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The logo for the International Institute of Social Studies, featuring the word "Erasmus" in a stylized, cursive script.

**Factors that influence the use of the education
re-entry policy for adolescent mothers in
Monze, Zambia**

A Research Paper presented by:

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Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of figures</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Glossary</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ix</i>
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.0 Education policies to keep girls in school	1
1.1 Problem Statement	2
1.2 Research Questions	4
1.3 Research Methodology, Sampling and Data Collection	4
1.3.0 Methodology and data collection	4
1.3.1 Research sample and sampling procedure	7
1.3.2 Challenges, Reflections and Limitations	11
1.4 Data Analysis	12
1.5 Organisation of the paper	12
Chapter 2 Situating the area of study, education system and re-entry policy	13
2.0 Research site	13
2.1 Zambia's Education System	14
2.2 The re-entry policy	16
2.3 Conclusion	18
Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework	19
3.0 Intersectionality	19
3.1 Household Gender Relations	20
3.2 Poverty	21
3.3 Analytical frame	21
3.4 Conclusion	22
Chapter 4 Presentation of Findings	23
4.0 How well respondents understood the policy and information channels	23
4.1 Household factors influencing the use and non-use of the re-entry policy	24
4.2 Challenges faced by adolescent mothers	26
4.3 Policy implementers' influence on use of the policy	30
4.4 Conclusion	32

Chapter 5 Interpreting the findings	33
5.0 Implication of wide acceptance of policy	33
5.1 Intersecting structures between parents and policy implementers	34
5.2 Interaction between parents and policy implementers	36
5.3 Exploring complexities of adolescent mothers	37
5.4 Conclusion	39
Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendations	40
<i>References</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Appendices</i>	<i>48</i>

List of Tables

Table 1 Number of pregnancies and re-entry by grade groups, location and province 2009-2016.....	3
Table 2.0 Parents' characteristics	8
Table 2.1 Re-entry policy implementers	9
Table 2.2 Adolescent mothers' characteristics	10

List of figures

Figure 1. Number of primary and secondary schools by agency and year (2007-2016).....	15
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List of Appendices

Appendix A: Commitment by Parents/Guardians of the pregnant girl	48
Appendix B: Commitment by Male Involved in Pregnancy.....	49
Appendix C: Form of Maternity Leave and Re-admission	50
Appendix D: Letter of Maternity leave and Re-admission	51
Appendix E: Sample of re-entry letter through Traditional leader.....	52
Appendix F: Question guide - Parents of adolescent mothers in school	53
Appendix G: Question guide - Parents of adolescent mothers out of school..	54
Appendix H: Question guide - Adolescent mothers in school	55
Appendix I: Question guide - Adolescent mothers not in school.....	56
Appendix J: Question guide - Traditional leaders	57
Appendix K: Open ended questionnaire – NGO and FAWEZA	58
Appendix L: Open ended questionnaire - Council of Churches in Zambia	60
Appendix M: Open ended questionnaire - Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops	63
Appendix N: Questionnaire - Monze District Education Board Secretary.....	65
Appendix O: Questionnaire - Guidance teacher.....	67
Appendix P: Questionnaire - Head teacher.....	69
Appendix Q: Question Guide - Focus Group Discussion Girls	70

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List of Acronyms

CAMFED	Campaign for Female Education
CCZ	Council of Churches in Zambia
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DEBS	District Education Board Secretary
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists in Zambia
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HWR	Human Rights Watch
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGCD	Ministry of Gender and Child Development
MoGE	Ministry of General Education
MoHE	Ministry of Higher Education
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SRHE	Sexual and Reproductive Health Education
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WFP	World Food Programme
ZCCB	Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops

Glossary

Communication for Development - “A social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change” (Haider et al. 2011: 7-8).

Gender - “Socially determined attributes of men or women, including male or female roles. Gender roles are based on learned behaviour and are flexible and variable across and within cultures.” (Zwarteveen 1994: 2).

Gender Equity - “Gender equity is the equivalence in life outcomes for women and men, recognising their different needs and interests, and requiring a redistribution of power and resources” (MGCD 2014: vi).

Global Education policy - “Different ways in which globalization processes, agents and events contribute to educational policy change on a range of scales, and with what consequences” (Verger et al. 2012: 7).

Intersectionality - “Interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power” (Davis 2008: 68).

Parents - The term parents in this study means both biological and non-biological parents in whose care the adolescent mothers were. In Zambia, children can be cared for by their parents, grandparents or other extended family members. Other times children are cared for by none relatives.

Poverty - Poverty has different definitions, but this study has adopted a Zambian definition which is, “Lack of access to income, employment opportunities, and entitlements, including freely determined consumption of goods and services, shelter, and other basic needs” (Central Statistical Office 2014a: 2).

Traditional leader - “A person who, by virtue of his ancestry, occupies the throne or stool of an area and who has been appointed to it in accordance with the customs and tradition of the area and has traditional authority over the people of that area or any other persons appointed by instrument and order of the government to exercise traditional authority over an area or a tribe” (Mthandeni 2002: 1).

Abstract

The commitment by countries to meet international targets on gender equity in education and fulfil the right to education for adolescent mothers, has led to the introduction of education policies in many countries especially in Sub Saharan Africa. Coupled with the domestication of many United Nations treaties on education, one would expect more girls to be in school. With plenty of literature on girls' education, this study focuses on an area that has not been covered much, which is factors that influence the use and non-use of the education re-entry policy in Zambia.

Using mainly qualitative data collecting methods, this study researched parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers. The study finds many inter-related factors that influence the use of the policy. Among the factors is the lack of information on the actual re-entry procedure among parents and adolescent mothers leading parents to use different re-entry methods. The preference for boys' education, anchored on cultural norms which perpetuate the subordination of women, is another factor that negatively influenced the use of the re-entry policy. Poverty is another factor which was identified leaving parents unable to meet the cost of secondary education not only for adolescent mothers but for other children as well.

Furthermore, inconsistencies among policy implementers in implementing the policy contributed to the exclusion of adolescent mothers from attaining education. Even though the limited sample prevents the generalisation of these results, the findings are useful to policy makers and policy implementers as they provide insight on factors that influence the use and non-use of the policy.

Relevance to Development Studies

Development actors are constantly looking for answers to the fight against poverty and now, focus has shifted to education especially for adolescent mothers. Development and sociological studies have shown that education is like a double-edged sword which can spread intergenerational poverty, or which can break the cycle of poverty and reduce inequalities anchored on the marginalisation of women in many parts of the world. As globalisation spearheads the implementation of education policies, this study on the education re-entry policy for adolescent mothers in a rural area of Zambia, remains relevant for development studies because it provides insight on bottlenecks that negatively influence the implementation of such policies. The removal of identified bottlenecks will pave the way for education especially for adolescent mothers and lead to personal, community and national development.

Keywords

Education, Re-entry policy, Adolescent mothers, Zambia

Chapter 1 Introduction

The question of what Development is has always been answered by economic growth using the gross domestic product of a country. With time, this view of development has failed to adequately reduce poverty and the widening gap between the rich and the poor (Cremin and Nakabugo 2012: 502, Tarabini 2010: 205). In a search for new alternatives to development and poverty reduction, development actors have shifted their focus from economic development to education as the answer (Tarabini 2010: 204, UNESCO 2016: 27). Education's potential to improve people's capabilities by making them competitive in a fast technologically advancing world makes it appealing for human and national development (Abuya et al 2014: 382, Tarabini 2010: 205).

Previously, the focus on education has not been stressed as today, and its evolution can be traced back to 1990 when the six Education for All goals were set, followed by the Dakar convention in 2000 (UNESCO 2016: 28), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), now the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women to which Zambia is a signatory.

As a signatory and in cognizance of global calls to include education in national development strategies, in 2002, Zambia introduced free primary education for all boys and girls (UNESCO 2016: 3). The strategy has improved enrolment and gender equity at primary level with the year 2016, recording equal enrolment for boys and girls (MoGE: 2016: 26). The improved gender equity at primary level has not been replicated at secondary and tertiary level yet where there are more males enrolled compared to females. These gender disparities are not unique to Zambia, as globally, Africa has the lowest secondary school participation rate standing at 45 percent. The disparities are such that, for every 60 girls, there are 100 boys that are in secondary school (Sutherland-Addy 2008: 14).

Although this research has endeavoured to use literature from a variety of sources, much of the literature used comes from developing countries especially Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) due to shared cultural practices which have negatively affected the education of the girl child.

1.0 Education policies to keep girls in school

Education attainment is an uphill battle for many girls. While others manage to complete their education and become self-reliant, the majority do not manage to do so. Among barriers that hinder girls' education is what Eloundou-Enyegue and Stokes (2004: 305) refer to as "sex-specific" reasons resulting from adolescent pregnancy. Statistics from 2010 show that globally 36.4 million women between 20 and 24 years had their first child birth before their 18th birthday (Loaiza and Liang 2013: 14-5). Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 28 percent of the adolescent pregnant population (ibid). In the case of Zambia, from a population of

13,092,666 people recorded during the 2010 census of population and housing (CSO 2012: 5), 29 percent of the population between 15 to 19 years old fell pregnant or had given birth (CSO 2014a: 76).

Girls who fall pregnant while in school are either expelled, re-entered or allowed to continue learning while pregnant (Chilisa 2002: 21, Human Rights Watch 2018: 13, Lloyd and Mensch 2008: 1). Expulsion policies common in countries with little regard for human rights such as Mali, Togo and Zanzibar are effected the moment the pregnancy is discovered and girls are expelled without any chance of re-entering (Chilisa 2012: 21). Re-entry policies on the other hand found in countries like South Africa and Zambia allow adolescent mothers to take maternity leave from school and return after giving birth. An elaboration of the re-entry policy in Zambia is given in the next chapter. The continuation policy found in countries like Rwanda and Ivory Coast allows pregnant adolescents to continue with their education without being forced to leave school until they are due to give birth (HRW 2018:31). Of the three policies, Chilisa argues that continuation is the most effective policy as it challenges societal norms and helps achieve gender equity in schools (2002: 34).

Although government is the main actor in spearheading re-entry, multiple actors including international organisations have come on board to supplement its efforts. Their support includes bursaries, infrastructure development and improving the quality of education. The bursaries cater for all school requirements and sometimes meet sanitary needs for adolescent mothers, which is a challenge in most parts of the country (Camfed 2018, FAWE 2004: 16). The money equivalent of the bursaries depends on whether the school is day or boarding and in rural or urban areas. For this paper estimations are pegged between K1000 and K5500, equivalent to US\$85-US\$466 respectively (using the exchange rate of US\$1: K11.80 applicable at the time of writing this paper). The logistics of looking after the baby and other household needs are the responsibility of the families. Among organisations providing bursaries is the Campaign for Female Education (Camfed Zambia), whose focus is to keep marginalised girls in school. Through its contribution, Camfed Zambia is working in 1, 165 partner schools in 44 districts in Zambia (Camfed 2018).

The Forum for African Women Educationalist in Zambia (FAWEZA) is yet another organisation that has been instrumental in advocating for girls' education and contributed to the drawing up of the re-entry policy guidelines currently used in schools. Among other factors, these organisations have been able to re-enter adolescent mothers through working with traditional leaders who have come on board to support girls' education.

1.1 Problem Statement

After twenty-one years since the launch of the re-entry policy in Zambia, the education system has not recorded significant improvements in the number of adolescent mothers returning to school. The Ministry of General Education

acknowledges that pregnancy related drop outs of school, remains a challenge in the education system. Table 1, below provides a comparison of learners' pregnancies and re-entrants in urban and rural areas per province from 2009-2016.

Table 1
Number of pregnancies and re-entry by grade groups, location and province 2009-2016

Provinces	Grades 1-7				Grades 8-12			
	Pregnancies		Re-Admits		Pregnancies		Re-Admits	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
CENTRAL	1 177	141	481	78	154	104	130	58
COPPERBELT	457	420	199	135	110	512	69	361
EASTERN	1 731	114	725	36	273	50	176	36
LUAPULA	924	83	455	61	267	68	152	33
LUSAKA	559	392	164	194	83	311	47	157
MUCHINGA	432	50	172	46	171	87	100	42
NORTH WESTERN	1 481	75	821	39	367	35	258	30
NORTHERN	676	70	345	75	80	58	79	42
SOUTHERN	1 615	152	609	90	217	142	188	81
WESTERN	1 088	128	641	57	243	125	135	56
Total	10 140	1 625	4 612	811	1 965	1 492	1 334	896

Source: MoGE (2016: 36)

As can be seen from the table, there are high numbers of pregnancies in rural areas compared to urban areas and the re-entry numbers do not correspond with the number of pregnancies recorded. The number of re-entrants is low especially in primary schools despite different stakeholders having partnered with government to remove barriers to education. Statistics (MoGE 2016: 37) show that the average re-entry of adolescent mothers at primary level has improved from 38% in 2015 to 46% in 2016 while the re-entry for secondary schools has remained static at 65%.

While appreciating literature written on different aspects of girls' education (Chigona and Chetty 2008, Mwansa 2011, Wedekind and Milingo 2015), there is limited literature on factors influencing the re-entry of adolescent mothers. This study will not only fill the research gap, but by researching parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers, it will provide insights from key actors in the re-entry policy of what factors affect its use. The fact that it will be done in a rural area contributes to its strength and relevance as many pregnancies are recorded in rural areas with few re-entrants.

