando* 'Adopt-A-School'. *Golando* is an oil company that seemed to adopt the school under its

corporate social responsibility (CSR) policy to supply it with classroom equipment, renovate the school facilities and provide school records approved by government.



Some pupils sweeping parts of the bare school compound in the morning.

Edor Agom had seven buildings. The building standing right of the head teacher's office housed primary 6 classrooms and the one opposite primary 6 block, to the left of the administrative office, accommodated primary 5 and parts of primary 2 classrooms. The other building sitting directly opposite the administrative block belonged to Nursery and primary 1 classrooms. At the back of primary 6 building is the primary 3 classroom block. Located behind the primary 5 and 2 block was another building that accommodated parts of primary 1 and primary 2 classrooms. Also, standing behind the Nursery block is the school toilet and store. Virtually, all the buildings had steps constructed at the entrance. A strip of grass land stretched from the toilet round to the back of primary 3 building to meet the bare ground at the second and first gates. There was no flowers and recreational equipment in the school.



The second school gate. See the mosque standing behind the brown truck.

However, the first four buildings mentioned earlier formed a square space at the middle. Pupils called this place chapel. The Nigerian and Cross River State flags were hoisted at the chapel.

Both office and classroom were constructed in cement concretes and roofed with corrugated iron zinc. Like the fence and gate, the buildings were painted brownish red and creamy except the store that had blue and white paints. It is unclear why the store had a different paint from other buildings. Ceilings, iron doors and windows were fitted to these buildings. But, there was no electricity, ramps and projectors in the school. While interviewing participants about the location of the school, all of them stated thus:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| ME: | I have noticed that these school is built within <i>Hausa/Fulani</i> community. Why is it so? |
| Odey (<i>albino boy</i>): | Because there was no primary school here in this Hausa [community]. |
| Alhaji (<i>a boy</i>): | . . . I am hearing that it is Hausa school, only Hausa [children]. |
| Abrama (<i>a girl</i>): | So that children for Basarawa mek dey come <i>makaranta</i> (school). |

- Ekwo (*a boy*): Yes. It's Hausas that have the school because this is their community.
- Olom (*a boy*): Ehen! I said that government built the school here in Basarawa so that all children, like those Hausa, can go to school. So that the pupils will not be staying in their houses and they will not be following cow to the bush every time.
- Akon (*a girl*): Because this is ehm er Hausa school. This is their side [Hausa settlement] that is why they [government] built the school here. So that we may study here.
- Mairo (*a girl*): So that they [government] will help us the pupils to learn.
- Abu (*a boy*): They [government] just build it [the school] because of the Muslims.
- Enie (*a girl*): So that small children, big children can go to school. These children are Igbos and Hausas and Efik pupils.
- Amina (*a girl*): (Paused) Because of . . . (sighs). Because of the poor that have no money to send their children to . . . school.

Views from these pupils suggest that, initially, there was no primary school in *Basarawa*. Due to that, *Edor Agom* primary school was later established in order to enable children, especially, *Hausa/Fulani*s, receive formal education and close the gap in primary education among children in the area. In line 8, the word 'yes' appears to support this argument. Speaking in lines 7, 11, 13, and 14 the pupils clarified that it is the 'government' that built the school. And the understanding in line 10 is that the government sited the school near the *Hausa/Fulani* pupils to discourage them from staying at home and herding 'cows' and rather embrace schooling. That is why the pupil exclaimed 'ehen!' in line 9 to accentuate his position. In contrast, the exclamations of the pupils in lines 13 and 20 occurred to enable them process their thoughts and express their views. Nevertheless, in addition to the *Hausa/Fulani* children, the pupils also stated that their peers who are 'Muslims' (line 17), 'small and big children' (line 18), '*Igbos* and *Efiks*' (line 19) as well as children from 'poor'

homes (line 21) were also learning in the school. The words 'small and big children' seems to refer to inclusion of children who are under the official entry age, those who have attained primary school age and even school dropout.

School uniform

All children wore uniforms to school. The girls wore short sleeve gowns, made of light blue fabric. White clothes were sewn around the borders of the gown at the neck and sleeves. The boys wore white short-sleeve shirts and sky-blue shorts. The sleeves and pockets of the shirts were hemmed in light blue linens. White buttons were sewn to the front of the boys' shirts from top to bottom. All pupils used predominantly brown sandals and white socks.

When asked about she would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, Mairo talked about school uniform: thus:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| ME: | You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the uniform. How do you mean? |
| Mairo: | If I change the uniform, it can help pupils to come to this school and everybody will be happy to learn, then the school will be looking so fine. |

This pupil wants the school uniform changed perhaps to a new one with more appealing colours and designs. It seems the children feel proud and confident to use uniforms they have chosen; not the one the school management imposes on them. Given such opportunity, they might have a sense of dignity to participate in making decisions that affect the school.

Social life of the school

Children who had arrived early at school dashed into their classrooms to keep their school bags and then took brooms to clean their classrooms and school compound.

Even younger children in the lower classrooms took part in the sanitation. Sometimes, you see them playing and giggling with each other as they work.

School hour started at 7:45am local time when a boy rang a hand bell and pupils and teachers converged at the chapel for morning devotion. I participated in this activity. And in that occasion, it was a female teacher who conducted the programme. She stood at the veranda of the administrative block and directed pupils to form queues according to classrooms, gender and height. Other teachers stood around to assist control the pupils. She said to them again, 'hands together, eyes close'. Pupils responded accordingly and she instructed again, 'Psalms 23' to ask them to recite the prayer, the Lord is my shepherd', authored by King David in the Holy Bible. At this time, some pupils were not saying this prayer. However, taking further orders from the teacher, the pupils sang the Cross River State anthem and pledge, Nigerian national anthem, and pledge. Pupils spent 30 minutes on the devotion. At the end of it, they sang parade songs and marched into their classrooms.



Pupils and teacher having morning devotion at the chapel.

During my conversation with participants about religious worship, they all said:

- ME: I have noticed that some children do not like to sing some songs during morning devotion. Why is it so?
- Alhaji: Whether they do not know how to sing the songs. They do not like to sing the new songs. Ehm like (*he sings the song*) oh mama sell for crops oh mama sell for crops. It's another teacher that used to sing that song, Mrs Okah.
- Ekwo: . . . Some of them do not like singing songs in devotion time. Because they don't want to learn the song, like the Hausa, because they are not from English [cannot sing English songs].
- Olom: Some of them do not know how to sing some songs.
- Abu: Because they did not fit do it [because they cannot do it]. Like this song (*he sings the song*) 'day by day, day by day' and the national anthem.
- Akon: Maybe they did not teach them the national anthem and other songs, especially little children and the big ones.
- Amina: Others [other children] does [do] not know the Songs. . .
- Abrama: The pupils that don't used to sing the songs are Hausa. Because when they sing God's song, praise, they don't used to sing, that it is not their God.
- Mairo: Some of them they cannot hmm sing. They cannot sing (*she sings a song*) 'praise glory fire, praise glory god, praise glory holy ghost, praise the river more.
- Enie: Because Efik or Hausa pupils cannot sing the songs like Efik songs. . . . Some of them are from Hausa community and do not know how to sing the songs. . . . Some of them do not like to sing. . . (*she sings*) 'good morning Jesus'. They will keep quiet until when we march into the class.
- Odey: Yeees. Some used to say to serve Nigeria is not by force. Some Hausa and Christian pupils used to say that. Some Hausa children used to say that they don't like to sing the songs because the songs that they used to call Jesus. That's they don't sing that song. They do not used to do like this. [They] just read Quran.

It appears some of the pupils could not sing unfamiliar school songs. Others had difficulties to sing some of the songs because they are rendered in English. However,

Hausa/Fulani children, particularly, deliberately refused to join their peers to sing Christian choruses. The mention of 'Jesus' and 'Quran' by Odey represent pupils' beliefs in both Christianity and Islam. His position clarifies that the Muslims were the pupils who were not reciting the Christian prayers and singing the choruses due to their Islamic principles. This gives a sense as to how pupils thrive to challenge the status quo in order to protect their ethno-religious identities.

PUIPL PRESENCE

The staff

School records indicated that the school had teaching and non-teaching staff from the different tribes named above. The head master and his deputy were natives of *Hausa/Fulani* and *Efik* and practitioners of Islam and Christianity respectively. A considerable number of the staff, particularly teachers, had teacher qualifications from tertiary institutions. Also, they have had between 7-34 years teaching experience.

Particular focus was on primary 5. Three teachers, including, a male and two females were in-charge of this classroom. Primary 5A and 5B had females while the male co-teacher was taking care of primary 5C. The former were *Efiks* while the latter was an *Ekoi* woman. Pupils in primary 5A and 5B merged to use the same room to learn due to inadequate classroom accommodation in the school. Their peers in primary 5C, however, learned in a separate room.

Pupil enrolment

103 children had places in the school in the 2006/2007 academic session. See details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		23	22.33
		Boys	13	56.52
		Girls	10	43.48
	Igbo		7	6.80
		Boys	6	85.71
		Girl	1	14.29
	Ekoi		13	12.62
		Boys	7	53.85
		Girls	6	46.15
	Ibibio		31	30.10
		Boys	20	64.52
		Girls	11	35.48
Efik		29	28.16	
	Boys	12	41.37	
	Girls	17	58.62	
	Religion	Muslims	23	22.33
Christians		80	77.67	
Language		Not indicated		
Pupils with special Educational needs		Not indicated		
Gender	Males	58	56.31	
	Females	45	43.69	
Total number of pupils			103	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table shows that pupils from *Hausa/Fulani*, *Ibibio* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo* and *Ekoi*. The Muslims were trailing their Christian counterparts, and in the same vein, boys outnumbered girls. Data did not indicate whether any of them has special educational needs and the language they speak.

157 children were registered in the school in the following academic session, 2007/2008. Further information in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2007/2008 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		38	24.20
		Boys	21	55.26
		Girls	17	44.74
	Igbo		27	17.20
		Boys	16	59.26
		Girl	11	40.74
	Ekoi		31	19.75
		Boy	19	61.29
		Girl	12	38.71
	Ibibio		24	15.28
		Boys	15	62.50
		Girls	9	37.50
	Efik		37	23.57
		Boys	9	24.32
		Girls	28	75.68
Religion	Muslims	38	24.20	
	Christians	119	75.80	
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	80	50.96	
	Females	77	49.04	
Total number of pupils enrolled			157	100.00

Source: Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

Data on table indicates a fair numerical representation of pupils from the different tribes. Also, boys and girls were almost evenly distributed among the pupils. However, the Muslims were far behind the Christians in number. Records did not show whether any of these children has special educational needs as well as their linguistic backgrounds.

Speaking with participants regarding pupils who had places in the school. Five of them stated:

- ME: Which children are schooling in your school?
- Alhaji: There are many children from Basarawa,
Bakoko The children are Christians and
Hausa.
- Abrama: The children plenty, from Hausa, Igbo, Calabar.
- Enie: Boys and girls from Hausa and Efik.
- Odey: They are Christians, they are Muslims, they are
any type of language. Some from . . . any type of
village and come here. . .
- Akon: They are many, some from Junction, some from
Obot Oka and some from Eka Afia.

These pupils talked about the children who are enrolled in the school in terms of peers who came from different streets, tribes and religions as seen in line 1. From a discourse stance, the use of *Hausa* in line 3 is in the religious sense of it; not tribal. Alhaji used the word to imply that, in addition to the Christians, Muslim children were also learning in the school. Further reference to a similar word in lines 4 - 5, nonetheless, has ethnic connotation. The word '*Hausa*', used in that situation meant that *Hausa/Fulani* children were also among the pupils in the school. The mention of '*Igbo*' and '*Calabar*' is much akin in ethnic import with the use of '*Hausa*' except that the respondents utilised them rather to indicate tribal *Igbo* and *Efik* pupils respectively.

Odey, albino boy

Sitting in the primary 5A and 5B I saw Odey, an albino boy walk into the classroom. He was late to school on this day because he arrived when the first lesson had started. He walked pass me at the teacher's table and sat down with another boy. Suddenly, the teacher queried, 'Odey, why are you coming to school now?' He answered, 'aunty, I was waiting for my mother to finish cooking so that I can eat and come'. He may

have walked to school from his home after having breakfast. Later, the teacher threatened him, 'if you come late next time I will be angry with you'. 'Aunty, er am sorry', he apologised. After this dialogue, the teacher continued with the lesson.

Seeing Odey in this classroom indicates that an albino child is also learning in the school. While familiarising with the pupils in the classroom I knew that he was an *Ibibio* and a Christian. Also, the teachers told me that Odey had been studying in the school since four years (Field notes: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014).

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

School curriculum

Pupils offered 14 subjects. These subjects were listed on the timetable including Mathematics, English, primary science, *Efik* and Christian Religious Education. Pupils learned them in the morning and afternoon. In between the morning and afternoon lessons they go on break. 40 minute lessons were allocated to each subject and for break. Copies of the timetable were pasted on the wall on a conspicuous position in the classroom. Apart from the other subjects pupils generally offered, *Efik* and Christian Religious Education (CRE) were listed for the interest of *Efik* pupils and pupils from Christian backgrounds respectively. Provisions for subjects reflecting the other tribes and Arabic were not made in the timetable to advantage pupils who belonged to such backgrounds. All pupils, irrespective of tribe and religion, were made to learn *Efik* and CRE in the classrooms. It surmises refusal of the school to recognise the other languages and Islam in favour of *Efik* and Christianity, perhaps due to the location of the school.

Classroom lesson

Primary 5 teachers prepared lessons notes daily on every subject in the school curriculum for 12 - 13 weeks (the duration of a semester). Before executing classroom instructions, the headmaster would, first, read and approve lesson notes to ensure the contents were satisfactory. In doing so, he paid specific attention to the topic, learning materials, behavioural objectives; presentation and evaluation sections of the documents to ensure contents of the lesson notes were correct and appropriate for pupils. He placed a right tick in red ink on any area he found satisfactory or make some changes on places, which required improvement and then endorsed the lesson note by signing and dating it. For example under presentation section of the lesson, the primary 5A teacher prepared this lesson for her pupils:

Get the pupils aware of the day's lesson which is on teaching of new words in module one (of the pupil's English text book). Write out the words: may, could, would, can etc. Teach pupils to pronounce them correctly (Teacher lesson note, Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Seating arrangement

Inside primary 5A and, the primary 5A teacher's desk is placed beside the entrance at the front of the pupils' seats. Her colleague's table is positioned near the window almost opposite her table. However, the primary 5C teacher's desk is located directly opposite the entrance, still at the front of his classroom. Four to five pupils sat on a seat in rows leaving aisles in between the seats. Boys sat with boys and girls with girls mostly according to religion. More so, the *Hausa/Fulani* girls clustered together. Very few children from the various backgrounds interspersed among their classmates. The blackboard was placed at the front of the classroom. Some wall charts carrying educational pictures and information were published on the walls.



The classroom showing seating organisation.

Two girls served as class representatives. During interaction with some of the pupils I realised that the teachers appointed these girls because they were the most brilliant and confident pupils compared to their peers in the classrooms. While conversing with participants regarding their participation in interaction, this is what eight of them said to me:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Alhaji: . . . They do not want to show person answer because if you are (speaking) the same language (with them) they will show you answer. But, if you are not (speaking) the same language (with them) they will not show you (answer).

Odey: Because I am not close to them . . .

Akon: . . . Because they don't have friends.

ME: During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?

Alhaji: No. From another class

Abrama: Yes

Enie: Some pupils do not have money that is why they do not have friends.

Amina: Yes

Odey: No. They are from another class. Even in our classroom everybody has his friend . . .

Akon: No. Another class. They are from primary two and three

ME: Why do they not have anyone to play with?

Alhaji: Because whether they are new coming (comers) or they do not know anybody.

Ekwo: Me I always play with pupils that know something [who are brilliant].

Oka: Because they are stealing.

Enie: Some of them do not want children to play with them.

Amina: Because they have not friends to play with.

ME: Why will you not work with Emman, Daniel, and Stephen?

Odey: I don't like to work with Hausas. . . It's because, these Hausas every time they will be praying and say[ing] Allah. And they used to kill people like Boko Haram. . .

These disclosures illustrate the lines along which the pupils socialise with each other. These include similarity in language, seniority in year of study, poverty, intelligence, disability, stealing, religious extremism and perhaps introversion. What this means is that the children created these categories to differentiate peers whose characteristics bear no semblance with members of particular groups from mingling with them. These characterisations serve as a culture that defines boundaries for socialisation among the pupils. It is, particularly, startling to see in line 11 that some pupils are also driven by avarice to choose their friends, thus reproduce social inequality in school. That is a perception that led some of them to perhaps place low value on their colleagues from poor homes.

Nevertheless, in the second excerpt of Odey, you could understand the complexity of the practice. His views illustrate that even within particular groups; the children have individual pupils with whom they bond. He later digressed in his third excerpt from

- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the chairs and benches. Why will you do that?
- Alhaji: Because I want pupils to sit on fine fine seats.
- Akon: if I get power I go [will] buy chairs. . . and nobody will sit on the ground [floor]. . .
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the fan. Why will you do that?
- Olom: We don't have fan in our classroom. I change [put]the fan because we want to collect[have] good air in the [classroom].
- ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the blackboard. Why will you do that?
- Odey: So that they [teachers] will use it to write lessons on the board and to teach me.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the grass. Why will you do that?
- Enie: They can cut the grass because they are too big [bushy]. They will cut them low so that the school compound will be fine.
- Amina: . . . I need, I need flowers in this school.
- Ekwo: Like all that backyard there and the grass, I can change them and put rocks. Like this place now. They use it to urinate. Some pupils when they come to our school they will say the school is not neat and that they will not come to this school. That one will pursue them and they will not learn well in the school.

These pupils want to have more chairs provided for them so that some of them will not sit on the floor to learn. Another pupil said he wants a good blackboard fitted in the classroom facilitate the way they learn. His peer wants fans installed in the classrooms to provide them with fresh air, cool the temperature, especially, in hot weather. Others would like to see the grass around the school compound being

trimmed regularly. Apart from that, a pupil also suggested that flowers be planted in the school. And a peer referred to 'rocks' in the last data excerpt to imply that the school could build concrete pavements, perhaps, around the toilet area to stop other children from urinating outside the toilet indiscriminately and to attract new pupils to the school to learn. It seems children feel happy to learn in well-equipped classrooms surrounded by beautiful and attractive sceneries around the school compound.

Teaching style

Lessons commenced at 8:30 local time. When the primary 5A and 5B teachers walked in, the class representative hit her desk several times and commanded, 'class greet!' All pupils stood up and greeted the teachers. I could hear pupils in primary 5C doing almost the same thing in their classroom. Like pupils in *Kenwa* primary school, these children also called their female teacher 'aunty' and the male 'uncle'. CRE was the first subject listed on the timetable. The lesson for that morning was 'the birth of Jesus Christ'. One of the female teachers stood rigidly in front of the classroom to teach in English. Once in a while she walked through the aisles while explaining the concepts. Most of the time, the teacher was talking dominantly while the pupils stayed quietly listening as she narrated the story. At such time, you could only hear some of them cough, clear their throats, shuffle their feet on the floor perhaps to sit more comfortably on the seats, or laugh when the teachers have made funny statements. She said:

'Joseph and his pregnant wife, Mary travelled from Nazareth in Galilee to take part in a census in Bethlehem as the head of the Roman Empire, King Herod had authorised all its citizens. In Bethlehem, Mary went into labour. She was delivered of baby Jesus in a manger because there was no better place for the family to lie' (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

A very interesting aspect of this lesson occurred when the teacher explained that Jesus Christ is the son of God, adding that he was born to bring salvation to mankind

in the world. Immediately, a Muslim boy and my research participant reacted to the teacher's statement. He exclaimed 'hnn!' and grimaced, looking puzzled. The teacher looked at him and asked, 'Alhaji, why did you make that sound? The pupil forced a smile on his face and scratched his head. His teacher asked him again, 'do you want to ask a question?' He nodded his head shyly in agreement. Speaking in a low voice, the child enquired, 'aunty, if Jesus is the son of God, what about Prophet Mohammed?' The teacher replied, 'that is a good question' and then turning to the other pupils in the classroom, she asked 'who can answer that question?' Another boy raised up his hand to volunteer. This volunteer came from a Christian background. And the teacher said to him, 'ye-es' to encourage him to speak up. The boy said, 'aunty, Jesus Christ is the son of God and Mohammed is a prophet of Allah'. In appreciation to the boy's answer, the teacher asked other pupils to clap for him. Thereafter the teacher added, 'Mohammed is the messenger of God and leader of the Muslims. Christ is the son of God. People who believe in Jesus Christ are called Christians'. As the teacher concluded the lesson, she asked the pupils, 'do you understand?' All pupils chorused 'yes aunty'. She asked further, 'any question?' Every pupil kept mute at this time. And the teacher said again, 'if there is no question, take down this note from the board'. Minutes later she told them to pass their books on her table so that she could check and mark them.

