

**PEEKING THROUGH THE WINDOWS:
CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS AND
PARTICIPATORY LEARNING FOR
ACTION ACTIVITIES
(COPLAA)**

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The use of these activities in the Malawi classrooms, generated a great deal of interest from the teachers and students. One teacher's comment best captures the response of the teachers when she shared, "*PLA techniques enables us to look into ourselves to see that we are sometimes part of the problem that affects girls' participation in the classroom.*" As the facilitator and PLA expert conducted the activities with the pupils, a constant stream of pupils would peek their heads in the windows to inquire about what was taking place and ask to join in the activities. Many of the teachers who took part in the exercises expressed a great deal of interest in the methodologies and excitedly talked about other ways that the approach could be adapted for classroom use.

We want to thank all those who willingly took part in the pilot test and provided an opportunity to "peek through the windows inside their classrooms" to learn more about the school experiences of girls and boys in Malawi. We appreciate the willingness of the ministry to permit this pilot test and the support from the USAID/Malawi office.

Overview:

This report shares the findings of a two week pilot study of Classroom Observations and Participatory Learning for Action Activities (COPLAA) in the classroom in four Malawi primary schools. This pilot test was the first in a series to assess the effectiveness of a classroom-based research module currently under development. The module combines and adapts the methodology of classroom ethnography and Participatory Learning and Action (PLA). Although this module would be useful for ministry officials and educational researchers, the intended audience is teacher and students to assist them in evaluating what's going on in classrooms. The activities designed for the module are particularly useful for taking the pulse of classroom experiences of girls. The exercises compare student perceptions of their classroom experiences, interactions between girls and boys. They also identify problems and possible solutions to girls participation and schooling. Exercises were also developed to capture teachers attitudes and expectations concerning student performance and to identify factors that teachers believe affect student learning.

It is important to note that this report is only a small representation of the kind and amount of information that can be gleaned from using COPLAA. The primary purpose of the pilot study was to determine how effective the activities were at getting certain kinds of information, to identify problems in implementing the activities and to assess how easily the activities could be used in a classroom environment—particularly classrooms with such large student populations. Because of the need to visit several schools in a short period of time, at times it was necessary to stop a COPLAA activity before the pupils and/or teachers had completed the exercise. Additionally, a primary focus of the facilitator and COPLAA expert as the activities were being used by the pupils and teacher was on the process of implementing the activities rather than on collecting data. Despite these limitations, pupils and teachers who took part in the pilot study identified factors that influence the learning and participation of girls. This report shares what was learned.

COPLAA Pilot Study:

The TABLE 1 provides a breakdown of the student population, number of teachers, setting and number of pupils who took part in the COPLAA in each school. The Lilongwe District Education Officer selected the schools that took part in the pilot test. Preliminary visits were made to each school to explain the nature of the research to the headmasters and the standard 7 and 8 math and English teachers who took part in the exercises. Two days were spent at the first school, Chilambula. One day was spent observing in the classroom and using the techniques with the eight teachers who taught English and Math. On the second day the pupils took part in the COPLAA. One day visits were conducted at the remaining three schools.

Most of the activities took place during the normal school day. However, a few activities were implemented with the teachers after school hours. Because of the unusually large class sizes in most of the classrooms, the pupils from each classroom were divided into smaller groups. The various groups took participated in different COPLAA. In order to compare who gender influences perception of issues and problem-solving, a combination of single-sex and co-educational groups were organized.

Each activity of the COPLAA was designed to ferret out different kinds of information. Listed below are the different activities and a brief description of the various kinds of information to be gathered.

Causal Diagram—used to have pupils to identify those things that affected their participation/learning in the classroom.

Seasonal Calendar—used to identify a) the kinds of work done during the different seasons of the year; and b) the ways in which the climate during the different seasons of the year affects their learning/participation. The seasonal calendar was also used to identify diseases which are linked to the different seasons that affects their attendance.

Pie Chart—used to determine the amount of time spent doing different activities during the school day. These activities included in-class learning, chores, assemblies and break time. Different chores that pupils identified included running errands for teachers, sweeping the classrooms and school compounds, cleaning the latrines, planting/weeding and watering gardens, cutting grass, washing windows and fetching water..

