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NETWORKED PARTICIPATORY CULTURES IN LUSAKA, ZAMBIA:

HOW TEENAGERS EXPERIENCE SOCIAL MEDIA AND MOBILE PHONES

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, Brenda Bukowa declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

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Signature: Date: 22nd November, 2019

Place: Durban

Supervisor:

Signature: Date:

Place:

DEDICATION

To my little girls, Bernice, Tutu and Briah: because I owe it all to all of you. Many thanks for making me a stronger, better and more fulfilled mother than I could have ever imagined. I love you to the moon and back!

To my mother, Mary Bukowa and my elder sister Christine Musanje (who also doubles as a deputy mother): for as long as I live, I have permanently secured a home under your wings!

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For I am confident of this very thing, that He who began a good work in you [me] will perfect it until the day of Christ Jesus.

Philippians 1:6

The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without my close association with many people.

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I am grateful to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Bukowa and my siblings who have provided for me through moral, spiritual, material and emotional support. To my father who has been asking about my graduation for the last three years, not that I was late in submission, but because he couldn't wait to address his own offspring as Dr. Bukowa – here you are Dad, I am finally graduating!

I am grateful with a special mention to my friends: Lumbuka (for all the stories she could tell me just to cheer me up. She is probably the only person that knows the struggles that I went through during the course of this study. Her support in all areas strengthened me and gave me the zeal to wake up from bed, dust myself up and rush to the office to continue with the research

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Brenda Bukowa

Durban, South Africa

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ABSTRACT

Teenagers' networked participatory culture is influenced by the way they interact, self-present themselves, establish and maintain friendships, and the way they coordinate their day to day lives. Livingstone and Third (2017) have argued that these have contributed to teenagers' pervasive access and use of social media and mobile phones.

This study adopted a qualitative approach and an interpretivist paradigm. It adopted Focus Group Discussions [FGDs]. The study sampled a population of teenagers aged 15 to 18 years drawn from six government funded secondary schools in Lusaka, Zambia.

Analysis of the FGDs and in-depth interview data using thematic analysis showed that teenagers in Lusaka engage in networked participatory culture. Firstly, the findings reveal that teenagers' engagement with networked participatory culture is closely linked to the concept of identity and self-representation. The study further reveals that engagement on social media and mobile phones contributes to identity construction through the process of creation of profiles, displaying networks composed of connections, displaying pictures, links, music preference and other personal information.

Three key findings emerged from the data on networked participatory culture using mobile phones and social media. Firstly, teenagers consider ownership of smart phones as a key determinant of their participation. The participants reported that absolute ownership necessitated greater privacy and control over information and people they communicated with. Secondly, it was established that the smart phone's primary purposes were for building social networks, content prosumption and for communication purposes. Thirdly, the study revealed that teenagers were motivated to access and use social media for variant reasons. These include self-expression, gaining freedom and independence to produce content, a need to satisfy an urge to gain popularity, to improve on their personal knowledge and skills, and to cultivate a sense of community belonging and networking in virtual communities.

More broadly, the study makes an important contribution to literature as it relates to inter-nationalizing media and communication studies' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 4; Mutsvairo, 2018; Thussu, 2009; Curran and Park, 2000; Wang, 2011) as well as internet studies and audience studies (Goggin and McLelland, 2009; Butsch and Livingstone, 2014).

To be specific, the research makes a novel scholarly contribution to literature on the social and cultural issues influencing networked participatory culture amongst teenagers in Lusaka, Zambia.

ACRONYMS

AISI	African Information Society Initiative
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ITU	International Telecommunications Union
MOGE	Ministry of General Education
PF	Patriotic Front
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UGC	User Generated Content
UPND	United Party for national Development
UNZA	University of Zambia
UNCRC	United Nations Convention of the Rights of the child
WWW	Wide Wide Web
ZAMTEL	Zambia Telecommunications Company
ZICTA	Zambia Information and Communication Technologies Authority

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Studying Networked Participatory Culture amongst Teenagers in Lusaka

Motivation for the PhD journey

My interest in researching Information and Communication Technologies [ICTs] was ignited some 15 years ago when I first used a computer as an undergraduate student. Sitting in the computer lab in the Department of Mass Communication, at the University of Zambia (UNZA), I was amused at how 'intelligent' a box could handle commands and complete writing and formatting tasks. During 2010, whilst I was studying at the University of Oslo, Norway, for a Master's degree in Media and Communication Studies, this personal fascination developed into an academic interest and study of the Internet and Freedom of Expression in Zambia. The dissertation was titled *If You Cannot Beat Them Blog Them: Exploring the Internet for Freedom of Expression in Zambia* (Bukowa, 2012). This academic research area then developed into a professional collaboration with Freedom House, which is an American independent watchdog organisation that was founded in 1941 and is dedicated to the expansion of freedom and democracy around the world (see freedomhouse.org). I was invited to be a consultant and to contribute work on the local, Zambian context as part of their annual 'Freedom on the Net' report (Freedom House, 2015, 2016). This 'Freedom on the Net' project "measures internet freedom in order to identify threats to online freedoms and opportunities for positive change" and the annual reports seek "to inform the wider community of activists, journalists, policymakers, entrepreneurs, and ordinary citizens in order to advocate for an internet characterised by freedom, openness, and security for all" (https://freedomhouse.org/report-types/freedom-net).

The measure of internet freedom is based on three categories: obstacles to access, limits on content, and violations of users' rights. These reports, however, only focused on adult users of ICTs with little insight and reporting of how young people engaged with ICTs. This seemed to conflict with my own observations of the use of ICTs in Zambia, Lusaka specifically.

One observation that struck me was that young people (whom I refer to as teenagers in this thesis) appeared to be pervasive consumers of mobile media communication devices. When walking around the streets of Lusaka, I noticed young people sometimes as young as primary school age using mobile phones to listen to music, play games, browse social media, or simply

surfing the mobile internet. This prompted me to want to investigate the ways in which young people engaged with social media and mobile communication devices.

I wanted to answer these questions from the perspective of young people themselves as teenagers are pervasive users of mobile phones and social media (O'Neill, 2014; Livingstone, 2015). As Elza Dunkels (2010) argued, research on young people often does not actually involve the perspectives of young people themselves. I wanted to hear from the teenagers themselves to get an idea of how they participate on social media through mobile media. According to Jo Helle-Valle (2017: 27), in order 'to understand and analyse contemporary social life in Africa,' there is a need to include 'the role of media in everyday life.' This demands that academic scholarship needs to study everyday media practices, which are described as the 'actual, down-to-earth engagement between people, their ICTs and the various networks and infrastructure that support such use' (Helle-Valle, 2017: 28).

I was motivated to study the topic to gain answers to the problems highlighted in literature such as pornography, fraud, and privacy issues (Haddon and Livingstone 2017; Livingstone 2018) as regards teenagers' access and use of social media platforms.

Research into African media audiences and users is 'urgent more than ever because of the rapidly changing media landscape on the continent in the last few decades' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 1) where existing research on media and communication in Africa has, to date, typically only 'examined the policy and regulatory context of media' or the 'relations between media institutions and the state' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 2). Whilst both approaches offer important macro-analyses of media and communication in Africa, the question 'of what ordinary people do with old and new media on an everyday basis [is] unanswered' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 2).

This therefore prompted me to conduct research on African audiences (in this instance teenagers' and their experience of mobile phones and social media) as any engagement with media is 'always grounded in particular contexts, worldviews and knowledge systems' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 4). As Barker (1997: 35) has noted, 'what has not yet been sufficiently explored is the possibility that specific African audiences have distinctive, conventional modes and styles of making meaning'. Audiences are 'not all the same' (Barker, 1997: 347) as they are always situated in historically and culturally specific contexts.

Wendy Willems and Winston Mano (2017: 2) call for 'a need to foreground the voices and experiences of Africans with a range of media forms more strongly, while acknowledging the

constraints to their agency imposed by the state and/or the market.' They argue that there is 'an urgent imperative need to study audiences and users in Africa' from a critical, qualitative perspective in order to better understand how African audiences make sense of, and relate to, media forms in their everyday lives (Willems and Mano, 2017: 4). There is therefore a need for 'qualitative, interpretive insights that generate nuance understandings of the dynamics, processes and mechanisms of media practices' in Africa (Helle-Valle, 2017: 29). This form of research necessarily situates audiences and user experiences 'more broadly within particular social, economic and political contexts' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 18).

This thesis therefore, situates itself as making a contribution to the project of inter-nationalizing media and communication studies' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 4; Mutsvairo, 2018; Thussu, 2009; Curran and Park, 2000; Wang, 2011) as well as internet and audience studies (Goggin and McLelland, 2009; Butsch and Livingstone, 2014). In particular, it will contribute to research on the new 'social media paradigm' (Burgess, Marwick, Poell, 2018). This paradigm is a 'distinctive' moment in media and communication studies that is shaped by the dominance of social media technologies that have been 'widely but unequally' adopted by the global population (Burgess, Marwick, Poell, 2018: 1). Social media research, however, always needs to take the historical, political, social and economic context into consideration (Quan-Hase and Sloan, 2017: 3). Social media is defined in this thesis as having three characteristics: the capability to support user-generated content, provide a means for users to connect with one another, and support various means for members to engage with one another (Quan-Hase and Sloan, 2017: 5).

Background to the study

"My whole world is in my palm!" is a statement expressed by Yong Jin Park (2015) who described how mobile phones have emerged as dominant communication channels for networked or connected teenagers. The mobile phone is one of the fastest growing and the most widely diffused communication devices across different social demographic segments (Park, 2015).

As Manuel Castells (2002) argues, the mobile phone has emerged as a key technology in redefining communication media. The mobile phone is considered as an important medium of communication and has become an integral part of the society especially among teenagers. The

mobile phone is not only a communication device but is also a necessary and important social accessory. Teenagers' are increasingly using mobile phones rather than the fixed telephones.

Even though, the importance of the mobile phone was highlighted by Castells (2002), the continued development of the mobile phone into the smartphone highlights its continued relevance and centrality in debates on 'mobile media' (Goggin and Hjorth, 2009; Goggin, 2011; Hjorth et al., 2012; Cumiskey and Hjorth, 2013; Farman, 2016; Goggin and Hjorth, 2014). Rich Ling (2012) argues that the mobile phone has acquired a ubiquitous status that translates that everyone is expected to have a mobile phone. These mobile media communication devices continue to increase in popularity at an unexpected rate. This unexpected rate is tied to the fact that according to the International Telecommunications Union (ITU)[1], fixed-telephone subscriptions globally continue to decline with a penetration rate of 12.4 per cent in 2018, in contrast to the number of mobile-cellular telephone subscriptions that are currently standing at nearly the entire global population, or 96 per cent, of the world population now living within reach of a mobile cellular network. The pervasiveness of the mobile phone in the years' post 2000 was because of the affordances it offered to enable user-generated content:

> User-generated content comes from regular people who voluntarily contribute data, information, or media that then appears before others in a useful or entertaining way, usually on the Web… The use of such content has seen rapid growth in recent years, in part because it is fairly inexpensive to obtain (users normally supply it for no charge). For content suppliers, the process can be rewarding because it lets them receive recognition for their contributions. For consumers, besides the potential to inform or entertain, the content gives a glimpse into real data from other people, unsanitized by regular media outlets (Krumm et al., 2008: 10).

UGC is a concept that depends on what José Van Djik (2009: 41) argues that users generally referred to as active internet contributors, put in a 'certain amount of creative effort' which is 'created outside of professional routines and platforms.' The pervasive uptake of social media in Zambia is influenced by the access and use of mobile phones (see Table 1.1 below). According to the Zambian Information and Communication Technology Authority [ZICTA] (2015), the mobile phone has a penetration rate of 87.7% of the total population. Of this, the

[1] Please refer to the ICT statistics on: https://www.itu.int/en/mediacentre/Pages/2018-PR40.aspx accessed on 9th February, 2019.

mobile internet stands at a penetration of 50.6% of the total population. This is in comparison to the fixed internet that stands at a marginal 0.25% of the total population.

Table 1.1: ICT statistics September 2018 compiled by ZICTA

Indicator	Number	Penetration Rate
Mobile Subscription	14,477,880	85.7%
Fixed Line Subscription	99,830	0.59%
Mobile Internet Users	8,550,727	50.6%
Fixed Internet Subscription	42,164	0.25%

Source: ZICTA

Based on the above statistics where the mobile subscription and mobile internet use is relatively high compared to the fixed internet figures, this study focuses on researching mobile communication and social media. Added to this motivation, is the choice of the sample population. As will be discussed in the Literature Review (Chapter Two), studies have found that teenagers are pervasive consumers of ICTs and digital media content. Zambian teenagers have not been left behind. According to the Ministry of General Education, teenagers' online media consumption in Zambia has grown with the establishment of ICT clubs in government schools and the integration of ICTs into the education curriculum (MOGE, 2015). This means that more and more teenagers have access to skills, knowledge and systems of how to use the Internet.

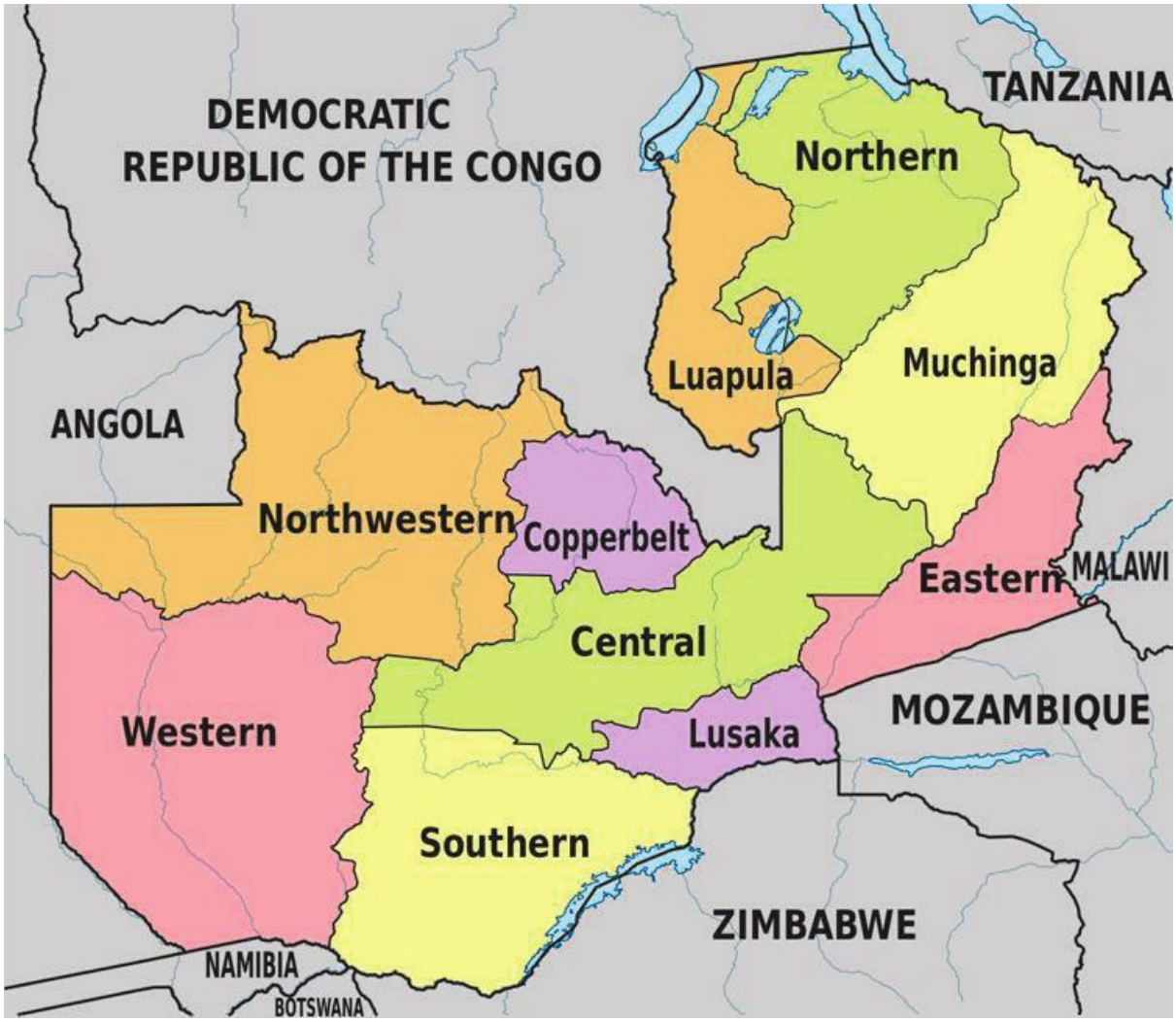
Studies such as Sonia Livingstone and Saffron O'Neill (2014), Sonia Livingstone (2015), and David Buckingham (2008) have focused on teenagers' online participatory culture. While these studies have focused on terms such as participatory culture, convergence culture, social media, and teenagers (these terms are elaborated in detail in the literature review chapter) in Western or Global North countries, little research exists on these debates in the African context. It is also argued by Dale Paterson (2014) that the pervasiveness of social media differs from continent to continent and region to region. Considering the effects of such a digital divide (this is discussed in detail in the literature review), this study therefore, moves away from established effects of social media on Western teenagers' online media participation to focus on Zambian teenager's experiences of social media and mobile communication media, which

has developed what I term in this thesis a “networked participatory culture” in Lusaka. For the purpose of this thesis, the term “networked participatory culture” refers to the act of teenagers being creators, reactors and distributors, of content using mobile phones connected to the internet or smart phones. The term intersects network society (Manuel Castells) and the participatory culture (Henry Jenkins) theoretical frameworks. The two theories are discussed in detail in chapter three in the thesis.

Context of the Study: Lusaka, Zambia

The Republic of Zambia attained independence from Britain on 24 October 1964 after being transferred to the British colonial office in 1924 as a protectorate. Zambia currently has a population of about 17.9 million people (CSO, 2018). It is a landlocked country located in the Southern part of Africa, bordered by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) to north, Tanzania to the north-east, Malawi to the east, Angola to the west, and Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia to the south (see Map below). The country has a total surface area of 752,618 square kilometers. Since its establishment in 1905, Lusaka, the current capital city of Zambia, has grown from a white dominated town to a cosmopolitan city rich in culture and heritage. The city has a surface area of 360 square kilometers. Its history can be traced back to 1935 when it replaced Livingstone as the capital city. Lusaka is a city currently serving as both a commercial and administrative centre, and according to the latest published data the city has a population of close to two million people (CSO, 2010). Approximately 10% of the Zambian population live in the city of Lusaka, which is 0.05% of the size of Zambia. As the capital city, Lusaka dominates Zambia’s urban system and accounts for 32 percent of the total urban population in the country (UN-HABITANT, 2008). Like most urban cities in sub-Sahara Africa, the city is battling with high unemployment, HIV, malaria, population growth, corruption, and lack of services like health, education and waste management systems.

Figure 1.1: Map of Zambia



Source: Google Maps

In terms of access to ICT infrastructure, Zambia is a country where the majority of the population are not connected to the national electricity grid. Only 33.1% of the national population access electricity from the national grid, with the remainder of the population (66.9%) relying on alternative energy sources like solar energy and generators (ZICTA, 2015). Similar to Castells' (2002) assertion that the glory days for television and radio are slowly being replaced by new media technologies like mobile phones and the Internet, access to radio and television has fallen marginally in Zambia. Despite being relatively higher in urban cities, access to radio stands at a meagre 40% of the total national population while access to TV stands at 54% for GoTV and 28.4% for Topstar respectively. As regards to fixed telephone line services, only 0.3% of the total population have a functional fixed telephone line. Similar to Jonathan Donner's (2002) assertion that mobile phones have overtaken the land line service,

Zambia has a landline penetration rate of 0.3% compared to the mobile phone penetration rate of 53.5% mainly due to people opting for the mobile phone as opposed to the fixed line. This scenario can best be described as "leap frogging" which is the skipping of fixed telephone lines to cell phones (Alzouma, 2005).

With low levels of computer use (3.5% of the total population) compared to mobile phone ownership (88.1% of urban dwellers and 61.6% of rural dwellers), and with a proportionally high number of mobile internet users (31% 31% compared to 6.6% in rural areas) (ZICTA, 2018), Lusaka, the capital of Zambia is a good environment to study mobile phones and social media among teenagers. Teenagers aged 15 to 18 years are the highest users of the Internet standing at 17 to 18% of the total population in Zambia (ZICTA, 2015), hence examining this age population is appropriate for this study.

Aim of the Study

The current study seeks to explore the experiences of teenagers in their everyday experiences of using mobile phones and social media. My study endeavours to provide an account that captures the nuances of a networked participatory culture for teenagers, as experienced by and understood from the perspective of the teenagers themselves. To this end, the study identifies four main objectives:

1. To evaluate how teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka;
2. To provide an account of teenagers' social networking activities in Lusaka;
3. To examine how teenagers experience mobile communication; and,
4. To assess teenagers networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

In addition to identifying the four objectives above, this study also aims to answer four main research questions:

1. How do teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka?
2. What social networking activities do teenagers engage in online in Lusaka?
3. How do teenagers experience mobile communication in Lusaka; and,
4. How do teenagers' experience networked participatory culture in Lusaka?

Theoretical Frameworks

As will be discussed in Chapter Three, two theories namely; participatory culture theory advanced by Henry Jenkins in 1992 and the network society theory advanced by Manuel Castells in 1996, were selected as ideal theoretical frameworks to help understand networked participatory culture in the context of teenagers in Lusaka. Theory triangulation that involves the application and combination of several theories to study the same phenomenon (Denzin, 2007) was used for the individual theories to complement each other by bringing variant arguments in informing my study.

Research Approach

The current study adopted a qualitative approach and an interpretivist paradigm. Two data collection methods were used: focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth semi-structured interviews. FGDs were conducted at six government funded secondary schools in Lusaka. Twelve FGDs were conducted (two at each school). The essence of adopting secondary schools was meant to achieve a uniformity in knowledge. This is because the study participants were selected from Information and Communication Clubs (ICT clubs) which only exist in government funded schools. To complement the FGDs, seven in-depth interviews were conducted with six teachers, each representing their respective school as well as an in-depth interview with a representative of the Ministry of Transport and Communication, a Ministry in charge of ICTs in Zambia. The interpretivist paradigm was chosen as it complements participatory culture and network society theories through its recognition of the experiences of the participants and their contexts in understanding their experiences (Croucher and Cronn-Mills, 2014).

Thematic analysis was selected as a data analysis method because it helps in the identification, analysis and reporting of patterns or themes within data (Braun and Clarke 2006). The analysis method was further selected to assist in interpreting aspects of qualitative data (Boyatzis, 1995). Thematic analysis in this study was also used to uncover and discover themes, patterns and concepts from the collected data (Rubin and Rubin 1995) in line with the concepts that emerged from the literature review and theoretical frameworks.

Thesis Structure

Having given a brief overview of the study in this first chapter (Introduction), Chapter 2 focuses on the Literature Review. It critically reviews the existing literature related to social media,

mobile phones, teenagers and use of mobile phones and social media globally and within Africa specifically. Whilst this chapter discusses the first three aspects as a means to provide the material bases for the sections, the last two aspects (i.e. teenagers and use of mobile phones and social media in Africa) are intertwined to provide a more focused discussion based on the parameters of my own study.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the theoretical frameworks of the study. The theories of Henry Jenkins' participatory culture and Manual Castells' network society will be outlined. Their selections and triangulation will be explained in terms of the objectives of this study.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology of the study, and focuses on the research approach, design, paradigm and data collection processes and procedures. The chapter locates the study within the interpretivist research paradigm. It further presents the data collection methods chosen: in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). As stated earlier, thematic analysis was chosen based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) assertion that the analysis tool is useful because of its capability to identify, analyse and report patterns or themes within data sets (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Chapter Five is the first of the three findings chapters elicited from the data collected and analysed using thematic analysis. The chapter presents the findings and analysis of the first research objective/question which is to evaluate how teenagers experience mobile phones in Lusaka. To achieve this, I investigate teenagers' access and use of smart phones; participant's motivation for access and use; and how teenagers interpret gender and social economy class as factors in access and use of mobile phones. This chapter is informed by Castells' (1996) network society theory in terms of the interpretation of findings.

Chapter Six presents the findings and analysis in relationship to social media and social networking sites. I analyse teenagers' understanding of social media; social media platforms that they most often use and the ways that they access the platforms. I also investigate the devices that teenagers use to access social media, topics that they discuss on social media and finally I investigate their motivations to access and use social media. The chapter is informed by both the participatory culture and the network society theories in helping me to interpret and analyse the findings.

Chapter Seven then explores the networked participatory culture by investigating three issues: 1) what constitutes networked participation using smart phones; 2) how regulation governing social media and smart phones use influences participation; and 3) what limitations are associated with a networked participatory culture. This chapter focuses its discussion on both mobile phones and social media, in order to integrate the research findings of the previous two chapters. The chapter makes a case for participation and how the teenagers experience issues of regulation and limitations associated with networked participatory culture. The chapter also defines the concept of networked participatory culture as the use of smart phones for content production and consumption.

Chapter Eight is the conclusion chapter for this thesis. The chapter provides an overview of the findings established from the data collection process and presented in chapters' five to seven. The chapter also presents implications or original contributions that this study makes as regards academics and policy implications. The chapter also gives a synopsis of the areas of further research that I feel other scholars can embark on. In this regard, the chapter proposes the expansion of the scope of study and instead of looking at just mobile phones and social media, further research should look at other ICT tools like gaming consoles.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter is a critical overview of previous research on mobile communication, social media, and teenagers' experience of mobile communication and social media. It is divided into three main sections namely; social media, mobile communication and ICTs in education. These sections have been developed from the variables identified in this study; social media, mobile communication, ICT clubs, teenagers, and Africa. The first three variables provide the material basis for the various sections, while, the last two variables are interweaved to provide context for discussion of literature for the first three variables. This chapter uses the terms young people, adolescents and children interchangeably to refer to teenagers aged between 15 and 18 years who are the subject in this study. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, every individual aged 15 to 18years is considered a teenager.

Scholars like Abbatte (2000) have focused on the development of the Internet since late 1970s. According to Abbatte (2000) the Internet has grown from experimental networks aimed at servicing a few sites in the United States of America (USA) to the development of networks that have linked millions of computers worldwide. The USA government and its agencies predominantly used these networks (Abbatte, 2000). During the early 1900s, commercialisation of the Internet became a common debate which later led to the development of what is called the World Wide Web (the Web). Today, the Web (www) has undergone a number of developments from being a mere communication technology providing emails, e-commerce and mailing lists identified as the Web 1.0 to the development of Web 2.0 (Bruns, 2008). Web 2.0 is described as an infrastructure that supports and enables sociality and collaborations (O'Reilly, 2005). While 3G phone technologies in the 1990s instantiated multimedia convergence, whereby, along with the voice and text capabilities that second generation (2G) mobiles offered, users where able to produce, send and receive digital photographs, video, and audio (Wilson, 2006), smart phones however, have revolutionised communication to incorporate user-generated content. The transformation described as "Web 2.0" was accelerated by the increasing growth in mobile communication devices such the advent of the smart phone (Ling, 2017).

Social Media and Teenagers

There are several studies highlighting the exponential diffusion of social media use by teenagers. Literature shows evidence to support this claim that teenagers are avid users of social media. For example, Lenhart, *et al* (2015) explored how friendship amongst teenagers on social media have developed. Lenhart, *et al* (2015) argued in their study comprising participants aged 13 to 17 years that more than half of the participants interviewed using focus group discussions (FGDs) had made a friend online whose friendship also transcended offline. Similarly, a study on American teenage girls and their uptake of social media revealed that social media has been incorporated in teenagers' everyday lives (Sales, 2016). Sales (2016: 9-10) have explored the aspect of ubiquity as relates to social media use. They use phrases like "most American girls is where they live" and "they are on it all the time" to describe the extent to which teenage girls in America use social media. Sales, (2016) critically analyse social media to give evidence supporting the argument that teenagers check their social media profiles quite often and have embedded social media platforms into their day-to-day lives.

Ubiquity in social media use has been explored by Herring and Kapidzic (2015) to analyse how teenagers use social media. In a study focused on 13-19 year olds in America, Herring and Kapidzic (2015) argue that social media is ubiquitous for these teenagers in America based on findings from their study focused on teenager's self-presentation of gender on social media through their profile construction, visual and textual self-presentation, profile visibility and truthfulness (Herring and Kapidzic, 2015: 146). According to this study, self-presentation online takes place primarily through social media profiles portrayed to construe images as an invitation to interact with people online.

Herring and Kapidzic (2015) conclude that teenagers edit and create favourable profiles that can include the number of friends, their body shape, and socio-economic status (Herring and Kapidzic, 2015: 147).

Sonia Livingstone and colleagues have written numerous scholarly works detailing the uptake of social media amongst teenagers. For example; Haddon and Livingstone (2018), present findings from a qualitative study of participants aged nine to sixteen years old in which they explore experiences and views of social media. The study further explored how teenagers encounter and make sense of their online experiences in relation to their use of social media to prevent or cope with potentially negative online experiences. Haddon and Livingstone (2018)

found that as the European society adopts and find ways to appropriate mobile and social media in homes, schools and wider society, teenagers are increasingly featuring in debates about the resultant benefits and harms. Sonia Livingstone and colleagues' work on teenagers and the digital media has a focus on privacy, risks and opportunities online (Livingstone and Smith, 2014; Livingstone *et al*, 2014; Livingstone, 2017). My study makes a departure from the work by Sonia Livingstone by exploring not only online risks and opportunities but engaging in an investigation of how teenagers in Lusaka, Zambia, experience using social media, through the technology of mobile phones / smart phones.

Another key thinker in the field of technology is Sherry Turkle who shows how technology is warping our social lives. She shows how technology has become the architect of our intimacies. In her work titled, "Alone together" Turkle (2017) argues that we fall prey to the illusion of companionship, gathering thousands of twitter and Facebook friends, and confusing tweets and wall posts with authentic communication. She argues that as technology ramps up, our emotional lives ramp down.

Another key scholar whose work focuses on teenagers and social media is danah boyd. In a study on the social lives of "networked teenagers", boyd (2014) positions her work within a qualitative research design using interviews. boyd (2014) also uses secondary data from comments drawn from the participants. Boyd (2014) argues that, for teenagers, social media and smart phones serve a critical relationship maintenance function. The study by boyd (2014) critically analyses the role social media plays in the building and maintenance of social relationships. Furthermore, boyd (2014: 18) explores this viewpoint by emphasising that "most teens are not compelled by gadgetry as such—they are compelled by friendship". boyd (2014) adds that the gadgets are interesting to them primarily as a means to a social end.

Another critical study by dana boyd is one explored with colleagues Marwick, Fontaine and boyd (2017) who investigate how low social economic status teenagers in New York City view online information sharing in relation to social media, privacy, and personal responsibility. Framed within a participatory and collaborative framework, Marwick, Fontaine and boyd (2017) examined the experiences of young people and how approaches to managing the interplay of online and offline information flows are related to marginalised social and economic positions. Marwick, Fontaine, and Boyd (2017) found that participants were mindful of the content that they share online. Marwick, Fontaine and Boyd (2017) explained that most

of the participants reported asking friends to remove pictures or tags on social media and use multiple apps and sites targeting different audiences in a bid to take online precautions.

The studies presented above all point to how teenagers experience social media from a Global North perspective, with studies focusing on teenagers in Europe and America. However, in an African context, there are in comparison relatively few studies that have been conducted on the experiences of teenagers on social media. A Nigerian study by Dike (2013) identified three positives and three negative uses of social media for secondary school learners. The positive uses were identified as threefold: developing new social skills, gaining access to information, and expansion of social contacts. The negative uses of social media were also identified as: exposure to addiction, cyber bullying, and loss of study time. In terms of access and use of social media, Dike (2013) found that access to and use of social media was limited, more so on social and information-seeking purposes, and less for entertainment. Dike (2013) argues that teenagers are more interested in information seeking as opposed to entertainment.

Another critical study highlighting social media access and use is one by Jodaan and Ndhlovu (2017). Positioned from a gender perspective, Jodaan and Ndhlovu (2017) argue that there is a strong connection between social media use and gender as females were less likely to provide accurate personal information on Facebook than their male counterparts as they were afraid of being victims of cyber-crime (Jodaan and Ndhlovu, 2017). Despite this fear of social interactions on social media having a huge influence on the fears associated with protection of personal data and privacy, Jodaan and Ndhlovu, (2017) argue that there is a positive correlation between internet experience and a Facebook user's privacy concerns.

This section has provided an overview of literature from both the global north and south to present evidence of studies on teenagers and social media.The next sections give a more detailed account of literature published in relation to the study's research questions and objectives.

This study is anchored on four research objectives developed from four variables namely; social media, mobile communication, teenagers and Africa. The objectives are as follows:

1) To evaluate how teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka,

2) To provide an account of teenagers' social networking activities in Lusaka,

3) To examine how teenagers' experience mobile communication, and

4) To assess teenagers' networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

This section seeks to review literature that focuses on social media and social networking sites, specifically with regards to young people and teenagers.

Scholars such as Mandiberg (2012) and dana boyd (2014) have explored the concept "social media". According to Mandiberg, (2012: 2) Social media is a phenomenon that is associated with multiple concepts such as user generated content, convergence culture, spreadable media and Web 2.0. According to danah boyd (2014) social media is analysed as the sites and services that emerged during the early 2000s, which include social networking sites, video sharing sites, blogging and micro-blogging platforms, that allow participants to create and share their own content. boyd (2014) employs a conception of social media focused on participation and social media's functionality that enables participation.

However, another scholar by the name of Jan Van Dijk (2013) explores social media in terms of its enabling effect on networks of interaction. Van Djik (2013) explores social media from the network society perspective were he argues that social media allows for the development of networks of interactions. Van Djik (2013) foregrounds how social media platforms are user centred and facilitate communal activities like human collaboration. Van Dijk (2013) argues that social media focuses on how these platforms function as online facilitators or enhancers of human network-webs that promote connectedness as a social value

Scholars such as Henry Jenkins (2012) and Jenkins, Ford and Green, (2013) argue that user generated content, convergence culture, Web 2.0. and spreadable media/participatory media are relevant for understanding social media as a participatory platform. The culmination of these concepts brings about the participatory nature of social media that promotes collaboration and participation. Jenkins, Ford and Green, (2013) argue that social media platforms enable user-generated content through produsage and collaboration. This is similar to the concept of 'prosumption' advanced by (Jenkins, 2014) in that both focus on the blurring of the producer and the consumer as people are now engaged in both producing and consuming simultaneously. Closely aligned with the conditions that support and enable sociality and collaborations is the concept of Web 2.0. (O'Reilly, 2009). According to O'Reilly (2009), Web 2.0 facilitates the rise of social media and social networking sites. The concept (Web 2.0.) was first introduced in 2004 and refers to the Internet as a platform meant for the promotion and distribution of content (O'Reilly, 2009).

Dijk and Nieborg (2009) define the significance of Web 2.0. through the re-organisation of the relationship between producers and their audiences in a maturing internet market as well as the process of seeking to harness mass creativity, collectivism and peer production. This is also key to the concept of 'spreadable media' (Jenkins, Ford, and Green,2013) in defining audiences whom they have described as co-creators who are engaged as collaborators in the process of uploading, tagging and organising and categorising content on social media.

According to Jenkins, Ford and Green (2013), the concept of spreadable media is defined as the potential for audiences to share content for their own purposes. Jenkins, Ford and Green (2013) argue that the sharing of content is sometimes with permission of the rights holders and sometimes against their wish. A key aspect of Web 2.0 and social media is that the 'spreadability' or circulation of content has the potential to be continually repositioned for different niche communities. This corresponds to the notion that, Jenkins, Ford and Green, (2013) advances of audiences rather than a single audience, as the interactive audiences have to actively retrofit it to better serve their interests (Jenkins, Ford and Green, 2013).