In primary 5C the children were learning 'work people do in our communities' on Citizenship Education. The teacher explained:

'Members of our communities do different jobs. They work as cow sellers, traders, doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers, lawyers and so on and so forth'. People do these occupations to earn money to feed their families and to help our communities develop' (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Towards the end of the lesson, the teacher re-explained the lesson briefly and asked, 'does any of you have any question?' A female participant answered 'yes uncle'. The teacher said to her, 'go on' and she asked 'uncle, I want to ask, how does people help our community to develop?' He answered and said, 'for example, as a teacher, you will teach the children to know how to read and write. Government will pay the teacher money for teaching the children, and the children will be able to read and write'. Another child put up her hand to ask a question. The teacher said, 'ehn Itoro ask your question'. Itoro asked, 'uncle, please what is the meaning of 'earn'?'. He replied, 'the word 'earn' means to have money'.

Another male participant asked 'uncle, can a woman be a builder?' The teacher answered 'yes, a woman can also build a house'. The boy was not satisfied with the answer. He looked at the teacher in surprise. Due to the boy's reaction, the teacher stated further, 'women can also do most of the jobs men do like building a house, driving a taxi etc.' I observed that the teacher was always directing questions to these particular pupils. However, later, another girl said to her male classmate in a low tune, ' a man is not supposed to plait hair. The Bible forbids that'. Her colleague queried, 'then why did you not plait your hair?' She answered, 'I am in school. I will plait when I finish school'. Having heard their debate, the teacher explained to all pupils 'there are men who work as hairdressers and they make money from that job. In some communities men and women plait their hair. In other communities, it is only the women who plait or weave their hair'.

At the end of this session, the teacher said, 'OK now it is my turn to ask you my own questions'. One of the questions he asked caught my attention. He called one boy who sat in front of the classroom. He said, 'Elijah, name one job people do in our communities'. Elijah answered, 'uncle, palm wine tapper'. A few of Elijah's

classmates laughed. However, the teacher cautioned them to stop laughing at what Elijah has said. Later, he asked them to clap for Elijah. And he explained to them afterwards that palm wine tapping is also an occupation. People who practiced it make money from selling their palm wine to others in the community. Demonstrating, he added, 'customers will drink the palm wine like we used to drink coke'. Perhaps, pupils thought palm wine tapping is not a worthy occupation and as such the practitioners may not gain much social worth compared to other professions. As he said that, some of the pupils chuckled in amusement. At the end he wrote the note neatly on the board. Another female participant corrected a misspelling he had done on his note written on the board and he said to her 'thank you, good girl'. Pupils copied the note from the blackboard. When they have finished writing they piled up their notebooks on the teacher's table to be marked.



Pupil learning in the classroom. Girls with woven hairstyles are *Hausa/Fulanis*. Some pupils raised their hands to seek teacher permission to make contributions at lesson.

I spoke with participants about their participation at lesson. Three of them said thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Enie: So that they can learn well.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Amina: Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions.

Abrama: Nah [it is] Peter dey [who] ask[s] questions for [in the] class.

The first two pupils considered the behaviour of other peers as a way to concentrate and grasp what they were learning. In other words, according to them, the pupils were not sitting down passively in the classroom instead they acted that way to avoid distractions and to learn 'well' and be able to ask questions later to seek clarifications in areas of interest. The third discussant, however, indicated that some of the pupils, especially Peter, actually had the opportunity to ask questions during lessons. Based on these accounts, it appear some of the pupils listen first before making comments at the end of the lesson while some of their classmates make contributions during the lesson.

The other six pupils, however, supplied different perspectives regarding the issue:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Alhaji: . . . They are shy. I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question.

Olom: Because they [pupils] do not know what to ask them [the teachers]. . . . May be some of them are afraid to ask questions.

- Abu: That one some of them don't understand the lesson. That is why they cannot ask questions.
- Mairo: It's the teacher that will say that. If they finish teaching, then they will say stand up and ask questions.
- Odey: Because my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly]and we too we ask her questions, she can answer correct[ly].
- Akon: Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question?'
- ME: Does the teacher encourage them to
- Alhaji: Talk? No. Because the teacher does not know what you [the pupil] want to ask.

These perspectives suggest that pupils do not talk much in the classroom, including asking questions and making contributions because of fear and the fact that their peers might laugh at them, perhaps when they make mistakes. They are gripped with fear to the extent, even when they do not understand the lesson; they feel hesitant to ask questions to seek clarity from the teachers. According to Alhaji, the teacher assumed pupils do not know that is why they do not find it necessary to ask questions or talk to contribute to lessons in the classroom. As a result, the teachers do not see any need to engage the pupils actively in the lesson and spur them to make inputs to advantage them. You might discern from the statements of the first three interviewees that pupils rarely have a voice at school.

Talking further, four participants suggested ways to address the situation to enable them participate at lesson:

- ME: What do you think your teacher should do for you to learn well?
- Mairo: I think our uncle should always allow us to ask questions in the classroom.

- Abu: Pupils should ask questions and what they don't understand they should ask our teacher to tell (explain to) them.
- Enie: I want when we ask questions our teacher should answer it well for us.
- Akon: . . . I want our teacher to ask us simple questions; not hard hard questions. And we should also ask our teacher questions too.

The perspectives suggest that pupils would prefer to learn in a classroom where they have the freedom to engage teachers in dialogue during lessons. Such discussions might afford them the opportunity to criticise lessons, ask questions, seek clarifications from teachers in lessons and have those queries properly resolved by the teachers. The reference to 'hard hard questions' in line 5 is an appeal the pupil is making on teachers to refrain from asking pupils difficult questions, but simplify the questions to perhaps enable them understand the lesson.

Perception towards children with impairments

In another interesting lesson in primary 5A and 5B, the teacher was teaching pupil reading. She came across the phrase, 'physically ill' in the passage she read to pupils. She said, 'it means handicap'. Demonstrating with her body, she explained further to clarify the pupils,

'handicap is a person who has bad legs, closed eyes' (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Her explanation sounded awful to me. I felt unhappy about because one of the girls - a participant - in the classroom had scar on face. The scar around her left eye seemed as though she had suffered fire burns. As I was thinking about the way this particular pupil would feel about her teacher's comments, I heard the teacher state further,

a handicap is a person who is mentally derailed. His head is not correct. They cannot think well (Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014).

Immediately, I turned and looked at the girl. She did not notice I was looking at her neither did her peers. I wanted to see her reaction to the teacher's statements. She did not seem to feel bothered about it as she sat calmly listening to the lesson.

Mode of discipline

In primary 5A and 5B, a boy was talking to another peer during lesson. Suddenly, the primary 5A teacher paused, looked at him sternly and said to him in a harsh tone in *Efik*, '*ikpa mi akpe duo fi ke idem diono te ama nam idiok nkpo*'. It means, 'if my cane touches your body know that you have committed an offence'. As the lesson progressed, she called a boy to answer a question she had asked the pupils. The boy answered the questions wrongly and she said to him, 'goat, you cannot answer'.

A female pupil also stood up and made a wrong contribution to the lesson and she said to the girl, 'you are not saying it correctly'. She asked another girl to answer a question. The pupil did not answer it correctly as well and the teacher also said to her in disappointment, 'even you cannot talk'. Now speaking further apparently to all pupils, she warned, 'when next I ask you a question on what I have taught you and you look at me as a humpty dumpty,' and continued teaching. In primary 5C, a male participant made a noise during lesson. His teacher pointed his finger at the boy and abused him in *Efik* saying, '*afo okpon ibuot odo. Ukponoke idem fo?*' It means 'you big head. Will you respect yourself? When I interviewed participants regarding administration of discipline at school, nine of them stated:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| ME: | When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil? |
| Alhaji: | Maybe dem be dey make noise in the classroom, that's why
- Maybe they were making noise in the classroom, that's why |
| Abrama: | It's Olah, our teacher dey beat am because him |

- been no write well for him book -
It's Ola, our teacher beat him because he did not write well in his book
- Ekwo: Because they came late to school.
- Mairo: Because if our teacher is teaching on the blackboard they will be playing. They will not hear what the teacher is saying
- Abu: Because the child came to school with dirty uniform. Our teacher tell us that we should wash our uniform[s] when it is dirty. If we don't wash our uniform[s] she will flog us.
- Enie: Yes, uncle one boy used to thief (steal) our pen[s]. So our aunty will be beating him so that he will not steal our thing again
- Amina: Because the pupil was making noise in the class[room]. So aunty used a ruler and beat him.
- Odey: Uncle, aunty used to beat all those children that used to thief our pens and curse (abuse) us in the classroom
- Akon: Maybe that day our teacher tell us to sweep our classroom. So some pupils were not sweeping so aunty beat them.

The perspectives of these pupils surmise that teachers applied corporal punishment on pupils and invectives to intimidate and humiliate pupils who have erred virtually in any way at school.

During further interviews, two participants made some recommendations to arrest the situation:

- ME: What should your teacher door you to learn well?
- Olom: . . . Let aunty not used cane when she is teaching pupils. . . .
- Ekwo: I want our teacher not to beat us when we say something that is wrong . . .

These pupils are opposed to the use of the cane and application of corporal punishment on them when they have made wrong contributions in the classroom. It appears the cane makes them feel frightened to make inputs at lessons. These pupils are suggesting for adoption of a child-centred teaching strategies that encourages them to communicate appreciably at lessons without fear of being beaten by teachers.

It is a kind of democratic classroom environment in which pupil voice serves as an imperative of effective learning. It is a classroom where they have the right and freedom to express their thoughts on issues of concern in the classroom without fear of harassment and oppression by classroom personnel.

Writing skills

Pupils used note books to take notes and to do assignments. For instance, a girl in primary 5A did a class assignment from module one of her English textbook, probably, on the instruction of the teacher. She answered five questions from a passage she had read from her textbook. However, she made a mistake in the fifth question. She wrote one word in this question in error. She wrote: 'why was Emeka think Nigeria is better now?' The teacher corrected the verb 'was' in red ink. She wrote on top of the 'was' the word 'does'. Due to the correction, the question now read: 'why does Emeka think Nigeria is better now'?

Also, a boy in primary 5B did a class assignment taken from unit 1 of his English reader. He was asked to provide five answers to the question: 'what did you do during the holidays'? He made mistakes in two of the answers he supplied. He misspelt a word in the second answer. He wrote, 'I wtched television'. His teacher corrected the error 'wtched' to 'watched'. The teacher wrote the correct word on top of the wrong one in red ink so that his answer changed to: 'I watched television'. In the fourth answer, the boy supplied the wrong past tense in his sentence. He wrote, 'I go to market with my father'. Again, the teacher changed the word 'go' to 'went'. She wrote the correction on top of the wrong word in red ink. Now the correct sentence read: 'I went to market with my father'. Having done that, the teacher marked the answers right, thus the boy scored all five answers correct.

In primary 5C a female participant did a similar assignment as with her male colleague in primary 5B. She wrote one word in the first sentence in present tense instead of past tense. She wrote, 'I travel to Akwa Ibom last week'. Her teacher corrected the word 'travel' to 'travelled' in red ink. Her second answer read, 'I travel to visit my mother who live in Abuja'. The teacher consequently added an 's' to it to correct it for the whole sentence to read 'I travel to visit my mother who lives in Abuja'. The first verb, 'travel' in that sentence should have been in the past tense 'travelled'. Perhaps, the teacher did not notice the error. Regardless of that, the teacher marked both answers correct. These corrections indicate that the teachers had checked their work (Pupils note books: *Edor Agom* primary school, 2014).



A section of the classroom showing the blackboard.

Pupil language

The use of Pidgin English as a means of communication between pupils and teachers at lessons attracted my attention. So I decided to speak with participants on the issue and seven of them shared the following stories with me:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening?
- Alhaji: I think some children don't used to understand English, like big English. So our teacher will use Pidgin English so that they will understand and learn well.
- Abrama: So that those pupils who don't hear English very much can hear English, like Glory, Mary, Ether, Margaret
- Ekwo: Some of them cannot speak English very well that's why they use Pidgin English. Like these Hausa children they cannot speak English. When our teacher talks to them in English they will not understand. The person is not sure of what he or she is going to ask or say. . .
- Mairo: So everybody will learn how to speak English.
- Olom: (Cuts in) Broken English. So that the pupils will understand the lesson. There are many pupils that do not understand English especially these Hausa pupils.
- Abu: It's happening because some of the children don't know [how to speak] English very well, like Bassey, Rose and Glory. Because they [teachers] want us to learn.
- Enie: So that when they [teachers] are writing something on the blackboard when they [teachers] read the thing in English they [pupils] will understand. Some children from Efik and Hausa don't understand English.

Opinions from the pupils indicate that some children across the different backgrounds have poor communication skills to speak, write and understand English, especially, 'big English' (line 4) – high sounding English words. This hints to the difficulties some of them face to successfully complete assignments in the classroom as seen in the cases above. As a result, teachers had to use Pidgin sometimes at lesson to enable them learn well.

School levies

A parent walked into the classroom in primary 5C to the table where I was sitting. He said to me, 'please I came to pay Ewa's school fees. I am his father'. I asked how

much he was paying and he mentioned 'N600 (£2.50)', adding that he would come back another day to pay the balance of the charges for the same child. Immediately, I asked a girl in the classroom to call the teacher who was at the headmaster's office to collect his note of lesson to come and attend to the man.

When the teacher came, I noticed that he collected the money from the visitor and recorded it in a book to indicate that the boy had paid. When the parent left, I asked the teacher whether pupils pay school fees in the school and he answered 'yes, my brother'. On further enquiry, he explained to me that the government instructed all (state) schools to charge pupils N600.00 (£2.50) for school fees, N50 (30p) for examination answer sheets, one big bundle of broom, one toilet roll and machete. Value that in cash and you will realise that parents spend a total of N1000.00 (£5.00) to provide all items for each child.

On that note the teacher asked pupils who were yet to pay the above fees to stand up. One of the male participants did not stand upright to be identified. The teacher was angry as a result. He abused the boy in *Efik*, '*enyene iso nte ake ka de ino ke Calabar South*'. It means, 'your face looks like you went and stole in Calabar South'. He later reminded them to pay the charges and asked them to sit down. Speaking with the participants in relation to regular attendance at school, two of them gave me replies that provided more information about their experience in respect of funding their studies:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?

Abu: Yes.

Odey: Yes.

ME: Why is it so?

Abu: Dey thing wey mek is that some of them their parents don't have money to send them to school like to pay school fees for them.

Odey: Because their fathers no get money to pay school fees for them [their fathers do not have money to pay their school fees].

You can see from their views that some of the children appear not to take part fully at school due to non-payment of school fees. It gives the indication that primary education is meant for children who can afford to pay for it and that is in contrast to the right of all children to free and compulsory primary education.

When asked what she would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, Abrama said something about school fees:

ME: What you would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school? Why do you say so?

Abrama: I - - I - - want mek pupil no bring (not to pay) school fees. . . so that they go fit come school.

This pupil feels school fees prevent some of them from staying in school. So, she would rather want payment of school fees abolished in the school. In other words, pupils might feel included when primary school education is monetarily free to encourage more of them to be present in and participate at school.

Family pressure

Three other participants looked at the cause of pupils' irregular attendance at school from another perspective:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?

Ekwo: No.

Olom: No.

ME: Are they other pupils who did not come to school?

Ekwo:	Yes.
Olom:	Yes.
Mairo:	Yes.
ME:	Why is it so?
Mairo:	. . . their mothers will go and leave the house for them, so they will stay in their house[s] and prepare food for their mothers.
Ekwo:	Some of them it is caused by their parents. Their parents can tell them to stay back at home and follow them and carry something [some products] and go and sell, and stay away from school.
Olom:	Some of them like staying at home and help their parents to sell products or go to farm.
Abrama:	. . . I finish makaranta I go home. I go market go help my mother. They (her parents) buy me sandals. . . Nah [it is] my money I [used to] buy socks [for myself].

These responses suggest that some pupils are ordered by their parents to stay at home to perform domestic duties rather than go to school. Additionally, some of them succumb to family pressure to engage in income earning activities to assist parents pay family bills. For example, Abrama, goes to '*Makaranta*', meaning school in Hausa language to assist her mother sell and to also generate money to assist the family in buying parts of her school uniform. Perhaps, that is why she recommended that school fees should be stopped at school.

Pupil identity

I saw some female pupils at school with woven or plaited hairdos. Others did not. Initially, I could not ascertain the identities of these girls. Also it was not clear who gave them permission to do so and the basis on which they were granted the authorisation. I felt curious to know further the reason that was happening. I discussed with the participants and eight of them made the following disclosures on the issue:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair?
- Mairo: These children are from Basarawa.
- Akon: Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they allow them to plait their hair.
- Ekwo: Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. . . . Only Hausa pupils that they permit to weave their hair. . .
- Enie: Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that . . . Hausa pupils should plait their hair
- Olom: . . . It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their hair because it's their culture. . .
- Amina: Because they [pupils] are from Hausa. . . . Because that is the Hausa tradition.
- Ebu: It's Hausa [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.
- Abu: Because they are Muslims. . .
- Odey: It's only Muslims that used to plait. . .

Speaking in lines 5 - 8, the pupils stated that the school authorities gave the approval for them to weave and plait their hair. The pupils used the pronoun 'they' in lines 7 - 9 to refer to school management. In line 7, this pupil pointed that the school authorities preferentially issued such authorisation to the *Hausa/Fulani* girls due to the fact that the headmaster was also a member of that tribe. In spite of that, the pupils assumed that the school decided to allow their *Hausa/Fulani* peers to make their hair in order to respect that aspect of their culture and tradition – 'law' (lines 8, 11 and 12). While speaking in lines 14 - 15, other children also felt that their *Hausa/Fulani* colleagues had school permission to carry hairstyles because they were Muslims. Understandably, pupils from other tribes and religion were denied a similar privilege probably because they did not have any authority in the school to also protect their interests in that direction. It gives the impression that there is a tussle whereby the beneficiaries are making efforts to preserve their *Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic values within a dominant non-*Hausa/Fulani* and Islamic environment.

Unfortunately, the school head is seen to influence the situation in a way that does not fully respond to the multicultural identities of the pupils.

Pupil interaction

While writing his lesson note for the following week, the primary 5C teacher asked the pupils to lend him a ruler to rule a line in his work. A boy volunteered to lend him his ruler. The teacher rejected the boy's offer and said to him, 'I don't want it. You put it inside your mouth', and rather collected a ruler from one girl. The teacher raised his head and saw another boy in his classroom who had rashes on his body. The teacher said to him, 'we will send you away before you pass it (the disease) to another person'. Apart from this incidence, I never saw the teacher relate closely with the pupils except during lesson and this is what happens in the other classrooms.

However, as stated in the section on 'seating arrangement' above, some pupils from the *Huasa/Fulani*, *Ibibio* and *Efik* interspersed among their peers in the classroom. Even, a female participant borrowed a ruler from one of her boys during lesson. Other girls were chatting and laughing in low tunes amongst themselves. Also, some of the boys used the tip of their fingers to tap the back of the head of their colleagues who sat next to them on the bench and pretended not to be the ones who have touched the fellows. Some of the children being touched laughed and reciprocated. Others complained and appealed to their peers to stop the play. This is what you would see among some pupils in primary 5C. Odey was one of the pupils who were playing with peers. As he sat on the desk with three other boys in the middle of the classroom, I saw that he was closer to one of the boys compared to others. He was always talking, sharing ideas and playing with this particular boy.

Once, he fought with one of his male colleagues in the classroom and the primary 5B teacher caned him. The other boy was not punished. Odey cried bitterly and decided he was not going to learn again that day. Later, he flung his school bag onto the chapel, left it there and threatened to go home in protest. While he was still crying and complaining, the primary 5A teacher said, 'it's like he has mental problem'. The primary 5C teacher who also witnessed the incident said to him in *Efik*, '*eyen nkpo nsop*', meaning 'a child who is possessed with witchcraft'. It was the head teacher who called Odey and tactfully pacified him, asked him to return to the classroom and continue learning. Sobbing, he collected his bag from where he had abandoned it, walked back into the classroom and sat down. When I spoke with him and another peer about the way pupils interact with each other at school, Odey said something in connection to the perceptions of pupils about him and poor colleagues:

- ME: During playtime I noticed that some pupils do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?
- Odey: When other pupils see me they used to abuse me in Calabar [*Efik* language] like *afia mkpai*, *afia ino* - it means white thief and it used to affect me *ba- a-ad*. I do not used to feel fine when they abuse me.
- Enie: Some pupils do not have money that is why they do not have friends.

