IMPLEMENTATION OF A RE-ENTRY POLICY FOR TEENAGE MOTHERS IN ZAMBIAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

by

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I, **Namayuba Chiyota**, declare that the thesis entitled: "**Implementation of a Re-Entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools**" is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my mother Mrs O. Sibanda Chiyota for the motivation and support for my studies despite her humble education, mama ngiyabong'a kakulu. You have been such a big blessing to all of us. To Nanalise, Mutinta and Dumisani, may you emulate mummy.

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Special thanks to my parents and my family members for being my pillar.

ABSTRACT

The education of girls is hampered by many challenges among them teenage pregnancy. The Zambian government introduced the re-entry policy in 1997 to allow girls that get pregnant to return to school and complete their education. Even after the policy was introduced, many girls that get pregnant fail to return after their maternity leave. Therefore, this study investigated how the re-entry policy is implemented in Zambian secondary schools in Monze District using a qualitative-interpretivist-case approach. Hence data was collected using semi-structured interviews, field notes and document analysis to understand the implementation process through the eyes of the purposively selected Ministry of Education (MOE) officials, head teachers, teachers, teenage mothers, learners and parents. The collected data was coded sing a computer software Nvivo and analysed using thematic analysis. The research findings show the nature of current school re-entry policy implementation, opportunities through the re-entry policy, Weaknesses of the re-entry policy, challenges faced by teenage mothers and the existing support systems in place for teenage mothers. A framework for the effective implementation of the re-entry policy in schools was designed.

The study findings on re-entry policy implementation for teenage mothers concluded that, more remains to be done in terms of its implementation by various stakeholders. The re-entry policy is not well implemented as there are no re-entry policy guidelines in schools, lack of clarity on the guidelines compelling stakeholders to implement it their own way. Nonetheless, the findings show that the re-entry policy had notable achievements such as the re-admission and completion of teenage mothers' education, awareness of the re-entry policy, strengthening of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) in schools and collaborations between schools and civil society organisations (CSOs) and other government departments. The recommendations include: Government to ensure that the development of policies and implementation is inclusive and sustainable. School implementers should be given orientation on the implementation of re-entry policy; strengthening the re-entry policy and other supporting policies and laws that can promote gender equality and inclusion to enhance educational opportunities; CSOs, department of social welfare ties and parental and pupil support should continue collaborating to promote the education of the vulnerable that include teenage mothers.

Key Words: teenage pregnancy, policy implementation, human rights, school attendance, education barriers

ABBREVIATIONS

ASCA	American School Counselling Association
CSE	Comprehensive Sexuality Education
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DEBS	District Education Board Secretary
DHT	District Health Team
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HIV	Humane Immunodeficiency Viruses
MESVTEE	Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Education
MOE	Ministry of Education
NCES	National Centre for Education Statistics
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PEO	Provincial Education Office
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
REP	Re-Entry Policy
SADC	Southern Africa Development Committee
STIs	Sexual Transmitted Infections
TMs	Teenage Mothers
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Populations Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Funds
USA	United States of America
WFP	World Food Programme
ZDHS	Zambia Demographic House Survey
ZLCMS	Zambian Living Conditions Monitoring Survey

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE……i
DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY iii
EDITOR DECLARATION……..iii
DEDICATION iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
ABSTRACT vi
ABBREVIATIONS vii
TABLE OF CONTENT……viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....xiv
LIST OF TABLES.....xvi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Background to the study..... 1
1.3 Rationale 5
1.4 Statement of purpose 6
1.5 Working assumption..... 6
1.6 Problem statement 6
1.7 Research questions..... 6
1.7.1 Secondary Questions 7
1.8 Delimitation of the study 7
1.9 Research methodology 8
1.9.1 Research approach 8
1.9.2 Research paradigm 8
1.9.3 Research design 9
1.9.4 Data collection methods 9
1.9.4.1 Interviews 9
1.9.4.2 Document analysis 10
1.9.4.3 Field notes..... 11
1.10 Sampling 11
1.11 Data analysis and interpretation..... 12
1.12 Enhancing quality and credibility of the study..... 13
1.13 Ethical considerations 13
1.13.1 Privacy and confidentiality..... 14
1.13. 2 Voluntary participation..... 14

1.14 Significance of the study.....14
1.15 Outline of the study 15
1.16 Chapter summary..... 16
CHAPTER TWO: POSITIONING THE STUDY IN MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE THEORY 17
2.1 Introduction 17
2.2 Multi-level governance theory and its prominence in empirical research 17
2.3 Distinct features of the multi-level governance theory..... 18
2.3.1 Decentralisation..... 18
2.3.2 Participation 19
2.3.3 Policy networks 20
2.3.4 Public engagement..... 21
2.3.5 Public accountability..... 21
2.4 Weaknesses of the multi-level governance theory 22
2.5 Public policy implementation models supporting multi-level governance theory 22
2.5.1Top-down model..... 23
2.5.2 Bottom-up model..... 25
2.6 Stakeholders identified using the multi-level governance theory and support models in the re-entry policy implementation 25
2.7 Roles of stakeholders in multi-level governance theory 27
2.7.1 Policy makers in Zambia 28
2.7.2 Ministry of Education officials..... 28
2.7.3 Policy implementers in schools 29
2.7.4 Teenage mothers and learners 29
2.7.5 Teenager mothers as mentors 30
2.7.6 Civil society organisations (CSOs) 30
2.7.7 Cooperating partners and other agencies 31
2.8 Implication of multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up policy implementation models for the study..... 32
2.9 Chapter summary..... 33
CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF LITERATURE 35
3.1 Introduction 35
3.2 International perspectives on re-entry policies for teenage mothers 35
3.2.1 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in the United States of America (USA) .. 35
3.2.2 Empirical study in USA on teenage mothers' education..... 38
3.2.3 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in England 39

3.3 Regional perspectives on teenage mothers' education 41
3.3.1 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in South Africa 41
3.3.2 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Kenya 43
3.3.3 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Botswana 45
3.4 National perspectives on teenage mothers' education 46
3.4.1 General policy formulation in Zambia 47
3.4.1.2 Zambia's re-entry policy for teenage mothers 48
3.4.2 Empirical studies on teenage mothers' education in Zambia 50
3.5 Factors that affect re-entry policy implementation 53
3.5.1 Stigma 53
3.5.2 Rejection of expectant learners and teenage mothers by their families 56
3.5.3 Rejection of teenage mothers in the community 56
3.5.4 Role conflicts of teenage mothers 57
3.5.5 Time management by teenage mothers 58
3.5.6 Low self-esteem among teenage mothers 59
3.5.7 Lack of guidance and counselling services 59
3.6 Opportunities of educating girls and teenage mothers 61
3.7 Reasons for teenage pregnancy and barriers to education……63
3. 8 Socio-economic barriers..... 65
3.9 Poverty 66
3. 10 Effect of violence on the education of girls and teenage mothers 69
3.11 Impact of HIV and AIDS on the education of girls and teenage mothers..... 70
3.12 Chapter summary..... 71
CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH APPROACH, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY.... 73
4.1 Introduction 73
4.2 Philosophical assumptions: Ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study……. 74
4.3 Research paradigm 78
4.4 Research approach .....**Error! Bookmark not defined.**
4.5 Research design……79
4.6 Research methodology 81
4.6.1 Sampling technique and sample size 81
4.6.2 Purposive sampling……81
4.6.3 Selection of research site 84
4.6.4 Data collection tools 85

4.6.4.1 Individual interviews 85
4.6.4.2 Focus group interviews 87
4.6.4.3 Field notes 89
4.6.4.4 Document analysis 90
4.7 Data analysis 90
4.8 Ethical issues 92
4.9 Research quality assurance 93
4.9.1 Credibility 94
4.9.2 Transferability 95
4.9.3 Dependability 95
4.9.4 Conformability 95
4.9.5 Privacy and confidentiality 96
4.9.6 Voluntary participation 96
4.9.7 Informed consent 97
4.9.8 Anonymity of participants 97
4.10 Chapter summary 97
CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS 98
5.1 Introduction 98
5.2 Categorisation of identified themes and sub-themes 100
5.3 Theme 1: Nature of current school re-entry policy implementation 101
5.3.1 Sub-theme: Responsibility for implementation of re-entry policy in secondary schools 102
5.3.2 Sub-theme: Identification of expectant learners 104
5.3.3 Sub-theme: Unavailable and unclear re-entry policy guidelines 105
5.3.4 Sub-theme: Availability of guidance and counselling services in schools 106
5.3.5 Sub-theme: Parental/ guardian and learner engagement on the re-entry policy 108
5.3.6 Sub-theme: Assurance of re-entry into school 110
5.4 Theme 2: Opportunities through the re-entry policy 111
5.4.1 Sub-theme: Continuation with education 111
5.4.2. Sub-theme: Comprehensive sexuality education in schools 113
5.4.3 Sub-theme: School-health centre relationship 114
5.4.4 Sub-theme: No opportunity but negative influence 115
5.5 THEME 3: Weaknesses of the re-entry policy 115
5.5.1 Sub-theme: Poor community engagement/ awareness on the re-entry policy in remote areas 116

5.5.2 Sub-theme: Lack of clarity on the number of chances to re-enter 117
5.5.3 Sub-theme: Lack of parental/ guardian and learners' awareness of the re-entry policy without clarity 117
5.6 THEME 4: Challenges faced by teenage mothers and how they affect the implementation of the re-entry policy..... 119
5.6.1 Sub-theme: Peer discrimination by fellow pupils 119
5.6.2 Sub-theme: Peer bullying 120
5.6.3 Sub-theme: Loss of self-esteem..... 122
5.6.4 Sub-theme: Academic challenges 122
5.6.5 Sub-theme: Shame of being a teenage mother……..123
5.6.6 Sub-theme: Lack of home psychosocial support 124
5.6.7 Sub-theme: Responsibility conflict as a mother and a pupil 125
5.6.8 Sub-themes: Financial problems 126
5.6.9 Sub-theme: Long distances to and from school 128
5.7 THEME 5: Existing support systems 128
5.7.1 Sub-theme: NGOs-school partnerships..... 129
5.7.2 Sub-theme: Government effort via social-welfare..... 129
5.7.3 Sub-theme: Parental and pupil support 130
5.8 Chapter summary..... 131
CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS..... 133
6.1 Introduction 133
6.2 Nature of current school re-entry policy implementation 133
6.2.1 Responsibility for implementation of re-entry policy at secondary schools.... 133
6.2.2 Availability of guidance and counselling services in schools 138
6.2.3 Parental/ guardian engagement on the re-entry policy..... 140
6.2.4 Assurance of re-entry into school..... 141
6.2.5 Sensitisation of parents and the learners 142
6.3 Nature of re-entry policy opportunities..... 143
6.3.1 Continuation with education 143
6.3.2 Comprehensive sexuality education in schools..... 144
6.3.3 School-health centre relationship 145
6.3.4 No opportunity but negative influence 145
6.4 Weaknesses of the re-entry policy 146
6.4.1 Poor community awareness on the re-entry policy..... 146
6.4.2 Parental awareness of the re-entry policy without clarity..... 147

6.5 Challenges facing teenage mothers and how they affect the implementation of the re-entry policy in Monze District 147
6.5.1 Peer discrimination by fellow pupils 148
6.5.2 Peer bullying 148
6.5.3 Academic challenges 149
6.5.4 Shame associated with teenage pregnancy and motherhood 150
6.5.5 Lack of home psychosocial support 150
6.5.6 Responsibility conflict as a mother and a pupil 151
6.5.7 Financial problems 151
6.5.8 Loss of self-esteem 152
6.5.9 Long distances to and from school 152
6.6 Existing support systems 153
6.6.1 Government effort via social welfare 153
6.6.2 Parental and pupil support 154
6.7 Chapter summary 155
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 156
7.1 Introduction 156
7.2 Summary of main findings 156
7.3 Responding to research questions 156
7.4 Study limitations 161
7.5 Contribution of the study 162
7.5.1 Significance of the study to policy and practice 162
7.5.2 Proposed framework for public policy implementation 163
7.6 Conclusions of the study 165
7.7 Recommendations for further research 167
7.8 Chapter summary 167
REFERENCES 169
APPENDICES 212
Appendix 1: Letter for permission to conduct research 212
Appendix 2: Letter from MoE granting permission to conduct research 213
Appendix 3: Letter to MoE Officials/ consent letter 214
Appendix 4: Letter for head teachers and consent forms 216
Appendix 5: Letter for teachers/guidance & counselling teachers and consent form 218