Research objectives

The main objective of this research is to explore family, community and institutional factors that explain the use and non-use of the re-entry policy for adolescent mothers. By investigating these factors, this research will provide a platform on which policy makers can base their decisions, as they endeavour to improve

girls' education. The study will also contribute to current debates on girls' education.

1.2 Research Questions

What type of family, community and institutional factors influence the use and non-use of the re-entry policy?

Sub Questions

1. How well do parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers understand the re-entry policy and through which medium of communication did they learn about it?
2. What household factors influence the use and non-use of the policy?
3. What challenges do adolescent mothers face that influence their re-entry into school? In this question, focus is on adolescent mothers as challenges faced by parents are different from those faced by adolescent mothers.
4. How do re-entry policy implementers influence the use and non-use of the policy among parents and adolescent mothers?

1.3 Research Methodology, Sampling and Data Collection

1.3.0 Methodology and data collection

Ufwenuka Chiefdom, the area of study was selected because it has two easily accessible government basic schools and two religious run secondary schools. One of the secondary schools is a girls' secondary school. With a focus on adolescent mothers, the fact that adolescent mothers could not re-enter at the nearest girls' secondary school and had instead to go to other schools which were far from the village motivated this study. Further, the MoGE statistics show that there are high pregnancies in rural areas and low re-entry levels (MoGE 2016: 38). I therefore, used my past experience of working at the community radio station in the area to facilitate my entry into the rural area to conduct this study.

This study mainly employed qualitative research data collecting methods to provide a wide coverage of views for triangulation. According to Myers, qualitative research is the "use of qualitative data such as interviews, documents and participant observation data, to understand and explain social phenomena" (1997: 241). This research utilised primary and secondary data.

Primary Data

Primary data was collected between 13th July and 4th August 2018 using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and self-administered questionnaires.

In the village, I conducted in-depth face to face interviews using open ended and semi-structured questions with parents, adolescent mothers and traditional leaders. This method was preferred because it helped me to collect detailed information from respondents and enabled me to probe further in understanding issues under a given phenomenon of interest. The interviews also enabled me to evaluate the respondents' responses by observing their facial expressions, tone of voice and general body language. Another advantage of conducting interviews was their ability to bring out the respondents' "rich descriptions of lived experiences" (O'Leary 2004: 124). However, I am of the view that an ethnographic orientation would have generated richer data due to constant interaction with respondents which can better clear mistrust between researcher and respondents. Unfortunately, this approach could not be used due to the time limitations of the field work.

All the interviews were done at the respondents' homes because that is where they felt comfortable to talk about such a sensitive topic. From one household, all eligible respondents were interviewed individually with interviews lasting for about 45 minutes. Interviews for re-entered adolescent mothers were not easy to schedule as the respondents were in the middle of writing their grade nine examinations. Consequently, a timetable for their interviews was made around their examination and studying time. Interviews for female parents were relatively easy to organise because they were mostly found at home compared to their male counterparts. The identification of traditional leaders was a challenge because I purposively had two criteria for the traditional leaders. I wanted a traditional leader with a more traditional view and another with more of a modern view of life so that I could compare their experiences. However, within the vicinity of the study area, I only found two traditional leaders in the same age range. After interviewing them, I discovered that their views on adolescent pregnancy and re-entry were different which was beneficial to the study.

My initial plan was not to record the interviews, but after conducting two interviews, I decided to start recording. This was necessitated by some respondents' use of a deep version of Tonga and proverbs which I could not understand there and then. My concern was that without understanding the proverbs, I would miss out important information hence not getting the respondents' stories in their entirety. Before recording, I asked for the respondents' permission. As per their right, some agreed to be recorded and some refused, as they were uncomfortable with recording. Consequently, interviews with respondents who refused to be recorded took longer as there was back and forth translations between the respondents, the research assistant and myself.

In addition to the interviews, I managed to conduct one Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with adolescent mothers who were in school and out of school. During the FGD, respondents were open in telling their stories because what was uncomfortable for one respondent, was comfortable for the other resulting in adolescent mothers discussing in depth, matters they had withheld during the interviews. The interaction among the respondents enabled me to explore in depth their ideas, interpretations, views and experiences (Gilbert 2008:228). The

FGD was done at my research assistant's home as it was a central and comfortable venue for the adolescent mothers. I did not manage to conduct a focus group discussion with the parents as they expressed reservations in talking about their daughters' pregnancies openly because of the shame associated with adolescent pregnancies.

In order to triangulate the study findings, self-administered questionnaires with open-ended questions were used to gather information from key informants. The questionnaires were given to the following key respondents. The Monze District Education Board Secretary (DEBS) who oversees all schools in the district and is the one from whom permission was sought to visit the selected school for research. The school head teacher, the overall coordinator of the school who spearheads the interpretation and implementation of education policies. The guidance teacher, in charge of the welfare of pupils and plays a key role in counselling and providing academic and professional guidance. The guidance teacher is also responsible for student records, hence the importance of being in the study. The latter two informants from the school were key because they provided information on the implementation and use of the policy.

Other key respondents were representatives from organisations supplementing government efforts in education. FAWEZA and another NGO which provide sponsorship for adolescent mothers and other vulnerable girls, the Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops (ZCCB), to give an overview on how the policy is implemented in all Catholic run schools and the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ) which has twenty-four affiliate churches to give an overview on how their affiliate churches which run schools were implementing the policy. The questionnaires though not the preferred option for this study, were used because of the busy schedule of the respondents. Face to face interaction would have generated richer information compared to what was collected using this instrument.

Secondary Data

Doing research is not only dependent on data that researchers collect on their own, but it also depends on knowledge that has already been gathered and documented (O'Leary 2004: 66). The use of already collected data or secondary literature however, needs caution as not all literature can be used (ibid: 67). This caution guided my systematic and critical review of literature. Using key words such as 're-entry policy', 'adolescent mothers', 'education', 'pregnant school girls', I was able to narrow down the literature based on relevance and credibility of the source (O'Leary 2004 :75). I used journals, google scholar and other materials from the school library to gather secondary data. The Ministry of General Education's statistical bulletin provided a rich source of information in line with my topic as it provided comparison data on pregnancy, re-entry, enrolment and gender disparity at country level. I also listened to the re-entry policy radio programmes that were produced and aired by the local radio station because most respondents had indicated that they learnt about the policy through the radio programmes. Having worked at the radio station and going through the Radio Director, it was easy to have access to the programmes.

1.3.1 Research sample and sampling procedure

The study area had four schools. Two were basic schools with classes from grade one to nine and two were single sex secondary schools with classes from grade eight to twelve; one for boys and the other for girls. The two basic schools were government schools while the two secondary schools were religious schools. Before starting my research and while doing a familiarisation tour of the area, I compared re-entry figures at the two government schools and one school was purposively sampled based on the high number of re-entrants. To select study respondents, I obtained a list of all re-entered adolescent mothers from the guidance teacher at the selected school. I then purposively sampled names from the list based on whether the possible respondents were staying with both parents or single parents. As the list from the school was limited, I included snow ball sampling to enable me to have a representative sample. Snow ball sampling involves building a sample through “referrals” (O’Leary 2004: 110). The school did not have information on out of school adolescent mothers, I therefore, relied on snowball sampling. To help in identifying respondents and their homes, I used the services of a research assistant who knew the area and was highly conversant with the local language which was vital in having the research tools translated as accurately as possible.

My total sample was thirty-two and comprised of eleven adolescent mothers, five who were in school and six who were not in school. Five parents who had re-entered adolescent mothers and eight parents whose adolescent mothers were not in school. Two traditional leaders representing the traditional authority were sampled. Key informants included the headteacher, the guidance teacher, the DEBS, and a representative each from a named NGO, CCZ, FAWEZA and ZCCB who were also purposively selected as partners in providing education in the country. Key informants and traditional leaders are in this research taken as policy implementers because of their role in the implementation of the policy. The sample had a female bias with only nine males due to the following reasons. From the thirteen parents, ten were female because all the re-entered mothers were staying with female parents and four of the adolescent mothers not in school were staying with both parents who were interviewed as individuals. I managed to talk to three fathers from the four couples but failed to talk to one despite several attempts as he was working outside the area of study. The traditional leaders were both male. For key respondents, five were male and two were female. Plus, the eleven adolescent mothers.

Characteristics of respondents

Respondents from the village were traditional leaders, parents and adolescent mothers who had used and those who had not used the policy. The ages of the parents ranged from 35 years to 72 years old. Each household had five children on average. The adolescent mothers were aged between 15 and 18 years old with most of them having fallen pregnant when they were 16 years old. All but the 15-year-old had already given birth at the time of the study. The tables below show characteristics of the respondents. Table 2.0 gives characteristics of the parents coded as PT, Table 2.1 is for policy implementers and Table 2.2 is for adolescent mothers coded as AM.

**Table 2.0
Parents' characteristics**

Parents									
Parents (PT)	Gender	Marital status	Age	Education level	Employment Status	Relationship with adolescent mother	School status of adolescent mother	Number of children	Date of interviews
PT 1	Male	Married	40	Grade 9	Subsistence farmer	Daughter	Out	5	1/08/18
PT 2	Female	Married	38	Grade 7	Subsistence farmer (does *casual jobs)	Daughter	Out	5	04/08/18
PT 3	Female	Married	35	Grade 6	Subsistence farmer	Daughter	Out	7	30/07/18
PT 4	Male	Married	48	Grade 12	Subsistence farmer (does casual jobs)	Daughter	Out	5	19/07/18
PT 5	Female	Married	46	Grade 9	Subsistence farmer (does casual jobs)	Daughter	Out	5	23/07/18
PT 6	Female	Widow	38	Grade 10	Subsistence farmer and Bar Tender	2 Nieces	Out	6	02/07/18
PT 7	Female	Single	37	Grade 12	Subsistence farmer and sales Eggs	Niece	Out	5	17/07/18
PT 8**	Male	Married	38	Grade 12	Subsistence farmer	Daughter	Out	5	20/07/18
PT 9	Female	Married	50	Grade 12	Subsistence farmer (does casual jobs)	Niece	In	6	24/07/18
PT 10	Female	Widow	72	Information not provided	Subsistence farmer	Granddaughter	In	4 Grand-children	27/07/18
PT 11	Female	Widow	69	Information not provided	Subsistence farmer	Granddaughter	In	3 Grand-children	25/07/18
PT 12	Female	Divorced	38	Grade 7	Subsistence farmer	Daughter	In	4	20/07/18
PT 13	Female	Widow	70	Information not provided	Subsistence farmer	Granddaughter	In	4 Grand-children	23/07/18

* These are jobs such as cleaning people's yards or doing laundry. -- ** The respondent was both a parent and traditional leader.

Table 2.1
Re-entry policy implementers

Gender	Name of institution and position of Respondent	Duties done/ Services provided	Date of interviews/questionnaire collecting date
	Government officials		
Female	Headteacher	Key implementers and directly involved in implementation of the policy	27/07/18
Male	Guidance teacher		18/07/18
Male	DEBS		19/07/18
	NGOs		
Male	FAWEZA	Provide bursaries for adolescent mothers and other vulnerable girls (take care of school related fees i.e uniforms, fees etc and provide sanitary towels where need)	10/08/18
Female	NGO, Head of Programmes	Involved in policy advocacy and sensitising community on policy	24/08/18
	Religious school representatives		
Male	ZCCB, Assistant National Education Secretary	Complement government in provision of education.	16/08/18
Male	CCZ, Communications Officer		16/08/18
	Traditional leader		
Male	Traditional leader	Play key role in removing traditional barriers to girls' education.	25/08/18
Male	Traditional leader		20/07/18

Table 2.2
Adolescent mothers' characteristics

Adolescent mothers (AM)								
Adolescent mothers	School status	Age pregnancy occurred ¹	Grade pregnancy occurred	Duration of time at home after birth	Person currently staying with	Age of child	Support from child's father	Date of interviews
AM 1	Out	17	Grade 11	18 months	Mother & father	17 months	None	17/07/18
AM 2	Out	16	Grade 9	12 months	Mother & Step father	11 months	Yes	18/07/18
AM 3	Out	17	Grade 9	24 months	Mother and father	Baby died	None	19/07/18
AM 4	Out	16	Grade 8	20 months	Aunt (the sister of the mother)	18 months	None	3/08/18
AM 5	Out	16	Grade 9	5 months	Aunt & grandmother	Three weeks old	None	17/07/18
AM 6	Out	15	Grade 9	7 months	Father & step mother	Pregnant	None	24/07/18
AM 7	In	16	Grade 9	6 months	Grandmother	14 months	Yes	18/07/18
AM 8	In	16	Grade 8	12 months	Grandmother	21 months	None	1/08/18
AM 9	In	16	Grade 9	6 months	Mother	15 months	None	3/08/18
AM 10	In	16	Grade 9	15 months	Aunt	24 months	Yes	4/08/18
AM 11	In	17	Grade 9	12 months	Grandmother	21 months	Yes	18/07/18

Ethical considerations

Intentions of the research were explained to all respondents and I asked for permission to include them in the research to which respondents agreed. I assured the respondents of anonymity and confidentiality which I have maintained. Most of the respondents provided their names willingly and allowed me to use them in this paper. After much reflection and considering the sensitivity of the topic and the characteristics of the village, I decided not to use any respondent's name from the village to avoid creating conflicts in the households. The stories I got from each member of the family were different from the others and at times, conflicting. I feel duty bound to protect the respondents and their families.