It appears some have negative attitudes and beliefs against albinism. The pupils demonstrated this practice by calling Odey names. Odey felt very unhappy about the situation as indicated in his word '*ba-a-ad*'. He was fazed probably not just for the negative tags, which his peers gave him, but also by the fact that those labels tended to make him feel alienated and unwelcomed in the school. Also, other learners avoid interacting with some of their peers because they are from poor families.

On the contrary, at 10:40am local time a boy sound a bell. Most of the pupils screamed 'yay! Another boy shouted, 'it is time for break'. Afterwards, the teachers said to them, 'stand up and pray and go out for break'. All pupils stood up and said this prayer:

*Thank you god for you're so sweet
Thank you god for saving me
Thank you god for the day I've seen
Thank you god for everything
Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen.*

(Field notes: Edor Agom primary school, 2014)

When they had said the prayer, they greeted the teachers and later dashed out of the classroom to play. At the playground, my attention was drawn to six girls who were standing and facing each other, clapping their hands and swinging their legs back and forth in unison and in quick successions. At a point, one of them discontinued. Her playmate said to her in Pidgin English, 'you don fail', meaning 'you have failed'. Others, nonetheless, carried on with the game. Also, I noticed one boy produced a ball-like object. He threw it on the ground and started kicking it all over the place. Soon, other boys joined him to kick the object. They were talking to each other in English, saying, 'pass the ball to me na'. Due to the hard surface of the playground, some of them were seen sustaining injuries on their bodies while playing.

Odey stood alone watching his peers play. After that, he started dancing and later walked back into his classroom and sat down alone. His actions appeared to evidence the negative attitudes he faced from peers and teacher as indicated above. Other pupils, however, stood in clusters at two different spots on the playground near the school's main gate. There were buying snacks from one man and a woman. I noticed that some of the children did not have the money to buy the foods too. As a result, they followed their peers who had bought the food ostensibly wanting to have a share

from it. A few of them, however, shared the food with some friends including their siblings. After 40 minutes of play the bell sounded again and all of them went back to their classrooms to continue learning. I spoke with other participants regarding the way they socialise with their peers and nine of them responded:

ME: If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?

Alhaji: Because they can do something well. . . they can work hard. Ehn, for example, if we want to put the blackboard in our class[room], Ruquaya and can Bassey can tell you how to put it well. Maimuna follow us to do it.

Abrama: Akan, Salaha, David. I say Salaha, like him fit carry tha---at black thing (charcoal) for their house come for school. All of us, Salaha, Akan and David go carry am put for our blackboard.

Ekwo: Because Felix is intelligent. If there is something that you don't have intelligence to do, Felix will tell you how to do it. David is strong. If you tell him to help you and hold this thing he can help you [do it]. Kufre is the same thing. Kufre is action boy [active]. So him and David. That's why I chose two of them while Felix is intelligent. That's why I chose them.

Mairo: . . . They can tell you, like advise you about how to write well and to read well. If you cannot read well they can read it for you. That's why I said they are intelligent.

Olom: Because they are my best friends and they work very hard. They help to spell anything [word] that I don't know.

Abu: The thing that make me want to work with Ghaddafi is because he is my best friend. We live together in the same house and school in one school. His father and my father are brothers. David is my friend. . .

Enie: Because they are big. . . Yes. Why I said that because they are big is because they are big girls. They used to teach me how to read and to learn other subjects in the classrooms

Amina: Because they are my friends. . . If I don't read [well] they will correct me.

Akon: . . . They are very intelligent. Ahhnnn uncle, Immaculata and Mary know Maths, and Esther

know[s] English Language. They used to help me to learn these subjects.

Views from these pupils demonstrate that friendships, intelligence, peer tutoring, physical strength and blood ties underlie their participation in collaborative work at school. In line 27, this pupil talked about ‘big girls’ to discursively describe the size of her friends who also doubled as her peer tutors. The big size of the girls perhaps makes her feel comfortable to interact with and to learn from them. Regardless of that, pupils tend to be drawn towards some peers whom they believe possess some skills that can benefit them. You can discern from the different excerpts that team work appears to enable some of them take part in interpersonal relations, enhance their literacy abilities as well as up their performances in specific subjects.

However, one response from Odey on the issue was thus:

ME: Why will you not like to work with Emman,
 Daniel, and Stephen?

Odey: I don't like to work with Hausas. . . It's because,
 these Hausas every time they will be praying and
 say[ing] Allah. And they used to kill people like
 Boko Haram. . .

You could understand the complexity of the practice. His views illustrate that even within particular groups; the children have individual pupils with whom they bond. He digressed from talking about Emman, Daniel and Stephen to make very uncomplimentary statements about his tribal *Hausa/Fulani* peers. The former, I presume, do not pose serious risks to him that is why he did not speak further about them. He nonetheless associated the latter with the Islamic terrorist group, ‘boko haram’, operating in the north east of Nigeria. His comments are based on the assumption that virtually all members of this terrorist sect are ethnic *Hausa/Fulanis* and Muslims. That made him form a very negative impression about any pupils in

the school that is linked to this tribe and religion, thus giving him a feeling of insecurity to learn with them. Due to the criminal activities of these insurgents, Odey perceives pupils from these backgrounds as also being fanatical in religious beliefs, deadly and as a people who must be avoided.

The school toilet

The toilet was a water cistern. I was happy to see that its surroundings were looking neat and tidy. The grass was trimmed low, perhaps, to prevent some harmful reptiles from dwelling there. Pupils used the toilet to defecate. Sadly, pupils had one section of the toilet and it was locked most of the time. Due to that, some of the children could not access it when in hurry. They sometimes hide at the backyard of the toilet to urinate and defecate. As some of these pupils dump excreta outside the toilet, it sometimes created disturbing images and produces odour around the school environment, thus causing some discomfort for pupils at lessons.



The school toilet.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

School environment

From the structure of the school buildings and attitudes of teachers and pupils, you could have the feeling that the school is meant for only typical children. Ramps were completely non-existent in the school to signal that pupils on wheelchairs are not welcome there. Furthermore, the stereotypes ascribed to pupils with impairments as shown in the explanation of the teacher during lesson in primary 5A and 5B classroom above provide more clues about the segregation that bars children with disabilities from learning in the schools. In addition, the foul languages, which the teacher used against Odey support this argument. As you can see from earlier data, all learners seemed to be typical pupils as no child with impairments was seen there.

Teaching style and discipline

Efforts to ensure children were learning well could be seen in situations where teachers were explaining some concepts in Pidgin English; giving corrections to pupil assignments; rewarding pupils who made correct contributions at lesson; answering questions from some of them as exemplified by the way the teacher sensitively handled the religious situation when a pupil's asked: 'if Jesus is the son of God, what about Prophet Mohammed?' In spite of that, the voices of teachers dominated during lessons, thus depriving pupils the opportunity to make expressions and share their ideas to what they were learning. Besides, the practice whereby pupils had to obtain teacher consent to make contributions in the classroom seemed to prevent some of them from having a voice as they may not feel inspired to talk during lesson. As seen in primary 5C, for instance, the teacher appeared to direct more of his attention to particular children who had teacher permission to ask questions than their peers at lesson. This is one subtlety that seemed to keep other

children in isolation or make them to become passive in the classroom. Corporal punishment and use of invectives as measures to discipline pupils rather seemed to cause some of them physical and psychological trauma and inhibit their abilities to learn well. For example, it is an assault to call children ‘goat, humpty dumpty’ as the teachers did to the pupils who were unable to supply required answers in the classroom.

Promotion examination and grade repetition

Like *Kenwa* primary school, pupils in *Edor Agom* primary school had to pass promotion and common entrance examinations to qualify for a higher classroom or complete primary education in primary 6. See further details in the tables below:

Pupils who took common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		17	16.51
	Boys	9		52.94
	Girls	8		47.06
	Igbo		5	4.85
	Boys	4		80.00
	Girl	1		20.00
	Ekoi		9	8.74
	Boys	6		66.67
	Girls	3		33.33
Religion	Ibibio		23	22.33
	Boys	13		56.52
	Girls	10		43.48
	Efik		21	20.39
Language	Boys	11		52.38
	Girls	10		47.62
Pupils with special educational needs	Muslims	17		16.51
	Christians	58		56.31
Gender	Not indicated			
	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Males	43		41.75
	Females	32		31.07
Total number of pupils			75	72.82

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table indicate that 75 pupils sat for the common entrance examination in primary 6 from a total of 103 who had places to start school in the 2006/2007 academic session as seen in table earlier on. Most of the candidates were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. Pupils from *Igbo* and *Ekoi* were under-represented. Muslims were trailing their Christian counterparts in number. Similarly, boys were more than girls. However, data did not indicate whether any of the pupils had special educational needs, and it also did not show the language the pupils speak.

Pupils who passed common examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		9	12.00
	Boys	5		55.56
	Girls	4		44.44
	Igbo		5	6.67
	Boys	4		80.00
	Girl	1		20.00
	Ekoi		8	10.66
	Boy	6		75.00
	Girl	2		25.00
	Ibibio		20	26.67
	Boys	10		50.00
	Girls	10		50.00
	Efik		18	24.00
	Boys	8		44.44
	Girls	10		55.56
Religion	Muslims	9		12.00
	Christians	51		68.00
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	33		44.00
	Females	27		36.00
Total of pupils			60	80.00

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table illustrates that 60 pupils passed out of 75 of them who wrote the examination. Now, a greater number of these children were *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. A minority of them were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Igbos* and *Ekois*. Christians hugely outnumbered the Muslims. More so, boys were more than girls. No data to show whether any of the pupils has special educational needs as well as the language the pupils speak. Pupils who passed this examination were promoted to leave primary school and start secondary school education.

Pupils who failed common entrance examination in the 2012/2013 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		8	10.67
	Boys	4		50.00
	Girls	4		50.00
	Ekoi		1	1.33
	Girl	1		100.00
	Ibibio		3	4.00
	Boys	3		56.52
Religion	Efik		3	4.00
	Boys	3		100.00
	Muslims	8		10.67
Language	Christians	7		9.33
	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	10		13.33
	Females	5		6.67
Total number of pupils			15	20.00

Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table demonstrate that 15 pupils failed from a total of 75 that sat for the examination. *Hausa/Fulani* pupils were more in number, compared to their peers from *Ekoi*, *Ibibio* and *Efik*. Due to that, Muslims increased in number than Christians. Also, boys were more than girls. It is unclear whether any there was child with special educational needs in their midst. The language of the pupils is also not revealed by data. However, pupils who failed the examination were asked to repeat primary 6.

Pupils missing in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		6	5.82
		Boys	4	66.67
		Girls	2	33.33
	Igbo		2	1.94
		Boys	2	100.00
	Ekoi		4	3.88
		Boy	1	25.00
		Girls	3	75.00
	Ibibio		8	7.77
		Boys	7	87.50
Religion	Efik		8	7.77
		Girl	1	12.50
		Boy	1	12.50
		Girls	7	87.50
	Muslims		6	5.82
		Christians	22	21.36
	Language			
		Not indicated		
	Pupils with special educational needs			
		Not indicated		
Gender	Males	15		14.56
	Females	13		12.62
Total number of pupils			28	27.18

Sources: Compared and extracted from State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics* and Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table shows that 28 pupils out of the initial 103 did not progress at all with their 75 peers to primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic year. Greater number of them includes *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Ibibios* and *Efiks* respectively. A few of their peers were *Igbos* and *Ekois*. The Christians outnumbered the Muslims and boys were more than girls by two pupils. Data did not show whether any children with special educational needs were among these pupils. Also, data did not indicate the language of the pupils. Given that pupils repeat grades for failing common entrance examination, it is likely these pupils were also asked to repeat grades for failing promotion

examinations. Or, they may have withdrawn from the school for not passing examinations or changed school.

Pupils who progressed to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		24	15.29
		Boys	14	58.33
		Girls	10	41.67
	Igbo		15	9.55
		Boys	9	60.00
		Girl	6	40.00
	Ekoi		19	12.11
		Boy	12	63.16
		Girl	7	36.84
	Ibibio		16	10.19
Boys		10	62.50	
Girls		6	37.50	
Efik		22	14.01	
	Boys	4	18.18	
	Girls	18	81.82	
Religion	Muslims	24	15.29	
	Christians	72	45.86	
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	49	31.21	
	Females	47	29.93	
Total number of pupils			96	61.15

Source: Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*.

The information on table illustrates that 96 pupils out of the initial 157 who had places in the school progressed through promotion examinations to primary 5. Pupils from *Hausa/Fulani* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo*, *Ekoi* and *Ibibio* respectively. Christians were about thrice more than Muslims. Boys were more than girls by two pupils. Data did not indicate whether pupils with special educational needs were among them. Also, there was no information to show the language the pupils speak.

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage		
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		14	8.92		
		Boys			7	50.00
		Girls			7	50.00
	Igbo		12	7.64		
		Boys			7	58.33
		Girl			5	41.67
	Ekoi		12	7.64		
		Boy			7	58.33
		Girl			5	41.67
	Ibibio		8	5.10		
		Boys			5	62.50
		Girls			3	37.50
Efik		15	9.55			
	Boys			5	33.33	
	Girls			10	66.67	
Religion	Muslims	14	8.92			
	Christians	47	29.93			
Language	Not indicated					
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated					
Gender	Males	31	19.75			
	Females	30	19.10			
Total number of pupils			61	38.85		

Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2009, 2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Data on table signifies that 61 pupils did not progress with their 75 colleagues to primary 6. Except for *Igbo*, pupils from the other tribes were almost evenly represented. The Christians outnumbered the Muslims. However, boys and girls were nearly equal in number. It is not clear whether any children with special educational needs were among them. Also, the linguistic background of the pupils is not shown. Since pupils repeat grades for not satisfying examination requirements, it hints that these children may have repeated classrooms or withdrawn from school for not passing examinations.

When I interviewed participants about their interaction with peers, one of them went on to provide a response that connects examination:

ME: If we were to do a project in the class, write down the names of three children you would like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?

Abu: . . . David is my friend. I came and met him in primary 3.

The disclosure from this pupil suggests that David repeated primary 3 while he was promoted perhaps from primary 2 to now do the same year with David. It is obvious in this case that pupils repeat grades for failing examination. This might account for the 61 pupils who were missing from the 157 that had places in the school five years ago.

However, class attendance registers illustrated that primary 5 pupils were distributed into different classrooms as shown in the following tables.

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		5	5.21
		Boys	4	80.00
		Girl	1	20.00
	Igbo		1	1.04
		Girl	1	100.00
	Ekoi		3	3.13
		Boys	2	66.67
		Girl	1	33.33
	Ibibio		10	10.42
		Boys	8	80.00
		Girls	2	20.00
	Efik		14	14.58
		Boys	4	28.57
		Girls	10	71.43
Religion	Muslims	5		5.21
	Christians	28		29.17
Gender	Males	18		18.75
	Females	15		15.63
Total number of pupils			33	34.38

Source: 2012/2013 attendance register for primary 5A

Data on table shows that primary 5A had 33 pupils. Majority of them were *Efiks* and *Ibibios*. A few of their peers were natives of *Hausa/Fulani*, *Ekoi* and *Igbo*. Christians outnumbered Muslims and boys also outnumbered girls, however, by three pupils.

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage	
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		10		
		Boys		6	60.00
		Girls		4	40.00
	Igbo		8		
		Boys		5	67.50
		Girls		3	37.50
	Ekoi		7		
		Boys		3	42.86
		Girls		4	57.14
	Ibibio		3		
Boys		2		66.67	
Girl		1		33.33	
Efik		3			
	Girls		3	100.00	
Religion	Muslims	10		10.41	
	Christians	21		21.88	
Gender	Males	16		16.67	
	Females	15		15.62	
Total number of pupils			31	32.29	

Source: 2012/2013 Attendance register for primary 5B

Data on table indicates that primary 5B had 31 pupils. Most of them were *Hausa/Fulanis*, *Igbos* and *Ekois*. Very few of them were *Ibibios* and *Efiks*. Christians were more than Muslims. Boys and girls were almost equal.

Number of pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Hausa/Fulani		9	9.37
		Boys 4		44.44
		Girl 5		55.56
	Igbo		6	6.25
		Boys 4		66.67
		Girls 2		33.33
	Ekoi		9	9.37
		Boys 7		77.78
		Girls 2		22.22
	Ibibio		3	3.13
		Girls 3		100.00
	Efik		5	5.21
		Girls 5		100.00
Religion		Muslims 9		9.38
		Christians 23		23.95
Gender		Males 15		15.62
		Females 17		17.71
Total number of pupils			32	33.33

Source: 2012/2013 attendance register for primary 5C

Data on table demonstrates that primary 5C had 32 pupils. A considerable number of them were natives of *Hausa/Fulani*, *Ekoi*, *Igbo* and *Efik*. A few others are from *Ibibio*. Christians were over twice more than Muslims. This time the girls were more than boys by two pupils.

Examination appeared to cause disparities in academic achievements of pupils. As a result, fast learners from some backgrounds seemed to achieve more than their peers, forcing the unsuccessful ones, perhaps those who missed lessons or have learning difficulties, to either repeat classrooms or drop out of school. From a religious angle, Muslims seemed not to be learning well compared to their Christian classmates. This

may be linked to exclusion of Arabic from the curriculum and dominance of Christian practices in the school life.

Poor communication skills

The use of Pidgin English at lessons gives insight to the fact that some pupils might not be learning well due to difficulties to communicate in the official English. It is one reason some of them could not successfully complete their assignments as indicated in the preceding sections.

School fees

Pupils who were unable to afford school fees appeared not to be learning well. Examples, includes some of the children who had to engage in income generation activities to be able to assist parents finance their education as seen in the previous section.

Pupil interaction

Teachers interacted with pupils on the basis of master and learner, staying far away from them perhaps to maintain their authority. Also, pupils were more selective in choosing friends. They appeared to socialise with peers according to kind including tribe, gender, religion and intelligence. Such categorisation seemed to create barriers for them to work with peers across backgrounds. Worse than that, a considerable number of them were refusing to play with the albino boy due to the stereotypes they ascribed to him. And the situation made the victim feel unhappy, secluded, thus lost enthusiasm to play with them too as can be seen from his behaviour when he was at the playground.

SUMMARY

The location of *Edor Agom* primary school in *Basarawa* is intent to provide opportunity for pupils from the settler *Hausa/Fulani* tribe and their peers from other identities in formal education. Children from different backgrounds within the community and its surroundings were fairly given places to learn in the school. Among them was an albino boy. The school had with good classrooms buildings and a considerably clean compound. Although the school is seen to make minimum efforts to positively respond to the needs of pupils, it did not seem to sustain that commitment to include them.

For instance, the school made no provisions to accommodate children with disabilities. *Efik* and *Ibibio* children and Christians appeared to be over-represented in registration compared to their peers from counterpart tribes and religion. The Muslims, in particular, did not seem to be participating fully at school due to exclusion of Arabic from the curriculum and dominance of Christianity. All pupils, however, suffered insufficient classroom accommodation causing some of them to sit on the floor to learn. Use of didactic teaching methods and corporal punishment make pupils to learn in an oppressive environment. More so, teacher directed more attention to the intelligent pupils to disadvantage others. Some of the pupils constrained by inability to read, write and speak in English, for example, were assaulted by teachers, thus leaving them traumatised. Inability to afford school fees is forcing some pupils to stay out of school. And some parents rather engaged their children at home in income earning activities to help pay for their education. In the face of these problems, these pupils were mandated to pass examinations to qualify to progress to a higher classroom and to graduate from primary school. Sadly, those

who failed these tests ended up repeating grades and spending more years in school unlike their peers.

Relationships between teachers and pupils indicate an adult-child pattern. Among the children there appeared to be a negative trend in such interactions whereby some of them attached stereotypes to their peers from other ethno-religious identities and the child with albinism in order to discriminate them from taking full participation in social activities across various backgrounds. Unfortunately, pupils did not seem to have a voice regarding the ways these barriers were affecting their lives and education.

However, during interview some of them suggested for a review of the didactic teaching method to another instructional techniques that could encourage communication between them and the teachers at lesson. In addition, pupils want to learn in a classroom where teachers do not use the cane or corporal punishment when children make wrong contributions to lessons or have flouted any school rules. Also, they called for the provision of adequate classroom accommodation and equipment to provide an environment conducive for learning. They would also like to see improvement in the aesthetics of the surroundings to make the school attractive and perhaps give pupils a sense of pride to identify with their school. Furthermore, they felt that payment of school fees is one issue, which has kept some children out of school and deprived them of education. They would in consequence want the levy abolished so as to motivate children to go to school. Finally, they expressed displeasure with the current uniform in use in the school and would rather want the dress code changed to one that could make them feel confident wearing it.