Produsage or prosumption in the context of user-generated content and Web 2.0 is a community collaboration that participants can share content, contributions, and tasks throughout a networked community (Bruns, 2008). An example of this practice would be the difference between mainstream journalism and citizen journalism, where the concept 'produsage' expanded the range of participants' availability to engage in news dissemination, and commentary (Bruns, Highfield and Lind, 2012).

One of the key elements that contribute to the blurring of the producer and the consumer is the rise of what Jenkins has termed 'convergence culture' (Jenkins, 2012). Jenkins (2012) explores the conjunction of radio, television (TV), newspapers and the Internet, which is sometimes referred to as "digital revolution" to explain that convergence culture is a shift in technology that alters the relationship between existing media technologies and emerges from shifts in patterns of media ownership. Jenkins (2012) singles out mobile phones and explains that they have transformed how people look at communication as the mobile phone enables convergence as they allow consumers to play games, surf the Internet, take and send pictures and text messages. For Jenkins (2012), media convergence impacts on the way media is consumed. For example, Jenkins (2012) notes that because of convergence, a teenager in the process of doing homework may juggle four to five windows on the phone all with different content like listening to music, surfing the internet and downloading videos from online platforms.

Teenagers' use and access of social media

> For today's teenagers, spending time on social media is about reclaiming their private space. They are finding new private spaces online, where young people gather en-masse, network with peers and make shared spaces of their own. Online spaces are becoming more appealing as the physical world becomes less welcoming (Tapscott, 2009: 55).

The popularity of social media platforms has been tied to the interactivity and affordance of use and access. Scholars such as Livingstone (2009), Lenhart, Purcell, Smith and Zickuhr (2010), Stevens *et al* (2017), and Anderson and Jiang (2018) contended that social media sites are among the most popular online sites used by adolescents because of the interactive and affordance for user generated content. Further, literature showing evidence of social media use and access exists. However, scholars have approached this subject from different research areas such as representation, identity, and production. For example, scholars such as Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2007), Valenzuela, Park and Kee (2009) and Watkins (2009) present evidence to support the claim that there exists a correlation between real and online friendships, the presentation of the self-online, and the maintenance and building of social capital through online networks respectively.

There have been numerous studies focused on the use of social media platforms conducted by researchers. Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2007) contended that social media provides individuals with the opportunity to display personal information, expand and maintain social networks, and communicate with others. Similarly, Stevens *et al* (2017) found that Facebook (63%), Instagram (37%) and Twitter (27%) were the most used social media platforms. Using a feminist standpoint theory to interpret teenagers' perspective on social media use, Stevens *et al* (2017) reported that teenagers hold varying perspectives on the utility of social media. Stevens *et al* (2017) found that teenagers mostly hold negative opinions about Facebook as compared to other platforms under review. Participants in Stevens *et al* (2017) reported that there was a relationship between online (exchange of messages using social media) and offline (exchange of messages face to face) engagements. It was established that routinely shared online content that breeds disagreements online had potential to escalate and spill over into future offline social interactions, resulting in things like physical fights and hatred (Stevens, *et al*. 2017). The study highlighted exposure, sexual bullying and Facebook avoidance because

of what the participants called ‘Facebook drama’ as some of the reasons the participants held a negative opinion about Facebook.

Constanze Pfeiffer, Matthis Kleeb, Alice Mbelwa and Collins Ahorlu, (2014) similarly found that Facebook was the most popular social media platform for 15-19-year olds in Tanzania. However, like Stevens, *et al*. (2017), Pfeiffer, *et al.* (2014) also approached their study from a perspective of gender rather than an angle on perception analysis that Stevens, *et al.* (2017) took. In addition, the findings by Pfeiffer, *et al.* (2014) which were conducted using a mixed method approach using questionnaires and in-depth interviews revealed that youths in Dar es Salaam and Mtwara in Tanzania access the Internet mainly through mobile phones. These findings revealed a pattern in gendered use of social media, with fewer girls using the Internet than their male counterparts. The reasons behind this trend was reported to be the fear by girls to disclose their information on the Internet to guardians and teachers because internet use by adolescent girls is less acceptable than by boys. These findings also revealed that girls were scared of using social media or the Internet because of the negative influences, such as meeting the “wrong” people online. The underlying issue to this argument was that girls’ behaviour was generally more restricted culturally than boys. This has been reported as a common cultural viewpoint in most African societies (Pfeifer et al, 2014).

While the two studies above project a picture that Facebook is widely used, Monica Anderson and Jingjing Jiang (2018) found that YouTube, Instagram and Snapchat are the most popular online platforms among teenagers. Anderson and Jiang (2018) however, recognise the assertion by the previous two studies by Stevens, *et al.* (2017) and Pfeiffer, *et al* (2014)] by saying that, ‘until recently, Facebook had dominated the social media landscape among America’s youth’ (Anderson and Jiang, 2018: 10). This study however, also ties in with the two studies above and makes an exception and justification for the findings. It was found that lower income teenagers are more likely to gravitate toward Facebook than those from higher-income household (Anderson and Jiang, 2018) a trend that is consistent with the findings from the previous studies because Stevens, *et al.* (2017) and Pfeiffer, *et al* (2014) sampled participants from a lower income bracket.

A review of this study’s objectives reveals that socio-economic class just like gender is an important aspect in understanding social media use and access among teenagers. The concept of teenagers’ access to social media has been investigated as teenagers predominantly access social media using the mobile phone (Anderson and Jiang, 2018, Pfeiffer, *et al.* 2014, Stevens,

et al. 2017). In terms of use however, scholars have presented varying arguments such as social media access and access for teenagers.

The discussion in the next section highlight social media activities that teenagers engage in.

Teenagers' social media activities

There is a fine line between social media and social networking sites. Social networking sites are web-based services that allow for three processes; construction of a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, engagements and interaction with other users that share a connection and viewing and traversing the contacts and those made by others within the system (boyd and Ellison, 2007). Social media, on the other hand, are platforms that enable participation and networking (boyd, 2014; Van Dijk, 2013). A review of the two concepts shows that they both point to enabling people to interact online. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the term social media activities will be used to refer to teenagers' engagement online.

Social media tools, for example, WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube make it easier for people to express their thoughts, share their experiences, and present their views (Lenhart, Purcell, Smith, and Zickuhr, 2010). Teenagers in their quest to express themselves engage in varying social media activities such as posting and checking social media pages. Len-Ríos, *et al* (2016) found that teenagers were engaged in six activities on social media: checking the social media page; posting status updates to social media account; browsing profiles and photos on social media; reading postings on social media; commenting on postings, status updates, photos; liking pages, photos or comments, logging onto someone else's social media account to check it out, and; checking social media accounts while at school. The study adopted a quantitative survey research design conducted amongst 354 respondents from across the USA. The sampling criteria was based on including in the sample any early adolescent with a social media account. In terms of popularity of social media, the study found that Facebook and YouTube where the most popular social media platforms respectively.

However, Len-Ríos *et al* (2016) report that respondents reported having multiple accounts. Len-Ríos *et al* (2016) include ownership of social media as a research question to explain how respondents have more than two accounts with only a quarter of the respondents having a single account. The implications of having more than one account is related to what boyd

(2014: 52) refers to as an overlap in identity which she argued has more to do with context, audience and identity (the way one represents themselves) as teenagers flip from one social media account to another. This is argued by boyd (2014: 52) that the tension comes up over and over again, particularly when teenagers struggle to make sense of who they are and how they fit into the broader world verses whom they are on online platforms.

The role of social media in the construction and negotiation of teenager's identities has also been studied. Herring and Kapidzic (2015) detail how teenagers present themselves through online social media platforms to describe and consider the effects of social media use, profile construction, visual and textual self-presentation, profile visibility, truthfulness, and other facets of teenager's self-presentation in relation to gender. For Herring and Kapidzic (2015), self-presentation online takes place primarily through social media profiles. Moreover, many social media platforms allow users to create a profile and visually display connections to their social network, which in turn allows teenagers to upload and share personal information, pictures, links, music, and other multimedia with their friends' or followers' networks (Herring and Kapidzic, 2015). This, Herring and Kapidzic (2015) argued, contributes to identity construction amongst teenagers through self-presentation online.

A similar study to Boyd's (2016) research highlighting variant ways that teenagers use social media is one conducted in Hong Kong, which found three uses of social media by adolescents. Lu, Hao, and Jing (2016) used a survey design to investigate 186 secondary school students on their social media use. Lu, Hao, and Jing (2016) listed social media activities that students engage in online as including, content consuming, content sharing and content creation. These activities where conducted both within and outside the school premises, with students engaging in content consuming the most and content creation the least. These scholars elaborated that teenagers consumed content like reading online material and watching videos the most. They further explained that creating content and disseminating materials were minor social media activities engaged in amongst teenagers (Lu, Hao and Jing, 2016).

The massive diffusion of social media access and use among teenagers is linked to the popularisation of mobile phones particularly the smart phone. Anderson and Jiang (2018), argue that ownership of smart phones by teenagers has become a nearly every-day component of teenagers' life with access to and use of smart phones by teenagers promoting teenagers' social media activities.

Mobile communication and teenagers: Overview of literature

Mobile communication has emerged as one of the defining technologies of the 21st century (Castells et al. 2007). Mobile communication is defined as a technological system that enhances the autonomy in communication by individuals, enabling them to set up connections by-passing channels of communication controlled by institutions and organisations like mainstream radio, television and newspapers (Castells et al., 2009. Numerous studies have been conducted on communication devices particularly the mobile phone since its inception in the early 1990s. A mobile phone is a device that incorporates multiple advanced functions (such as email and Web surfing) in addition to the traditional package of voice calling, voice mail and texting. Christoffersen (1992) and Roos (1993) were some of the pioneers of mobile phone device research, which focused on the new markets for mobile phones in the early 1900s and how communication changed as a result (Green and Haddon, 2009). Barkhuus, Louise, and Valerie E. Polichar (2011) referred to such early literature as mainly being focused on the design and adoption of the mobile phone. Scholars have also presented literature from the aspect of mobile use amongst vulnerable people or less privileged populations and gender (see. Wood, 1993, 1994; Rakow and Navarro, 1993). In terms of usability, design and the mobile phone's use in everyday life, a plethora of research is well documented (also see Kiljander, Lindholm and Keinonen, 2003; Palen and Salzman, 2002).

In recent years, literature has emerged that has looked at the mobile phone device and its use for everyday life. Studies such as, Green and Haddon (2009), Ling (2017) and Katz (2017) have all tried to give context to the concept mobile communication with a focus on the mobile phone and how its abilities of enabling communication has been infused in communication processes. More specific, research on mobile phones has been conducted by scholars like Bruns, (2016) and Goggin, Ling and Hjorth (2016). These scholars have investigated mobile communication and how the technology has been embedded in the process of communication. Bruns, (2016) and Goggin, Ling and Hjorth (2016) investigate the communication device and how it enables communication with the aid of the mobile internet.

Literature on the adoption of mobile phones by teenagers are plentiful. Green and Haddon (2009) focused on research themes such as the use of mobile phones for peer relationships, texting, language, social relationships, the way young people organise their meetings, and the implications of social capital amongst these peers. In the last two years, a lot of literature has emerged on teenagers, mobile phones and social media. For instance, Jiachun Hong (2016)

investigated the relationship between Chinese adolescents aged between 15-18 years old and identified five main uses of the mobile phone: as a bridge of love, as an extension of the home, as an iron cage, as the blasting fuse of family conflicts, and as a threat to school life (Hong, 2016, 62-71). For example, a quantitative study by Mascheroni and Ólafsson, (2016) examined variations in the ownership and use of smart phones amongst a sample population of 9–16year olds and observed that access to smart phones is influenced by parental domestication of the mobile internet, child's age and internet experience, and social factors like background, nationality and race. They established that daily use of smart phones is strongly, but not exclusively, predicted by ownership.

Studies focused on the African continent include Porter, *et al.* (2016) study on teenagers' mobile phone usage in schools and its impact across Ghana, Malawi and South Africa. Porter, *et al.* (2016) found a correlation between mobile phone use and achievement of activities such as research. Porter, *et al.* (2016) found that the negative implications of mobile phone use among participants included exposure to pornography, wastage of time, sleep disorders, bullying, addiction and lack of concentration in school because of intermittent disturbances from the phone (Porter, et al., 2016).

The studies reviewed above, all point to the use of smart phones among teenagers. In this study, I distinguish myself from previous literature by not only identifying the everyday use of mobile phones particularly the smart phone which, Hjorth, Burgess,and Richardson (2012) describe as a mobile device that has online capabilities, and is a networked device for games, video, music, and various other forms of everyday creativity. Instead, I broaden the literature by studying not only the daily use of the smart phone by teenagers but how teenagers experience the smart phone in enabling them to engage in mobile communication in Lusaka, Zambia.

Key debates

This section seeks to review literature on the third and fourth research objectives. The section discusses issues surrounding concepts, devices and mobile platforms that teenagers use. Consequently, this section presents literature on three issues; smart phones; teenagers' adoption and use of smart phones; and information and communication technology (ICT) clubs in secondary schools.

Smart phones

Barkhuus and Polichar (2011) define the smart phone as mobile phones that incorporate multiple advanced functions (such as email and Web surfing) in addition to the traditional package of voice calling, voice mail and texting. Further, Hjorth, Burgess,and Richardson (2012) describe the smart phone as a mobile device that has capabilities for online, and is networked for games, video, music, and other affordances. Barkhaus and Polichar (2011) have argued that smart phones are ubiquitous and have become a part of everyday life. The use of the smart phone is associated with four benefits: communication, connectivity, content consumption, and content creativity (Beale, 2005).

In terms of communication, the smart phone enabled users to perform and blend its functions to meet their communication needs. Smartphone users actively adapt the devices into their everyday lives as they can personalise their use of devices through the functions they either choose to add or ignore (Barkhuus and Polichar,2011) This is related to the concept of "engaged living" of technology, which is designed to enable users to do what they want, need or never even considered before by acting in and upon the environment (Rogers, 2006).

What distinguishes the smartphone from the mobile phone is also its functionality that enables connectivity or sharing of information for different purposes. For example, users store and share documents, data, videos, and photographs on their phones (Beale, 2005). Smartphones are convenient, highly accessible, and capable to suit communication or exchange of information at the same time as creating content such as video, audio, or text (Beale, 2005). The smartphone thus enables Bruns' concept of 'produsage' (2006) to the debate that consumers have become producers of content and vice versa. Tied to the concept of Web2.0 as described by Bruns (2006) the smart phone has allowed for three processes: media production, distribution and consumption (Hjorth, Burgess,and Richardson, 2012).

In the evolution of the smartphone over the past two decades, transformations in the field of mobile communication has moved into the smart phone era. Scholars like Eardley, et al., (2016) have described that there have been four significant models: Blackberry, Ericsson, Samsung and the iPhone. It must be established that Eardley's, et al., (2016) focus was on interactive or sensual elements embodied in the smart phone. Their findings showed evidence of a pattern followed when people use mobile phones. The way the phone is held during use was the focus of the study and it was discovered that the most common grip was with the symmetric bi-manual and asymmetric bi-manual with the thumb. This means that the thumb is used to

navigate the touchscreen, physical keyboard and stylus grip to select a menu item and changing to another to input data through the keyboard. Barkhuus and Polichar (2011: 629) argued that:

> With the smart phone, computing is instead centralized in the palm of your hand. Voice and text communication, images and maps, information search, music enjoyment, game playing and even alarm clock services converge in a single unit.

The studies above all point to the use of the smart phones generally. I distinguish myself from recent studies on smart phones by investigating teenagers' use of smart phones from a Zambian perspective. I further broaden my scope of study to incorporate the structuring of smart phones in the lives of teenagers. This sets the current study apart from existing literature on smart phone adoption and use among teenagers in Lusaka.

Teenagers' adoption and use of smart phones

The use of the smart phone amongst teenagers has contributed to the exponential growth of mobile phones enabled interactions across Africa (Porter, *et al.* 2016). Owing to this growth in adoption and use, the smart phone has become a key component of everyday life (Barkhuus and Polichar, 2011). While studies have shown that the smart phone has become a key component of everyday life, this is also true of Africa. To prove this point, De Bruijn, Nyamnjoh and Brinkman, (2009) argue that the majority of users of mobile phones in Africa are teenagers.

Further, studies have been conducted on teenagers' adoption and use of mobile communication devices particularly the smart phone. For example, Mascheroni and Ólafsson (2016) examined the use of smart phones amongst a sample aged nine to sixteen years. Similarly, Abeele, Schouten and Antheunis (2017) explored differences in teenagers' mobile messaging behaviour associated with indicators of friendship maintenance behaviour. In terms of addiction as will be discussed in chapter three, Goswami and Singh (2016) have investigated the impact of mobile phone addiction on adolescent's life.

The adoption and use of smart phones by teenagers in Africa has also been explored. For example, Ngesi, *et al*. (2018) explored the use of smart phones as a supplementary teaching and learning tool amongst learners in South Africa and found that smart phones are used as virtual platforms for chatting, friendship, fun, establishing new friendships and for sourcing information and knowledge. Smart phones were seen as both socialisation platform, information and knowledge sharing tools for learners (Ngesi, et al., 2018). Further research has

been conducted on teenagers and smart phones. Literature on studies conducted has highlighted among other things; mobile phone addiction (Goswami, and Singh, 2016; Kuss, Kanjo, Crook-Rumsey, Kibowski, Wang and Sumich, 2018.), gender (Pugh, 2017;Nardi-Rodríguez, Pastor-Mira, López-Roig and Ferrer-Pérez, 2018), identity (Mascheroni, Vincent, and Jimenez, 2015; Bentley, *et al.,* 2015, Phillips, 2016 and academic performance (Gao, Yan, Wei, Liang, and Mo, 2017; Thornton, 2018; Ngesi, (2018).

The majority of the studies above, all argue that young people's use of the mobile phone, and in particular the smart phone, has grown exponentially encompassing several factors that have influenced this growth. For example, the plummeting of handset prices especially in sub-Saharan Africa as a factor contributing to the growth in smart phone access, use and ownership (Nardi-Rodríguez, *et al.*, 2018). Nardi-Rodríguez, *et al.* (2018) used the term 'cool youth' to demonstrate the image built around teenagers that own a smart phone. The study argued that smart phones were increasingly accessible if not owned by most young persons.

In a study focusing on the exponential growth of mobile phones in Tanzania, Joyce-Gibbons, *et al* (2018) reported that, in contrast to the computer, the phone was the preferred device for learning because it relies on occasional charging meaning that electricity bills are minimal and if there is no electricity available (like the case for most countries in Africa) the phone can be charged using solar power, rather than the large and constant supply of electricity required for computers.

The studies above all come to one conclusion - the use of mobile phones amongst teenagers has grown over the years. The studies have approached the subject of teenagers and mobile phones from different angles like games, video, audio and music. According to Hjorth, Burgess, and Richardson (2012), studying mobile communication requires that the different dimensions of the field such as – the technical, cultural, social, political and economic dimensions are taken into consideration.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on teenagers' use of social media and mobile phones in their everyday life. Literature reviewed in this chapter was guided by four objectives. The literature reviewed, all emanate from a broader and global perspective. The decision to focus on Africa was based on my assumption that the education systems in Africa compared to a broader global perspective is different and since I was interested in understanding an in-depth

account of the integration of ICTs in Africa, I made a concise decision to settle on literature from Africa. Despite focusing on social media and mobile phones in detail, literature points to the fact that teenagers are avid users of the two technologies. This finding is common among all studies reviewed.

The chapter approached literature from variant angles; social media, mobile phones (smart phones), ICT clubs, teenagers and Africa. The first two aspects provided the foundation for reviewing relevant literature for this study. The subsequent aspects acted as building blocks for the contextualisation of the first two issues. The literature reviewed in this chapter shows that teenagers are avid users of both the mobile phone and social media. The literature also gives evidence to support the notion that teenagers are engaged in social networking activities using the smart phone. The literature has also shown that a number of factors influence both social media and smart phone use and access. Reviewed literature has shown that some of the factors affecting social media and mobile phone use and access are; gender, privacy, identity and social economic status.

Finally, literature has also revealed that ICTs use in education is associated with a number of challenges namely; lack of technical expertise, poor ICT infrastructure, high cost of technological content and equipment, lack of digital content available to schools, and inadequate modelling of pedagogical uses of ICTs in learning. Meanwhile, literature reviewed in this study has revealed that computer clubs in some schools have enabled peer learning, sharing and documentation of information.

The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework for the present study. The two theories: participatory culture and network society theories will be discussed in terms of their history, development, criticism and applicability to the subject under investigation in this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The previous chapter presented a review of relevant literature for the present study. This chapter presents a discussion on the two theoretical frameworks chosen for this study – Henry Jenkins' participatory culture and Manuel Castells' network society theories. Theoretical frameworks provide different "lenses" through which to look at complicated problems and social issues, focusing their attention on different aspects of the data and providing a framework within which to conduct their data analysis (Reeves, et al., 2008: 631). The chapter comprises three sections – participatory culture theory, network society theory and a section discussing the relationship between participatory culture and network society theories and their relevance to the current study. The first two sections explain the chosen theories in detail, their strengths, limitations and critique. The last section presents literature highlighting how other scholars have used the two theories to study social media and mobile communication amongst teenagers.

Participatory Culture Theory

Given the relevance to the study on mobile phones and social media, participatory culture theory was selected as an ideal framework to inform and structure the present study. The terminology "participatory culture" was first used by Henry Jenkins in *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (1992) to describe individuals engaged in the cultural production and social interaction of fan communities. Jenkins (1992) described fans as active participants as opposed to being mere spectators. Jenkins (1992) calls this category of participants as "fans" who are active, critically engaged and creative.

The concept of participatory culture Jenkins (2013) has been developed over the years to incorporate a range of different players deploying media production and distribution to serve their collective interests. Scholars such as Jenkins (1992) and Jenkins (2006) have argued that participatory culture plays a critical role in acts of reception (bordering on how networked groups receive and consume media content) and have an influence in the roles networked groups play in shaping how media is produced and circulated (see also Jenkins, 2013).

Definition and forms of participatory culture

In terms of definition, participatory culture is defined as:

> A culture with relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, and some type of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices. […one in which members believe their contributions matter and feel some degree of social connection with one another (at the least they care what other people think about what they have created] (Jenkins, 2012: 3).

Participatory culture embraces values of diversity through the interactions that people engage in with each other (Jenkins and Ito, 2015: 9). A participatory culture assumes that people can make decisions, collectively and individually, because of an assumed capability to express themselves through a broad range of different forms and practices such as media.

Jenkins (2012: 3) identifies four forms of participatory culture. These forms are: affiliations, expressions, collaborative problem solving, and circulations. As regards affiliations, participatory culture refers to the association, in formal or informal settings, through online communities. This form of participatory culture includes membership to social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat among others. In terms of expressions, participatory culture refers to the production of new content. This content could be video making, Facebook live, audio mixing, mash-ups, and fan fiction writing. In the instance, of collaborative problem solving, participatory culture refers to the act of working together informally or formally to develop new knowledge or skills and to complete tasks. Finally, participatory culture through circulations refers to the act of users of media sharing content with others. This is closely associated with what Jenkins, H., Ford, S. and Green, J., (2018) propagate as spreadable media. Jenkins Ford and Green (2018) argue that new forms of media such as social media have changed how consumption and distribution of media content such as sharing, linking, and liking media content has transformed the media landscape. Jenkins, H., Ford, S. and Green, J., (2018) further argue that the days of corporate control over media content and its distribution have been replaced by the age of web2.0 that has promoted self-publishing.

The evolving media landscape which can be closely tied with the "circuit of culture" as presented by Du Gay et al (2013) who whilst studying the Sony Walkman argued that

understanding it (Walkman) involved encompassing concepts of representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation. Of significance however to this study, are the concepts of representation, identity, production, consumption and to some extent the concept of regulation. As witnessed by the exponential growth that Web 2.0 has brought, a shift in terms of how media is consumed and produced is of relevance for consideration. It can be argued that this shift from distribution to circulation has signalled a movement towards a more participatory model where the public are not identified as only consumers of content but as people who are shaping, reframing, sharing and mixing media content (Jenkins, 2013). The four types of participatory culture identified above, except for circulations, all involve the act of creation of creative content (Jenkins, 2012). Circulation as a form of participatory culture is concerned with the "spreadability" (Jenkins, 2013) of the creative content produced.

Social media and Web 2.0 demonstrates a need to share content or engage in pervasive forms of media circulation. In this context, the pervasive sharing of content is related to the concept "spreadability" (Jenkins, 2013). According to Jenkins (2013: 4), spreadability focuses on four issues:

1) The technical resources that enable circulation of some kind of content than others,

2) The prevailing economic structures supporting or restricting circulation,

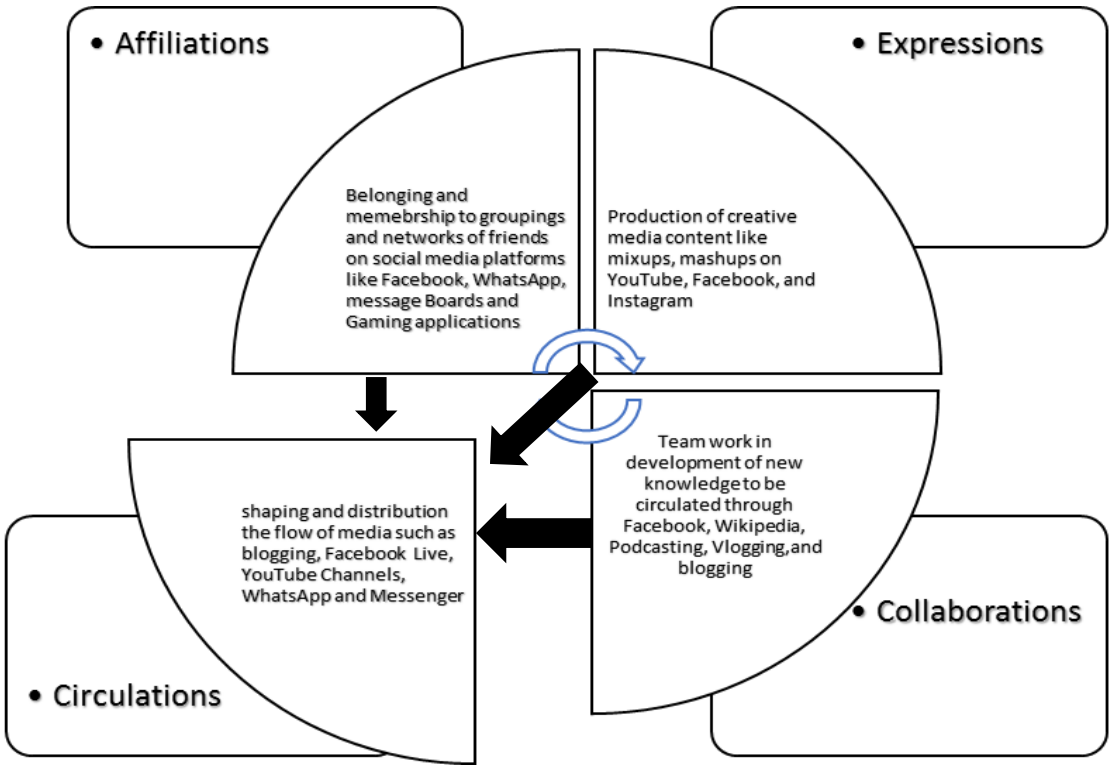
3) The attributes of the media content that may be appealing to a community and hence motivate for sharing material and

4) The social networks that link people through the exchange of creative content

In participatory culture, the acts of produsage (Bruns, 2006) and spreadability are of utmost importance in enabling people to participate in creative production and distribution of content.

Below (Figure 1.0) is an illustration depicting how the four types of participatory culture intersect. The figure shows circulation adopted from Jenkins (2012) perception of participatory culture detached from the whole cycle but interacting with the other three forms individually and simultaneously.

Figure 1.0. Forms of participatory culture



Source: Author

Benefits of participatory culture

Jenkins (2012) identified five benefits of participatory culture. Firstly, participatory culture is favoured based on its ability to present opportunities for peer-to-peer learning through the process that Jenkins (2012: 3) referred to as "informal mentorship where individuals that are most experienced pass along skills and knowledge to the novices". Burgess and Green (2018) likens this process of peer-to-peer learning and interactions to the cultural logic of community, openness and authenticity where people thrive in the process of engagement with each other through teamwork. Participation because of mentorship introduced the opportunity for wide-scale, online social participation (Rotman *et al.*, 2011).

Secondly, participatory culture has been given credit for its capability to accord an opportunity for peer-to-peer learning through creating and sharing creations (Jenkins,2012: 3). Through this process, Kessler (2013: 307) argued that people become co-constructors of the content and are likely to develop a sense of ownership that may be accompanied by a sense of belonging and responsibility. The content created in the process promotes what Jenkins (2013) referred

to as a learning curve that translates to what Kessler (2013) argues as content creation through social media that obligates individuals to engage in participatory culture.

Thirdly, participatory culture brings about an opportunity for a changed attitude toward intellectual property (Jenkins, 2012) that have to do with an exclusive right over the use of an individual's creation for a certain period of time. In this process, Jenkins (2013) argued that people engaged in the process of creating content inherit a sense of responsibility towards intellectual property in this process, creatives develop a shift in attitude towards protection of works produced. This process is said to have a democratising effect because of people creating and sharing their own intellectual and creative expressions with the world (Deodato, 2014).

Fourthly, participatory culture brings about a diversification of culture and its expression (Jenkins, 2012). The 'spreadability' (Jenkins, 2013) of content allows for the circulation and shaping of content (Jenkins, 2013: 21) that has an influence on the diversification of culture and its expressions. Through circulation (Jenkins, 2013) people can learn about other people's cultures and ways of life. Kessler (2013) argues that the participatory nature embedded in social media offers users limitless opportunities to participate in the culture around them and helps in redefining that culture.

The fifth benefit of participatory culture is that there is a development of skills valued in the modern workplace, which are further passed onto novices through the creation and sharing of content. According to Jenkins (2013), creation and sharing of media content stimulates a process of skills development were the experienced individuals pass on the abilities to the novices.

Lastly, participatory culture has a potential to bring about a more empowered conception of citizenship as there is working together in teams, formal and informal around communities. Richards, R., (2010) has argued that "digital citizenship" is a concept made possible by tools and ways that have empowered individuals to take control of their internet experiences. According to Budin, (2005), Web2.0 technologies have either promoted awareness of social causes or gathered people together for civic action. Richards, R., (2010) further argues that social media platforms have allowed average users to change from passive receivers of information to active producers which has promoted how media content is shared and distributed, subsequently promoting civic engagement and digital citizenship.

A growing body of scholarship has proposed potential benefits of participatory culture (see Jenkins *et al.*, 2006; Jenkins *et al.*, 2012; Jenkins and Kelley, 2013). Arguably, advances in information and communication technologies such as social media and mobile phones have had an exponential effect on culture insofar as they have permitted people to create and share their own intellectual and creative expressions with the world (Deodato, 2014). According to some commentators, like Axel Bruns (2016) the read-write web has helped to facilitate an evolution from a hierarchical, institutionally controlled consumer culture to a broad-based "participatory culture" in which people act as producers as well as consumers of content simultaneously.

Henry Jenkins and colleagues introduced a new concept called media literacy, which defines and outlines a concept for literacy skills needed in the technological world of the 21st century (Jenkins *et al.*, 2006). Media literacy is associated with the following skills: problem-solving, improvising, remixing, multitasking, interacting with tools, collaborating, evaluating sources, navigating multimodality, and understanding multiple perspectives (Jenkins *et al.*, 2006). In relation to the skills needed for media literacy participatory culture is credited as a model that looks at individuals as creators rather than consumers (Jenkins *et al.*, 2012). Howell, Kaminski and Hunt-Barron (2016: 141), write that as young people who Prensky, M., (2009) referenced to as digital natives navigate a digital world in which information is ubiquitous, the skills of reading, writing, and discerning become increasingly important. In this vein, scholars like Sonia Livingstone (2003) have expounded the concept of participatory culture and media literacy amongst teenagers. Livingstone (2003:15-16) argues that:

> While to adults the Internet primarily means the World Wide Web, for children it means email, chat, games— and here they are already content producers. Too often neglected, except as a source of risk, these communication and entertainment focused activities, by contrast with the information-focused uses at the centre of public and policy agendas, are driving emerging media literacy. Through such uses, children are most engaged— multi tasking, becoming proficient at navigation and manoeuvres so as to win, judging their participation and that of others, etc... In terms of personal development, identity, expression and their social consequences— participation, social capital, civic culture- these are the activities that serve to network today's younger generation.

Thus, this study investigates and builds upon this need for teenagers' creations in a digital world to study participatory cultures and teenagers' experiences of mobile communication and social media. The present study uses the advantages of participatory culture outlined above to dissect meanings from teenagers' creations and expressions in the process of participatory culture.

Limitations of participatory culture

There are three limitations associated with participatory culture that have been identified by Jenkins (2012: 3). These are participatory gap, the transparency problem, and the ethics challenge. The notion of participatory gap as a limitation emerges from the unequal access to opportunities of engagement by prosumers. Scholars such as Warschauer (2004) and Van Dijk (2006) have identified and linked this limitation to the concept of the digital divide which emerged before the concepts of new / social media and notions of participatory culture but have been enhanced as a result of the web2.0 technologies. Arguably, the digital divide is related to the conceptualisation of unexpected difficulties that hinder the full participation of teenagers (Warschauer, 2004). Warschauer (2004) argued that the unequal access to ICT opportunities is embedded in an array of factors encompassing both physical, digital, human and social resources. According to Van Dijk (2006), content creation, language, literacy, education, physical infrastructure and social structures must all be taken into consideration if meaningful access to new technologies such as social media are to be achieved.

Similarly, Mossberger, Tolbert and McNeal (2007) introduced the concept of digital inclusion as a possible solution to the digital divide and hence solve the problem of the partipatory gap. In relation to participatory culture, digital inclusion refers to the opportunities accorded through access to digital resources such as smart phones, computers or access to internet and electricity or solar generated power to contribute to a reduction in the unequal access to opportunities of engagement by prosumers, whilst digital exclusion refers to unequal access to skills, knowledge and experience and how these can bring about discrepancies that have the potential to disadvantage others from full engagement and participation (Mossberger, Tolbert, and McNeal, 2007).

The second limitation associated with participatory culture is the notion of limited and/or lack of transparency (Jenkins, 2012). Transparency emerges because of the challenge of users not being able to see clearly ways that media could shape the perceptions of the world. According to this concept, users are at crossroads to decide on the content to produce or circulate and what

impact the same would have on their perception of reality. According to Jenkins, *et al.* (2012), the concerns about the transparency of media creations on digital platforms are closely related to concerns about how young people are able to evaluate the quality of information they receive. It has been argued that the pervasive advertising associated with digital platforms (Jenkins, 2007) exacerbates the transparency problem. According to Jenkins (2007), the branding of content online has a huge negative influence on the participatory cultures. Jenkins (2007) expressed worry on the extent to which advertising influences the perception of reality.

Jenkins (2007: 29) argues that:

> More and more content comes to us already branded, already shaped through an economics of sponsorship if not overt advertising; we do not know to what degree those commercial interests influence what we see and what has been filtered out. These commercial interests even shape the prioritization of listings on search engines in ways that are often invisible to the people who use them.

Further to the discussion on the transparency problem as a limitation in participatory culture, is the argument by Ellen Seiter (2005) who expressed fear that young people are finding it increasingly problematic to separate commercial content/advertising from non-commercial content in online environments. Closely related to the problem of transparency and commercial advertising is the problem of fake news. According to Chiou, L. and Tucker, C., (2018) people or entities sometimes publish information that is false or intentionally misleading in order to mobilise interest towards their cause for monetary gain or otherwise. Seiter (2005) contends that digital platforms are like a mall clustered with information of an advertising nature than a library resembling a gigantic public relations collection more than it does an archive of scholars. This brings challenges to the way users of digital platforms interpret media and how it shapes their perceptions of the world (Jenkins, 2012).