Subjectivity and Positionality

The first time I went to Ufwenuka chiefdom of Monze district was in 2007 to take up a position at the radio station as a broadcaster. Situated at the center of the community, the radio station caters for the information, cultural and entertainment needs of the community. As such 90 percent of its broadcast content

¹ The age pregnancy occurred, indicates that nine adolescent mothers (except those aged 15 and 17) started school a year late. Those who re-entered repeated a grade meaning they will spend more time in school. In Zambia children start school at seven years and are supposed to complete grade twelve at eighteen years old (MoGE 2016: 1-2).

is in the local language, Tonga. When I joined, all my colleagues were extremely fluent in the language and were household names in the community. Conversely, I was not fluent in the language given the fact that I was not a native. I remember how scared I was during my first shift on radio as I kept thinking of what I was going to talk about with my language limitation. Despite the admiration by some members of the community over my dedication to speak the language, I was still vulnerable as I needed to learn and perfect my Tonga language. This certainly made me vulnerable. I should state that the vulnerability was very much part of me for most of the time I worked at the radio station.

Going there this time around, the community did not look at me as a vulnerable person but as someone with authority who they thought could help them re-enter the adolescent mothers in school. Even though I was not that vulnerable person this time around, I saw the vulnerability in the adolescent mothers I was interviewing. Their vulnerability was as a result of societal stigmatisation as they were looked at as deviants. Further, because the adolescent mothers had been told to talk to me by their parents, they felt compelled to talk even when I informed them that they could choose not to talk to me.

It was the vulnerability I saw in the adolescent mothers that motivated me to end my interviews with words of encouragement on the benefits of education no matter how long it takes to return to school. I used my current situation of returning to school after ten years, being married and a mother studying away from home as a parting motivation message. My hope was that after our interaction, they looked at me like one of them and not someone who was better than them.

1.3.2 Challenges, Reflections and Limitations

The topic of this research solicited much interest from the community as some people mistook my intention as that of coming to re-enter adolescent mothers in school. As a result, there were many instances where parents gave incorrect information to come out more vulnerable than they were. It was only after fully explaining to them that the research was an academic exercise that respondents started telling their stories as they were.

Having worked in the area previously, I assumed going back there would ease my access to respondents considering that the topic I was working on was sensitive. However, my past work made some respondents uncomfortable to talk to me as they thought I was working at the radio station. Using my introduction letter, from school (International Institute of Social Studies), I managed to convince them that I was not working for the radio station. Having cleared the identity hurdle, the next challenge was making respondents comfortable and free to fully express themselves and give information useful for the study. It reminded me of my work at the radio station where I had to put interviewees at ease by engaging them in a topic that was of interest to them and then only slowly easing into the interview. Adolescent mothers enjoyed talking about what

they wanted to become after school which was the entry point for the interviews. Most interviews lasted for 45 minutes but I would spend more time with the respondents before and after the interviews.

Before this study, I had my own biases. Initially, I believed that people were still marrying off daughters the moment they got pregnant. What I found on the ground surprised me as the tradition was no longer widely practiced. Respondents narrated how a local NGO had been sensitising the community against marrying off underage girls. Consequently, some adolescent mothers were kept home until they were above 20 years to be married off. At the end of the data collection period, my perception on so many things has changed because of the respondents' experiences.

The limitations of this study included the short time frame for the research and financial constraints which restricted the use of a big and representative sample. With enough time and resources, I could have covered the two basic schools in the study area to compare why one school had more re-entered mothers than the other. As the research was restricted to a small village, the findings cannot be generalised. However, they can provide insight on factors that influence the use and non-use of the policy which may be useful for policy implementers and policy makers.

1.4 Data Analysis

During the data collecting period, data transcription was done at the end of each day a practice which helped me keep track of the data as the research progressed. A thematic analysis was then done after the transcription. As qualitative data analysis is a continuous process and needs a thorough understanding of the data, I constantly read the transcribed data while developing codes and grouping them according to repeated themes from the respondents. The repeated themes helped to identify relationships among the themes. It is the identified relationships that influenced the selection of meaningful quotes suitable to answer the research and sub questions.

1.5 Organisation of the paper

This research paper is made up of six chapters. This chapter has provided the introduction, the purpose of the research and a breakdown of how the data was collected and the sampling procedure that was used. Challenges faced during data collection have been explained with biases of the researcher highlighted. The second chapter gives background information on the area of study and the education system in Zambia. The third chapter provides a conceptual framework with the fourth chapter presenting findings and analysis. The fifth chapter will discuss the findings and the sixth chapter will present the conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2 Situating the area of study, education system and re-entry policy

This chapter provides background information on the area of study, explains Zambia's education system and the measures that government has put in place to enable more children have access to education.

2.0 Research site

This study was carried out in Monze District in Zambia's Southern Province. The Southern Province has the fourth highest concentration of people with an area of 85,283 square kilometers, covering about 11.3 percent of the total area of Zambia (CSO 2014b: 2). According to the 2010 census of population and housing, the province's population was 1,589,926 indicating growth at an average annual rate of 2.8 from 1, 212,124 recorded during the 2000-2010 inter-censal period. In the province 75.3 percent of the population is concentrated in rural areas and 24.7 percent in urban areas (CSO: 2014b: 5).

Monze, one of the districts in the province lies along the Great North Road and is about 200 kilometers from Lusaka, the capital of the country. The district is a transit point for people travelling to Lusaka or Livingstone, the tourist attraction capital. Monze's total population as of the 2010 census of population and housing was at 191, 872 representing 21.1 percent of the province and is occupied mainly by the Tonga speaking people and covers an area of about 6,687 square kilometres (CSO 2014b: 7, Tembo 2018).

The population's main source of livelihood is dependent on pastoral and agricultural farming, maize being the widely grown crop. Pastorally, cattle are kept as a sign of wealth and rarely slaughtered for consumption unless during significant ceremonies. Characterized by savanna tropical woodlands, the mainly subsistence farming population relies on the rainy season which runs from late October to April (Tembo 2018).

This research was done in Sikapande village under the traditional authority of Chief Ufwenuka. The study was done during the period when respondents had already harvested their produce and were waiting for the next farming season. During this period, most respondents were at home as they were not involved in any form of economic activities. Depending on the needs of the family and the quantity of their harvest, some respondents engaged in a barter system to get what they needed as a survival mechanism. When trading using the barter system for example, families would exchange maize with groundnuts equivalent to the market value. Meaning, if the maize was US\$1 on the market, the other family brought groundnuts equivalent to US\$1. At times, families sold off part of their harvest or domestic animals such as goats and chickens for cash.

The school which was under study is a basic school and has classes from pre-school to grade nine. Like the other schools in the area, it was initially run by the Roman Catholic Church before it was handed over to government. The school also provides external classes, running parallel to the mainstream classes or normal classes. This means adolescent mothers have an option to re-enter under the normal classes or under the external classes.

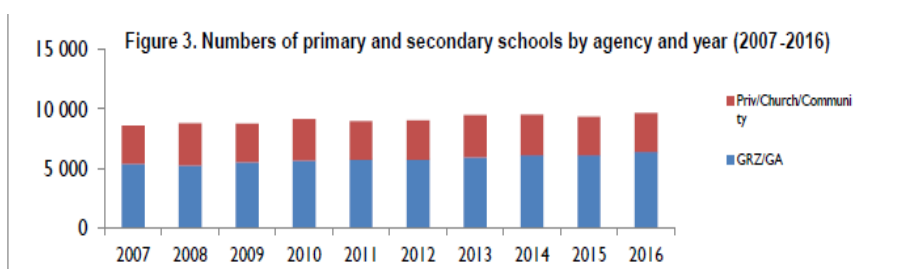
2.1 Zambia's Education System

Zambia has seen several changes in its education sector since independence. These changes have significantly been noticed more in the management systems and policy making. Initially, the country had one ministry in charge of education but in 2015, the Ministry was split into two; the Ministry of General Education (MoGE) and the Ministry of Higher Education (MoHE) (UNESCO 2016: 51). The MoGE is mandated to oversee Early Childhood, Primary and Secondary Education as well as teachers' training. On the other hand, the MoHE is mandated to handle University Education, Vocational Education and Training as well as Science Technology and Innovation (MoHE 2018).

The formal education system consists of four levels, early childhood education for three to six-year olds, primary school from grade one to seven for seven to thirteen-year olds. Secondary education from grade eight to twelve, for fourteen to eighteen-year olds, is divided into two, junior secondary, grade eight and nine, while upper secondary is from grade ten to twelve (MoGE 2016: 16). The education system further provides non-formal education for people not covered by formal education such as displaced persons, street and working children (ibid). Pupils are learners from primary to secondary school while students are those pursuing tertiary education. Tertiary education duration depends on the programme being pursued and whether it is at college or university level. However, the minimum years at university are four. English is the official language of instruction though there are also vernacular lessons.

Education was initially provided by the missionaries as way back as 1890 (Carmody 2003: 291, UNESCO 2016: 50). In 1996 the government introduced the Zambia Educating Our Future National Policy on Education, which led to the liberalisation and decentralisation of education in the country. Education liberalisation brought on board NGOs, private actors and the 'church' meaning all churches in the provision of education (UNESCO 2016: 45). Currently, Zambia has four types of education providers, namely public or government run schools, self-funding private schools run by the church or private individuals, community schools run by communities with some receiving funding from government and grant aided schools which are privately owned but receive subsidies from government (Baum and De Brular 2017: 6). Figure 1, below shows the share of government run schools, community schools, private and church run schools from 2007 to 2016.

Figure 1.
Number of primary and secondary schools by agency and year (2007-2016)



Source: MoGE (2016: 8)

Figure 1 above shows the growth of schools in the country from 8596 to 9674. As of 2016 the government had the majority number of schools at 6377 with the remaining 3297 being run by other actors (MoGE 2016: 8).

Much of the coming information will be focused on primary and secondary education as it is within this frame that the study falls. The school calendar year runs from January to December and is divided in three terms of three months each. School progression from primary to junior secondary is by writing national examinations in grade seven. At secondary level there are junior secondary school leaving examinations in grade nine and school leaving examinations in grade twelve to facilitate tertiary education. Apart from pregnancy related drop-outs, some pupils drop out of school at any of the examination stages whether they pass or fail. According to the Ministry of General Education (n.d: 1), “tuition fees are the biggest barriers to learners accessing education” in Zambia. In addition to other actors providing sponsorships to keep pupils in school, the government also provides bursaries for orphans and vulnerable children and learners, who among other factors are “marginalised, stigmatised or discriminated against” (MoGE n.d: 2). The bursaries differ depending on the level of education and cover school requirements.

Additionally, since 2003, the government with the World Food Programme has been providing meals for pupils in schools under the home-grown school feeding programme to keep pupils in school and improve the performance of learners (WFP 2018). In further attempts to expand access to education, the country started providing free primary education in government schools under the free primary education policy of 2002 (MoGE n.d: 1, UNESCO 2016: 3). According to the policy, it is not compulsory for pupils to wear uniforms but schools insisting on school uniforms should find affordable sources for uniforms. Additionally, pupils are not supposed to pay any levies to the schools (MoGE n.d: 3). However, most schools insist on pupils putting on uniforms, meaning parents have to meet the cost of uniforms and other school materials like stationery. A snap survey of primary schools by the author revealed that free primary education is not completely free after all. Contrary to the policy, some

primary schools are still charging what is called project fee which is from 50 kwacha to 150 kwacha annually (approximately US\$4 – US\$13).

While most parents can manage to pay the project levies charged at primary level, secondary education is unattainable for many pupils due to high tuition fees. Secondary tuition fees depend on a choice of day or boarding schooling, public education or private education with public schools far cheaper than private schools. Cost approximations for day and secondary schools all-inclusive range from 1500 kwacha to 5500 kwacha per term (US\$127-US\$466). Another policy introduced by government to increase education access for girls, is the re-entry policy which is discussed in the next section.

2.2 The re-entry policy

The Zambian education re-entry policy was launched in 1997 following lobbying by the women's movement in the country for the continuous education of girls who fell pregnant while in school (FAWE 2004: 4). The re-entry policy is among policies which Verger et al. call "global education policies" being spear headed by donors and implemented in countries which are culturally, politically and economically diverse (2012: 3). According to Verger et al, global education policies are "different ways in which globalization processes, agents and events contribute to educational policy change on a range of scales, and with what consequences" (ibid: 7). The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, which shed light on the plight of women and re-energised women to fight for their rights was such a process.

The policy allows adolescent mothers to go on maternity leave for a period of six months to one year although they can re-enter earlier if they have support in looking after their baby (MoE 2004: 10). Other provisions of the re-entry policy are that, in the event that the male responsible for the pregnancy is a fellow pupil, both pupils should be counselled on their responsibilities towards the pregnancy and the baby. The parents of the adolescent mother should be informed about the pregnancy if they were not aware and told about the re-entry policy and their obligation to re-enter the adolescent mother once she has delivered. Both the female and male's parents should sign commitment forms. In signing the forms, the adolescent mother's parents commit that their daughter will be re-entered on the agreed date after giving birth (annex A).

On the other hand, the signing by the parents of the male responsible for the pregnancy is a commitment to support the baby and mother (annex B). when the male responsible for the pregnancy is not a pupil, the adolescent mother's parents are encouraged to report and seek legal advice from relevant organisations. These can be the police Victim Support Unit, Law Association of Zambia, National Legal Aid Clinic for Women or any other legal institutions operating within their location. Further, when going on maternity, the adolescent should be given a medical report confirming the pregnancy, form for maternity leave

and re-admission (annex C) which can be interchanged with the letter of maternity leave and re-admission of pregnant girl (annex D) depending on the school's preference (FAWE 2004, MoE 2004: 4-9). Due to shortages of counsellors in schools, most pregnant pupils are not counselled when the pregnancy is discovered and when they re-enter.