BUNYIA PRIMARY SCHOOL

SCHOOL CONTEXT

Bunyia primary school is sited in *Ogbudu*, a rural area located north outside Calabar, capital city of Cross River State, Nigeria. At approximately 37 kilometres along the Calabar - Ikom highway, turn left onto a tarred street called *Irruan*. Walk about 50 yards from the highway passing some houses and shops that lined the sides of the street. The school is sitting on the right after a police station. A fence separates them from each other. It is actually named after a Roman Catholic Church. The church and other houses were located around the school.

The original name of the school raised my curiosity. School records indicated that *Bunyia* primary was originally founded and managed as a Roman Catholic Mission (RCM) school. A female teacher informed me that some parents complained that offer of school places were preferentially given to children who practiced Catholicism. Since it was the only school existing in the community at the time, many children stayed out of school due to their non-Catholic backgrounds. Following that, the state government later took over its management of the school and changed its status to a public school to provide wider opportunities for other children to receive education.

Natives of *Ogbudu* were mostly members of *Ekoi* tribe. *Igbos*, *Efiks*, *Ibibios*, *Yorubas* and *Hausa/Fulanis* also resided in the area. The *Ekoi*s, perhaps, succeeded to impose themselves as indigenes to deprive other tribes the right to education. Presence of small farms and shops around the school provides a clue that some community members were peasant farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs. *English* was the dominant language among them as a national policy requirement. Locals also

speak various languages reflecting their tribes, and Pidgin English. *Efik* language was also commonly used among residents, perhaps, due to their interactions with the *Efiks* or geographic contiguity of the village to Calabar or to fulfil policy provisions for use of a language of the immediate environment in addition to English.

The school gate, painted dark and light green, stood by the roadside. The fence encircled the school round about. A sign board bearing the name of the school stood beside the gate. Also, the sign post had an inscription on it: adopted by: West Oil and Gas Company to suggest that this oil company was undertaking a project in there.



Irruan street from the Highway. A child is walking on it. Standing to the right of the child is the school fence.

A gravel motorway stretched from the gate inwards to the school compound. White wooden fence is built to frame parts of the sides of this driveway. A green two-storey building is located very near to the gate inside the school. It was the only upstairs and newest of all school buildings. A black marble plaque was placed on the side of the wall at the entrance of this building. Carvings on the plaque bore an emblem at the

top and a piece of information under it that read: 'West Oil & Gas Company FZE. Commissioning of twelve classrooms @ *Bunyia* Primary School, *Ogbudu* by His Excellency Mr. Okine Ewa , Governor of Cross River State on September 23, 2013'. Pupils in primary 4, 5 and 6 used the ground, middle and topmost floors respectively for learning. The head teacher's office was housed inside a hall on the ground floor. The office door was fitted with iron burglary proof.



Parts of the school compound. The building with green roof belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. The building lying horizontal to the church is one of the school buildings.

Located next to the storey building and facing the driveway was the primary 1 classroom block. Opposite primary 1 was the block that housed the nursery and parts of primary 2 classrooms. An expansive land extended from the frontage of this building to the upstairs and school gate. Pupils used this place as soccer field. Except for this playground, the school had no other recreational facilities and equipment. However, at the back of the nursery was another building, which the deputy headmistress, primary 3 and part of primary 2 pupils used. An overhead water tank

was built here too. Children used it to get their water needs at school. Also, pupils utilised the space in between primary 3 blocks and Nursery building as assembly area. The Nigerian and Cross River State flags were hoisted at the assembly ground. Like the upstairs, all other buildings were constructed with cement, painted dark and light green and roofed with aluminium sheets. White iron doors and shutters were fitted in the classrooms. Classrooms had no electricity, projectors and ramps. Younger pupils, especially, in the nursery and lower primary section, appeared to have some difficulties to climb stairs to the classrooms. Nevertheless, at the backyard of primary 3 and 2 building was a kitchen, designed in form of a shed. A farm was sited near this kitchen and extended to the school toilet, located at the extreme end of the backyard.

A male teacher said the farmland was shared among teachers including the school heads for personal use. He stated further that the school used to be in a very bad condition. It had dilapidated classroom buildings and equipment. Some classrooms were littered with excreta and infested by lizards, snakes and insects. Parents hated the school so much they refused to allow their children to study there. It was the Oil Company that eventually adopted the school and improved the facilities under its corporate social responsibility (CSR) policy. It was the same company that provided the police station, school fence, storey building, toilet, water tank and new classroom seats for pupils. Even the re-grassing in the school was funded by this organisation. I looked at the infrastructure in the school and saw that they bore the markings of the company. It then became clear that this organisation was actually assisting to supply school facilities and classroom equipment perhaps to complement government effort to provide better education for pupils.



Front view of the school compound. Some pupils and a staff are walking inside the school.

School uniform

All pupils wore schools uniforms. Girls in the primary section used white sleeveless pinafore and those in the nursery used white sleeve pinafore. The boys wore white short sleeve shirts on white shorts. All pupils used white socks and brown sandals. When I interviewed participants about what they would do if given the opportunity to change one thing in school, one of them said something about school uniform:

ME: If given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, what will you change?

Paul: Yes. I want them (school management) to change our uniform. Our uniform is not good. If you play it will dirty fast. They should change it to green and white. I like mek dem wear white and come to school on Monday to Thursday and mek dem wear anything and come to school on Friday. [I will like pupils to wear the white uniform to school from Monday to Thursday, but they should wear any clothes to school on Friday].

This pupils tends to be unhappy with his current school uniform. He does not like wearing the all-white costume to school every day because, according to him, it is hard to maintain. On that note, he is calling on the school management to change it to green and white. Probably, he wants the shirt/blouse to be white and short/skirt to be green or the other way round. It is, however, not clear the reason he is particular about these colours. A clue to it is that the colours symbolise the green and white in the Nigerian flag – indicating patriotism. More so, the fact that he wants pupils to wear this proposed dress code from Monday to Friday with the exception of Friday is, perhaps, to enable them use it for a long time. To ‘wear anything’ to school on Fridays does not suggest call for pupils to dress indecently to school on Friday. Rather, it discursively represents use of decent mufti by pupils on this day. Also, pupils appear not to be laden with too much lessons on Friday. That tends to give them enough space to play and get dirty in the process. Probably, when pupils use mufti on this day they may be able to preserve their uniforms to use them again in the next week, and to save cost for parents.

Social life of the school

School hours started 7:45am local time when the bell was rung to signal commencement of morning devotion. When the children had gathered at the assembly area, another female teacher stood in front of them and instructed, ‘line up children’. She was the teacher responsible for leading morning devotion that day.

Soon, however, pupils followed the order and queued according to their classrooms, height and gender. Co-teachers stood at different spots to assist organise the pupils. As the pupils took positions, the lead teacher continued to orchestrate proceedings of the gathering directing the pupils to recite the Lord’s Prayer, sing the Nigerian

national and Cross River State anthems as well as the pledges. This programme lasted 30 minutes.



The open space in between these two buildings behind the leafy tree is the assembly ground.

Conversing with participants regarding the reason pupils were learning in the school, nine of them stated:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ME: | Why are children schooling here in your school? |
| Paul (<i>a boy</i>): | Because their house is not far |
| Akpre (<i>girl with learning difficulties</i>): | Because the school is good |
| Usha (<i>a girl</i>): | May be this school is the best, maybe that's why they (their parents) bring them in this school |
| Abuon (<i>a boy</i>): | I am in this school because my mother was selling here and she told my dad that in this school they usually teach very well. So my dad removed me from my former school because they don't usually teach well or give notes. So I came here |
| Achua (<i>a boy</i>): | Because in the other school they don't teach well like here |
| Omari (<i>a girl</i>): | Because in this school they can teach well. . . |
| Ayi (<i>a boy</i>): | Because this school is very fine. . . |
| Asaa (<i>a girl</i>): | Because some schools are hard to pay and the money is very expensive |

Ebu (*a boy*): It's my father that told me to come to this school
because my cousin was teaching in this school.

Views from these pupils suggest that some children were learning in the school due to its geographical proximity to their homes. Others were learning there because the school is 'good' (line 3). You might derive understanding about the school being 'good' from the standpoint of the quality of teaching available. Even some parents as contained in line 6-7 acknowledged that and withdrew their child from a former school and rather enrolled the child at *Bunyia* primary school on the advice of the mother to enable the child learn well.

Such a recommendation to parents in favour of the school could also be read from under the breath of Ebu's excerpt. His cousin assumedly commended the school to his father requesting him to get a place in the school for Ebu. As a former teacher in the school, s/he did not ask Ebu's father to register him in another school. Perhaps, the school actually provided opportunities for children to learn well and succeed. Another merit ascribed to the school is the fact that it is 'very fine'. What you might decipher from the 'very fine' is in terms of the beauty of the school, the quality of infrastructure and classroom equipment available for pupils to use. Furthermore, it is a school that is assumedly comparatively affordable for some pupils and their parents as it is being implied in line 8. The nuances in the views of the pupils tend to indicate the pride they have to talk about their school. It seems, to some of the pupils, the school, compared to others, is able to respond to their different needs.



Rear view of the school compound showing some pupils and staff.

PUPIL PRESENCE

The staff

Bunyia primary school had teaching and non-teaching staff. My attention was, however, mainly on primary 5. This classroom had 5A, 5B and 5C, and three female teachers from *Ekoi*. Each of them was responsible for pupils in each of these classrooms and they all seemed to be Christians.

Pupil enrolment

305 pupils had places to start primary one in the 2006/2007 academic year. See further details in the tables below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in 2006/2007 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		53	17.37
		Boys		25
	Girls	28	52.83	
	Efik		80	26.23
		Boys		27
	Girls	53	66.25	
	Ibibio		157	51.47
		Boys		75
	Girls	82	52.23	
	Igbo		12	3.94
Boys		9		75.00
Girls		3		25.00
Yoruba		2	0.66	
	Boys		2	100.00
Hausa/Fulani		1	0.33	
	Girl		1	100.00
Religion	Muslims	1		0.33
	Christians	304		99.67
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	138		45.25
	Females	167		54.75
Final total number of pupils			305	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table illustrates that majority of the pupils were *Ibibios*, *Efiks* and *Ekois*. Insignificant number of others includes *Igbos*, *Yorubas* and *Hausa/Fulani* respectively. Only one Muslim was in the school. Others were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. Data did not indicate whether any of them had special educational needs and the language they speak.

410 pupils also had places to start primary one in the following 2007/2008 academic year. See details in the table below:

Enrolment of pupils in primary one in the 2007/2008 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		98	23.90
		Boys		35.71
	Efik	Girls	86	64.29
		Boys		43.02
	Ibibio	Girls	114	56.98
		Boys		57.02
	Igbo	Girls	69	42.98
		Boys		49.28
	Yoruba	Girls	43	50.72
		Boys		37.21
		Girls		62.79
Religion	Christians	410		100.00
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	187		45.61
	Females	223		54.39
Final total number of pupils			410	100.00

Source: State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2007). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics.*

Data on table indicates that pupils from *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo* and *Yoruba* respectively. All of them were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. It is unclear whether any of them had special educational needs. Data also did not reveal the language the pupils speak.

During interview about the identities of children learning in the school, the participants responded:

- ME: Where do the children who are schooling here in your school come from?
- Paul: From different places like Ikot Enebong and Kilo
- Achua: They come from Calabar . . .
- Usha: Biase
- Akpre: Some of them come from Ugep and Ogoja. That's the only places I know
- Ebu: They can come from Akwa Ibom or (sighs)
- Asaa: They come from Efik, Anang, (sighs)
- Abuon: Some of them come from Igbo, Atam, Ibibio, Yoruba . . .
- Omari: They come from different communities like Akwa Ibom and Ikot Abasi
- Azun (*a girl*): . . . many children that live in Ikot Omin . . .
- Ayi: Some of them come from Yoruba or Igbo.

These interviewees revealed the identities of pupils in the school in terms of those from various tribes such as *Efik*, *Yoruba*, *Ibibio*, *Igbo* and *Anang* (7, 8 & 11). Others explained in terms of pupils who live in streets within *Ogbudu* (lines 2 & 8); local governments (lines 3-5) within Cross River and neighbouring states (lines 6 & 9) Nigeria. The word '*atam*' contained in Abuon's excerpt is another name given to people from *Ekoi* tribe. However, there is a contrast in the 'sigh' in Ebu's and Asaa's excerpts. Both interviewees perhaps used the exclamation to signify that there was nothing further to say, and on the other hand, to express effort to think further to be able to supply more information respectively. Accounts from these pupils seem to clarify that a considerable number of the learners come from different backgrounds within *Ogbudu* and its environs.

Akpre: girl with learning difficulties

In primary 5B, I noticed Akpre, one of my participants. She sat on the desk with her female classmate at the back of the classroom near the window. Occasionally, she placed her right hand on her right cheek. While stealing glances at her, I observed that she was sometimes talking somewhat shyly with her partner and as she did that, she demonstrated with her hands in a sluggish manner. While familiarising with the pupils, her name suggested that she is *Efik*. I realised she came to school irregularly. The days she came to school she arrived late, sometimes when lessons have far begun. She wore faded uniform and slippers and looked haggard compared to other children. When I examine her notebooks, I saw that she did an assignment on reading and comprehension on English. She was to produce sentences in answer to five questions. She did not quite supply correct answers to the questions contained in the passage she had read. The teacher marked her work and wrote: one out of five and circled the score in red ink. Also, she wrote a remark, 'v. poor' on her book.

Discussing with participants about pupils who come to school irregularly, two of them made disclosures connected to Akpre and her peers, thus:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Why is it so?

Ayi: Yes, only these two pupils. Because Uncle, like Akpre her house is very far. She cannot come to school every day

ME: Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Asaa: Yes. Because the place that they are living is too far.

These pupils suggest that Akpre is among the children who do not attend school regularly and they also come to school late due to distance from their homes to

school. Perhaps, they spend plenty of energy to travel from their homes to school. It hints that these children might be missing lessons or losing concentration during lesson when they come to school due to physical exhaustion resulting from long walk.

PUPIL PARTICIPATION

School curriculum

16 subjects were listed on the school timetable. The timetable was pasted on a conspicuous location on the wall probably for easy reference. It was structured in a way that allowed pupils to have lessons in the morning and afternoon. In between these two periods, they observed 30 minutes break. Pupils learned these subjects from Monday to Friday, and on each day they received lessons for at least seven subjects. Further examination of timetable showed that pupils learned English and Science oriented courses mostly in the morning and learned the rest in the afternoon. And the last school activity pupils did on Friday was compound work - cleaning.

Classroom lessons

Every teacher prepared lesson notes in all the subjects. First the school head had to approve contents of the lesson notes to ensure they were correct and adequate before the teacher delivered the lesson to pupils.

Accommodation and seating arrangement

Classrooms were large, spacious and airy. They had new desks and pupils sat in rows and columns, thus creating aisles in between the seats. Also, each of the classrooms had enough benches providing pupils with many options regarding the chair on which to sit. Two pupils shared a seat and they appeared to have some space and comfort to place their books to write at lessons. Girls sat mostly with girls and boys

with boys. Bigger girls and boys sat at the back of the classroom while their smaller colleagues took the front seats. There were some vacant desks at the rear of the classroom. Teachers placed their tables at a corner in front of the pupils. The blackboard was placed on the wall in front of the classrooms.

Speaking with participants regarding participation of pupils in interaction in the classroom, one of them rather said something about accommodation:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Achua: No uncle, we are not sitting alone. We are sitting two.

What this pupil said appears to corroborate my observation illustrating that pupils sit in pairs on the desks in the classrooms. Also, it substantiates my assumption that there were sufficient seats to accommodate all pupils in the classrooms.

Teaching style

In primary 5C a girl hit the desk and gave a command in English, 'class greet!' All pupils stood up on their benches and greeted the teachers. Later, the teacher stood up from her seat and asked, 'what is the time now?' Some of the pupils responded, 'the time is eight thirty'. She enquired further, 'so, what used to happen in the class[room] at eight thirty in the morning?' Once again, some of the children answered, 'lesson'. Others said, 'we are going to learn something'. The lesson was 'Values and Peace' on Civic Education'. On the timetable I noticed that the first lesson listed was English and wondered the reason she was teaching Civic Education and not English. While she was explaining lesson she stated, 'we were supposed to learn English Language now, but we have to learn Civics today because we did not learn it yesterday after break. There was no time for us to do so'. One interesting issues in the lesson was the remarks she made in her explanations, saying emphatically,

'no matter your tribe, we should co-operate as citizens of Nigeria. Though Boko Haram have killed Christians in the north, we should not retaliate by killing Muslims in the south at Muslim settlements' (Field notes: Bunyia primary school, 2014).

She wrote the on the blackboard at the end of the lesson and asked pupils to copy. The lesson lasted 40 minutes. In primary 5A pupils were learning English on the topic, 'using the words 'could', 'can', 'would', 'please' and 'may' to make correct sentences'. The teacher asked pupils to make sentences in English using these words. One male and female participant showed more interests to answer the teacher's questions. The boy said, 'could you give me your pen?' The girl said to the class, 'me I will do that number 2 for aunty'. When given the chance, she said, 'I can write'. 'Correct! Clap for her', said the teacher. All children clapped for the girl as instructed. Another girl, however, raised a concern that she did not understand the lesson. The teacher asked her in Pidgin English, 'which one no clear, I go explain am?' (which one is not clear so that I can explain?). The girl pointed at the words she did not understand. The teacher consequently re-explained to her.

In primary 5B, pupils learned about table tennis on Physical and Health Education. The teacher asked two boys - one is my research participant - to demonstrate how the game is being played. As they carried on with the demonstration, the teacher requested their peers to applaud them and the pupils did accordingly. While they were still playing, other pupils took keen interest in the activity. They stood up, left their seats and stretched their necks to watch the demonstrators. The pupils laughed and cheered in excitement.

Sadly, teachers stood at the front of the classroom to orchestrate almost all activities and talk dominantly at lesson. Pupils sat attentively to follow almost all the leads of the teacher. For example, in primary 5A, the teacher pointed at one big girl - a

research participant – and said to her, 'madam, go and read'. The pupils stood reluctantly at the front of the classroom and improperly read the passage the teacher had chosen from the English lesson. The teacher said to her, 'aunty madam, you go and sit down'. Other children laughed at her as she walked dejectedly back to her seat. In primary 5B, the teacher stood at the blackboard to read the names of some officials in the game of table tennis which she had written. She asked the pupils to read after her. Four boys who sat at the middle of the classroom could not pronounce the name, 'umpire' correctly. The teacher looked at them and said:

. . . *and you are all boys, yet you don't know* (Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

Later, pupils in this classroom had another lesson entitled, 'telephone conversation' on English. This time the teacher asked a girl to read. She read slowly, but correctly. It seemed the teacher felt bored or was impatient with the way the child was reading. So, she said to the reader, 'this one cannot read. Who can read faster to take over from her?' One boy moved forward and read in her stead.

In primary 5C pupils, learned Home Economics in the afternoon. Looking around to see the way the children were being engaged in the lesson, I saw one boy sitting quietly at the back of the classroom. He appeared to be uninterested in the lesson. I kept close watch on the boy to see whether the teacher would notice him and probably engage him. Throughout the duration of the lesson, that boy remained passive. His teacher was always paying attention to some of the pupils in the classroom who were calling, 'aunty, aunty', seeking her permission to make some inputs at lesson.

I spoke with participants regarding the way they were learning and this is what they said:

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Usha: So that the other pupils will not disturb them when they are learning.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?

Paul: Because some of them they think they have known all the things they are teaching. Like me when they are teaching, what I don't know I will ask the teacher a question When the teaching is teaching

Achua: Immediately they [pupils] know something all of them will begin to carry their hands up to ask questions

Asaa: If our aunty teach, our aunty will say let us ask questions. We'll ask

Abuon: They are so respectful. They wait for you teachers to ask them whether they have any questions to ask. So that is when all of them will raise their hands up to ask questions because they don't just stand up and ask a question like that

Ebu: Because they allow the teacher to write and to allow the teacher to explain

Ayi: They (teachers) want them (pupils) to take the lesson very well (seriously). They want to understand the lesson. They can stop the teacher and ask Questions

ME: What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?

Paul: The teacher will answer . . . the question or carry the question and ask pupils who know and they will tell me the answer

Achua: The teacher will tell them (pupils) when I am teaching what you don't know ask me

Usha: They tell them to ask questions. Or anything they

	don't understand they will tell the pupils to ask questions
Akpre:	The teachers will answer their questions . . .
Ebu:	She answers the questions and the pupils listen
Asaa:	The teacher will call the pupils one by one and ask them to ask questions
Abuon:	Our aunty (teacher) will say that is good when you ask her a question and she will answer it for you
Omari:	She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o
Azun:	When you ask aunty (teacher) questions she will tell another pupil who knows book (intelligent) to answer the question.