Finally, the ethics challenge is identified as the third limitation in participatory culture. According to Jenkins (2012), the ethics challenge involves the process of incorporation or a focus on traditional norms, professional training and socialisation that may prepare users for their participation as media makers and community participants. It must be noted that ethics are a branch of philosophy that involves structuring, protecting, and recommending concepts of right and wrong conduct. In an age where the line between consumers and producers is blurring (Jenkins, 2006; Bruns, 2006), media users find themselves in situations where they simultaneously engage in prosumption (Jenkins, 2006) using the web2.0 capabilities that

promote the spreadability and convergence of media forms. The users' online activities are much more open to the public and can have more far-reaching consequences (Jenkins, 2007). These consequences are as a result of Jenkins' (2007) argument that young people are creating new modes of expression which are poorly understood by the adults around them and so they receive little to no guidance or supervision. The ethical implications in this vein are complicated as teenagers are discovering that information, they put online to share with their friends can bring them unwelcomed attention from strangers (Jenkins, 2007) who may potentially expose the teenagers to harm (Mascheroni, G., Jorge, A. and Farrugia, L.2014).

Whereas in professional contexts such as journalism and publishing, ethical norms are enforced by professional organisations (Jenkins, 2007), online platforms are devoid of an established set of guidelines that must shape the activities of users. A dilemma therefore arises as to how teenagers must decide what they should or should not post about themselves or their friends on social media or other digital platforms. A more compelling challenge arises regarding self-disclosure online. In this regard, Jenkins (2007) argued that many sites depend on self-disclosure to establish issues such as users' identity, age and location. The challenge encountered in this instance is usually that young people seem willing to tell a lie to access the communities or online platforms (Jenkins, 2007). This provides a complicated ethical challenge as participatory culture is concerned.

Notwithstanding the three limitations of participatory culture: participatory gap, the transparency problem, and the ethics challenge as explained above, a growing body of scholarship has emerged critiquing the concept of participatory culture. Kelti (2017) argued that Jenkins' participatory culture theory falls short of recognising the barriers to participation such as economic, social and cultural issues. According to Kelti (2017), the theory focused attention away from discussing the digital divide as discussed above and stresses only on the opportunities for participation. As established already in the text above, digital divide is defined as a problem of access in relation to technology and literacy (Vie, 2008). It is argued by Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2014) that several factors for example education, age and gender are some of the salient predictors associated with the digital divide concept. Furthermore, other factors seem to be relevant but not as pervasive as the ones mentioned above in contributing to the problems of access to technology including internet experience needed to be able to use the internet, income needed to buy the tools for participation such as internet bundles and the gadgets such as phones and residency such as the place of dwelling that dictate policy and procedure influencing participation (Van Deursen and Van Dijk, 2014).

Ito *et al.* (2010) presented a similar critique of participatory culture as they argued that for participation to be fully achieved, users require access to media, technology and social resources. In terms of the forms of participation, Ito *et al.* (2010) divide participation in three forms namely hanging out, messing around, and "geeking-out". Ito *et al.* (2010) insisted that for participatory culture to be fully engaged, there is a need for users to have an interest and motivations to engage in the said activities. Similar to the argument advanced by Kelti (2017), Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2014) presented above, participatory culture has potential for creating a digital divide if the pre-requisites for participation such as a fulfilment of the economic, social and cultural issues are not fully engaged in.

Another critique of participatory culture is one framed from the notion that the theory casts doubt on the independence of content that is produced under corporate controlled environments. Scholars like Christian Fuchs (2011) agree that cultural expressions produced in participatory culture are enabled by digital platforms that are strongly mediated by corporate entities owned by multi-national corporations. Fuchs (2011) has argued that participatory culture occurs through social media, platforms that are controlled by corporate entities that have specific guidelines for participation. This therefore, means that users participate on online platforms based on the set rules and regulations by the corporations which links back to the ethical guidelines set for participation as discussed above.

Scholars such as Ito *et al*. (2010) advanced another critique against the participatory culture. Ito *et al.* (2010) argued that because participatory culture is focused on an embrace of the values of diversity in interactions, misinformation has potential of going unchecked and disseminated to mislead, manipulate and induce fear and promote fake news and hate speech. Ito *et al.* (2010) emphasised that though this is not unique to the theory alone as it has influence on other fields, it has potential to bring about the various consequences of participation.

Despite the critiques and criticisms discussed above, this study given the relevance to the topic: mobile phones and social media to understanding how teenagers communicate, finds participatory culture theory as an ideal framework to inform and structure the present study.

Relevant literature applying the participatory culture theory

Drawing on the relevance of the participatory culture theory as discussed above, numerous studies have incorporated the theory to inform research. The framework of participatory culture

was used by Burgess and Green (2018) in their examination of the logics of community openness and authenticity. They found that the activities and interests of the content creators through consumption and engagement practices were built on YouTube's open and free participation permitted by the aesthetics of the platform (Burgess and Green, 2018). These findings tie in with what Ito, *et al* (2010) argued that for participatory cultures to be fully realised, the content creators must have an interest and motivation for getting involved and for using that particular platform. Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2014) explained that, in order for participation to occur, the salient factors of education, age, and gender need to be in place and are important to consider in any investigation of participatory culture.

Howell, Kaminski and Hunt-Barron (2016) who used participatory culture theory to inform scholarship focused on teachers' perceptions of the use and application of digital tools to encourage participation. The study examined both teachers' perceptions of digital tools alongside teachers' explanations of their abilities to apply the tools to their curricula. Using participatory culture theory, Howell, Kaminski and Hunt-Barron (2016) sought to understand the barriers teachers face in creating a more participatory, digital environment for literacy in their classrooms. Howell, Kaminski and Hunt-Barron (2016) found that teachers' perceptions influenced adoption of instructional innovations and affected the integration of digital technologies effectively into instructional practices.

Jocson (2018) used the concept of participatory culture theory to understand the ecological and geospatial perspectives of youth media. Jocson (2018) proposed that key markers such as race, class, language and gender influence participatory culture. The study by Jocson (2018) was informed by participatory culture to examine the notion of place as relational and the creation of trans-local digital networks as important in imagining ways that can be incorporated to (re)organise learning in classrooms.

The present study builds upon already existing literature highlighting the application of the participatory culture's theoretical framework in studying phenomena. This study thus, builds upon this body of scholarship by investigating teenagers' experiences of mobile phones and social media. The study uses the theoretical positions of previous research to study teenagers' prosumption habits on mobile phones, social media and the activities engaged in ICT clubs in schools to interpret how teenagers create and express their own meaning in a participatory culture. Owing to the fact that participatory culture is concerned with notions of reception (see Jenkins, 1992), production (see Jenkins, 2006), and circulation (see Jenkins, 2013) it thus

makes for an ideal theoretical lens in analysing phenomena in the current study on the networked participatory of teenagers in Lusaka.

Network Society Theory

Barry Wellman and his colleagues first used the concept network society in 1973 in his work titled *The Network City* and subsequently in his 1988 work titled *The Community Question.* Wellman argued that societies at any scale are best known as networks and rejected the notion of society as a bounded group in hierarchical structures. Wellman (1988:1) defined a network society as one consisting of "boundaries that are permeable, interactive with diverse groups, with connections that switch between multiple networks and associated with hierarchies that are blurred".

In subsequent years, the term Network Society Theory has been developed further. Two scholars Jan Van Dijk (1991) - *The Network Society* and Manuel Castells in his 1996 first part of the Trilogy titled *The Information Age*: *The Rise of Network Society* developed the theory further from Wellman's conception. Jan Van Dijk (1991) defined the idea of the network society as a form of social order increasingly organising its relationships in media networks, gradually replacing the social networks of face-to-face communication and thriving through social and media networks that shape the prime mode of organisation and structuring of modern society. In contrast, Manuel Castells (1996) defined the concept of the network society as one of the key factors associated with the emergence of a new social structure defined by networks. While both scholars have written widely on the concept of network society theory, Manuel Castells has been credited as being the leading theorist around the concept (Stalder, 2006). Thus, the present study adopts Manuel Castells' theorisation of the network society as the ideal theoretical framework of this study.

Castells' (1996) conceptualisation of the network society was based on his theorisation of the information age. Castells' theory was based on the new developments that the Internet had brought in the mid-1990s. The Information Age refers to the historical period in which human societies performed their activities in a technological paradigm constituted around microelectronics-based information/communication technologies, and genetic engineering (Castells, 2000). This Information Age replaced the technological paradigm of the Industrial Age that was organised primarily around the production and distribution of energy (Castells, 2000). Castells (2000) has argued that the information age are characterised by dominant

functions and processes, which are increasingly organised around networks (Castells, 2010). In defining a network, Castells (2010: 500) explained that:

> Networks constitute the new social morphology of societies, and the diffusion of networking logic substantially modifies the operation and outcomes in processes of production, experience, power, and culture.

Networks thus play a central role in the characterisation of society in the information age (Castells, 2010: 501). The characteristics of the information age signals a new social structure which is referred to as a Network Society (castells, 2010: xviii). Castells (2010: xviii) argues that the Network society is comprised of "networks in all the key dimensions of social organization and social practice."

The network society is a social structure based on networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks (Castells, 2006: 7). These networks generate, process, and distribute information based on the knowledge accumulated in the nodes of the networks. The intersection of social evolution and information technologies in the network society has created an organisational structure characterised by built-in networks and social processes that have shaped society and enhanced performance of activities throughout the social structure (Castells, 2010). These activities occur within a realm of blurred roles and responsibilities by the content producers, creators, managers and consumers (Castells, 2010).

Thus, this is related to what Jenkins (2006) conceptualised as convergence culture where the conjunction of roles and responsibilities become blurred because of the technological process of bringing multiple functions within the same devices such as mobile phones and specifically the smart phone. Another concept important in Castells' (2010) conceptualisation of the network society is a concept called produsage advanced by Jenkins (2012) and Bruns (2014). According to Jenkins (2012) and Bruns (2014), produsage refers to the blurring of roles played by users in production and consumption of media content. Another concept of significance in the conceptualisation of the network society is the concept of prosumption, which Bruns (2016) argued that it has arisen to prominence with the emergence of "Web 2.0" platforms and technologies, which encourage the creation and sharing of user-generated content (UGC).

A defining characteristic of the network society is the presence of electronic mediation of communication that allow networks to interact with each other and the exchange of information is predominantly played out in the media sphere (Castells, 2010). In a network society,

processes of social transformation go beyond the sphere of social and technical relationships of production but have potential to affect the cultural and power relations in the social structure (Castells, 2010). This exchange of information in the media sphere is enhanced by the evolution and technological changes that have been registered in the field of social interactions and organisation structuring. Owing to the convergence of historical evolution and technological change there has been a change in the cultural patterns of social interaction and social organisation (Castells, 2010). These interactions are stimulated by the powers embodied in the flows of interactions that are in the structure and language of the networks supported by the powers of the media networks embedded (Castells, 2010).

The network society is categorised in two forms namely: social and media networks (Castells, 1996). In elaborating social networks, Castells (1996) argued that they consist of social systems with concrete ties in abstract relationships such as friendships and connections built through social gatherings like church, school, or community groupings, while media networks consist of media systems connecting senders and receivers and filled with symbols and information. In line with the argument advanced by Castells (1996), Dijk (2012) contended that relationships are built and sustained using media platforms such as social media and mobile media e.g. voice calls and short messaging system (SMS).

The conceptualisation of the network society is based on media networks and demonstrates a transformation of sociability (Castells, 2010). Castells (2002) argued that in a network society, what is observed is not the diminishing of the face-to-face interactions, but the increasing sociability of people aided by the new technological paradigm enabling users to be social, have more friends and contacts and become more active than non-users of the information and communication technologies.

Castells (2002) further theorised and linked the network society with ICTs arguing that more users engage with the Internet, because the network society is a hyper social society and not one that is isolated. According to Castells (2002), forms of interaction like mobile phones increase the sociability of its users. In Castells' (2002) view, the network society is described as a society of networked individuals (Castells, 2002) living in a new social setting characterised by three fundamental features" information (facts about something), networking (interactions among networks) and global outlook (world view on an issue) (Castells, 2000).

In a network society that is comprised of networked individuals in society, time and space are important (see Castells: 1996, 2000, and 2010). The concept of time and space has been

explored by Castells (2010: 507) to mean the material foundations of society defined by "timeless time" and "space of flows". In Castells' words, "timeless time" is the disruption of our biological sense of time as well as logical sequence of time (Castells, 2010: 507). In explaining the concept of "timeless time", Howard (2011: 79) has argued that it is the sense that past and future have potential to converge in the present owing to digital technologies that bring issues that have already happened and allows society to experience culture produced far away. The "space of flows" is the location through which media infrastructure allow for social life from different locations to proceed as if the locations are actually present and in close proximity. According to Castells (2010: 507), the "space of flows" is a concept meant to capture the material arrangements for simultaneous social interactions without territorial contiguity.

Castells (2010) further articulated that information and communication technologies annihilate time because of the way people imagine and measure time during communication, which is too slow in a digital age. This view is contested by Howard (2011) who argued that, instead of referencing to the Internet as annihilating time, it may be more accurate to state that the passing of communication time is eliminated to the point of not being socially relevant.

In a network society, Castells explained that information and communication technologies influence users' senses of how time passes and the sense of social distance (Castells, 1996; 2000; 2010). In this vein, Howard (2011) has argued that the implication of this is that the time to consume and produce content may have meaning, but the time to distribute the content is not adequate as time is binding.

Network Society Theory – a critique

In defining networks, Castells, (2002) highlighted that networks work on a binary logic of inclusion or exclusion. Social inclusion and exclusion in the network society are considered as the biggest factors influencing membership in networks (Philipson *et al*., 2017). Philipson *et al.* (2017) who argued that inclusion in the network society entails that the individual member/s must have access to ICT tools critiques this viewpoint. The tools include mobile phones connected to an internet access point such as Wi-Fi or data bundles. This, Philipson *et al.* (2017) contended, has potential to lead to users experiencing a digital divide, which is explained as a problem of access in relation to technology and literacy (Vie, 2008). Phillip (2011: 74) agrees that digital networks are social networks as they act as primary conduit for building of social

relationships however, Phillip (2011) cautioned that inclusion and exclusion from the networks by not having access to the technologies excludes some from belonging to that network.

Scholars have written on the concept of inclusion and exclusion in the network society theory. For example, Allan *et al.* (2017: 3) explored Castells' (1996, 2010) perspective of power relations as played out in the networks and contended that strong and privileged social network members (individuals and groupings yielding power) may operate to exclude others from resources or opportunities based on the powers that they yield in a network. Castells (2010:15) explained the concept of power struggles in networks as the power relationships between human subjects, which based on production and experience, imposes the will of some subjects upon others by the potential or actual use of violence, physical or symbolic means. Essentially, whoever holds power in a network society (one with access to the technologies) has the capacity to dictate who is included and excluded in that social structure.

The concept of power in the network society is considered one of the contributors to the concept of inclusion and exclusion from networks. Power is defined as the process of affecting policies of others with the help of (actual or threatened) severe sanctions for nonconformity with the policies intended (Lasswell and Kaplan, 2013: x). It is the capacity to enforce an individual's will over others. In the concept of the network society, the chief form of power is control or influence over communication (Castells, 2013). It is linked with the network society in that because the network society is a social structure categorised by exclusion from and inclusion in different kinds of social and communication networks (Castells 2010), power (based who has access to technologies) is argued as a crucial determinant of social change and influences who ultimately has access or is denied access to the network. Power is a significant determinant of inclusion and exclusion because connectivity and access to networks are essential to the power of some social groups to impose their values and goals on society-at-large and of others to resist their domination (Castells 2010).

Webster (2014) critiques Manuel Castells' conceptualisation of the network society based on the characteristics and structuring of labour in the network society. According to Webster (2014), the network society's emphasis on the transformative capacities recalls claims that the world was changing because of the emergence of "experts" of one sort or another. According to Webster (2014) the characteristics of informational labour in society must be stressed by technical skills, cognitive capabilities and formal education and not an emergence of "experts" who sometimes may have limited capacity to impart on the networks.

Conversely, Webster (2014) emphasised that skilled, experienced and educated elites are the key players in a network society. Further Webster (2014: 126) clarified that these hinge on the presupposition that either or both the division of labour and technology carry with them an inevitable hierarchy of power and esteem, resulting in a "natural" form of inequality that is supra-social although of inordinate social consequences. Lasswell and Kaplan (2013) and Philipson *et al.*, (2017) have stressed on the network society's promotion of exclusion and inclusion highlighting and perpetuating inequalities amongst players.

Another difficulty with the concept of network society is that Castells lumps the notion of informational labour with disparate activities and capacities under one blanket designation (Webster, 2014). According to Webster (2014), the conceptualisation of Castells' informational labour is too multi-dimensional. Webster (2014) explained that the combination of education, communicative skills, organisational abilities and scientific knowledge under one blanket designation called informational labour as discussed above is problematic. This is because it seems that Castells is saying little more than that dispersed activities require people with organisational skills or management training to co-ordinate them, or that organisations tend to be headed by actors who possess communicative abilities (Webster, 2014).

Webster (2014) relates this notion to thinkers like Robert Michels (1959, 1915) who appropriated the conceptualisation of information labour similar to that of Manuel Castells. Classic political parties that emerged at the beginning of the century had qualities of oligarchic leaders that appeared to be more like those of Castells' informational labour comprising organizational knowledge, media capabilities, communicative skills and the rest (Webster, 2014). Webster's problem with Castells conceptualisation of the network society is that combining social skills and capabilities does not reflect the true picture of the network society members' potential to belong in the network society.

Similar studies applying the network society theory

Manuel Castells has published several works highlighting the application of the network society theory (see Castells and Cardoso, 2006; Castells, 2008, 2000). Besides Castells, other scholars have used the theoretical framework of the network society to inform their studies. For example, Wellman (2001) used the network society to study how the Internet affects social capital and discovered that social networks influence contact, organisation and political

participation. Wellman (2001) in the study explained that the network society supported by the Internet supplemented network capital through expanding existing level of face-to-face interactions. Wellman (2001) further used the theory to support the notion that heavy Internet users created social networks through the Internet. The study concluded that social network theory helped to understand the notion that the Internet helps to maintain social relationships amongst peers.

Much more recently, In *Castells and the Media*, Phillip (2011) offered an extensive introduction to Castells' theory, exploring concepts that Castells references to throughout his work as media, globalisation, digitalisation and the power structures.

Notley (2009) examined Australian teenagers' use of online networks to participate in society further explores the concept of social network theory. Notley (2009) explored teenagers who were at risk of social exclusion both online and offline and found that online networks provided opportunities for social inclusion in online networks. However, Notley (2009) cautioned that participants without means of accessing digital tools where socially excluded from participation in the online networked platforms.

Relevance of participatory culture and the network society theories to the current study

The choice of the participatory culture and the network society theories for the current study was premised on their interconnections with social media and mobile communication. The use of the two theoretical frameworks is meant to converge and diverge the two theories in explaining phenomena in the current study. According to Banik (1993) using both related and/or competing theories can be useful in providing broader and deeper understanding of the research problem in hand. In this regard, using multiple theories in the study helps in supporting or refuting findings based on the fact that different theories help researchers to see problem at hand using multiple lenses (Denzin, 1970 in (Thurmond, 2001).

Combining the network society and participatory culture is further meant to compliment the two theories while filling in the lapses that the individual theories encompass as highlighted in the limitation and critiques of individual theories above. For instance, on the one hand, the network society focuses on studying networks in society and not the individual members of the society (Castells, 2010). On the other hand, the participatory culture studies the individual participants' communication that make up a society and not the networks that the individuals

form (Jenkins, 2006). These discrepancies and ultimately their resolve are crucial to the understanding of the topic under investigation as two different theoretical frameworks with their uniqueness aided me to see the problem at hand using multiple lenses.

Thus, on the one hand, Jenkins' participatory culture theory informs the study on the why, how, and what of participation of teenagers through social media and mobile communication. On the other hand, the network society theory informs the study on the how, why, what and where of teenagers' network activities are developed and sustained through social media and mobile communication. A review of both the participatory culture and network society theories showed that social media and mobile communication are important considerations in the functioning of the two approaches (Jenkins, 2012; Castells, 1996).

The two theories are appropriate in guiding this study on: teenagers networked participatory cultures in Lusaka. Relevant literature gives evidence to back up this notion. For example, a number of scholars have written on the relevance of the participatory culture and network society theories respectively as they relate to social media and mobile communication. To start with, Jenkins (2006) recognised that participatory culture has emerged as society absorbs and responds to the explosion of new media technologies. New media in this context is understood as a combination of online and offline media such as internet, personal computers, tablets, social media, smart phones and e-readers (Van Dijk 2012; Webster 2014). Secondly, in responding to Castells' arguments, Van Dijk (2012) recognised that the network society's theoretical model evolves around the influence of information and communication technologies. Van Dijk (2012) further located the network society within a structure composed of social and media networks as elaborated previously. Thus, the two theories (participatory culture and network society) make for ideal theoretical frameworks of analysis to understand teenagers' networks and participation with social media and smartphones in Lusaka, Zambia.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the two theoretical frameworks informing the current study. The chapter explains in detail the Network Society and Participatory Culture theories. The chapter also discusses in detail the characteristics of the two theories, their strengths, limitations and critiques as presented by other scholars. Two theories are used in the current study to allow them to complement each other based on their inherit strengths and limitations. The decision was born out of the suitability of the theories in providing an analytical lens to analyse the

findings from the current study. To test the applicability of the two theories to this study, relevant literature that has used the frameworks to inform research has been reviewed.

The next chapter presents a discussion on the methodology adopted in the present study. The chapter explores and explains the choice of a qualitative approach, data collection methods of Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-depth Interviews and the data analysis method of thematic analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology adopted in this study. The study used a qualitative approach and an exploratory design. Guided by the interpretivist paradigm that examines how content is interpreted by individuals and audiences (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008), the chapter details the qualitative research methods selected to investigate the participatory cultures of teenagers that use social media and mobile phones in Lusaka. The chapter examines in detail the research design, paradigm and the methods of data collection and analysis used. It also focuses on ethical considerations.

Research Design

The present study used a qualitative design to study the specific nuances of my research participants. Qualitative research, according to Creswell (2014), involves the researcher's knowledge claims based on multiple meanings of individual experiences, which are socially and/or historically constructed with the intent to develop patterns or theory or an inquiry based on advocacy or participatory perspectives. This study is categorised as an exploratory study of teenagers' experiences of participatory culture in Lusaka as it attempts to gain new knowledge and insights into the phenomenon of teenagers and participatory culture. Exploratory studies employ an open, flexible, and inductive approach to research as they attempt to elicit new insights into phenomena (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999) and they create opportunities for researchers to gain familiarity with phenomena under investigation (Kothari, 2004).

Several studies investigating the experiences of participatory culture by teenagers have been researched before as indicated in the literature review chapter. These studies however, have a bias towards the Western countries (Europe and America) and a select few African countries for instance South Africa. These studies have approached the subject by focusing on either social media or mobile communication and not both. This exploratory study therefore, aims to gain insight of the phenomena (from an African perspective particularly Zambia) under investigation by employing qualitative methods of data collection. Using the qualitative research design in this study gave the participants the freedom to express themselves on how they experience engaging and participating with social media and mobile communication.

The table below summarises the qualitative research approach adopted in this study. In the table, I outline how the phenomenon under study was investigated. I elected to use Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews as data collection methods because of their ability to help me to uncover trends in thought and opinions and dive deeper into the problem (O'Doherty, 2014). I elected to analyse my data using manual thematic analysis based on its capability to organise data and identify themes and patterns in the narratives from the participants. These themes and patterns were then interpreted and given meaning as asserted by Wahyuni (2012).

Below is a summary of the qualitative research design adopted for this study

Table 4.0 Qualitative research design illustration

Research approach	**Knowledge claim**	**Nature of knowledge**	**Ontological assumptions**	**Method of investigation**
Qualitative Research Approach	Interpretivist	Subjective	Nominalist	Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Source: Author

Research Paradigm

This study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm in addition to examining how people interpret content (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008), also addresses the understanding of the world as others experience it (Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012). The current study is located within the interpretivist research paradigm with the recognition that individuals with their own varied backgrounds, assumptions and experiences contribute to the on-going construction of reality existing in their broader context through social interactions. My study is an interpretation of the perceptions that participants hold of their own experiences of using, networking, and participating through social media and mobile phones. These participants' perceptions are considered as subjective and carrying multiple interpretations of phenomena. Human perspectives and experiences are subjective and pre-determined by social reality, which may change and have multiple perspectives (Hennink and Hutter, 2011). Further to the

subjectivities in perceptions held by participants, my own subjectivities as the researcher, for example I, being a mother, hailing from Zambia and working within the area of digital media influenced the interpretations of perceptions held by the youth participants.

The current study adopted the interpretivist paradigm with the understanding that the study findings in view of the ontological perspective were bound to yield varied responses as a result of how participants interpret their experiences of networked participatory culture. There are two major areas of philosophy in scientific research, namely, ontological and epistemological positions (Neuman 2011; Laughlin, 1995; Kalof, Dan and Djetz 2008; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).

According to Neuman (2011), ontology is an area of philosophy that deals with the nature of being, or what exists. Epistemology on the other hand, concerns itself with how people know the world around them or what makes a claim about it true (Neuman 2011). In this study, I have adopted the nominalist ontological perspective based on its claim that our experiences of the physical and social world are reliant on our interpretations of reality (Neuman 2011; Chilisa and Kawulich, 2012).

The epistemological position used in this study is shaped by my interpretations and subjective viewpoints, which are guided by two theories (participatory culture and the network society theories) and literature. According to Kuhn, D., Cheney, R. and Weinstock, M., (2000) epistemological position is the view that reasoned argument is worthwhile and the most productive path to knowledge. I constructed reality from an outcome of processes of actions through interviews and FGDs coupled with my subjective viewpoints guided by literature and theory. I transcribed the data into text from the audio recordings from the data collection phase. I analysed and interpreted the transcribed data using manual thematic analysis as will be discussed later in the chapter.

The interpretivist approach chosen assisted in offering an interpretation of the phenomenon (teenagers' participatory culture online). The process was vital as it facilitated the production of social science knowledge, which Neuman (2011) has argued that it helps to observe, interpret, and reflect on what other people are saying and doing in specific social contexts while simultaneously reflecting on one's own experiences and interpretations. This epistemological position was important as it helped me to understand the reality that was being studied.

Further, to understand the participants and their interpretations of reality around social media, and use of mobile phones, this interpretivist paradigm was essential to understand how the participants constructed their social constructs from their subjective experiences. This phenomenon is explained by Wahyuni (2012) who argues that interpretivist researchers' favour to interact and to have a dialogue with the studied participants usually through qualitative research, which provides rich descriptions of constructs.

Data collection methods

The data collection methods selected for this study were focus group discussions. The method of data collection was chosen based on their capabilities to document participant's views. FGDs as a data collection methods was selected because it is conversational in nature and offers an informal tone to the research which offers open responses in participants own words as opposed to the yes/no answers (Longhurst, 2003). According to Harding (2012) FGDs are regarded as the gold standard in collecting qualitative data because of their high frequency of use by researchers.

Focus Group discussions

FGDs are in-depth group interviews employing relatively homogenous groups to provide information around topics specified by the researcher (Hughes and Du Mont, 1993). Another definition of a focus group discussion is that they are informal discussions among selected individuals about specific topics (Krueger, 1998). Focus groups, then, are group discussions or interviews aimed at soliciting information on a specific issue. Focus group discussions typically comprise between 6-12 people who meet in an informal setting to discuss a particular topic that has been selected by the researcher (Longhurst, 2003: 143). In this study, FGDs were selected as a data collection method to collect thick or in-depth descriptive data on teenagers' experiences of networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

The study comprised twelve FGDs. Two FGDs per school were conducted. Eleven FGDs comprised ten participants and one had nine participants based on the ideal number of between 6-12 participants as recommended by Longhurst (2003). The FGDs were conducted by the researcher at the six secondary schools. The FGDs were conducted for a period of 60 to 90 minutes per session as proposed by Longhurst (2003). To aid in the process, I designed a Focus Group Discussion guide (please refer to Appendix III) comprising 17 questions followed up by

probes. The FGD sessions were audio recorded with the voluntary permission of the participants. Further to the audio recording, I took down notes in a notebook to document the proceedings. I used a combination of both the audio recorder and the notebook based on the argument as advanced by Opdenakker (2006: 4-5):

> Using a tape [audio] recorder has the advantage that the interview report is more accurate than writing out notes. But tape recording also brings with it the danger of not taking any notes during the interview. Taking notes during the interview is important for the interviewer, even if the interview is tape [audio] recorded:
>
> (1) To check if all the questions have been answered,
> (2) In case of malfunctioning of the tape recorder, and
> (3) In case of "malfunctioning of the interviewer".

Using both methods of recording the data collection allowed me to be in control of my data in case of the malfunctioning of the audio recorder or the loss of the notebook. After the FGDs were recorded, the recordings were later transcribed by a research assistant in preparation for manual thematic analysis.

Sampling

This study adopted purposive sampling as a method of choice based on its ability to select participants purposively (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002). Purposive sampling is advantageous as it provides the opportunity to select participants based on the specified criteria (Collins, Onwuegbuzie, and Jiao, 2006). It is argued that participants in purposive sampling have features or characteristics, which enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the themes and questions that are under investigation (Bryman, 2012).

Sampling sites for schools

This sample comprised six (6) public secondary schools (public schools are establishments run by government) selected from a total of seventy eight (78) secondary schools in Lusaka. In addition to the schools, the sample consisted a government representative from the Ministry of Communication and Transport. The schools were purposively sampled as they met the following sampling criterion:

They have ICT clubs established in their structures with a curriculum prescribed by government.

i. They have learners aged 15 to 18 years
ii. They are publicly funded (this was important in achieving a level playing ground in terms of knowledge gaps as only public schools have government funded ICT clubs)
iii. They are located in Lusaka District
iv. The school sample was gender balanced. Representative of two girls' schools (Matero girls' secondary school and Roma girls' secondary school), two boys' school (Kabulonga Boys' secondary school and Matero Boys' secondary school) and two co-education schools (Munali secondary school and Twin Palm secondary school). This strategy helped me in studying the gender dimensions of teenagers' access to mobile phones and social media.
v. The school sample is representative of social economic demographics. Three schools (Kabulonga Girls' secondary school, Roma Girls' secondary school and Twin Palm secondary school) are from high income areas and the other three (Matero Boys' secondary school, Matero Girls' secondary school and Munali secondary) are from middle/low income areas of Lusaka.

Sampling for participants

The study sample incorporated sex segregated FGDs at six schools. Each school had two FGDs, one with each sex. Drawing on the recommendation by Langford (2002), each FGD consisted of eight to ten participants. The total number of participants for the FGDs in the study was 119 from all the six schools out of the seventy eight secondary schools in Lusaka. The sample participants for in-depth interviews and FGDs were selected based on the following characteristics:

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

i. Aged between 15 and 18 years to fit into the profile of the teenage sample population.
ii. Enrolled and attending one of the public Schools in Lusaka District.
iii. A member of the School Information and Communication Technology (ICT) clubs based on mandatory attendance as stipulated by government and school authorities.
iv. Conversant with the use of the mobile phone to access the Internet and social media, and;

v. Willingness to participate in the study and consent granted by the parents, guardians or teachers for the individual to participate in the study. This was necessary as a result of the sample consisting of participants below the age of 18 years who according to the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights of the Child (The Children's Charter) of which Zambia is signatory are classified as children.

I sought informed consent with the participant's parents, guardians or teachers to seek permission for the learners to partake in the FGDs. The informed consent detailed steps to be taken to protect the participants against involuntary participation, guaranteeing their confidentiality, and granting their right to withdrawal from the study at any time that they may wish to (please refer to a sample of the informed consent letter in the Appendix I).

Recruitment process and procedure

I went about gaining cooperation from gatekeepers in schools and participants three-fold:

i. seeking permission from the school managers,
ii. seeking permission from teachers in charge of ICT clubs (who also acted as participants in interviews) and;
iii. I sought to get informed consent for my learner participants detailing issues of voluntary participation, confidentiality, use of an audio recorder and a guarantee to treat participants with utmost respect and dignity (Please refer to appendix I for a sample of an informed consent).

For the purpose of recruiting learner participants for FGDs, I used the process of recruitment through a key informant, who was identified as a teacher in charge of the ICT club or a career guidance teacher or a school principal. For each school therefore, the first step I took in recruiting key informants included identifying the key informant (who in this case comprises either the head teacher or deputy head teacher at respective schools) that would assist in recruiting the suitable candidates for FGDs. After the identification was done, the key informant helped to identify possible participants based on the sampling criteria. The key informant was also in charge of explaining the scope of the study and ethical considerations (which were also repeated after the recruitment with the researcher). This was done so that the learners can get the details from someone that they are used to. The KI was also in charge of

inviting the participants to take part in the study as the researcher, I did not know which learners fit the eligibility criteria.

Data analysis

This study used manual thematic analysis as the data analysis method as it enables the identification, analysis, and reporting of patterns or themes within the collected data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is appropriate because it helps in interpreting aspects of qualitative data (Boyatzis, 1995). These aspects of the research facilitated in uncovering and discovering themes, patterns and concepts from interviews and focus groups (Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

Thematic analysis is defined as a method of data analysis that comprises a search for themes that emerge as being important to the description of the phenomenon (Daly, Kellehear and Gliksman, 1997). I selected thematic analysis in order to identify themes through the "careful reading and re-reading of the data" (Rice and Ezzy, 1999: 258). In the current study, thematic analysis was used for both FGDs and semi structured in-depth interviews to aid in pattern recognition within the data, where emerging themes became the categories for analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Thematic analysis was made possible because of data transcriptions that allowed me to better organise the data to be analysed.

Data from both research FGDs was analysed using manual thematic analysis. This method of analysis meant that no software was used to analyse data; I manually engaged in the process of data analysis. I was guided by the defining features of thematic analysis according to Guest, MacQueen and Namey (2011:17) which aids in identifying key themes in texts. In this process themes were transformed into codes and aggregated in a codebook.

The coding in this study encompassed the process of identifying (seeing) an important moment and encoding it (seeing it as something) prior to a process of interpretation (Boyatzis, 1998). For example, as regards the first part of objective number one: to evaluate how teenagers access social media in Lusaka, codes such as smart phone, tablet, laptop, Wi-Fi, data, at home, school, on-the-go, price, mobile service provider and many other codes were identified. These codes where then organised into patterns that emerged as themes for analysis. This process was followed through for all the objectives. In explaining the characteristics of a "good code", Boyatzis (1998:1) has argued that "it is one that captures the qualitative richness of the

phenomenon". In my study, coding the information helped me organise the data to identify and develop themes. According to Boyatzis (1998) a theme is defined as a pattern in the data set that at minimum describes and organises the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon.

The process of initial data analysis was conducted three-fold, guided by the six phases of thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006): 1) organising all the written transcriptions from the focus group and in-depth interviews, 2) reading the transcriptions and identifying themes, and 3) grouping the verbatim comments from participants according to the identified themes.

Emanating from the process above, I identified nine themes from the data. These are;

1) Participants' access and use of smart phones;

2) Teenagers' motivation to adopt and use smart phones;

3) Teenagers' interpretation of gender and social economic factors in smart phone use and adoption;

4) How teenagers incorporate smart phones in their everyday life,

5) The most popular social media platforms that teenagers use,

6) Ways teenagers access social media platforms,

7) Devices used to access the social media platforms,

8) Topics teenagers discuss and their motivations for access and use of social media and:

9) Gender and economic class in use and access of social media.

The themes outlined were selected and analysed following the phases of thematic analysis as proposed by Braun and Clark (2006) as follows.

Table 4.1 Stages in Thematic analysis

N0.	STEP/PHASE	DESCRIPTION
1.	Familiarising yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas
2.	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3.	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4.	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5.	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6.	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006:87)

Justification for using thematic analysis

Thematic analysis was chosen as a data analysis tool based on several reasons. Firstly, it is a flexible approach that can be used across a range of epistemologies and research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The flexibility of the method is reflected in its convenience to be mastered. Thematic analysis allowed me to thoroughly immerse myself in the data set in search of answers to my research questions. The approach allowed me to gather "thick descriptions" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97) of participants' viewpoints. Doing so helped me to describe the findings at length, which in turn provided a deep and critical interpretation of the meanings of the participants' views.

