The journey to school: Space, geography and experiences of rural children

PHOLOHO MOROJELE
University of KwaZulu-Natal
NITHI MUTHUKRISHNA
University of KwaZulu-Natal

This paper gives prominence to rural children's accounts of their journey to school. Twelve children (male = 6; female = 6) from three different rural villages in Lesotho participated in the study. Individual and focus group interviews were used to generate data, and these were preceded by three participatory research techniques: family drawings, route mapping and diamond ranking, to engage children in dialogue and discussion. The study provided insights into the implications of family dynamics on children's school journey and the meaning of the school journey to the children. It illuminated how children actively define and re-define the varied places, power-laden spaces and social relations embedded in the journey. The study also highlighted how children's agency is expressed in their negotiation of the school journey, and represented rural children as heterogeneous with the capacity to navigate their localities in complex and autonomous ways.

Keywords: Rurality, journey, agency, children's geographies, school, Lesotho.

Introduction

Over the past two decades, the notions of space, place and human experience have become a key focus of research across various disciplines (e.g. McConaghy, 2006; Thomson & Philo, 2004). These studies contribute to explaining the temporal and spatial dimensions of human lives, and the social and cultural construction of space and place. The centrality of space to people's lives and the multiple meanings, values, identities, subjectivities and power dynamics associated with space are fore-grounded in this body of research. The notion of a single rural space would be challenged as there is a multiplicity of social spaces which intersect in the same geographical area. Human experience is argued to be both determined and limited by space and place. How identities are formed, negotiated and reproduced in different spaces has been the subject of analysis in studies (e.g. Christensen, 2008; Tucker, 2003). Space is also seen as the site of production of social relations.

Aligned to the above debates, research on rural studies has highlighted the importance of space and place in the analysis of the concept 'rurality' (Balfour, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2008; Corbett, 2009; McConaghy, 2006). The aim has been to capture the multifacetedness and the intensity of the everyday life experiences in rural contexts. McConaghy (2006:329) argues that "spaces and places are ideological landscapes whose representations are entangled with both relations of power and complex hierarchies of advantage and disadvantage." Further, there has also been an emphasis on the realities of rural areas, and the cultural, economic, environmental, political and social forces that impact rural places and spaces (Thomson, 2007). Thus, there is a focus on mechanisms of causality, conditions of occurrence and regularities or patterns (Kurtz & Craig, 2009). Everyday lives in rural contexts are seen as situated. Therefore, research on rural children's everyday livedness must take account of the fact that it is always situated in a context, socially, culturally, spatially and historically.

More recently, studies have explored childhood experiences of space and place (e.g. Meinert, 2003; Tucker, 2003; Weller, 2003). A related emerging field of study has been referred to as 'children's geographies'. Children's geographies is an area of study within human geography, and rests on the idea that children as a social group share certain characteristics which are experientially, politically and

ethically significant and which are worthy of study. Space matters, particularly in children's daily lives (Christensen, 2008). Researchers in the field argue that children's lives will be markedly different in differing times, places and spaces, and in differing circumstances such as family, school, peer groups and church. Research in the field therefore requires multiple perspectives and the willingness to acknowledge the 'multiplicity' of children's geographies.

The journey to school represents significant places and spaces in children's everyday experiences, and is an in-between space outside the family, home and school. A small body of international studies in this area have shown that children negotiate this journey spatially, and the dynamics are often fluid with inherent tensions and contradictions (e.g. Murray, 2009; Walker, Whyatt, Pooley, Davies, Coulton & Bamford, 2009). The study reported in this article explored the journey to school from the perspective of children in a rural context in Lesotho. We situated this research within the sub-field of children's geographies. The study was also located in theory on the sociology of childhood and New Childhood Studies which foregrounds the rights of the child (Christensen & James, 2000). This view recognises children's agency in the construction of their own identities. The shift in New Childhood Studies is to seeing children as active social agents who shape the structures and processes around them, and whose social relationships are worthy of study in their own right (Prout, 2000).

The study further explored how rural children experience the journey to school, and the meanings they make of the journey. The key research questions were: How do rural children experience and negotiate the journey to school? What are the meanings of these journeys to children? What does the school journey reveal about the identities of the rural children?