Opinions from these interviewees surmise that pupils have some opportunities to talk and make enquiries to actively engage in lesson. But, some of the pupils seem to prefer to learn in a distraction free environment. So they choose to sit quietly in the classroom perhaps to enable them grasp the lesson. Paul's excerpt implies that some of the pupils may have already understood the lesson when it is being imparted and saw no need to ask questions for clarity. In contrast, other pupils still want to share their thoughts with their peers in the classroom regardless of whether they are already familiar with the concepts they are learning. There are yet some pupils who, out of respect, choose to wait for their teachers to finish teaching before they could ask questions perhaps to seek clarity on the grey areas. However, Ayi's excerpt connotes that some pupils tend to abuse the opportunity they have to make comments. In consequence, teachers appear to adapt their instructional techniques to the situation ensuring pupils ask questions in the classroom when it is necessary. This is to make them accord some seriousness to the lesson so as to benefit from it.

While probing the interviewees further on the issue, four of them disclosed that:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?
- Akpre: It's good for them because they are not making noise when [the] teacher is teaching
- Omari: It's madam that cause it. If she finishes writing madam will say who has a question, they (pupils) will lift up their hands and say they have something to say
- Azun: Because they fear the aunty
- ME: What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?
- Omari: She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o
- Ayi: If you ask the teacher a question and you did not ask well (not to ask good question), she will flog you. If the question is correct she will not beat you. She will answer the question.

It appears pupils learn under a set of rules, which is, they have to wait until the end of the lesson, raise their hands to indicate interest to make inputs and wait to be recognised by the teacher before they can express their views or make queries. You might understand from the perspective and orientation of Akpre that the attempt of some pupils to talk while the lesson is still in progress is tagged as a distractive 'noise'. As a consequence, some of the children experience 'fear' to communicate during lesson perhaps to prevent being punished by the teacher. It resembles a situation where you have to wait for a dictator to lift the ban on freedom of expression before you can talk, and in this case, presumably, pupils do so in order not to incur the teacher's wrath. Even when they have been given the privilege to talk, they appear to follow the dictates of the teacher to qualify to talk. They have to

ensure what they say will be correct and perhaps make sense to the teacher or they get whipped for making 'stupid' statements or queries. Reference to 'stupid question o' in Omari's second excerpt is a Pidgin English version emphasising the way the teacher warns pupils not to ask nonsensical questions. Apart from beating the pupils, teachers sometimes tend to ignore any queries a child has made in the classroom. Wrong contributions from some pupils are seemingly prohibitive and intolerable to teachers. Assumedly, some pupils learn in fear. Others tend to have learned to learn passively in order not to suffer any consequences for breaching standing order guiding classroom lessons.

Further responses from seven of the participants indicate that particular pupils experienced this barriers the most:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME: | When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening? |
| Asaa: | Because they cannot read |
| Abuon: | . . . our aunty separates those who cannot read and leave those who can read |
| Ayi: | (Thinking) Some children sit on their own because they cannot read |
| Omari: | Because our aunty used to call them block head |
| Azun: | Because our aunty don't want us to copy [from] another person |
| Akpre: | They are making noise that's why my madam ask them to sit alone |
| Ebu: | Because they don't want us to copy what they write from them. |

These disclosures suggest that there are some slow learners among the pupils. As a result, some teachers appear to attach stereotypes to these pupils, as you might construe from Omari's excerpt, and prevent them from developing collaborations and to learn from their peers. So they probably decided to make the affected pupils 'sit alone' perhaps as punishment for their poor performance in assigned tasks or make them discontinue with the activity.

Consequent to this challenges pupils face in the classrooms, seven interviewees, supplied some recommendations that might assist to resolve the problem to advantage the way they learn:

- ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn well?
- Achua: Ehn, I think our teacher should teach us and let us see the things she is teaching us. Like if she is teaching us Agriculture, we can go and work in the school farm
- Ayi: Like when the teacher is teaching, we can see the pictures of things so that we can learn well . . .
- Usha: I want us to be asking our teacher questions when we are learning
- Akpre: Our aunty should teach us let us understand. She should explain what she is teaching well for us
- Ebu: I want the teacher to give us assignment so that we can teach ourselves
- Omari: The teacher should teach us and give us homework. If we fail anything she should do correction
- Abuon: I want the teacher to give us home work to do.

The data surmises that pupils will like to be very actively engaged in what they are learning. As such, they will prefer to 'see the things' they are learning. Within this context, according to Achua, pupils want to have the opportunity to do practical learning, for example, when they are in Agriculture lesson. It seems the lessons they receive in the classrooms are largely based on theories and unable to meet their desires to feel, smell, taste and see the concepts. Practical learning, perhaps, is one way to complement the theory, concretise the materials they are learning and to arouse their enthusiasm to learn. This is much akin to Ayi's reference to the use of 'pictures' for learning in the classroom. Also, having the opportunity to do 'assignments or homework' and 'ask questions', according to the children, might enable them participate more and have a two-directional communication between them and the teachers at lessons. It is likely these strategies could stimulate their

creativity, motivate them to make queries, seek clarifications, criticise the teacher, and encourage independent learning and to discover.

Speaking further, Abuon, want the intervention to take place in terms of teacher quality:

ME: If given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, what will you change?

Abuon: Change the teachers. Yes, because not all of them can do their jobs well. So I will look for teacher that have gone to school well and put [employ] them.

Abuon feels pupils are being short-changed by these teachers on account of poor teaching. You could see that he is indirectly making a call, perhaps, on government to hire professionally qualified teachers to do the job and help pupils learn well.

His peers looked at it from the stance of supply of better classroom equipment:

Azun; Change the blackboard. Put that black board that they used to show light and show something on the wall (projector) when the teacher is teaching

Asaa: Change the fan. . . . I will put the fan. The fan is not fine.

The first pupils would like to see projectors installed in the classroom perhaps to complement the conventional blackboard, vary medium of instruction to meet the needs of some visual learners and ease learning for others. In addition, her colleague suggests that fans have to be fitted in the classroom. Discursively, the adjective ‘fine’ is used to indicate fans that are working well. In other words, the use of fans in the classrooms may enable them learn in comfort especially in hot weather. This signifies that, pupils may feel comfortable to learn in a classroom equipped with modern learning materials.

Mode of discipline

During the English lesson mentioned above in primary 5A the teacher asked two boys and a girl to take turns to read the notes on the board. Unfortunately, these children could not read correctly. Even, one of them stood up on his desk and could not utter a word to pronounce any of the words written on the board. 'Oya, come out and kneel down here', the teacher commanded them, pointing at a corner in front of the classroom. All three children obeyed and they stayed on their knees on the bare floor to read after other colleagues who could read better. However, a girl walked into the classroom late in primary 5B while the lesson was in progress in the morning. The teacher caned her and later asked her to sit down.

In primary 5C, the teacher was explaining the lesson while holding a long cane in her hand. She waved the stick and made some gestures with it occasionally as she explained the lessons to pupils. It is unclear whether, like her co-teacher in primary 5B, she also used the stick to flog pupils when they have gone wrong. As I pondered on this issue, she turned and faced the board, used the stick and pointed at some words she had written to draw attention of the pupils to them.



Pupils learning in the classroom. See the teacher holding a cane in her right hand.

Speaking with participants about the discipline in the classroom, nine of them stated:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?
- Paul: Uncle, because the pupil did not do his homework well that's why they (teachers) beat him
- Achua: Because they used to pinch us in the class. We will not do them anything and they will be looking for our trouble, so aunty will beat them
- Usha: Because the pupil wear mufti and come to school. Her uniform was dirty and she did not wash it
- Akpre: Because the person cannot read and write well
- Ebu: . . . maybe because they were playing [foot]ball in the classroom. That is why our teacher beat them
- Asaa: Because that day one girl did not barber her hair before she come to school. So aunty beat her and told her to barber her hair
- Abuon: Because they don't pay attention when the teacher is teaching. Some of them like that if the teacher does not beat them they will not know how to read and they will be making noise in the classroom and fighting other children
- Omari: Because the pupil did not pay his fees like handwork and school fee
- Ayi: . . . it's because the pupils was fighting in the classroom . . .

- ME: How does this flogging by the teacher help you to learn?
- Paul: When the teacher beats [us] we will not make noise in the classroom
- Usha: Uncle, . . . we will be able to know something that they (teachers) teach us so that we can pass our exam and go to another class
- Akpre: . . . some pupils used to stay in their house so that aunty will not beat them
- Asaa: Yes, it will help the pupil to respect the teacher
- Abuon: It help us so that we can know what the teachers tells us to do and we can learn well.

Following these pupils' views, it appears teachers largely use corporal punishment to regulate behaviours of pupils. You can see that pupils get whipped for performing virtually any actions the teachers consider as being contrary to school rules. Some of the pupils seemed to have accepted the practice naively as a norm. They regard it as one way by which they could be motivated to learn, comply with rules as well as to behave respectfully towards the teachers. You might also discern from Asaa's second excerpt that some of the teachers, on the other hand, tend to opportunistically use the situation to command 'respect' from pupils. However, there are some children, in Akpre's second excerpt, who do not appear to be happy with the practice. These pupils refuse to go to school perhaps for some days to avoid being beaten by the teachers. Also, it is likely they skip days at school to protest against the practice. It suggests some pupils learn in a hostile environment characterised by pain and fear. Rather than enjoy what they learn, they seem to feel constrained to learn, forcing some of them to develop resistance to the practice.

However, three participants supplied some suggestions to address this wrong administration of discipline at school:

- Paul: I don't want aunty to hold the cane when she is teaching us. It used to make me be afraid to talk when she is teaching
- Asaa: . . . I don't want our aunty to be cursing us (calling us names) when we don't know how to answer her questions
- Azun: Aunty used to flog us. I don't want her to flog us again.

These pupils want to be able to learn in a classroom where teachers do not use the cane either to teach or punish erring pupils. Others would be happy should teachers stop to the use of invectives to disparage them, especially, when they have supplied wrong answers or perhaps made inappropriate contributions at lessons. They would probably like to learn in a supportive environment that is devoid of fear and oppression.

Writing skills

Every pupil copied notes and did assignments in their notebooks. A female participant in primary 5A did a class work. She was instructed to write five words with three syllables. She wrote: Ga -ma - liel, com - pu - ter, an - in -Ny, so - lu - tion, mathe - ma - tics. The teacher ticked four right and one wrong in red. And the teacher wrote the remark 'Good, on the pupil's work. A male participant in primary 5B did a class work on English. He was instructed to use the words 'if', but' granted' and 'though' to make correct sentences. He developed six sentences with these words. The teacher used red ink to tick four right and two wrong. He scored four out of six. Also, the teacher wrote the remark, 'Good' in his work. A male participant in primary 5C spelt 16 English words. 10 of these words were written correctly. Six of them

were, however, wrong. Correction was done for the misspelled words (Pupils' notebooks: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).

During interview on what pupils could do if given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, a participants, however, said something related to provision of books for pupils:

Ayi: Change book. I mean that I will change all the students' note books, their text books. I will buy some of the books and will be giving them set by set and then Nursery I will give them 20 leaves and primary I will them 80 and 40 leaves so that they will be able to write. And text books I will be giving them three in all classes.

This suggests that some pupils do not have sufficient notebooks and curriculum textbooks to learn at school. A considerable number of them, compared to their peers, appear not to participate fully in lessons, including taking up-to-date notes on various subjects and reading. Against this backdrop, providing pupils with these learning materials, according to Ayi, might facilitate their full participation at lessons.

Pupil language

Teachers occasionally delivered lessons to pupils in Pidgin English. Some of the teachers used this language when they were explaining some strange concepts. Likewise, some pupils sometimes switched to this slang when conversing with peers. A boy in primary 5B was discussing with another male colleague of his in the classroom. He could not pronounce some words correctly in the official English. Surprisingly, his teacher cautioned him saying, 'oga, speak English; not broking (Pidgin English) . . . here'. Moved by this incidence, I decided to interview

participants to ascertain their experience about the medium of instruction. This is what they said:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that the teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other during lesson. Why is that happening?
- Ayi: Because the children are from different villages and they speak pidgin English and their (local) languages too. They cannot speak (official) English
- Achua: Some of the children are not speaking good English. That is why they used to use *Efik* and English to teach them
- Paul: Because some of them . . . cannot speak correct English
- Usha: When the aunty want to talk to us, sometimes she will use good English. Sometimes she will use pidgin English
- Akpre: Uncle, to use it to correct us and in teaching so that we will be intelligent . . .
- Ebu: Because other pupils in the class don't know how to speak (the official) English
- Asaa: Because they want other pupils to know [how to speak] English
- Omari: So that the children will understand what they are learning
- Azun: So that the students can speak English well
- Abuon: Because many of the teachers are not well trained . . . they speak broken [English].

You may understand from the pupils' perspectives that the classrooms comprised children from various villages, linguistic backgrounds and perhaps tribes. And a considerable number of them tend to use Pidgin English often to communicate generally with peers from other backgrounds. That is because they cannot speak the official English fluently. In consequences, some of the teachers use Pidgin English and sometimes *Efik* to simplify the lesson and facilitate understanding, aiding pupils to perform better in their studies. Akpre used the words to 'correct us' and 'intelligent' in a discursive sense to illustrate the way teachers used Pidgin English as

a substitutive language to help pupils enhance the way they learn. More so, there seem to be some teachers who, like the pupils, could not speak fluent English probably due to poor professional training. These teachers also use Pidgin English so as to be able to teach.

Free school meal

One Thursday morning as pupils in primary 5A were busy writing notes their teacher announced to them to go out and collect food. On hearing the good news, some of the children shouted, 'yee-es' and all of them moved out of the classroom onto the school compound. A few of the pupils were walking faster as if to get to the destination before their peers. Outside the classroom I saw pupils also coming out from the other classrooms. All of them walked towards the kitchen. I noticed there were some strange looking women who dressed like chefs standing at the kitchen, and were carrying some food packed in disposable plates.

Some teachers stood around the pupils and were directing them to queue in front of the kitchen and stop being disorderly. This time they did not form lines according to classroom, but in the order of height, providing opportunity for children in the lower classrooms to stand in front of the senior pupils. There was a cacophony of noise coming from pupils and even teachers. The chefs were calling the pupils forward in turns and serving them food. One female teacher advised the pupils in a loud voice, 'when you collect the food, say thank you, aunty'. 'And when you have collected, go and stay in your classroom and eat your food'. So each recipients would say, 'thank you, aunty' or 'thank you, madam' when s/he collects the food. But, some of them opened the lid of the disposable plate hurriedly to eat the food. They used plastic spoons attached to the plates to eat the food. It was so amazing to see that some of the pupils were impatient to use the spoons. Rather, they were eating with their

hands. Regardless of the teacher's instruction, some of them were already eating the food, licking the food crumbs stuck to their hands, spoons and lips as they walk towards their classrooms.



The school kitchen. The vegetation around the shed is the school farm.

Speaking with participants regarding their experience of the food services, they all stated:

ME: I noticed that some people come to your school to cook some food for the children. What kind of food do they cook for the children?

Akpre: Because so many pupils have not eaten to come to school and so many pupils don't have father and mother

Achua: The owner of the school (head of the Oil Company) send the people to come and be giving us food every Thursday

Ebu: Our mother do not have money to prepare food, we'll just come to the school and they will give us food and we'll not be hungry again. . .

Paul: Because they look at the children and see that their body is not fine that is why they cook indomie noodles, rice and chicken and give us so that our body will be fresh

Asaa:	To make the children look healthy and study well
Abuon:	Our mama that builds this school gives some money for them to come and cook food for us and make this school the best in this village. They give us indomie and juice. There are some children who are poor and do not have food to eat. So when they come to school they give them some to eat to hold their bellies
Omari:	. . . it is the owner of the school that sent them to go and cook for the school
Azun:	They are from the company of West Oil
Ayi:	On Thursday they cook indomie and give egg to us to eat. It's because they show love to us
Usha:	Sometimes when school close they will cook rice and chicken with indomie for us.

These pupils explained that children were served (indomie) noodles, rice, chicken, eggs and juice to eat. The chefs were staff of the Oil Company that adopted the school. And they were sent to the school by the owner of company to provide the children with the food. The views of the children suggest that some pupils come to school hungry and that is because their parents are poor and could not provide them with this basic need at home. So the company is perhaps assisting parents to feed the children at school to keep them healthy and enable them learn well. The term 'to hold their bellies' in Abuon's excerpt connotes that the pupils are served the food to prevent some of them from experiencing rumbling stomachs due to starvation. It appears the organisation is undertaking this programme as a moral responsibility, perhaps, that is what Ayi, in his excerpt implied to as 'show love' to pupils. Apart from feeding the children, again in Abuon's excerpt, it is also to make the school 'the best in the village' in terms of the help it provides, compared to its counterparts, to help pupils succeed in their studies. It is likely they give pupils food every Thursday at the end of the semester, and the extent and/or regularity of the support the company provides has made some of the pupils to mistake the Company's head as the 'owner' (lines 6

and 14) of the school. You can see a similar reference occurring in line 10 when Abuon referred to the benefactor of the school as 'our mama'.

School levies and family pressure

At the end of morning devotion, the deputy headmistress announced to pupils calling on them to pay ₦200.00 (£1.00). Furthermore, she explained that that amount is divided into ₦100.00 (50p) for Parents Teachers Association (PTA), ₦50.00 (30p) for examination fee and another ₦50.00 (30p) for continuous assessment. Speaking further, she condemned the situation where some children go home and lie to their parents that their teachers sent them home for failing to pay ₦200.00 levy and handicraft e.g. broom. It raised a question within me as to whether, actually, pupils do not face any consequences for failing to pay these charges. I had to speak to the participants regarding their experience on the issue. Six of them made the following disclosures:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too? Why is it so?
- Azun: It's the children. Because if their mother send them to sell something they will not come to school again. Their mother could tell them to stay in the house and hold baby for her
- Omari: No. They are many. Because they don't like to come to school because of the work they are doing like packing sand [to sell] . . .
- Usha: Yes. It's because they don't like to come to school. They like selling in the market. Some will be selling garri, oil and fish. It's their parents that give it to them to sell
- Akpre: Yes. Because they are helping their mother to sell something like oil
- Ebu: It's only Aniebiet. Because her uniform is not good
- Abuon: . . . some of them have not paid their school fees.

Views from these pupils are within the child abuse and child labour discourse respectively. One aspect of child abuse, as illustrated in their perspectives describes the engagement of some school children in domestic chores at home. On the other hand, child labour connotes the involvement of children in income generation activities instead of going to school. Perhaps, these children undertake these activities to assist parents in childcare and to also help them pay family bills, including covering part of the cost of their education at school. This might Ebu named Aniebiet, as the pupil who was not in school. May be Aniebiet stayed at home to assist parents raise some money to buy her a new school uniform.

Pupil identity

Every pupil carried a low haircut. The hairdo is plain and largely uniform among all of them. You may not even see any form of fashionable design on their hair. I asked to know further the reason behind this practice and my participants expressed the following perspectives:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| ME: | I have noticed that children cut their hair low to school in your school. Why is this happening? |
| Ebu: | Because in our school they (pupils) don't plait hair. That's why. |
| Paul: | Because it's the headmistress that said they should cut their hair low. So that their hair will look fine |
| Akpre: | The headmistress said we should barb our hair so that we will not look like village people who are just coming back from farm. If children barb their hair they (teachers or headmistress) will use razor blade and cut it |
| Achua: | Because . . . it is a primary school. It's not a university. That is why they don't have to keep their hair. They have to cut their hair low so that they will be clean and neat |
| Usha: | Because our teachers don't want bushy hair. If you barb punk to school they (teachers) will drive you home |

Asaa: . . . They (teachers) said they (pupils) should not
barb their hair and put ear-rings [to school]

Abuon: If children weave and barber their hair they
(teachers and pupils) will think that the children
are not in this school

Omari: . . . If the girls plait or the boys barb style the
teachers will send them away (home) to go and
barber their hair very well (cut their low)

Azun: Because some children keep their hair and they
don't even wash it

Ayi: If you don't cut your hair they, our aunties, will
put scissors in your hair.

Perhaps the school management has banned pupils from carrying hairstyles and body piercings at school. The low cut also seems to serve as a mark of identity among pupils. Teachers tend to believe that pupils will not be able to maintain hairdos and body piercings. Also, they feel that allowing pupils to adorn their bodies with these fashions can arguably make them look dirty like some peasant farmers who are returning from 'farm' in the 'village' (line 6) as well as look different from their peers at school. Some of the pupils, as shown in Achua's excerpt, tend to be indoctrinated to believe that these fashions are meant for only 'university' students; not children in primary schools. Teachers enforce compliance to these practice by using 'scissors' to cut some defaulters' hair or send them home to have the hair cut. Presumably, some pupils might like to have decent hairstyles at school, but the school is denying them the privilege to do so. Some pupils who carry hairstyles to school appear to be shamed by teachers or asked to stay away from school.