Secondly, thematic analysis was chosen as an analytical approach because it helps in highlighting similarities and differences across the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This was an important strength because it allowed me to compare the focus group and in-depth interview data sets to find similarities and differences. Further, the method was used to compare the data from focus groups and the manual notes against each other. This comparison helped me generate unanticipated insights (Braun and Clarke, 2006) as it allowed me to critically analyse the data generated from the field. These unanticipated insights came about after a comparison of data sets from the focus groups, interviews and manual notes because my notes are largely subjective and are based on my convictions and interpretations of the environment that the researcher finds themselves in. The risks of bias in analysing the data through reflection as Uwe Flick (1998: 6) argues that "researcher's reflections on their actions and observations in the field, their impressions, irritations, feelings and so on, become data in their own right, forming part of the interpretation". This argument suggests that emotions that I express in the narrative as the researcher help the reader to get a more vivid understanding of the issues that I present in my research.

Despite the strengths of thematic analysis, there are a number of limitations. Firstly, the flexibility of the approach presented me with problems such as the potential range of issues that could be analysed were broad and confusing. Through interpreting the data in relationship to the theoretical frameworks of participatory culture and the network society, helped me to focus on the issues most relevant and pertinent to the research questions of this project. Thematic analysis has limited interpretative power beyond mere descriptions if it is not used within an existing theoretical framework that anchors the analytic claims that are made (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Notwithstanding, thematic analysis was used as a data analysis tool because it is "flexible and relatively easy and quick method to learn and do" (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 97). Further, my choice of thematic analysis was driven by my conviction that the approach was best suited for the choice of methods (FGDs and in-depth interviews) and my broader theoretical assumptions (Holloway and Todres, 2003).

Ethical Considerations

Before commencement of the data collection process, two requisite approvals were secured: one from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (protocol reference number: HSS/1952/016D) (see Appendix V). The other

was gate keeper's approval secured from Zambia's Ministry of General Education under the office of the Permanent Secretary (please refer to appendix IV).

During the process of inviting participants for FGDs and in-depth interviews, I undertook a verbal briefing (assisted by the KI in in-depth interviews) to help my participants understand the purpose of the study and their role in the data collection. I reminded my participants that they were free to opt out at any point during the in-depth interviews or FGDs and if they felt that they were uncomfortable to answer any question, they had a right to reserve not to answer without the researcher asking any questions. Further, I informed my participants that they were free to contact my research supervisor (Dr. Sarah Gibson) and the Chairperson of the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, Dr. Shemuka Singh, in case they needed a clarification on any aspect of the study (please refer to appendix I for contact details).

The student participants purposively sampled for focus groups can be categorised as children based on Zambia being a signatory to both the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (The Children's Charter). Both the UNCRC and the Children's Charter state that a child is anybody below the age of 18. Participants in qualitative research who are under the age of 18 are positioned as vulnerable, incompetent, and relatively powerless (Morrow and Richards, 1996). This is why it is so important to include informed consent and to protect the participants (Morrow and Richards, 1996).

To protect my participants (both in in-depth interviews and FGDs), I ensured that informed consent was mandatory for all participants. This informed consent confirmed their voluntary participation, confidential and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point (see Appendix I). This informed consent as regards the teenage participants in FGDs was sought from parents, school authorities and/or legal guardians (see Appendix I).

To further protect the child participants, I ensured that the terms, which would have been a bit complicated to a child were clearly explained in a way that was meaningful and accessible to a child. The meanings and implications of terms like confidentiality, voluntary participation, anonymity and the right to withdraw from the study were explained to all participants for the FGDs beforehand. This process was also repeated with participants for the in-depth interviews because I did not want to assume that all the participants were familiar with these research terms.

Study limitations

Through using a purposive sample that was small and non-representative, the findings from this study cannot be generalised to the larger population of teenagers in Lusaka, Zambia. I was however motivated into going ahead with the study despite this limitation, based on my conviction that the study would illuminate the experiences of teenagers in my study about how the wider population of teenagers experience participatory cultures in Lusaka. I incorporated FGDs to facilitate discussions with participants that captured the social context of the phenomena under investigation. The use of FGDs further allowed me to attain a fair representation of ideas that to a large degree could be assumed to be the general feeling or feelings of the wider society. This allowed for the findings in the study to be applied, albeit cautiously, to a larger context beyond the boundaries of the participants.

Further, despite my settling on FGDs, I learned that the data collection method deprived participants when it came to discussions on sensitive topics that participants considered embarrassing. For instance, I discovered that the issue of sex, pornography and sexuality as a limitation to networked participation did not solicit active participation and the participants that contributed to the debate gave me an impression that they were not telling the entire truth.

Conclusion

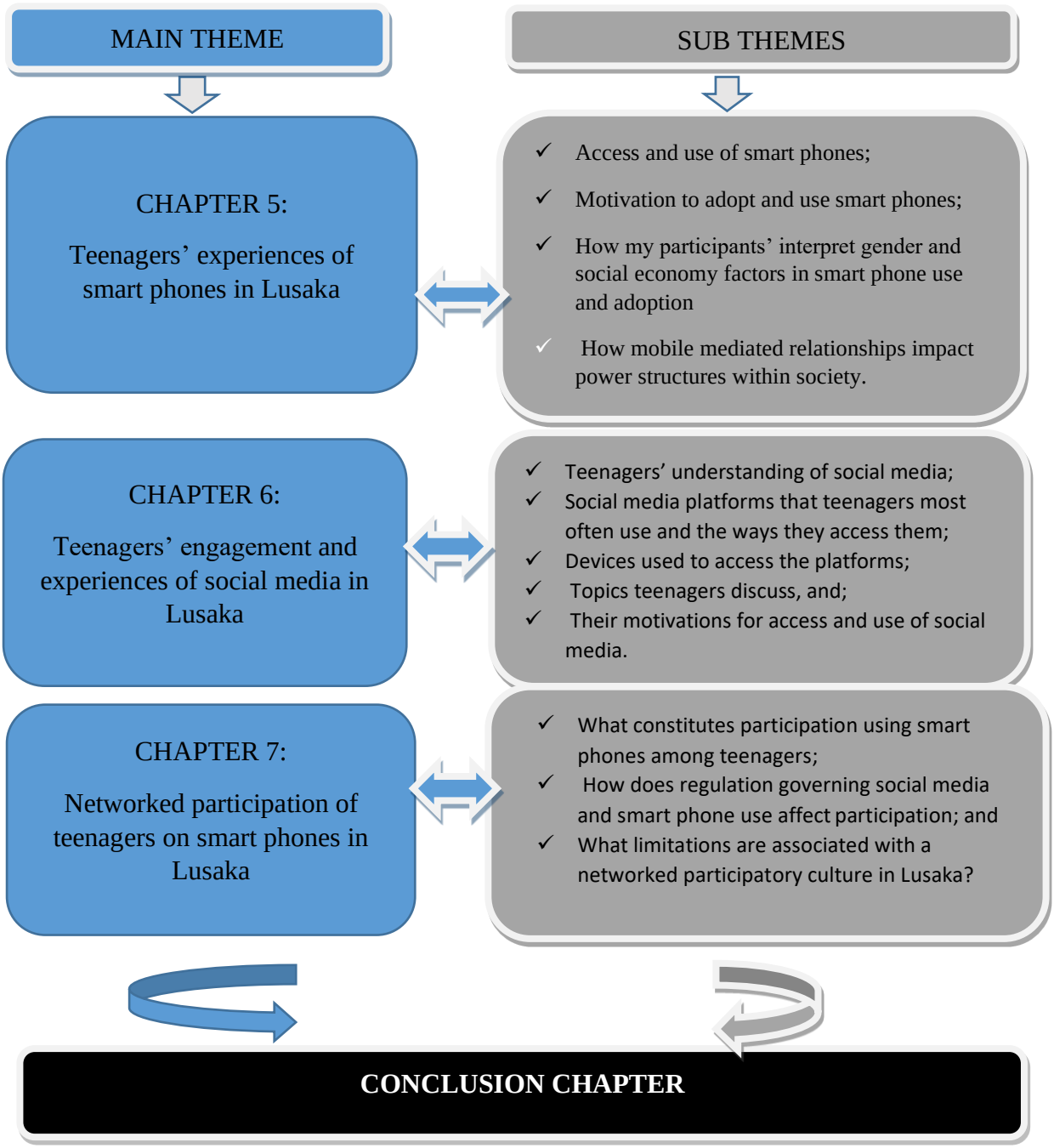
This chapter has presented an outline of the data collection process in the study. The chapter has explained the qualitative research approach and the exploratory research design selected for the study. The chapter has detailed the qualitative research methods of FGDs and In-depth interviews selected for the study. It has also detailed the choice of purposive sampling and how it was conducted. Further, methods of data collection selected in this study namely FGDs and in-depth interviews were explained and a justification for the choice was given. I have also discussed the data analysis procedure and explained the reason for choosing thematic analysis. In terms of the ethical considerations, I have provided the steps taken to ensure that the participants were protected as proposed by Greene and Hogan (2005) who argue that researching children's experiences must take a different approach when it comes to ethics.

I have given reasons for considering part of my learner participants as children based on the United Nations Convention of the rights of the Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the rights and welfare of the Child. Finally, my subjectivities in this study have been discussed and my position as a researcher clarified. I have outlined the challenges encountered in the field

and explained how I sought to mitigate them. The methodology process outlined here provides material basis for presentation and interpretation of findings to be presented in the next three chapters; five, six and seven.

The following figure represents the arrangement of chapters' five to eight. The figure is important because it shows the themes and sub-themes that were generated during data analysis, which have been used to build the findings chapters in this thesis. Chapter five to seven presents findings and discussions of the findings and chapter eight is a conclusion of the whole thesis aimed at answering the main research question.

Figure 4.0: Organisation of the findings and conclusion chapters



Source: Author

CHAPTER FIVE
TEENAGERS EXPERIENCES OF MOBILE PHONES IN LUSAKA

Introduction

The adoption and use of mobile phones by teenagers are influenced by their ubiquity (Barkhuus and Polichar, 2011). Unlike traditional mobile phones, smartphones offer more functions, including diverse internet content and multimedia players (Jung, 2014). The smartphones' multi-functionalities have contributed to influencing the everyday lives of teenagers. This chapter presents findings, interpretations and discussions around one key research question– how do teenagers experience mobile phones in Lusaka?

In this chapter, I explore teenagers' experiences of smart phones by analysing my participants' access and use of smart phones, their motivation to adopt and use smart phones, how my participants interpret gender and social economy factors in smart phone use and adoption. To fully understand the question on gender and economic class, I have embedded the two concepts that emerged as sub-themes into the discussion on motivation for access and use in order to reflect and understand adoption and use more in-depth. This chapter draws on Castell's (1996) theoretical formulation of the network society to inform the interpretation of findings. The current study draws on the theorisation of the network society theory that posits that society is defined by networks (Castells 1996) characteristic of electronic mediation of communication that has allowed for networks to interact with each other by exchanging information (Castells 2010). To maintain anonymity and protect the confidentiality of the individual participants, only the school and grade of the participant is used.

Smart phone access and use among teenagers

While it may seem that the acquisition and use of a mobile phone may involve simply walking into a shop and later walking out with the technology device and then starting to use it, behind these ostensibly mundane routines of everyday use of mobile phones is a whole lot of other factors that scholars attribute to the pervasiveness and embeddedness of access and use of mobile phones.

My study reveals that teenagers' access and use of smart phones is influenced by factors such as colour, ease to charge and the declining cost of smart phones.

In explaining access and use, a grade 12 learner (participant from FGD 2) stated that, "the mobile phone is easy to use and has attractive graphics that encourage me to use it." Another learner from the same class (participant from FGD 2) said they use the mobile phone because of the declining cost attached to it. This learner added that charging the smart phone is easy as he can charge it even from a neighbour's house in case there is load shedding.

My findings tie in with what Horta et al (2016) and Joyce-Gibbons et al. (2018) reported that the easy charging and managing of battery power for mobile phones is a factor making the mobile phone more appealing than a computer. Ippoliti and L'Engle (2017) explained that the pervasive adoption of mobile phones in Africa is due to the declining cost in purchase of the mobile phone and increasing reliance on mobile phones as essential commodities in everyday life. These authors have reaffirmed that the mobile phone is the most ubiquitous technological device (Glotz, Bertschi and Locke (2006).

Since its inception in the early 1990s, the mobile phone has grown from a heavy, brick-size luxurious device to a smart multi-functional device (Barkhuus and Polichar, 2011). The mobile phone is as an essential tool for billions of people (Ling, 2004) with an ubiquitous nature attached to it (Glotz, Bertschi and Locke, 2006). Young people represent the highest proportion of global consumers of mobile technology (Ippoliti and L'Engle, 2017). Teenagers in Lusaka are not exempt from this transformation of mobile media. In its 2015 ICT survey report, the Zambia Information and Technology Authority (ZICTA) reported that young people below the age of 24 years are the biggest users of ICTs and that the mobile phone was most pervasive and socially ubiquitous ICT device in Zambia.

The issue of mobile phone access is concerned with issues of ownership, costs associated with purchase, and maintenance and up-keep of the devices (Davie, Panting and Charlton, 2004), findings which also emerged in this study.

Teenagers' understanding of mobile communication

In explaining their personal understanding of mobile communication participants generally revealed that it was concerned with interpersonal communication via mobile communication devices such as mobile phones, smart phones and gaming consoles. A Grade 11 learner from Munali secondary school explained that:

> Mobile communication is the means of exchanging information or talking to each other through the phone… like when I call my friend to ask them about homework.

Similarly, another Grade 11 learner from the same school added that:

> It can also be the communication between two or more people using portable devices such as smart phones, tablets and games [gaming console]… I have a gaming console at home that I use to communicate with my fellow players, it is called a Play Station 3.

A grade 12 learner from Matero Boys' secondary school explored this phenomenon further by elaborating the features distinct to mobile communication:

> Mobile communication is the communication using handheld devices. These devices are interactive, portable and can be used when on the move and they are personal media devices. The most popular though is the mobile phone. For example, my Samsung smart phone is an example of a mobile communication device.

The current study established that the smart phone was the most preferred choice for mobile communication among the participants because of factors such as ease of use to communicate with their friends. All the participants that owned a mobile phone reported in the FGDs that their phones were smart phones.

Findings such as those by Ling (2017) have revealed that the smart phone has facilitated for the pervasive uptake of mobile phones amongst teenagers. In a network society, the mobile phone enables digital networking because it is the most globally pervasive, socially pervasive, digital networking device (Castells, 1996). Howard (2011) likened the mobile phone embedded with digital affordances to the smart phone. In an effort to establish whether my participants were using smart phones, a Grade 10 learner from Munali secondary school recounted that:

> I cannot function without a smart phone. It is part and parcel of me… I like it because it helps in organising my life. I am not so much into one-on-one personal interactions because I don't have many friends. However, the smart phone has allowed me to have access to mobile media. This is nice because then I am able to access social media, get directions, read Wikipedia, and take pictures and videos of myself – I don't have that many friends in real life.

The network society theory posits that the emergence of the smart phone has contributed to the development of digital networks as smart phones encourage mass self-communication (Castells, 2007). This mass self-communication is a process in which individuals generate their

own content, decide who can access the content, and directly disseminate the content to recipients who themselves can self-select whether or not to retrieve the content (Castells, 2007).

My study has found that smart phones are pervasive amongst the participants because of their multi-functionality. The smart phone enabled participants to engage in self-mass communication through generating their own content through text, video or photography, and disseminating this content to other people that my participants reported to have carefully selected as recipients. The findings in my study closely relate to the concept of convergence, advanced by Jenkins (2012). The multi-functionalities of the smart phone reported by participants aided in playing games, engaging in social media, taking photos, watching videos, listening to music and editing content. It was established that these functionalities were engaged in simultaneously.

For instance, a Grade 10 learner from Roma Girls Secondary School reported that she listens to music at the same time as she engaged in social media or captured pictures they considered interesting using the smart phone. This finding confirms what Jenkins (2012) posits as convergence of technologies. Convergence culture involves a shift from how media is produced to a change on how media is consumed (Jenkins, 2012). This is reflected in the current study through how participants engaged with the phone to consume and produce media content.

My study therefore, has revealed that the mobile phone was associated with mobile communication. The study has found out that the smart phone was the most popular form of mobile phone [the mobile phone and smart phone is used interchangeably from now on in the thesis]. It was also revealed that the smart phone is a pervasive mobile communication device, which all participants that owned a phone reporting to have had one. My study further revealed that teenagers understand the mobile phone as a smart phone with affordances to allow for exchange of information, create content and disseminate that content.

Ownership of mobile phones by teenagers

All the participants (100%) in my study had experience of using a mobile phone. The majority (76%) claimed to own a smartphone, the minority (24%) did have access to a smartphone through borrowing from friends and family.

Issues surrounding mobile phone ownership in my study revealed that ownership is an important factor to consider in line with teenager's mobile phone uptake. My participants explained that the key advantages of owning mobile phones was increased privacy,

convenience, flexibility, and control of both the information they accessed as well as the people they communicated with.

A Grade 10 participant from Kabulonga secondary school reported that:

> Using my own phone allows me to communicate with whoever I wish to, at any time of the day except during school and church hours. Using another person's phone brings with it challenges because there are times when you want to use the phone and the owner is not available. Say for instance, they go to town, this forces you to wait until they come or to go and borrow another person's phone…but if it is an emergency then this becomes a problem.

Another participant attending Grade 10 from Roma Girls' secondary school reported that she owned the smart phone and it made her feel in control of information that she sent out and received. She elaborated that "sometimes I send out explicit information which I don't want anyone else to access apart from the person I am sending to". This viewpoint was followed up by a participant in the same FGD who said,

> I use my mother's phone, but whenever I ask for it, she asks me whom I want to talk to, and why I should talk to that person. My mother also checks the phone numbers that I communicate with and what information I exchange.

A number of challenges associated with using a borrowed phone emerged from the data, including issues of inconvenience (to both owner and borrower), the lack of privacy, lack of control and the risk of losing airtime and data.

In relation to the loss of money associated with borrowing phones, a grade 12 learner from Matero Girls' secondary school reported that:

> Borrowing someone the phone is risky because sometimes the person can say that they will recharge the phone after using the airtime, but they don't. Say I borrow Samantha sitting over there, my phone that she wants to make a call and she comes back and hands back the phone with my airtime finished. This is a huge challenge of sharing phones.

In terms of privacy, learners expressed concern around the lack of privacy associated with the use of a borrowed phone. A Grade 11 learner who reported to use a borrowed phone said:

> I can never talk about sensitive things. Usually when I borrow a phone the owner of the phone asks me for the number and inputs it. They then wait for me to finish talking whilst they are listening to the conversation. I always feel policed.

Another participant reflected on privacy, and the creativity afforded by mobile phones. The participant said that,

> Owning the smart phone accords, me privacy, creativity and the phone feels more personalised when it belongs to me. I buy colourful phone covers, personalise my screen saver with pictures, ringtones, and I am in control of my data and airtime.

Scholars have argued that sharing mobile phones is one way of circumventing the related costs of maintaining and using mobile phones (Donner, 2008; Sey, 2011; James and Mila, 2007). This was reflected in the findings from the participants that expressed a desire to have ownership of mobile phones based on the factors such as privacy outlined above.

Studies on ownership of mobile phones amongst teenagers have established a sense of worth attached to ownership of mobile phones. Teenagers that own a mobile phone construct a certain image or identity of 'cool youth' through their ownership (Nardi Rodriguez et al., 2018). My findings tie in with the argument by Nardi-Rodríguez, *et al.* (2018) based on the imagery that my participants reported to have built around their phones.

Findings from the study demonstrate how ownership of mobile phones influences the construction of social networks for participants (Castells, 2007). The network society theory posits that social networks, which Howard (2011: 75) refers to as digital networks, are driven by information which acts as a key ingredient of the social structure of society (Castells, 1996). The challenges established in the ownership of mobile phones threaten the existence of networks built within the information flows. It was found out that inclusion or exclusion within social networks (Castells, 2010) correlates to debates on the ownership of mobile phones. One participant explained that his lack of ownership of a mobile phone limited him in the communication that he engaged in. Another participant from FGD 5 noted that the mobile phone was regarded as a metaphorical key for belonging to a social group. This participant stated that:

> Whenever, I meet someone, I am asked, what is your mobile number? When I tell them that I don't have a phone they ask me if I know someone that has a mobile phone that they can use to contact me. This feels more like; to belong, I must own

a phone. A number of my friends in school have phones and they use the phones to create groups that they communicate with.

Ownership of mobile phones is associated with the ways in which teenagers engage with the mobile phone. For my participants, the daily use of smartphones is strongly predicted by ownership (Mascheroni and Ólafsson, 2016). Participants in the study indicated that ownership is associated with a number of challenges. The challenges include sharing of phones that bring up privacy concerns, inconveniences, lack of creativity, and lack of control and loss of money through someone else using airtime and data without replacing it which was reported by participants as a potential source of conflict.

Costs associated with purchase and upkeep of mobile phones

Owning a mobile phone is financially draining

Grade 10 Pupil Munali Secondary School

Literature focusing on the purchase of mobile phones by younger populations are limited, however studies have argued that the price, usability and quality are important factors that influence consumer buying decisions. In Greece, a study by Economides and Grousopoulou (2009) found that when purchasing a mobile phone, university students consider certain features and characteristics of the phone to be more important than others. In Ghana, Alfred (2013) investigated these factors that Economides and Grousopoulou (2009) note in a study examining the influences of price and quality on consumer purchase of mobile phones in Ghana. Alfred (2013) found that, consumers consider both price and quality of the phone in their buying decision making process.

In South Africa, North, Johnston and Ophoff (2014) explored the use of mobile phones by South African University students and found that usability and price were the major driving forces behind the choice of the phone among university students in South Africa.

In the current study, I interpreted and linked the lack of literature on teenagers' purchasing habits based on the majority of teenagers not having the financial power or revenue to buy the mobile phone. This interpretation is reflective of my study findings where I found that only 9 of the 119 participants (8% of entire population) reported to have purchased a mobile phone using their own income.

In an effort to explore the participants' mobile phone acquisition process, I asked my participants how they had acquired their mobile phones. Very few participants (8% of entire population) as reported earlier purchased the phone themselves. The rest of the participants reported to have acquired the phone as a new or used gadget from their parents, guardians, siblings and friends.

The participants that had purchased the phones reported to have used money that they had earned (through doing part time jobs) or had been gifted. For example, a Grade 12 participant from Matero Boys explained that he had bought a phone worth 450 kwacha from money that he had earned after helping his uncle who was building a house. Another participant a learner from Twin Palm Boys Secondary School said that he had earned the money from saving his transport refunds or money meant for bus fare.

The participants who were given money reported that their parents or guardians gave them money in order to specifically purchase a mobile phone. For example, a Grade 10 learner from Kabulonga Secondary school recounted that his uncle gave him 1000 kwacha to buy a phone for himself: "It was after I had passed my Grade 9 exam that uncle [name withheld] gave me money to buy a phone. He took me to an Airtel shop in Manda Hill and I bought the phone."

The participants that were given phones as gifts reported having received the mobile phones from parents or guardians, siblings, and other family members. For example, a Grade 10 participant from Munali Secondary School explained that "uncle [name withheld] gave me his phone after he bought himself a new one." Another participant from the same school recounted that her boyfriend bought her the phone: "I was given the phone by my boyfriend after he purchased it for me". This gifting of a mobile phone by boyfriends was a similar experience with other members of this focus group of female participants, whilst a focus group with male students also reported that, as boyfriends, they often purchased mobile phones for their girlfriends. These findings tie in with what literature has found out.

For example, Bell's (2006) study on young adults in Asia reported that participant's parents bought their phones for them while, In Hijazi-Omari and Ribak's (2008) study, participants indicated that their boyfriends bought the mobile phone for them.

Using insights from the network society perspective, acquisition of mobile phones reflects the social capital of teenagers (Castells, 1996; Howard, 2011). For instance, the social capital built around the networks of family and friends or relationships reported in my study reflects through the purchase or gifts of mobile phones, for instance, the teenagers that reported having to earn

the money to purchase the mobile phone did so after working for a person who is within their social network like an uncle or a parent that pays them money after a service is rendered. In the same vein, social capital established using the social networks reflects in the teenagers that acquired the phones as a gift from a relation, friend or other people. The teenagers were able to receive the phones because they have a personal relationship with the persons offering them the mobile phones as gifts.

Issues surrounding the purchase of mobile phones amongst teenagers revealed that price is a major factor of consideration. It was established in my study that the process of acquisition of the mobile phone whether acquired after making a purchase or acquired from a third party as a gift [either brand new or second hand] there is a process that my participants reported taking into account.

A participant explained that,

> In order for me to make a decision on what phone to buy, I make sure I consider four things: price of purchasing the phone, the functionalities, the quality of the phone and its battery life.

This participant further explained that:

> I live with my mother who works as a maid in Libala South. The phone that I have was given to me by my mother who was gifted a phone by her Boss. But for me to accept the phone, I considered its resale price (in case I have to re-sale), how strong the phone is and how long the battery power lasts. I live in N'gombe Township where electricity is a problem, so the phone battery lasting is important.

Another participant interrupted by stating that "owning a mobile phone is financially draining". This view appeared to resonate with other participants who agreed that the costs associated with maintaining the mobile phone were high. They expressed concern that it was expensive to purchase a phone, and then to maintain it by the continual need to purchase airtime and data. Another participant explained, "I spend a lot of money kapena two Zali per month [translated as maybe two hundred per month], money which I have to ask for from my parents" whilst another participant stated that "I cannot afford a mobile phone. The only source of income I have is the 20 kwacha per week pocket money my father gives me." These views highlight the costs associated with the purchase and acquisition of mobile phones. Participants reported that

the cost of purchasing the mobile phone was one of the biggest impediments to owning a phone as they did not have the financial capacity to do so.

Consumer decisions on the acquisition of mobile phones are multifaceted. Motivations for acquiring mobile phones are attributed to macro-level factors such as infrastructure, and the deregulation of the telecommunication sectors (Kaba, N'Da and Mbarika, 2006). Equally, micro-levels factors are also important in consumer decisions involved in purchasing mobile phones such as the user characteristics of the mobile phone (Davies 1989; Kaba, N'Da and Mbarika, 2006) as well as price, electricity, model,brand, interface, and properties (Karjaluoto, 2005).

Macro-level factors were not as central for the decision-making process of purchasing mobile phones for my participants. It was rather the micro-level factors that was important for buying mobile phones. My research reveals that even though the ultimate decision to buy or acquire the mobile phone was subjective [putting in mind that the majority of the participants were given the mobile phones as gifts], micro level considerations such as purchase price of the mobile phone and properties or functions embedded in the mobile phone stood out in all the FGDs.

In contrast to university students in Taiwan (Tsai, 2012), my participants were interested in the practical functionality of mobile phones such as their battery life. The discrepancy in the current study compared to Tsai (2012) is that in Lusaka, Zambia, electricity supply is rationed for most parts of the areas in the city. This desire for a long battery life was also a priority for residents of Kiberia, Kenya, due the erratic supply of electricity (Mwithia, 2015).

In a network society "networks work on a binary logic namely: inclusion/exclusion" (Castells, 2002: 2). Social inclusion and exclusion is based upon micro level factors (Philipson *et al.,* 2017). Critiques of the network society like Philipson *et al.*, (2017), argue that its determination of who belongs or does not belong in the network perpetuates inequalities amongst users (Philipson et al., 2017). Inclusion and exclusion in the network society entails that the individual participants must have access to ICT tools such as mobile phones for them to belong (Philipson et al., 2017), failure to which perpetuates the digital divide (Vie, 2008). Inclusion and exclusion from the networks through not having access to the mobile phone excludes the members from belonging to that network (Phillip, 2011).

Using the network society analytical framework, micro level factors reported in the current study as key elements determining whether a teenager acquires a phone or not, have potential

to include or exclude teenagers from communicating. Issues of electricity availability, costs associated with purchasing and upkeep of the phone through buying data and airtime, and the functionalities embedded in the mobile phone, all have potential to influence the exclusion and inclusion in access to mobile phones by teenagers.

Section conclusions

This section has presented findings from the first part of the first key question under objective number three. The question on access to mobile phones by teenagers has revealed unique findings. The findings show that access or acquisition of mobile phones is determined by factors such as electricity, price of purchase of the phone, costs associated with maintenance of the mobile phone, availability of electricity, the brand of the mobile phone and the functionalities embedded in the mobile phone. Scholars that have studied mobile phone acquisition habits by consumers like Kaba, N'Da and Mbarika (2006) and Davies (1989) have reported macro elements such as infrastructure, and the regulation framework as key factors influencing uptake of mobile phones.

Participants in the study reported that macro level factors such as the ICT regulatory framework that gives guidance on how people must use ICTs do not influence the access of mobile phones as much as researchers like Kaba, N'Da and Mbarika (2006) and Davies (1989) argued. This is reflective in the findings where participants for instance, reported to not be affected by Zambia's ICT policies that regulate the use of ICTs in Zambia including mobile phones, which among other things regulates the registration of mobile phone sim cards at the point of purchase. According to the Information Communication Technologies (ICT) law of 2009 and the Statutory Instrument on the Registration of Electronic Communication Apparatus No. 65 of 2011, every user must present their national identification documents, their proof of physical address and their full names at the point of purchase of every sim card. This regulatory measure was reported in the current study to not influence teenagers' ultimate decision whether to buy or not to buy the mobile phone.

The finding above, tie in with what was discovered from scholars studying South African, Malaysian, Finnish and Italian university students' mobile phone purchasing decisions. The scholars found that three micro level factors namely brand, aesthetics values like colour, trend and price were the main considerations when purchasing a mobile phone. (North *et al.,* 2014; Balakrishnan and Raj 2012; Karjaluoto *et al.,* 2005; Petruzzellis 2010). Unlike my study however, Balakrishnan and Raj (2012) found that usability or functionalities was ranked the

lowest factor of consideration when purchasing a mobile phone amongst Malaysian university students. This discrepancy is based on my participants' views based on the need for using the mobile phone for completing tasks such as research for school projects and communication using mobile phone applications (Apps).

Based on the above explanation, the current study reveals that the smart phone is the most common mobile communication device among teenagers. The participants in the current study reported to all have access to a smart phone. It was reported that the smart phone is popular because of its multi-functionalities. These multi-functionalities have afforded the study participants opportunities to engage in what Castells (2007) refers to as mass self-communication. Jenkins (2012) has likened mass self-communication to the concept of convergence of technologies. It was reported in my study that participants engaged in mass self-communication by virtue of them being able to generate content and decide whom to disseminate this content to and directly disseminate the content themselves. Proponents of the network society theory like Castells (2007:247) have argued that:

> The emergency of mass self-communication offers an extraordinary medium for social movements and rebellious individuals to build their autonomy and confront the institutions of society in their own terms and around their own projects. Naturally, social movements are not originated by technology, they use technology. But technology is not simply a tool it is a medium, it is a social construction with its own implications.

The mobile phone in the current study was reported to enable teenagers to engage in communication. This communication that the teenagers engaged in, facilitated in building what the network society theory posits as social networks (Castells, 1996). These social networks where built using what Howard (2011) and Castells (1996) term as digital networks. According to Howard (2011) digital networks are social networks created using ICTs like mobile phones. These digital networks are "the primary conduit for the important stuff of social relationships: social capital and cultural capital" (Howard, 2011: 75).

The next section presents findings on mobile phone use among teenagers. The section elaborates further on the use of the mobile phone to build digital networks (Howard, 2011) that are used for building social and cultural capital (Castells, 1996).

Use of smart phones among teenagers

"They think I am a problem… when I don't use a mobile phone"

Grade 12 Learner, Kabulonga Boys Secondary school

Early scholars like Sen (1985) acknowledged a need to recognise that research focusing on mobile phones need to be based not only on adoption but also on the use of the technology. What is increasingly being established according to James (2016) is that adoption only provides a part of the true benefits of mobile phones as information about the purchase of mobile phones reveals nothing about how they are actually used. This section therefore attempts to present findings collected using FGDs on the use of mobile phones by teenagers' in order to understand the participant's experiences.

Early, literature examining the use of phones conceptualised landline phone users as motivated by two reasons for usage: intrinsic and instrumental use. According to O'Keefe and Sulanowski's (1995) intrinsic reasons for use are characterised as those that drive socialisation, for example chatting, or keeping in contact with family and friends (Keller, 1979; Noble 1987), and motivations for fun and entertainment (Williams, Dordick and Jesuale, 1985). Instrumental motives on the other hand are oriented toward completion of tasks, like using a phone to buying products, using voice calls or text, setting an alarm or making an appointment (Wei and Lo, 2006).

The advent of the smart phones and web2.0 has transformed the way users experience the phone from intrinsic and instrumental uses to user lead processes involving user generated content that is produced using media that converges to accommodate different genres (O'Reilly, 2003; Fuchs, 2008; Jenkins, 2008). Studies focusing on the use of smart phones by teenagers have reported underlying reasons for using the mobile phone like connectivity, communication, production and consumption (Beale, 2005).

The current study has generated similar but unique qualitative findings that have been organised into three thematic uses of mobile phones namely: use for building social networks, use for prosumption of mobile phone content (use for content consumption, and use for content production) and use for communication purposes. These findings are discussed below and are framed within two theories – participatory culture and the network society theory.

Use of mobile phone for building social networks

> "Digital networks are social networks in that they are the primary conduits for the important stuff of social relationships: social capital and cultural capital" (Howard 2011:75).

Using the network society approach, this section attempts to present findings providing evidence of social relationships built by teenagers in their course of using the mobile phone. As Howard (2011: 75) elaborated, digital networks built using the mobile phone are channels for building social and cultural capital. Social capital is described as a concept concerning "whom one knows" in the digital networks and cultural capital is described as "what one knows" through the digital networks (Howard 2011: 75).

Using a network society perspective, this section makes interpretations of the findings based on the FGDs with teenagers and how they build and maintain their social capital or social networks using mobile phones. Research examining the use of mobile phones for building networks suggests variant types of social relationships or social capital developed through the use of the mobile phone namely: business and social networks (Donner, 2006), economic, personal networks, and computer networks (Castells, 1996; 2010). The phone has been described in literature as a pervasive, digital networking device (Howard, 2011: 75) with capability to enable for digital networks which Howard (2011) refers to as social networks that act as primary conduits for the important stuff of social relations such as social capital (Howard (2011).

The current study's findings reveal three forms of social capital built using mobile phones namely:

1) Personal ties consisting friends and family

2) Digital ties consisting digital networks built through digital media like social media and

3) Building business contacts consisting of ties built for economic reasons.

As regards the three types of networks built, the present study reported that teenagers use mobile phones to build and sustain networks.

For example, a participant hinted that he used the phone to build new friendships with people that he meets for the first time. He said that using the phone to access social media has allowed

him to create relationships with people that he has never even met before. This finding resonated in the majority of the FGD sessions. For instance, one participant explained that, "mobile phones have helped me to make new friends. I have never met some of my friends in person but through WhatsApp groups and Facebook I have made friendships."

It was also established in the study that teenagers also used already existing social contacts to build new friendships using the mobile phone. For example, a participant coming from Matero Boys Secondary School noted that he had used the phone to make new friends using already existing connections. He explained that, "my father has introduced me to other people by giving me their phone number so that I can call them. e.g. [for example] I know [name withheld] sitting there because Dad told me he also goes to Matero Boys and I must get to know him so that we can be friends". The view from this participant can be understood as a process of building new relationships using old networks translating into a cycle where teenagers keep in contact with their old connections to build, transform or increase on their networks.

As regards the sustaining or maintenance of old contacts using the phone, most participants admitted to using the mobile phone to keep in touch with people that they already know. A participant from Roma Girls Secondary school said, "I keep in touch with my contacts through sending texts and making phone calls". Similarly, a participant from Twin Palm Secondary school noted that "I always make WhatsApp calls to check on my friends and also to check if my friends have notes to share with me when I miss class"

The findings in the current study also reflect evidence of teenagers sustaining or maintaining the already existing relationships using mobile phones. One participant said:

> The phone is used primarily to contact my friends and family to check up on them. Whether it be calling using my mother's or my friend's phone, I still talk to people to check up on them to find out if they are fine.