Transient Walk—this was used to highlight both the layout of the school physical plant as well as the condition of the school. Pupils were asked to identify those things that influenced their learning/participation (good/bad quality; lack of resources, lack of security, etc.)

Card Sort—three kinds of card sorts were tested. One card sort asked pupils list words that teachers use to describe girls and boys. A second card sort activity tested was one in which pupils categorized words identifying different chores and to indicate whether a boy or girl would be expected to do the chore. The third card sort tested was to identify occupations for women and for men.

TABLE 1

	Rural/ Urban	Student Popu- lation	Girls/ Boys	COPLAA Used	# of Pupils Who Took Part in COPLAA (Standard 8 & 7)	# of Teachers Total + # who took part in COPLAA
Mtsiriza	Rural	3512	1856 Girls 1756 Boys	Causal Diagram; Seasonal Calendar; Pie Chart; Transect Walk; Card Sort; Focus Group	36 Girls 33 Boys	20♀ 1♂ --head master 3 teachers + HM took part in COPLAA
Lilongwe Girls	Urban	N/A		Causal Diagram; Problem/ Solution Matrix; Daily Activity Profile; Transect Walk; Card Sort; Focus Groups	84 standard 7 109 standard 8	2♂ + 3 ♀ took part in COPLAA/♂ HM inter- viewed but didn't participate
Chilambula	Urban	700	N/A	Causal Diagram; Daily Activity Profile; Venn Diagram; Criteria Matrix; Seasonal Calendar; Focus Group	30 Girls 28 Boys	21 ♀ 2♂ 8 ♀ took part in COPLAA observed in ♂ math teacher's class
Chisamba	Urban	2971	1458 girls 1513 boys	Causal Diagram; Focus Group; Pie Chart; Venn Diagram; Transect Walk;	1 classroom with 180 pupils took part in causal diagram	91♀ + 5♂ 2♀ facilitated 1 ♀ teacher inter viewed

Focus Group—this activity was used to discuss sensitive issues such as pregnancy, drugs and abuse in the classroom.

Venn Diagram—used to illustrate the amount of interaction in the classroom that took place between the pupils and between the pupils and teachers. A major goal was to illicit their reasons for the different interaction patterns.

Daily Activity Profile—used to list the kinds of activities and the amount of time spent doing these activities from the time the pupils wake up until they go to bed at night.

Criteria Matrix—pupils had three tasks. The first task was to list what they considered to be the most important subjects that they studied. The second task was to develop criteria 1) that influence their learning in the classroom and 2) that make the subjects of greater or lesser importance. The final task was to score and rank each of the subjects against the criteria.

Because of the time constraints, less time was available to implement COPLAA with the teachers. Three different activities were used with them.

Causal Diagram—to identify factors that influence girls' participation in the classroom.

Problem/Solution Matrix—to identify problems that influence student learning and why it affected the learning.

Interviews/Focus Groups—used to illicit answers on sensitive issues about pregnancy, drugs and abuse in the classroom.

PUPIL RESPONSES:

Seasonal Calendar

RAINY SEASON

November	December	January	February	March	April
Tasks					
Digging and planting	Transplanting	Weeding and applying fertilizers	Weeding and applying fertilizers	Weeding	Stocking and Harvesting
Maize and Tobacco	Cassava	Beans			
Diseases: Malaria; Diarrhea; Cholera; Trachoma; Snake Bites; Bilharzia; Elephantitis; Typhoid; Fever					

DRY SEASON

May	June	July	August	September	October
Tasks					
Clear Land (both boys and girls)	Make Ridges	Plant Seeds	♀Marketing; build houses (girls collect thatch & fetch water; boys build)	♀Marketing; build houses	♀Marketing; build houses
Diseases: Whooping Cough; headaches; bleeding in nose and eyes; sneeze; trachoma					

Factors that students identified affecting their performance during the rainy season include the following:

- poor infrastructure and poor roads causes flooding of the rivers; sometimes have to wait for two hours for water to pass; if they wait to cross the river they get to school late and then get punished for arriving late; sometimes they cross the river to get to school on time and avoid getting punished but they get sick from the dirty water; clothes and books get wet.
- sitting on the hard cement floor with wet clothes
- dirt roads get very slippery during the rainy season and they get very dirty; girls are teased when they have dirty uniforms.