Pupil interaction

Pupils did not exercise close relationship with their teachers. Rather, teachers appeared to stay far away in terms of socialisation from pupils. Close interaction between them take place only at lessons and when they want the children to run errands for them. Among pupils, it was only on a few chairs that both genders sat

together. When pupils were writing notes in primary 5A, a girl took her male colleague's pen which he had kept on his desk without his consent. Frowning, the boy said to her in *Efik*, '*nim pen odo idagha emi*', meaning, 'keep that pen now'. So, she flung the pen back at him, looking disappointed. Soon after, two other boys started arguing over seating space. One of the boys used the tip of his pen to stab his peer's hand, but the victim was unhurt. The teacher intervened and stopped them. A female participant and a boy in primary 5B exchanged blows during lesson. They accused each other of making noise and interrupting the lesson. In primary 5C, one big boy refused to let another boy to sit with him. When the boy insisted that he would sit, the aggressor started a fight. In the scuffle, the aggressor injured the opponent in the lower lip. He did not apologise to the victim. The teacher later stopped them. But, the victim stared angrily at the aggressor, and gesticulating, he swore that he was going to revenge at break.

At 10:40am local time, a bell sounded and I heard a pupil's voice say, 'stand up and pray. It's time for break'. Every pupil stood up on his or her desk clasped the hands and prayed:

Oh Lord, as we are going out now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen
(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014).



Aerial view of the school soccer field/playground.

At the playground one female participant was carrying two small plastic containers containing some snacks. She was helping her teacher to sell sweet, ice cream, chewing gum and pies to other pupils within the school's premises. A few of her female and male colleagues were also seen accompanying her around the school compound. Akpre was walking soberly and alone. A boy came to her and initiated play and she calmly turned him down. Forty minutes later, a teacher rang a hand bell and all pupils converged at the entrance of the storey building in queues. A teacher stood in front of them. She instructed and they sang this prayer:

*Some have food, but cannot eat
some can eat, but have no food
we have food and we can eat
glory be to you oh Lord
Oh Lord as we are going in now, please be with us in Jesus name. Amen*

(Field notes: *Bunyia* primary school, 2014)

After saying this prayer, all of them dispersed to their various classrooms to continue learning. I interviewed participants on their experience regarding interaction in school and they responded, thus:

- ME: Why did you write that you would you like to work with . . .
- . . . Christian, Grace and Precious?
- Paul: Because they are my best friends.
- . . . Esther, Juliet and Aniebiet?
- Usha: I like the way they are doing something and they have a good character . . .
- . . . Godspower, Queen and Daniel?
- Achua: (stuttering) because they like behaving well . . .
- . . . Blessing, Emmanuel and Queen?
- Omari: They are [my] very good friends
- . . . Blessing, Udemé and Glory?
- Akpre: Because they can arrange things [well]
- . . . Anthony, Freewill, Emmanuel?
- Ebu: . . . We always share something together (in common)
- . . . Blessing, Mercy and Queen?
- Asaa: Because they are good to me and me I always like to play with them . . .
- . . . Bassey, Emmanuel and David?
- Abuon: Because they know how to write and read. So if I work with them I learn from them and they will learn from me
- . . . Christian, Grace and Ekanem?
- Azun: Because they are brilliant. . . Okokon, Ezekiel and Emmanuel.
- Ayi: Because we [learn] very well in the class
- ME: Why will you like to work with them?
- Paul: When they give us anything that I don't know I will ask her and she will tell me.
- Usha: . . . if I ask them for pen, they'll borrow [lend] me
- Akpre: I mean they can arrange things well because when our aunty is not around, three of us will gather together and read our books
- Ebu: When they buy their things like biscuit they always share it with me and if I buy my own I will share with them
- Asaa: If something happens to me they will come and help, like when someone looks for my trouble

	they can come and help [me]
Abuon:	As in when they give us class work I cannot even write it. So they teach me how to write
Omari:	Sometimes when I want to read, the one I do not know they will help me to correct it
Azun:	They used to help me. Because if I read and I don't know the place they will tell me
Ayi:	They help me. The thing that I cannot pronounce, they pronounce it correctly for me. Them too, they thing that they cannot pronounce I will pronounce
Achua:	. . . I said they like behaving well, like when they (teachers) teach something in the class, they don't play; they will listen to the aunty.

It appears, from their perspectives, that some of the pupils sometimes engage in peer teaching and collaboration to meet, discuss, share ideas and build friendships during lessons, classroom projects and at play. Pupils tend to collaborate more to assist their peers enhance their literacy abilities and to complete assignments. There are some pupils who are attracted to their colleagues because they are attentive in the classroom perhaps showing enthusiasm to learn. Other pupils cooperate to share snacks and pens at school. Also, some of them as indicated in Asaa's second excerpt presumably bond with their stronger peers so as to get protection against aggressors. It seems pupils work in teams to help each other resolve situations that appear to disadvantage them at school. Implicitly, these children take the responsibility to provide some support to one another to improve their study, get some comfort and safety while at school.

However, seven of the participants provided responses that indicate issues that disadvantaged them in interactions:

- ME: During break time I have seen some children who do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom? Why do you think they don't have any one to play with?
- Paul: Yes. Because everyone hates them. When they ask them to give them some pencils to use and write, they'll refuse.
- Omari: Our madam said if they cannot read we should not play with them
- Achua: No. Some of them are from primary two or primary three. We play with only pupils in our class[room]
- Usha: They are from our class[room]. They don't want to play and dirty their clothes
- Ayi: It's eh primary two, primary one. All those little children that we don't like to play with
- Asaa: . . . they are from another classroom like primary four
- Ebu: . . . they like playing ball. I don't like playing ball. I like playing with my church member. She is in primary three. I like playing basketball, running and volleyball. We don't have these games in this school.

It seems pupils avoid interacting with some colleagues due to the refusal of some children to lend their peers writing materials. Other children, however, stay away from playing with their colleagues in order not to dirty their uniforms. In some situations, the teachers appear to be the persons who discourage some children from making friends with their peers perhaps to punish the latter on the assumption that they have poor reading competences. A considerable number of children are likely to befriend colleagues on the basis of year of study. What that connotes is that seniority in school, as you might see in Ayi's excerpt, seems to create demarcations in pupil relationships. Amazingly, this practice does not appear to permeate all friendships. You may discern from Ebu's reference: 'my church members', that some children

Four other participants linked these disadvantages in interaction to aggression, thus:

I assume some pupils make false report against their peers and perhaps make the teachers to punish the victims wrongly. At times some pupils use invectives, such as 'oyibo' in Ebu's excerpt, on their classmates probably to provoke or make them feel uncomfortable. Also, there are some children who 'beat' their peers, according to Akpre, on daily basis. It is likely some pupils get bullied by their peers on regular basis, thus preventing the victims from learning well at school.

789

Usha: Change football . . . the boys will not allow us to enter the field and play football too.

You might understand from this perspective that the pupil wants the school to encourage cross gender participation of pupils at play and sports. This could dwindle or eliminate the dominance of boys, for example, in football at playtime and spur the girls to also take part in the sport and perhaps other recreational events. It symbolises an advocacy for equality of boys and girls at school.

Her peers examined it from the point of view of elimination of aggressive behaviour:

Ebu: Change bad habits. . . . Like now the pupils fight and when you keep your things, they'll come and steal them. . .

Akpre: Change playing. Because some children are playing and are giving [other] children wounds (injuries) in their bodies.

You can see that these pupils are decrying the situations where some of their peers attack other children, causing them body injuries and making some of them lose their 'things' – symbolising personal property. Arguably, they are, in consequence, indirectly asking the school to check bullying so as to guarantee their safety including that of their property thereby enabling them to learn well at school.

School toilet

The surrounding of the toilet is filled with overgrown grasses; littered with excreta and other harmful objects. Some pupils were taking rubbish from the classrooms to pour in that area. The place is such in a decrepit condition that it appears to form a habitation for insects, reptiles and rodents. In some occasions, some female pupils squatted in hidden spots outside the toilet to excrete. You might perceive some odour coming from the direction of the toilet. It is likely this smell also inconveniences some pupils in their classrooms.



Some pupils standing near the toilet, painted light green.

PUPIL ACHIEVEMENT

School environment

Bunyia primary school had an expansive and relatively flat land. Also, it had adequate classroom accommodation and large enough to allow for good cross ventilation at lessons. Classroom seats were also sufficient to the extent that some desks were vacant after all pupils had had their seats in the classrooms. A considerable number of pupils appeared to sit comfortably to learn. Pupils with different abilities were learning together in the classrooms. Sadly, available provisions were designed in ways that enabled only typical children within the community to learn in the school. Akpre was a typical child except that she appeared to have some difficulties in learning. Absence of ramps, for instance, is one factor that indicates that the school was built targeting only non-disabled learners, implying that learners with impairments were not welcomed there. More so, younger pupils in the nursery and lower primary sections tend to experience some difficulties to access

some classrooms. Furthermore, lack of power supply seems to have adverse effects on the visibility of pupils present during lessons in dark weather.

Teaching style and discipline

Services that appeared to include pupils in school is exemplified by the lesson on Civics in primary 5C where the teacher admonished them to display inter-ethnic and religious tolerance regardless of the casualties, which the Christians have suffered following terrorist attacks by Boko Haram, and the case in primary 5A where the girl had her query addressed when she drew her teacher's attention to an aspect of the lesson she did not understand on English. Apart from that, lessons were mostly delivered using traditional teaching methods. As such, teachers initiated and implemented almost all activities while standing rigidly in front of the classroom. And that gave them huge space to talk dominantly imposing their ideas and values on pupils. Pupils had voices at lessons at the discretion of teachers otherwise they sit quietly to listen. Use of corporal punishment and diatribes seem to curtail their participation in the classroom further. Learners seem to lose opportunity to actively engage in lessons because teachers cane them, ask them to kneel or abuse them, especially, when they are unable to do assigned tasks or have flouted school rules. Due to that, some of them appear to learn in fear and discomfort.

Promotion examination and grade repetition

Like the other schools, pupils in *Bunyia* took promotion and common entrance examinations. They were expected to pass these examinations to be eligible to progress to a higher classroom and transit from primary to secondary schools respectively. See further details on the tables below:

Pupils who took common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		32	10.49
		Boys 14		
	Efik	Girls 18	58	19.02
		Boys 25		
	Ibibio	Girls 33	121	39.67
		Boys 58		
	Igbo	Girl 63	12	3.94
		Boys 9		
		Girls 3		
Religion	Christians		223	73.11
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	106		34.75
	Females	117		38.36
Final total number of pupils			223	73.11

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table demonstrates 223 pupils from the initial 305 pupils who had places to commence primary one in the 2006/2007 as shown on table earlier on progressed to primary 6 and took the common entrance examination. Majority of them were *Ibibios*, *Efiks* and *Ekois*. A minority of their peers were *Igbos*. Note that the two *Yorubas* and one *Hausa/Fulani* did not progress along with their peers to primary 6. All of them, however, were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. Data did not illustrate whether any of them had special educational needs and the language they speak.

Pupils who passed common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		32	10.49
		Boys 14		
	Efik	Girls 18	58	19.02
		Boys 25		
	Ibibio	Girls 33	115	37.70
		Boys 55		
	Igbo	Girl 60	12	3.94
		Boys 9		
Religion		Girls 3		
Language		Christians	217	71.15
Pupils with special educational needs		Not indicated		
Gender		Males	103	33.77
		Females	114	37.38
Final total number of pupils			217	71.15

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table expresses that 217 pupils passed common entrance examination for a total of 223 candidates who took the test. Most of them were *Ibibios*, *Efiks* and *Ekois* in that order. A minority of their colleagues were *Igbos*. All pupils were Christians. Girls were more than boys. Data did not indicate whether any children with special educational needs were among them and the language they speak. These pupils were promoted to start secondary school education.

Pupils who failed common entrance examination in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ibibio		6	1.96
	Boys	3		50.00
	Girls	3		50.00
Religion	Christians	6		1.96
Gender	Males	3		0.98
	Females	3		0.98
Final total number of pupils 6			6	1.96

Source: Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement*

Data on table indicates six pupils among those who took common entrance examination failed. All of them, including three girls and three boys were *Ibibios* and Christians. These pupils were asked to repeat primary 6.

Pupils missing in primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		21	6.89
		Boys	11	52.38
		Girls	18	47.62
	Efik		22	7.21
		Boys	2	9.09
		Girls	20	90.01
	Ibibio		36	11.80
		Boys	17	42.22
		Girls	19	57.78
Yoruba			2	0.66
		Boys	2	100.00
	Hausa/Fulani		1	0.32
	Girl	1	100.00	
Religion	Muslims	1		0.32
	Christians	81		26.56
Language	Not indicated			
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated			
Gender	Males	32		10.49
	Females	50		16.39
Final total number of pupils			82	26.88

Sources: Compared and extracted from State Universal Basic Education Board, Cross River State, Nigeria, Calabar (2006). *School enrolment and staff disposition, section C: Enrolment statistics* and Ministry of Education, Calabar, Cross River State (2012/2013). *Primary six promotion examination result. School master sheet/showing student placement.*

Data on table explains that 82 pupils did not progress with their peers to primary 6 in the 2012/2013 academic session. Most of them were *Ibibios*, *Efiks* and *Ekois* in that order. A minority of their peers were *Yorubas* and *Hausa/Fulanis*. Christians far outnumbered Muslims. Girls were more than boys. Data did not reveal whether any of them had special educational needs and the language pupils speak. Perhaps, these pupils failed promotion examinations and repeated grades or withdrew from the school.

Pupils who progressed to primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage		
Tribe	Ekoi		96	23.41		
		Boys			35	36.46
		Girls			61	63.54
	Efik		81	19.76		
		Boys			33	40.74
		Girls			48	59.26
	Ibibio		105	5.61		
		Boys			65	61.90
		Girls			40	38.10
	Igbo		62	15.12		
		Boys			33	53.23
		Girls			29	47.77
Yoruba		42	10.24			
	Boys			16	38.10	
	Girls			26	61.90	
Religion	Christians	386	94.14			
Language	Not indicated					
Pupils with special educational needs	Not indicated					
Gender	Males	182	44.39			
	Females	204	49.75			
Final total number of pupils			386	94.14		

Source: Attendance registers of primary 5A, 5B and 5C for the 2012/2013 academic session

Data on table indicates that 386 pupils out of the initial 410 pupils who had places to start primary one in the 2007/2008 academic session as shown above progressed to primary 5 in the current session. The *Ibibios*, *Ekois*, *Efiks* and *Igbos* outnumbered peers from *Yoruba*. All of them were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys. Data did not show whether any of them had special educational needs and the language pupils speak.

Pupils missing in primary 5 in the 2012/2013 school year

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		2	0.49
		Girls	2	100.00
	Efik		5	1.23
		Boys	4	80.00
		Girl	1	20.00
	Ibibio		9	2.19
		Girls	9	100.00
	Igbo		7	1.71
		Boy	1	14.29
		Girls	6	85.71
	Yoruba		1	0.24
		Girl	1	100.00
Religion	Christians	24		5.86
Gender	Males	5		1.23
	Females	19		4.63
Final total number of pupils			24	5.86

Compared and extracted from Cross River State Universal Basic Education Board, Calabar (2007, 2012/2013). *School enrolment and staff disposition*; Primary five attendance registers of the year 2013.

Data on table shows that 24 pupils out of the initial 410 pupils did not progress to primary 5. It is likely these children failed promotion examinations and repeated grades or withdrew from the school.

When I interviewed participants about pupil presence at school, one of them said something connected to pupil decision to change school:

ME: Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Achua: Yes. Because some of them said they are going to change school. They said they don't like our school because of pooing (defecating) on the floor [of the classroom].

From this view, it appears some pupils 'change' school willingly because they do not like the physical environment in the former one. At the surface, you may have the

impression that the school is clean and beautiful. But, this pupil has revealed that perhaps, some pupils and/or members of the public come into the school probably after school hours to defecate in the classrooms thereby making the environment to look filthy and smelly. 'Pooing' in Achua's reply is discursively linked to poor hygiene of the school environment. In consequence, some pupils probably feel ashamed to learn and/or associate with an unclean school and thus decide to change school on health and safety grounds probably to another one that is clean and healthy for them to stay and learn comfortably.

However, pupils existing in primary 5 classroom were distributed into primary 5A, 5B and 5C. See details in the tables below:

Pupils on roll in primary 5A

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		39	9.51
		Boys	10	25.64
	Efik	Girls	29	74.36
			27	6.58
	Ibibio	Boys	12	44.44
		Girls	15	55.56
	Igbo		44	10.73
		Boys	27	61.36
	Yoruba	Girl	17	38.64
			26	6.34
Religion	Gender	Boys	12	46.15
		Girls	14	53.85
			12	2.93
		Boys	9	75.00
Gender	Christians	Girls	3	25.00
Final total number of pupils			148	36.09

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5A

Data on table expresses that 148 pupils were in primary 5A. Pupils from other tribes were fairly represented, but a minority of them were the *Yorubas*. All pupils were Christians. Girls outnumbered boys with eight pupils.

Pupils on roll in primary 5B

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi		29	7.07
		Boys		48.28
		Girls	32	7.80
		Boys		40.63
	Efik	Girls		59.37
		Boys	30	7.32
	Ibibio	Girls		70.00
		Boys	27	6.59
	Igbo	Girls		33.33
		Boys	23	5.61
	Yoruba	Girls		21.74
		Boys		78.26
Religion	Christians	141		34.39
Gender	Males	71		17.32
	Females	70		17.07
Final total number of pupils			141	34.39

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5B

Data on table explains 141 pupils were placed in primary 5B. Pupils from the various tribes shown on the table were fairly represented. All of them were Christians. Boys and girls were almost equal in number.

Pupils on roll in primary 5C

Item	Category	Number	Total	Percentage
Tribe	Ekoi	Boys	28	39.29
		Girls		60.71
	Efik	Boys	22	36.36
		Girls		63.64
	Ibibio	Boys	31	54.84
		Girl		45.16
	Igbo	Boys	9	33.33
		Girls		66.67
	Yoruba	Boys	7	28.57
		Girls		71.43
Religion	Christians	97		23.66
Gender	Males	41		10.00
	Females	56		
13.66				
Final total number of pupils			97	23.66

Source: 2012/2013 class attendance register of primary 5C

Data on table illustrates that 97 pupils were primary 5C. Children from *Ibibio*, *Ekoi* and *Efik* outnumbered peers from *Igbo* and *Yoruba*. All of them were Christians. Girls were more than boys. Boys appeared to lag behind girls in this school. Pupils with disabilities were not learning in the school. Besides, learners from *Ibibio*, *Efik* and *Ekoi* seem to dominate peers from *Igbo*, *Yoruba* and *Hausa/Fulani* tribes respectively. More importantly, only Christians were learning in the school and that may be associated to influence from the Catholic Church and location of the school in a largely Christian southeast of the country. Failure in data to indicate language of the pupils is probably due to the fact that English, and sometimes *Efik*, served as media of instruction and communication in the school.

Free school meal

Provision of free food services tends to enable children, particularly, from very poor homes to learn well at school. Unfortunately, these services were irregular because they were not part of official school programmes as they were only provided on charity by the organisation that adopted the school. It gives a clue that many children might be going to school hungry and not learning well.

Poor communication skills

Poor skills in speak and write in English is creating hardships for some pupils to participate well in interaction and successfully complete some academic tasks. Examples include the boy in primary who was unable to speak fluently during conversation with his peer in the classroom and inability of Akpre to complete the assignment on reading and comprehension.

School fees

Compulsion for pupils to pay school fees appeared to prevent some of them who were unable to afford these charges from learning. More so, some children, perhaps, out of desire to get education, engaged in income generation activities to be able to pay to learn at school as you might see from pupil data above.

Pupil interaction

Adult-child relationship appeared to inhibit interaction between teachers and pupils, even among pupils. Differences in sex seem to prevent cross gender relationships among pupils. Also, affiliation to different Christian denominations tends to set boundaries in the ways the learners make friendships. You can see occurring in the statement where Ebu said he likes playing with his church members. Furthermore,

the school did not seem to have sporting events to promote socialisation among the multicultural pupil population.

SUMMARY

Data illustrates that *Bunyia* primary school is located in *Ogbudu* to provide opportunities for children residing within the community and its environs to have education. The school is built with beautiful infrastructure and sufficient seating equipment. Enrolment records and views from pupils indicate a substantial placement of children from various backgrounds including those living in *Ogbudu* and its neighbourhoods in the school among them is a girl with some difficulties in learning. Some lessons were delivered in a ways that tends to actively engage pupils in what they were learning enabling pupil communication at such occasions. More importantly, some lessons were given to promote inter-religious and ethnic tolerance among pupils. Also, free school meal was provided for the pupils to ensure they do not starve while learning. This food programme appears to cushion the effects of parental poverty and enhance pupils' wellbeing making sure they are learning well.