As presented above, these findings show that the digital networks built using the mobile phone are used for building three types of connections, networks or social capital. These networks are based on social networks consisting of friends and family, digital networks consisting of friendships forged using social media on the phone and business networks built for economic reasons. The participants as regards business networks said that they build these networks for the exchange of goods and services. For instance, a participant said, "I use the phone to buy books and other things. I also use my phone to sell merchandise like used toys". This participant elaborated further that during the previous month, he had sold his phone using the same phone

to advertise. He indicated that the essence of selling his phone was because he wanted to acquire a new one.

Using a network society perspective, the current study reveals evidence showing that the networks or social capital that teenagers build and sustain are composed of what Wellman and Gulia (1996) argued, which Castells (1996: 388) adopts that:

> As in physical personal networks, most virtual community ties are specialized and diversified, as people build their own "personal portfolios." Internet users [mobile phone users] join networks or on-line groups on the basis of shared interests, and values, and since they have multi-dimensional interests, so are their on-line memberships.

The findings in my study reveal that teenagers visualise their social relations or social capital as lists of contacts in the mobile phones or by priority of who calls the most using their phones. As regards, social media using mobile phones, the teenagers reported to visualise their networks based on who gets in touch the most or who appears on their [participant's timeline] posts more. The current study reveals that teenagers organise their relationships in groups such as class mates, family, friends, and church members and so on and so forth based on shared interests and values. Using insights from the network society theory, the findings in the present study mean that, even though teenagers think about their connections or social capital organised into mutually exclusive groups, the assumption based on the network perspective is that the teenagers think in groups, but they are actually in networks based on social capital developed using shared values and interests.

In a book titled *Bowling Alone,* Robert Putnam (2001) developed a definition of social capital that Castells (1996) also adopts. In Putman's (2001) view, social capital is described as the norms of trust and reciprocity that help overcome collective action problems. Putman (2001) elaborates that social capital resides in one's social networks of family, and friends. An individual may not have social capital, but there is a possibility that there could be social capital in one's networks. A participant in one of the FGDs said that he made friends with his friend, after his father who is a family friend to the parents of the friend gave him the mobile number to get in touch.

My study also reveals that particular knowledge and skills make teenagers more valuable and preferred additions to a network. It was established in the study that, teenagers that had resources and skills were favoured and more likely to be included in a network or a circle of

friends. For instance, a participant reported having to keep in touch with his friends that are regular class attendants so that he has access to home-work when he misses class. This participant explained that he got access to the notes from his friends through the phone. Using a network perspective, this teenager gets benefits from membership to his social network of classmates. He prefers to build new or maintain already existing networks so as to benefit from them.

Finally, Castells has used the concept of social capital in his work on network society theory (1996, 2011) to describe digital networks such as the phone, as a set of tools to build and maintain social networks. As Coogan and Kangas (2001) prescribed, a mobile phone is also a symbol of belongingness to a group. This is consistent with my findings in the current study that reflect that teenagers develop and maintain their social relationships using the mobile phone.

Mobile phone use as part of teenagers' prosumption styles

Literature investigating the concept of prosumption prescribe the rise in prominence of the term, with the emergence of the so-called "Web 2.0" platforms and technologies, which encourage the creation and sharing of user generated content (Bruns 2016). The concept "prosumption" present alternate conceptions of the involvement of end users, or consumers, in the production processes, especially in digital media like the mobile phone (Bruns, 2016). With many teenagers, mobile phones are described as a "lifeline" (Oksman & Rautiainen, 2001) and as established already above, scholars like Coogan and Kangas (2001), Jokinen and Kangas (2000), Nurmela *et al*. (2000) argued that a mobile phone is also a symbol of belongingness to a network or grouping and as a part of one's identity. This identity is expressed in two ways: "personalizing" the device itself (through design, size, the colour of covers, ring tones, screen savers, profile pictures, logos, and security systems) and by the actual use, such as social media, timing, alarm, and placing the phone calls, messages and capturing text from documents printed on paper (King 2016).

The current study established variant prosumption attitudes that teenagers adopt. According to scholars like Wilska (2003) and Kee and Emmanuel (2016), prosumption habits by users of mobile phone content, are influenced by three styles that include; operative use based on functionalities such as touch screen and internet, use based on the trendiness of the mobile phone such as sophisticated capabilities such as editing software and economical use based on costs associated with purchase and maintenance.

The findings revealed that mobile phone prosumption habits influenced by trendiness were not reported to be as important as the other two namely: 1) those influenced by the functions embedded in the phone and 2) the economic values such as the cost of airtime and data purchase and the durability of the phone itself during the course of its use.

My findings revealed that social networking is the most popular activity that teenagers engaged in. The activities associated with producing content to upload on social media and checking the phone to catch up on what others are posting was reported as one of the most important use associated with smart phones. One participant said:

> I use my smart phone to post about things I have interest in like football, music and wrestling. I use the phone to read and sometimes follow up on what people on my friend list are posting about and I also use my phone to reply to posts that are put on social media.

Many of the participants in the FGDs said that they used the mobile phone for social networking activities such as accessing social media sites and using the phone to search for information online for purposes of acquiring general knowledge and pursuing academic exploits.

Further, participants reported having to use the mobile phone for prosumption purposes through playing games like Candy crush, watching movies and listening to music. One participant recounted that:

> The most important use for the phone is the music function. I like it [the mobile phone] because music function allows me to download songs from the internet and listen to them using earphones when am relaxing.

Another participant said, “my smart phone works as a TV screen because I use it to watch movies and videos from YouTube.” This view was followed by a contribution from another participant in the same FGD who said that his phone was used to listen to music and watch videos. He also said that the phone is used to share music with his friends through social media and Bluetooth.

Another activity that came out strongly was the use of the phone for photography. The majority of participants listed taking pictures as a favourite activity. In addition to capturing the pictures the participants reported having to use the phone to edit photos and sending them out to social media platforms and using Bluetooth or downloading them to save them on another device like a memory stick. In relation to this, the pictures captured using the phone were either used as

profile pictures on social media platforms, or as screensavers on their phones, or as images posted on the Facebook timeline or as content shared with friends. With regards to photography, a participant said, "The camera on the phone is my favourite because it allows me to capture and share my pictures." Another participant recounted that, "the pictures I capture, I use for my screen saver and profile picture. I carefully select those pictures I feel attracted to, and then share them with my friends on my WhatsApp status [social media]."

Literature detailing mobile phone research has referred to the phone as a "mobile archive" of photographic memories (Scifo, 2005:365). It is argued that photos extend people's experiences, emotions and a recollection of the captured moment. This finding is reflected in the current study where participants stated that as photos are uploaded, the personal becomes social communication offering a group experience where moments are relived and stored. My participants stated that pictures from the phone camera are a form of communication between their peers, romantic partners and people they do not know.

The current study has found that there are at least two main uses of the phone camera: personal and social uses. Firstly, my participants reported that the phone camera was used to record and store individual or collective memories of events and activities and secondly, to record and store pictures that participants considered to identify with and those that have a sentimental attachment to the participants. My participants reported that one photo can serve both uses and ultimately the pictures were used to be shared on social media platforms like Facebook.

While social networking activities, photography, watching movies, and listening to music were reported as popular prosumption activities, the conventional texting using SMS and placing calls using airtime was reported as activities that the participants engaged in the least. The participants, however reported using social media-based activities like WhatsApp calls and video chatting and Facebook messenger for chats and calls as favourite activities that they engaged in. The participants said that they preferred internet-based calling and texting because of the low cost associated with it.

The findings in my study confirm what literature has predicted that prosumption of social media activities reflect the identity of the users. As prescribed by scholars like Coogan and Kangas (2001), Jokinen and Kangas (2000), Nurmela *et al.* (2000), my participants reported what Wilska (2003) argued that consumption and production [prosumption] is a means of self-expression, individual identity-formation, creativity, and an art. The current study reports two ways that identity is expressed: "personalizing" the mobile phone itself by using the pictures

that my participants captured for use as their screen savers and social media profile pictures, personalising ring tones using the music that they download or receive or send out through Bluetooth and locking their phones with a password. For instance, a participant reported to lock his phone using a password so that no one can be able to have access to his content.

Another method that the participants reported to express their identity was through the actual use of the phone itself. Activities included telling time, social media, alarm, placing phone calls and texts (either through social media platforms or the conventional SMS and calling) and use of the phone camera for photography as stated earlier.

Despite the literature establishing that the phone is a means of self-expression and individual identity-formation, ownership because of the costs associated with use of the phone was expressed in my study as a key factor limiting the participants' individual expressions of their identity. This is despite the majority of the participants reporting to own a mobile phone, they still shared their phones with other people. It was expressed in the FGDs that ownership gave my learner participants control of the content they produced and consumed.

However, sharing the mobile phone limited their freedoms to self-express themselves such as, not freely capturing pictures that their parents would consider inappropriate. They also reported issues such as being limited in downloading music and videos because the space on the mobile phone had to be shared with another person or the person would have to delete the previous pictures to make space for new pictures. The difficulty in identity expression as regards borrowed or shared phones was pronounced amongst the participants that did not own a phone at all and depended on others like parents and siblings to complete tasks that related to mobile phones as established above. These participants reported having to be dictated by the owners of the mobile phone, hence their self-expressions were limited based on the rules set out by the legitimate owner. For instance, a participant said that,

> I use my dad's phone, but whenever I ask for it, he asks me whom I want to talk to, and why I should speak with that person. My mother also checks the phone numbers that I call and what information I send out.

The above view demonstrates that freedom to express oneself using a borrowed or shared phone was limited.

Using the participatory culture theory as an analytical framework, the current study reveals that teenagers are active individuals engaged in what Jenkins (1992) describes as cultural

productions and social interactions in networked communities. Based on the participatory culture perspective, the teenagers in the study can best be described as active participants as opposed to being mere spectators. Jenkins (1992) calls this category of participants "fans" who are active, critically engaged and creative (Jenkins, 1992).

Critiques of the participatory culture theory including Henry Jenkins (2012) himself have advanced notions such as; participatory gap, ethics challenge and the transparency problem as limitations that hinder users of digital media from a full realisation of the technology's potential.

Based on the participatory culture theory, my findings mean that teenagers experience a participatory gap, influenced by their unequal access to opportunities such as sole ownership (devoid of sharing the mobile phone with others) and lack of airtime or bundles to place a call or send a text. Scholars identify this limitation with the digital divide, which translates to the conceptualisation of unexpected difficulties that hinder the full participation of users (Warschauer, 2004). According to Warschauer (2004) content creation, production, language used, literacy, education, physical infrastructure like mobile phones and software infrastructure like Wi-Fi and bundles all can be taken into consideration if meaningful prosumption is to be achieved. Based on this, my study demonstrates that teenagers that don't have access to the prerequisite factors for their prosumption like ownership of the phone, experience a digital divide and are limited in their engagement efforts.

Additionally, informed by the participatory culture theory, my findings mean that in the process of prosumption of content using the phone, teenagers are presented with an ethics challenge. The challenge emanates from an ethical dilemma arising from the debate on how teenagers must decide what they should or should not post or share about themselves or their friends on social media through the mobile phone. This challenge was highlighted in the FGD when teenagers expressed concern regarding their privacy. One participant said:

> I only post about church, school and motivational quotes because I am scared of sending out information of a personal nature, which can be accessed by people that are not intended to get the information.

Whereas, in specialised contexts such as journalism and publishing, ethical norms are watchdogged by expert organisations (Jenkins (2007), online platforms are devoid of an established set of ethical guidelines that must shape activities of users. This came out strongly in my study and participants expressed concern on the safety of the content that they publish.

Finally, as relates to the third limitation called transparency problem, my findings revealed that my participants were influenced exponentially by the commercial and advertising that comes with the mobile media. This was reflected in many of the FGDs conducted where participants resonated their preference of a good or service, based on what they saw on the phone or what latest music is playing. For instance, a participant said, "I dress according to the fashion in town" this resonated with what they had seen on the information shared using the phone. Seiter (2005) expressed concern over this habit by teenagers and argued that "young people find it increasingly problematic to separate commercial content/advertising from non-commercial content in online environments" Seiter (2005: 38).

As a contradiction to Seiter's (2005) argument, the participants in the FGDs were increasingly influenced in their prosumption habits by advertising, yet they were also aware that it was adverting, and they consumed the content based on that fact. This means that participants were fully aware that they were being advertised to but they reported being ok with the element. However, as Seiter (2005) has argued, if teenagers aren't able to recognise advertisements (which my study contradicts), they also won't be able to fully understand how companies use their personal data – nullifying consent. This is a potential risk for the participants in my study.

Mobile phone use as part of teenagers' communication purposes

As established already in the various sections above, many of the participants reported that their mobile phones were purchased by their guardians, parents or others, who, as expected cited reasons for the purchase based on various factors. One participant stated; "My father bought the phone for me and my brother, so he could contact us in case of emergencies and for sending us to run errands".

Similar sentiments were common in the FGDs where teenagers echoed that the mobile phone was used for communication purposes. A participant explained that;

> During school days I have to depend on my parents for transportation, the mobile phone comes in very handy because I use it to tell them when and where in the car park [parking lot] to find me and pick me up. This is particularly helpful for after school activities that are so unpredictable that they can get cancelled on or before the usual time. My parents also allow me to carry it [mobile phone] to trips so that I can communicate in case of any problems that I encounter.

Closely linked to parents' safety concerns, is the notion that many parents and guardians are driven to buy mobile phones to hold on to a permanent communication channel as teenagers grow increasingly exposed to life outside the home setting (Livingstone, 2011). As one teenager said;

> My mother always asks me whom I am visiting, and she always gets the contact number for the person so that she communicates and makes sure that I am safe. She said my phone should also be used to make calls in case I get in trouble. She always makes sure I have airtime for making calls.

The sentiments above point to the role that mobile phones play in the communication process between parents or guardians and the teenagers. In addition to these roles, it was discovered in my study that teenagers also use the mobile phone to contact friends for various reasons. One participant recounted that;

> The main reason I have a phone is to communicate with my friends. When I have no phone on me for even three hours, I feel like there is a part of me that is missing. My friends have also told me that if they don't have their mobile phone or do not talk to me or other people in the group they also get affected. I am very frustrated, stressed and inconvenienced by not having it [mobile phone] to communicate with people. I can also say that not having my phone also affected those around me. My classmates are inconvenienced when I don't answer their calls or messages meant to send information to me. At home, my friends feel inconvenienced when I don't pick their calls when we are planning for parties, for examples last week I was not able to attend a friend's sister's birthday party because he could not get in touch with me or communicate with me.

In general, participants reported that the mobile phone provided them with some level of freedom while making it possible for them to communicate with their friends, family and teachers. As has been discussed already above, the participants in the study reported to have developed emotional ties to their mobile phones. This finding contradicts past research such as a study conducted by Carter *et al,* (2011) who argued that young people reported to not have developed emotional ties to the mobile phone. The study found that young people instead ascribe meanings to the mobile phone as it relates to supporting primary relationships. In a way, this still ties in with my findings as presented in the section under mobile phone use for building networks above.

Past research supports my findings that mobile phones are used for communication purposes. For example, Boniel-Nissim *et al.* (2015) found that Electronic Media Communication (EMC) such as a smart phone have potential to predict ease of communication with friends. Boniel-Nissim *et al.* (2015) argued that the more adolescents use EMC, the easier they find it to talk with friends. Just like my findings in the current study, it was established by Boniel-Nissim *et al.* (2015) that mobile phones re-inforces communication by the participants.

Overall my study, contradicts research that suggests that mobile phones contribute to loneliness, anxiety and isolation (Lee, Tam and Chie, 2014; Wang *et al,* 2018), and supports other studies that present mobile phones as powerful tools for helping to connect people (Lee, 2015; Boniel-Nissim *et al.*2015).

Framed within the network society theory my findings support the notion that personal communication is being replaced by digital technology and that media networks are shaping the prime mode of organisation of social relationships (Van Dijk, 2005). The use of mobile phones for communication amongst my participants revealed that the phone as was a common device for communication purposes. It was established in my study that the majority of the participants had literally grown up with the mobile phone and used the phone as a first level communication device. This finding ties in with Marc Prensky's (2001) conception of the term "Digital Native" which refers to people especially young people who are competent users of technologies such as computers, mobile phones, video gaming devices, and the Internet. These findings from my study participants prove Prensky (2011) right by their capabilities to use the mobile phone for communication purposes.

Section Conclusions

This section has presented findings on teenagers' use of mobile phones in Lusaka. Framed within the network society and participatory culture theories, the current study has presented findings demonstrating that teenagers use the mobile phone for three purposes: building and maintaining already existing networks, for prosumption purposes and for communication purposes.

In terms of the building and maintenance of already existing networks, my study reveals three types of networks created using mobile phones:

1) Personal ties consisting friends and family

2) Digital ties consisting digital networks built through digital media like social media and

3) Building business contacts consisting of ties built for economic reasons. These networks are consisting of friends, family and strangers that teenagers make contact with using the phone.

As regards, use of the phone for prosumption purposes, the study concludes that mobile phone prosumption habits influenced by trendiness were not reported to be as crucial as the other two namely habits namely:

1) Those influenced by the functions embedded in the phone and

2) The economic values such as the cost of airtime and data purchase and the durability of the phone itself during the course of its use.

In line with prosumption, teenagers reported that the cost associated with mobile phone acquisition and maintenance was one of the biggest factors of consideration when it came to the prosumption of mobile phone content. Therefore, the current study reveals that social networking was the most popular activity that teenagers engaged in using the mobile phone. Finally, as regards the use of the phone for communication, my participants reported that the mobile phone provided them with some level of freedom while bringing in potential for teenagers to communicate with their friends, family and teachers.

Teenagers' motivations to acquire and use smart phones

Literature highlighting mobile phone adoption has suggested a number of steps involved in the acquisition and uptake of mobile phones. Studies have argued that while older technologies like radio and television and auto mobiles have been portrayed as family decisions (Mwithia, 2016), there seems to be a difference in the way personal communication technologies like mobile phones are acquired (Bells, 2006). Similarly, while uptake of older communication technologies like radio and telephones were acquired for purposes of fostering democracy through exchange of information such as getting news and information on the latest happenings (Gumede, 2014) and making voice calls to far flung areas (Ling and Haddon, 2011) respectively, literature has shown evidence of reasons advanced for acquisition of mobile phones by users (Mwithia, 2016).

In exploring motivations for users' uptake of mobile phones, I was prompted to ask the question; What motivates you to acquire and use the mobile phone? In this question, I investigated motivation at two levels, which are motivations for access and motivations for use. As established already in this thesis, most of my participants reported being given the mobile phone as a gift and a very small population of teenagers reported having bought the phone themselves. Further, another group reported having no mobile phone of their own but borrowing or using shared phones.

In relation to the participants that reported not owning a phone of their own, it was established that the major deterrent that prevented the participants from acquiring a phone was that technical devices are usually costly in Zambia and teenagers do not buy them on impulse. As established earlier, price was a major deterrent in ownership and use of mobile phones. Literature has suggested that choices of new technologies such as mobile phones usually require a well-defined criterion (Lehtonen, 2003) of acquisition. Scholars have argued that the mobile market is characterised by multiple players, each offering different options of mobile phone hardware and software (Mwithia, 2016). Based on this argument, potential users of mobile phones are constantly faced with tough decisions, between a wide range of options from models, size, service providers, colour of phone, price, the phone interface, the durability and the portability of the phone based on size. As established already, my study revealed that all these factors mentioned have different degrees of influence on the decision-making process. Ultimately, however, the decision to acquire and use a mobile phone are influenced by certain reasons for adoption. The current study found four main motivations for acquisition and use of the mobile phone:

1) An increase and convenient connectivity with friends and family,

2) Greater privacy and literacy,

3) Use for academics and

4) Use for financial transactions.

"Anytime, anyplace" connectivity with friends and family

Scholars like Abeele, De Wolf and Ling (2018) have argued that smartphones are used for interaction with others. According to Deuze (2011), the interactions afforded by smart phones have been embedded into people's lives to an extent where people live "in" rather than "with"

media. This is justified by scholars like Ling (2012) who have argued that mobile phones can no longer be seen as separate from people because they have been incorporated into people's routines because of their ubiquitous nature. Ling (2012) has argued that the ubiquitous nature of mobile phones has encouraged their "anytime, anyplace" conceptualisation.

In trying to contextualise the question I had posed to my participants on their motivations for adopting mobile phones, I asked if "anytime and anywhere" abilities were one of the motivations for uptake, a participant interrupted me and stated that it wasn't a choice anymore to not have a phone. This participant explained that his biggest motivation for acquiring a phone was because of its capabilities to enable him to communicate with his friends and family at any time and any place. Another participant stated that he was motivated to use the phone because he knew that the person he was communicating with understood that they were supposed to move with the phone. He stated that seldom does he or the people he communicated with don't carry along the phone. This participant stated that those people that don't carry their phones were "problematic".

In similar circumstances, a participant in the same FGD said that unlike writing letters, and calling using the landline, the mobile phone was better placed to accord him an opportunity to connect with people at any time and at any place. This participant stated that, "at home we have ZAMTEL [landline] but nobody uses it and if it rings nobody answers it because it stays in one place and people in the house don't stay in one place"

Using the network society perspective of digital technologies gradually replacing personal communication (Castells, 2010), my findings reveal that the "anytime, anyplace" motivation for connectivity reported in my study has potential to impose three levels of motivations for acquisition and use of mobile phones as argued by Abeele, De Wolf and Ling (2018). Abeele, De Wolf and Ling (2018: 5) have defined network, social and personal logic. Network logic refers to mobile communication technologies' capacity to organise activities in a networked fashion, granting people greater autonomy from time and place. For these authors, social logic refers to mobile communication technologies' capacity for perpetual contact, fostering social connectedness with social relationships. Finally, personal logic refers to mobile communication technologies' capacity to serve as extensions of the self, with which people can personalise content, services, place and time.

The current study found that the participants were driven to use mobile phones based on the capacity to organise activities in a networked manner, and their ability to keep contact hence

increasing their feeling of social connectedness and their ability to self-express themselves. All these were enabled by the concept of "anytime, anyplace" connectivity with friends and family that mobile phones afford.

Widely described by cultural anthropologists as a "group-oriented culture" Samovar *et al* (2015) argue that Africa and its people place a high value on relationships and Africans identify ways of cultivating and maintaining those relationship ties. My study established that the mobile phone has allowed the participants in the current to stay connected with those relatives that may be far flung.

Mwithia (2016) agrees with Samovar's *et al* (2015) notion of describing Africa as a "group-oriented culture" and argues that this has led to those living in the cities in Africa to develop ways and means of staying in contact with those they have left behind in the village). This was reflected in my study. For instance, in one of the interviews with teachers, the teacher participant gave a historical perspective by saying that, although she has lived in Lusaka City for many years, she still makes calls to the village to check on her relatives and find out if they need inputs for the next farming season. In contextualising this thought, I asked the teacher how she would keep in touch with people in the village, which she repeatedly referred to as "home". She indicated that before the inception of the mobile phone, she would send a letter by someone on the bus going "home" or she would have to physically go and check on the people and then send them the inputs such as fertiliser and seeds or money by bus at a later stage.

In trying to understand if my learner participants related with what the teacher had stated, I asked them how mobile phones had helped to ease the distance burden in getting tasks compared to using the landline. As expected, my participants did not relate with the distance factor as relates to non-existence of landlines. My study established that most (except for a few) of my participants were born post mobile phone popularity. This is supported by literature that states that the digital natives have grown up with mobile phones and have lived with the mobile phone all their lives (Prensky, 2001).

Greater privacy and convenience

The personal nature of the mobile phone that affords an individual to have direct contact with people was reported as another motivation for acquiring and using mobile phones. The element of affording users the opportunity to create private spaces even when they are in open shared

spaces was also reported as a motivation for teenagers to acquire and use mobile phones. One participant even said that, “I see a lot of people in public smiling to themselves” when using the phone. It was established in my study that people have established all manner of ways to create these spaces. For instance, by sitting in a corner alone in public but smiling to themselves, lowering their voices when speaking on a voice call, hiding themselves where people cannot see the screen when taking a video chat, or even opting to discontinue a call when circumstances prove not conducive enough for a private experience.

My participants reported that the public and impersonal nature of older forms of connecting with people like the landline, sending letters by bus as one teacher participant recounted, compromised privacy and were largely an inconvenience. However, most of my participants reported not to have lived through the landline phase but they reported based on what they had read about the landline. This was an interesting finding because it proved the ubiquitous nature of the mobile phones.

According to Mwithia (2016: 99), the use of old forms of communication presented several challenges as regards to the privacy debate:

1) cost and time consumed as people needed to queue up to wait for their turn to use the landline and especially the pay phone,
2) lack of privacy as one would not be able to move and speak in private like the mobile phone accords,
3) The possibility of inconveniencing and irritating others if one had over stayed on the phone to exhaust the talk time purchased when coins were inserted in the pay phone machine.

Based on the above, the mobile phone has proved to be a better communication method in terms of privacy and enabling a conducive environment.

Literacy and use for school

Scholars like Hahn and Kibora (2008), Brady, Dyson and Asela (2008) have argued that the oral nature of the mobile phone has made it attractive to cultures that are described as oral. Brady, Dyson and Asela (2008) further argue that the oral and graphical characteristics of mobile technology and multimedia, in particular, speak to strengths in indigenous oral and graphical culture. As established above, the challenges of using earlier modalities of communication like postage were compounded by low literacy levels whereby someone was

supposed to write a letter and if they were illiterate then they needed to ask the post office staff to write the letter further compromising the privacy question. There was also a possibility that one could write a wrong address on the envelope and leading to non-delivery of the letter.

Further, this method presented challenges because one had to wait for the letter to be delivered before they could receive the message. The smart phone has changed all this and provided an easy and friendly method of communication minus having to visit the post office or tasking someone else to deliver the message. The participants in my study reported use of the oral nature of the mobile phone to embed it in their academic activities. One participant said, "I use the mobile phone for accessing video lessons from the Internet…the phone is a complement to my class notes as I use it to access lessons. I made sure I bought the phone so that I could use it to help in getting oral lessons".

Use of mobile phones for enabling financial transactions

The motivation for an easier and more efficient method of sending and receiving money and paying for bills motivated the participants or their parents to acquire a mobile phone. One participant from Twin Palm Secondary School stated that,

> My phone is a mini bank. I use it for banking using Airtel money. When I want the money, I withdraw it from the katemba (small shop) and if I have a lot of money, I bank it at the katemba (small shop) and I can then see it in my Airtel money account.

Another participant from the same FGD stated that he used his phone to access money for his school fees, which the parents send through the FNB e-wallet facility. This participant stated that he then goes to the ATM machine where he withdraws the money using a PIN Code that is sent to his phone. Another participant from Munali Secondary School stated that the phone was used for paying utility bills like electricity, water and television subscriptions.

Scholars like Hughes and Lonie (2007) have chronicled the emergence of mobile money in Africa tracing it back to the year 2007 in Kenya when Safaricom debuted a mobile money service called M-PESA, an innovative service for people that the scholars considered unbanked. According to Hughes and Lonie (2007: 63), M-PESA works as follows:

> An M-PESA customer can use his or her mobile phone to move money quickly, securely, and across great distances, directly to another mobile phone user. The

> customer does not need to have a bank account but registers with Safaricom for an M-PESA account. Customers turn cash into e-money at Safaricom dealers, and then follow simple instructions on their phones to make payments through their M-PESA accounts; the system provides money transfers as banks do in the developed world. The account is very secure, PIN-protected, and supported with a 24/7 service provided by Safaricom and Vodafone Group.

Similar to the characteristics of M-PESA, participants reported that they used the mobile phone to receive and send out money without any need for a bank account. Literature detailing mobile phone use for financial transactions has stated risks associated with human-to-human exchange of money (Ignacio and Olga, 2009). According to Ignacio and Olga (2009: 77), "the majority of low-income in Africa use informal methods to send money home. Some give money to friends and family members traveling back to the rural area". My study found similar findings, but the participants expressed fear that though the method of sending money through a person or by the bus was the cheapest, it was the riskiest method as some money would be lost or the person would not show up with the money. Mobile money therefore, has proved to be an essential service for mobile money transactions amongst my participants.

Conclusions

The findings on access and use of mobile phones in the current study are tied to two aspects. These aspects are, gender and socio-economic class. As a conclusion to the section, these two are discussed in detail below.

Gender differences in mobile phone access and use

The findings in this study present evidence showing that gender has an influence when using mobile phones. The participants reviewed how being female or male influenced how they accessed and used mobile communication. Even though it was largely established that males were avid users of mobile phones, it was also found that females and males used mobile phones differently. This therefore, means that males and females experienced participatory culture using mobile phones differently. The factors influencing this conclusion are as follows; the networks (cultural norms), ownership, activities engaged in, and relationships.

In addition to these factors, several issues came out in the FGDs as relates to the dimensions of gender vis-à-vis the mobile phone. A critical look at the data set revealed that gender is a

key consideration when discussing the uptake of mobile communication. Arguably, this study concludes that the gendered uptake of the mobile phones can set girl's situation into visible relief. This notion is better explained by Jagun, *et al.* (2008) who extrapolates that mobile phone places women in a broader flow of events and gives them the ability to enlarge their sphere of interaction. This study found that girls used the mobile phone to get information about menstrual hygiene, safer sex, motivational talks and religious information. For example, a learner from Roma Girls 'secondary school stated that "I use the phone to google on issues that affect me as a woman like menstruation"

The study also found that the mobile phone gives girls some advantages in terms of understanding mathematics. Take for instance the Grade 12 learner from Roma Girls Secondary who stated that, "I am happy that the phone helps me to understand maths better. From using the phones calculator to using google to understand mathematical calculations, I find the phone very useful to my school work". The quote from the learner presents evidence to suggest that learners used mobile phones to teach themselves school subjects in addition to what they were offered at school.

Framed within both the participatory culture theory (Jenkins, 2006) and the Network Society theory (Castells, 1996), the study found that there was an underlying assumption from the data. It was revealed that on one hand, while males' appropriate mobile phones to be centred on entertainment such as gaming and social media, females on the other hand appropriate mobile phones for communication and also academic and social reasons such as studying issues affecting the females like menstrual and maternal health.

The differences in use of the mobile phone device was explored and it was found that differences emerged in terms of how they used the phone for photography purposes. It emerged that females were more likely than males to edit their pictures and beautify themselves to look attractive to males while males were adamant of the need to edit pictures. The capturing of selfies was also explored, and the study found that females were more inclined to taking a selfie and post it on social media than males. In this context, selfies are being discussed in line with their capabilities of according an abundance of capturing ordinary images which when framed within the participatory media culture approach, it makes sense to conclude that photography and selfies have become a significant influence in teenagers' collective social practices. In line with a gendered approach, Aguayo and Calvert (2013) find a similar conclusion in their work dubbed "(Re) capturing Womanhood through photography". They found that women more

likely than men to use the lens to document the spaces of their lives for self-expression and celebration of their womanhood.

The role of socio-economic class in mobile phone use and access

Class was one of the factors that stood out as important aspects affecting teenagers' participatory culture in Lusaka. Issues related to the cost of purchasing the mobile handset and the type of handset purchased all had a dependence on the resources available, data and airtime. This study concludes that socio-economic class that the teenagers found themselves in had a huge bearing on the quality of participation they engaged in through mobile phones.

Mobile phones uptake in Zambia is associated with its ease in enabling access by facilitating connectivity. This is perhaps one of the main reasons that teenagers in Zambia have adopted mobile communication. Meanwhile, access to connectivity and other associated benefits is closely associated with the socio-economic status of the person accessing the phones.

Evidence from the findings showed that at the same time that connectivity is something that teenagers have embraced and fused into their everyday lives, it was established that ownership and use of mobile phones came with associated costs. Take for instance the sentiments by a Grade 10 learner from Munali Secondary School who says,

> Having a mobile phone, especially a smart phone comes with so much financial implications. From buying the handset, to buying the cell phone pouch (protective cover), to buying airtime, to paying electricity for charging the phone, to buying data for browsing and updating software. A phone is an expensive investment.

Comparing the economics of mobile phone adoption with other media like the television (TV) for instance, the study has argued that mobile phones have more associated running costs as opposed to the TV. Whereas with the TV, one would need to pay for cable subscription per month, the phone on the other hand involves buying data and airtime sometimes every day, weekly and monthly. While, this may seem doable for an adult population, teenagers in an African country like Zambia have a different story. As presented in the findings section, the majority of the teenagers relied on their guardians to be able to own a phone, more so a data package.

As established and presented in the findings section above, functionalities differ between mobile phones and other personal media. Characteristics like mobile phones having to afford audio, visual and text, which then culminates into interactivity (Sey 2011) make the mobile phone an attractive option for teenagers. Interactivity and other functionalities of the mobile phone like mobility arguably make for the high adoption and a preferred choice for communication. Despite establishing that there is a high uptake of mobile phones amongst the teenager sample population, the study also found that infrastructural challenges in Zambia such as lack of dedicated industries for manufacturing mobile handsets and a relatively new mobile internet investment atmosphere (Willems, 2014) makes for the associated high cost of mobile communication.

Meanwhile, regardless of the associated costs attached to purchase of airtime, the study concludes that affording mobile internet has made teenagers to rely on application-based communication such as WhatsApp, Facebook and Viber to make phone calls. This then means that mobile internet coupled with internet applications has brought in a shift from making "regular" calls to making what this study calls "application backed" calls. These have significantly reduced the associated costs of communication. A case in point is the views from a Grade 10 Learner from Roma Girls Secondary School who said, "My mother is a nurse in the UK and we communicate on WhatsApp. It is very cheap because I just send her a message and call her for as little as K20 per month"

It is important to acknowledge the important role played by mobile internet to teenagers' socio-economic debate. Meanwhile, the current study also recognises the important role played by mobile communication in the connectedness of teenagers and concludes that while socio-economic class has an influence on teenagers' participatory culture, mobile communication has a greater influence on how teenagers experience a networked participatory culture.

Section Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that the adoption and use of smart phones by participants in the study is influenced by the ubiquitous nature of the mobile phones. The current study demonstrated that the multi-functionalities inherent in the mobile phone, especially the smart phone have contributed to the experiences of everyday life of teenagers.

Using both the network society and the participatory culture theories, the chapter revealed that ownership of a mobile phone was an important consideration and influenced the identity and self-representation in-school youths. Ownership in the study was discussed in the context of

costs associated with the purchase of the mobile phone. The participants recounted the costs associated with owning a mobile phone and it was established that those participants that couldn't afford a smart phone were more inclined to using a borrowed phone that limited them in their access and use of phones. Meanwhile, the study has demonstrated that there were four motivations for access and use of mobile phones. These are, "anytime, anywhere" connectivity, the enabling of privacy and convenience, the use of the phone for improving literacy and academic performance and the use of the phone for financial transactions.

Finally, two aspects – gender and socio- economic class influenced the findings. In terms of gender, it was established that females used the phone differently from males. For instance, when it comes to using the phone camera, females were more likely to capture pictures and edit them extensively while males were more likely to capture pictures that were not to be edited. In terms of socio-economic class, the study revealed that most teenagers relied on their parents and guardians to facilitate ownership of mobile phones and pay bills for associated costs that come with owning a mobile phone.

CHAPTER SIX
TEENAGERS ENGAGEMENT AND EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN LUSAKA

Introduction

Despite being categorised as a developing country, Zambia is one of the leading countries in sub-Sahara Africa in terms of social media access and use. In fact, Zambia is one of the first few countries that had an earth (satellite) station by the 1970s, supplied and installed by Nippon Electric Co. (NEC) of Japan in 1974 (Konde, 2004). According to ZICTA, 63 percent of people using the Internet in Zambia spend their time online on social networking sites (ZICTA, 2016).