All of these factors contribute to absenteeism.

Dry season factors include:

- conditions in the classroom become unbearable—poor ventilation, too hot to concentrate let alone participate
- sitting on the floors—there are ticks and ants that bite them because they sit on the floor which distracts them and sometimes causes illnesses.
- because of the close proximity in the classroom because of high student numbers, diseases spread very quickly through the classroom.

Causal Diagram¹

Perceptions of teachers: The pupils' perceptions of teachers were that they were moody, not friendly, punished them too much, and took supplies away from them. One group of boys indicated that *"women teachers stand around and gossip, they're stupid and have no training. They're evil and don't know how to teach."* In general, boys and girls both prefer men teachers over women teachers. Reasons they gave to justify their choice was that men teachers *"make you understand well,"* or that *"they're better teacher"* or that *"they're better qualified"* and that *"they're a more intelligent."* Pupils also indicated that *"female teachers are lazy."* Pupils also indicated that they were punished too much for coming late—particularly when the weather caused their tardiness.

Facilities: Lack of toilets was a major reason that pupils said affected their performance in school because of hygiene factors, time spent outside of class finding an appropriate place, and unsanitary conditions found at schools without proper latrine facilities. At one school pupils said, *"The toilet is near our classroom and it stinks."* Insufficient numbers of latrines keeps them out of class for long periods because they have to stand in long lines to use the toilets or when they go to latrines in compounds nearby the school to avoid the lines. Because there are no taps near the latrines they don't wash their hands after relieving themselves and they get sick from the germs. In schools that didn't have latrines the pupils said that during dry season they had to walk quite a long distance to find a place that would provide sufficient privacy for them. However, during rainy season when the grass was high, even though they didn't have to walk as far to go to the bathroom, they feared that snakes would be in the grass and the girls were afraid that men might lurk in the grass waiting to molest them.

The poor condition of many of the schools was another factor that the pupils talked about particularly during the rainy season when the broken windows, leaking roofs, and lack of doors permitted the rain to come into the classroom and they get cold and wet. Pupils in the higher classes miss classes when they are asked to look for younger children who have wandered off because there are no security fences. Another problem caused by the lack of security fences is that textbooks and learning materials are stolen by thieves. At one of the schools, a wide path runs through the school compound and

¹This was renamed a "Spider Diagram" by the pupils at Chilambula.

villagers continually walk past the classroom windows and distract the pupils. In addition, automobiles pass through and on occasion pupils have been hit by cars.

Resources: Pupils at all the schools identified the lack of teaching materials, chairs and desks, textbooks and exercise books as factors affecting their performance. Pupils indicated that they begin to disengage from their lessons because of the fatigue of looking up at the teacher standing in front of them as they sit on the floor. Pupils complained of the pain they'd get in their necks from having to keep their head in this position for so many hours.

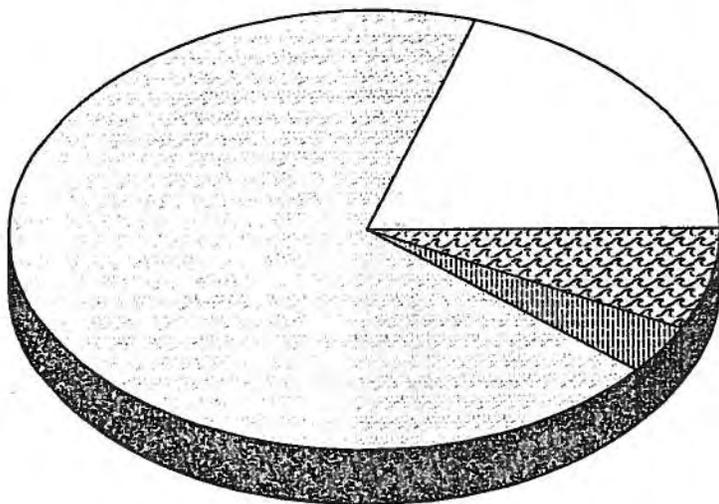
Poverty-related issues: Hunger, inadequate clothing, lack of money to buy school supplies. Girls who don't have adequate clothing, particularly undergarments, are shy about participating because they don't want to have stand up in class when the boys sitting on the floor can look up their dresses. Even when they have undergarments it is embarrassing to stand and girls prefer to limit their participation rather than go through the "motions" to pull their skirts up around their legs before standing..