In spite of that, the school lacked ramps making access in the school difficult for some children, particularly, children with physical impairments. Boys were lagging girls at school in numerical representation. Pupils from some tribes were over-represented compared to peers from counterpart tribes. All learners in the school were Christians. Achievement of pupils in the school was examination-based. As a result, some pupils present in the school did not seem to be achieving in their studies, compared to their peers, due examination failures. Classroom instruction was largely didactic in which case; the teachers appear to dominate at lessons, leaving very little opportunity for pupils to contribute at lesson. A considerable number of pupils experienced difficulties to communicate in English in the classrooms and that further

limits them from participating actively. Inability to pay school levies was preventing some pupils from learning well. Some children who were unable to pay these school charges stayed at home to assist parents perform domestic chores and/or work to generate the funds to settle these fees to be able to return to school. Those of them who contravene school rules in any way were subjected to corporal punishment and sometimes invectives by teachers. These tend to cause some of the affected pupils to be isolated at school and/or stay away from school in protest. In spite of that, some pupil did not seem to have their needs met due to differences in sex, faith, age, seniority in year of study and absence of some sports. And children did not have the opportunity to air their views regarding the effects of these issues on their education and perhaps collaborate with the responsible authorities to address them in their favour.

However, while discussing with some of the pupils, they had the rare chance to voice their opinions naming some strategies they believe could facilitate their inclusion at school. Overall, they would like the school to make some changes in school resources, rethink its instructional and disciplinary practices in a way that could promote pupil presence, participation and achievement at school.

APPENDIX Y

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS FOR THE THREE SCHOOLS

KENWA PRIMARY SCHOOL

Message in a container:

- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?
- Mbua: [It] help me read my books correctly [well].
Hmmm our teacher don't always tell me to come and read. He always tell me you cannot read.
That's why I said I will read my books correctly.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you read your books. Why will you do that?
- Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?
- Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well].
- Umu: Uncle, so that I will learn how to read and write (in English) in school and I can do very well. I can read very well; it's only writing that I cannot write very well.
- ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the playground. Why will you do that?
- Obi: . . . (stuttering) I - i -i -i don't like it. The place [is] very rough. . . . Rough playground is not good for me to play. I can wound myself there.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would paint the classroom. Why will you do that?

Ojuare: Because the school wants help. So that when visitors come into the class they will see how the class is beautiful.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the chairs and tables. Why will you do that?

Kije: Ehn! Yes. Uncle, it's because the chairs, they (his classmates) always write something on [them]. I want the classroom to be nice.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change way one thing in your school you would change the you read your books. Why will you do that?

Aloka: Uncle, when I read my books, I will understand well what I have read and can pass my exams. . .

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you would change the way you listen to your teachers. Why will you do that?

Ebie: I want to listen to my teachers because I want to write my common entrance (a qualifying examination for secondary schools). I want to pay attention so that I can write my common entrance [well]

Sociometry:

ME: If the teacher were to ask you to place a new board in the classroom, write down the names of three pupils in your classroom that you would like to work and the names of three pupils you would not like to work with. Why would you not like to work with the other pupils you have written on your paper?

Kije: Because they always do something (i.e behave) like they are the seniors. When we are sweeping in the [in the classroom] they will be insulting

- [pupils]. They will say (demonstrating with the finger) 'you do this, you do that'. [But] they [themselves] will not do it. They will always stand one place [doing nothing].
- Ahmed: Because Israel wants to fight with me. Mfonobong used to carry cane and flog me while Ruquayatu used to slap me.
- Tah: Queen, because when I talk anything [she] will go and tell our uncle (the male teacher) or our aunty (the female teacher) or Aloka and they (teachers and pupil) will flog me. Nura, that day I hit his belly and I said sorry. He went and told Aloka and she flogged me. Edor, because, because, because, he used to, he used to . . . carried cane. When he carried cane he'll flog other pupils and he is not the class prev[f]ect.
- Ebie: Buki is a trouble- maker. Eshua wanted to beat us when uncle was not around. Friday. . . . Friday is a troublemaker.

Individual interviews:

- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?
- Kije (*a boy*): Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school too. Like Obi and Umu . . .
Uncle, it's because of school fees.
- Ahmed (*a boy*): . . . other pupils do not come to school too.
Ehmm, I used to see that some days Obi will not come to school. Because they don't like to come to school every day,. . . because they (teachers) send (them) home to get their school fees.
- Ojuare (*a boy*): They other pupils don't always come to school.
Uncle, there was a time Obi did not come to school. He stayed that time (he stayed for a long time) and he did not come to school. . . . He was sick.
- Aloka: (Cuts in) it's because of school fees . . .
Umu: It's only them.
- Mbua: Yes, there are other pupils in my classroom who don't come to school.
- ME: Why is it so?
- Tah: Because they did not pay their school fees.

Umu: Uncle, whether it's school fees.
 Eyare: It happens with only them because of their school fees.
 Obi: Whether their mother went to farm and has a baby. She tells them to stay at home and tell them to take care of the baby.
 Mbua: Uncle, some days, Gedina (a girl) don't used to come to school. Sometimes she will be coming late to school and she used to say that her house is far.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is this happening?

Tah (*a boy*): . . . they used to sit down quietly and listen [to] what the teacher is talking. They want to learn.
 Ebie (*a girl*): . . . They want to pay attention to the teacher, they want to be . . .clever.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching . Why is it so?

Kije: Because they don't understand (the lesson) . . . when they ask other pupils will laugh at them.
 Tah: Because they did not listen to the teacher.
 Aloka (*a girl*): They don't understand what the teacher is saying (teaching).
 Mbua (*a girl*): Uncle, we always be afraid, because I can make a mistake.
 Ebie: (paused and looking down): uncle, I don't know what is happening o.
 Ojuare: . . . sometimes they will say something in Maths.
 Obi (*boy with impairments*):Hmmm. When you want to talk they [teachers] go talk say who tell you to talk (When you wants to talk the teacher will ask you, who told you to talk).
 Eyare (*a girl*): It is because they don't understand the lesson, and the teacher does not allow us to make noise when she is teaching. The noise (will) distract her - the teacher. She will not feel happy when pupils want to explain the lesson.

Umu (*a girl*): Uncle, because if they (pupils) say and they have a mistake they (teachers) will flog them. Because they are afraid, let they (teachers) not beat them if they make a mistake.

ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn better?

Aloka: I want our uncle to teach us very well and what we don't understand we can ask him questions

Ebie: Ehnn (scratches her head with the hand), our teacher shou--uld not teach us hard things

Ahmed: I think our uncle can bring something like orange (real objects) in the class[room] when we are learning . . .

Kije: I want our teacher to be teaching us well, like he can give us homework let us do.

Umu: Uncle, I don't want our teacher to flog us when we he talk something wrong (we make mistakes) when is teaching.

Obi: I don't want uncle to, to beat us.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these pupils? Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Ebie: Yes, there are other pupils who do not come to school.

ME: Who are the other pupils in your classroom that did not come to school too?

Ebie: Martin and Okon (also a boy) did not come to school that day because our teacher beat them. They did not do their home work and our teacher beat them.

ME: I have noticed that when one pupil said something wrong everybody else will laugh and make fun of him or her. Does this happen quite often?

Kije: Yes

Aloka: No. No. . .

Tah: Yes.

Mbua: (Paused) Yes.

ME: Is it only this same pupil you make fun of?

Kije: It is the same pupils because they laugh at somebody (else) too.

Eyare: Yes. It's still the same pupil.

ME: Why is this happening?

Tah: Because they talk the wrong thing. Like when they want to spell 'happiness', they will spell h-a-p-p-y. That one is 'happy'. Then they did not put h-a-double 'p'-i-n-e-double 's'. That one is 'happiness'.

Aloka: . . . if they make mistakes .we will laugh. Sometimes we used to correct them.

Ebie: (Paused) . . . we will correct them before we We laugh at them (because) we want them to (pay)attention and want them to be clever.

Ojuare: Other pupils make fun and say something (other pupils make fun) because (what they say) is funny.

Umu: Other pupils in the classroom will make fun when they say something wrong too . . .

Obi: Because they know pass them.
(Because they are more intelligent than them - their classmates, who have said something wrong).

ME: During play time I have seen that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say there are such children from your classroom?

Kije: . . . (paused) It's because when their friends want to play with them, when they cannot play fine their friends will say they should not play with them again. So they will play on their own. Uncle, ehn Obi don't used to play well. He will pouring saliva when we are playing with him and he used to behave stupid stupid. He don't even know something (he is unintelligent). We don't used to like it.

Ahmed: Yes.

Tah: They are from primary 2

Mbua: Some (of them) come from my classroom and some are not from my classroom.

Obi: Yes

Ojuare: No. They are not from our classroom. Our classroom is only playing alone with our classroom or our classmates

Eyare: Yes.

ME: Why do you think they have no one to play with?

Obi: Me I dey like to play with Francis [I like to play with Francis].

Ahmed: Because they are in primary 2. That's why we don't want them to play with us.

Aloka: No. Because my classmates used to say that we should not play with them. . .

Mbua: Uncle, I have some (friends), but not all the children.

Ebie: We are not their classmates. That's why. It's our classmates that said we should not play with them. Let us play with only ourselves.

Eyare: It is because they don't want to join us (to play). They want to play with another pupils because they don't like how we are laughing at them.

EDOR AGOM PRIMARY SCHOOL

Message in a container:

ME: What would you do if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school? Why do you say so?

Abrama: I - -I - - want mek pupil no bring (not to pay) school fees. . . so that they go fit come school.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the chairs and benches. Why will you do that?

Alhaji: For sit. Because I want pupils to sit on fine fine seats.

Akon: Change chairs so that everybody go sit for chair and nobody will sit on the ground [floor]. . . if I get power I go [will] buy chairs.. . . it will help our school to be beautiful.

ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the fan. Why will you do that?

Olom: Ceiling fan. We don't have fan in our classroom. I change [put] the fan because we want to collect [have] good air in the [classroom].

ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the blackboard. Why will you do that?

- Odey: So that they [teachers] will use it to write lessons on the board and to teach me.
- ME: You wrote that if given the opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the grass. Why will you do that?
- Enie: They can cut the grass because they are too big [bushy]. They will cut them low so that the school compound will be fine.
- Amina: . . . I need, I need flowers in this school.
- Ekwo: Like all that backyard there and the grass, I can change them and put rocks. Like this place now. They use it to urinate. Some pupils when they come to our school they will say the school is not neat and that they will not come to this school. That one will pursue them and they will not learn well in the school.
- ME: You wrote that if you get opportunity to change one thing in your school you will change the uniform. How do you mean?
- Mairo: Because they [school] have changed some things in this school, but they didn't change our uniform. If I change the uniform, it can help pupils to come to this school and everybody will be happy to learn, then the school will be looking so fine.

Sociometry:

- ME: If the teacher were to ask you to place a new board in the classroom, write down the names of three pupils in your classroom that you would like to work and the names of three pupils you would not like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?
- Alhaji: Because they can do something well. . . they can work hard. Ehn, for example, if we want to put the blackboard in our class[room], Ruquaya and Bassey can tell you how to put it well. Maimuna can follow us to do it.
- Abrama: Akan, Salaha, David. I say Salaha, like him fit carry tha---at black thing (charcoal) for their house come for school. All of us, Salaha, Akan and David go carry am put for our blackboard.
- Ekwo: Because Felix is intelligent. If there is something

- that you don't have intelligence to do, Felix will tell you how to do it. David is strong. If you tell him to help you and hold this thing he can help you [do it]. Kufre is the same thing. Kufre is action boy [active]. So him and David. That's why I chose two of them while Felix is intelligent. That's why I chose them.
- Mairo: . . . They can tell you, like advise you about how to write well and to read well. If you cannot read well they can read it for you. That's why I said they are intelligent.
- Olom: Because they are my best friends and they work very hard. They help to spell anything [word] that I don't know.
- Abu: The thing that make me want to work with Ghaddafi is because he is my best friend. We live together in the same house and school in one school. His father and my father are brothers. David is my friend. David is my friend. I came and met him in primary 3.
- Enie: Because they are big. . . Yes. Why I said that because they are big is because they are big girls. They used to teach me how to read and to learn other subjects in the classrooms.
- Amina: Because they are my friends. . . If I don't read [well] they will correct me.
- Odey: Because they are caring for me. When somebody wants to beat me they block [stop] the (stammering) person.
- Akon: . . . They are very intelligent. Ahhnnn uncle, Immaculata and Mary know Maths, and Esther know[s] English Language. They used to help me to learn these subjects.

Individual interviews:

- ME: I have noticed that this school is built within *Hausa/Fulani* community. Why is it so?
- Odey (*albino boy*): Because there was no primary school here in this Hausa [community]. Only secondary school dey [was there].
- Alhaji (*a boy*): Because they say for this school nah [is] Hausa school . . . I am hearing that it is Hausa school, only Hausa [children].
- Abrama (*a girl*): So that children for Basarawa mek dey come *makaranta* (school).
- Ekwo (*a boy*): Yes. It's Hausas that have the school because this is

their community.

Olom (*a boy*): Ehen! I said that government built the school here in Basarawa so that all children, like those Hausa, can go to school. So that the pupils will not be staying in their houses and they will not be following cow to the bush every time.

Akon (*a girl*): Because this is ehm er Hausa school. This is their side [Hausa settlement] that is why they [government] built the school here. So that we may study here.

Mairo (*a girl*): So that they [government] will help us the pupils to learn.

Abu (*a boy*): They [government] just build it [the school] because of the Muslims.

Enie (*a girl*): Because the government asks our headmaster to open [build] the school. So that small children, big children can go to school. These children are Igbos and Hausas and Efik pupils.

Amina (*a girl*): (Paused) Because of . . . (sighs). Because of the poor that have no money to send their children to . . . school.

ME: Which children are schooling in your school?

Alhaji: There are many children from Basarawa, Bakoko The children are Christians and Hausa.

Abrama: The children plenty, from Hausa, Igbo, Calabar.

Enie: Boys and girls from Hausa and Efik.

Odey: They are Christians, they are Muslims, they are any type of language. Some from . . . any type of village and come here. . .

Akon: They are many, some from Junction, some from Obot Oka and some from Eka Afia.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children weave and plait their hair. Is it only these children that weave and plait their hair?

Mairo: These children are from Basarawa.

Akon: Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they allow them to plait their hair.

Ekwo: Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. . . . Only Hausa pupils that they permit to weave their hair. . .

Enie: Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that . . . Hausa pupils should plait their hair. . .

Olom: . . . It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their hair because it's their culture. . .

Amina: Because they [pupils] are from Hausa. . . . Because that is the Hausa tradition.

Ebu: It's Hausa [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.

Abu: Because they are Muslims. . .

Odey: It's only Muslims that used to plait. . .

Alhaji: Yes.

Abrama: [If] you no plait your hair. Dem go bring [they will use] scissors [and] barb your hair for [in] school.

Ekwo: Like these Hausa pupil because it is their culture that is why they told them to weave their hair. But we the Calabar pupils they told us that we should not weave our hair, but cut their culture. They told them they should cut their hair and look good. That is the proper of cutting hair and coming to school. Only Hausa pupils that they permit to weave their hair. Calabar pupils do not have the right to weave their hair and come to school. They can weave it and stay at home. The headmaster and teacher will tell you that you should not weave your hair, but cut your hair.

Mairo: Because when they [pupils] come and enter the class the teacher will pursue them. They will come out and go to their houses and plait their hair. These children are from Basarawa.

Olom: Some of us are not weaving. It's those Hausa pupils that weave and plait their hair because it's their culture. It is also Efik culture, but the teachers will not allow the Efik children to weave their hair.

Abu: Because they are Muslims. Christian children do not weave their hair to school.

Enie: Because they are Hausa pupils, and headmaster said that only Hausa pupils should plait their hair. The headmaster said that other pupils should not plait hair because they are Efik pupils.

Amina: Because they [pupils] are from Hausa. It's only Hausa children; not Efik children. Because that is the Hausa tradition. Efik children, that is not their tradition, but Efik pupils can weave their hair. But in the school they cannot do that. The teachers and the headmaster do not want the Efik pupils to weave and plait their hair.

Ebu: It's Hausa [pupils] that used to plait their hair because that is their law.

Odey: It's only Muslims that used to plait. . . I think Efik children don't weave their hair because the teachers have been beating them to barb their

- hair.
- Akon: Because they are Hausa children. The headmaster is an Hausa man that is why they [school management] allow them to plait their hair.
- ME: Why do other children not weave or plait their hair to school?
- Alhaji: They don't used to plait their hair. Those are Christians. When they don't cut their hair low our teacher will say why they did not cut their hair low. Is it because they have seen that Hausa pupils are plaiting their hair?
- Ebu: Efik, some of them used to plait. But when they plait hair the headmaster used to announce that they should barb their hair. Because when they [Efik children] plait their hair, when they are learning inside the class they will be scratching their hair and not listen to what they[teachers] are teaching.
- Akon: Because they are Efik [pupils]. (*Frowning*) I don't know why they [school management] don't allow Efik children to plait their hair.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?
- Enie: So that they can learn well.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?
- Amina: Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions.
- Abrama: Nah [it is] Peter dey [who] ask[s] questions for [in the] class.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does it happen only with these children?
- Alhaji: No.

ME: Anoda pupils dey wey no dey come school?
Are they other pupils who did not come to school?

Alhaji: Hmm. They will come today and they will not come next day.

ME: Why is it so?

Alhaji: Sometimes if they hear that visitors are coming to see those pupils that can read and write. Ehn if they hear that they are coming to those who cannot read and write, they will not come to school. They will stay at home so that the visitors will not come and send them back [home].

Abu: Yes.
Odey: Yes.

ME: Wetin mek e be like that? Why is it so?

Abu: Dey thing wey mek is that some of them their parents don't have money to send them to school like to pay school fees for them.

Odey: Because their fathers no get money to pay school fees for them [their fathers do not have money to pay their school fees].

Ekwo: No.
Olom: No.

ME: Anoda pupils dey wey no come school?
Are they other pupils who did not come to school?

Ekwo: Yes.
Olom: Yes.
Mairo: Yes.

ME: Why is it so?

Mairo: . . . their mothers will go and leave the house for them, so they will stay in their house[s] and prepare food for their mothers.

Ekwo: Some of them it is caused by their parents. Their parents can tell them to stay back at home and follow them and carry something [some products] and go and sell, and stay away from school.

Olom: Some of them like staying at home and help their parents to sell products or go to farm.

Abrama: . . . I finish makaranta I go home. I go market go help my mother. They (her parents) buy me sandals . . . Nah [it is] my money I [used to] buy socks [for myself].

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Alhaji: . . . They are shy. I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question.

Olom: Because they [pupils] do not know what to ask them [the teachers]. . . . May be some of them are afraid to ask questions.

Abu: That one some of them don't understand the lesson. That is why they cannot ask questions.

Enie: Because the aunty is writing. . .

Amina: Because they want to listen carefully [attentively] and store [retain] the things [lesson] the teacher teach[es]. When the teacher finishes teaching they will ask the teacher questions.

Mairo: It's the teacher that will say that. If they finish teaching, then they will say stand up and ask questions.

Odey: Because my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly] and we too we ask her questions, she can answer correct[ly].

Akon: Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question?'

ME: Does the teacher encourage them to talk?

Alhaji: No. Because the teacher does not know what you [the pupil] want to ask.

ME: What do you think your teacher should do for you to learn well?

Mairo: I think our uncle should always allow us to ask (him) questions in the classroom.

Abu: Pupils should ask questions and what they don't understand they should ask our teacher to tell (explain to) them.

Enie: I want when we ask questions our teacher should answer it well for us.

Akon: . . . I want our teacher to ask us simple questions; not hard hard questions. And we should also ask our teacher questions too.

Olom: . . . Let aunty not used cane when she is teaching

pupils. . . .

Ekwo: I want our teacher not to beat us when we say something that is wrong . . .

Alhaji: I don't want pupils to laugh when they want to ask our teacher question.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that children do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson until the teacher has finished teaching. Why is it so?

Olom: . . . I think pupils used to be afraid of aunty's cane . . .

Odey: . . . my aunty always say when she is teaching let everybody keep quiet and listen to her so that when she asks questions we can answer correct[ly] . . .

Akon: Because our teacher said when she is teaching we should not talk until she finishes to explain the note [lesson] and then she'll just say: 'any question'?

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?

Alhaji: Maybe dem be dey make noise in the classroom, that's why
- Maybe they were making noise in the classroom, that's why

Abrama: It's Olah, our teacher dey beat am because him been no write well for him book -
It's Ola, our teacher beat him because he did not write well in his book

Akin: Na dey bad bad children wey our madam dey beat. It's the bad children that our madam beat.