Concurrently, however, it has been claimed that issues regarding costs and access are still central to the users' experiences of social media in Africa (Wyche et al., 2013). Thus, to gain an in-depth understanding of the use of social media among teenagers in Lusaka, Zambia, it is necessary to discuss issues related to access to the different social media platforms.

This chapter presents findings, interpretations and discussions around two research questions–

1) What social networking activities do teenagers engage in Lusaka.

2) How do teenagers' access and use of social media in Lusaka.

In answering the two research questions I explore the following sub-themes that emerged form thematic data analysis:

1) Teenagers' understanding of social media;

2) Social media platforms that teenagers often use and the ways in which they access them,

3) Devices used to access the different social media platforms,

4) Topics that teenagers often discuss and

5) Teenagers' motivations for access and use of social media.

The question on gender and economic class is also investigated and is embedded in all the themes mentioned. The aspects of gender and economic class are investigated in an effort to give context to the phenomena of social media and teenagers.

The present study is informed by both the network society and the participatory culture theories. Unless otherwise stated, the findings presented in the chapter come solely from the qualitative data gathered from twelve FGDs.

How teenagers understand social media in Lusaka

In an effort to investigate the participants' understanding of social media, I asked the question; what do you understand by social media? One participant said, "according to my understanding, social media is a platform where we socialise and interact with others through the Internet…" In the same FGD session, another participant stated that social media is a "means of communication with other people using the phone, laptop, and a tablet aided by an internet connection". This contribution was followed by a low-pitched voice from the same FGD session saying "yes, it is true we need the Internet to use social media.

In another FGD session, a participant said, "social media is a way of communicating using internet, and it's a way of interacting with others." Another participant stated that he understood social media as "websites that allow for building profiles so that one can get information and interact with others". The participants further stated that the different social media platforms allow for one to build a profile and add people as friends.

A general impression from the findings in the FGDs was that participants had an idea of what social media entailed with most of the participants identifying social media with the act of interaction, communication and using the Internet. A few of the participants also stated that social media was identified with the act of building profiles. In line with this viewpoint, most participants identified social media with the act of making and/or sustaining/maintaining friendships.

The current findings on teenagers' understanding of social media reflect what Pfeiffer *et al*, (2014: 178) have argued that social media is built on three pillars: "profiles", "friends" and "comments", which are used by users for interactions. According to Boyd (2014), teenagers turn to a plethora of popular social networking services to socialise, gossip, share information, and hang out. Teenagers in my study understand that social media enhanced the building of what Boyd (2014) refers to as a networked public, one comprising interactions that are often public by default and private through efforts such as activating certain privacy settings. For example, a participant in the FGD stated that;

> Social media is awesome. It has allowed me to have fans. When you post something, it automatically goes to many people. It is awesome for people to know your name and people asking after you… because who doesn't like to be famous.

Theoretically, social media is a phenomenon affording for a participatory culture (Jenkins, 2012). As already established in Chapter Three, participatory culture enhances four types of issues, namely; affiliations, expressions, collaborative problem solving and circulations. These forms of participatory culture help in understanding the findings in the current study.

While participatory culture theory helps in understanding the way social media enhances participation, the network society inform the study on how the teenagers experience what Boyd (2014) has referred to as networked publics. The two analytical perspectives help in elaborating how teenagers' access and use social media and identifying the social networking activities they engage in.

Social media platforms commonly used by teenagers

When the participants in the study were asked about the social media platforms they used, different platforms were mentioned. Although the platforms mostly varied according to the individual user, there were district discrepancies in the platforms used between males and females. Furthermore, depending on the individual user, there was no recorded discrepancy in preference of the platform accessed and used based on economic class or location of the school.

When asked about which social media platforms the participants in FGDs were using, Facebook was often the first platform mentioned or listed by all of the participants regardless of gender or economic class. Most participants perceived Facebook to be the most popular social media platform in Lusaka. A participant listed the platforms in the order of most used to least accessed as follows: "Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, and WhatsApp" while another participant stated that the order of preference was "Facebook, WhatsApp and Imo." When asked how Facebook was popular, a participant stated that, "every young person like us has Facebook, WhatsApp and Instagram. However, Facebook is everywhere".

As can be seen above, Facebook was identified as the most popular social media platform among the participants. To reflect this, most of the examples pertaining to the participants' social media usage particularly, were examples tied to Facebook. An interesting discovery from my study was that participants, predominantly seemed to use social media and Facebook as parallel concepts, or one or the same thing, often replacing the former with the latter. Another

platform that was identified, although not used by all the participants was WhatsApp, making it the second most popular platform among the participants in the FGDs.

There was however, a debate in one of the FGDs that WhatsApp should not be considered a social media platform. A participant said, "I don't think WhatsApp is a social media [platform]…" This view prompted me to seek further clarity from the other participants in the same FGD and other subsequent sessions as to what they thought WhatsApp was. A participant from another FGD session averred that, "I think it is not a social media platform because it doesn't allow your friends to have access to your timeline…"

Literature investigating WhatsApp as a social media platform such as Quan-Haase and Young (2010) have referred to WhatsApp as an instant messaging app that allows for socialisation. Further, scholars like Karapanos, Teixeira and Gouveia (2016) have referred to WhatsApp as social media. In the present study, therefore and based on already existing literature, WhatsApp is defined as an instant messaging social media platform.

In an effort to broaden my understanding of teenagers' social media experiences, I repeated the question, how many social media platforms do you use? There were giggles in one of the FGD session when a female participant stated that she has seven active social media accounts namely; "Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Snapchat, WeChat, Imo, and Instagram." Female participants who were surprised that a female could have seven social media accounts caused the giggles in the FGDs. In terms of numbers, most of the male participants had on average four social media accounts while females had an average of one account. In terms of gender, the boys had opened more accounts compared to the girls. My findings revealed that girls were conscious and limited in their exploits of social media. This is the reason why there were giggles when a female disclosed that they had seven active social media accounts. One female participant said;

> I spend most of my time at school and home doing either school work or house chores like cleaning, cooking and taking care of the children [siblings]. I am very, very busy that I can't manage to have time to be on all the social media accounts [platforms].

In relation to how the male participants' constructed gender and the number of accounts constructed, a male participant said;

> My parents do not allow my sister to be on the internet but for me I am free to use the internet. Then also my sister has a phone that doesn't have internet but mine has internet. Boys generally at home are free to go anywhere and are free to also use internet [social media].

Based on the findings presented above, it was established that girls where limited in their social media exploits as compared to boys. The findings reflected what Pfeiffer *et al*. (2014) found that fewer girls than boys use the internet. Pfeiffer *et al.* (2014) reported that reasons behind the trend where more boys than girls used the Internet, was the fear by girls to disclose their information on the Internet to guardians and teachers because internet use by teenage girls is less accepted than by boys in African societies. In addition to the study participants reporting that their parents did not give them much freedom to engage on social media, it was also reported that the majority of the girls were scared of using social media or the internet because of the negative influences, for example meeting "strangers" online. One female participant even stated that, "my mother tells me that just the same way I am not allowed to speak to strangers in person, I am not allowed to speak to strangers on social media"

My study findings support literature that contest that girls' social media activities were generally more restricted culturally than boys. Scholars have reported this as a common cultural viewpoint in most African societies (Pfeiffer *et al.,* 2014).After establishing that boys were more pervasive social media users than girls in the current study, I then embarked on understanding the socio-economic status and its influence on the choice of platforms teenagers accessed. As presented already, Facebook was the most popular social media platform. On average all the participants had opened a Facebook account before in their life or had one.

Notable, this finding ties in with several other scholars that have stated that Facebook is the most popular social media platform accessed by teenagers. Scholars like Stevens et al. (2017) and Anderson and Jiang (2018) have presented findings similar to mine. However, when it comes to social economic class the current study contradicts existing literature such as Anderson and Jiang (2018) and Jäntti (2015) that argued that economic class had an influence on the platforms accessed. Anderson and Jiang's (2018) concluded that Facebook use was synonymous with teenagers from a lower income bracket in the USA. Similarly, Jäntti (2015) in a study of teenagers in Habari, Kenya, found that the platforms accessed were synonymous with the economic class. Jäntti (2015) reported that Facebook was popular among a lower income bracket while Twitter was associated with a sample from a higher income stratum.

On the contrary, and in contrast with existing literature, my findings did not find a link between socio-economic status and the social media platform used. All the participants indicated that they used Facebook and WhatsApp and for the rest of the platforms, the findings revealed a mix in preference. Based on the existing literature reviewed, this was an unexpected finding.

Smart phones, the number one choice for access and use of social media

When asked about the devices the participants used the most to access social media platforms, the teenagers in the FGDs mentioned the smart phone, desktop computers, tablets and laptops. As stated in the previous chapter, all of the participants in the FGDs said that the smart phone was their preferred device to access social media. Furthermore, all the participants mentioned that they had used a smart phone before though not all of them owned the device. As already elaborated in Chapter Five, scholars such as Ling (2017) also presented similar arguments to support the notion that smart phones are the most preferred device to access social media. Further, other research (see e.g. Janse van Rensburg, 2012; Unterfrauner and Marschalek, 2009) have also proposed that using the Internet through mobile phones has become extremely popular particularly among younger users. In fact, Janse van Rensburg (2012) presents a case study of Kenyan, South African and Zambian young users that revealed that the use of smart phones for social media access is popular among the younger users.

Based on the number of mobile data subscriptions in Zambia availed by ZICTA (2015), it is evident that accessing online platforms through mobile phones has become increasingly popular in the country in general, with 71 percent of the total number of households with access to internet services, accessing mobile broadband services using a mobile phone. When asked about the motivations for using smart phones compared to laptops, tablets and computers, most participants in the FGDs pointed out that mobile phones were cheap, portable, and easy to use.

As alluded to in Chapter Five, the findings in the current study are in line with research advanced by other scholars like Foster and Alozie, Akpan-Obong, (2011); Unterfrauner and Marschalek, (2009). The findings are also in line with research conclusions presented by Foster and Alozie, Akpan-Obong (2011). In this vein, the scholars in the study found that mobile phones offered an inexpensive but still functional alternative to computers. In relation to this observation, a participant in fact stated that, “smart phones these days perform basic computer functions. A phone is a computer that fits in my hands [palms]…”

Despite my research findings establishing that mobile phones were a popular device for accessing social media, it was also discovered that not everyone in the study owned one. Moreover, if they owned one, they were bound to share with other people. This contradicts literature that states that a mobile phone is a symbol of identity (Coogan and Kangas 2001; Jokinen and Kangas, 2000; Nurmela et al., 2000), as participants in the study noted that they were bound to exchange the mobile phone and hence it is difficult to personalise the device. Scholars highlighting teenagers' social media use as regards identity such as Herring and Kapidzic (2015) have linked gender and self-presentation on social media to understand teenagers' experiences.

The next section explores the current study's participants and their social networking activities. The discussion on teenagers' social networking activities is framed within the conceptualisation of self-presentation and gender.

Teenagers' social networking activities, gender and self-presentation

Social media for users in general is used to find information, buy and sell products, watch television shows, seek mates, search for entertainment, and participate in political spheres (Gil de Zúñiga, Puig and Rojas, 2009; Correa, Hinsley and De Zuniga 2010). Literature also suggests that social media is used to connect with others. Jones and Fox (2009) have argued that almost all social media users indicate that one of their primary purposes for going online is for communication. Social media is now part of teenager's everyday lives, and how teenagers portray themselves guides how they use it (Hunsinger and Senft, 2014). In fact, at some point, people went online seeking the gratification from the anonymity that social media offered (McKenna and Bargh, 2000). The current study has shown that people use social media to socialise with others that they have a personal relationship with already and/or to broaden their circle of friends with people that they don't know (the motivations for using social media are explored in detail later in this chapter).

According to literature, two of the primary tools that permit the connections discussed above are social media and instant messaging Apps such as WhatsApp and messenger (Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe, 2007; Jones, 2009; Lenhart, 2009; Raacke and Bonds-Raacke, 2008; Valenzuela, Park and Kee, 2009).

In the case of Zambia, as stated previously, teenagers are pervasive users of social media and this raises the question of what type of activities do these teenagers engage in during their usage of social media tools?

In answering the above question, a participant said that they mainly used social media to post status updates and upload content. This participant explained that,

> I post from the time I am getting dressed, doing my makeup, the conversations I am engaging in with people around me, my journey walking to the place I am going… I do it for fun, I do it for me, and I make me [myself] happy.

Another participant stated that they used social media to check their profile pages for comments and likes and get updated with the happenings around them. This participant actually mentioned the activities he engaged in online. He said,

> When I wake up, I grab my phone as fast as I can and check my Facebook. When I see notifications and comments and likes from people I feel so… so… so happy and nice, I feel like people are interested in me, people liking just a simple photo always makes me feel so excited. It makes me feel motivated to use social media more. I tell myself I have to take a shower, and look handsome and take more photos to show people who I am.

The participants also mentioned activities such as browsing their profiles and photos, and those of other people on Facebook as an activity that they engage in. A participant in this vein said,

> Facebook makes me see all these pretty women living glamorous lives. I go through pictures to admire women and sometimes I check my own account for likes and comments.

Another participant from the same FGD stated that her favourite activity on social media was reading comments from other people, reacting to the photos she uploads and the status updates that she puts on her timeline. This participant said,

> On Facebook, people can comment on the pictures saying I look pretty. I like it when people like and comment on my pictures it makes me feel really good.

Another activity that came out strong in the FGDs in the current study was that of logging onto someone else's social media account to check it out. Participants indicated that this activity is used to stalk peers, to update themselves on what others are up to, to stay in touch and also as

a surveillance mechanism. One participant mentioned that, “I check on other people’s accounts by going on their timeline just to check what they are up to. I do this a lot actually”.

The current study revealed seven major social media activities that the participants engage in. These include,

1) Checking theirs and other people’s social media pages;

2) Posting status updates to their social media account;

3) Browsing profiles and photos on social media;

4) Reading postings on social media;

5) Commenting on postings, status updates, photos;

6) Liking pages, photos or comments, and;

7) Logging onto someone else’s social media account to check it out.

The data from the FGDs revealed that teenagers engaged in broadly three categories of activities. These are, content production and consumption (prosumption) and content sharing. In the process of prosumption and content sharing, a trend emerged from the FGDs revealing that teenagers engaged in a mix of activities simultaneously. For example, a participant stated that, “I listen to music, upload photos, watch videos and I talk on WhatsApp all at the same time.”

Literature detailing young people’s social media activities have linked social media activities with identity and self-representation. For example, Lenhart *et al.* (2010) have argued that social media tools, such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube make it easier for people to express their thoughts, share their experiences, and present their views. This is similar to what I established in my study where participants reported posting on their timeline photos, bible memory verses, quotes, and general writings such as commenting on latest happenings.

Furthermore, it was revealed that during the act of posting, participants could publish the same message on three different social media platforms. Take for instance, a participant from Kabulonga Boys stated that he had three social media accounts namely, Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter. This participant when queried on how he maintained his accounts said, “I post simultaneously”, meaning that if this participant posts something on his Facebook page, the same message will be posted on WhatsApp and Twitter. In this scenario, Boyd (2016) explains

that the implications of having more than one account is related to what is referred to as "an overlap in identity", which she argued has more to do with context, audience and identity (the way one represents themselves) as teenagers flip from one social media account to another.

Equally important, as relates to identity and self-representation on social media, Herring and Kapidzic (2015: 147) suggest that self-presentation online takes place primarily through social media's affordance of allowing users to create a profile and visually display connections to their social networks. This in turn allows teenagers to upload and share personal information, pictures, links, music, and other multimedia with their friends' or followers' networks. This, Herring and Kapidzic (2015: 147) have argued contributes to identity construction amongst teenagers through self-representation online.

In terms of gender, my study revealed that girls and boys use social media the same way in terms of the activities they engage in. The activities include checking theirs and other people's social media pages, posting status updates to their social media accounts, browsing profiles and photos and so on. However, the difference manifests through the time factor (amount of time spent on social media). As stated earlier in this chapter, girls in the current study reported to engage in variant activities such as baby-sitting siblings, cooking, washing and cleaning, while boys reported to engage in playing football, and video games during their free time. As such, it was reported that girls spent less time on social media engaged in the above-mentioned activities as compared to boys. Overall, regardless of gender, the current study revealed that teenagers in their pursuits to express themselves engage in varying social media activities.

Theoretically, using the participatory culture's analytical framework based on two fundamental principles of civic engagement, and a strong support for creating and sharing one's creations, my study was informed through understanding how it is possible for participants to engage in the activities on social media. The value of community openness embedded in social media informed the study on so many fronts.

Several studies have been conducted that reveal similar application of the participatory culture framework. For example, Burgess and Green (2018) used the logics of community openness and authenticity to investigate how YouTube enabled participatory culture. Burgess and colleagues (2018), found that the actions and interests of the content creators through consumption and engagement practices were built on YouTube's open and free participation permitted by the aesthetics of the platform.

Similarly, Ito *et al*. (2010) have argued that for participatory cultures to be fully realised, the content creators must have an interest and motivation for getting involved and for using that particular platform. In my study, the motivations of my participants' manifests in the reasons they advanced for engaging in the various social media activities. For example, one participant from Munali Secondary school said, "I engage on Facebook to check out what others are doing." This response from the participant indicates that they engaged in participatory culture through satisfying their interests and motivations as proposed by literature such as views expressed by Ito *et al*. (2010).

The current study presents evidence of a participatory culture amongst teenagers but unlike the highlighted literature above, my study argues that gender is an important consideration despite the social media platforms being open for participants. It has been established in the current study that gender orientation limits females in their participation as they have to fulfil other household commitments like washing and cooking before engaging on social media. This finding is closely related to what Van Deursen and Van Dijk (2014) established that, in order for participation to occur, some salient factors such as education, age and gender need to be in place. In my case, education and age were not important factors as all the participants represented a broad category of teenagers attending government secondary schools hence in terms of education there was not much difference amongst participants. and in terms of age, the participants represented a homogenous age group of 15 to 18year olds.

The activities that participants engaged in online were closely related to the topics that they were interested in. According to Metcalf *et al.* (2008) when using ICTs, the topics and circumstances young people are engaged in affect the activities that teenagers found important. For instance, a teenager that is in the examination class will most likely be drawn into engaging on topics around education and hence the activities engaged in will be ones that enriches his exam preparedness. In line with this debate, the next section, explores the variant topics that participants reported to have engaged in.

Topics teenagers discuss, gender, socio-economic status and surveillance

One of the core determinant of social media related activities is the type of topics discussed (Metcalf, *et al.,* 2008). Since social is predominantly driven by user- generated content (Jenkins, 2012; Castells, 2010), it can be stated that the discussions on social media are mainly initiated by the users themselves, to reflect on the topics that are relevant to them (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013).

The current study classified the question on the topics discussed on social media into two categories of participants namely, gender and socio-economic class. In this section, I endeavour to present the different topics that were identified and discussed by both groups. Then, three dominant topics; academics, politics and community related matters, are examined more in detail based on gender and socio-economic class. Further, participants mentioned topics that were considered as "taboo" and these are also be discussed in detail. The topic of surveillance is also presented and discussed in the chapter.

Topics discussed by both groups

There were no major differences between the two categories of sampled participants (females and males; and between those participants from schools in low income neighbourhoods and schools from high income neighbourhoods) regarding the topics that participants discussed on social media. The only difference came in as regards the duration of use as will be discussed later in the chapter. Teenagers from the FGDs in the two categories of participants discussed academics, religion, news and trending topics. Mostly, these topics seemed to be issues that were relevant and of interest to the teenagers in general, regardless of the individual's gender and socio-economic background.

Topics to do with academia focused on issues such as; when classes were scheduled, which home work was due, and issues such as when exams were starting or ending. For example, when asked about the topic they engaged in on social media, one participant said,

> School stuff … is usually common. I like to ask my friends when we are closing and opening and sometimes, I find out about homework and … also ask for class notes.

Topics on religion included issues to do with Christianity. Even though the current study did not seek to investigate religion, it was observed that almost all the participants mentioned "Christianity," "bible" and "the church" in their discussions. For example, a participant from Roma Girls Secondary School said:

> I belong to a group called Youth Arise, where we read the bible, share doctrine, and encourage each other about the Christian life and we organise these meetings through our Facebook group.

Issues to do with news included, football (which teams played or were playing), and issues of news about their schools or communities. For example, when asked what she meant by news, a participant from Roma Girls Secondary School said, "News is anything unusual happening". Another participant from Munali Secondary School said that he used s social media to update himself on the latest happenings at school, and what the celebrities were planning.

Events on trending topics comprised scandals, news such as accidents, calamities, and celebrity gossip. A participant from Munali Secondary School said the following as regards trending topics,

> When Zambia won the soccer under 20 Africa Cup, I remember social media was the place where we would analyse the matches. I was very active on Facebook during that tournament and I used to give my predictions and match highlights.

Participants indicated that they discussed issues related to their personal lives and relationships such as who is dating who, who is friends with who and the various hardships they were facing in their personal lives. However, this observation was not common among all the participants. Some participants such as a teenager from Twin Palm Secondary School stated that he posted motivational talks, quotes, pictures and videos by TD Jakes (an American televangelist). He elaborated that he was doing so because he did not feel comfortable to share his personal information given that he did not know who would have access to the content and for what purposes. He added, "I only post spiritual and motivational content on my Facebook and WhatsApp."

In addition to teenagers saying that they discussed personal relationships on social media, some participants noted that they also discussed societal issues, such as street vending and street kids. One participant from Munali Secondary School said, that he was following the gutting of Soweto market allegedly by political "cadres" (political party sympathisers) through Facebook although he himself rarely commented. In general, participants mentioned that discussions were more often than not, held on Facebook and WhatsApp. This confirms the earlier view articulated in this study that Facebook was the most popular platform amongst teenagers.

Topics discussed based on gender and socio-economic class

Although the topics discussed on social media in the two categories (socio-economic class and gender) were almost the same within the two groups as stated above, one issue that stood out was the discrepancy in the topics discussed by male and females. While, the location of the

school (socio-economic class) did not present tangible discrepancies, gender proved otherwise, confirming what Gross (2004) predicted that gender influences usage of social media. Below is a presentation of findings on the topics that girls and boys discussed.

Topics discussed by girls

Generally, females in the current study reported engaging in what scholars like Bastos (2015) call, "soft issues". The majority of the females (with exceptions) mentioned fashion, entertainment, culinary, movies, lifestyle, photography and soft music as favourite topics that they engaged in. A female from Roma Girls' Secondary School in this regard stated that, "I access a lot of content bordering on fashion. I love to sew, and YouTube teaches me how to... [From social media]". Another participant from the same school stated that, "I use Facebook to follow celebrities, like and comment on their photos." Another participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that she accessed social media to watch videos on how to do make-up and follow through on topics to do with beauty. These findings tie in with existing literature on gender and social media use (Gross, 2004; Bastos, 2015).

Topics discussed by boys

Boys in the current study reported to engage in topics on gaming, sports (football), and violent content like action movies and wrestling. A boy from Munali Boys' Secondary School in the FGD said, "I like social media because I use it to watch movies and engage in talks on football". When explaining about the brother's social media habits, a female participant from Twin-Palm Secondary School stated that,

> When I am using the phone [shared phone] I always find that my brother was playing games and these are always those games about killing people or war. I have asked him 100[several] times why he prefers violent games and he always says that's what he likes.

In the increasingly user-generated web, users' characteristics may be crucial factors leading them to engage in social media. Literature suggests factors such as gender to be related to uses of platforms on the Internet such as social media. For example, Herring and Kapidzic (2015) present brilliant work detailing how teenage boys and girls present themselves through online social media. Herring and Kapidzic's (2015) argument is that research encompassing gendered use of social media must take into account that boys and girls (males and females) use social

media differently. This argument settles and confirms the findings in my study that reflect differences in the way female participants use social media compared to the males and vice versa.

Controversial topics

There is limited existing literature on teenagers' encounters with difficult or controversial topics. This is unexpected given the ubiquitous nature of social media and its transformation into what Habermas called a "public sphere" (see Habermas, Lennox and Lennox, 1974; Fuchs, 2015). The little literature that exists has a heavy focus on the potential for social media to raise potentially controversial topics and not exploring the topics themselves (Nadkarni and Hofmann, 2012).

When asked about the topics that participants considered controversial to discuss on social media, the first issue that was raised was politics and secondly, sexuality as regards to Lesbian, Gays, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) rights.

All the participants that mentioned that they were avoiding certain topics on social media indicated that they were doing so because of various reasons. Some participants in fact even mentioned that they did not talk about certain topics on social media since doing so may cause problems and conflicts among people or spark hatred. Participants gave variant reasons for the various types of what they considered controversial topics. Below is an exploration of the two issues (politics and religion) participants considered controversial.

Politics

The major reason advanced as to why most participants in the FGDs did not discuss politics on social media was that the discussions often turned into hate speech, tribal conflicts, divisions, police brutality and surveillance from the authorities. As regards hate speech, a participant from Munali Secondary School in one FGD stated that, "there was so much hate speech during the elections [the august 2016 presidential and local government elections] that people were insulting each other as if there is no life after politics". Another participant from the same school stated that she was not engaging in politics because it was very divisive and tribal. This participant said,

> Look at how tribe is always dragged into politics. If you say something then its either you are Tonga and hence you support the opposition United Party for

> National Development (UPND). It is so frustrating that we think in tribal lines every day. Even names are now associated with tribe.

This observation was followed by silence and a faint "it is true" from another participant from the same FGD.

Surveillance and a strict regulatory framework governing the ICT sector was also mentioned as a reason why participants were avoiding politics as a topic for discussion on social media. One participant from Twin-Palm Secondary School even stated that,

> Look at how that doctor was trailed on Facebook until they arrested him and imprisoned him and now, he is serving a sentence all because he posted unpopular views about the Patriotic Front [the ruling party].

This observation was followed with a statement from another participant from the same school who said, "elo kwaliba Ba ZICTA nomba na WhatsApp administrator balekaka [there is ZICTA which is now arresting WhatsApp administrators]." These views from the FGDs illustrated how participants in my study viewed surveillance by authorities on social media.

When comparing the answers of the participants from the FGDs numerically based on gender and economic class, the current study revealed that girls were, more-timid than boys in terms of speaking out about politics (this is despite the fact that both groups reported not to be open about politics). In terms of economic class, the current study revealed that those from schools situated in low income areas reported to speak openly about politics (this is despite both groups: high- and low-density areas reporting to be timid when it came to speaking on politics).

Overall, politics was considered as a controversial topic, one that the majority of the participants in my study tried to avoid discussing on social media.

Sexuality

When asked about topics that were considered controversial, one participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School said, "Gays and lesbians is not only controversial but a taboo too. We never talk about it". This observation was followed by another participant from the same FGD that said, "People are arrested when authorities see those supporting gays [LGBT rights]." This was an expected response because the constitution of Zambia does not recognise LGBT rights. This provision is under Cap. 87, Sections 155 through 157 of The Penal Code (as amended by Act

No. 15 of 2005). It states that, "any person who- (a) has carnal knowledge of any person against the order of nature; or ... (c) permits a male person to have carnal knowledge of him or her against the order of nature; is guilty of a felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years" (available at https://antigaylaws.org/commonwealth/. Retrieved on 26th November 2018).

When asked if discussing politics and sexuality could bring about free expression and ultimately influence civic life, the majority of the participants agreed. One participant even agreed that open discussions on elections helped the electorates to be informed on the electoral process and the candidates vying for posts. In other words, he seemed to perceive politics as an important topic, but did not want to get involved for fear of perceived repercussions discussed earlier. Most of the participants were scared of speaking about politics and sexuality because of possible negative consequences. The participants did not mention lack of interest but rather the consequences that such a discussion could bring. For example, one of the participants pointed out that he was deliberately ignoring hate speech though he had noticed it on social media. He said, "I just ignore to avoid problems."

Social media can serve as platforms for free speech (Khamis and Vaughn, 2011). However, the findings from the current study seem to contradict with this argument particularly in relation to politics and sexuality. For instance, a participant from Munali Boys' Secondary School stated that the police had a way of cracking down on any person seen to speak ill of the ruling government indicating that this might lead into negative repercussions. This participant even gave an example of Paul Kasokomona, a gay rights activist who was imprisoned in 2013 and later acquitted in 2014 for a charge of "inciting the public to take part in indecent activities" (available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-22069904. Retrieved on 26th November 2018). This participant made this reference even though Paul Kasokomona was arrested after appearing on a private TV station in Lusaka. In the participant's view, social media and TV (mainstream media) have the same level of influence when it comes to discussion of controversial topics.

In relation to social media not being free, I asked the participants in the FGD where views on the Paul Kasokomona case were raised vis-à-vis how they felt about the coming of the ICT bills. As expected, I had to explain what exactly the bills mean as none of the participants seemed to understand (refer to the following resources for an explanation of the legislations: http://www.itwebafrica.com/ict-and-governance/271-zambia/244674-zambia-pushes-ahead-with-controversial-cyber-security-legislation;

https://www.lusakatimes.com/2018/06/09/cabinet-approves-introduction-of-a-bill-to-combat-abuse-of-online-personal-data-collected-from-users/. (Accessed on 26th November, 2018).

Thus, although social media has been suggested in literature as a platform for free speech, the current study seems to point to the fact that the participants regarded social media as limiting in free speech. In fact, a participant from Munali Secondary School even likened it (social media) to mainstream TV (which in Zambia is heavily censored). The participant said, "On Facebook, when talking about politics I prefer to do it in the inbox since messages are not visible for everyone."

In the same vein, the current study seems to support Waller's (2013) claim that social media, for example, Facebook, can be considered to be a part of the public sphere, where political victimisation may take place. Waller (2013) found that fear of political victimisation is the primary factor that discourages many Jamaican youths from engaging in political talk on Facebook. As presented in participants' answers from the FGDs in the current study, the possibility of negative consequences seemed to restrain participants from stating their political opinions openly on social media.

The findings in my study also seem to support what Lyon (2017: 825) argued that social media's affordance for sharing, visibility, and exposure impel us further into a "surveillance culture" where, "surveillance is becoming part of a whole way of life." The concept of surveillance can be argued to be institutional mechanisms enacted by governments or corporations aiming to exert control over individual citizens (Ball, 2010; Gandy, 1989; Lyon, 2003). The proliferation of ICTs like social media that enable—and, significantly, encourage—the broadcast/rebroadcast of personal information to networked audience.

Scholars like Trottier and Lyon (2012) and Fuchs *et al*. (2013) have written widely on the forms of monitoring endemic to our digitally mediated society. They argued that the social media's principle of affording massive provision and storage of personal data which are systematically evaluated, marketed, and used for targeting users with advertising has made the topic of surveillance an important concept in the context of web 2.0.

Section Conclusions

Overall, the topics that participants mentioned that they were interested in or they considered controversial seem to suggest that the issues discussed on social media are not only closely related to one's personality and interests but appear to also be affected by one's perceptions of

the surrounding social context. Studies highlighting social media such as Correa, Hinsley, and De Zuniga (2010) argue that personality traits are an important determinant of social media topics and other engagements. If simply looking at the answers concerning the topics interviewees discuss on social media, it would be easy to conclude that the female participants in the current study were passive and uninterested in social media or issues happening around them like politics.

However, if looking beyond the mere behaviour, but bringing in the social and contextual issues surrounding the Zambian culture and society like the aspect of girls and women having to do household chores alongside other life commitments like going to school, one is able to grasp the reasons underlying those choices. This is true about the issue of topics considered controversial such as politics and sexuality where girls in the study seem completely timid compared to boys. Taken together, these findings point to cultural, political, and socio-demographic differences and context where a person lives as affecting one's activities on social media. This is in contrast with what the participatory culture theory posits that its principles of civic engagement, strong support for creating and sharing one's creations (Jenkins, 2012) embedded in social media encourage people to participate.

The following section presents findings and a discussion on the motivations for teenagers to access and use social media. The current section has explored the activities that participants engaged in on social media and it is imperative to understand the reasons why they engaged in the activities as reported in this section.

Teenagers' motivations for access and use of social media

This section aims to explore teenagers' motivations for access and use of social media. Scholars like Matikainen (2015) have argued that the growth of social media has prompted people to produce content (conversation, blogs, photos, videos, etc.) for social media purposes. Van Dijck (2009) elaborates that social media content is often called user-generated because it is parallel to professional productions. Based on these circumstances and based on research objective number one – to evaluate how teenagers' access and use social media- the current study asks the question, "Why do teenagers' access and use social media?"

Overall, the answers from the FGDs established that accessing and using social media was a significant aspect of the teenagers' lives. Teenagers stated that motivations for accessing and

using social media were varied. After the analysis, these could be divided into two classes: self-expression and community belongingness or communality. The two classes of motivations are discussed individually below.

Self-expression

Self-expression as a motivation for access and use of social media emerged from many of the FGD. Producing social media content was perceived as writing for one's own sake, not just for others. A participant from Matero Girls' Secondary School stated that,

> Well, I guess in some way I post to express myself and put across what I feel like putting across. I write to tell people what is happening around me and what may happen around them. I produce content just to get something written down for myself. Usually my postings are educative and sometimes entertaining.

The answer from the participant above highlighted both aspects of writing for others and for oneself. The views above also stress a desire for participants to exert influence onto other people, a motivation that many of the participants alluded to, but subtly put across. The participants did not plainly say that they used social media to exert influence, but they said that they used social media to share with and motivate others. For instance, a participant from Kabulonga Boys' Secondary School stated that, "my writings have power to make people change their habits and behaviour. I write on anything gospel [religious] and a lot of people tell me that I am changing their lives." In this vein, I noticed that this participant emphasised the relationship between himself and his purported audience and therefore his position and identity in the relationship. He viewed himself as a bearer of information that had capacity to change the lives of the people that he engaged with on his social media pages.

Another participant from Kabulonga Boys' Secondary School elaborated on the reasons he was accessing and using social media. This participant however opened by stating that he was using social media differently. In following up this observation, I asked this participant what he meant by the phrase, "I use social media differently" and below is the explanation,

> We all use social media differently based what platforms we are using. Facebook, I use it to communicate with people and get across my views, especially with people I don't meet often. The way we [I] use Facebook is very different from how we [I] use WhatsApp. WhatsApp, I use it for those people who I actually talk to so, so much… and these people are people that I personally know. For Twitter . . . let's

> just say it is for people that have things to say. But I use it to follow world events and things like that. I follow celebrities and journalists on Twitter too.

Intrigued by the discussion above, I asked the question, "how different do you use social media platforms?" in other FGDs to explore how other participants perceive their social media use. A participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School said the following,

> Of course, Facebook is what I mostly use, but for YouTube, I use it mostly for school. I use it to watch YouTube videos on class topics and also for basic knowledge. Let me give an example, If I am home and would like to see some experiment being conducted and I don't have the chemicals to put up the experiment, I just YouTube and someone already has done the mixing and I just follow through [. . .]. For Facebook, I use it mostly to post about my life and what I am up to… I chat too…actually . . . get to know what is happening in my friend's life [. . .] I am not on Twitter I think it's difficult… WhatsApp is for people I know, and I also use it to express my feeling using the "status" button.

The aspect of self-expression as a motivation took on various forms. To start with, freedom and independence to produce social media content was perceived as an important motive. Secondly, the urge to gain popularity was viewed as another aspect motivating teenagers to self-express themselves. Additionally, self-expression was considered as promoting the advancement/improvement of personal knowledge and skills. Below is a discussion on the various motivations outlined.

Freedom and independence to produce content

When asked why they were using social media, one participant from Matero Girls' Secondary School, said that they used it because of the flexibility it accords them to communicate. This participant said, "unlike TV and Radio were my time is limited, social media allows me to speak and discuss issues. I can post whatever I want and whenever I want". Another participant stated that, "Facebook makes it possible for people to send out information with ease. A lot of people can be targeted, and a lot of people can be engaged".

Another participant stated that the flexibility that social media affords them motivated them to produce and consume content. This participant said that the provision to manipulate the privacy settings and to determine whom can see or cannot see the content has given them the freedom

to produce content with ease. The participants in the FGDs noted that the freedom accorded by social media was one of the biggest motivations for using social media.