Appendix 6: Letter for Parent/Guardian & Consent form 220
Appendix 7: Interview guide for MoE officials 214
Appendix 8: Interview guide for head teachers 224
Appendix 9: Interview guide for teachers/ guidance and counselling teachers 226
Appendix 10: Letter for parent/guardian & consent form 228
Appendix 11: Letter for teenage mother/learner & consent form 230
Appendix 12: Interview guide for teenage mothers 232
Appendix 13: Focus group interview guide for parents/ guardians & pupils 234
Appendix 14: Interview transcripts……...235

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Stakeholders using Multi-level governance theory…….26
Figure 4.1: Map of Southern Province Zambia……85
Figure 7.1: Public policy implementation framework……...164
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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Pregnancy cases according to Provinces……..4
Table 3.1: Types of school re-entry policies in African countries……..53
Table 4.1: Summary of study participants……85
Table 4.2: Participants in Focus Group Interviews……88
Table 5.1: Contextual background and categorization of the secondary schools….99
Table 5.2: Categorisation of participants……99
Table 5.3: Categorisation of identified themes and sub-themes……..101

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

All citizens are entitled to education and all governments are required to provide education to their citizens. The UNESCO (2005) report on the right to education emphasises the fundamental importance of education as the basis for national advancement. Hence, education remains a major investment where there should be no compromise as government offers it to its citizens at any cost. The Zambian government and many other African governments have shown commitment to promoting gender equality by signing, ratifying and developing several local and international treaties on the right to education for their citizens (UNDP, 2003). Nevertheless, despite all efforts by the Zambian government to recognise free education for its citizens, teenage mothers' education experience is neglected. Nonetheless, by implication, girls being human beings also have the right to education like boys do. Unfortunately, this right was never respected prior to the introduction of the re-entry policy which allows expectant learners and teenage mothers to go back to school. Before this, the moment pupils became pregnant, they were expelled from school.

1.2 Background to the study

Nearly ninety-five percent of adolescent gravidities happen in poor countries with 36.4 million females being mums below 18 years (UNFPA, 2013). Sub-Saharan Africa has the utmost frequency of adolescent gravidity in the world (UNFPA, 2013). In addition, childbirths by adolescent mums account for more than half of births in this region, estimated at 101 births per 1000 women aged 15 to 19 (UNFPA, 2013). Thus, governments and civil society organisations (CSOs) have attempted to address this matter by means of strategies and other initiatives. Even though there have been vast investments in, and the improvement of, these strategies, adolescent gravidity remains high in several developing countries in Africa (UNFPA, 2013). Loaiza and Liang (2013) observed that countries with high teenage pregnancies also have higher rates of child marriages. Such countries include Niger, Chad, Mali, Bangladesh and India.

A study by Elondou-Enyengue (2004) in Cameroon revealed that pregnancy was the reason for high dropouts at primary school level. In Malawi, Kelly et al. (2013) observed that a quarter of school dropouts are due to pregnancy.

Zambia has experienced an increase in school pregnancies due to socio-economic factors such as poverty, alcohol abuse and socio- cultural factors like initiation ceremonies. This means that teenage pregnancy is a challenge that affects many developed and developing countries and imposes a heavy developmental constraint on them, as they may not have the capacity to deal with its surge.

Although there is a plethora of studies on teenage pregnancy (Kelly et al, 2013; Eloundou-Enyengue, 2004; Loaiza and Liang, 2013), there is a dearth of literature on policies relating to the re-admission of teenage mothers in schools after giving birth. Mangino (2008) examined the problem of teenage mothers in USA schools and described how the country dealt with the problem. Her study explored the challenges, support systems and success stories of USA teenage mothers. However, the study does not provide an insight into any policy catering for the re-admission of teenage mothers into schools. Jamal (2014) examined the influence of support programmes for teenage mothers due to their various problems. Her study only focused on support for adolescent mums in institutions, besides implementation of the school continuation strategy.

Britain enacted the policy of allowing expectant teenage learners in school through its 1944 British Education Act. The Act promoted the right to education for all (Stromquist, 1999; Coutlee, 1999). In 1948, the British government signed the UN Declaration on Human Rights promoting the right to education (McGaha-Garnett, 2007). It meant that teenage mothers should also be granted equal access to education despite their motherhood status. In Kenya a study by Omwancha (2012) investigated the application of a strategy that allows teenage mothers in schools in Kuria District. The research established that there was no information and conception on procedures regarding the application of the policy that allows teenage mothers to return to school. Additionally, many socio-cultural factors prevented young mothers from returning to school. The study sheds light on inclusive policies and suggests how the voices of the teenage mothers need to be valued to address the many challenges they face. However, since this is a case study, its findings cannot be generalised.

A research conducted in South Africa by Bhana and her colleagues (2010) investigated how educators reacted to the adolescent mums after their re-entry in schools. The study established that majority of the teachers were against the re-entry policy in South Africa as they viewed teenage mothers as immoral. Therefore, many of them failed to re-enter school after childbirth. The research also found that policy was not properly implemented due to lack of awareness and that re-entry into school was dependent on the socio-constructions of pregnancy.

In Zambia, Mwansa (2011) analysed the application of the strategy that allows expectant learners to return to school after maternity leave. However, her study on the application of the re-entry strategy was conducted in Lusaka province only. She observed that the policy was not well implemented due to lack of awareness and discrimination of teenage mothers who returned to school. Hamusonde (2003) and Moonga (2014) made similar observations in Lusaka and the Copper belt provinces respectively. This knowledge gap is what this study filled by looking at the application of the return strategy for teen moms in Zambian institutions in Monze District.

According to statistics from the Zambia Demographic Health Survey (ZDHS) (2013-2014), teenage pregnancy is a major problem in Zambian schools. Studies conducted by Mwansa (2011) and Wekesa (2014) have established that re-entry policies in Zambia and Kenya were in place, but concluded that teenage mothers still faced huge challenges that affected their academic performance. Wekesa (2014) was of the view that re-entry policies should instil a sense of responsibility in men who make their fellow pupils pregnant by imposing stiffer punishments for the older ones and demanding for same leave period for the male pupil who makes a fellow pupil pregnant. In this way, boys and men will be responsible for their actions and will respect the rights of the girl-child. Her study revealed absence of the return strategy awareness programs in Kenya, particularly in the Bungoma County as a major factor in the poor application of the return strategy.

Southern Province of Zambia was the research site because the Ministry of Education Statistics Bulletin (MoE, 2015), noted the high the pregnancy levels compared to the other provinces, the province experienced a low re-entry rate of 42 percent. These levels were particularly high in primary schools, where only 773 girls were re-admitted in 2008. In 2015 alone a total of 11 989 pregnancies were recorded at primary school

level with only 5217 re-admissions, showing that very few (less than 50%) teenage mothers re-entered school. At secondary school level, a total of 3136 pregnancies were recorded, with re-admissions of 2047. It was also found that there were more pregnancies in the countryside and not in city schools. Statistics for 2015 show a total of 10 165 pregnancies recorded in rural primary schools and 1 822 recorded in urban primary schools, while during the same period 1 161 pregnancies were recorded in rural secondary schools and 886 in urban secondary schools. Southern Province had a low re-entry rate for teenage mothers (MOGE: 2015). Table 1.1 contains the relevant numerical data on teenage pregnancy and re-entries from primary to secondary levels. Southern Province had the highest number of pregnancies and only 42 percent teenage mothers re-entered.

Table 1.1: Pregnancy cases according to provinces

Province	Grades 1-7			Grades 1-12		
	Pregnancies	Re-Admits	Percent	Pregnancies	Re-Admits	Percent
Central	1383	526	38	1 720	678	39
Copperbelt	1051	399	38	1 626	812	50
Eastern	1435	516	36	1 680	674	40
Luapula	990	425	43	1 217	559	46
Lusaka	976	392	40	1 308	616	47
Muchinga	495	170	34	650	281	43
North-Western	1490	861	58	1 878	1 197	64
Northern	823	401	49	1 062	486	46
Southern	2 008	773	38	2 402	1 011	42
Western	1 338	754	56	1 584	950	60

Adapted from Ministry of General Education Statistics Bulletin (2015)

The re-entry policy is being implemented globally, that is, in developing and developed countries. In England, Australia and USA the policy is also being implemented although the developed countries offer other services such as childcare and home support for teenage mothers and their families. Selman and Hosie (2005) conducted a study on teenage pregnancy in England. The study established that pregnancy is not the reason for exclusion from school, and that local education authorities should accommodate the pregnant pupils in school. They further have found that girls

disengaged themselves from school the moment they discovered they were pregnant (Selman and Hosie, 2005).

1.3 Rationale

Teenage pregnancies in schools have contributed greatly to the dropout rate for girls in Zambian schools (ZDHS, 2013-2014). Before the re-entry policy was introduced, expectant learners either quietly left school for fear of being stigmatised or changed schools. The researcher witnessed this before the introduction of the return strategy. However, with the re-entry policy in place many girls have been given a second chance to complete their studies. Conversely, the introduction of this policy in Zambia was received with mixed feelings by the public. While some groups were happy with it, others argued that it would encourage learners to be promiscuous (FAWE, 2004). On re-entry policy, the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) expressed their disappointment on the lack of consultation on its formulation. They contended that the process leading up to the re-entry policy development was not consultative. According to the then Union president, Mr Sichone, "as teachers' union we needed to be part and parcel in the formulation of the education policies in the country" (Post newspaper, 1997:13). Amidst the negative reactions to the re-entry policy by some stakeholders and against the background of the practice of expelling teenagers who fell pregnant, it was important to examine how the policy was implemented in secondary schools. Several studies (Chilisa, 2002; Grant and Hallman, 2006; Hubbard, 2008; Maluwa-Banda, 2004; Sifuniso, 2006; Ngombo, 2010) analysed the causes of adolescent gravidity, the integration of adolescent mums in institutions, and the implementation of this strategy in areas different from the setting for this study. However, there is no study focusing on the application aspect of the re-entry policy and the challenges faced by the teenage mothers at both school and home. To that effect, Runhare (2010) recommended that a study on the implementation policy for teenage mothers be carried out.

This study is different from other studies done on teenage pregnancy as it focused on the actual application of the return strategy in the Zambian higher learning institutions with an analysis on the challenges faced in ensuring that the policy is well implemented. Further, the study also examined the support systems that are in place to enable the teenage mothers to complete their education.

1.4 Statement of purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore how the return strategy for teenage mothers was implemented in Zambia's secondary schools. The study analysed the challenges in the application of the return strategy and how they affect the implementation process. Recommendations are made at the end of the study on how best the policy can be implemented.

1.5 Working assumption

Few teenage mothers return to school after falling pregnant in Zambia, despite the existing re-entry policy enabling them to do so after giving birth. The policy has provisions for adolescent mothers to be re-admitted return after giving birth. Nonetheless, with low return rates for adolescent mothers to institutions after giving birth, one assumes that despite the noble intention of supporting academic progress of teenage mothers, there could be causes that have influenced the smooth application of the strategy. A study by Mwansa (2011) established that many girls continued to leave school due to a number of factors, such as an unfriendly school environment and the poor care for those who do return. Consequently, to ignore such causes affects the successful application of the strategy. The researcher assumed that lack of re-entry policy implementation was due to an oversight on the part of the Ministry of Education to clearly articulate the purpose of the policy to teachers who were well positioned to implement it at school level. Equally, the low re-enrolment rate for the teenage mothers in secondary schools was attributed to the poor implementation of the re-entry policy is doubtful.