Ekwo: Because they came late to school.

Mairo: Because if our teacher is teaching on the blackboard they will be playing. They will not hear what the teacher is saying

Olom: Uncle I don't know o. Maybe the pupil was talking in the classroom

Abu: Because the child came to school with dirty uniform. Our teacher tell us that we should wash our uniform[s] when it is dirty. If we don't wash our uniform[s] she will flog us.

Enie: Yes, uncle one boy used to thief (steal) our pen[s]. So our aunty will be beating him so that he will not steal our thing again

Amina: Because the pupil was making noise in the class[room]. So aunty used a ruler and beat him.

Odey: Uncle, aunty used to beat all those children that used to thief our pens and curse (abuse) us in the classroom

Akon: Maybe that day our teacher tell us to sweep our classroom. So some pupils were not sweeping so aunty beat them

ME: During playtime I noticed that some pupils do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?

Odey: When other pupils see me they used to abuse me in Calabar [*Efik* language] like afia mkpai, afia ino - it means white thief and it used to affect me ba-a-ad. I do not used to feel fine when they abuse me.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Alhaji: . . . They do not want to show person answer because if you are (speaking) the same language (with them) they will show you answer. But, if you are not (speaking) the same language (with them) they will not show you (answer).

Odey: Because I am not close to them . . .

Akon: . . . Because they don't have friends.

ME: During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom?

Alhaji: No. From another class.

Abrama: Yes

Enie: Some pupils do not have money that is why they do not have friends.

Amina: Yes.

Odey: No. They are from another class. Even in our classroom everybody has his friend . . .

Akon: No. Another class. They are from primary two and three.

ME: Why do they not have anyone to play with?

Alhaji: Because whether they are new coming (comers) or they do not know anybody.

Ekwo: Me I always play with pupils that know something [who are brilliant].

Oka: Because they are stealing.
 Enie: Some of them do not want children to play with them.
 Amina: Because they have not friends to play with.

ME: Why will you not work with Emman, Daniel, and Stephen?

Odey: I don't like to work with Hausas. . . It's because, these Hausas every time they will be praying and say[ing] Allah. And they used to kill people like Boko Haram. . .

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why that is happening?

Abrama: Some children no wan [don't want to] talk because they say another [the other] children dey find [are looking for] their trouble.
 Olom: . . . when the teacher is teaching and they will be looking for pupils trouble. . .

Abu: Because some of them used to sit on the floor because chairs are not there. That's why.

ME: During play time I have noticed that some children do not have anyone to play with. Why do they not have anyone to play with?

Odey: . . . because they used to make trouble with everybody that is why everybody does not want to play with them.

ME: I have noticed that some children do not like to sing some songs during morning devotion. Why is it so?

Alhaji: Whether they do not know how to sing the songs. They do not like to sing the new songs. Ehm like (*he sings the song*) oh mama sell for crops oh mama sell for crops. It's another teacher that used to sing that song, Mrs Okah.

Ekwo: . . . Some of them do not like singing songs in devotion time. Because they don't want to learn the song, like the Hausa, because they are not from English [cannot sing English songs].

Olom: Some of them do not know how to sing some songs.
 Abu: Because they did not fit do it [because they cannot do it]. Like this song (*he sings the song*) 'day by day,

- day by day' and the national anthem.
- Akon: Maybe they did not teach them the national anthem and other songs, especially little children and the big ones.
- Amina: Others [other children] does [do] not know the songs and I forgot the songs.
- Abrama: The pupils that don't used to sing the songs are Hausa. Because when they sing God's song, praise, they don't used to sing, that it is not their God.
- Mairo: Some of them they cannot hmm sing. They cannot sing (she sings a song) 'praise glory fire, praise glory god, praise glory holy ghost, praise the river more.
- Enie: Because Efik or Hausa pupils cannot sing the songs like Efik songs. . . . Some of them are from Hausa community and do not know how to sing the songs . . . Some of them do not like to sing. . . (she sings) 'good morning Jesus'. They will keep quiet until when we march into the class.
- Odey: Yeees. Some used to say to serve Nigeria is not by force. Some Hausa and Christian pupils used to say that. Some Hausa children used to say that they don't like to sing the songs because the songs that they used to call Jesus. That's they don't sing that song. They do not used to do like this. [They] just read Quran.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other. Why that is happening?
- Alhaji: I think some children don't used to understand English, like big English. So our teacher will use Pidgin English so that they will understand and learn well.
- Abrama: So that those pupils who don't hear English very much can hear English, like Glory, Mary, Ether, Margaret.
- Ekwo: Some of them cannot speak English very well that's why they use pidgin English. Like these Hausa children they cannot speak English. When our teacher talks to them in English they will not understand. The person is not sure of what he or she is going to ask or say. . .
- Mairo: So everybody will learn how to speak English.
- Olom: (Cuts in) Broken English. So that the pupils will understand the lesson. There are many pupils that do not understand English especially these Hausa pupils.
- Abu: It's happening because some of the children don't know [how to speak] English very well, like Bassey,

Rose and Glory. Because they [teachers] want us to learn.

Enie: So that when they [teachers] are writing something on the blackboard when they [teachers] read the thing in English they [pupils] will understand. Some children from Efik and Hausa don't understand English.

ME: Why will you not like to work with Aisha, Zainab and Musa?

Mairo: They cannot read and they can't write. When we are reading, they don't want to read. . .

BUNYIA PRIMARY SCHOOL

Message in a container:

- ME: If given the opportunity to change one thing in the school, what will you change?
- Abuon: Change the teachers. Yes, because not all of them can do their jobs well. So I will look for teacher that have gone to school well and put [employ] them.
- Ayi: Change book. I mean that I will change all the students' note books, their text books. I will buy some of the books and will be giving them set by set and then Nursery I will give them 20 leaves and primary I will them 80 and 40 leaves so that they will be able to write. And text books I will be giving them three in all classes.
- Azun; Change the blackboard. Put that black board that they used to show light and show something on the wall (projector) when the teacher is teaching
- Achua: Change the school to be better, like building another classroom
- Asaa: Change the fan. . . . I will put the fan. The fan is not fine
- Usha: Change football . . . the boys will not allow us to enter the field and play football too
- Paul: Yes. I want them (school management) to change our uniform. Our uniform is not good. If you play it will dirty fast. They should change it to green and white. I like mek dem wear white and come to school on Monday to Thursday and mek dem wear anything and come to school on Friday. [I will like pupils to wear the white uniform to school from Monday to Thursday, but they should wear any clothes to school on Friday]
- Ebu: Change bad habits. . . . Like now the pupils fight and when you keep your things, they'll come and steal them. . .
- Akpre: Change playing. Because some children are playing and are giving [other] children wounds (injuries) in their bodies

Sociometry:

- ME: If the teacher were to ask you to place a new board in the classroom, write down the names of three pupils in your classroom that you would like to work and the names of three pupils you would not like to work with. Why will you like to work with the children you wrote in your paper?
- Paul: . . . Christian, Grace and Precious?
Because they are my best friends.
. . . Esther, Juliet and Aniebiet?
- Usha: I like the way they are doing something and they have a good character . . .
. . . Godspower, Queen and Daniel?
- Achua: (stuttering) because they like behaving well . . .
. . . Blessing, Emmanuel and Queen?
- Omari: They are [my] very good friends
. . . Blessing, Udemé and Glory?
- Akpre: Because they can arrange things [well]
. . . Anthony, Freewill, Emmanuel?
- Ebu: . . . We always share something together
(in common)
. . . Blessing, Mercy and Queen?
- Asaa: Because they are good to me and me I always like to play with them . . .
. . . Bassey, Emmanuel and David?
- Abuon: Because they know how to write and read. So if I work with them I learn from them and they will learn from me
. . . Christian, Grace and Ekanem?
- Azun: Because they are brilliant. . . Okokon, Ezekiel and Emmanuel.
- Ayi: Because we [learn] very well in the class
- ME: Why will you like to work with them?
- Paul: When they give us anything that I don't know. When they give us anything that I don't know I will ask her and she will tell me.
- Usha: . . . if I ask them for pen, they'll borrow [lend] me
- Akpre: I mean they can arrange things well because when our aunty is not around, three of us will gather together and read our books
- Ebu: When they buy their things like biscuit they always share it with me and if I buy my own I will share with them

Asaa: If something happens to me they will come and help, like when someone looks for my trouble they can come and help [me].

Abuon: As in when they give us class work I cannot even write it. So they teach me how to write.

Omari: Sometimes when I want to read, the one I do not know they will help me to correct it.

Azun: They used to help me. Because if I read and I don't know the place they will tell me.

Ayi: They help me. The thing that I cannot pronounce, they pronounce it correctly for me. Them too, they thing that they cannot pronounce I will pronounce

Achua: . . . I said they like behaving well, like when they (teachers) teach something in the class, they don't play; they will listen to the aunty.

ME: Why will you not like to work with . . .

. . . Imaobong, Tony and Dorcas?

Usha: It's because if I didn't do them anything they will go and report me [to the teacher]

. . . Edem, David and Esther?

Abuon: Because they like cursing (abusing) somebody. They will call you idiot

. . . Esther, Imaobong and Juliet?

Ebu: Especially, Esther . . . if she just see me come to the school she'll start calling me oyibo (whiteman) . . .

. . . David, Joshua and Imaobong?

Akpre : They beat me every day

Individual interviews:

ME: Why are children schooling here in your school?

Paul (*a boy*): Because their house is not far.

Akpre (*girl with learning difficulties*): Because the school is good.

Usha (*a girl*): May be this school is the best, maybe that's why they (their parents) bring them in this school

Abuon (*a boy*): I am in this school because my mother was selling here and she told my dad that in this school they usually teach very well. So my dad removed me from my former school because they don't usually teach well or give notes. So I came here

Achua (*a boy*): Because in the other school they don't teach well

like here.

Omari (*a girl*): Because in this school they can teach well. . .

Ayi (*a boy*): Because this school is very fine. . .

Asaa (*a girl*): Because some schools are hard to pay and the money is very expensive

Ebu (*a boy*): It's my father that told me to come to this school because my cousin was teaching in this school

ME: Where do the children who are schooling here in your school come from?

Paul: From different places like Ikot Enebong and 12 Kilo

Achua: They come from Calabar and Akwa Ibom State

Usha: Igbo, Biase.

Akpre: Some of them come from Akwa Ibom, Ugep and Ogoja. That's the only places I know

Ebu: They can come from Efik or Akwa Ibom or (sighs)

Asaa: They come from Akwa Ibom, Efik, Anang, Obubra, Obudu and (sighs) Ikom

Abuon: Some of them come from Igbo, Atam, Ibibio, Yoruba . . .

Omari: They come from different communities like Akwa Ibom, Bakassi and Ikot Abasi and Odukpani

Azun (*a girl*): . . . many children that live in Ikot Omin . . .

Ayi: Some of them come from Akwa Ibom or Efik or Yoruba or Igbo

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that some children sit on their own. Why is that happening?

Achua: No uncle, we are not sitting alone. We are sitting two.

Usha: So that the other pupils will not disturb them when they are learning.

Asaa: Because they cannot read

Abuon: . . . our aunty separates those who cannot read and leave those who can read

Ayi: (Thinking) Some children sit on their own because they cannot read

Omari: Because our aunty used to call them block head

Azun: Because our aunty don't want us to copy [from] another person

Akpre: They are making noise that's why my madam ask them to sit alone

Ebu: Because they don't want us to copy what they write from them.

- ME: When I been dey your classroom I see say children no dey talk until when the teacher don finish to teach. Why dem dey wait until when teacher don finish to teach before dem begin to ask questions?
- When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?
- Paul: Because some of them they think they have known all the things they are teaching. Like me when they are teaching, what I don't know I will ask the teacher a question When the teaching is teaching
- Achua: Immediately they [pupils] know something all of them will begin to carry their hands up to ask questions
- Asaa: If our aunty teach, our aunty will say let us ask questions. We'll ask
- Abuon: They are so respectful. They wait for you teachers to ask them whether they have any questions to ask. So that is when all of them will raise their hands up to ask questions because they don't just stand up and ask a question like that
- Ebu: Because they allow the teacher to write and to allow the teacher to explain
- Ayi: They (teachers) want them (pupils) to take the lesson very well (seriously). They want to understand the lesson. They can stop the teacher and ask Questions
- ME: Wetin your teacher dey do when you ask questions?
- What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?
- Paul: The teacher will answer . . . the question or carry the question and ask pupils who know and they will tell me the answer
- Achua: The teacher will tell them (pupils) when I am teaching what you don't know ask me
- Usha: They tell them to ask questions. Or anything they don't understand they will tell the pupils to ask questions
- Akpre: The teachers will answer their questions . . .

Ebu: She answers the questions and the pupils listen

Asaa: The teacher will call the pupils one by one and ask them to ask questions

Abuon: Our aunty (teacher) will say that is good when you ask her a question and she will answer it for you

Omari: She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o

Azun: When you ask aunty (teacher) questions she will tell another pupil who knows book (intelligent) to answer the question.

ME: I noticed that some people come to your school to cook some food for the children. What kind of food do they cook for the children?

Akpre: Because so many pupils have not eaten to come to school and so many pupils don't have father and mother.

Achua: The owner of the school (head of the Oil Company) send the people to come and be giving us food every Thursday.

Ebu: Our mother do not have money to prepare food, we'll just come to the school and they will give us food and we'll not be hungry again. . .

Paul: Because they look at the children and see that their body is not fine that is why they cook indomie noodles, rice and chicken and give us so that our body will be fresh.

Asaa: To make the children look healthy and study well.

Abuon: Our mama that builds this school gives some money for them to come and cook food for us and make this school the best in this village. They give us indomie and juice. There are some children who are poor and do not have food to eat. So when they come to school they give them some to eat to hold their bellies.

Omari: . . . it is the owner of the school that sent them to go and cook for the school.

Azun: They are from the company of West Oil.

Ayi: On Thursday they cook indomie and give egg to us to eat. It's because they show love to us.

Usha: Sometimes when school close they will cook rice and chicken with indomie for us.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that pupils do not have the opportunity to say what they know about lesson. They will wait until when the teacher has finished teaching before they will ask questions. Why is this happening?

Akpre: It's good for them because they are not making noise when [the] teacher is teaching.

Omari: It's madam that cause it. If she finishes writing madam will say who has a question, they (pupils) will lift up their hands and say they have something to say.

Azun: Because they fear the aunty.

ME: How your teacher dey do when you ask questions?

What used to be the teacher's reaction when you ask questions?

Omari: She will say if you don't know what to say don't ask me stupid question o.

Ayi: If you ask the teacher a question and you did not ask well (not to ask good question), she will flog you. If the question is correct she will not beat you. She will answer the question.

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that two pupils did not come to school. Does this happen only with these children? Why is it so?

Ayi: Yes, only these two pupils. Because Uncle, like Akpre her house is very far. She cannot come to school every day.

Abuon: . . . some of them have not paid their school fees. . .

Paul: Yes. Because some of them when their parents don't have money to pay their schools fees. Their parents will tell them to stay at home . . .

Azun: It's the children. Because if their mother send them to sell something they will not come to school again. Their mother could tell them to stay in the house and hold baby for her

Omari: No. They are many. Because they don't like to come to school because of the work they are doing like packing sand [to sell] . . .

ME: Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Usha: Yes. It's because they don't like to come to school. They like selling in the market. Some will be selling garri, oil and fish. It's their parents that give it to them to sell

Akpre: Yes. Because they are helping their mother to sell something like oil

Ebu: It's only Aniebiet. Because her uniform is not good

ME: Are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Asaa: Yes. Because the place that they are living is too far

ME: . . . are they other pupils who do not come to school too?

Achua: Yes. Because some of them said they are going to change school. They said they don't like our school because of pooing (defecating) on the floor [of the classroom]

ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that your teacher used a stick to flog one pupil. Why did the teacher flog the pupil?

Paul: Uncle, because the pupil did not do his homework well that's why they (teachers) beat him.

Achua: Because they used to pinch us in the class. We will not do them anything and they will be looking for our trouble, so aunty will beat them.

Usha: Because the pupil wear mufti and come to school. Her uniform was dirty and she did not wash it.

Akpre: Because the person cannot read and write well.

Ebu: . . . maybe because they were playing [foot]ball in the classroom. That is why our teacher beat them.

Asaa: Because that day one girl did not barber her hair before she come to school. So aunty beat her and told her to barber her hair.

Abuon: Because they don't pay attention when the teacher is teaching. Some of them like that if the teacher does not beat them they will not know how to read and they will be making noise in the classroom and fighting other children.

Omari: Because the pupil did not pay his fees like handwork and school fee.

Ayi: . . . it's because the pupils was fighting in the classroom . . .

ME: Na how this beating dey help you learn for school?

How does this flogging by the teacher help you to learn?

Paul: When the teacher beats [us] we will not make noise in the classroom.

Usha: Uncle, . . . we will be able to know something that they (teachers) teach us so that we can pass our exam and go to another class.

Akpre: . . . some pupils used to stay in their house so that aunty will not beat them.

Asaa: Yes, it will help the pupil to respect the teacher . . .

Abuon: It help us so that we can know what the teachers tells us to do and we can learn well.

ME: What should your teacher do for you to learn well?

Achua: Ehn, I think our teacher should teach us and let us see the things she is teaching us. Like if she is teaching us Agriculture, we can go and work in the school farm.

Ayi: Like when the teacher is teaching, we can see the pictures of things so that we can learn well . . .

Usha: I want us to be asking our teacher questions when we are learning.

Akpre: Our aunty should teach us let us understand. She should explain what she is teaching well for us.

Ebu: I want the teacher to give us assignment so that we can teach ourselves.

Omari: The teacher should teach us and give us homework. If we fail anything she should do correction.

Abuon: I want the teacher to give us home work to do.

Paul: I don't want aunty to hold the cane when she is teaching us. It used to make me be afraid to talk when she is teaching.

Asaa: . . . I don't want our aunty to be cursing us (calling us names) when we don't know how to answer her questions.

Azun: Aunty used to flog us. I don't want her to flog us again.

- ME: During break time I have seen some children who do not have anyone to play with. Would you say these children are from your classroom? Why do you think they don't have any one to play with?
- Paul: Yes. Because everyone hates them. When they ask them to give them some pencils to use and write, they'll refuse.
- Omari: Our madam said if they cannot read we should not play with them.
- Achua: No. Some of them are from primary two or primary three. We play with only pupils in our class[room]
- Usha: They are from our class[room]. They don't want to play and dirty their clothes.
- Ayi: It's eh primary two, primary one. All those little children that we don't like to play with.
- Asaa: . . . they are from another classroom like primary four.
- Ebu: . . . they like playing ball. I don't like playing ball. I like playing with my church member. She is in primary three. I like playing basketball, running and volleyball. We don't have these games in this school.
- ME: I have noticed that children cut their hair low to school in your school. Why is this happening?
- Ebu: Because in our school they (pupils) don't plait hair. That's why.
- Paul: Because it's the headmistress that said they should cut their hair low. So that their hair will look fine
- Akpre: The headmistress said we should barb our hair so that we will not look like village people who are just coming back from farm. If children barb their hair they (teachers or headmistress) will use razor blade and cut it.
- Achua: Because . . . it is a primary school. It's not a university. That is why they don't have to keep their hair. They have to cut their hair low so that they will be clean and neat.
- Usha: Because our teachers don't want bushy hair. If you barb punk to school they (teachers) will drive you home.
- Asaa: . . . They (teachers) said they (pupils) should not barb their hair and put ear-rings [to school]
- Abuon: If children weave and barber their hair they

- (teachers and pupils) will think that the children are not in this school.
- Omari: . . . If the girls plait or the boys barb style the teachers will send them away (home) to go and barber their hair very well (cut their low).
- Azun: Because some children keep their hair and they don't even wash it.
- Ayi: If you don't cut your hair they, our aunties, will put scissors in your hair.
- ME: When I was in your classroom I noticed that the teachers and pupils use pidgin English to talk to each other during lesson. Why is that happening?
- Ayi: Because the children are from different villages and they speak pidgin English and their (local) languages too. They cannot speak (official) English.
- Achua: Some of the children are not speaking good English. That is why they used to use *Efik* and English to teach them.
- Paul: Because some of them . . . cannot speak correct English.
- Usha: When the aunty want to talk to us, sometimes she will use good English. Sometimes she will use pidgin English.
- Akpre: Uncle, to use it to correct us and in teaching so that we will be intelligent . . .
- Ebu: Because other pupils in the class don't know how to speak (the official) English
- Asaa: Because they want other pupils to know [how to speak] English.
- Omari: So that the children will understand what they are learning.
- Azun: So that the students can speak English well
- Abuon: Because many of the teachers are not well trained . . . they speak broken [English].