Urge to gain popularity

In answering the question of reasons for using and accessing social media, most of the participants in the FGDs noted that they envisioned the idea of gaining popularity and considered it a motive for using social media. One participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School said,

> On Facebook people can comment on the photos saying you look pretty and i like it when people like my pictures it makes me feel really good. For me to get a lot of likes I have to post a lot and keep my followers engaged. I post a lot of pictures and videos to get followers.

When answering the question on popularity online as a motivation for access and use of social media, a participant from Munali Secondary School said,

> I like the feeling of seeing the likes and comments from people, which always make me excited. Which girl doesn't want to feel loved? One thing about being popular is, one doesn't have to be all of those things to please other people. You can be the way you are, but get popular so long as you are very active…I just think like sometimes it's what you put out there… For me, I am in control and in charge of my social media lifestyle but yes I will get tempted as a result of the pressure. But I remind myself, this is me and my life and I want more than anything to be famous... Social media has boosted my life, I get modelling jobs and social media has made me meet people I didn't think I would meet.

As stated before, most participants in the FGDs had at one point or another contemplated the idea of gaining popularity and considered it a motive. One way that they ensured that they gained and maintained the popularity was through constant engagement and having the art or skills to entertain others so that people follow them. Some participants emphasised the motivation of generating enjoyment, for instance a teenager from Twin-Palm Secondary School stated that,

> It's mostly enjoyment and entertainment, what I do for example retweeting funny videos or words. I make sure to write in a hilarious manner just so that I make my

posts enjoyable. Sometimes I write in an entertaining manner so that it's fun to read.

Another participant stated that the whole essence of being on social media was because she wanted to be popular.

"Yeah, absolutely, of course… that [popularity] is why it's done" she stated.

Compared to the motivation of freedom and independence to produce content, popularity as a motivation was considered an equally important reason for engaging on social media. According to Matikainen (2015) attention and popularity is categorised as an aspect of self-expression. In this view, my study revealed evidence supporting this claim. For instance, participants mentioned the reasons associated with gaining skills and knowledge around school, and other social issues such as aspects of self-expression.

The section below presents findings on the motivation of self-expression as regards gaining skills and knowledge.

Advancement/improvement of personal knowledge and skills

In answering the question, why do you engage online? A small number of participants indicated that they were active online because of the skills and knowledge they could acquire. These participants said that they learnt new skills and innovations from social media. A participant from Matero Boys' said,

"I use social media to learn…sometimes I open YouTube and type in the title of the course I want, and I use it as an extra learning platform."

Another participant elaborated that she was using social media to teach herself the art of applying makeup. She stated that,

"I use Facebook to follow make-up artists… I want to do makeup and I learn from Facebook".

In terms of improvement or discovery of personal skills, the participants in the current study referred to having an opportunity to use skills and knowledge or capacities that they wouldn't otherwise use. Skills like gaming and painting are some of the skills that participants mentioned. For example, a participant from one of the FGDs said,

> "I wouldn't know I had the skills like painting because it's only on Facebook where I have an opportunity to do paintings."

Notwithstanding the possibility of using different kinds of information and skills online, the participants in the FGDs did not consider information or skills improvement a substantial motive for online actions. For instance, a participant noted that, "I am not on Facebook to learn but to share my views and read what others are doing." Compared to the other two motives; freedom and independence to produce content and an urge to gain popularity, advancement or improvement of personal knowledge and skills was considered the least important of the motives for engaging on social media. It was revealed in most FGDs however, that social media increased the visibility and pronouncement of skills and capabilities that would not suffice offline.

Literature detailing motivations for engagement on social media have stressed development of personal skills as one of the driving forces behind engagement on social media. According to Sirkkunen (2006), development of personal skills are both individual and communal motives. Lumped together with development of personal skills are motivations such as, self-expression, peer feedback, building social networks and social capital, as well as the individualising media culture (i.e. identity production) and individual motives (Matikainen 2015: 45). These according to Matikainen (2015), can be considered as individual motives for engaging on social media. In turn, Matikainen (2015) has argued that communal motivations include sharing information and skills with others, new types of collaborations (e.g. open source or Wikipedia) and learning in communities.

Theoretically, participatory culture theory advocates through its form of collaborative problem-solving for the working together in teams, formal and informal, to complete tasks and develop new knowledge (Jenkins, 2012). Through this process, people are helped to sharpen the skills and knowledge that they may already be possessing.

In this vein, the current study demonstrates the power of collaborative problem solving through the variety forms of participatory culture through formal or informal methods such as merely watching YouTube videos to learn something or chatting with peers to get guidance to clarify something. The last reason why teenagers engage on social media highlights the motivation for community belongingness and networking. This is discussed at length in the next section.

Community belongingness and networking in virtual communities

The current study established the urge for teenagers to belong to a community and their need for building networks as another core reason for access and use of social media. In the FGDs, most of the participants agreed on the importance of community and communality. For example, a participant from Munali Secondary School recounted that, "I don't just post online for the sake of writing on my timeline; I post for the community of which I'm a member to benefit from my writings." I was curious to find out from this participant if they get some form of encouragement when someone reads their posting. The participant in responding stated that, "Yeah, I guess it feels nice to get comments. I guess it is more fun when someone comments on something, it gives one the energy to continue writing." This finding is closely related to what Huberman, Romero and Wu (2008) found after statistically analysing a data set that they collected from the music video site, YouTube.

Huberman and colleagues' (2008) main observation was that attention that the video attracted increased eagerness to upload new videos – in other words, the more attention a video received, the more new videos the person producing the videos produced or uploaded. In reverse, Huberman, Romero and Wu (2008) concluded that low attention decreased the production and uploading of videos. In this study by Huberman, Romero and Wu (2008), it was concluded that the urge to gain the gratification of belonging to a community attention was a key motivational factor in video production.

In confirming these views, by Huberman, Romero and Wu (2008), a participant from Roma Girls' echoed akin sentiments saying, "When you know someone will read it, and know that you're not just tapping on the computer interface alone, and no one ever comes to comment it gives a certain feeling of belonging to a community".

The current study established the importance of interaction in online communities or groups. The participants in the study pointed out that the nature of the online community or group determined how important or motivating it was perceived. For instance, a participant from Twin Palm Secondary School stated that,

> A Facebook group is judged by the nature of its importance – sometimes you find an online community that feels nice, and at the same time you find an online group that feels very empty and repelling. Vulgar and disrespectful comments

> can make you feel that way, and many people have left especially WhatsApp groups because the comments have been disrespectful to others.

Literature detailing motivations for access and use of social media by teenagers has showed evidence of motivations for communality. For example, Matikainen (2015) in a study aimed at exploring the motivations for content generation in social media among a Finnish sample, found that people engaged on social media to achieve a sense of belonging to online communities and to interact with one another.

In the current study, communality was thus regarded as an important motivational factor for access and use of social media. The findings from the participants in the current study are consistent with the findings of earlier research, where communality was perceived as one of the key motivating factors for generating web content (Sirkkunen, 2006). It is also interesting to note that communality in my study was considered so important although the nature of online communality remained unclear based on how the teenagers organised their online communities. Based on the FGDs, my study reveals that communality is a key factor for engaging online. The study also reveals that the subjective experience of my participants in the FGDs and their engagement in online communities speaks of communality, with particular reference to an element considered essential to social networks – the sense of like-mindedness.

For example, a participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that,

> I'm motivated by common goals to belong to an online group. I see no sense in belonging to a group that I will feel lost at the end of the day. The groups I belong to, its either they are my friends or it's a group to do with school related issues.

In the same token, other participants from the same FGD disagreed with the earlier submission and stated that,

> But I'm not so sure about these common goals and I am not sure how true this submission is. I belong to any group so long as I am invited. I think the relationship to common goals is solely dependent on what kind of content the members of that group generate and who is willing to remain loyal in the group.

Using the network society theory as an analytical framework, the findings in the current study are interpreted according to what Castells (2010) propounds. Castells (2010)states that the defining characteristic of the network society is the presence of electronic mediation of

communication that allow networks to interact with each other and allows for an exchange of information which is predominantly played out in the media sphere. Participants in my study were assisted in their quest to belong to communities through the process of exchange of information in the media sphere (social media). This was enhanced by the evolution and technological changes that have been registered in the field of social interactions and organisation structuring.

According to Castells (2010), this evolution is as a result of the convergence of historical evolution and technological change initiated as a change in the cultural patterns of social interaction and social organisation (Castells 2010). These interactions Castells (2010) argued, are stimulated by the powers embodied in the flows of interactions that are in the structure and language of the networks supported by the powers of the media networks embedded in social media communication.

Using the network society's two categories of networks namely; social and media networks (Castells, 1996), the findings in the current study mean that participants are drawn to social media because of the communality using social networks aimed at building concrete ties in abstract relationships such as friendships and connections built through social gatherings like church, school, or community groupings. In the same vein, the communality developed using media networks. The relationships that participants build are developed and sustained using media platforms such as social media (Castells, 2010). This view, Djik (2012) argued is another motivation why users are drawn to engage on social media.

Conclusions

Overall, Matikainen (2015) argued that the growth in the use of and access to social media has prompted people to produce content for social media purposes. The content produced, Van Dijck (2009) explains is called user generated content (UCG) because it is user led and driven. The current study, after establishing the arguments advanced by Matikainen (2015) and Van Dijck (2009) has gone a step further to ask the question; why do teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka? Two major reasons for access and use of social media emerged in my study. These are self-expression and the need to feel a part of a community or communality.

In line with self-expression, the study established that teenagers engaged online for three main reasons: freedom to produce content, their urge and zeal to gain popularity and their need for an advancement of personal skills. In line with communality or community belonging it was

established that teenagers engaged on social media to satisfy the need to be an accepted member of a group. The current study concludes that, whether be it family, friends, a religion, or something else, teenagers tend to have an 'inherent' desire to belong and be an important part of a community grouping and social media allows them to satisfy this need.

The findings in this chapter have been informed by both the participatory culture and the network society theories. The two theories have helped in explaining reasons why teenagers access and use social media in Lusaka.

The next chapter discusses networked participatory culture in relation to three issues namely:

1) What constitutes participation using smart phones among teenagers?

2) How regulation governing social media and smart phone use affects participation; and

3) What limitations are associated with a networked participatory culture in Lusaka?

It was discussed in brief in this chapter that access and use of social media is influenced by the national policies and regulations. The next chapter discusses this issue extensively but argues in line with networked participatory culture using smart phones.

CHAPTER SEVEN
NETWORKED PARTICIPATION OF TEENAGERS USING SMART PHONES IN LUSAKA

Introduction

Guided principally by the participatory culture and network society theories, this chapter aims to explore the ways in which teenagers engage with networked participation. For the purpose of the current study, networked participatory culture refers to the use of smart phones for content production and consumption by teenagers in Lusaka. The concept of networked participatory culture is closely related to the concept of "digital citizenship". According to Mossberger *et al.* (2008), digital citizenship is the ability to participate in society online.

More so, keeping in mind the technology deterministic approach that assumes that a technology's use is predictable and that variations in technology are the principal source for changes in society. The current study adopts an assumption based on the notion that users of technologies do not always employ the technologies in the manner predicted by the designers of the technologies (Ling, 2004; Ito, 2005). Of interest to this study is Blumler and Katz's (1974) argument that people use media to meet certain gratifications and processes. In this vein, choices about how and what to use media for are defined by one's needs, wants and expectations.

To this end, the aim of this chapter is to explore the networked participation of teenagers using smart phones. The chapter seeks to present findings, interpretations and a discussion around research question number four – what is networked participatory culture among teenagers in Lusaka?

In fulfilling the question above, I explore the following sub-themes that emerged from thematic analysis:

1) What constitutes participation using smart phones among teenagers?

2) How regulation governing social media and smart phone use affects participation; and

3) The limitations that are associated with a networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

The chapter is informed by both the network society and the participatory culture theories. Unless otherwise stated, the findings presented in the chapter come solely from the qualitative data gathered from twelve FGDs and six in-depth interviews.

The networked participatory culture of teenagers

Literature detailing what constitutes meaningful participation in a networked era such as works by Jenkins *et al.* (2018) has advanced the notion that the "consumers are becoming producers" as one of the biggest drivers of participatory culture. Jenkins and colleagues (2018) have argued that the shifting relations between media producers and their audiences are altering and transforming the concept of meaningful participation. Jenkins *et al.* (2018) argue this notion from the stand point of recent media developments that have been scored such as the convergence and spreadability that media is now enabling. This, O'Reilly (2004) explains is possible because of the advent of Web2.0 technologies as discussed in Chapter Two.

In an effort to explore what the participants in the FGDs made of their participation on social media, I asked the question: What do think constitutes participation when you engage with social media and smart phones? A participant from Munali Secondary School stated that, "participation is when I am able to express myself without people stopping me". This view was followed by another sentiment in the same FGD that stated that, "participation can also happen when one is not contributing but just listening in or following through."

Similarly, it was established in other FGDs that teenagers viewed participation as both a process of contributing to debate and just following through debates. A teenager from Munali Secondary School explained in detail what participation was,

> I don't have to necessarily produce content all the time. Sometimes I can just be a mere spectator or a consumer of content but still I would have participated in the discussions by being quiet. I know people that have never spoken on social media before, but they read every post that is circulated. I think those too are participants, though they are passive.

Another participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School further explained the concept of participation by stating that,

> I think participation is on several levels. It is about the passion one attaches to what is being discussed, the skills they have to engage, the money for talk-time [airtime] to buy bundles and the time available to interact.

Similarly, a teenager from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that the levels of participation were debatable depending on resources available, gender and economic class. This participant stated that being a female, she found it difficult sometimes to participate fully because of the house hold chores that she needed to do. This view is similar to what has already been discovered in the previous chapters as regards access and use of social media. It was established that females were more disadvantaged in their social media pursuits than their male counterparts.

A male participant from Munali Secondary School was oblivious of the gender differences mentioned above and stated that,

> "I don't see any difference in males and females' participation, all I know is participation involves producing content like on Facebook and sending out the content to friends and family".

These views brought about a debate in the FGD as female participants regarded his sentiments as, "insensitive and unfair". One female participant even mentioned that,

> "whilst you are busy with your legs in the air surfing Facebook, your sister or mother is busy cooking, washing and cleaning, tell me if you can have equal participation?".

The debate in this FGD was tense that I had to curtail the exchange of views. However, what stood out for me as a researcher was that, what is constituted as "meaningful" participation amongst teenagers is variant and as individual participants, they had their own stories to tell about how they engage in a networked participatory culture.

The findings presented in this section are consistent with literature detailing the meaning of networked participation. For example, Van Dijk and Nieborg (2009) in their essay, "Wikinomics and its discontents" assert that most active contributors represent a small percentage of the user population for social media platforms. Van Dijk and Nieborg (2009) add that participation on any web2.0 platform narrows when aspects that demand time, monetary resources, skills and passion are considered. The implication of this is that where there could be a big group of participants engaging online, there could be chances that a very small percentage of the group will actually contribute content to the social media platform are very

high. Horowitz (2006), quoted in Jenkins *et al.* (2013: 156-157) describes this phenomenon very well when he talks about Yahoo! modelled audience participation in its Yahoo! Group's service:

> 1% of the user population might start a group (or thread within a group). 10% of the user population might participate actively, and actually author content whether starting a thread or responding to a thread in progress. 100% of the user population benefits from the activities of the above groups. . […] we don't need to convert 100% of the audience into active participants to have a thriving product that benefits tens of millions of users.

In line with passive audiences, Jenkins *et al.* (2013: 159) argue that passive audiences or "lurkers", experience the content of social media conversations differently even though they never actually contribute, as a result of their awareness of their potential capacity to participate and their recognition of lower barriers to contribution. Theoretically, participatory culture theory seems to support and contrast the notions advanced by literature and some findings in the current study that for participation to take place, users must contribute to the production of content.

Supporting the concept, Jenkins and Ito (2015) as proponents of the participatory culture assert that the theory embraces values of diversity through the interactions that individuals engage in with each other. What this means is that a participatory culture assumes that individuals are capable of making decisions, collectively and individually because of an assumed capability to express themselves through a broad range of different forms and practices such as Web2.0 platforms like social media.

Similarly, Jenkins (2013) proposes that today's era of social media and Web2.0 demonstrates a need to share content or engage in pervasive forms of media circulation. Jenkins (2012) argues that participatory culture is related to the concept of "spreadability" which is concerned with four issues. These issues are:

1) The technical resources that enable circulation of some kind of content than others,

2) The prevailing economic structures supporting or restricting circulation,

3) The attributes of the media content that may be appealing to a community and hence motivate for sharing material and

4) The social networks that link people through the exchange of creative content.

A close look at the issues advanced above, reflects the argument advanced in this study that for participation to occur, some form of circulation or spreadability of content must take place. Just like the findings in the current study, Bruns (2016) also seem to agree that participatory nature of Web2.0 technologies or the "read-write web" has helped to facilitate an evolution from a hierarchical, institutionally controlled consumer culture to a broad-based "participatory culture" in which people act as producers as well as consumers of content simultaneously.

On the reverse side however, participatory culture theory is in contrast with the findings in my study advancing the notion that, for participation to occur, then some form of production of content must take place. From another angle, the theory agrees with participants in my study especially those that state that they are still referred to as participants even though they do not contribute any media content. Similarly, the literature advanced by Jenkins *et al.* (2013) advocates for the need for passive audiences to be considered as core participants even though they never contribute content. This is despite that they are merely aware of their potential capacity to participate and recognise lower barriers to contribution.

Critics of the participatory culture theory like Mossberger, Tolbert and McNeal (2007) propose that unequal access to skills, knowledge and experience can bring in discrepancies that may have potential to hinder others from full engagement and participation. This argument by Mossberger, Tolbert and McNeal (2007) ties in with my findings in the study. For example, a participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School explained that,

> Participation is dependent on several factors like the interest one attaches to what is being discussed, the skills they have to engage with, the monetary resources for talk-time [airtime] to buy bundles and the time factor available to interact.

Similarly, Van Dijk and Nieborg (2009) strongly agree with these views and add that participation on any Web2.0 platform narrows when issues that demand time, money, skills and passion are taken into consideration.

Section Conclusions

As shown above, the concept of participation is interpreted differently by the participants in my study, evidence from literature and the theoretical framework of participatory culture also

seems to be divided on what really constitutes participation. Overall, however, this section has established that networked participation can either be through active participation through contributing to the production of content or being a passive participant but being aware of the content being produced and circulated.

The current study in this section makes conclusions based on the argument by Van Dijk and Nieborg (2009) stating that the more and readily available resources meant to enable participation, the more successful teenagers can participate. Interestingly, a participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School shared this argument, that material resources are needed to enable one to become a participant.

The next section aims at discussing the policy and regulatory framework governing social media and smart phones in Zambia. It explores the extent to which policy and legislation governing ICTs that include social media and smart phones influences participation by teenagers.

Smart phone and social media policy in Zambia

Literature detailing the history of regulation of the Internet in Africa demonstrates development of the ICT sector on a policy level tracing it back to a unified approach developed at the twenty first meeting of the United Nations Commission for Africa (UNECA) conference of ministers in May 1995 (Nyirenda-Jere and Biru, 2015). According to Nyirenda-Jere and Biru (2015), the conference adopted a resolution titled "Building Africa's Information Highway" which is argued to have led to the drafting of the African Information Society Initiative (AISI), an action plan or framework that was adopted to build and use ICTs for the acceleration of the socio-economic development of Africa.

In Zambia, development of policy and legislation as pertains the internet, its access and use can be traced back to the launch of the Zambia ICT policy in March 2007. As Hanyama and Banda (2017) argue, the country has in place the National ICT policy which address usage and access of the internet. Further to putting in place the ICT policy, Zambia is a signatory to regional and international protocols governing internet use of which social media and mobile phones are included. These international treaties have made it possible for the interconnection and cross-border connectivity of the internet in Africa (Nyirenda-Jere and Biru, 2015).

This section aims to discuss ICT policies and legislation that pertain to social media and mobile communication. The section presents findings and a discussion on the influence of policy and

legislation on access and use of social media and mobile communication specifically the smart phone.

In an effort to grasp the participants' understanding of the ICT policy framework in Zambia, I asked the question: How are ICT clubs facilitating teenagers' participation? I asked this question with the understanding that ICT clubs are a culmination of policy declarations made by the government to establish ICT clubs in secondary schools for the purpose of teaching computers to learners (ZICTA, 2018).

In answering the question, a teacher from Kabulonga Boys' Secondary School stated that ICT clubs were important platforms for high school learners to learn about computers, the Internet and social media. The teacher stated that, "the ICT clubs help learners to develop internet and computer skills." This teacher also stated that the school ICT policy however, did not allow learners to engage in social media activities whilst at school. The teacher added that learners were not allowed to use mobile phones around school premises. According to Kessy *et al.* (2006), the value of Information and Communication Technology (ICT), among teenagers can be weighted based on the support it offers in undertaking tasks and projects related to studies, such as surveys, introductions and presentations, papers, project work or research, online and distant learning tasks.

In Zambia, like most developing countries, there are devised plans to implement e-government on a full scale; from a practical and critical viewpoint these plans can be seen as rather ambitious (Weerakkody, 2007: 2). As stated earlier, the e-government drive in Zambia began with the approval of the national ICT policy by the cabinet in 2005. The policy document outlines the e-government vision and strategy. It includes use of ICTs in education and this is demonstrated through the establishment of ICT clubs in secondary schools and the inclusion of ICTs in the education curriculum (ICT Policy, 2006).

In my quest to find out if the policy pronouncements resonated with the supposed beneficiaries, I asked my participants the question: How are ICT clubs facilitating participation amongst teenagers? In response, a teenager from Matero Girls' Secondary School stated that, "I am not sure that policy allows us to participate better cause [because] we are restricted in how we participate. Example is [for example] our school doesn't allow us to use the phones around the school premises."

Another learner from Twin Palm Secondary School echoed similar sentiments saying that he did not understand how the school prohibited them from using the ICT club and its

infrastructure like computers for purposes of social media. This learner stated that, “the computers are used for just teaching us how to log in and out…they should leave us to explore software more”.

Literature detailing the use of social media in academics has revealed findings explaining that banning the use of technologies in schools is never a solution to the problems of keeping learners away from technology. Cramer and Hayes (2010: 39) argue that, “restrictions and bans don't keep mobile devices off school premises or eliminate their use. Students often hide their use from teachers and administrators, regardless of the fact that it is for school purposes.” This literature presents a gloomy outlook in terms of the influence of social media and mobile phone use in schools. Regardless of what Hughes, Burke and Morrison (2013) established, that in formal education; social media, mobile phones and internet access (whether through PC or mobile phone) is accepted, worldwide and have a huge potential to increase pupil’s learning opportunities. This not merely so in terms of enabling easier access to information directly relevant to the curriculum, but also in helping to give pupils a voice and agency as they explore their place in the world.

Porter *et al.* (2016) rejected the above argument advanced by Hughes, Burke and Morrison (2013). Porter *et al.* (2016) argue that the negative impact of social media and mobile phone use in schools is eminent and includes a negative influence on academic performance affected by disrupted classes, partly due not only to pupil practice, but also to teachers' calls; disruptions in adolescent sleep patterns associated with cheap night calls; time lost through prolonged sessions on social media; harassment and bullying; and increasingly widespread access to pornography.

The argument by Porter *et al.* (2016) was reflected in the FGDs in the current study. In my pursuit to understand how policy protects teenagers’ access and use of ICTs, many teachers in the sample noted that the school policy of not allowing teenagers access to social media was meant to reduce the negative effects of social media use. In fact, several learners also recounted that use of ICTs during lessons was disruptive in classes and their use of the phone for long hours also affected their academic performance negatively.

Recognising the negative effects of ICTs as explained by Porter *et al.* (2016), government through ZICTA reviewed the 2006 national ICT policy and drafted new bills that when passed in parliament will become law. Putting in mind that the current study sampled teachers from six secondary schools for expert opinions, I also interviewed a member of the Ministry of

Transport and Communication whom I felt was an expert to speak to me on policy and legislation. The participant stated that,

> Government has taken note of the increase in instances of propaganda and half-truths being posted on social media. We have also taken note and have realised the importance of having internet in the country. But as good as the Internet is, it is been threatened by ills such as bullying, propaganda, and fraud. The children and the youth are the worst affected. In response to this, we have created three bills in the ministry that have been approved by cabinet already and awaiting approval by Parliament and will become law.

In explaining the pieces of legislation, it emerged that, "Three bills are currently being read in parliament." The Bills are, "The cyber security and cybercrime bill, e-transaction and e-commerce bill, and the data protection bill." The participant noted that these bills were meant to ensure that people's privacy online was protected. He also stated that children and young people were especially vulnerable online hence the introduction of the child online protection strategy which was part of the consortium of bills that parliament was reading and approving into law.

In my pursuit to understand if the learner participants were knowledgeable of the bills that were being drafted, I asked the question: What do you think about the new bills being drafted? In response, none of the participants was privy to the drafting of the bills and most of the participants noted that this move did not bother them much. This to me was an unexpected finding as I was of the impression that teenagers would be interested in knowing about policies and legislations designed to regulate their participation using ICTs.

Section Conclusions

This section has highlighted the policy, legislation enforced as relates to use, and access of social media and ICTs. The section has elaborated the national ICT policy of 2006 (under review) and how it helps in dictating processes aimed at promoting teenagers' participation on social media. The section has also reviewed literature that has helped in explaining the significance of policy as pertains ICTs. Further, though the current study initially sampled six teachers to get an expert opinion from them, I was motivated to interview a member of the Ministry of Transport and Communication for a breakdown

on the review process of the ICT policy of 2006. The participant provided insights explaining how the policy aims to protect teenagers online.

The next section presents findings and a discussion on the limitations associated with networked participation. Drawing on insights from the discussion on policy in this section, the next section aims to establish the risks associated with the act of participating using mobile phones and social media.

Limitations associated with networked participatory culture

Literature detailing online participation of teenagers has highlighted how teenagers were excluded from making decisions regarding their networked participation. Livingstone (2016) asks a thought-provoking question in her work detailing how policies and tools, which evaluate digital rights and freedoms are made more inclusive or exclusive for children/youths. She asks: How can children be protected online when the Internet has been designed for adults? Sonia Livingstone's argument is closely intertwined with Dunkel's (2010) pessimism that research conducted about children or the youth advances perceived risks and challenges as "adult" defined problems. Adults themselves should draw up the remedies such as "children are at risk when they are online; therefore, they should be barred from posting about their personal information online" (Dunkels, 2010: 190).

This section aims to establish the limitations of networked participatory culture from the perspective of the teenagers themselves. The findings presented in this section are drawn from FGDs at six secondary schools in Lusaka. The quotations are extracts from FGD transcripts. In my pursuit to understand the limitations encountered by the participants in their quest to engage in participation online, I asked the question, "What are the key issues affecting participation using smart phones?" a number of limitations were mentioned.

A participant from Kabulonga Boys' Secondary School recounted a number of challenges that he encountered during the process of participation using smart phones and social media. The participant stated:

> I have challenges with keeping my information private. I always find that it is very easy to get hacked and people gain access to your personal data and information. For example, the other time my phone was stolen, and the people accessed my Facebook account and started asking my Facebook friends on the lists for money pretending that it was me.

This response from the participant was followed by similar sentiments from other participants in the same FGD who expressed concern at their personal details being used for negative vices such as identity theft and forgery. One participant from Matero Boys' Secondary School stated that, "I know a man who is sick and someone else opened a Go-Fund-me account using their picture that they got from his Facebook account and also his health history which he updates very regularly." This is an example of identity fraud that the study revealed.

Privacy has been defined as "neither a right to secrecy nor a right to control, but a right to appropriate flow of personal information" Nissenbaum (2010: 127). What this means is that privacy depends on the context. This is made complicated by the digital environment that has many changing Apps and services. Livingstone (2016) asks the question: How do children judge what's appropriate to share and with whom or what? My contention with privacy issues among teenagers' is that teenagers think of privacy issues in terms of interpersonal relationships, and they find it difficult to contextualise privacy in terms of multinational or commercial organisations or, for different reasons, institutional contexts.

For instance, the participant above that stated that, "I always find that it is very easy to get hacked and people gain access to your personal data and information". The participant clearly thinks of privacy from an angle that depicts that privacy concerns are shrouded within the realm of personal relationships and friendships. With a consideration of Nissenbaum's (2010) notion of privacy as contextual integrity, privacy is discussed from the perspective of prioritising the judgement (especially, by the data subject) which is appropriate to share within particular contexts or relationships – particularly significant in digital environments where respect for the child/youth's viewpoint is easily neglected (Durkels, 2010).

Apart from privacy as a limitation associated with networked participation, participants in the current study stated that pornography was another risk that was associated with their participation online. A participant from Munali Secondary School mentioned that "having access to smart phones means that I can access any material even that of a pornographic nature." Another participant stated that, "pornography in Zambia is illegal but still people have access to the content" despite the laid down rules and regulations governing ICTs in Zambia. As stipulated under Section 102 of the Electronic Communications and Transactions ACT,

> Transmission or receiving of pornography is prohibited. A person who commits an offence under the provisions of the said ACT is liable upon conviction to a

> fine of ZMW36 Million (approximately $3 USD million) or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 10 years or both.

This policy does not stipulate the age at which a person can be arrested to serve a jail term but participants in the study expressed worry at having their morals decayed and wasting time accessing and using material considered as being of a pornographic nature. One participant stated,

> "I am scared of accessing pornography because it is against my Christian beliefs and can corrupt my morals".

Most participants in the current study reported gaining access to pornography through unwanted exposure. The participants said that this was common using social media platforms like Facebook. A participant from Kabulonga Boys' Secondary School stated that,

> "I am exposed to pornography usually by accident such as logging into my Facebook account and finding illicit materials on my timeline or someone sending me a pornographic video".

The findings in the current study are consistent with literature. For instance, Wolak *et al.* (2007: 247) argue that,

> The potential impact of Internet pornography on youth is warranted, given the high rate of exposure, the fact that much exposure is unwanted, and the fact that youth with certain vulnerabilities, such as depression, interpersonal victimization, and delinquent tendencies, have more exposure.

While Wolak *et al.* (2007) cite factors such as depression, interpersonal victimisation and youths exhibiting tendencies of delinquent behaviours as prominent contributors to unwanted and wanted exposure to pornography, my study reveals that teenagers were exposed to pornography through third parties. However, I found that some teenagers may not have been entirely truthful because of the FGD environment where a person had to speak, and others were listening. In this instance, I found that my choice of method of data collection actually limited me in getting a true picture of the situation.

Another limitation associated with a networked participatory culture that teenagers mentioned was disturbances of phones in schools hence affecting their academic performance. The subject of disturbances caused by engagement in networked participatory culture using phones and

social media was established to be at two levels in the FGDs in the current study- teachers and students themselves.

The participants in the study stated that use of phones and social media affected their concentration in school. Further, participants also stated that the use of phones by their teachers was also a huge distraction. A participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that,

> "I find that my teacher always disturbs me when she is using her phone. Sometimes she speaks loudly in class on her phone"

The findings in the study reflect what has been reported in literature. According to Porter *et al.* (2016), the use of connected smart phones brings about distractions on two fronts: class disruption from pupils' phones and secondly, class disruption from teachers' phones. Just like in my study, Porter *et al.* (2016) argue that class disruption related to phone use at one time principally involves phones ringing and everyone having to look around for the person owning the phone. As stated earlier in the previous chapter, in Zambia phone use around school premises is barred amongst pupils. Porter *et al.* (2016) agrees with this finding and states that "increasingly, however, school bans are forcing pupils to be less blatant in their phone use". Similarly, some participants stated that even if the schools were to relax the rules around mobile phone use around school, they still would not use them because they are distractive to the academics. A participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that,

> Many times I find that you are in class but people are sending WhatsApp messages and this makes you not concentrate properly. Another participant stated that "Instead of following what the teacher is teaching, if I sneak in my phone in class I find myself busy chatting with friends on Facebook.

The current study established that networked participatory culture aided by smart phones pose challenges for academics. The study concludes that the disruptions are on two levels, the teenagers themselves and their teachers disturbing the classes.

Another limitation of a networked participatory culture established in the study was that teenagers expressed concern with the long hours spent on social media. There were concerns expressed about teenager's online habits with students recognising that lengthy exchanges on social media using the phones can be harmful. A teenager from Matero Boys' Secondary School said, "I spend so much time on Facebook instead of doing my school related activities." Another participant from the same FGD stated that,

> "I spend close to 10 hours on social media on the weekends surfing the Internet or just looking at Facebook."

Another participant stated that,

> "I know I hate Facebook and I know it wastes a lot of my time, but I cannot stop. I am unable to control myself".

Learners complained about teachers that did not give them attention because of being on the phone. A participant from Matero Boys' Secondary School stated that,

> "We hardly get enough attention from the teacher because she is always on the phone chatting".

These findings were an interesting reveal in the current study. The revelations here tie well with literature that states that long hours of exposure to a networked participation has potential of posing risks for teenagers' participation. According to Porter *et al.* (2016) teenagers are prone to spending considerable amounts of time on the smart phones attributed especially to the cheap night calls that most mobile service companies have in stock. According to Vallee *et al.* (2013), cheap night phone call rates, appear to contribute to reduction in concentration levels in class, as an outcome of disrupted sleep patterns, with potentially wider impacts on adolescent physical and emotional health. This argument by Vallee *et al.* (2013) resonated with views from a number of participants that noted that they are tired most of the time because of lack of proper sleep. Cheap night calls and use of social media applications for calls such as WhatsApp and Facebook messenger calls are associated with poor sleep patterns among adolescents.

Bullying and harassment online was another of the risks that the current study established from the FGDs. I noticed that most of the participants indicated that cyber bullying and harassment was a risk that they encountered. I was interested in knowing exactly how this bullying and harassment takes place, so I asked the participants to describe their encounters. A participant from Matero Boys' Secondary School noted that he would get teased and insults were hailed at him both in his inbox and on his Facebook timeline. This participant stated that at some point his abusers even circulated pictures of him publicly on Facebook with intent to embarrass him. In similar circumstances, a participant from Roma Girls' Secondary School stated that,

> Cyber bullying is terrible. I have experienced it. Sometime last year some girl felt I was after her man and she sent me threatening messages telling me she

> will send boys to beat me up… The problem is she was using a fake account so up to now I don't even know who she is and who her boyfriend is.

Scholars like Olweus (1994) have defined bullying as the behavioural acts that involve aggression and repetitive cruelty towards a person online and an in-balance in power. For the sake of this study, the definition by Olweus (1994) may not apply fully because some participants did not report a repetitive behaviour at bullying that they experienced. However, Olweus (1994) is right that bullying is an aggressive act directed at another person. The participants in the study reported that bullying was usually violent acts aimed at embarrassing them. Boyd (2014) has argued that networked technologies have complicated how people understand bullying. Boyd (2014) adds that technology has actually offered new sites and platforms for bullying to multiply. In the current study, it was established that cyber bullying was done more in private environments like online platforms as compared to the bullying that happens in schools or in neighbourhoods. Participants reported that cyber bullying was more difficult to report even to their parents because usually it involved use of accounts that were fake and untraceable.

This finding in the current study contradict scholars such as Boyd (2014: 133) who says that, "the persistence and visibility of bullying in networked publics adds a new dimension to how bullying is constructed and understood." Boyd (2014) here means that the openness of technologies like social media make it possible for more witnesses to the bullying. However, the participants in my study disagree and one participant in fact even said that when done in the inbox, cyber bullying can go unpunished. While I agree with both thoughts, I am of the view that since most of the trolls online use fake accounts to harass peers, the notion of witnesses then falls off because it is not possible to punish a person that has hidden their identity. Further, I am of the view that blaming technologies or assuming that harassment online will be reduced if teenagers' use and access to technologies is reduced is not a good thought. Similarly, Boyd (2014) agrees that this situation can only be sorted by recognising why the teenagers engage in harassment and bullying. Furthermore, doing so helps to design interventions that work. This debate is similar to the earlier one on technology determinism asserting that technology affects human behaviour. As stated in Chapter One and as will be discussed in Chapter Eight, my study draws away from assuming a technology deterministic approach and allows the participants to experience the technology and interpret their use and access themselves.