Hazing and Harassment: Girls frequently cited harassment and hazing by the boys and even the teachers. Girls who have undergone puberty indicated that comments are made to them about their physical development such as, "*you know men [you've had sex], that's why you're so big*" or when girls would soil their clothing during menstruation, "*oh, you're selling palm oil today.*" Even though the girls indicated that it was the "*stupid*" boys who would tease them, they said that the teachers didn't interfere and stop the teasing or that in some cases teachers would laugh with the boys after boys would make the comments. Although teachers did not confirm the girls' perception that teachers engage in the hazing and harassment, teachers confirmed that girl's participation was negatively influenced by the behavior of the boys. In addition to the emotional abuse girls spoke physical bullying—being punched and kicked by the boys, or having their clothes or school supplies taken by them.

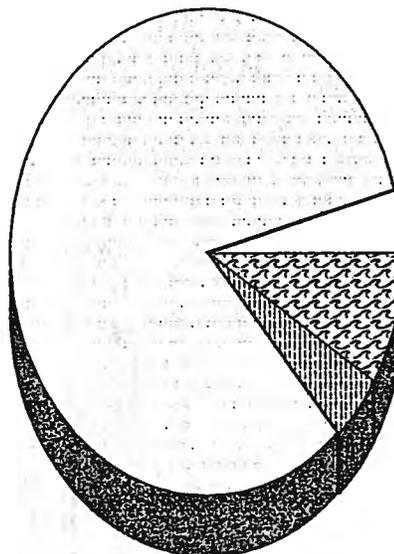
Pie Chart

The following pie charts illustrate how pupils spend their time in school. Their activities include time spent on chores, in assembly and in breaks. It is important to note that at most of the schools the girls came to school at least 45 minutes earlier than the boys in order to complete their chores. Girls swept the floors in the classroom and on the compound, washed the windows, cleaned the latrines and carried water. All of the pupils planted, weeded and watered the gardens. All of the pupils also said that they ran errands for the teachers. Although boys weren't given sweeping as a chore, both boys and girls indicated that boys are made to sweep the floor or clean the latrines as a form of punishment. When asked if boys should be asked to sweep the floors, both the girls and boys emphatically shouted "**NO!!**" Some of the girls further stated, "*No, that's a girls' job.*" Although boys and girls spend the same number of hours in classes, the girls' school day is longer because of the additional time that she needs to complete her at-school chores. This is particularly important when you consider the additional at-

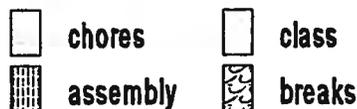
Girls' School Day



Boys' School Day



home chores that girls are expected to fulfill. The COPLAA Daily Activity Profile underscores how disadvantaged girls are to find time available to complete homework and study for their classes.



Daily Activity Profile

The following matrix is a composite of the Daily Activity Profiles of the boys and girls who took part in this activity. Because the pupils were divided into separate groups, differences in the activities and times that they did things are reflected in the matrix. Without exception all the girls who took part in COPLAA got up earlier than the boys and went to bed later than the boys. Girls were expected to carry water, cook breakfast, clean their compounds, wash dishes and collect firewood before school. Girls in the rural area mentioned that they were expected to help on the farm before school. After school they help prepare lunch, wash dishes, run errands for their parents, attend Medersa school, cook dinner and wash the dishes after dinner. Some also assisted with the marketing, washing the laundry or babysitting their siblings. Most of the girls in the rural area got up at 4:30 AM and went to bed at 9:00 PM. Most of the girls in the urban area got up at 5:00 although some said they slept until 5:30. They went to bed between 8:30 and 9:00 PM. With almost no exception, girls did not mention any play time, any TV time or time for themselves. Girls in the rural area appeared to have no time to spend studying at home.