1.6 Problem statement

Teenage pregnancy is a challenge experienced by several industrialised and emerging nations but remains a challenge in Africa (Sedgh et al. 2015; UNFPA, 2013) and affects the promotion of gender equality in education. As one of the countries in the region, Zambia is affected by this problem. Recent figures show that 21 percent of babies born in the country are born of girls aged between 15 and 19 years (ZDHS, 2013-2014). Teenage pregnancy continued to pose major social and health challenges that affected women negatively, including high maternal deaths, low literacy levels and rising domestic violence (ZDHS, 2013-2014). Josselson (2004)

posits that early motherhood amongst women under the age of 20 is a societal difficult that normally contributes to the dropout of adolescent girls from educational careers in developing countries. Even though Zambia introduced the school re-entry policy to encourage more girls to enrol in school and to reduce school dropout rates among girls, very few teenage mothers are re-admitted to schools after giving birth.

1.7 Research questions

The major study question was: How is the re-entry policy for teenage mothers implemented in Zambian secondary schools?

1.7.1 Secondary Questions

The ancillary study questions emanating from the main research question were the following:

- What opportunities does the re-entry policy offer the teenage mothers, schools and communities?
- What are the challenges experienced by teenage mothers and how are they addressed by re-entry policy implementers in secondary schools?
- Which support systems are in place to enhance the implementation of the re-entry policy?
- What framework can be designed to ensure the effective implementation of the re-entry policy?

1.8 Delimitation of the study

This study was done in Monze District in Southern Province of Zambia. The province has high teenage pregnancy and early marriage rates (MoE, 2015). The focus was on four secondary schools, 1 mission and 3 government run institutions two schools in the area that accommodates the urban elite within Monze District and one in a peri-urban area with high teenage pregnancies and early marriages, which has disadvantaged families and learners. The last one was a rural-based school, catering for the very poor and vulnerable groups who live far from the railway line and main roads. The identification of the schools was done with the support of the regional and district officers as they were familiar with the situation on the ground.

1.9 Research methodology

1.9.1 Research approach

The research applied a qualitative approach. Qualitative approaches are typically applied to explore novel research and to obtain data and explain an individual's thoughts, feelings and interpretation of meaning and processes (Given, 2008). This study approach has a holistic focus and allows for flexibility and the realisation of the participants' views (Merrian, 2002:4). To understand exactly how the return strategy was executed, its interpretation by head teachers, teachers, parents, teenage mothers and the Ministry of Education officers who participate in the policy implementation process was the primary source of information. Creswell (2009:34) suggests that qualitative research is an approach to comprehend people's insights into a given social or human problem. This involves analysing questions, procedures and facts gathered from participants' backgrounds as well as facts determined from specific to universal ideas and the investigator's explanations to make sense of the facts. Therefore, this approach assisted the researcher to understand how the re-entry policy is being implemented in Zambian secondary schools.

1.9.2 Research paradigm

This research used an interpretivist paradigm which views the reality and knowledge as created by the participants (Maree, 2012). Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) also describe interpretive research as the type of research that explores people's emotions, knowledge, and social situations happening in their own environment, hence the need to conduct research according to real environment. This involves the ideas people have about the truth concerning a particular subject. According to Barbie and Mouton (2001), the interpretive paradigm also gives the researcher the opportunity to know and construe the world from the participants' viewpoints. In this study, the research participants played a critical role in interpreting how the re-entry policy was implemented. The use of this paradigm for this research assisted the researcher to reflect on the opinions of the participants who were directly involved in implementing the policy in secondary schools rather than the views of the observer. Wellington (2000) further agrees that in the interpretive approach, the person observing creates a transformation to the one being probed and the truth becomes a social creation. The researcher therefore considered the views of the participants in this study to help

interpret how the return strategy for adolescent mums is implemented and interpret challenges faced when implementing it. Therefore, the researcher's understanding of the implementation process was through the participants' views.

1.9.3 Research design

The researcher used the case study design as this study was aimed at focussing a on the natural set-up and through many information sources (Yin, 2009:18). The case study design was used to obtain information using many information sources (interviews, field notes and document analysis) to investigate implementation of re-entry policy implementation through many lenses (Baxter and Jack, 2008).

1.9.4 Data collection methods

The research applied three qualitative data collection methods, namely interviews, document analysis and field notes. The use of the three methods assisted the researcher to triangulate the research findings and maximise the study's authenticity. Semi-structured individual and focus group interviews and field notes were used to obtain information from the participants. Head teachers, teachers, teenage mothers, learners and Ministry of Education officials participated in the study through semi-structured individual interviews. Their responses enabled the researcher to understand their perceptions on the execution of the return strategy and challenges faced in the process. The researcher conducted six focus group interviews, two with the parents and four with learners at the three secondary schools.

1.9.4.1 Interviews

The semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to access participants' various experiences of the execution of the return strategy and teenage motherhood. Macmillan and Schumacher (2010) argue that questions in semi-structured interviews do not provide choices from which the participants choose an answer. Semi-structured interviews and probing allowed the researcher to obtain diverse views from the responses given by the participants. Willig (2001) supports the use of semi-structured interviews to obtain a variety of data from investigating issues of interests that may be revealed during the interviews. Questions are phrased to allow for individual responses and further probe. According to Briggs et al. (2012), interviews are a common type of data collection tool that takes the form of a few major questions with

sub-questions and possible follow-up questions. They are also detailed discussions using open answers to collect facts on members' meanings of their views about the world. Therefore, the researcher paid attention to the responses given for a comprehensive meaning from the participants' views on the phenomena being studied. The researcher explored and probed the participants to obtain full details of the issues being discussed and to identify emerging themes that are directly related to the phenomena.

Individual and focus group interviews with parents and other learners were used to obtain detailed descriptions of issues related to this study, especially regarding the low re-entry rates for the teenage mothers, challenges faced by teenage mothers, support systems in place and how the re-entry policy was implemented in the schools. Hennink (2007) describes focus group interview as a distinct information gathering process where a particular group of research participants gather to deliberate difficulties where the researcher acquires rich and broad understanding. Kruger and Casey (2000) believe focus groups are important when obtaining huge rich data within limited period. The advantage of the focus groups is that they allow a researcher to obtain additional data simultaneously through different people with the hope that the group dynamic may produce data which might not have emerged in a one-on-one situation (Briggs et al. 2012).

1.9.4.2 Document analysis

In this research, document analysis included the review of existing documents to comprehend their basic content or deeper meanings, which may be revealed by their style and coverage (Maree 2007). Documents referred to in the study were those related to provincial and district statistics on teenage pregnancy, re-entry policy guidelines and reviews and other documents that contained relevant information for this study. According to Maree (2007:82), principal forms may be documents like a letter in a newspaper, while ancillary sources refer to any material, like records and articles that are based on previously published work. These documents informed the researcher about the number of learners who become pregnant, were transferred, re-admitted or who stopped learning because of gravidity. Similarly, the researcher used Re-entry Policy guidelines and the statistical reports to analyse the information

on teenage pregnancy rates. The review reports on the re-entry policy were analysed to obtain an insight into issues raised pertaining to this study.

1.9.4.3 Field notes

Notes were made in conjunction with a reflective diary during the research process. Field notes are shorthand records of events, remarks and conversations in the field (Wolfinger, 2002:86). Field notes were important in linking researchers and participants in ethnographic report writing. In this study, field notes included any observations noted during the interviews and additional information provided by the participants. The notes were kept by the researcher throughout the period of the study, and these contained ideas and thoughts as well as reflections regarding the study experiences.

1.10 Sampling

This study used purposive sampling, defined by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) as the way in which researchers select the people to be included in the sample according to their judgement and the needed characteristics. Creswell (2007) maintains that this type of sampling is used when accessing 'knowledgeable people' with a deep knowledge about the relevant issues. Purposive sampling was used because of the nature of the study, which dealt with a sensitive topic. Therefore, the department of education officials, career and guidance teachers, parents, adolescent mums and learners were purposively sampled, as they were more knowledgeable about the re-entry policy implementation in schools. The teenage mothers were purposively identified by the school management but they consented to participate in the study. They too were purposively sampled because they had experienced the re-entry policy process in schools and they provided critical data for this study.

According to Cohen, Manion and Morrisson (2007), the researchers choose the participants to be interviewed because of their typicality. The researcher selected the participants for this study to obtain rich information. Maree (2012) contends that purposive sampling is applied when identifying special groups or individuals specifically for a key objective. Using this method, the researcher accessed participants who were conversant with the study. A total of 44 participants participated

in this study. The researcher selected 16 teenage mothers (at least 5 from each school) and 4 head teachers (3 from identified schools and 1 from a mission school), 2 deputy head teachers, 4 career guidance and counselling teachers and 8 class teachers; 6 parents/guardians; and 4 department of education officers. The officers from the department of education contributed in the detailed conversations as supervisors of the institutions. Parents and learners participated in the focus group interviews as their responses were used to triangulate the responses from the teenage mothers and teachers. The learners included those learning with teenage mothers or expectant learners. Schools were selected based on the number of teenage pregnancies they reported and a school with more than 5 pregnant learners contributed in the research. Participants were selected according to the experiences they had on the re-entry policy. Teenage mothers were chosen because of their status while teachers and head teachers took part because of the responsibility they have in the application of the policy in their respective institutions as well as their knowledge of the challenges they faced when implementing it.

The selection of the respondents was as follow:

- Parents whose children had experienced teenage pregnancy and how they benefited from the re-entry policy.
- Teachers who teach teenage mothers and offered counselling where necessary, such as class teachers and career guidance teachers.
- Learners whose friends have experienced teenage pregnancy.
- Teenage mothers in school and those who completed school the previous year.
- Head teachers dealing with teenage pregnancy daily and who could provide detailed information on the study.
- Department of education officials at national, regional and local levels because they supervise the schools that implement the re-entry policy.

1.11 Data analysis and interpretation

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) define information scrutiny as a process of understanding information from the participants' perspective of themes, groups and uniformities. The information from the interviews and documents was scrutinised to identify themes and narratives using thematic analysis. Nvivo software was also applied in the information scrutiny stage. Thematic analysis is the method of analysing

qualitative data, a process of categorising, arranging and presenting insights into the form of meaning or themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The focus was on finding meaning across data sets. This assisted the researcher to make sense of collective meanings and practices. The interviews were recorded and follow-up queries probed after the interview session. The transcripts were coded using words and phrases from the collected data. The themes and interrelationships were developed for subsequent interpretation. The daily field notes were used to develop and define concepts.

1.12 Enhancing quality and credibility of the study

Trustworthiness is important in qualitative research. Hittleman and Simon (2006) maintain that trustworthiness is a concern of all researchers to ensure that the collected data is representative. It also refers to the accuracy of the qualitative data. The researcher in this study used credibility and trustworthiness as the criteria to enhance the validity of the results. Multiple means of data collection, including semi-structured interviews, field notes and document analysis, were used to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. The responses from the semi-structured individual interviews were triangulated with the responses from focus group interviews, documents and field notes. Credibility, in qualitative research, is establishing trustworthiness through data examination, analysis and conclusions to ascertain whether the study is correct and accurate (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). To enhance credibility, the researcher built rapport with participants and used member-checking to review the data, its interpretation and conclusions.

To ensure trustworthiness, all discussions were tape-recorded and copied *exact*. Extracts from the recorded information were used to illustrate the participants' views and data from the field notes, documents and interviews was triangulated to obtain the full meaning of the findings. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) encourage the usage of several ways of information gathering to reflect the detailed study comprehension. The research occurred in the local settings of the relevant participants and their local language was used, where necessary, to obtain information for the study.