While bullying and harassment were reported to be inflicted by the other person in the study, participants reported risks encountered that are self-inflicted like addiction. It was interesting that participants associated addiction to Facebook. I was intrigued that all the examples that came through were tied in to Facebook. For example, a participant stated that, "Facebook addiction is real I log in at 10pm and stay on chatting till 03am and not get enough sleep and find myself to be unproductive the next day. In other FGD sessions, participants stated that they had tried to "defriend Facebook" so that they could concentrate on their schoolwork. During the FGDs, it was established that several participants because of limited time, a need to reduce on their online presence, or because of challenging social dynamics such as being in exam classes decided to quit Facebook and other social media sites. A participant from Munali Secondary School stated that, "I have left Facebook and other social media platforms to concentrate on school."

Scholars such as Boyd (2014) have argued that young people are uncontrollably hooked on these new technologies and unable to control their lives. Boyd's (2014) argument resonates with my findings that show that teenagers were hooked to the mobile phones and social media. However, my participants had found ways and means of solving the situation by unfriending the various social media platforms. The act of defriending social media platforms maybe related to the notion that teenagers lack the capacity to maintain a healthy relationship with social media, therefore the only solution is to stay off it completely (Boyd, 2014).

Addiction in research leans more on discussing media addiction and not so much research exists on social media or mobile phone addiction. However, a perusal of relevant literature reviews that the criteria used to determine media addiction includes a "craving or compulsion, loss of control, and persistence in the behavior despite accruing adverse consequences" (Shaffer, Hall and Bilt, 1999). In terms of the effects of addiction, literature highlights isolation of users from other people (e Kraut, *et al*. 1998; Bull, 2005), effecting users' finances, and negatively impacting academic performance (Kubey *et al.*, 2001).

Scholars like Park (2005) believe that mobile phone addiction is no different from any other type of addiction such as drugs and alcohol. Terms such as "smart phone addiction," "mobile phone dependence" and "compulsive mobile phone use" are all cited in the work by Goswami and Singh (2016: 70) have all been used to describe more or less the same phenomenon, that is, people absorbed in their smart phone use to the extent that they neglect other areas of life.

Using a participatory culture perspective emphasizing that participatory culture embraces values of diversity through the interactions that people engage in with each other, is flawed when discussed from the concept of risks that participants in the study encounter. As discussed that a participatory culture assumes that people are capable of making decisions, collectively and individually, because of an assumed capability to express themselves through a broad range of different forms and practices, such as media risks, limits teenagers in their pursuit to be full participants. This is an important perspective for my study because it informs scholarship that in a networked participation, there must be a need to ensure a reduction in impediments to participation such as bullying and harassment online and even addiction, which is the extreme form or problematic use of the media (Goswami and Singh, 2016). In fact, this viewpoint came out strong in my study as participants considered risks as a crucial factor that impedes them from a full participation using mobile phones and social media.

Using a network society perspective, the findings in this study when analysed from the two factors influencing membership in networks as discussed in chapter three -social inclusion and exclusion- (Philipson *et al*., 2017). The findings translate that the limitations encountered in the networked participation by teenagers means that some teenagers are excluded from a full participation. For instance, the limitation "exposure to pornography" that participants mentioned means that some participants are inhibited from accessing certain sites for fear of having to be exposed to pornography. Many of the teenagers stated that their exposure to pornography was such that it was by mistake such as visiting a Facebook page and the material is displayed there.

Castells (2002) argued that networks work on a binary logic namely, inclusion/exclusion. Therefore, whatever limitations encountered have potential to destabilise the networked participation of the participants and have potential to exclude them or include them in the participation. As Phillip (2011) warned that inclusion and exclusion from the networks by virtue of not having access to the technologies cuts out the participants from belonging to that network. This argument came out strongly in my study.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings around research objective number four – To investigate teenagers' networked participatory culture. To fulfil the objective, I asked three questions; what constitutes participation using smart phones? How does regulation governing social media and

smart phone use affect participation? And, what limitations are associated with a networked participatory culture?

It was established in the chapter as regards the first question that participants regarded participation as a multi-faceted process. Guided by the findings from the study, it can be concluded that participation is both a process of active involvement by contributing content to the online discourse and the process of passive participation but following the debates that take place. It can also be concluded that for networked participation to occur, factors such as time, finances, skills and a passion for the engagement must be satisfied or taken into consideration.

Meanwhile, it was established in the chapter that as regards the regulatory framework governing their access and use of social media, participants expressed ignorance as to the impact of the regulatory framework on their participation. This finding was an unusual finding as I was of the impression that these participants would be driven to know regulation governing social media and mobile phones use so that they are equipped with the relevant knowledge.

In the same vein, Third *et al.* (2014) argue that the participants in their study on "children's rights in the digital age" expressed confusion about how regulatory frameworks operate to protect them. Similarly, my participants noted that they did not understand the role of the regulatory framework as pertains their participation. In supporting my findings in the current study, research has consistently shown that young people are tangled about the legal protections available to them in relation to digital media tools (Katz *et al.,* 2014).

Finally, the chapter has also discussed the limitations that participants reported to encounter in their networked participation efforts. Limitations such as addiction, exposure to pornography and wasting a lot of time online all emerged as dominating factors affecting participation. The chapter also represented interesting findings as relates to limitation as the disturbances from the teachers during school hours. One participant in fact even stated that their teacher tended to disturb her in class and affected her academic performance. This was an interesting reveal in the study.

The next chapter presents a summary for the entire thesis. The chapter discusses the significance and implications this study has on academic discourses and other areas. The chapter also gives a summary of the three findings chapters and draws conclusions on these chapters.

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

Introduction

The study has investigated the networked participatory culture of teenagers in Lusaka and has provided a thick, descriptive account of how teenagers from a range of secondary schools in Lusaka experience using mobile phones and social media. The original, qualitative data that was collected was analysed in relationship to the chosen theoretical frameworks of 'participatory culture theory' (Jenkins) and 'network society theory' (Manuel Castells), both of which are central in understanding debates on social media and mobile phones within the field of mobile media studies or mobile communication studies. Four research questions guided the study: How do teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka; what social networking activities do teenagers engage in online in Lusaka? How do teenagers experience mobile communication? And; what is networked participatory culture among teenagers in Lusaka?

Three key findings emerged from the data gathered using qualitative research methods of FGDs using thematic analysis as a data deduction tool. To start with, it was established that teenagers consider ownership of smart phones as a key determinant of their participation. The participants in the study reported that absolute ownership necessitated greater privacy and control over information and people they communicated with. Secondly, it was revealed that the mobile phone's primary purposes were for building social networks, content prosumption and for communication purposes. Thirdly, the study established that teenagers were motivated to access and use social media for variant reasons. These included self-expressions, gaining freedom and independence to produce content, a need to satisfy a desire to gain popularity, to improve on their personal knowledge and skills, and to cultivate a sense of community belonging and networking in virtual communities.

These findings are significant for a number of reasons:

Firstly, the findings are the first of their kind as regards literature on the social and cultural issues influencing networked participatory culture amongst teenagers in Lusaka, Zambia. Before this study, there existed no literature discussing how teenagers' experience mobile phones and social media in Zambia.

Secondly, the findings make an important novel contribution to scholarship as it relates to gender and networked participatory culture. The findings reveal that gender is a key

determinant of participation as regards how teenagers experience networked participatory culture in Zambia. Just to clarify, it was reported that girls were more likely to limit their use of social media and smart phones as they were considered a gender that must take care of the home by doing household chores.

The findings in this study make a contribution to literature on 'de-westernizing, internationalizing and decolonizing media and communication studies' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 4; Mutsvairo, 2018; Thussu, 2009; Curran and Park, 2000; Wang, 2011) as well as internet studies and audience studies (Goggin and McLelland, 2009; Butsch and Livingstone, 2014).

Broadly, it can be stated that teenagers' experience of networked participatory culture is influenced by several factors as will be summarised below.

Social and Economic Capital: an important consideration in ownership of phones

The process of adoption of mobile phones by teenagers in Lusaka is influenced by their ubiquitous nature (Barkhuus and Polichar, 2011). In understanding teenagers' access and use of social media in Lusaka, it was revealed that teenagers always consider their adoption of mobile phones to be influenced by the economic costs of both purchasing the mobile phone and the costs of owning and maintaining a mobile phone. One of the key affordances of individually owning a mobile phone for teenagers is that it provided a feeling of empowerment through their experience of more privacy, control and flexibility in using mobile media communication devices.

A unique study finding in this research that contributes to wider debates on teenagers' networked participatory culture, is that ownership of the mobile phone is influenced by sharing of the devices, lack of creativity and loss of money through other people expending the data and airtime thereby being forced to spend more on another data or airtime package. This, the study established was a potential source of conflict amongst teenagers. This finding was interesting because learners reported to feel empowered with individual ownership of mobile phones, but group or communal ownership of phones made them feel less empowered as regards privacy, control and flexibility of use of phones.

While ownership was an important consideration when investigating teenagers' experience of mobile phones, the study findings also revealed that costs associated with the purchase and upkeep of mobile phones was a crucial topic to understanding the phenomenon under investigation. An important finding as regards literature was that studies investigating the

subject of purchase of mobile phones among teenagers was limited. This finding was an unexpected reveal considering that mobile phones have acquired a ubiquitous nature and are considered as a central tool for enabling communication. This is a significant reveal because it makes an important contribution to closing the gap identified in the literature section that seeks to help in understanding how teenagers experience networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

The learner participants in the study, however, reported that their individual ownership of a mobile phone was dependent upon it being 'gifted' to them by their wider family and friends. It is social capital rather than economic capital that enables these teenagers to 'own' their own mobile phones, even if this ownership is dependent on the economic capital of their wider social networks. This finding reflected literature such as Bell's (2006) study on young adults in Asia that reported that their parents bought the phones for them. Another interesting finding from literature that supported my study findings was one by Hijazi-Omari and Ribak (2008) that reported that female participants in the study were given the phones by their boyfriends as gifts supporting the claim that social capital rather than economic capital is a critical determinant of ownership of mobile phones amongst teenagers.

Use of mobile phones amongst teenagers

This study has revealed that the mobile phone as used by my teenage participants focused on three primary uses: building social networks, prosumption, and for inter-personal communication purposes. The findings revealed that the mobile phone was used by my participants for building online networks and maintaining offline networks, used for building new networks or connections and for maintaining already existing networks. This means that, as regards building networks that are new and those that are already existing, the findings have revealed that mobile phones have made it possible for participants to build three types of networks. The three are,

1) Personal connections consisting friends and family

2) Digital ties or connections consisting networks such as educational ties and friendships built using social media with both strangers or people that are known, and;

3) Business contacts for economic reasons such as trading or exchange of merchandise like used school text books.

It can be concluded therefore that the mobile phone is an important device in the everyday lives of these teenagers in Lusaka. The mobile phones are not only a primary conduit for building individual personal social relationships (Howard, 2011) but are equally important for the construction of public/professional/educational relationships and the exchange of information. Overall, my study reveals that inclusion and exclusion as influenced by the social and economic factors of ownership and access to mobile phones as discussed earlier, perpetuates what Van Deursen (2008) and Van Dijk (2014) refer to as the digital divide and what Jenkins (2012) propagates as the participatory gap. The two concepts contribute to excluding the participants from belonging to networks of participation therefore, there is need to ensure that issues such as ownership, cost of access and use are put into consideration.

It was also revealed in the study that the findings as regards access and use of mobile phones can be concluded to be influenced by both gender and economic class. It can be concluded that females and males use and access mobile phones differently as it was reported that females' are more inclined to getting household chores and other home responsibilities as opposed to engaging in interpersonal communication using the phone. The study has revealed that there are four factors that influence the gendered use of mobile phones: the networks one has access to or cultural norms, ownership, activities engaged in, and relationships.

In addition to gender, socio-economic class also influenced how teenagers in Lusaka experienced the use of mobile phones and social media. It can be concluded that issues related to the cost of buying mobile phones are an important factor for consideration. In fact, the participants themselves expressed concern that "a phone is an expensive investment" that includes costs of buying airtime, paying electricity for charging the phone device, buying phone protectors and updating software.

Overall, despite the aforementioned challenges, it can be concluded that teenagers are pervasive users of mobile phones. The study concludes that this is as a result of the ubiquitous nature (Glotz, Bertschi and Locke, 2006) of the mobile phones although Ling (2012) argues that the ubiquitous existences of the phone is sometimes taken for granted just like it was reported in the data that some learners actually took for granted their ability to use and access the phones.

Motivations for access and use of social media

It was revealed in the study that teenagers use and access of phones is inspired by a variety of reasons that include: self-expression, sociality, empowerment, independence, creativity as well as sharing information.

Of the listed factors above, a unique finding was that teenagers' primary motivations for engaging with social media are two-fold: to self-express themselves and to feel a sense of belonging to a virtual community. In line with self-expression, as presented in chapter six, the study concludes that teenagers engage on social media for three reasons, which are: freedom and independence to produce content, urge to gain popularity and an improvement on their personal knowledge and skills. As regards community belongingness, teenagers engage with social media to satisfy the need to be accepted as a member of a grouping. A unique finding in the study was that teenagers have an inherent desire to be considered a part of a community group. The study concludes that social media allows teenagers to satisfy this need.

Teenagers' engagement of social media

Through the participatory culture and network society theories lens, it has been concluded in chapter six that teenager's engagement with social media is closely linked to the concept of identity and self-representation. This study concludes that teenagers engage with social media in order for self-expression through the process of creation of profiles, displaying their networks composed of connections, displaying pictures, links, music preference, and other personal information. Herring and Kapidzi (2015) agree with this finding and contend that self-representation online takes place through social media largely supported by Web 2.0 which affords for user-generated content. This view is disputed by Jenkins (2012) who views Web2.0 as more of a corporate concept. This study finding supports the notion that self-representation online is largely because of social media supported by Web 2.0 technologies. This is an important reveal as it contributes to wide debates on self-representation and Web 2.0 discourse.

Meanwhile, whilst it has already been stated that female and males use social media differently, the study also found that gender has a significant influence on the teenagers' engagement on social media. Teenage girls tended to limit the time they spent on social media as they are committed to other social obligations such as household chores or schoolwork, in contrast to their male counterparts.

Overall, it can be concluded that teenagers' engagement with social media is largely influenced by gender and the teenagers' economic status. However, in terms of economic class, very little difference exists. In contrast, in terms of gender, there is a huge difference in the way females and males engage with social media. For example, females in the study reported to engage in what they termed "soft topics" such as fashion and culinary, while males engaged in activities like watching action movies, wrestling sports and gaming. What this means is that, females were more interested in skills / attributes (self-expression) of cultural capital whilst boys were more interested in watching (passive) or entertainment such as gaming which can be summed up as males being more interested in leisure activities.

The study also revealed that in the process of engagement on social media, participants were presented with controversial topics such as politics, religion and sexuality. The issue of LGBTI rights was singled out as a taboo predominantly because Zambia is a conservative country that has issues of gays and lesbians banned in the laws under Cap 87, sections 155 through 157 of the country's penal code. This study finding, explains the prevailing debate on the conservativeness of social media for users that include teenagers. The study also reveals that there exists little or no room for opposition / activism or resistance as regards issues of homosexuality as evidenced by the imprisonment of LGBTI activist by the name of Paul Kasokomona as discussed in chapter six.

It can be concluded therefore, that engagement online by teenagers which is largely possible because of social media's affordance for sharing, visibility and exposure impels the participants into a surveillance culture. Ball (2010) and Gandy (1989) have defined surveillance as the institutional mechanisms enacted by government aimed at exerting control over citizens. In line with this, it can be concluded that the three bills that the Zambian government is trying to enact are a ploy to exert control over citizens. The study however, found that not all the regulatory frameworks were restrictive, but some as discussed in chapter seven such as the children online protection strategy framework, were an important step in an effort to protect the teenagers online. However, an important finding from the study was the docility in teenagers to not want to question the motives that government through ZICTA was putting up of placing mechanisms to regulate social media. This discovery is important as it reveals the lack of pressure from teenagers whom this study argues are the biggest consumers of social media in Zambia.

Networked participatory culture from teenager's perspective

Networked participatory culture is the use of mobile phones for content production and consumption. Participatory Culture according to Jenkins (2012) describes people as active participants in communication as opposed to being mere spectators. The teenager participants in this study, however, could not agree on what counted as "meaningful participation." Whilst there was consensus that networked participatory culture was dependent upon leisure time, social and economic capital, new media literacy, and a willingness to participate, there were different interpretations of what participation meant to the teenagers such as being able to chat with friends, exchanging of pictures and being a part of a virtual community.

A unique finding as regards factors affecting participation was that even though there could be a huge number of participants in any grouping, the reality is that not everyone will actually contribute to the discourse. This finding is consistent with literature by Van Djik and Nieborg (2009) who argue that participation in any platform narrows when external factors are considered and the implication of this is that there are chances that where there is a huge grouping of people, chances are that very few people will actually contribute.

Another unique finding in this study was that teenagers do not pay so much attention to the implications of regulation as regards their ICT use as discussed earlier. Contrary to my impression that teenagers were avid followers of developments in the ICT sector as pertains regulation, it was revealed that they were actually not even interested in what goes on as regards regulation. This finding contributes to wide debate on the public sphere as propagated by Jürgen Habermas (1986). The finding is interesting because it disputes the assumption that because teenagers are pervasive users of ICTs like mobile phones, they were automatically supposed to be keen followers of developments in the ICT regulation sector. However, Katz *et al.* (2014) argues that young people are often confused as regards the importance of the regulatory framework or legal protections available in relation to mobile phones and ICTs in general.

Another unique reveal from the study was that teenagers encountered a number of limitations as pertains their pursuit of networked participatory culture that included privacy. Six limitations were mentioned, and these include: privacy concerns, exposure to pornography, disturbance in school, and long hours on the phone hence poor sleep patterns, addiction, bullying and harassment. A unique finding in the study was that teenagers are negatively affected by disturbances using the phone by both themselves (by disturbing themselves by paying attention

to the phone than their school work) and their teachers (by the phone disturbing the students when it rings or when the teacher talks on the phone). It was interesting to discover that teacher's use of the networked phones in class had a negative effect on the concentration levels of learners.

Significance and implications of the study

This qualitative examination of how teenagers in Lusaka engage with mobile communication and social media makes a significant contribution to the fields of mobile media studies, social media, and participatory cultures. Whilst teenagers, mobile phones and social media has been well documented internationally, many of these studies are based in the global North. This study therefore, focuses on a city in the global South offering an account of ways in which teenagers are engaging with mobile and social media within an African socio-political and cultural context. This study offers an important exploration of mobile media and social media in Zambia and responds to the urgent need more than ever to research African media audiences because 'of the rapidly changing media landscape on the continent' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 1). It has therefore proposed some (limited) answers to what Willems and Mano (2017: 1) describe as the 'unanswered' question of what ordinary people do with new media on an everyday basis in Africa.

Academic discourse

In order to understand and analyse contemporary social life in Africa, Jo Helle-Valle (2017: 27) argues that there is a need to include 'the role of media in everyday life.' This demands that academic scholarship needs to study media practices, which is described as the 'actual, down-to-earth engagement between people, their ICTs and the various networks and infrastructures that support such use' (Helle-Valle, 2017: 28).

This study fills an academic void in relation to the discipline of how teenagers in Zambia are shaping the meaning of mobile communication and social media and how they experience these participatory platforms. The findings in this study also have significance for wider debate on mobile communication and social media. The findings shed light on practices such as ownership of media (mobile phones and social media), gender and socio-economic class as relates to teenagers' experiences, and most importantly how these teenagers make meaning of the debate on networked participation online.

The study further sheds light on the social and cultural issues influencing participation. For example, it was established in the study that culturally, girls were more likely to limit their uptake of social media and mobile communication because they are looked at as the gender that must take care of the home by doing household chores hence being limited in their networked participatory culture.

While there exists a number of studies that have investigated the subject of teenager's experiences of networked participatory culture, none has been conducted in Zambia. As stated in Chapter One, this study ventured into an area that has received very little attention as regards research. The study investigated teenagers' access and use of social media, activities teenagers engage in online, their experiences of social media and an assessment of teenagers networked participatory culture – topics that have never been investigated in Zambia before.

Theoretical implications

Theoretically, the current study concludes that for networked participatory culture to be fully achieved, certain factors such as gender, skills, financial resources and interests to participate must be considered. The current study rejects the notion that participatory culture can only take place if there is an exchange of information. Based on the findings, the study concludes that participatory culture can still take place even when some members of the group are passive so long as they add to the numbers of people that the information is reaching. Therefore, even though circulations (Jenkins, 2012) as a form of participatory culture is crucial to the process even non-circulation by a group of people in the communication process is also considered important.

The biggest contribution to the participatory culture theory that the current study brings is that it seeks to inform a population sample of teenagers from Zambia, a population that Henry Jenkins (1992) may not have envisioned when he mapped out the theory. Further, the study brings in unique perspectives to the application of the theory. For instance, the study argues and rejects Jenkins (1992) silence on the prerequisites for participation such as equal access to skills, knowledge and financial resources and interest or passion to engage. The current study adds to the participatory culture theory by proposing that the mentioned prerequisites must be considered for a participatory culture to be fully realised.

In the same vein, the current study adds to the network society theory by using the theory to inform the study focusing on a population that is from Africa. Studies that have incorporated

the network society theory from the African perspective to study teenagers are limited. This present study therefore, contributes new insights as regards the applicability of the network society theory to study both teenagers and the youth.

Policy makers

Research into African media audiences and users is 'urgent more than ever because of the rapidly changing media landscape on the continent in the last few decades' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 1). Research on media and communication in Africa has, to date, typically only 'examined the policy and regulatory context of media' or the 'relations between media institutions and the state' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 2). Whilst both approaches offer important macro-analyses of media and communication in Africa, they do leave the question 'of what average people do with old and new media on an everyday basis unanswered' (Willems and Mano, 2017: 2).

Drawing on this, discourses on ICTs specifically the mobile phone, influences policy debates in any given context. The voices of teenagers are seldom included in the policy formulation process (Dunkels, 2011). danah boyd similarly argues that her research was motivated by the fact that a lot of people talk about youth engagement with social media , but few of them are willing to take the time to listen to teenagers, to hear them, or to pay attention to what they have to say about their lives: online and offline (boyd, 2014).

In contrast, the present study's findings can be used as a way to channel the voices of teenagers in Lusaka (as representatives of other teenagers in Lusaka and Zambia) into policy debates. The participants' comments from the study can be taken into consideration when ICT policies are being developed or debated in parliament. For instance, participants expressed concern with the disturbances of the mobile phones by their teachers and in such an instance, such a reveal can inform policy on use of mobile phones by teachers in schools.

Further, as regards the participatory gap (Jenkins 2012) associated with new media literacies and skills and digital divide (Van Dijk 2014) associated with access to technologies, participants said that the cost of purchase and maintenance of mobile phones such as purchasing data for networked participation, were the major barriers to their participation. This could be addressed by coming up with tariffs and data deals that could target this population. Further, policy makers could also help regulate the market by coming up with deliberate policies that enable the teenagers to make full use of their networked participation.

Limitation and areas for further research

This study has explored the networked participatory cultures of teenagers' in Lusaka. Drawing on the fact there is no literature that contributes to wider debates on how Zambian teenagers experience mobile phones and social media, this study makes an important scholarly contribution to the debate on media and communication in Africa.

The main limitation to this study however, is that it mainly explores teenagers' voices neglecting the adult voice. In this view, it would be interesting to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of networked participation amongst teenagers but also getting an understanding of the experiences of networked participation from the perspective of adults themselves.

Additionally, it would be interesting to carry out a cross-cultural research comparing the findings in Zambia with the experiences of teenagers from a more digitally advanced culture. This would be interesting as it would contribute to the understanding of the networked participation amongst teenagers using mobile phones and social media. For instance, South Africa, scores considerably higher than Zambia on ICT penetration statistics[2] thus it can be categorised as a more digitally advanced society. Such a research would provide rich insights as pertains the influence of ICTs (social media and mobile phones) as regards experience of teenagers' networked participation.

One of the findings in the study was that the ICT policy and regulation is not a major issue of consideration by the participants themselves. It would be interesting if future research could focus on the regulatory framework in-depth, and how teenagers perceive laws governing mobile phones and social media.

Furthermore, the current study found that networked participation presents several challenges to teenagers. For instance, it presents challenges like exposure to pornography, addiction, bullying and harassment and disturbances caused by mobile phones by both teenagers and teachers themselves. It would be interesting to study the effects of these limitations and how teenagers perceive the inherent challenges. This further research would undoubtedly contribute

[2] Please visit the link for a breakdown of ICT statistics in Africa https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Regional-Presence/Africa/Pages/MemberCountriesinAfrica.aspx (accessed on 20th February 3019)

to a deeper understanding of the ways in which teenagers experience networked participatory culture. ☺

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Informed Consent Form

TOPIC: **Networked Participatory Cultures in Lusaka: How Teenagers Experience Social Media and Smart Phones**

Correspondence with interviewees: Letter of invitation to participate in the study

Dear Sir/Madam

I, Brenda Bukowa, I am collecting data to complete a study on: **Mobile Phones and Social Media: an investigation of how teenagers' experience online participatory culture in Lusaka**. The study is conducted under the supervision of University of KwaZulu-Natal, Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS). My supervisor's name is Dr Sarah Gibson. I am writing to request your consent to participation. The importance of this study is to examinehow the Internet and mobile phones facilitate children's participation on social media in Lusaka, Zambia.

The study aims to:

- evaluate how teenagers' access and use social media in Lusaka;
- provide an account of teenagers' social networking activities in Lusaka;
- examine how teenagers experience mobile communication; and,
- assess teenagers networked participatory culture in Lusaka.

Participation in this study is voluntary. As a participant, you may withdraw from the research at any time without expecting negative consequences. Participation will not be paid for in money, but a small token may be given. In the focus group discussions, light refreshments will be provided. In general, responses will be treated in a confidential manner.

I request the use of an audio-recorder in both the interviews and focus groups. The University of KwaZulu-Natal will keep the data securely for five years for purposes of verification. Should you request, an electronic copy of the final thesis, this will be sent to you on completion.

Thank you for your time.
Your willingness to participate in this study will greatly be appreciated.

Details of the researcher and institution of research

	Name/ Address	Phone Number	Email address
Researcher	Brenda Bukowa	+27-71-8180190	bukowab1@yahoo.com
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Committee C UKZN Human Scie Research Commit	Mr. Prem Mohun	+27-31-260-4557	hssrechumanities@ukzn.ac
Please do not hesitate to contact any of the above persons, should you want further information on research, or should you want to discuss any aspect of the interview process.			

Signed consent	
• I understand that the purpose of this interview is for solely academic purpose. findings will be published as research projects/dissertations and may be publishe academic journals.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

• I understand I may choose to remain anonymous. (Please choose whether or not would like to remain anonymous.)	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• /I understand that I many choose whether or not my name will be quoted in rem and or information attributed to myself in the final research documents.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I understand that I will not be paid for participating.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I understand that I reserve the right to discontinue and withdraw my participation time.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I consent to be frank to give the information.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I understand I will not be coerced into commenting on issues against my will, and I may decline to answer specific questions.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I choose to use a pseudonym, not my real name.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐
• I consent to the use of audio-recorder during focus group discussions.	**Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

*** By signing this form, I consent that I have duly read and understood its content.**

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant /Parent/guardian	**Signature**	**Date**
_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	**Signature**	**Date**

APPENDIX II: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule for a research on the study "**Networked Participatory Cultures in Lusaka: How Teenagers Experience Social Media and Smart Phones**.*"*

Name of Interviewer_____

Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

Position_____

Hello

My name is Brenda Bukowa. I am a Communication, Media and Culture PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus in Durban, South Africa. I am conducting a study on *"**Networked Participatory Cultures in Lusaka: How Teenagers Experience Social Media and Smart Phones**."*

This interview is being conducted to get your input on how teenagers' experience the Internet using mobile phones to facilitate teenager's participatory culture on social media in Lusaka, Zambia. I am especially interested in learning and understanding the nature and extent of children's access, identity, interaction, and privacy on social media platforms.

If it is okay with you, I will be audio- recording our conversation. The purpose of this is so that I can get all the details but at the same time be able to carry on an attentive conversation with you. I assure you that all your comments will remain confidential. I will be compiling a report, which will contain all the responses and comments without any reference to individuals.

If you agree to this interview and the tape recording, please sign this consent form provided to you.

"I'm now going to ask you some questions that I would like you to answer to the best of your ability. If you do not understand any of the questions, please say so and if you know the answer but don't want to answer please say so too."

i) How do teenagers use social media platforms?
ii) How do teenagers access social media platforms?
iii) How does class and gender affect teenager's access and use of social media in Lusaka?
iv) How do teenagers participate on social networking sites?
v) How do teenagers negotiate online and offline social networking activities?
vi) How does gender and class affect teenager's social networking activities in Lusaka?
vii) How do mobile communications media enable participation on social media platforms?
viii) How does the space in which teenagers are using mobile communication media effect social networking activities?
ix) How do gender and class effect teenagers' access and use of mobile communication media?
x) How are the ICT clubs facilitating or regulating participation on social media platforms?
xi) How are ICT clubs facilitating teenagers' participation?
xii) How do the ICT clubs educate teenagers about online participation on social media platforms?
xiii) How does the space of the ICT clubs facilitate social networking activities (online or offline)?

Thank you so much for according me an opportunity to interview you. God bless you!

APPENDIX III: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Focus Group Interview Schedule for a research on the study "*"**Networked Participatory Cultures in Lusaka: How Teenagers Experience Social Media and Smart Phones**."

*Name of Moderator*_____

Name of Assistant _____

*Date*_____

*Attendees*_____

Introduction

Hello and thank you for coming. My name is Brenda Bukowa. I am a Communication, Media and Culture PhD candidate studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus, South Africa. This is my colleague and research assistant *Geoffrey Mwelwa* who will ensure that the proceedings are recorded, and notes taken so that I can have a true reflection of this very important discussion.

This Focus Group Discussion will be a relaxed discussion, and everyone is encouraged to participate.

Purpose of the FGD

We are all here to talk about the topic: *""**Networked Participatory Cultures in Lusaka: How Teenagers Experience Social Media and Smart Phones**."* The essence of this is to understand how teenagers experience participatory culture in Lusaka. This discussion is meant for you to share your experiences and opinions. I am not here to share information, or to give you my opinions. Your perceptions are what matter. There are no right or wrong or desirable or undesirable answers. You can disagree with each other, and you can change your mind. I would like you to feel comfortable saying what you really think and how you really feel.

Procedure

My colleague Geofrey Mwelwa will be taking down notes and audio recording the discussion so that I do not miss anything you have to say. Everything in this room is confidential. No one will know who said what. I want this to be a group discussion, so feel free to respond to me and to other members in the group without waiting to be called on. However, I would appreciate it if only one person may talk at a time. The discussion will last approximately one hour. There is a lot I want to discuss, so at times I may move us along a bit.

Creating Rapport and Participant Introduction

Can we now hear from everyone here by sharing your names, age and what grade you are in? Also share with us what internet platforms you access, how you access them and how long it has been since you started using the Internet and social media.

FGD questions

1) How do you access / experience social media in Lusaka?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. what are your favorite activities that you engage in on the Internet and social media? 1) How often do you use the Internet and social media?

2) What do you understand by mobile communication?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. what do you understand about mobile communication

3) Do you own a phone?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. How often do you use the Internet and social media?

4) *What do you understand by social media? Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. what social media platforms they use?*
5) *How many social media platforms do you use? Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. motivations for using smart phones compared to laptops and tablets and computers,*

6) *Which topics do you most frequently discuss Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. which topics the participants considered controversial*

7) *Why do teenagers' access and use social media Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. why do you engage online?*

8) *What do think constitutes participation when you engage with social media and smart phones?*

9) *How are ICT clubs facilitating participation amongst teenagers?*

10) *What are the key issues affecting participation using smart phones?"*

11) *How many owned a mobile phone?*
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. How was your phone purchased?

12) *How they had acquired the mobile phone?*
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. How do you maintain the phone?

13) *What motivates you to acquire and use the mobile phone?*
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. motivations for access and motivations for use.

14) *What social media sites do you use/engage/participate?*
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. why / why you don't use the mentioned social media platforms? What are the favorite social media platforms and why?

15) *How does class or gender effect your participation or experience on social media?*
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. do you think that the fact that are a boy or a girl affects how you participate online?

16) What are the key issues affecting participation on social media in Lusaka?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. do you think the issues mentioned above enhance or hinder your participation online?

17) How is Identity [online/offline] constructed with teenager's participation online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. Describe to me what kind of conversations that you have with people online? Are they all known to you on a personal level?

18) Are there privacy or Public/Private issues when teenagers participate online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. how many people on average do you have on social media as friends? Is this any different from the friends you have in real life in terms of numbers?

19) What community [virtual] structures are constructed online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. describe to me how your online community is structured?

20) How do teenagers Communication online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. How many people do you talk to on average online? Are they all known to you on a personal level? What conversations do you normally have with them?

21) How do mobile phones enable you to participate online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. If you use the Cell Phone to access the Internet, what model is it and to whom does it belong? Who buys the data? What are your favorite activities that you engage in on the Internet and social media?

22) What technologies do they use and why?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive

23) What mobile phones do they use and why?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive

24) Does ownership, location, gender, class, affect use?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive
What role does the ICT clubs play in facilitating teenager's participation online?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive

25) What is the use of the ICT club in your school?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive

26) How many teenagers participate in ICT clubs?
Probe: I will probe further according to the responses I will receive e.g. Why are you a member of the ICT Club?

27) Do you have a social media profile?
Probe: I will probe further based on the responses e.g. If yes, describe to me how it looks, what content you post the most and how many times you visit your profile?

28) What concerns do you have with your engagement online?
Probe: I will probe further based on the responses e.g. pornography, plagiarism, cyber crimes

Wrapping

I noticed that we had a lot of different opinions about your engagement online through Social media. Does anyone want to add anything more concerning the differences discussed here?

Is there any other information about your engagement online and on social media that you think would be useful for me to know?

Thank you very much for coming to this FGD. Your time is very much appreciated, and your comments have been very helpful

APPENDIX IV: Gate Keepers Letter – Ministry of Education

All communications should be addressed to:
The Permanent Secretary, Ministry of General Education
Not to any individual by name

Telephone: 250855/251315/251283
251293/211318/251291
251003/251319

In reply please quote

No.....

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

P. O. BOX 50093
LUSAKA

6th October, 2016

The Head Teacher

- Roma Girls Secondary School
- Kabulonga Boys Secondary School
- Munali Secondary School
- Twin palm Secondary School
- Matero Girls Secondary School
- Matero Boys Secondary School

RE: PERMISSION FOR BRENDA BUKOWA TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE ABOVE SCHOOLS OF LUSAKA

Brenda Bukowa is a communication, Media and Culture Phd, candidate studying at the University of Kwazulu – Natal in South Africa. She is also a lecture of Media and Communication studies at the University of Zambia in the Department of Mass Communication.

She has been granted permission to conduct research in your school. She is scheduled to conduct field research around the topic: Mobile Phones, Internet and Social Media: an exploration of the online participatory Culture of adolescents and children in Lusaka.

- The confidentiality of the school children is guaranteed as their inputs will not be attributed to them in person, but reported only as a population member opinion.
- Any information given by respondents cannot be used against them, and the collected data will be useful for purposes of this research only.
- Their involvement is purely for academic purposes only and there are no financial benefits involved.

Your cooperation in this matter will be highly appreciated.

Yours in service

Hillary Chipango
Ministry Spokes Person
For /Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

Appendix V: Full Ethics Approval – University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN)

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

21 November 2016

Ms Brenda Bukowa 216072295
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Bukowa

Protocol Reference Number: HSS/1952/016D
Project title: Mobile communication and Social Media: An investigation of how teenagers' experience online participatory culture in Lusaka

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 9 November 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanitities & Social Scinces Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Sarah Gibson
cc. Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
cc. School Administrator: Ms Ayanda Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

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100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: Edgewood, Howard College, Medical School, Pietermaritzburg, Westville