	4:30	5:00	5:30	6:00	6:30	7:00	1:30	2:00	3:00	4:00	5:00	6:00	7:00	8:00	8:30	9:00	9:30
boys	♣♣	♣	♣▷	♣	⇒■ ⇒	⇒	⇒■	▷⇒■	⇒■	♥	⊛♣	⊛♣	♣	■▷	■	✕	
girls	♣♣	♣▲ √	♣○▷	△⇒	⇒⇒	⇒⇒	△■○	▷△■ ○	■	♥△	▷⊙	←△⊙	←△⊙	○△	▷△△ ⊙	○△	✕
girls			♀ ■	⇒⇒	⇒■	■ ⇒	■	▷	■	▷⊙ ⇒	○△	○△	▷♀	△	✕	✕	
boys			♀	▷	⇒ ⇒	⇒■	▷	⇒	■	■▷♀	⇒	▷	■	✕			
girls		♀	△○	△○▷	⇒■	■	■	▷	■	■	△←	○△	▷△	△	✕		
boys	didn't do a daily activity profile with the boys at this school																
girls		√	△○	♀▷	■ →	■	○	▷△	△	▷⊙	♥	♥■	○△⊙	✕			

KEY:

- school chores ■
- marketing ▷
- cooking ○
- collecting firewood ▲
- domestic chores △
- carrying water √
- farming ♣
- babysitting ●
- construction ⊛
- errands ←
- playing ⇒
- bathing ♀
- medersa ♥
- studying ■
- wake up □
- go to bed ✕
- go to school ⇒
- eating ▷

CHORES	MTIZIRA (RURAL)		CHILAMBULA	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
Fetch younger pupils	Prefect ² does it	Prefect does it	Girls	Girls
Gardening	Both	Both	Both	Both
Cut Grass	Boys	Boys	Boys	Boys
Dusting Blackboard	Girls	Girls	Girls	Girls
Bring Supplies from Office Classroom	Girls	Girls	Girls	Girls
Run Errands	Both	Both	Girls	Girls
Fetch Water	Girls	Girls	Girls	Girls
Clean Latrines	Girls--boys given this chore as a form of punishment	Girls --boys given this chore as a form of punishment	School has two holes near the school/no latrines	
Distribute Exercise Books	Both	Girls/more frequently than the boys	Girls	Both
Sweep School Compound	Girls	Girls	Both	Both
Borrow Duster	Girls	Girls	Girls	Girls
Sweep Classroom	Girls --boys given this chore as a form of punishment	Girls --boys given this chore as a form of punishment	Girls	Girls

2

A boy and girl pupil chosen by their peers. Frequently one of the more academically capable pupils.

Pupils at Chilumbula were asked to generate lists of words that they hear teachers use to describe girls. (Unfortunately the list of words generated by the girls is not available.) They were also asked to generate a list of probable occupations for the girls.

**WORDS THAT
TEACHERS USE
TO DESCRIBE
GIRLS (Boys)**

- *intelligent*
- *clever*
- *weak*
- *stupid*
- *witch*

**OCCUPATIONS
BOYS THINK
GIRLS DESIRED**

- *Cook*
- *Nurse*
- *Typist*
- *Secretary*
- *Air hostess*
- *Headmistress*
- *Policewoman*
- *Storekeeper*
- *Teacher*
- *Person who collects
firewood*

**OCCUPATIONS
GIRLS SAID
THEY DESIRED**

- *Nurse*
- *Air hostess*
- *Pilot*
- *Secretary*
- *Typist*
- *Teacher*
- *Seamstress*
- *Cook*
- *Business person*
- *Wife of a president*

Focus Group Discussion

Pupils who took part in the focus group discussions were asked questions about the causes for pregnancy and what happens when a girl gets pregnant.