The implementation of the policy brings to the fore Grindle and Thomas' argument that a policy's characteristics determine the reactions it will elicit from society which may influence its implementation (1991: 122). The policy revolves around the right of adolescent mothers to return to school. Adolescent pregnancy and motherhood are culturally not accepted in Zambia hence the policy has received both acceptance and rejection depending on how one looks at adolescent pregnancy. Those against the policy argue that it will promote promiscuity among girls while those who accept the policy say it avails adolescent mothers a second chance at education.

Acceptance of a policy depends on how inclusive the policy formulation was. According to Mwansa, though the re-entry policy involved different stakeholders, key actors such as head teachers, teachers and the Church were not included in the policy formulation process (2011: 15). Key actors are vital in policy implementation as they can make it work or fail depending on how much they are included (Verger et al. 2012: 25). It can therefore be argued that the non-inclusiveness of the re-entry policy formulation process has disadvantaged adolescent mothers as some headteachers and teachers who are key implementers do not understand how the policy should be effectively implemented. Additionally, religious run schools do not retain adolescent mothers in their schools but instead transfer them to other schools (ibid: 19, Wedekind and Milingo 2015: 5). Officially, the guidelines for the re-entry policy stipulate that transfers should not be mandatory but should be given at the request of the pregnant pupil (MoE 2004: 10). Meanwhile, implementation in public/government schools observes the retention of adolescent mothers. The two ways in which the re-entry policy is implemented leads to the question of which of the two methods is the correct implementation of the policy.

The issue of re-entry has been widely covered in Zambia which can provide information on how the policy is faring. However, "performance evaluation" which focuses on the outcomes of policies (Howlett et al. 2009: 186) shows that re-entry policies have not achieved much in keeping adolescent mothers in school (Chilisa 2002: 21, MoGE 2016: 37, Mwansa 2011: 1, Natal and Karabo 2014: 482). Could Leach's argument that governments are "bullied" into introducing such policies be the reason they keep having implementation challenges? (1998:13). Verger et al. notes that such policies produce "unintended and unexpected" results because they are implemented in diverse cultural and social conditions and need to be contextualised (2012: 24). Despite these implementation challenges, at least some adolescent mothers are continuing with their education. What is important to bear in mind is that, in situations where a policy has mixed reactions from people like the re-entry policy, it is important to involve all stakeholders especially policy implementers who are school owners, school heads and

teachers. Parents should not be left out as it is their mandate to ensure that adolescent mothers go back to school.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided background information on the area of study which is located in Monze District. Focusing on primary and secondary education, the chapter has highlighted how the free primary education and re-entry policies are used to improve access to education. The next chapter gives the conceptual framework that will be used in the analysis of findings.

Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides concepts that are key in understanding the range of experiences and structures of power among parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers. The intersectionality lens will be used to understand how multiple contexts interrelate and influence the re-entry of adolescent mothers in school.

3.0 Intersectionality

The term intersectionality was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (Crenshaw 1989) as she looked at the diversity of experiences of black women based on ethnicity, gender and class which led to marginalisation and discrimination. Intersectionality originated during the 1960s and 1970s black feminist debates (Carastathis 2014: 305) and has since been used in different disciplines, issues and geographical boundaries. Despite having been in use for such a long time, Anthias observes that it is only recently that it has been used in academic and politics (2013:1). Its preferred use by feminists and not in academics and politics can be attributed to its “vagueness” and “inherent open-endedness” (Davis 2008: 77) and lack of clear guidance on how it can be used. In the midst of many definitions, this paper uses the definition of Kathy Davis who defines intersectionality, as the “interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power”, (Davis 2008: 68).

Davis’ definition shows that intersectionality cuts across multiple and socially constructed identities of a person and influences a person’s life opportunities. Parents and adolescent mothers have multiple identities influenced by power asymmetries originating from cultural norms. Cultural norms influence the identities of individuals based on social categories such as gender, age and class (Anthias 2014: 157). The intersection of parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers provides the exploration of diverse social divisions and relations and how they influence each other and the resulting relationships (McCall 2005: 1771). Núñez adds that the flexibility of intersectionality in covering an array of issues makes it ideal to access how power dynamics and social identities can influence an individual’s lived experiences (2014: 86).

Though the use of intersectionality is spreading rapidly across boundaries and disciplines, its use has faced criticism. The lack of a universal definition of intersectionality is among its many critiques as authors have argued that in its current state, it does not guide on how many categories can be analysed at once (Anthias 2013: 6). It has further been criticised for putting too much focus on the individual’s multiple identities at the expense of construction of social categories and issues of power and social structures (ibid, Davis 2008: 68). Furthermore, intersectionality’s coining was based on the marginalisation of black women based on sex, race and ethnicity, therefore, questions have arisen as to

whether the concept has a universal appeal to be used beyond matters of marginalisation (Anthias 2013: 6). In response, Carbado et al. (2013: 306) argue that the lack of a unanimous definition provides diversity in the way intersectionality as a concept can be theorized and applied while labelling it as a “work-in progress”. Notwithstanding the critique of intersectionality, this study will focus on the multidimensional lens of the concept in capitalising its full potential. Consequently, this research will look beyond the multiple identities of an individual to include how factors beyond an individual’s control can influence their use and non-use of the re-entry policy. Whilst using an intersectionality lens, a look at household gender relations is key in understanding how societal power dynamics perpetuate the marginalisation of individuals in the household based on the identity they carry.

3.1 Household Gender Relations

Household gender relations are “relations of power between men and women” and embody different aspects of life from what men and women should do, to values, ideologies, and decision-making in the household (Agarwal 2011: 1). Gender relations are grounded in theories of power which consider women as subordinate to men (Hartsock 1990: 161). In most cultures, females are considered as caregivers and house wives whose responsibilities are based in the household. Power differentials in the household influence a household’s economic outcomes and are also based on desires, personality traits and behaviour patterns of individuals. Gender relations are “socially” constructed and differ from culture to culture and can change overtime (Agarwal 2011: 1). These relations are enhanced by patriarchal systems which give more power to men compared to women. The power imbalance re-enforces the notion of a household as a place of “cooperation and conflict” where people agree to cooperate to reduce conflict even though certain decisions may benefit one person with the most bargaining power and the most fall-back position (Agarwal 2011: 4, Sen 1987: 16-17).

For adolescent mothers living with both parents, household gender relations play an influential role when it comes to re-entry. Ultimately, the decision on whether the adolescent mothers return to school or not, lies with the person who has more power which in most societies is the man (Agarwal 2011: 21). Hartsock argues that while current gender relation theories are relevant, their focus on the subordination of women, does not explain how power is used to oppress them, hence calling for the development of new theories that explain the transformation of women, by focussing on their strength and what they can do and achieve (Hartsock 1990: 158). Her argument is true and the call for action is long overdue. However, it entails a change of mindset among those, which may be a challenge especially among women who have accepted the status quo. Therefore, the gender relations concept as it is will suffice for this study. With it and taking into consideration the different interests, resources, challenges and obligations of a household, a look at how they all intersect within and outside the household is critical in analysing the findings of this study.

Asymmetric power dynamics in the life of an individual are further defined by his/her economic class and location hence the inclusion of poverty as another intersection that influences the multiple identities of an individual.

3.2 Poverty

Just like intersectionality, poverty has many definitions and its meaning differs depending on who is saying it and what measurement tools have been used to measure it. Therefore, I am purposively adopting a Zambian definition of poverty, which is the “lack of access to income, employment opportunities, and entitlements, including freely determined consumption of goods and services, shelter, and other basic needs” (CSO 2014a: 2). In Zambia, poverty has a rural bias where it stands at 76.6 percent representing 57.9 percent of the population against 23.4 percent experienced in urban areas (MNDP: 2017: 35). Apart from being predominantly in rural areas, poverty is rampant among female and child headed households and orphans among other vulnerable groups (MNDP 2017: 87). In addition, almost half of Zambia’s population is living below the US\$1.09 poverty line with 40.8 percent of the population failing to meet basic needs (MNDP 2017: 87).

Intersectionality does not only consider a single frame but helps to understand boundaries in which an individual is found and the hierarchies of social life (Anthias 2013:2). Parents and adolescent mothers find themselves in a rural area characterised by “structural poverty” (Murphy 2015: 3). Structural poverty which leads to “structural exclusion and discrimination” is collectively experienced by rural people as a result of development deficits in roads, schools, social service delivery and low productivity due to dependency on subsistence farming (ibid). In rural areas people cover long distances to access education, health facilities and clean drinking water making it difficult for them to realise their full human potential. Poverty dictates what rural people can achieve and what services they can access.

Poverty as a measure of people’s well-being has been widely criticized because it lacks a common definition and measurement method. Depending on the definition and measurement used, different people have been identified as poor even in the same location (Ehrenpreis 2006: 10). Moreover, the different measurements also influence the categorization of poverty as what can be absolute poverty in one location can be relative poverty in the other location (ibid: 11). Bearing these criticisms in mind, this study will still use poverty as a concept because the preferred definition covers different aspects of poverty measured by different measurement methods in Zambia and will be used on Zambians.

3.3 Analytical frame

A household and the interaction between parents and their economic class determine how decisions are made. Decision making is further influenced by the

power asymmetries between the parents and where the adolescent mother is positioned within these power relations. Poverty as an analytical tool will be used to understand the family's economic class and how their access or lack of access to social services can influence their likelihood of sending the adolescent mother to school. Intersection of poverty and the balance of power in the household will be explored to analyse how they affect adolescent mothers and re-entry especially when gender becomes another intersection. How the concepts interact under complex identities and affect individuals be it on using the policy or their lived experiences will be used as a measurement in the analytical frame.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented an intersectionality frame that will be used in the analysis of the findings. The chapter has further shown the interrelatedness of household gender relation and poverty and how they will be measured influencing the use and non-use of the policy. Justifications have also been given as to why the concepts have been preferred despite criticisms attached to them. The next chapter presents the findings and analysis.

Chapter 4 **Presentation of Findings**

This chapter presents the empirical findings of the study with the aim of identifying factors that influence the use and non-use of the re-entry by parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers. The intersectionality lens will then be used in Chapter five when discussing the findings. The findings will be presented according to the sub research questions. The views and wording of respondents will be presented as they were said.

4.0 How well respondents understood the policy and information channels

Respondents in the study were asked whether they understood the re-entry policy and from which channels they learnt about it. The findings were that not all the respondents were aware of the re-entry policy and not all respondents fully understood it. Among parents, all thirteen indicated knowing about the policy and were able to say that it allowed adolescent mothers to return to school. Eight of the eleven adolescent mothers knew about the policy while three had not. Of the three who had not heard of the policy, one was using it as the grandmother re-entered her in school. In addition, three out of the eight were able to explain what happened at school when the pregnancy was discovered. Despite knowing what the re-entry policy was about, the study found that parents and adolescent mothers did not fully understand the policy as they did not know the re-entry procedure. In a view reflective of all respondents, one parent noted that:

“In the meetings, they only tell us to take back the girl child to school after delivery, but we don’t know what we are supposed to do and they don’t talk about sponsorship” (Female parent, daughter not in school).

Apart from being encouraged to re-enter adolescent mothers, parents wanted to learn the procedure of re-entry and the availability of sponsorship for adolescent mothers. To facilitate re-entry, some parents physically went to the school to ask for space. Other re-entry methods involved getting a re-entry introduction letter from the traditional leader (annex E). The official stamp on the letter signifies the traditional leader’s support of the policy. According to the policy, parents and adolescent mothers are supposed to have documentation from the school (annex C and D) indicating when the adolescent mother is supposed to re-enter but none of the respondents had these documents. However, a key respondent noted that:

“Parents do not come to the school to sign the commitment forms that the adolescent mother will return to school” (Guidance teacher).

The finger pointing between the parents and school implementers verifies the information gap in the re-entry policy sensitization not only done by the school but by other policy implementers. Respondents came to know of the policy through multiple communication channels i.e. school meetings for parents and pupils, village meetings organised by NGOs working in collaboration with traditional leaders and through radio programmes. From this finding, it can

be concluded that the different communication channels used by policy implementers have contributed to the acceptance of the policy even though there are information gaps that still need to be filled for parents and adolescent mothers to fully utilise the policy. The next section shifts focus to sub question two which looks at household factors that influence the use and non-use of the policy.

4.1 Household factors influencing the use and non-use of the re-entry policy

During data analysis of sub question two on household factors that influence the use and non-use of the re-entry policy, three themes, household structure, economic standing of the family and parents' level of education were developed.

The household structure

The study found that decisions on the use and non-use of the policy depended on who was the head of the household and who made the final decisions. This study had both female headed households and male headed households hence the findings were twofold. For female headed households, decision making was not a problem as decisions were made by the available parent hence re-entry for adolescent mothers was guaranteed as long as the parent was able to meet the cost of education.

When it came to male headed households who were married, the study established that the use of the re-entry policy had to be bargained for and the final decision was based on the available resources and the person with the most power in the household. For instance, when one couple was asked why the adolescent mother was not in school, the father responded that:

“We had challenges with money because we wanted to clear school needs for two of her brothers who were in examination classes. So, all the money we got was directed towards the boys' education” (Male parent, daughter in school).