The research design

Context of the study and participants

The study was conducted in Lesotho, a country with a population of 2 130 819. Thirty four per cent (34%) of the population comprises children between the ages of 0 **and 14 years** (Index Mundi, 2010). Lesotho's terrain is characterised by very mountainous areas where travel is difficult, infrastructure poor and the climate harsh. The population is dispersed and, as a result, schools in mountain areas are generally smaller than schools in urban areas (World Bank, 2008). About 70 per cent of the people live in rural areas. More than half of rural people are poor, and more than one quarter of them are extremely poor. More than half of all households in Lesotho are headed by women. While education has benefited many women, there are large numbers of poor women, particularly in rural areas, who remain disadvantaged. HIV and AIDS are taking its toll and many primary school children have lost one or both parents allegedly due to HIV and AIDS (Morojele, 2009). Rural people's scarce resources are consumed in caring for the sick, covering funeral expenses and supporting orphans, with, as illustrated in this study, devastating consequences for school children (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2009).

The research site was a rural primary school selected by means of purposive sampling. The purposive characteristic was that it had to be a school located in a rural community, with children travelling long distances to school. The participants were twelve learners (male = 6; female = 6) from three different villages (Ha Tente, Ha Matoli and Ha Metje). Two boys and two girls from each village were randomly selected to participate in the study. These children were in Grade 6, and between the ages of 10 and 15 years.

Generating the data

Data was generated through individual semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews. During the individual interviews the personal background of each child was obtained, and children were engaged in dialogue with the researcher about their journey to school, based largely on family drawing and route-mapping activities that they completed. In gender-constructed focus groups, the learners engaged in a diamond-ranking activity (discussed below) to further elucidate their experiences of the school journey. In

addition, key issues that emerged in the individual interviews were raised with children in the focus groups for further debate and discussion.

Embedded in this research are the concepts of relationships and power between researchers and child participants. We were particularly concerned about the power imbalances between researcher and child. For this reason, we used child-friendly, participatory and visually mediated techniques to gather the data. Our approach was to use the techniques to create spaces and channels for individuals to discuss issues relating to their life experiences. Thomson (2007) argues that the critical issue within such created spaces is the power relations between the researcher and participants, and among the participants. Using various participatory research techniques, we attempted to embed participation within the social-spatial interactions between the researcher and the child participants. Ethical research practice with children has to recognise their competence and their right to participate as fully as possible. Children-centred research methods are advocated, which treat children as competent informants and seek to understand the world from their perspectives (Ansell, 2009). The following participatory research methods were used either in the individual interviews or during the focus group interviews: family drawings, route mapping and diamond ranking (Muthukrishna, 2006).

Family drawings: This activity enabled us to gain insight into the families of the children. Children were given coloured pens and told to draw their families.

Route mapping: During the individual interviews, each child was given coloured pens and was requested to draw their journey to school in creative ways. Children's maps yielded important information on their navigation of places and spaces, place preferences, safe spaces, risk spaces and spatial boundaries.

Diamond ranking: This is a thinking tool that involves written elements. Learners were given cards on which they were requested to write words to describe: What I like/do not like about my journey to school. They were then given an A3 piece of paper with a large diamond shape drawn on it. They were told to stick the cards on the diamond shape, with the item most liked at the top and the most disliked at the bottom. The task was undertaken in two gender-constructed focus groups. After the activity was completed, the children were given the opportunity to talk about their rankings, giving reasons for the particular order in which items were ranked. A voice recorder was used with the permission of the participants for the sake of verbatim reporting.

Data analysis

Data was analysed qualitatively. Firstly, the data was analysed through an inductive process whereby research findings were allowed to emerge from frequent, dominant and significant events in the raw data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007; Nieuwenhuis, 2007). Thereafter analysis involved identifying broad categories of constructs across the data related to children's experiences of the school journey, which necessitated a line-by-line reading of the different data sets. The second phase of data analysis involved identifying theoretically and conceptually informed themes across these categories (Cresswell, 2009). This allowed for explicit themes to emerge, for example, family background as a centrality in children's experiences, as well as identity and situated lives denoting the power-laden geographies of the school journey.