The reasons that girls get pregnant are categorized below. After participating in the focus group discussion, the pupils offered solutions on ways to address the problem of pupil use of chamba.³

³

This part of the activity wasn't included in the original design of the pilot test of the COPLAA activities. After the pupils took part in the focus group discussion, they decided on their own that they wanted to discuss ways to address the problem of pupils using chamba. Identification of solutions to problems that pupils identify would normally be part of a focus group discussion. Solution identification was not included in the pilot test because of the time constraints. The pupils' desire to modify the activity is not an unusual phenomena. Frequently participants taking part in PLA type activities redefine the activities and/or generate their own data-gathering exercises.

Reasons for getting pregnant		Solutions
Pleasure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ curiosity ■ nothing else to do 	
Pressure from family, friends and boyfriends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ peer pressure from other girls ■ parents encourage girls to have boyfriend to get money from them ■ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ better communication with parents
Personal gain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ to get money to buy soap and other needs ■ “sugar daddies” give them things ■ 	
Substance Abuse--smoking chamba	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ they smoke the chamba, get high and then have sex 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Identify dealer to police or headmaster or mistress ■ create an awareness campaign for pupils telling of dangers and that “<i>smoking chamba can make you mad.</i>”

When asked why they smoke chamba girls shared that boys encourage them to smoke it. They said that the boys tell them that it “*makes them intelligent and pass their exams.*”

Pupils indicated that smoking chamba caused lots of problem in school. They said that it causes them to make noises in class, insult other pupils, scare the teachers, and want to fight both the teachers and other pupils.

TEACHER RESPONSES:

Causal Diagram

Teachers at Chilambula took part in this activity. They were asked to identify factors that influence the participation of girls in classroom activities. The following table summarizes their responses.

Reasons		Discussion
Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ tiredness ■ house chores ■ hunger ■ menstruation ■ clothing ■ physical development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ boys are better dressed than girls and the poor condition of girls' clothes subjects them to teasing and harassment so they avoid participating because they feel self-conscious--girls choose to be "<i>invisible</i>" in the classroom; ■ boys tease the girls who are more developed than girls who aren't going through puberty so the girls elect to become more quiet and avoid attention; after the initiation ceremonies some of the girls disassociate themselves from their peers; after puberty girls think that the next stage in their cycle is to get married--they "<i>get into boys</i>"--and show less interest in school
School Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ distance to school ■ language (English) ■ clerical work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ most subjects are taught in the local languages and English is used only for the subject of language--girls have less time to devote to their studies and aren't as fluent in English--and can't understand
Relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Teasing ■ shyness ■ afraid of punishment 	
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ cultural/socialization ■ seasonal conditions 	

Problem/Solution Matrix

Teachers were asked to identify problems and possible solutions that affect student learning and teaching. The teachers initially began by identifying twenty-five factors that influence student learning and participation. Ultimately they prioritized the list and created a matrix of the most important six factors. Instead of identifying solutions to specific problems, they chose to identify *who* should be responsible for providing resources to address the problems. There was a considerably high level of awareness about the role of donors in the sector. Rather than explore options that might be available through self-help programs at the community level, they often would say, "*No, let the donors take care of that.*"

PROBLEMS	DISCUSSION	DONORS	GOVT	SELF HELP
lack of classroom furniture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ tiredness because pupils are constantly looking up to listen to the teacher, they strain their necks ■ because girls take so long to gather their dresses up to stand up when they are called upon teachers don't call on girls 	√	√	√
lack of textbooks and materials	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ cannot do homework--especially girls who are less likely to have private tutors after school 	√	√	
lack of secure fences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ smaller pupils wander around & older pupils must look for them causing them to miss out on class ■ fear of girls being accosted and abused by strange men ■ thieves break into the school and steal the limited school supplies 	√	√	√
long distance from school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ pupils are tired from the long distance ■ fear of girls being molested ■ when it rains, the rivers flood which prevents the pupils from walking to school--schools should be built closer to homes 	√	√	√
lack of libraries		√	√	
lack of latrines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ pupils go to the bush which is unsafe for girls ■ unsanitary and students don't wash their hands which leads to sickness 	√	√	√

Teachers also expressed concern about the living conditions of orphans and children living with guardians. They said that some of the orphans get so hungry that they sniff glue to *"kill the hunger that they feel in their stomach."* There was considerable concern about the abuse and overwork of children living with guardians. Teachers also indicated that many of the parent's low level of education limited how well their children did on homework.