Meanwhile the mother narrated that:

“I had suggested that the money we find be divided among the three children, but the father suggested that we pay for the boys first. And since he is the head of household, I just followed what he said. Even if we talked about it, the final decision was made by him” (Female parent daughter not in school).

Competing needs in the household meant that parents had to choose which need to address first, in this case, the father opted to educate the male children first in what is culturally considered a boy preference in education. The mother's response indicates the customary expectations of women where they follow decisions made by the head of household who is the husband. Although other respondents both males and females supported the education of adolescent mothers, there was a general feeling that it was better to educate male children since there was no threat of pregnancy.

Economic standing of the family

Most of the respondents did not have stable sources of income but relied on the harvest from their fields. Of the thirteen parents, two female parents had some source of income, one was a bar tender and the other was selling eggs. Seven respondents indicated that, away from the farming season they relied on casual jobs to generate income to buy mostly basic needs. The remaining three respondents who were grandmothers did not engage in any economic activity and depended on their harvest and support from relatives.

The study found that households that did not re-enter adolescent mothers were not economically stable. The respondents indicated that besides adolescent mothers, they had other children to send to school and money was not easy to come by. They argued that money generated through their casual jobs or through their economic activities was not enough to re-enter adolescent mothers but only paying for children in primary school. Like other parents, one parent said that:

“I don’t have money to pay for her fees. She passed her grade nine and I will not manage to pay for her because grade ten is very expensive and I have to look for another school since she cannot go to the nearest secondary school as she is a mother” (Female parent, daughter not in school).

In Zambia, primary education in public schools is free while there are school fees to be paid in secondary school. At primary level, and contrary to the free primary education policy, parents were paying 50 kwacha annually, in addition to other school expenses the minimal amount was approximately 200 kwacha (US\$ 17). For those in day lower secondary school, fees were 200 kwacha with the minimum amount being 500 kwacha (US\$42). Consequently, based on the above calculations, parents were able to afford the cost of primary and not secondary education especially for adolescent mothers going to upper secondary school. Alternatively, the study found that parents who re-entered adolescent mothers managed because they had reduced costs and had a good relationship with the school management. A parent noted that:

“My daughter repeated grade nine at the same school she was at, the fees are manageable and because the teachers know me, the girl remains in school until I am able to find money to pay the school fees” (Female parent, daughter in school).

The cost was reduced because by repeating a grade, adolescent mothers used their old uniforms and other school materials leaving school fees as the major expense parents faced. A good relationship between parents and the school management, provided flexibility for parents to look for school fees. The study further found that school fees were not the only problem. The lack of support from the males responsible for the pregnancy increased the economic burden of the adolescent mothers’ families. This was the case with most of the households as only four males out of the eleven were providing support for the baby while the rest only accepted responsibility. Some parents alluded that:

“The boy’s family accepted responsibility of the pregnancy but have not contributed anything towards the education of the girl. They only support the up keep of the baby” (Female parent, daughter in school).

Acceptance of responsibility was no guarantee that the male responsible for the pregnancy would provide support. On the other hand, the support that parents received was in the form of food and material supplements for the baby and nothing for adolescent mothers.

Parents' level of education

From the findings, none of the parents had college or university education. Seven of the parents had secondary education with four having completed grade twelve. The other three only did primary education with the remaining three not willing to share in which grade they stopped school. Three parents among the seven with school certificates indicated having used their certificates to get jobs at some point but said that at present, it was more difficult to find employment with only a secondary school certificate. Parents without school certificates narrated how they had failed to get any job and instead resorted to doing casual jobs in other people's homes. They attributed their struggle in finding money for their children's education to lack of their own education. As such, most parents stressed how they would not want their children to be uneducated as they were:

“Even if she does not complete school, I want her to have a full grade nine certificate which will enable her do a trades course. Even the simplest jobs these days, they want a grade nine certificate” (Female parent, daughter not in school).

“I want her to go back to school under external classes. For me it can be better if she sits for few subjects this year and do the same the other year so that she can have a full certificate” (Male parent, daughter not in school).

Parents were optimistic that getting a minimum qualification would give their daughters an advantage in life. With a certificate and availability of finances, one could easily upgrade themselves and get a better job. Other parents wanted their daughters to go for external classes as such classes, provided flexibility in learning. With external classes which run parallel to normal/main stream classes, pupils can only register for selected subjects instead of learning all the subjects.

Under household factors, the findings were that the use of the policy was influenced by the unstable economic conditions of the family, the parent making the decision for the adolescent mother to re-enter and illiteracy of the parents who wanted their children to be better educated than them. The next section looks at sub question three which analyses challenges faced by adolescent mothers thereby influencing their use and non-use of the re-entry policy.

4.2 Challenges faced by adolescent mothers

Challenges faced by adolescent mothers have been categorised under four themes, lack of emotional support, being a daughter, mother and learner, lack of financial support and community judgement.

Lack of emotional support at home

The study found that the intersection of being a daughter, a pregnant pupil and coming from an unstable economic household, created psychological fear among adolescent mothers. Some study participants feared that their parents would beat them or would not re-enter them in school. The fear was as a result of the shame brought upon the parents following their daughters' pregnancies. At the time of the study, all the respondents were staying with their parents and had given birth except for one who was still pregnant. In staying with their parents, adolescent mothers felt that after pregnancy and childbirth, their parents loved them less. This sentiment of being loved less, was prominent in the FGD among adolescent mothers not in school and those not receiving any support from the fathers of their children:

"The moment I became pregnant, life at home changed. Before I become pregnant and a mother, my parents used to take good care of me as I was still in school. After getting pregnant, when I ask for something from my parents, it is like I am making noise for them and sometimes they even say don't trouble me, am not the one who made you pregnant" (Adolescent mother with both parents, not in school, FGD).

In one of the most emotional interviews, an adolescent mother narrated her experience after pregnancy:

"Before I got pregnant, we used to be happy as a family more so when I came back from school. But these days, my parents are always scolding me even suggesting relatives' homes where they think I should go. It disappoints me that I am not in good terms with my parents anymore and these days, I spend most of my time with my grandmother. I think the best for me now is to leave the house" (Adolescent mother not in school).

Pregnancy exposes adolescent mothers to different experiences as narrated above. Adolescent mothers are usually blamed for getting pregnant, when in actual sense, they lack comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education apart from what they learn in school. This was true for most of the adolescent mothers as they said getting pregnant was an accident. The change of treatment by parents was a psychological burden for adolescent mothers who still had anxieties about their future. As a result, those who were not in school felt that their parents were not re-entering them in school as a form of punishment:

"To me I think parents just don't want to re-enter us in school as a form of punishment to show that they were not happy with us getting pregnant and for us to realise that what we did was wrong", (Adolescent mother with one parent, not in school, FGD).

Questioning their parents' love led the adolescent mothers to have their own interpretation of what their parents' actions or non-action meant. In this case, not returning to school was interpreted as a punishment from their parents.

Being a daughter, mother and learner

The findings indicate that adolescent mothers were happy to return to school as they realised the importance of education more than they did before they became mothers. The adolescent mothers however noted that the simultaneous intersection of being a daughter, a mother and a learner was strenuous for them:

“Being a mother and pupil is a challenge because when I knock off from school, instead of concentrating on my homework, I need to decide on what I should do first; laundry, washing plates, bathing the children, cooking or study. Most of the time, I first do the house work, then I start doing my homework” (Adolescent mother with single parent, in school).

Being their parents’ children, adolescent mothers have to do chores expected of a child in the house, after which they had to become mothers and take care of the baby who was in the care of other people while they were at school. Lastly, they became pupils as they tried to do homework in the night. The three intersecting realities make it difficult for adolescent mothers to balance their time between school and house work (Kaufman et al. 2001: 158). Much time was spent doing household chores at the expense of doing homework.

While at school, respondents said the school had tried to make them fit in by encouraging them to study hard and discouraging other learners from calling them derogatory names. They revealed that there was no segregation in the way teachers taught adolescent mothers and other pupils:

“There is no difference in the way the teachers teach the other learners and re-entrants. What the teachers do is to encourage us to concentrate on school saying education is easy all you need is concentration. So, don’t be discouraged that you cannot perform as good as those without children. The teachers also encourage us to report anyone who victimises us while at school” (Adolescent mother with single parent, in school, FGD).

This can be translated as the school trying to create an equal learning environment for adolescent mothers. Not only were adolescent mothers encouraged to report fellow pupils, they were also encouraged to report teachers who victimised them to the guidance teacher. However, adolescent mothers were of the view that reporting was not enough to stop the victimisation they faced at school. For example, respondents feared that reporting teachers for calling them names would negatively affect the teacher pupil relationship which would affect their academic performance. They said their classmates called them mother or aunt or adults who were not supposed to be in school but at home taking care of their babies. As a coping strategy, some adolescent mothers opted to internalise the abuse from the school and would occasionally answer back:

“I manage to answer back to classmates who call me names because I don’t want to be seen going to report someone every day. It becomes difficult when it is a teacher who has used a derogatory word on me” (Adolescent mother with single parents, in school).

To be in school and a mother, calls for resilience towards the stigma and victimisation, failure to which leads to dropping out. Weighing in on challenges

adolescent mothers face, a key respondent from the school agreed that the triple identities of adolescent mothers affected them at school:

“They (adolescent mothers) feel shy to mingle with the younger ones and they sometimes don’t learn the full scheduled time if the baby is still breast feeding” (Guidance teacher).

Failure to mingle with other pupils pushes adolescent mothers into isolation especially if there were no other adolescent mothers to associate with while at school. The fact that some adolescent mothers re-entered before weaning the children, influenced their attendance at school as they had to take breaks to breastfeed their babies. The occasional missing of classes negatively affected their performance. For these adolescent mothers, child care was not a source of concern as their parents were looking after their babies. The re-entry policy does not provide any provision for child care nor do policy implementers provide child care services while adolescent mothers are in class.

Lacking financial support

The study found that except for one, all adolescent mothers wanted to re-enter but could not due to lack of financial support. The one who never wanted to return to school said she had lost interest in school because of what her father said to her when she fell pregnant:

“I was disappointed with what my father said to me. He said he didn’t have money to send me to school as my two brothers wanted money for school and he had nowhere else to get money for me. He then said he will never re-enter me in school and from that day, I gave up hope of going back to school. Even if my parents want to re-enter me, I will never accept to go back” (Adolescent mother with both parents, not in school).

Adolescent mothers are not fully mature when they get pregnant hence any negative sentiments influence how they see themselves and interpret things. Another underlying factor in the narration is how gender disadvantaged the adolescent mother as her father opted to educate her brothers first. Other respondents said the lack of financial support was delaying their education advancements as their peers were well ahead of them. Some of the respondents expressed displeasure that they lost their sponsorship due to pregnancy:

“I feel bad being at home because there was a white man who used to pay for my school but when I got pregnant, my friends told him that I was no longer interested in school and that I wanted to get married. That is how I lost my sponsorship and now am suffering at home while my friends are advancing” (Adolescent mother with single parent, not in school).

The helplessness of adolescent mothers led to self-blame over getting pregnant, losing sponsorship and staying at home. It is worth mentioning that education sponsorship does not only come from the government or NGOs. Sometimes it comes from well-wishers living in the community who may be locals or ‘white’ people as one respondent mentioned. Sometimes teachers and school alumnae also provide sponsorship, which was not available at the school during the time of this study.

Community judgement

In most African societies, adolescent pregnancy is something that is scorned upon especially when it happens to pupils. The study found that adolescent mothers were judged harshly by the community because pregnancy, childbirth and motherhood were proof that the adolescent mothers had gone against the norms of the society which expect pregnancy in marriage. Adolescent mothers shared some of the reactions they constantly receive from community members:

“Reactions from the community are mixed with those who do not sympathise with us saying a lot of negative things. Those who want us to learn, say since we have learnt our lessons, the best is to find sponsors to re-enter us in school. Others say it serves us right because we are not well behaved, we deserve the punishment (being at home) as we wanted to be mothers” (Adolescent mother with both parents, out of school, FGD).

“Some community members are ‘happy’ when they see us with our babies, sometimes they would even stop to tell us that if you did not get pregnant, you would have been in school now” (Adolescent mother with both parents, out of school, FGD).

The narration of the adolescent mothers shows the mixed reactions the community has on adolescent mothers, others taunt them for becoming mothers at a young age while others encourage them to return to school. From these findings, it can be concluded that emotional, financial and community support are key determinants for adolescent mothers to return to school. For those in school, on top of the other mentioned factors, a supportive school environment will make adolescent mothers use the policy and stay in school. The next section presents findings from the last sub question, which is how do re-entry policy implementers influence the use and non-use of the policy among parents and adolescent mothers?

4.3 Policy implementers’ influence on use of the policy

For this research, implementers were the District Education Board Secretary, the school head teacher, guidance teacher, Forum for African Women Educationalists in Zambia, Council of Churches in Zambia and Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops. The contribution of traditional leaders as policy implementers has already been covered in sub question one above.

Implementers’ perspective: Implementing the re-entry policy

According to the study findings, all schools claimed to implement the policy but their modes of implementation differed. For government schools, implementation meant retaining pregnant adolescents in schools and allowing them to re-enter after giving birth. This however, was not the case with most religious

schools. The findings were that in most religious schools, pupils who fell pregnant at school were given transfer letters to other schools. One religious key respondent noted that:

“the re-entry policy is in fact fully implemented by our institutions. The only difference is that we do not allow pregnant children to come back to the same schools, instead school managements in consultation with the parents of the child find a school where the child goes to continue with her education” (Assistant National Education Secretary, ZCCB).