Ethical considerations

Permission to undertake the study at the school was obtained from the Ministry of Education. Informed consent was obtained from the school principal, teachers, parents and the learners who participated in the study. The principal was the gatekeeper who had the power to provide or withhold access to the child participants. The school, teachers and students were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Children were given a detailed explanation about the nature of the research, the data collection approach and the children's role in the study. Children were told that their participation was voluntary, and they had the option to withdraw from the study at any stage.

Experiencing the school journey: the children speak

This section discusses the findings of the study. The data suggests that, at the surface, the school journey seems to cohere in a relatively smooth, consistent pattern. As far as the spatial arrangement is concerned, children go to school and leave school to travel home. Yet, there are conflicting experiences, which are characterised by regularity and linearity on the one hand, and tensions and contradictions on the other. Children's journey to school at different times of the year involves the negotiation of precarious dongas (ditches), treacherous rivers, forests and valleys, and whether they are orphaned children, poorly clad children, or hungry children. They traverse cattle crossings, with teachers waiting at the school gate with a whip, feared *muthi* murderers and circumcision initiates and so forth in the back of their minds. The findings reveal that children have both a temporal and spatial awareness of their school journey, ranging from awareness of time frames they have to negotiate, resources or lack thereof, risks and potential harm, as well as social and cultural relationships.

Children's voices denote that they also have a discursive understanding of their school journey – a space impacted by diverse values, meanings, dilemmas and interpretations, which are further influenced by forms of human difference such as class, gender and age. The children's voices explicate how they understand, explain and articulate the complexity of demands and experiences originating from the social and physical environments in which they are immersed. They are able to highlight both the harsh and the pleasurable realities of everyday life as they journey to school. There is no doubt that they actively engage in how their world is organised – they make sense of and mediate their physical world and its symbolic elements. The discussion below highlights two key themes: the centrality of children's family background to their experiences of the school journey and the power-laden dynamics of children's agency in navigating their rural localities.

Family background: a centrality in children's experiences of the school journey

The findings show that children's family background has a significant impact on their experiences of the school journey. Eight of the twelve children in this study had either lost one or both parents, allegedly due to HIV and AIDS. These children experience the school journey in particularly intense ways. It was clear that the socio-geographic challenges of these rural communities affect children differently depending on the nature of support they receive from their families. Children in the study emerge as a heterogeneous social grouping who often tend to be cast by policy makers and educationists as homogeneous. There were children who had care and basic needs provided by parents and caregivers such as food, clothing, and support with school assignments and homework. For these children the school journey begins and ends with some degree of power and control over events to come. On the other hand, there were girls and boys whose school journey reflected the dynamics of emotionality and compromised quality of life and wellbeing.

The family drawing (Figure 1) illustrates the fractured, fragile families – spaces from which the school journey emanates:

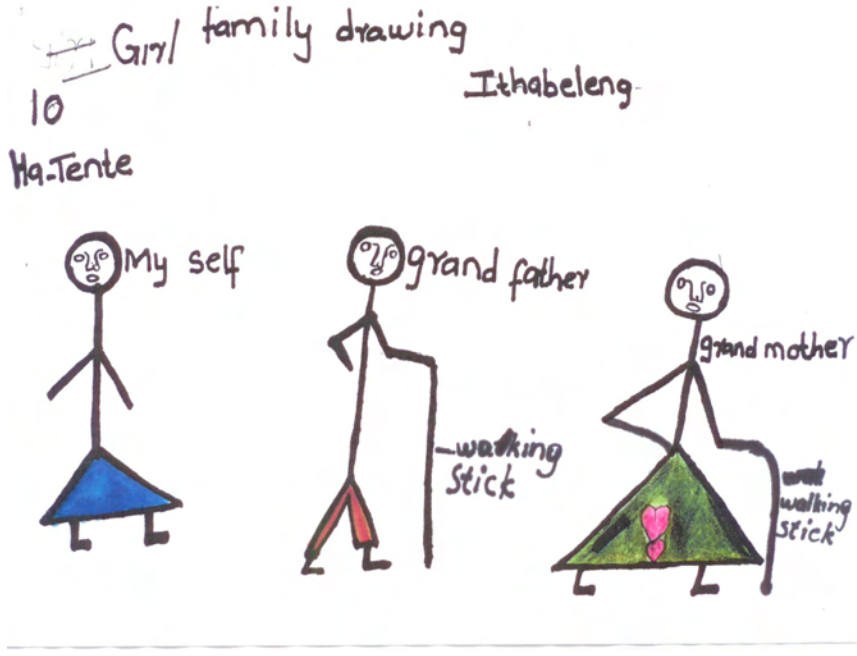

Figure 1

The above is a drawing by a 10-year-old orphaned girl Ithabeleng[1], denoting that, at home, she only has her grandmother and grandfather. She has to travel one hour and 10 minutes to school every morning on a road that passes through a forest and crosses a river without a bridge. In my interview with her, Ithabeleng talked about her family situation:

> *This is me, this is my grandmother and this is my grandfather (pointing to her family drawing). My mother passed away. I don't know when, I was very young. My father also passed away this year. My grandmother is at home – she does not work. I help to plough sometimes, plant vegetables and maize, and I fetch water. I feel hungry and tired on the way to school, especially when it's cold in the morning. When I get to school sometimes I don't listen in the class, I think about what I am going to eat. We don't tell anyone or the teacher that we have problems. I am always looking forward to lunch time (at 11:30 am) so that I can eat. After that I feel much better.*

Similar dynamics came out in our interview with a 12-year-old-boy (Molefi) whose mother and father died, and who lived alone in his home. Although the drawing (Figure 2) shows many family members, all these relatives worked away from home. Some of them only visited once in six months. The discussions on the family drawings showed that he often goes to school without food, facing the long journey to school on an empty stomach.