1.13 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance was acquired from the University of Pretoria's Faculty of Education's Ethics Committee. Permission to conduct the study was acquired from the Ministry of

Education in Lusaka. During the interviews, all participants consented to participate in the study. Participants had full knowledge of the study being voluntary and they were at liberty to either participate or withdraw. Considering that teenage pregnancy and the re-entry policy are sensitive issues, the participants were guaranteed of privacy and obscurity in the research. Participants' real titles were not used and the information obtained was secured, as it is highly confidential. A good rapport with the participants guaranteed confidentiality and encouraged them to freely participate in the interviews.

1.13.1 Privacy and confidentiality

The confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents was always respected. The investigator ensured participant identities were protected. In the case of the teenage mothers, their participation was voluntary and anonymous. The research topic was an emotive one and rapport with the teenage mothers was created to ensure that they freely expressed themselves on this study. The information obtained was treated with the highest confidentiality. The respondents' privacy, autonomy, dignity and basic human rights were respected. The records were destroyed after the completion of the study.

1.13. 2 Voluntary participation

In this research, members offered to be involved in the study and they were free to leave. The study purpose, including how it was to be applied was also explained to participants. They signed a letter of consent describing the research process and their role. In line with Creswell's (2003) view, their freedom not to contribute was guaranteed. The participants were respected and given justified dignity for their involvement. As emphasised by Corebetta (2003:15), "each participant has her own dignity and worth as a human being, and safeguarding her welfare, at least as regards her participation in the research process, is one of a researcher's paramount responsibility". Therefore, the researcher ensured that participants were treated with respect.

1.14 Significance of the study

The education of girls is very important in the development of nations, societies and families. Therefore, policies that are developed to ensure their full participation should

endeavour to focus on their needs which promote their full participation in school. The research discussed some of the support systems that can motivate teenage mothers to pursue their studies with minimal disturbance. Childcare services, social cash transfers and all other support is needed if teenage mothers are to realise their full potential at school as well as their dreams of completing their studies. This study gives a comprehensive picture of how the re-entry policy was implemented and makes suggestions on how to improve the implementation process. The study recommendations from the findings will be used by all interested stakeholders in the education sector.

1.15 Outline of the study

The outline of the study is divided into several chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Background to the study

The chapter contains an overview of the study. This is followed by a discussion on the rationale, working assumption, problem statement, research questions, study limitations and the significance of the study.

Chapter 2: Positioning the study in multi-level governance theory

The chapter discusses the theoretical framework applied in this study. Multi-level governance theory is discussed as the theory for this study.

Chapter 3: Review of Literature

The chapter presents the reviewed literature correlated to the execution of the return strategy in learning institutions, providing international, regional and national perspectives.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

This chapter outlines the research approach, design and methodology used in the study. Hence, the chapter discusses the research approach, research paradigm,

research design, data collection methods and research site and sampling used in the study. Data analysis is also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Research findings

The chapter contains the presentation of the study findings from the data obtained through interviews, document analysis and field notes.

Chapter 6: Discussion of findings

The chapter presents the discussion of findings according to the study questions and in line with the theoretical frameworks and literature review.

Chapter 7: Summary of findings, recommendations and conclusion

The last chapter presents the summary of findings, recommendations and conclusions of the study.

1.16 Chapter summary

Chapter 1 presented the introduction and direction to the study. It also provided the background against which the entire chapter is set. The study provided the answer to the main research question on the re-entry policy implementation for teenage mothers at secondary schools in Monze District, Southern Province of Zambia. The structure of the research was also provided. The following chapter presents the theoretical framework guiding the study.

CHAPTER TWO: POSITIONING THE STUDY IN MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE THEORY

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter focussed on the introduction to the implementation of the re-entry policy in the Zambian secondary schools. In that chapter, the background to the study was presented giving a synopsis of the study and why the researcher investigated it. It also briefly outlined the presentation of the study. The current chapter analyses the theory underpinning the study starting with the theory background, its main features and how the theory guides this study on the re-entry policy implementation in Zambian secondary schools.

2.2 Multi-level governance theory and its prominence in empirical research

The research on the application of the return strategy in Zambia is underpinned by the multi-level governance theory. Defined as agreed interactions between institutions at transnational, national, regional and local levels (Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Bache and Flinders, 2004; Enderlein et al. 2010), the theory was developed by Lisbet Hooghe and Gary Marks, based on their work on the European Union. They studied the arrangements designed for the European Union Council and specifically examined how the international and national levels of authority were operating (Marks, 1992). The multi-level governance theory explains how plural and widely dispersed nations work and make decisions mainly through the participation of multiple actors or stakeholders, who can either be individuals or institutions. Their roles are viewed through their participation at different levels, namely supranational, national and local levels. In their study, Lisbet Hooghe and Gary Marks argue that nations need to harmonise their policies in order to function as one and deliver strategy mandate of the organisations like the European Union. Diversity in policies and decisions can be managed through strong governance institutions at different levels and by promoting governance virtues in the EU administration and policy implementation. The actors found that coordination of member states promotes transparency in the management of resources as the policy was formed at the time when structural funds were made available for the coordination and implementation of developmental projects. This type

of coordination has affected the work in the areas of environment policy and climate change, among others.

2.3 Distinct features of the multi-level governance theory

There are a number of distinct features, which collectively interact to promote effective dialogue among stakeholders for smooth policy implementation in this theory. These features include *decentralisation of power*, *inclusive decision-making*, *stakeholder engagement and participation*, *policy networks* and *accountability*. The theory further promotes equality and mutual dependence in policy making and implementation (Stephenson, 2013). The five characteristic features of the multi-level governance theory are discussed below.

2.3.1 Decentralisation

Decentralisation is a key feature of the multi-level governance theory. Decentralisation is the devolution of decision-making authority from the top governance levels to the lower levels such as the school (Marishane, 2004). The decentralisation of decision making processes promotes power sharing in decision making and improves service delivery. The element of decentralisation as featuring in the multi-level governance theory is useful in understanding how inclusive policy implementation is promoted among countries like those in the EU. It characterises the operations of the European Union from the time it was formed in order to empower states to make their own decisions – those that can govern them (Stephenson, 2013). Hooghe and Marks (2003) would argue that for the EU to function properly, power had to be devolved so that decision-making could be done at different levels and this was important for both policy formulation and implementation. This line of thinking led to members of the EU being divided according to their jurisdictions and competences. In multi-level governance theory, member countries share their competences or skills in their given sphere of influence. These competences contribute to the development of programmes that can foster economic growth and political stability of member countries. The only disadvantage identified is that some members of the EU ended up being more active than others, but the whole idea was to build on these competences for the benefit of all member states. Stephenson (2013) argues that this led to the loss of power by some member countries while others gained more power. Through the

multi-level governance theory, power is evenly distributed to all stakeholders under the European organisations. It has been distributed athwart several territorial levels and amongst many isolated and communal players (Rosamond, 2007). This comprises the relocation of power from the state to the community level (Pierre and Peters, 2000), for the reason that in many developed countries, nations progressively transferred power and local proficiencies protracted.

Decentralisation as a governance strategy is not confined to the developed countries, but has begun to spread to the developing countries as well. In some developing countries, including Zambia, decentralisation is gaining momentum, though this trend does not cover many sectors. For instance, in Zambia the department of education is legally assigned to manage the education sector and make decisions regarding the provision of education. Using the top-down governance model, the MoE formulates policies and delivers them to schools for implementation. The schools are expected to implement the policy as a directive and report on how the implementation process is working. What this suggests is that the schools at the lower level only work according to the instructions from the MoE at the top of the governance hierarchy. This stands in stark contrast to decentralisation, in which case schools at the lower level and the bottom of the hierarchy are empowered to make decisions that promote the effective implementation of policies.

2.3.2 Participation

Participation is a process involving constant concession, planning and application by all stakeholders from both the public and private sectors and encourages both government and policy beneficiaries to support policy implementation (DeBardeleben and Hurrelmann, 2007). The essence of stakeholder participation is to promote ownership and inclusiveness in decision-making so that policies are sustainable and properly implemented. In multi-level governance theory, public negotiators have to collaborate with policy network groups and stakeholders to support public policy making to meet general demands and thereby attain proficient objectives (Wiener and Diez, 2003). Participatory governance is defined as “the regular and guaranteed presence when making binding decisions of representatives of those groups that will be affected by the policy adopted” (Schmitter 2002: 56). What this suggests is that the all stakeholders’ participation in policy formulation is important for the implementation

of policies as that would attract support and encourage the beneficiaries to respond positively to policy interventions. Through participation, decision-makers from bottom to top and top to bottom are able to negotiate for the best approach when implementing policies and this promotes inclusiveness at all levels. Citizens should also have detailed knowledge of the aims and impact of the process and of the anticipated result of the strategy (Dahl, 1989).

2.3.3 Policy networks

Policy network is a form of coordination for organisations that have common goals meant to address social, political and policy needs as a result of dissatisfaction with public policies. Policy networks are promoted by the proponents of multi-level governance theory to allow like-minded individuals and institutions to dialogue on related policy issues and values. The argument has been that the participation of stakeholders and specialists would make the policy formulation process transparent and accessible to the public and make it authentic (Nergelius and Zetterquist, 2006). Policy networks can be at the different levels of governance such as supra-national, national and local. These policy networks can mobilise the participation of citizens at all levels, bottom and up and top and down, so that their positions are considered when implementing public policy. Local authorities and organisations impact resolution building incidentally through petitioning via general associations (Rechlin, 2004). This is a very good example of how bottom-up models are used to lobby for implementation of policy.

Policy networks are important in the problem identification and resolution from the initial stages of policy design and systems of addressing any snags are proposed and adhered to during the application stage (Kooiman, 2000). Secondly, through policy collaborations, information collected from several stakeholders would not be collected without such networks (Scharpf, 1999). Thirdly, they can offer an atmosphere for cooperation and reduce implementation conflict (Marin and Mayntz, 1991). Thus, to have a basis for policy implementation, policy networks are important and should be identified at the beginning of the policy cycle and used throughout the implementation process. The feedback achieved from such networks provides a strong foundation for both the implementers and the intended beneficiaries.

2.3.4 Public engagement

Policy formulation is a duo process where public policy officials engage the beneficiaries and other interested stakeholders on policy implementation. The OECD (2001) outlines three models of public policy engagement, namely information, consultation and active engagement. Information is a way through which the government produces and delivers public information for use by the citizens. Information is shared through official gazettes, public records and government websites. Consultation is another way the public gets engaged on public matters. It is a duo process as it promotes the provision of feedback to the public and back to the government to reach consensus. Active participation is about partnerships with the government so that citizens are engaged through these partnerships. Citizens are given an opportunity to propose policy options and shape them before the government starts implementation. However, the government makes the final decisions, as they are the policy formulators. To promote policy ownership and effective implementation, the government promotes citizen participation so they have a say in the policy and how the implementation process is done. There are many ways of engaging citizens. These include, focus group discussions, formal written consultations and public associations (Coleman and Gotze, 2001). The participation of various significant interested party leaders implies collaborations in the policy design process, and improves resolution of snags and successful implementation of the policy.

2.3.5 Public accountability

Accountability is the main attribute of good governance (UNDP, 1997). There are many definitions of accountability. This study uses Boven's (2006:9) definition which states that accountability ''refers to concrete practices of account giving.'' In public policy both the implementers and the beneficiaries have the responsibility of giving an account of what is involved in public policy and have to explain and justify the reasons for their respective decisions to the policy formulators, implementers and beneficiaries and vice versa. Accountability leads to the validity of a governmental system. It is perceived as an official assessment of pronouncements made besides openness and analysis. In a bureaucratic model of policy implementation, public officers are

accountable to the policy beneficiaries (Peters and Wright, 1998). Hence, accountability is a fundamental public policy implementation method (Bovens, 2006). Public officers have the duty to account for the decisions they make to the public and the public has the right to ask why such decisions were made so that justifications are made. Simon Joss and Alison Mohr (2004:23) posits that ‘‘community responsibility involves strategy and resolution building procedures, public organisation subtleties and widespread community dialogue”. They highlight the link between accountability and participation. The only way the public can get involved in policy implementation is through participation in the public policy process. That way their concerns and voices are made known and they have an opportunity to provide feedback on the policy implementation process.