This view exposes the inconsistencies in the implementation of the policy. Following the transfers, the question that arises therefore, is whether parents did manage to transfer the adolescent mothers to other schools. Taking the study area as an example, the religious girls’ secondary school was the nearest accessible secondary school, meaning if the adolescent mother was transferred to another school, parents had to incur extra costs for transport and sometimes accommodation in the weekly boarding facilities. These become added costs which negatively influenced the use of the policy. Literature shows that governments’ commitment to the re-entry policies was affected by inconsistent policy implementation and poor monitoring of the implementation process for re-entered adolescent mothers (HRW 2018: 6). The findings further indicate that while other schools with adolescent mothers were striving to create a suitable learning environment, religious schools argued that transferring pregnant adolescents was meant to protect them against victimisation:

“We do not allow the children back in the same schools in order to protect them (adolescent mothers) from being mocked and stigmatized, protect the others from falling into the same trap and more importantly we want everyone to learn a good lesson that if one falls pregnant, they will lose their place in that particular school” (Assistant National Education Secretary, ZCCB).

Based on protecting adolescent mothers with molarity undertones, this argument fails to recognise that there are student mothers who had gone back to their old schools and completed their education amidst the name calling and victimisation. It can therefore be argued that religious schools’ decision to transfer pregnant adolescents without knowing whether they would cope with the victimisation or not was a form of punishment and exclusion. Pillow posits that the transfer of pregnant adolescents is perpetuated by the “discourses of contamination”, (Pillow 2006: 68). This discourse assumes that the presence of pregnant adolescents will motivate others to get pregnant in the school. The combination of contamination fears and concerns of morality consider pregnant adolescents as having done something wrong for which they needed to be punished. Another form of exclusion for adolescent mothers established by the study, was the tendency by some policy implementers to withdraw sponsorship from pupils who got pregnant. Some parents narrated how adolescent mothers had lost their sponsorship after they fell pregnant:

“Before my niece got pregnant, she was partially sponsored by the local orphanage which was paying half of the school fees and we were paying half. After she got pregnant, the orphanage withdrew their sponsorship” (Female parent, daughter not in school).

The withdrawal of the sponsorship which can also be considered as discrimination against adolescent mothers disadvantaged them leading to them dropping out of school. The withdrawal of sponsorship shows how social norms do not only affect adolescent mothers but how they also influence policy implementers. Additionally, the study found that though International NGOs and the DEBS office were providing support for vulnerable children, none of them had operations in the study area. In explanation, a key respondent from one of the NGOs said the provision of sponsorship depended on the availability of funding and the area preferred for intervention. The study findings further revealed that, the use of the policy was not exclusively influenced by policy implementers as some parents had apathy towards the policy and were unwilling to re-enter the adolescent mothers. Sometimes it was adolescent mothers themselves who were unwilling to re-enter.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings on factors that influence the use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The findings have revealed the importance of multi communication channels in information dissemination and have revealed knowledge gaps in the re-entry policy sensitisation which influenced the parents' use of the policy. Further findings reveal how the economic instability left parents unable to pay school fees and how the head of the household influenced the use of the policy based on available resources. According to the findings, the parents' lack of education was a positive factor as it made parents want to educate their children. For adolescent mothers, findings were that support from parents, community, school and policy implementers was key in using the policy. Findings for policy implementers were that implementers implemented the policy in an inconsistent manner thereby negatively affecting the use of the policy. The next chapter discusses the findings using an intersectional lens.

Chapter 5 Interpreting the findings

This chapter will discuss the findings in line with the objective of the study which was to explore family, community and institutional factors that explain the use and non-use of the re-entry policy for adolescent mothers. The discussion will use an intersection lens to see how the convergence of structural identities influence the use and non-use of the policy. The discussion will be in three sections. The first section will discuss the implication of the wide acceptance of the policy and communication channels used. The second section will look at influence on policy use through intersecting structures between parents and policy implementers and the last section will explore complexities of adolescent mothers.

5.0 Implication of wide acceptance of policy

The findings of this study confirm that factors influencing the use and non-use of the policy are interrelated and intersect in more than one way. The findings further confirm that the use of different communication channels have managed to create awareness among respondents who have in turn accepted the policy. Not only has the policy been accepted by parents and adolescent mothers, it has also been accepted by traditional leaders who have been involved in disseminating re-entry policy information by holding meetings with their subjects. This finding contrasts Maluli and Bali's (2014: 83) findings in Tanzania where head teachers and community leaders had reservations in embracing the policy as they felt that it promoted immorality and encouraged adolescent mothers to get pregnant.

However, though parents and adolescent mothers have accepted the re-entry policy, the study established that more information was needed for beneficiaries to make better use of it. Literature has shown that re-entry policies in Africa tend to be ineffective due to poorly disseminated information among parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers (HRW 2018:35). Wekesa in her study in Kenya, also observed that the use of the policy to facilitate re-entry was low due to the lack of knowledge among parents and adolescent mothers (2014: 439). This lack of knowledge due to poor information dissemination on the re-entry process could in part be the reason why some parents have been said to lack support for re-entering adolescent mothers as observed by (Chetty and Chigona 2008: 272, Wedekind and Milingo 2015: 2) in their studies carried out in South Africa and Zambia respectively.

It must be noted that acceptance of the policy by traditional leaders and their subjects is anchored in the use of communication for development's "diffused theory" (Haider et al. 2011; 7). Diffused theory proponents argue that the use of different media channels tailored to suit a location has the potential to bring behavioural change. This is because localised and tailored dissemination platforms accord people a chance to interact and exchange ideas thereby influencing their way of life (ibid). Taking a look at the platforms that were used to

communicate the re-entry policy, the school meetings were face to face interactions between parents, pupils and teachers. Village meetings held in the presence of traditional leaders gave credibility to the information thereby positively influencing the community. The community radio station provided more community participation through the open phonelines during live programmes in the evenings when families would sit and listen together hence reaching all members of the family at once.

5.1 Intersecting structures between parents and policy implementers

A discussion of household factors influencing the use of the policy will precede that of the interaction between parents and policy implementers. Under household factors that influence the use of the policy, there was an intersection of family structure, economic status of the family and the parents' level of education. To start with, instead of using economic status as one intersecting factor, I will substitute it with poverty as I argue that the households were living in poverty. A Zambian definition of poverty puts this in context as poverty is defined as the "lack of access to income, employment opportunities, and entitlements, including freely determined consumption of goods and services, shelter, and other basic needs" CSO 2014a: 2).

Using the above poverty definition, the study established that most households had minimal access to income, which forced some to engage in a barter system of trading and selling off some of their domestic animals. Households had no employment opportunities due to lack of education hence they could not freely have access to social services and basic needs. Because the households were living in poverty, parents were not able to use the policy especially for adolescent mothers who were supposed to go to grade ten, as school fees were too high, hence confirming narratives that poverty and high school fees are a barrier to re-entry leading adolescent mothers to drop out of school (Chetty and Chigona 2008: 273-4, Leach 1998: 13, MoGE n.d :1, Mwansa 2011: 3).

The failure by the males responsible of the pregnancies to provide support for the baby and for the education of adolescent mothers worsened the poverty experienced by the adolescent mothers' families. From the study all eleven males accepted responsibility of the pregnancies but only four were providing support for the babies. The finding shows that acceptance of responsibility did not guarantee sponsorship of the baby or adolescent mothers. This finding is consistent with Panday et al. (2009: 39) and Kaufman et al.'s (2001: 152) studies in South Africa, who both noted that acceptance of responsibility and commitment for support did not always materialise hence it was the responsibility of the females' parents to educate the adolescent mother and care for the baby. Once the family fails to educate the adolescent mothers, the child joins the cycle of poverty in which the mother and parents grew up in (Spaull 2015: 34).

The family's poverty intersected further with the parents' level of education and how education was viewed. With faith in the transformative power of education, parents viewed it as an investment to improve the life chances of their children and the welfare of the family (World Bank 2018: 64). This was despite the fact that most parents in the study did not have formal education. The willingness of the parents to educate their children corresponds with the findings of Bhagavatheeswaran et al.'s study in India who called parents "enablers" for their willingness to educate their children despite themselves being illiterate (2016: 267). This finding further contradicts Sutherland-Addy's (2008: xv) argument that parents with low literacy levels are not likely to send their children to school as they don't see much value in education. Additionally, aware of their inability to support their children up to tertiary education, the parents' target was for their children to acquire a secondary school certificate as a minimum qualification. The acquisition of a school certificate was considered important because it could be used as a springboard to get employment or further their studies (Grant and Hall 2008: 370).

The results further showed that the desire by the parents to educate their children was compromised by the intersection of poverty, family structure and the gender of the child on whom the decision to go to school was to be made. The presence of an adolescent mother in the family, meant the head of the household decided on whether the adolescent mother would be re-entered or not. Adolescent mothers in female headed households were more likely to re-enter as their parents had no one to bargain the decision with, a finding that is consistent with Parker and Short's study in Lesotho which found that children from female headed households were more likely to return to school (2009: 831).

The complexity of decision making was evident in households which had both parents. This is because as Agarwal rightly observed, households comprise different actors with different interests and are also places where distribution of resources and duties is based on gender (2011: 3). In making the decision of using the policy, the husband as head of household had the final say. Allow me to contextualise this from the interaction I had with one respondent couple. Note, my intention is not to paint a bad picture of fathers but to help explain how gender relations influence decision making based on available resources. I will repeat one quote I used earlier.

"I had suggested that the money we find be divided among the three children, but the father suggested that we pay for the boys first. And since he is the head of household, I just followed what he said. Even if we talked about it, the final decision was made by him" (Female parent, daughter not in school).

Two things arise from this narration, first is the male preference when it comes to education which feeds into existing gender imbalances in households promoted by social and cultural norms (Eloundou-Enyegue and Stokes 2004: 305, Sutherland-Addy (2008: xv). Culturally, people believe that there is more worth in educating a boy child compared to a girl child. The argument being that boys will be breadwinners while girls will be married off to be doing reproductive work and taken care of by their husbands. In the event that girls are educated, it

will only be to add value to them so that they may find “suitable” husbands (Kabeer 2005: 17). Second, is that second place is culturally associated with females. If the decision was up to the woman, she would have divided the money equally among the three children, but because the husband did not agree with her suggestion, she gave up and followed the decision of the husband. In giving up on her suggestion, the woman became a part of the continuous marginalization of women due to their tendency of putting the needs of others before theirs (Agarwal 2011: 21, Hartsock 1990: 169). On the other hand, the husband had this to say:

“The mother had suggested that we share whatever amount we were going to raise. I wish I had followed her idea, it was going to be better, but the problem is that us men most of the times we like suppressing the women’s thoughts even when they are better than ours” (Male parent, daughter not in school).

The husband’s response is indicative of practices that perpetuate the marginalisation of women due to the “undervaluation” of contributions that women give not only at household level but in society due to patriarchal practices (Agarwal 2011: 11). In many parts of the world, cultural norms ascribe more power to the husband while limiting how far the wife can bargain. In the end, the adolescent mother did not return to school as the money was used to settle school fees for the male children.

At household level, the findings confirmed that the intersection of poverty, household structure and the parents’ level of education contributed to factors that influence the use of the policy. Poverty was however the main determinant as the other factors were influenced by it. For instance, even though the female headed households had no problems with bargaining, the adolescent mother’s return to school was then determined by the ability of the parent to pay for school fees. In households with both parents, the household structure took center stage when the available resources were not enough to cater for all the children at the same time. The parents’ level of education was a constant intersection because that was the unifying factor as parents wanted the best for their children.

5.2 Interaction between parents and policy implementers

In analysing the interaction between parents and policy implementers, I will use Agarwal’s argument that gender relations “get constituted and contested” during interactions (2011: 34). During this contestations, parents and policy implementers can either work together or in contradiction to each other due to characteristics they attach to the interaction. In promoting adolescent mothers to return to school, the re-entry policy has this contestation which has led to its acceptance and rejection hence affecting its implementation.

As parents make the decision to re-enter adolescent mothers, access to education is determined by policy implementers, be it those running learning institutions or those providing sponsorship. The findings imply that by exerting their

institutional power of allowing or denying adolescent mothers re-entry and withdrawing sponsorship due to pregnancy, implementers create inconsistencies in implementing the policy. In the area of this study, such inconsistencies prevented parents from making use of the policy. The exclusion of adolescent mothers was due to what defines the policy being contested with some policy implementers attaching its use to the promotion of bad morals (Bhana et al. 2010: 874).

While parents may come out as victims, policy implementers also argued how parents have prevented them from implementing the policy due to their none responsiveness and their myths and misconceptions attached to adolescent pregnancy. However, when power asymmetries are considered between parents and implementers, parents have little room to manoeuvre as their actions were dictated by their circumstances and policy implementers. I therefore argue that the aspiration of parents for the education of adolescent mothers remain within the intersection of poverty, gender relations and other boundaries controlled by policy implementers such as schools and sponsorship providers.