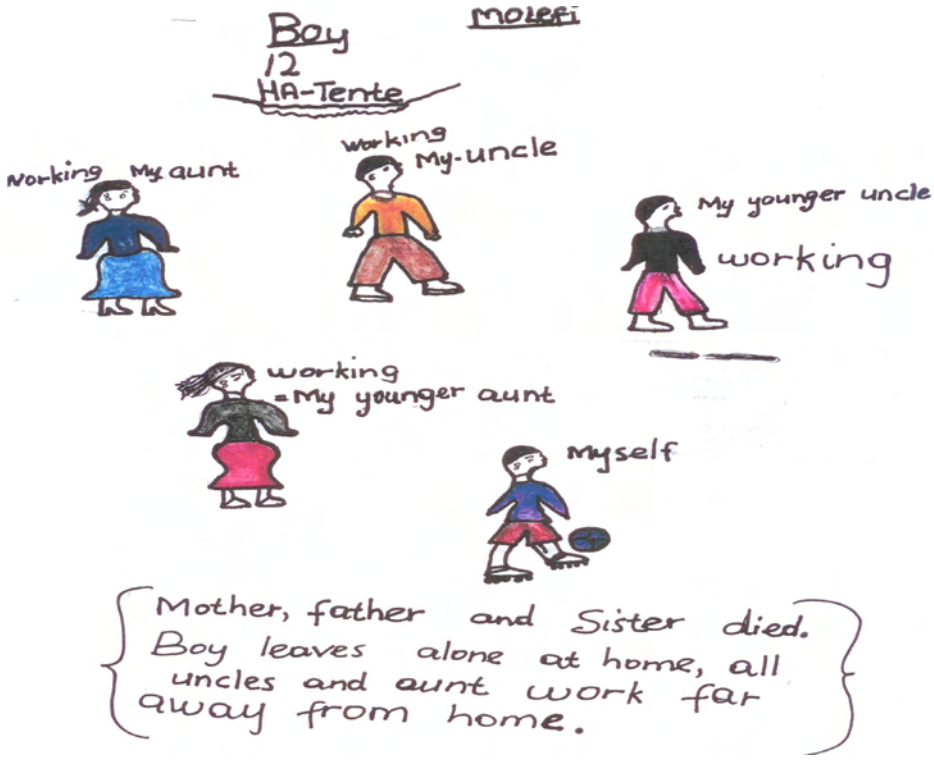

Figure 2

> *This is my biggest aunt, this is my uncle that comes after her. This is me, kicking the ball. My grandmother died, my mother and father died long time ago. My uncles and aunt are not there, they have gone to work. I stay alone at home. Sometimes my other uncle comes to prepare food for me, but most of the time he doesn't come. I stayed alone after my aunt left to look for a job. She left after my grandmother was taken to the mortuary, and said she will come back for the funeral. Before I leave for school in the morning, I fetch water from the well, then check the goats and go to school. So if I am late I fear to go through the forest alone … but I just go. When I get to the river I am afraid to cross alone and I stay there until someone comes to cross. And I then arrive late to school. You see if I had some shoes it will be better in winter when it is cold. If my parents were there I would have the uniform. I feel bad sometimes, other children have shoes. They can walk fast and I cannot because my feet ache when it is cold. There is no one helping me, when I do my homework. My mother used to help me. But when I am at school … I don't think about these things.*

The above data illustrates the dire need of assistance to families in stress as a result of death, sickness and poverty. There are few support structures in the community. A worrying feature of the children's responses is that many of them understood their experience of poverty and underdevelopment in shameful terms, as a pervasive stigma. There is no doubt that the cycle of poverty and underdevelopment in the lives of these rural children is likely to undermine life chances in the long term. Bond (2006) argues that the intersections between poverty and stigma reinforce the fact that stigma cannot be isolated from other social processes and phenomena and that it must be understood in the context of other events occurring in situated spaces, for example, the impact of HIV and AIDS, sickness and death, a lack of support structures and networks in the community such as a caring school. Bond (2006) points out that the practicalities of poverty fuel stigmatising actions and attitudes in such a long, tortuous journey to and from school by a certain group of children that may be constructed as 'the other'. Without a doubt, pervasive forms of

inequality in rural spaces in which these children's lives are played out could add to the vulnerability of the poor, women and orphans to this stigma. The data also revealed that an aspect of masculinity, which denotes boys as tough (Morojele, 2009), is present in Molefi's reflections about this life. He continuously underplayed the difficulties in his life, stating that his situation does not affect him at school.

Identity and situated lives: the power-laden geographies of the school journey

Despite the difficulties experienced, the findings suggest that children have a great deal of independence in their negotiation of school journey. The data indicates a level of resilience in children whose school journey experiences are deeply affected by family dynamics at home, by poverty, and limited support from the school. A drawing (Figure 3) by a 12-year-old girl from Ha Matoli shows that she leaves home at 06:00, crosses dongas and rivers. She passes the circumcision initiates in dense forests before she arrives at school at 07:30. Fear of crossing rivers and dongas was associated with the rainy seasons when these become flooded with rain water. The forests were, according to the children, hiding places for *muthi* murderers and circumcision initiates.