2.4 Weaknesses of the multi-level governance theory

Even though multi-level governance theory has good distinctive features that underpin this study, it also has some weaknesses such as failure to include citizens of the member countries in decision-making. By the available policy networks, there is no guarantee that the network’s views represent those of ordinary members on the ground. The multi-level governance theory has been criticised for the fact that it is an approach and not a theory. Nugent (2003) argues that multi-level governance does not assess the causes of the EU amalgamation. As a result, it fails to project the future of such an important organisation. Multi-level governance theory is also criticised for not accrediting enough power to the global level and its impact on EU policies (Nugent, 2003). Further, critics of the multi-level governance theory contend that countries still direct the supranational, sub-national and local levels, and that multi-level governance theory does not offer any different management ideas.

2.5 Public policy implementation models supporting multi-level governance theory

In this study, other public policy implementation models such as top-down and bottom-up have been considered to supplement the multi-level governance theory. Among them are top-down and bottom-up models that bring the politicians/ executives and the lower organs together to chart the way forward towards effective policy implementation. The top officials are the politicians and executives and the bottom

ones are the head teachers, parents and teenage mothers in this study. Once the top and the bottom actors reach an agreement on policy implementation, the policy goals are attainable. This means the policy formulation from the top and the implementation from the bottom will be harmonised, and one expects efficiency and effectiveness in the execution of the re-entry policy. Cerna (2013:11) agreed that multi-level governance theory affords a valuable shift after strategy transformation to application as top-down versus bottom-up methods are embraced for policy formulation and implementation. This shows that no one theory can provide a definite solution on its own. Therefore, it is good to consider these models from multi-level governance perspectives in order to arrive at the best way to implement the re-entry policy. This view of multi-theoretical approach has been learned from decades of implementation research in which the change of direction was non-linear and general transformation happened as a result of vibrant collaborative procedures, rather than a centrally determined policy (Gonitzka et al. 2005). Kogan (2005) states that policies of such nature were both national and sub-sector. This is true in Zambia where education as a sector has many other sub-sectors such as the newly introduced pre-schools, lower primary, upper primary, junior and senior secondary schools and tertiary level consisting of colleges and universities. This is from the lower levels to the national level. Considering this, the researcher realised that issues of different policies arise for each of the sub-sector. Therefore, the use of top-down and bottom-up models are meant to supplement and harmonise the work of the other sectors.

2.5.1 Top-down model

One model that supplements the multi-level governance theory in the effectiveness of re-entry policy implementation is the top-down model. According to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), the top-down model is applicable when policy pronouncements from the state are handed over to subordinates for implementation. This means the procedures of implementation are passed on from top to lower organs like in the Re-entry Policy implementation from MoE to schools. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979) were among the first scholars to detail the work of this strategy and were able to identify detailed legal and political factors involved. The legal and political factors were later categorised into six conditions needed for effective implementation. Some of the conditions include the setting of clear policy objectives, legal implementation

frameworks or an act of parliament to make the policy legal and ensure commitment for implementation and supportive interest groups to support the policy change.

Hill (2005) postulates that the top-down model espouses that policy implementation originates from the state with policy goals. Furthermore, it is also subjective to organisation theory, stating that communal strategy is the objective and strategy application is the outcome. The government department responsible implements the policy. The Zambian government identified the MoE to implement the re-entry policy because it is mandated to provide educational services to the Zambians. Through the top-down model, the government questions the actions taken by policy implementers and evaluates how the implementation process is done, identifies challenges and reports the outputs. Thus, the government can decide how to implement policies without having any influence from outsiders. Nonetheless, although top-down strategy has its own limitations, it has its own advantages to every government. The advantage is that if the government wants to direct every aspect of how its policy must operate to accomplish its goals and objectives, a top-down strategy can provide government with the necessary level of control. This is because no other interferences are expected and government operates on its terms. This is how most of the public policies are made because they have no other inputs from outsiders. In such a way, implementation can become very difficult because many stakeholders are left out during the development of the policy, hence they may not know how to implement the same policies.

The top-down model explains the implementation of the return strategy since effective application is dependent on the clarity of set objectives. The government needs to provide policy goals for implementers. Government workers need to understand the bureaucratic system to successfully implement the re-entry policy.

Therefore, in this study of re-entry policy implementation, stakeholders needed to understand the role of government and how it functions in policy formulation and implementation and their role in implementing the specified policy goals. Stakeholders must realise that the government possesses a different role that can be achieved together with their different interest.

2.5.2 Bottom-up model

The bottom-up model supplements the multi-level governance theory in the re-entry policy implementation. According to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979), bottom-up has been defined as the participation of stakeholders in policy formulation. This means the lower level stakeholders at the point of need contribute to the policy making according to the way they view the actual phenomenon. Once their inputs are made, they cannot make an intervention without the legal direction from the top. Once the top receives the contributions, they are incorporated into policy making, hence enriching the policy making process and promoting ownership of the same. This shows that there are two ways that is consulting the implementers, feeding into the policy formulation process, and taking the policy back to the implementers for implementation. This means that there is feedback in the communication process and if there is feedback, it means uncertainties are cleared when stakeholders participate at both levels.

Bottom-up model was found necessary to argue against the top-down one. The bottom-up model has its own advantages as well as its limitations, but has a vital contribution in the multi-level governance theory. In the case of the re-entry policy, the teachers, teenage mothers and parents play a key role in effective policy implementation.

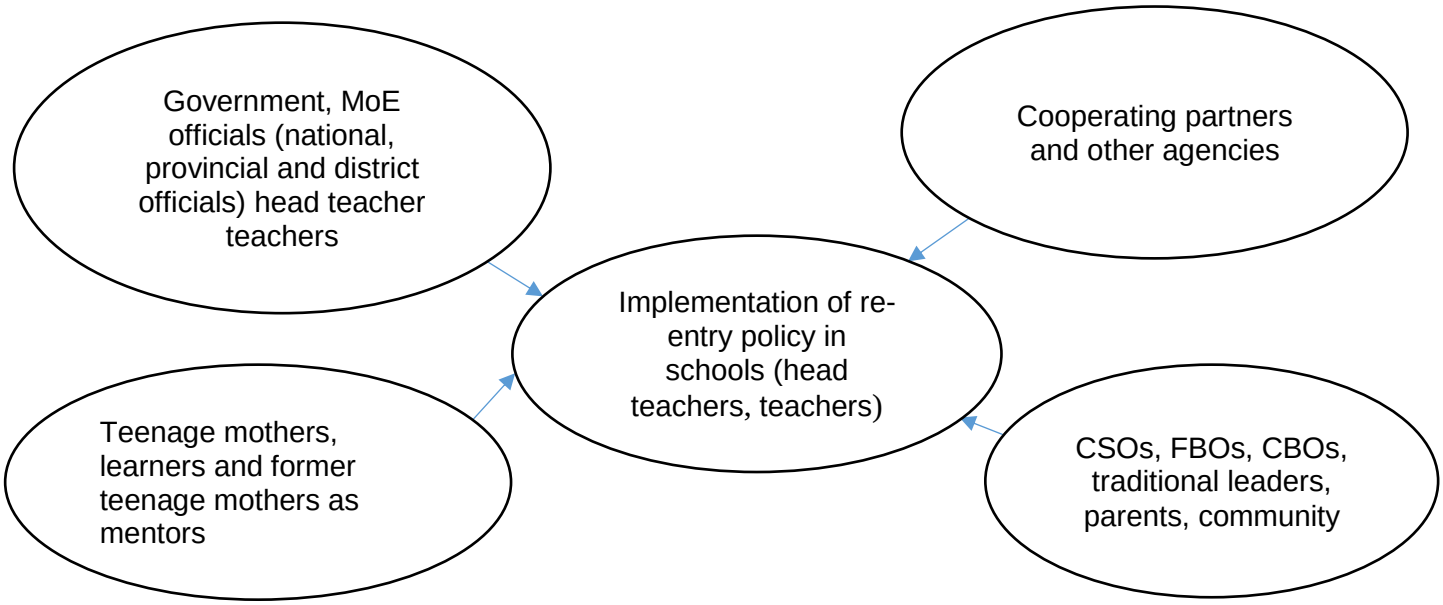
The bottom-up model stipulates that effective policy implementation should start at the lower level such as the school administrators who are involved and understand the issues at hand. School head teachers understand the environment in which they operate in terms of socio-economic conditions that may have an impact on the re-entry policy. Ignoring their contribution is problematic to the implementation of the policy.

2.6 Stakeholders identified using the multi-level governance theory and support models in the re-entry policy implementation

In this study, a number of stakeholders have been identified to contribute to the effective implementation of the re-entry policy as shown in figure 2.1 below. These stakeholders represent aspects of the multi-level governance theory the study is using for re-entry policy implementation. The stakeholders can be engaged through top-down and bottom-up models depending on the competencies and roles in policy

implementation. The reason for engaging them is to encourage them to own and support the implementation of the policy. The multi-level governance theory and the models discussed can be applied in the formulation and implementation of other policies.

Figure 2.1 Stakeholders involved in the implementation of a re-entry policy according to multi-level governance theory



Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

Figure 2.1 illustrates various stakeholders in re-entry policy implementation using the multi-level governance theory. The actors play a critical role in effective policy implementation at different levels. Policy implementation processes have been considered as multi-actor and multi-dimensional processes. This means that the researcher has considered policy modification procedures from a multi-level view including several stakeholders in the implementation of the re-entry policy. This is because different actors in the application of the policy have a stake, hence ignoring them has an impact on the intended outcome of the policy. Stakeholders in the educational sector are many and they include policy makers, policy implementers (district education board secretaries and schools) and the community that supplies learners in the educational sector, civil society organisations (CSOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs), community-based organisations (CBOs) and donors, among

others. These can be at national, regional, sub-regional and local levels. This means it is not only government that should drive the agenda but many stakeholders. Gornitzka et al. (2005) concurs with the assertion that administration changes are essential components of any new policy reforms. The involvement of stakeholders during the policy formulation and implementation stages can help resolve several concerns that may negatively affect the implementation process. These could arise from the socio-economic and socio-cultural contexts of the implementation sites.

In educational policy changes, Fullan (2007) justifies the use of multi-level governance theory and suggests a three-thronged transformation at the institution, society level, and government levels. This is true because in any implementation, process task-specific and decision-making are different at any level and ignoring them predisposes an intervention to failure. It is not only the specific tasks that differ but the re-entry policy under discussion requires a theory connecting modifications in objective group behaviour resulting from compromising and sacrificing principles of social values. The behaviour of society, school authorities, teachers and learners have to change to meet the intended policy. If behaviour does not change, it means even amidst good law reforms, policy goals cannot be achieved. In USA, good laws for the education of teenage mothers were introduced in schools, but communities were still very conservative in the manner they viewed the integration of teenage mothers and expectant learners in schools (Burdell, 1998). In such a situation, Fullan (2007) observed that a two-way interaction is required between actors influencing each other during policy invention and execution.

2.7 Roles of stakeholders in multi-level governance theory

Stakeholders are important in successful strategy execution in the multi-level governance theory. This study defines stakeholders as groups of people or individuals important to the implementation of a policy (Freeman, 2004). These stakeholders can affect implementation if they are not brought together to harmonise their roles according to the policy guidelines. Fullan (2007), recognised three significant features affecting the implementation of education policy, namely precision, intricacy and excellence /pragmatism), as well as native features (like constituency, society, head teachers and teachers) and external factors (the state and development partners).

Each one of the actors' social values is described and shows how it can affect implementation if not brought on board to help in the execution of the return strategy.