5.3 Exploring complexities of adolescent mothers

According to the study findings, adolescent mothers not in school were not able to re-enter due to lack of financial support resulting from their parents' failure to afford school fees. Poverty was not only associated with adolescent mothers not returning to school, but also with adolescent pregnancy (Svanemyr et al. 2015: S7). Gender also played a role in keeping adolescent mothers out of school as some parents preferred the education of their male children compared to their female children a practice based on gender inequalities perpetuated by cultural norms (Tuwor and Sossou 2008:367). The study establishes that consequences of adolescent pregnancy are predominantly the problem of adolescent mothers (Bhana et al. 2010: 879). From the study, adolescent mothers did not only bear the shame and victimisation of pregnancy, but they dropped out of school while the males responsible for the pregnancies got away with merely accepting responsibility of the pregnancies.

With the additional economic burden which pregnancy and childbirth brought on their families, adolescent mothers were of the view that their parents loved them less. The respondents shared how some parents were avoiding providing for their needs or talking to them after they fell pregnant. Chigona and Chetty posit that parents sometimes behaved like that because of the anger and the shame they had to deal with in the community following their daughters' pregnancies (2008: 272). The notion of their parents loving them less left adolescent mothers anxious about their parents' plans for them as they saw no chance of returning to school while their friends were progressing with their education. The anxiety was justified as studies have shown that each passing year without re-entry, reduces their chances of returning to school (Grant and Hall 2008: 379).

On the other hand, the study found that a second chance at school motivated adolescent mothers to work hard as they saw education as a chance to be

self-reliant. However, the victimisation at school and their triple roles of being a daughter, mother and learner were challenges that adolescent mothers had to bear. Due to their intersecting identities, adolescent mothers were constantly fighting to balance time between school and home responsibilities which in most cases affected their academic performance and contributed to absenteeism from school (Kaufman et al. 2001:158, Maluli and Bali 2014: 84). As adolescent mothers take up school and parental responsibilities, they need school, family and psychological support as responsibilities associated with their new roles can be overwhelming (Chigona and Chetty 2007: 12).

According to the study, adolescent mothers indicated that they wanted the school to do more in creating a suitable learning environment as the current measure of reporting their victimisers was not enough especially when teachers were responsible for victimising them. A suitable environment is key in keeping adolescent mothers in school hence it is important that both teachers and pupils appreciate the efforts of adolescent mothers and help them stay in school instead of labelling them as deviants (Panday et al. 2009: 55). Further, studies have shown that staying in school does not only improve future economic opportunities, but it delays second births and gives power to women to decide on the size of their families (Bhana et al. 2010: 872).

The study findings of adolescent mothers calling their pregnancies an accident reveals the lack of sexual and reproductive health education (SRHE) which society withholds due to cultural, social and religious beliefs and fear that adolescents will practice what they have been taught (Morris and Rushwan 2015: S42). This lack of SRHE has led to sixteen million girls between 15 and 19 years old getting pregnant annually around the globe with 50 percent of these coming from SSA (ibid S41-42). Adolescent mothers indicated that in most cases, parents just told them to abstain without providing further SRHE. This is common in African societies where parents do not talk to their children about SRH leading many adolescents to find alternative avenues for information which in most cases is not accurate and leads to pregnancy and sometimes sexually transmitted diseases (Svanemyr et al. 2015: S9). Alternatively, parents have relied on the extended family and teachers to provide SRHE for their daughters. Away from home, adolescents lack youth friendly and non-judgmental services where they can freely seek SRHE. Some health personnel and institutions have been cited for being judgmental and failing to serve the SRH needs of adolescents (Morris and Rushwan 2015: S41).

Contrary to assertions that SRHE leads to more pregnancies, studies indicate that well-tailored intervention programmes for adolescents, leads to a reductions in unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and reduces “sexual risk behaviour” (Naz 2014: 675). Therefore, instead of communities, schools and families victimising adolescent mothers for getting pregnant, they should be supporting them, after all, support is what adolescent mothers need be it emotional or financial support to re-enter and support to remain in school. With these findings, I argue that while the re-entry policy is a good policy, it does

not tackle the root causes of adolescent pregnancy nor does it provide any support for parents to re-enter adolescent mothers or child care services for adolescent mothers to use while they learn.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings in line with the objectives of the study by highlighting how interrelated household factors influence the use of the policy and how differential powers between parents and policy implementers influence policy use. The chapter has also presented complexities that influence the life chances of adolescent mothers. The next and last chapter provides conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 6 Conclusion and Recommendations

My aim in this study was to analyse family, community and institutional factors that influence the use and non-use of the re-entry policy. Researching parents, adolescent mothers and policy implementers, I used the intersectionality lens with household gender relations and poverty in an attempt to analyse how different interrelated factors influence the use of the policy.

This study has established that while adolescent pregnancy facilitates dropping out of school, it is not a factor that influences the use of the re-entry policy. The none re-entry of adolescent mothers has been attributed to the lack of information on how adolescent mothers and parents can facilitate re-entry into school. The finger pointing between parents and school implementers verified the information gap in the re-entry policy sensitization. The re-entry procedure is a key aspect that re-entry policy information disseminators must consider besides encouraging adolescent mothers to return to school. With enough information beneficiaries would be able to understand their responsibilities in terms of the policy thereby making informed decisions. Similarly, traditional leaders should be embraced more in policy sensitisation as they have a positive influence on their subjects.

The study has further established that the desire by parents to educate their children was compromised by the intersection of poverty, family structure and the gender of the child on whom the decision to go to school was to be made. While it was likely for adolescent mothers staying with a single head of household to re-enter, it was not easy with those staying with both parents due to complexities in decision making based on available resources. Even though adolescent mothers were happy to return to school as they realised the importance of education after re-entry, poverty and lack of education infrastructure were constant threats to their continued education.

The study also demonstrated that the failure by government to enforce uniform implementation of the re-entry policy has excluded some adolescent mothers from being educated. The availability of the guidelines has not improved matters because education institutions are implementing the policy in a way that suits or reflect their values and not what the guidelines stipulated. These interrelated factors influencing the re-entry policy indicate that gender equity is not being met as many males still remain in school compared to females. In conclusion, in spite of the factors that influence the use of the policy, the study confirms that the policy has been widely accepted in the area where the study was conducted.

The concepts used for the study proved relevant especially intersectionality which was used to analyse how different factors such as gender relations interacted with poverty and policy implementers. Also, how gender relations affected people in the same households due to differential powers, gender and cultural

norms. The findings of this study leave room for future research on whether the pregnant girls who are transferred from religious schools do manage to re-enter. Further research can also be done to assess how the re-entry policy is implemented in other private schools since a lot of research has focused on government and religious schools.

Recommendations

- To avoid the exclusion of adolescent mothers from education, the implementation of the policy must be harmonised in all schools. Government together with NGOs where possible, should scale up the sponsorship of adolescent mothers or better still waive school fees for adolescent mothers.
- Schools and NGOs must work hand in hand with traditional leaders in disseminating re-entry policy information as traditional leaders have much influence on their subjects. The disseminated information should also include measures on how to mitigate stigmatisation and victimisation of adolescent mothers as it starts from the community.
- The identification of grades in which most pregnancies occur should be used to intensify pregnancy prevention messages to avoid adolescent pregnancies in school.
- Government, policy implementers and parents should strive to re-enter adolescent mothers within the shortest possible time as studies have shown that each passing year without re-entry, reduces adolescent mothers' chances of returning to school.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Commitment by Parents/Guardians of the pregnant girl

Commitment by Parents/Guardians of the Pregnant Girl

I/We, the parents/guardians of do hereby promise to ensure that she returns to school after delivery and by the date stated in the letter of re-admission.

Name of Parents/Guardians:

Mother/Guardian
Address
Occupation
Signature
Date

Father/Guardian
Address
Occupation
Signature
Date

Four copies:
1 copy to pupils' parents/guardians
1 copy to pupil
1 copy to school file
1 copy to School Guidance and Counselling file

Appendix B: Commitment by Male Involved in Pregnancy



Republic of Zambia
Ministry of Education

Commitment by Male Involved in Pregnancy

I/We ("we" in the case of school boy and parents/guardians).....
..... do hereby promise to support the baby and
mother (name of girl) both financially and materially until the child is 21 years of age.
I/We also promise to assist the girl's parents in ensuring that she returns to school after
delivery and by the date stated in the letter of re-admission.

Name of school boy/male responsible for the pregnancy
.....

Address

Date of birth

Grade (if in school)

Occupation

Signature

Date

Name of Parents/Guardians (where applicable in case of school boys/minors)

Father/Guardian

Mother/Guardian

Date

Four copies:


1 copy to pupils' parents/guardians

1 copy to pupil

1 copy to school file

1 copy to School Guidance and Counselling file

Appendix C: Form of Maternity Leave and Re-admission


Republic of Zambia
Ministry of Education

Name of Pupil _____
Grade _____
School _____

Section A: MATERNITY LEAVE

The School has granted you maternity leave for the following period:
From to

Section B: RE-ADMISSION TO SCHOOL

You will be required to report for classes after delivery as follows:
Date
Time
Grade
Re-admitting School

Please note that disciplinary action will be taken against girls who fail to report on the stated date.

Name of Head of School.....
Signature

Date Stamp

Appendix D: Letter of Maternity leave and Re-admission



Republic of Zambia
Ministry of Education

Ref/Serial Number

LETTER OF MATERNITY LEAVE AND RE-ADMISSION

Dear

This serves to inform you that the school has granted you maternity leave
from to

You will be required to report for classes on at 07:30 hrs.

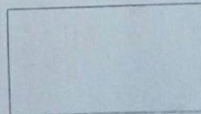
Please note that disciplinary action will be taken against you if you fail to report on the
stated date.

Yours sincerely,

.....
Name of Head of School

.....
Signature

Date Stamp



Appendix E: Sample of re-entry letter through Traditional leader

Chief Ufwenuka
P/Bag I
Chisekisi
Monze
8/01/2008

The Headmistress
P. O Box... Charles
Lwanga Basic School,

Dear Sir,
REF: OF [REDACTED] OF GRADES WAS ON
MATERNITY LEAVE

The above mentioned name is applying to
continue her above mentioned grade at your
School Charles Lwanga Basic School.

She did her grades at Mambo Basic School
eastern province.

I hope my request will be highly considered
by your office.

Yours faithfully
Asikwale (Chief)

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA CHIEF UFWENUKA
DATE 8/01/2008
P.O. BOX 66049 MONZE

Appendix F: Question guide - Parents of adolescent mothers in school

1. How old are you?
2. How many children do you have?
3. How old are the children?
4. How many are in school?
5. What level of education have you attained?
6. What is your source of income and which family expenses you can cover with it?
7. How did you come to know about your daughter's pregnancy?
8. What was your first reaction and how did your thoughts change with time?
9. From a religious point of view, how did you look at the pregnancy?
10. What made you send the student mother to school?
11. Who initiated the idea in the house for the adolescent mother to go back to school?
12. Can you tell me how the decision-making process was?
13. What are your responsibilities towards the education of the adolescent mother?
14. What was the reaction of the adolescent mother when you told her she was going back to school?
15. What was the reaction of the groups below when you decided to send the adolescent mother to school?
 - a. Other family members
 - b. Family of the boy responsible for the pregnancy
 - c. The community
 - d. The school management
16. How has your relationship been affected by your daughter getting pregnant?
17. Did you know about the re-entry policy before your daughter got pregnant?
18. How did you know about it?
19. How did you manage to get your daughter back in school?

20. What role was played by the school management for you to send the adolescent mother to school?
21. Are you currently staying with your daughter and her child?
22. What are you doing to help your daughter cope with being a mother and a student at the same time?
23. How are the gender roles performed in the house after bringing your daughter back to school? What has changed in regard to domestic tasks?
24. Do you have any additional source of income to help you meet the new demands of the household?
25. Do you know other parents in your community who have not used this policy?
26. What in your opinions are their reasons for not doing so?
27. Considering that the nearest girls' school does not admit adolescent mothers, what are your plans for her after grade nine
28. What do you think of the re-entry policy?

Appendix G: Question guide - Parents of adolescent mothers out of school

1. How old are you?
2. How many children do you have?
3. How old are the children?
4. How many are in school?
5. What level of education have you attained?
6. What is your source of income and which family expenses you can cover with it?
7. What made you not to send the adolescent mother to school?
8. Whose idea was it not to send the adolescent mother to go back to school?
9. How was the decision made?
10. What are your responsibilities towards the education of the adolescent mother?
11. What was the reaction of the adolescent mother when you told her she was not going back to school?

12. What was the reaction of the groups below when you decided not to send the adolescent mother to school?
 - Other family members
 - Family of the boy responsible for the pregnancy
 - The community
 - The school management
13. Are you staying with the adolescent mother and her child at home and what plans do you have for her?
14. If not staying with her, where is she?
15. Do you know about the re-entry policy?
16. if yes... How did you know about it?
17. If no.... would you want to know about it and what it is regarding?
18. Did the school management make a follow up to see why your daughter was not going back to school?
19. Do you know other parents who have used the re-entry policy?
20. What in your opinion are their reasons for doing so?
21. What do you think of the re-entry policy?

Appendix H: Question guide - Adolescent mothers in school

1. How old were you when you got pregnant and how old are you now?
2. What was your first reaction when you discovered you were pregnant?
3. What happened at school after the pregnancy was discovered?
4. What was the reaction of the boy when you told him about the pregnancy?
5. What was the reaction of the boy's parents?
6. What happened at home after the pregnancy was discovered?
7. Did you know about the re-entry policy before becoming pregnant?
8. If yes.....How did you know about it?
9. How was the decision made at home for you to go back to school?
10. How long were you at home before you went back to school?
11. Did you continue in the same grade you left?