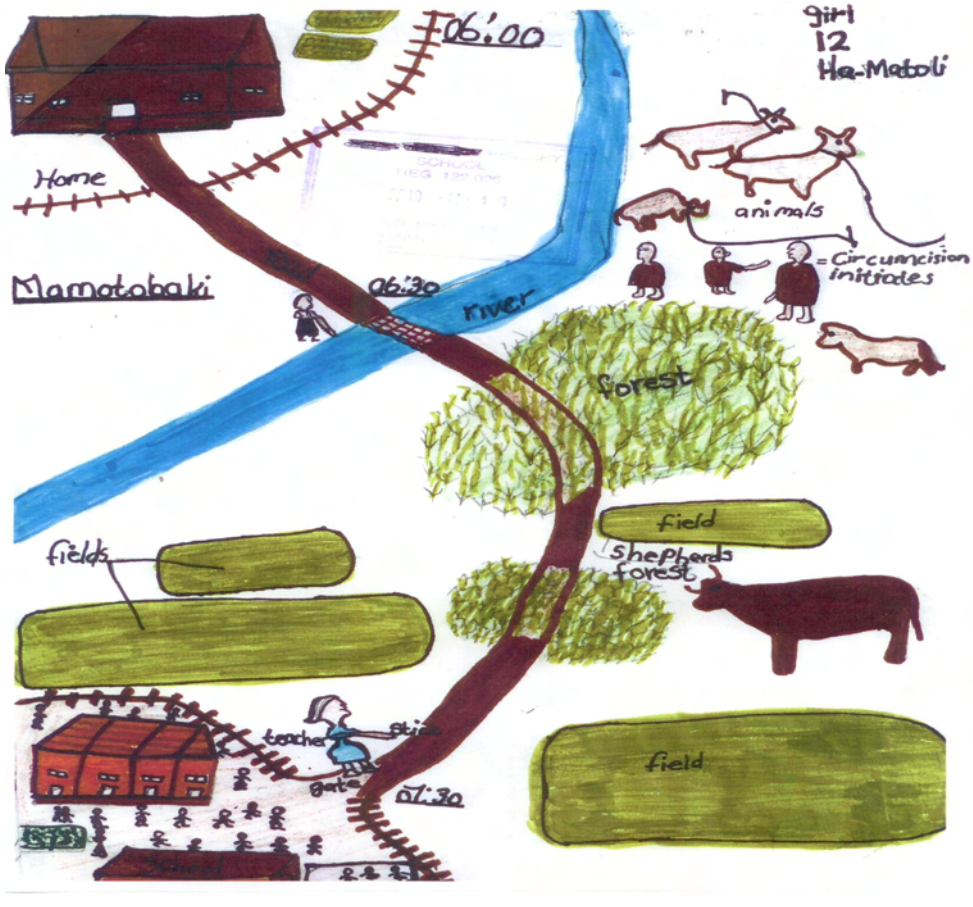

Figure 3

Contestations among the children over the navigation of safe and risky spaces were marked by both terror and pleasure for school children. Children held intense culturally associated fears of *muthi* murderers who

allegedly hid in the forest and harmed children on their way to school. Three children reported experiences of a mysterious man chasing them from the forest, and they suspected he could be a *muthi* murderer. In this rural community, a *muthi* murder is often associated with Basotho traditional circumcision where the *muthi* from human parts is allegedly thought to make a stronger medicine which can protect the initiates against any evil spells that could be directed at them.

One boy narrated an incident in which he and his sister had a frightening confrontation with the initiates:

> *One day I was walking with my sister from school. When we crossed a donga in the forest, there they were (the initiates) on the way. The forest was dense and we could not see them. We are not supposed to go near them. Then they threw stones at us, letting their dogs to chase us, we ran away. I was very scared but my sister thought I could protect her. The Bomamokhahlana [circumcision initiates] trouble us when we come from school. You see they hide in the forest until we get closer, and they say if we mix with them their muthi will force us to join them. And then they throw stones and chase us.*

However, the study revealed that the relationship between the school children and circumcision initiates is a complex one. On the one hand, the children feared them, but on the other hand the data shows initiates in a supportive space. This suggests that the spaces on the journey to school in which the boys interact with the initiates provided them with food when they were hungry. There were accounts of initiates who cooked maize (*likhobe*) and fed the children on the school journey. Ironically, the children were very aware that this might have been a strategy to recruit the school boys. There were boys who held the initiatives in awe. One reason alluded to was that, in these communities, boys from circumcision schools are regarded as 'real men'. Once they graduate, their title changes from man (*monna*) to father (*ntate*), regardless of their age. There is no doubt that boys constructed the circumcision school as an important rite and route to respect and high social status in the rural community. This suggests that the spaces on the journey to school in which the three boys interact with the initiates are in many ways an identity formation experience. The boys indicated that one of their goals was to join the traditional school at some stage in their lives. In her study in the United Kingdom, Ross (2007) found that girls and boys positioned themselves in complex ways in order to navigate the structural and cultural challenges of their journey to school.

During the diamond-ranking exercise, four girls placed 'boyfriends' in the category of the most liked aspect of their school journey. A dialogue with girls in a focus group interviews is illustrated below.