2.7.1 Policy makers in Zambia

One of the most important actors in the use of multi-level governance theory is the Zambian government, which is the policy maker. In view of this study, it is only the Zambian government that comes up with important executive orders or policies. These orders can be attained through policies. According to Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980:540), a strategy classifies the difficulties to be resolved, specifies the goal(s) to be followed and plans the application procedure. Public policy is decisive action that is taken to resolve a challenge (Anderson, 2014). This statement clearly shows that strategy reform is connected to strategy execution and that the government should lay down the course of action. The absence of a precise strategy route at a state level through other actors who are involved generates uncertainty in important priority areas. Hence, in this multi-level governance theory, the government is an important actor that should provide an enabling environment for all stakeholders in re-entry policy implementation.

2.7.2 Ministry of Education officials

The MoE is mandated by government to manage the public education sector in Zambia. The MoE is accountable for strategy design and application on behalf of the government. Consequently, MoE officials receive policy guidelines from policy makers and hand them to the schools for implementation. MoE is expected to orient schools on their responsibilities as regards the application of the return strategy, to monitor and gauge progress towards final policy goals and achievements of short, medium and long-term results of re-entry policy implementation. This allows the policy makers to make program adjustments as need be with a view to improving the overall impact of the programme. This function requires the MOE to meet various stakeholders/actors to share their experiences. These actors include schools, the communities, the school teenage mothers and former teenage mothers as mentors. The contribution of actors at numerous stages requires multi-level governance theory with different tasks.

2.7.3 Policy implementers in schools

Schools are important actors in the multi-level governance theory because it is there where the implementation process is operationalised. The policy is handed to schools, and the communities are expected to bring the children back to the institutions. It is in this environment where the teenage mother will either be attracted or not. If the environment is conducive, the majority of teenage mothers will come back to school. It is at school where authorities are expected to promote the benefits of the policy in many ways. Banda and Nowanga (2017) state that schools are expected to promote the benefits of educating the expectant learners, avail the policy guidelines, and provide professional counselling services to the learners and the community. Payne (2008) posits that effective policy application was proven in schools where there was consistency, permanent, learner care, teaching and dialogue.

2.7.4 Teenage mothers and learners

The participation of the community (where teenage mothers, learners and mentors belong) as an actor is questionable. The learners, teenage mothers and mentors come from the community and the schools receive them for their education. The general trend in most African societies is that once a girl reaches puberty, she is supposed to undergo initiation and quickly get married. If the child is at school, she stops school and parents marry her off at a price. Kane (2004) confirms that adolescent gravidity contributes to the high girls' school dropout among school girls.

The government, the MoE and district education board secretary (DEBS) demand that teenage mothers return to their institutions after maternity leave as postulated in the re-entry policy circular and guidelines. At the same time, the community is required to send their children, who are the teenage mothers, to the schools to fulfil government intentions. At the same time, the communities have their social and cultural obligations that hinder teenage mothers from attending school (Burdell, 1998; McGee & Blank, 1989). The schools, which are the implementers, stigmatise teenage mothers (Hosie and Selman, 2006; Chetty and Chigona, 2007; Wekesa, 2014). This situation is similar to Marsden, G., Ferreira, A., Bache, I., Flinders, M. and Bartle, I., (2014) study on multi-level governance perspectives on the transport sector. They observed that there

was tension among organisations and the certainties of residents' expectations where other strategy apprehensions were observed and were assumed as challenging.

Mwanzia and Strathdee (2010) have noted that increasing access to facilities and involvement of underprivileged people are good for affirmative action policies. To achieve inclusion requires the participation of the community as actors together with the government. Excluding the community in policy formulation and implementation promotes social values of marrying teenage mothers, hence subjecting the whole process of policy implementation into jeopardy. Therefore, the multi-level governance theory would allow the community and government to reach an agreement.

2.7.5 Teenager mothers as mentors

The teenager mothers who completed their education have been identified as peer educators/ mentors as well as beneficiaries for the re-entry policy in this study. Ignoring them from the list of actors as participants means their problems are silent during strategy design and application. In policy formulation and implementation, experiences for teenage mothers who completed school must be considered to ease the implementation process. These teenage mothers are given an opportunity to contribute to the strategy that gives them the right to education later after childbirth. The former teenage mothers have self-efficacy and parenting efficacy. In self-efficacy, the teenage mothers are able to outline the challenges and how they overcame them until completion. Kalil and Danziger (2007) state that self-efficacy comprises communal, fostering, and common responsibilities including emotional and physical well-being. McDonald et al. (2009) defines self-efficacy as principles of an individual's capability to effectively accomplish tasks. Parenting efficacy is related to the perceptions of teenage mothers' ability and confidence in being effective parents. These two variables are important to tap from teenage mothers who have completed schooling. The former adolescent mums are placed in a better situation to share success under difficult conditions and hence, they become mentors to the teenage mothers in schools.

2.7.6 Civil society organisations (CSOs)

CSOs are actors in the multi-level governance theory. These include faith-based organisations (FBOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). CSOs'

participation in policy formulation and implementation is also very important. The significance of CSOs cannot be undermined with respect to development because they play an essential role in influencing policies and practices to make them pro-poor. Their contribution is in the area of policy advocacy due to their activism in many areas such as human rights, education, and law among others. Due to their activism and participation in many issues affecting society, CSOs can dialogue with the government and the policy beneficiaries. In Zambia, during the formulation of the re-entry policy, CSOs were invited to participate. Mwansa (2011) observed that CSOs urged government to involve them in strategy development procedure and contributed even when not invited. In Uganda, Hoppers (2007) observed the concept of inclusive acts when formulating the strategies for the disadvantaged groups. The above examples of Zambia and Uganda have demonstrated how participation in policy formulation and implementation, advocacy for results and impact on the community, share the positive results and challenges faced by the schools and where need be, provide the needed resources for effective implementation. The work of CSOs like Forum for the Advancement of Women's Education in Zambia (FAWEZA) and Campaign for Female Education and Development (CAMFED) in Zambia in the re-entry policy implementation is still important. Without the participation of CSOs, governments worldwide may compromise on a number of policy goals. Hence, the engagement of stakeholders through multi-level governance theory promotes effective policy implementation.

2.7.7 Cooperating partners and other agencies

In supporting the use of the multi-level governance theory, donors have been identified as actors because of their technical expertise. In Zambia, donors have been helping the government in many ways. Donors have supported the education sector through many ways including budget support, projects and foreign direct investment. At the same time, donors have technical expertise in policy formulation mostly because they are developed. They also provide budget support which according to Buffardi (2011) reduces the existence of parallel structures and increase the likelihood of aid investments. The money is spent by government in areas like education, health and other key sectors. Donors promote girls education even through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). UNICEF

and the Norwegian Embassy in Lusaka contributed to the development of the return strategy in Zambia (Post newspaper, 1997). Donors provided funds to CSOs including FAWEZA and CAMFED for implementing a component of facilitating the return of adolescent mums to schools through the provision of scholarships to former teenage mothers. Therefore, donors have been identified in this study as actors in the multi-level governance theory.

In Zambia, during policy formulation of the re-entry policy, donors were invited to the table. According to Mwansa (2011), the prohibiting of stakeholders from the process of developing the re-entry policy has implications for effective policy implementation. In Cambodia and Pakistan, Khan et al. (2017) examined how external donors influenced national health policy processes. The study examined donor influence at different stages of the health policy process in low middle-income countries (LMICs). The findings showed that financial aid prejudiced main concerns during strategy design and implementation. The other finding was that technical proficiency was significant in cooperating partners' impact at the strategy design phase.

In the above-mentioned three countries, Zambia, Cambodia and Pakistan, the role and contribution of donors is clearly seen in policy formulation processes. Therefore, the use of multi-level governance theory is very cardinal and cannot be overlooked especially in developing countries. Policy formulation and implementation requires actors like donors to participate because their contribution is significant not only in monetary terms but technical assistance as well.

2.8 Implication of multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up policy implementation models for the study

The use of the multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up approaches in this study means combining the theory and the two models together in terms of their main strengths while to some extent reducing their weaknesses. This means the stakeholders in the re-entry policy are brought together from top and down, and all sectors including MoE (national, provincial, district, schools-heads, teachers, learners, teenage mothers), the community, CSOs and donors, among others.

Multi-level governance theory is useful in comprehending this study. The re-entry policy implementation in schools is the work of combined strategies from all

stakeholders to provide support for smooth implementation. The stakeholders need to be engaged and the policy guidelines shared by the MOE to implementers on the ground. In this instance, all actors identified stated that the policy was hastily developed and implemented without consulting stakeholders especially those at the bottom level who perceived its introduction and implementation as something new. The newness determines stakeholders' reactions to the re-entry policy. O'Toole (2000) observed that the mixture of the two models in implementation is vital for engagement and follow-up on emerging issues during the implementation phase. Even though the multi-level governance theory, with the use of top-down and bottom-up approaches has limitations, it suits this social problem by ensuring that many stakeholders get involved in policy implementation. Bottom–up model stresses the supervisors' responsibility for strategy execution at local level in line with the obligation to attain policy objectives (Birkland, 2005). The officials at the school level, the head teachers and teachers, play significant roles in ensuring that the goals of the re-entry policy are attained. Top-down model is based on understanding that policy formulation is solely the responsibility politicians and bottom-top is made from participatory model where many stakeholders such as the government and others involved in policy implementation or change. This is also the basis for the multi-level governance theory as it promotes dialogue among stakeholders for smooth policy implementation. Hence, a combination of the multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up models means there is feedback from strategic partners and this removes many obstacles and strengthens the implementation process. In combining the two approaches, when it comes to implementation research, O'Toole (2000) observes that the two models have complementary advantages, hence the use of the multi-level governance theory for this current study. Ekane et al. (2014) used the multi-level governance theory in a case study approach on the sanitation sector study in sub-Saharan Africa with various stakeholders at all levels to gather comprehensive study facts.

2.9 Chapter summary

The multi-level governance theory was identified to guide the study on the re-entry policy implementation in Monze District. The distinct features of the theory were presented to understand how the theory works. The top down and bottom up models were analysed as key models in policy implementation. Stakeholders, namely policy

makers, public administrators of the MoE, provincial, DEBS, and secondary schools, and the community are key in implementing policies and their roles were discussed in line with the study. It should be pointed out clearly that teenage mothers need support from all stakeholders to enable them to focus on their studies. The successful implementation of the Re-entry Policy needs concerted efforts from all stakeholders at national, regional and local levels. Cooperating partners, CSOs, FBOs and CBOs can offer technical, financial and other forms of support for smooth strategy application, hence promotion of stakeholder engagement throughout the implementation of the policy to promote accountability, engagement and the participation of stakeholders at all levels. Through the multi-level governance theory, the views of stakeholders can be considered and this would guide administrators in providing the best interventions on how the social problem of adolescent gravidity, young mums and support for their return to school can be addressed. The involvement of adolescent mothers and parents will increase the validity of the policy and enhance their active participation during policy design and implementation.

CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the researcher analysed the multi-level governance theory underpinning the study, arguing that lack of its application is the reason for ineffective return strategy implementation in secondary schools in Monze District in Southern Province, Zambia. This chapter focuses on reviewing literature that has a bearing on teenage pregnancy and how related policies have been implemented in other countries. The literature review analysed findings from other developed and developing countries on re-entry policies for teenage mothers. This chapter also analyses literature related to the benefits of educating girls and challenges faced by teenage mothers in schools, at home and in the community.

In order to have a balanced review, sampled international, regional and national studies were considered. Historical backgrounds on educational policy changes were reviewed on teenage mothers' education. The literature reviewed provided a complete synopsis of the research conducted and provided a basis for the study.

3.2 International perspectives on re-entry policies for teenage mothers

Studies on policy changes that deal with teenage mothers' education were analysed at the international level in order to understand what goes on in many parts of the world. The literature highlighted how schools and the communities in developed nations like the United States of America and England applied policies that allow teenage mothers to return to school. The purpose was to learn what goes on in developed countries with regard to how teenage mothers' education has been promoted and how strategies promoting the return of expectant learners to schools are implemented. Zambia has been embracing a similar phenomenon. Their experience could provide useful information into the Zambian scenario.