12. What is the difference being in school before you were pregnant and now?
13. How did the following people react towards your going back to school?
 - Siblings and other family members
 - Fellow pupils
 - School management
 - The boy responsible for the pregnancy
 - Family of the boy responsible for the pregnancy
 - Community members
14. What are the social and cultural barriers from the above mentioned group that need to change in order that more girls like you can go back to school?
15. Who are you currently staying with?
16. How do you cope with being a mother and a student at the same time?
17. Who takes care of your child while you are at school?
18. Do you know of other student mothers who have not used this policy?
19. What do you think contributed to them not going back to school?
20. What would be your advice to fellow pupils about getting pregnant while in school?
21. What do you think about the re-entry policy?

Appendix I: Question guide - Adolescent mothers not in school

1. How old were you when you got pregnant and how old are you now?
3. What was your first reaction when you discovered you were pregnant?
4. What happened at school after the pregnancy was discovered?
5. What happened at home after the pregnancy was discovered?
6. Did you know about the re-entry policy before becoming pregnant?
7. If yes.....How did you know about it?
8. What does it mean to you being at home When you know that you could make use of the re-entry policy
11. Do you want to go back to school?
12. Why do you think your parents did not send you back to school?

13. How did the following people react towards you not going back to school?
 - Siblings
 - Fellow students
 - The boy responsible
 - His family
 - School management
 - Community members
14. Who are you currently staying with?
15. How has life in general changed for you?
16. Do you know of other student mothers who have used this policy and why?
19. What do you think contributes to adolescent mothers not going back to school?
20. What would be your advice to fellow pupils about getting pregnant while in school?
21. What do you think about the re-entry policy?

Appendix J: Question guide - Traditional leaders

1. What is your name?
2. What is your gender?
3. How long have you been a traditional leader?
4. What are your views on adolescent pregnancy?
5. How has been the trend of such pregnancies in your village?
6. What happens after an adolescent becomes pregnant while at school?
7. Do you know about the re-entry policy?
8. If yes, how did you know about it?
9. If no, how do you react when parents send the adolescent mother to school?
10. How does the traditional leaders relate/interact with the school management concerning the education of adolescent mothers?
11. Has the community ever been sensitised on the re-entry policy?
12. Who did the sensitisation and how was the community's response?

13. How much is girls' education valued in your village?
14. What factors influence the parents' decision to send the adolescent mother to school?
15. What factors influence the parents' decision not to send the adolescent mother to school?
16. How are parents who send/ do not send the adolescent mothers to school treated by the community?
17. How are school going mothers treated by the community?
18. Do you think adolescent mothers should be encouraged to go back to school?
19. Has there been a deliberate move to promote adolescent mothers' education in the village?
20. What do you think of the re-entry policy?

Appendix K: Open ended questionnaire – NGO and FAWEZA

My name is Masiye Nkhoma Mwanza, a Masters student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. I am undertaking research on the role of parents in the education of adolescent mothers as a partial fulfilment of the MA programme in Governance and Development Policy. The main purpose of this research is to assess reasons that influence the parents' use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The information gathered is purely for academic use and will be strictly confidential. Thank you for your time and support.

Please tick where appropriate

1. How many schools are you working with and how many pupils are you currently supporting?

Schools _____ Pupils _____

2. What criteria do you use to select the communities and schools you work in?

3. Which group of girls do you work with and why?

4. What level of education are you concerned with
 Grades 1 - 7 [] Grades 8 - 9 [] Grades 10 – 12 [] Tertiary
 []

5. What is your selection criteria when you screen and decide which girls you are going to include in your project?

6. What does your sponsorship/bursary package include (even in monetary form on average)?

7. Besides the school sponsorship/bursaries, do you provide any other support to the families where the girls come from?

Yes [] No []

8. If Yes, what type of support do you provide for the families (in monetary form as well if possible)?

9. If No, why is this the so?

10. What role do traditional leaders play in promoting girls' education in the communities you work in?

11. How has your focus on girls' education influenced the way communities view girls' education?

12. What awareness programmes are you running to promote girls' education?

13. What challenges do you encounter?

14. How do you handle these challenges?

15. How has the re-entry policy influenced your work in the promotion of girls' education?

16. How do you cooperate with the ministry of education in your areas of operation?

17. How has been the response of the schools you are working with?

18. Have you encountered schools that do not implement the re-entry policy?

Yes [] No []

19. If yes, what action did you take to ensure the adolescent mothers were not excluded but went back to school?

20. What are your views on the re-entry policy?

21. From your assessment on the ground, what other measures should be put in place to ensure that girls do not drop out of school?

22. Is there any information you think is worth sharing, for which you were not asked about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire

Appendix L: Open ended questionnaire - Council of Churches in Zambia

My name is Masiye Nkhoma Mwanza, a Masters student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. I am undertaking research on the role of parents in the education of adolescent mothers as a partial fulfilment of the MA programme in Governance and Development Policy. The main purpose of this research is to assess reasons that influence the parents' use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The information gathered is purely for academic use and will be strictly confidential. Thank you for your time and support.

Please tick where appropriate

1. How many churches are affiliated to this body?

2. How many religious run schools are run by these churches?

	Basic	Secondary	
Community Schools			[]

Girls' schools	[]	[]	
Boys' schools	[]	[]	
Co-education	[]	[]	
Tertiary Education			[]

3. What is the role of these churches in the education system?

4. How do you cooperate with the ministry of education?

5. Are you aware of the re-entry policy?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

6. If yes, How did you come to know about it?

7. According to your knowledge, what is the purpose of the re-entry policy?

8. Is the re-entry policy being implemented in religious run schools?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

If yes, continue to question 9. If No, go to question 14.

9. How is it being implemented in religious run schools?

10. For how long has the re-entry policy been implemented in these schools?

11. Is the policy being implemented in all the schools under your management?

12. How are parents and adolescent mothers utilising this policy?

13. What impact has the policy had on the education of adolescent mothers?

14. What do you think of the policy?

15. Is there anything you would want to change about the policy and what would it be?

16. What are the reasons behind the non-implementation of the policy in religious schools under your management?

17. To your knowledge, are there religious schools that are implementing the policy, or none of them implement it?

18. What measures would you need to consider implementing the policy?

19. What are your views on the impact that the non-implementation of the policy in your schools have for adolescent mothers?

20. Isn't your non-implementation of the policy in contradiction to government's effort to provide education for all?

21. How has the local communities within the vicinity of your schools reacted to your non-implementation of the re-entry policy?

22. How has the government reacted to your non-implementation of the re-entry policy in your schools?

23. Is there any information you think is worth sharing, for which you have not been asked about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix M: Open ended questionnaire - Zambia Conference of Catholic Bishops

My name is Masiye Nkhoma Mwanza, a Masters student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. I am undertaking research on the role of parents in the education of adolescent mothers as a partial fulfilment of the MA programme in Governance and Development Policy. The main purpose of this research is to assess reasons that influence the parents' use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The information gathered is purely for academic use and will be strictly confidential. Thank you for your time and support.

Please tick where appropriate

1. What is your role of the church in the education system?

2. How many schools are you currently running?

	Basic	Secondary	
Community Schools			[]
Girls' schools	[]	[]	
Boys' schools	[]	[]	
Co-education	[]	[]	
Tertiary Education			[]

3. How do you cooperate with the ministry of education?

4. Are you aware of the re-entry policy?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

5. If yes, How did you come to know about it?

6. According to your knowledge, what is the purpose of the re-entry policy.

7. Is the re-entry policy being implemented in your schools?

(a) Yes [] (b) No []

If yes, continue to question 8. If No, go to question 13

8. How is it being implemented in religious run schools?

9. How long have you been implementing it?

10. Is the policy being implemented in all your schools?

11. How are parents and adolescent mothers utilising this policy?

12. What impact has the policy had on the education of adolescent mothers?

13. What do you think of the re-entry policy?

14. Is there anything you would want to change about the policy and what would it be?

15. What are the reasons behind the non-implementation of the re-entry policy in your schools?

16. To your knowledge, are there religious schools that are implementing the policy, or none of them implement it?

17. What measures would you need to consider implementing the policy?

18. What are your views on the impact that the non-implementation of the policy in your schools have for adolescent mothers?

19. How has the local communities within the vicinity of your schools reacted to your non-implementation of the re-entry policy?

20. How has the government reacted to your non-implementation of the re-entry policy in your schools?

21. Is there any information you think is worth sharing, for which you have not been asked about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix N: Questionnaire - Monze District Education Board Secretary

Please tick where appropriate

1. Gender: Female [] Male []

2. For how many years have you held this position?

3. How many schools are you managing? _____

4. How many of these are religious run schools?

5. Do all the schools implement the re-entry policy?
Yes [] No []
6. If the answer to question 5 is no, why is it so and have you engaged these school?

7. What has been their response?

8. Have you received complaints from parents, students or teachers on the implementation of the re-entry policy and how do you handle these complaints?

9. How frequent are the complaints?

10. What are the majority of the complaints about?

11. How do you monitor the implementation of the re-entry policy in schools?

12. What challenges do you encounter when implementing the re-entry policy?

13. How do you create awareness of the re-entry policy for the following groups?
Schools

Traditional Leaders

Community

14. How often do you do the sensitisation and how has been the response?

15. How is the policy viewed in urban schools within your district?

16. How is the policy viewed in rural schools within your district?

17. What is being done to reduce teenage pregnancies and the subsequent dropout of school?

18. In what ways should parents be encouraged to send the adolescent mothers to school?

19. In what ways can the re-entry policy be improved to ensure successful implementation?

20. Is there any information you think is worth sharing, for which you were not asked about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix O: Questionnaire - Guidance teacher

My name is Masiye Nkhoma Mwanza, a Masters student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. I am undertaking research on the role of parents in the education of adolescent mothers as a partial fulfilment of the MA programme in Governance and Development Policy. The main purpose of this research is to assess reasons that influence the parents' use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The information gathered is purely for academic use and will be strictly confidential. Thank you for your time and support.

Please tick where appropriate

1. Gender Female [] Male []

2. How many years have you been teaching at this school? _____

3. For how long have you held this position?

4. Describe the process of the re-entry policy.

5. What are the provisions of the re-entry policy for pupils who get pregnant and later mothers?

6. What challenges do you face with adolescent mothers who have returned to school?

7. What measures has your school undertaken to create a suitable environment for adolescent mothers?

8. What is the role of parents in the successful implementation of the policy?

9. Do you think girls' education is appreciated by the community and why do you think so?

10. How do you ensure that both teachers and pupils are sensitised about the re-entry policy?

11. Describe how the school sensitises the community about the re-entry policy

12. How has been the community's response towards the re-entry policy sensitisation?

13. What has been the response of traditional leaders towards the implementation of the re-entry policy?

14. Do you think the re-entry policy is achieving its intended purpose and how?

15. How many adolescent mothers have re-turned to school in the past five years?

16. Who between the school management and parents initiated the re-entry of the adolescent mothers?

17. What type of support does the school provide for adolescent mothers who want to return to school but their parents are unable to support them?

18. How do you think the implementation of the policy can be improved?

19. Is there any information you think is worth sharing for which you were not asked about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix P: Questionnaire - Head teacher

My name is Masiye Nkhoma Mwanza, a Masters student from the International Institute of Social Studies of Erasmus University. I am undertaking research on the role of parents in the education of adolescent mothers as a partial fulfilment of the MA programme in Governance and Development Policy. The main purpose of this research is to assess reasons that influence the parents' use and non-use of the re-entry policy. The information gathered is purely for academic use and will be strictly confidential. Thank you for your time and support.

Please tick where appropriate

1. Gender Female Male
2. How many years have you been teaching at this school?

3. For how long have you served as a head teacher?

4. As a Head Teacher, what role does your school play in implementing the re-entry policy?

5. What is the procedure for entry?

6. Around what age and grade do most pupils become pregnant and what could be the reason for that?

7. How many pupils have become pregnant while at school the last five years on average? _____ b) How many re-entered _____ c) How many completely dropped off? _____

8. What measures are in place to ensure that more adolescent mothers re-enter?

9. What is the attitude of the following people towards adolescent mothers?

a) Fellow pupils

b) Teachers

10. What challenges do you think adolescent mothers face after returning to school?

11. What would you consider a suitable learning environment for adolescent mothers?

12. How does your school sensitise the community on the importance of the re-entry policy?

13. What challenges does the school face in implementing the re-entry policy?

14. What do you think of the re-entry policy?

15. Is there any information you think is worth sharing, for which you were not _____ asked _____ about?

Thank you so much for your patience and time in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix Q: Question Guide - Focus Group Discussion Girls

5. What is the re-entry policy, explain it the way you understand it?
6. What do the teachers do when they discover that a girl is pregnant?
7. For how long are pregnant adolescents allowed to be in school?

8. What happens to boys who impregnate fellow pupils?
9. What challenges are there in learning while pregnant and a mother?
10. What reasons enable other adolescent mothers to return to school and others not to return?
11. For you back in school, is there a difference in the way you used to look at school before you got pregnant and now?
12. Is there a difference in the way re-entrants are taught compared to the rest of the students?
13. How does it feel being at home with your child and seeing your friends making use of the policy and returning to school?
14. What challenges do you face being parents at a tender age?
15. How has life changed at home before you became a mother and after you became a mother?
16. How does the community look at adolescent mothers?
17. What should be done in this village so that more adolescent mothers can be returning to school?
18. What are the traditional leaders doing to protect adolescent mothers from getting pregnant?
19. What lessons have you learnt from your experiences?