The impact that democracy had on school was also a major point of discussion with many of the groups of teachers. They felt that *"democracy was being translated badly and that it contributed to the poor behavior of pupil--particularly of boys."* Boys come to school under the influence of chamba and alcohol and sometimes come to school with weapons. They threaten both the girls and the teachers. In one school a pupil on chamba killed someone near the school and now the parents are terrified to send their children. One teacher said, *"Democracy is creating problems. They come to school anyway that they want...When we punish them they say they have the right to be any way that they want."* Teachers wonder how they can discipline

when the perception exists that democracy limits the school's use of discipline.

Card Sort

Teachers were asked to identify words that they use to describe boys and girls. Following is their list of words.

<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
interrupt	shy
naughty	playful
courageous	smart
hard-working	carefree
clever	slow
head is empty	passive
talkative	neat
emotional	good in local language
show offs	lazy ⁴
disruptive	
fashionable (better dressed)	
more likely to ask questions in class	
lazy (boys have all their work done for them)	

CONCLUSIONS:

Although this was not a full-scale application of the COPLAA, preliminary analysis of the data that was collected underscores some of the problems that girls face in their schooling experiences. Not only was there an awareness that girls carried the lion's share of the workload, there appeared to be a tacit acceptance that this inequitable distribution of labor and responsibilities was acceptable and culturally defined (or destined). Girls, who bore the brunt of the work, gave no indication that things should be otherwise. When it was suggested that were that boys might begin to assume some of the responsibilities that girls currently perform the girls were shocked. Schools can not be held accountable for the cultural and socialization processes defining gender roles and boundaries that take place long before the girls get to school. However, to a large degree, what happens in school perpetuates the status quo. This is done in myriad ways including how school chores are assigned and punishments are meted out that send the message that things women and girls do are demeaning tasks for men and boys.

4

During the discussion on this word the teachers said that girls are overloaded with chores at home and with chores at school so they are continually tired. Because of this, girls don't want to participate in school activities.

A surprising finding was the similarity in amounts of time that rural and urban boys compared with the amount of time that rural and urban girls had for study and play. Rural children had over two hours less sleep a day than some urban boys and considerably less leisure time. Analysis of the girls' Daily Activity Profiles underscored not only the amount of time that they had to devote to home chores but also to the level of responsibility and overlapping tasks that they were assigned. At school girls also assumed the larger portion of cleaning tasks. Teachers and pupils also indicate that schools can be a less secure environment for girls particularly when boys come to school under the influence of chamba.

Girls make rational decisions about their participation. To avoid some of the negative behavior and attention they elect to disengage. It would appear that many of the girls have also internalized their status and pursue long term goals and careers that correspond to the kinds of tasks that they are continually being assigned.

The pupils who took part in the COPLAA have negative perceptions of women teachers. Given the substantially large number of teachers in the schools that took part in the pilot test this is disconcerting. Considerably more time and effort will be consumed in classroom management and responding to discipline issues when teachers do not have the respect of their students.

Many of the girls who took part in COPLAA activities did not think that schools were friendly or safe places for them. Not only were they fearful of men lurking outside the school compound but they also had to endure the teasing, hazing and even harassment of the boys in their classrooms. Although it is unclear whether or not teachers take an active role in perpetuating these kinds of negative behaviors, it would appear that they are unsure what to do about it and may even see it as a benign nuisance. Because of their tacit "acceptance" this sends the message to both the girls and boys that the behavior is appropriate. Furthermore, it is also concerning that some of the girls perceived that teachers support the teasing and harassment and that teachers are not someone who is there to protect them from this kind of behavior.