3.2.1 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in the United States of America (USA)

The problem affecting teenage mothers' return to school was a worldwide phenomenon. Many studies' findings have acknowledged that the United States of America is not exempted from teenage pregnancies and teenage mothers dropping

out of schools. Among the developed countries of the world, the USA has the highest percentage of teenage births (Kost and Henshaw, 2013; Hamilton and Ventura, 2012). This means before the policy change, teenager mothers could have faced difficulties in accessing their education as a right compared to those who were not pregnant as experienced everywhere. Scholl (2007) revealed that school officials in America were routinely fond of expelling the pregnant mothers from schools. Apart from pregnancy, there were other reasons for teenage mothers' departure from school, such as poverty, lack of baby-sitting services, household burdens, movement problems, and emotional well-being concerns that contributed to teenage mothers' quitting school (Hallman, 2007).

Due to the exclusion of learners who became pregnant, the United States of America introduced a policy allowing pregnant learners in school. This brought two pieces of legislation: Educational Amendment Act of 1972, commonly known as Title IX, and the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) of 1975. The main purpose of the Acts were to promote the education and equality of teenage mothers in schools.

The main purpose of the Title IX of the Education Amendment Act of 1972, according to Egan et al. (2012:12) was to:

> "Protect the educational rights of pregnant and parenting teens. The Act prohibits the expulsion or exclusion of students from any school activity or programme based their pregnancy, parenthood, or marital status".

Egan et al. (2012:12) states that:

> "The federal government, by passing Title IX, enforced the importance of creating equal educational opportunities for pregnant and parenting teens, reduced barriers that may interfere, and encouraged academic learning and achievement."

Though the Acts were in place, more challenges resurfaced. Egan et al. (2012:14) observed some of the challenges:

> "School officials across the nation continued to be inconsistent with the implementation of the Act and continued to discourage teenage mothers."

Because of the educational acts and other relevant statutory legislature, the USA expected all the expectant learners or compelled them to attend school until the eighth month of pregnancy (Adler, Bates and Merdinger, 1985). Tuition was provided for teenage mothers while on maternity leave and favourable conditions of learning were given to them. This resulted in the increased percentage of expectant learners and teenage mothers in schools from 6 percent before the introduction of the law to 55 percent by 1985 due to these favourable policies (Burdell, 1996). This shows that learner gravidity was one of the major reasons for school dropouts in USA before the introduction of the Education Amendment Act. Therefore, the new acts provided the needed opportunity for the participation of teenage mothers in schools.

After the introduction of the laws, the other problems continued to resurface as Burdell (1998:18) observed:

> "Even though the USA introduced positive laws to protect and empower pregnant learners and teenage mothers in schools, communities were still very conservative in the manner they viewed the integration of teenage mothers and expectant learners in schools."

Burdell (1998) and McGee and Blank (1989) also revealed that the support for teenage mothers and expectant learners' education was viewed as a waste of resources. These findings show that the community could not easily accept the policy change. The community are the parents/ guardians for pregnant learners and teenage mothers. They are supposed to allow their children to go back to school. The negative viewpoints about the Title IX and other social challenges needed a change of mind-set and attitude for effective policy implementation. Thus, there was need for community members and policy makers to have the will to implement new laws, especially the ones involving the rights of expectant learners and teenage mothers. The application of a theory that promotes the participation of stakeholders at policy formulation and implementation stages such as the multi-level governance theory would improve the implementation of the policies that allow girls to be re-admitted to schools after pregnancy.

The background to teenage mothers and schooling in the USA is appropriate to this study as it deals with a similar educational policy affecting teenage mothers in Zambian schools. One key finding in the implementation of the policy is that many school administrators did not implement the policy according to the law and continued

to discourage teenage mothers from returning to school. This finding helped the researcher to know how the policy that allowed the return of teenage mothers to schools was executed in a developed country. The reviewed research could not be generalised to developing countries like Zambia where the environment is so different in that the developed countries' social facilities, such as child care, social welfare, professional counselling, among others are not limited. This leaves a gap for this current research in a developing country like Zambia, especially Monze District, to document the study findings.

3.2.2 Empirical study in USA on teenage mothers' education

In the USA, Jamal (2014) conducted a study on support programmes for teenage mothers.

Jamal's (2014:134) results were summarised into three, and one of the findings revealed the reason why they succeeded amongst the challenges were that:

> "The adolescent mothers had a vision and duty to care for their children. Most of them stated they felt they had to mature and grow up faster than their peers."

Another finding revealed that:

> "The participants identified with the role of a mother and were candid in their disclosures. They spent most of the interviews focused on that role and all that it encompassed. The overall theme of being a good mother was the driving force for the participants. Participants wanted to prove they were responsible, attentive to their children, and were able to care for them" (Jamal 2014:136).

It was further revealed that:

> "The in-school and outside support programs provided opportunities, accountability measures, and encouragement. In addition, all participants were motivated by their children as well as awareness of and perceptions of others. They wanted to prove to their children and others that were capable of school success, which they all believed would lead to future success in other endeavours" (Jamal 2014:138).

The findings from this literature review were applicable to this study because they all discussed the educational re-entry policy and how the participants succeeded in their education. The overall finding was that teenage mothers managed to graduate from high school despite facing varied challenges from school, their peers and the communities. This showed that challenges were many and they required support from teenage mothers, parents and school authorities. This study was relevant in that it helped the researcher to get more data from those teenage mothers who had braved stigmatisation and helped to explore the current study in Monze District. The teenage mothers who succeeded were better than the ones who completely failed to go back to school or those still in school in terms of awareness of the situation. Jamal (2014) supports this assertion in that teenage mothers, who had completed their education had several experiences to share with other learners.

3.2.3 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in England

In England, the way expectant learners and teenage mothers have been treated are the same elsewhere on the globe (Dawson and Hosie, 2005). This is true from researchers such as Osler et al. (2002) from their findings using a detailed qualitative research on the learners' elimination from schools in England. The study established that learners were usually side lined in public institutions of learning. It was surprising that even after the introduction of a number of new policy initiatives *from* 1997 by the government (Selman 2003), such stigmatisation still existed. This was further reinforced by Hosie and Selman (2006:25) when they stated that:

> "A linked difficulty is that some schools have been reluctant to have young women remain with them during their pregnancy and motherhood."

Thus, given the general picture about England, teenage mothers face educational difficulties when policies are in place and this gives a gloomy picture on what is happening in many places in England. The background is relevant to this current research on the re-entry policy implementation on the same phenomenon. However, the findings are from developed country where many of its institutions and infrastructures are well developed compared to Zambia.

Vincent and Thomson (2010) carried out a research in one of the local authorities in England. Their main objective was to evaluate the comparative advantages and

disadvantages of policy and practice and its connections in addressing social exclusion and inclusion. The study sample composed was of 14 young women interviewed in detail over a period of time. A narrative analysis was used to arrive at a conclusion in order to identify the problems the participants faced and the types of school activities that assisted participants to continue their education and the problems they faced.

The findings are as follows:

> "Despite a common policy framework, school responses to pupil pregnancy varied greatly. Both within and between schools these ranged from blatant prejudice and a belief that pregnant schoolgirls have nothing in a mainstream school, to acceptance of pregnancy. There appears to be a considerable gap between policy and practice…thus inclusive experience seems far from certain" (Vincent and Thomson, 2010:383).

The main finding from that study clearly showed that schools in that particular locality had failed to understand the nature of policy change and implementation. The course of direction adopted by policy makers must be put into practice by implementers in order to come up with the stated objectives of the policy makers, though not every intervention results in intended outcomes. An unintended outcome should not come from the implementers, but from the beneficiaries themselves. Cerna (2013) concurs with the above statement. They concluded that strategy reform could yield negative results if the strategy development process was not consultative and participatory. She also noted that, "it is important to point out that policy change goes hand in hand with policy implementation" (p.10). This shows the direct connection between policy formulation and implementation.

The study in England investigated the virtual advantages and weaknesses of policy and practice. Practice means application of the activities proposed by the policy and implementation is putting on the ground activities that policy makers have agreed upon. The England study is similar to this study as both countries are involved in implementing the re-entry policy though at different levels of development. The current study drew positive lessons from Vincent and Thomson (2010) on implementing a similar policy. They observed that the reason not to perform was that there was

inadequate guarantee from schools and insufficient consideration to observe values of participation presented by policy.

3.3 Regional perspectives on teenage mothers' education

Research on teenage mothers' education was reviewed at the regional level in order to understand what goes on in Africa. The literature highlighted how teenage mothers' education was being implemented in three selected countries in Africa, namely South Africa, Botswana and Kenya.

3.3.1 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in South Africa

In South Africa, the re-entry policy came into effect in 1996, one year before it was introduced in Zambia. In 1996, the South African republic, through Schools Act (No 84), enacted an educational policy. This became a significant occasion in transforming the education sector through the extensive constitutional commitment to gender equality into the schools (Shefer et al. 2013) which meant that, prior to the Act, it was legal to expel pregnant learners from school.

A study by Shefer et al. (2013) was considered because it examined how the re-entry policy was implemented in South Africa. This was a larger study that was piloted in South Africa in two provinces. The study established that the national policy was able to meet its intentions. The sampling technique took care of diverse groups of schools in the study. Schools in black, coloured and white areas of Durban and Cape Town were taken on board. Differences were not much considered as the main focus was on identifying themes that emerged during data collection. The only difference was based on socio-economic backgrounds in which the groups of learners interviewed were grouped into extremely poor areas and a number from the Cape Town were slightly more affluent. The researcher used two techniques to collect data: interviews and focus group discussions. Discourse analysis was used as it was considered to be sensitive to gender and power relations.

Shefer et al. (2013:8) found that:

> Some school authorities continued to stigmatise and 'other' pregnant and parenting learners, thus legitimising their exclusion and

> marginalisation of teenage mothers in the school, reported by their experiences as learners.

Their other findings was that:

> Moralistic discourse was bolstered by images of pregnancy and parenting at school, as both reflected moral and social decline, normative prescriptive and punitive responses regarding adolescence and young female sexuality. The study established that an exclusionary discourse in schools are sites of learning in which pregnancy and parenting do not belong (Shefer et al. 2013:7)

The main conclusion to this study is that the re-entry policy, which was a national policy, was not able to meet its intentions because meanings and belief systems negatively affected implementation. Meanings and belief systems that negatively affected implementation came from school officials in charge of enforcing policies. Implementation of re-entry policy introduced in any developed and developing is done at the schools where expectant learners and teenage mothers are supposed to learn. Therefore, the school environment must be conducive for expectant learners and teenage mothers. Stigmatisation of teenage mothers meant that the policy failed to meet government intentions of promoting gender equality and inclusion. This weakness was not only in the provinces where the research was done, but the whole of South Africa where it was found that the Act had loopholes which were identified (Shefer et al. 2013).

Shefer et al. (2013), citing the Gender Equity Task Team (GETT), established that there was need to be responsive to the needs of adolescent mothers and expectant learners in schools. The study recommended that the Department of Education make the education of the expectant learners and teenage mothers comfortable in addition to arranging for inexpensive and available day-care services. However, until the publication of policy guidelines (Department of Education, 2007), schools were permitted to implement the policy anyhow. Even though the Constitution and re-entry policy guaranteed that pregnant and parenting learners continue schooling, the context of teenage pregnancy was shaped by a wide range of discourses related to teenage sexuality and pregnancy. Shefer et al. (2013) reinforced this wide range of discourses. Even with mixed feelings from school authorities failing to meet

government's intention, object lessons have been derived from their study. This study is applicable to the researcher's study in that in Zambia the school authorities are responsible for the application of the return strategy. Their failure means strategy failure by government. Shefer et al. (2013) and the current study are similar as they focus on investigating the application of the return strategy in both countries.

South African and the Zambian secondary schools have different socio-economic, cultural and educational values and backgrounds. Therefore, the different environments may have different bearing on the same research, hence the focus of this study.