> *Mamotobaki: I also put 'boyfriends' at the top, because I like them a bit (not too much) (laughing).*
>
> *Leboela: When you go with a boyfriend, herd boys don't bother you, you just pass and even if they want something, they will bother him (the boyfriend) (other girls laughing).*
>
> *Ithabeleng: One day I was going with a boy, he is not my boyfriend, but I was just going with him (laughing), and then one herd boy made a line on the road where we were going to pass (a seha qholo). Then he sat back and shouted, 'if you cross the line, you must know we are in love'. We didn't know what to do, and we waited for a while. Then my boyfriend went to cross the line and the other herd boys laughed at the one who made the line, 'hey, man you are in love with a boy'. They laughed, we laughed, and then we passed and ran home.*

A similar gender dynamic emerged in a focus group discussion with boys:

> *Molise: Yah, I put 'girlfriends' at the top because as we go home we help each other. We discuss and share things that hurt us, and they like to cry, so you have to be strong. Sometimes they explain things we didn't understand in class. We also protect them. So the herd boys don't bother you when you are going with a girl because they see you are a man, as long as you don't allow a girl to cut across their cattle (it is taboo in Basotho culture for unmarried girls to walk across or in the middle of) a herd of cattle.*

The above excerpts indicate that these rural children take advantage of their long school journeys to engage in heterosexual relationships, and that these relationships often serve as resource to navigate sometimes dangerous spaces on the journey to school. In other cases, the boy-girl relationship is a social

and supportive space to discuss school work and personal problems. The data also suggests that these relationships gave children a sense of worth and belonging, which is crucial to their wellbeing, particularly given the reality that some of them did not have supportive adults or siblings in their lives.

In the space of the school journey, the study revealed how multiple identities play themselves out. For boys, the feeling of being real men who protect girls and support them with personal problems was quite illuminating. For the older children, to be seen as a protector to younger children reinforced feelings of self-worth. Children also actively strategised in their attempts to negotiate risky places, which included walking in groups, where young boys and girls walk in front, and older boys positioned behind in a protective stance. The children perceived and interpreted the dynamics of their school journey in their own unique and nuanced ways, and acted upon these dynamics with varying degrees of consciousness and intent. The study shows that these children were able to act within and transform their harsh social and physical spaces into resources that affirmed their identities as girls and boys.

> *Ithabeleng: I like the dam because when it is hot and we are tired on the way from school we swim. We also play mock family games (Mantloane) and fetch water from there. It is fun.*
>
> *Lineo:I like the forest because when we are being chased, we hide in there and no one will see you.*
>
> *Mamotobaki: Yes, I also like the forest because on the way from school we collect wood from the forest so when we get home we just have to fetch water and then we can play.*

The level of agency that the children in this study exercise denotes that, when discussing marginalised children, it is important to examine their agency, as argued by Beazley (2003). The data in this study challenges the constructions of rural children in simple binary terms, for example, as vulnerable or victim.

Conclusion

The study has shown how the school journeys of young children are affected by a myriad and complex intersection of factors, including family background, the structural and social dimensions of the geographic localities, poverty and underdevelopment, uncaring and unsupportive aspects of the school as an institution, as well as the role that children play in favourably positioning themselves in relation to these dynamics. The rural children in this study displayed a clear conceptual understanding of the spatial aspects of their school journey (such as the rivers, dongas and forests). They also understood the discursive dimensions of the places they traversed (such as the herd boys and the initiates), and positioned themselves in strategic ways to navigate the power-laden spaces. They adopted complex identities, formed into solidarity groups, formed heterosexual relationships, took advantage of the mountainous terrain and the forest as resources, as they negotiated what might otherwise be just a regular tortuous school journey.

The study argues for an understanding of the notion of rurality from the perspective of how children make sense of and position themselves within the socio-spatial dynamics of rural schooling. Understanding rural children's identities is a powerful resource in the development of strategies aimed at improving the lives and livelihoods of children in rural contexts. This study aligns with the findings of other research (Christensen, 2008) that children are active agents in the construction of their everyday lives and their childhoods.

This study makes a contribution to wider academic debates concerning rural children. It problematises the constructions of rural children as passive victims of their circumstances and stresses the critical importance of context to both social constructions and embodied experiences of childhood. Ansell (2009:204) argues that:

> *if research into children's geographies is to be relevant to the transformation of children's lives, it is crucial to consider not only children's encounters with the world, but also the processes, decisions and events that shape the world they perceive, interpret and act upon.*

Endnote

1. Pseudonyms chosen by the children are used to protect their identity.

References

Ansell A 2009. Childhood and the politics of scale: Descaling children's geographies? *Progress in Human Geography*, **33(2)**:190-209.

Balfour R, Mitchell C & Moletsane R 2008.Troubling contexts: Toward a generative theory of rurality as education research. *Journal of Rural and Community Development*, **3(3)**:100-111.

Beazley H 2003. Voices from the margins: Street children's subcultures in Indonesia. *Children's Geographies*, **1(2)**:181-200.

Bond V 2006. Stigma when there is no other option: Understanding how poverty fuels discrimination towards people living with HIV/AIDS in Zambia. In S Gillespie (ed), *AIDS, poverty, and hunger: Challenges and responses*. Washington: International Institute of Food Policy Research.

Christensen P 2008. Place, space and knowledge: Children in the village and the city. In: B Lingard, J Nixon & S Ranson (eds), *Transforming learning in schools and communities: The remaking of education for cosmopolitan society*. London: Continuum.

Christensen P & James A 2000. *Research with children: Perspectives and practices*. London: Falmer Press.

Cohen L, Manion L & Morrison K 2007. *Research methods in education*. 6th ed. London: Routledge.

Corbett M 2009. Rural schooling in mobile modernity: Returning to the places I've been. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, **24(7)**:1-13.

Creswell JW 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Index Mundi 2010. *Lesotho demographic profile 2010.* Retrieved on 10 June 2010 from http://www.indexmundi.com/lesotho/demographics_profile.html**.**

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) 2009. *Rural poverty in Lesotho*. Retrieved on 10 November 2010 from http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/web/guest/country/home/tags/lesotho.

Kurtz M & Craig V 2009. Constructing rural geographies in publication. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, **8(2)**:376-393.

McConaghy C 2006. Schooling out of place. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(3):325-339.

Meinert L 2003. Sweet and bitter places: The politics of school children's orientation in rural Uganda. In: K Olwig & E Gullov (eds), *Children's places: Cross-cultural perspectives.* London: Routledge.

Morojele P 2009. Gender violence: Narratives and experiences of girls in three Lesotho rural primary schools. *Agenda*, 80:80-87.

Murray L 2009. Making the journey to school: The gendered and generational aspects of risk in constructing everyday mobility. *Health, Risk & Society*, **11(5)**:471-486.

Muthukrishna N (ed) 2006. *Integrated report NRF project – Mapping barriers to basic education in an HIV and AIDS context.* Pietermaritzburg: School of Education and Development, University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Nieuwenhuis J 2007. Qualitative research designs and data gathering techniques. In: K Maree (ed), *First steps in research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Prout A 2000. Childhood bodies: Construction, agency and hybridity. In: A Prout (ed), *The body, childhood and society.* London: McMillan.

Ross NJ 2007. "My journey to school ...": Foregrounding the meaning of school journeys and children's engagements and interactions in their everyday localities. *Children's Geographies*, **5(4)**:373-391.

Thomson F 2007. Are methodologies for children keeping them in their place? *Children's Geographies*, **5(3)**:207-218.

Thomson JL & Philo C 2004. Playful spaces? A social geography of children's play in Livingston, Scotland. *Children's Geographies*, **2(1)**:111-130.

Tucker F 2003. Sameness or difference? Exploring girl's use of recreational space. *Children's Geographies*, **1**:111-124.

Walker M, Whyatt D, Pooley C, Davies D, Coulton P & Bamford W 2009. Talk, technologies and teenagers: Understanding the school journey using a mixed-methods approach. *Children's Geographies*, **7(2)**:107-122.

Weller S 2003. 'Teach us something useful': Contested spaces of teenagers' citizenship. *Space and Polity*, **7(2)**:153-171.

World Bank 2008. *Lesotho: Country brief*. Washington, DC: World Bank.