Chauke's (2013) study in Limpopo, South Africa, investigated the problems teenage mothers faced in school. The qualitative study with purposively selected participants that included 12 teenage mothers, 3 educators and 3 school management teams found that teenage mothers faced several hardships. These hardships included failure to focus on their education, and lack of peer and parental support. Further, there was no support obtained from the community to enable teenage mothers to complete their education. The study recommended that more support from various stakeholder networks is critical for teenage mothers' education. Although Chauke's study provided a multifaceted overview of the challenges faced by teenage mothers, the study does not cover Zambia. However, it has limitations in that it concentrated on the challenges of teenage mothers only and not how the re-entry policy is being implemented. This study therefore offers a holistic understanding of the re-entry policy implementation, the opportunities and support systems in place for teenage mothers.

3.3.2 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Kenya

Kenya is one of the countries implementing the re-entry policy in East Africa. Therefore, the researcher reviewed the application of the return strategy related to studies in Kenyan communal institutes. It is significant in that Kenya and Zambia have different socio-cultural backgrounds and their approach could be different from Zambia. One such study in Kenya reviewed by the researcher was done by Omwancha (2012). Omwancha studied the application of the return strategy for expectant learners and adolescent mums in public secondary schools in Kuria District using the critical theory.

The objective was to explore stakeholders' knowledge and comprehension of the return policy. The major members considered were the pregnant mothers as well as the other girls at school. Critical and social justice theories were used to guide the study. A qualitative method was used and the case study approach was applied. Methods of data collection included standard open-ended interviews using individual and group discussions. Information collected was evaluated thematically using a social constructivist lens and narrative analysis.

Omwancha (2012:138) discovered the following:

> There were ranges of different views from the research participants regarding how the policy was understood and applied. For instance, participants in this study differed significantly on views and the role of culture in determining the re-entry of young girls to school after teenage pregnancy.

The other finding by Omwancha (2012) was absence of public knowledge about the policy and the guidelines among implementers. The guidelines were also not available in schools and they were misunderstood and mis-interpreted by the implementers. The other findings by Omwancha (2012) revealed that pupil pregnancy was just a sign of fundamental socio-cultural difficulties that affected the education of girls. Poverty, traditional norms, early marriage and female circumcision were factors that negatively affected learners and the return strategy.

The main finding of the study was that the re-entry policy introduced by the Kenyan government had many challenges among stakeholders due to absence of responsiveness and comprehension of the policy and procedures. The stakeholders, who are supposed to be aware and implement the policy despite the advantages of the policy have, demonstrated that the policy was introduced without their consultation. For stakeholders such as the community to come up with contradictory interpretations as to the worth and execution of the strategy, meant the policy was not formulated with their input, hence the conflicting views when it came to implementation. This is true if one looks critically at the importance of a girl-child in many African societies. This acted like a direct attack on their fundamental principles of socio-cultural factors where the girls were a source of income for the family.

Although there were many conflicting views from the stakeholders, as shown by Omwancha (2012) many important lessons from the application of the return strategy in Kenya lay foundations for other countries where the re-entry strategy is being executed, including Zambia. Omwancha and the current study are similar as they explore the execution of the return strategy in Kenya and Zambia respectively. Therefore, such a policy in Kenya has formed a basis on which the current study can rely on.

3.3.3 Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Botswana

Botswana was the first country in Africa to have the strategy that allows expectant pupils to re-enter school after childbirth, while other African countries were using the exclusion policy. Since then, the policy has been reviewed to ease its implementation. The policy had the following guidelines according to (Chilisa, 2002): Firstly parents whose children became pregnant could withdraw their children and enrol them at another school after one year upon approval by the Minister of Education. Secondly, a pupil who makes a school girl pregnant would only be allowed to return to school after permission is granted by the minister. Thirdly, a pregnant pupil was not allowed to write her examinations and a teenage mother withdrawn from school would only write her examinations after six months. Lastly, male pupils who make a fellow pupil pregnant would only be allowed to write examinations with the permission of the Minister of Education.

In Botswana, some studies have been done with regard to the re-entry policy. Among them are Birungi et al. (2015), Molosiwa and Moswela (2012), and Chilisa (2002). The findings of these studies were almost similar, in which the re-entry policy was implemented with mixed feelings. The study by Birungi et al. (2015) sampled six countries in sub- Saharan Africa, including Botswana.

The main issues tackled in each of the six countries were on education strategies for expectant learners and teenage mothers, the incorporation of pregnancy avoidance into sexuality teaching and the promotion of equality in schools. The method of data collection was three-fold: desk review of literature related to the study. The key findings from the study were noted. The first one was that Botswana had an official school re-entry policy that is established. This means the policy was formulated and is implemented. Fundamental to the findings by Birungi and others was that some return

strategies conveyed miscellaneous communications, causing suspicions on executing the expectation of the return policies. The Ministry of Education did not promote policy awareness activities in the communities. The study also established schools implementing the re-entry policy were hard to access due to poor record keeping by the Ministry of Education.

Molosiwa and Moswela (2012) also had similar findings with regard to re-entry policy and they concluded that awareness activities on the same were not conducted in the communities. These findings were serious especially from such a country as Botswana, whose re-entry policy had been in existence for a long time compared to the other six countries in that same study. This was an oversight by the Ministry of Education and the stakeholders. Schools are the main stakeholders and link between government and the communities. Therefore, engagement with the communities on public policies promotes ownership of the benefits of realising girls' rights to education. In line with the multi-level governance theory, the MoE and other stakeholders should have disseminated the re-entry policy to the public through many community avenues.

The studies by Birungi et al; Molosiwa & Moswela and Chilisa, assisted the researcher to focus the study based on how Botswana was implementing its return strategy for teenage moms in schools. The issue of re-entry has a common position with this study as one of the goals was to explore how the policy had been implemented in schools. The findings of these studies enabled the researcher to comprehend how African countries have implemented the re-entry policy.

The studies by Birungi et al, Molosiwa and Moswela, and Chilisa have generalised the findings which meant that the same findings could be similar in all the schools. This could not be true because study designs adopted and data collection methods could not allow generalisation. As such, the current study looks at Monze district of Zambia's Southern Province as a case study. Zambia is different from Botswana in many environmental aspects, such as social, cultural and economic set up, among others, hence the study on the application of the return strategy in Monze District.

3.4 National perspectives on teenage mothers' education

The studies on return strategies for teenage mums were analysed at national level perspectives in order to understand how the re-entry policy is implemented in Zambia.

The literature reviewed was from historical background of policy making in Zambia and the empirical studies that were explored after the introduction of the policy. According to Mwansa (2011), policy making was categorised into those policies of the 1970s under the first government before Zambia became a multi-party democracy and the three policies introduced since 1992, and the recent policy documents have coincided.

3.4.1 General policy formulation in Zambia

The background to policy formulation in Zambia could be traced from independence in 1964 from British colonial rule. Before independence, Zambia's education passed through different phases: 1890-1924 under the British South Africa Company 1924-1953 under the British colonial government administration under Northern Rhodesia, 1953-1963 under the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, then finally under the Zambian government after independence (1964) (Carmody, 2002).

With all the policy documents, it was perceived that when compared to the policies of the period between 1970 and 1992, the 1970s policies were more stable or took a longer period before any new policies were introduced than the 1992 policies. Mwansa (2011:12) stated that "there have been signs of recovery regarding the government's capacity to formulate articulate and implement credible policy interventions". These remarks were attributed to former President Levy Mwanawasa's (2001-2008) approach in which policy formulation involved many stakeholders as compared to the previous president, Chiluba (1991-2001), who did not consult stakeholders during policy formulation.

After 1992, the three main policy documents included Focus on Education *(*1992) and its main goal was basic education expansion. In 1996, a major nationwide strategy document was developed, entitled Educating Our Future*.* In order to improve the education sector, the Zambian government saw several other policy declarations aimed at addressing girls' educational programmes. Among them Basic Education Sub-Sector Investment Programme (BESSIP), the Programme for the Advancement of Girls Education (PAGE), the Re-Entry Policy, and the Free Primary Education Policy. These are all public policies. They are important because public institutions are responsible for policy formulation, implementation and enforcement of policy decisions.

3.4.1.2 Zambia's re-entry policy for teenage mothers

The re-entry policy (1997) was formulated by the Government of Zambia and executed by the responsible department. The formulation of re-entry policies has a long history not only in Zambia but also in many parts of the world where the rights of a girl child had been violated. Marginalisation of women has been a worldwide phenomenon as evidenced by several studies (Grant and Hallman, 2006; Chilisa, 2002; Carmody, 2002). Due to many of these problems, the United Nations (Article 26 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights), Convention of the Rights of a Child (CRC), African Charter and many other treaties where Zambia is a state part, many countries world over have recognised the rights of children, that include girls' right to education after pregnancy.

The genesis of re-entry policy in Zambia goes back to the Beijing Conference of 1995, a conference aimed at promoting gender equality in the education sector. Sifuniso (2006) acknowledged that the theme of education for the girl child was echoed, in that girls who stopped schooling due to pregnancy must be allowed back by the previous schools after delivery or transferred to other institutions. This awakened Zambia and many other countries in the world culminating into the formulation of the re-entry policy in recognition of the girls' right to education, including those excluded by pregnancy. The recognition of education as a right was reinforced by many statutory policies within and outside Zambia. In Zambia, the policy of Education for All (EFA) and Educating Our Future (1996) were among the prominent ones. At international level, the United Nations Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals. At home, the Zambian government started positioning itself for this task. Sifuniso (2006) acknowledged how a conference held at the Mulungushi International Conference centre chaired by the Minister of Education in 1997 declared that learners who were pregnant were to be readmitted to schools.

The following month after the announcement, the country through the Ministry of Education, launched what is now known as re-entry policy in Zambia and issued a circular to all schools to implement it (MoE, 1997). This policy brought teenage mothers back to school (MoE, 2004). The Ministry of Education provided implementation guidelines to all schools for easy application of the policy.

The Zambian re-entry policy guidelines aim at promoting the education of all girls and boys with the target of not leaving anyone behind. This promotes equity to education. This is also done to promote the right of education for all as indicated in the national constitution and other international treaties and declarations. This idea is seen in the motto “protect the rights of all children, leave no child out of school! Secure the future today!” (Ministry of Education, FAWEZA et al. 2004). Therefore, this policy was aimed at improving the education of the vulnerable expectant learners as, prior to 1997, many were expelled from school. Many of these learners lost their opportunity to complete their education and live a better life. The MoE further revised the 2004 guidelines and outlined the following steps to be taken by school administrators after pregnancy is detected in schools: to inform parents and guardians of the pregnancy; initiate counselling programmes for a girl who is pregnant, schools to inform parents and guardians of the pregnant pupil of the existence of the re-entry policy; parents to sign committal documents that allow the teenage mothers to re-enter and pregnant learners to apply for flexible maternity leave (MoE, 2012).

When a girl becomes pregnant, the parents need to be informed immediately as stated above, and counselling services are to commence immediately. This is critical for smooth policy implementation and re-admission of girls into school. Following the introduction of the policy, MoE instructed all head teachers and teachers to implement the Re-entry Policy and any officer who failed to comply risked breaking the laid down rules and guidelines, Shonga (2011). The policy was introduced in 1997 and the implementation guidelines followed later in 2004. This shows that from 1997 to 2003, the Re-entry Policy was implemented without guidelines. This contributed to the mixed reactions among the stakeholders towards the policy as observed by the Ministry of Education much later (FAWE, 2004). The lack of guidelines further implied that the officers applied their own rules when implementing the policy. After the re-entry policy review in 2010 (Mutombo and Mwenda), revised re-entry policy guidelines were developed in 2012 (MoE, 2012).

Though the policy was launched, many learners have not reported to school (Mutombo and Mwenda, 2010). It is clear, therefore, that the policy formulation process in Zambia was not properly done (Mwansa, 2011). While the re-entry strategy supports the girls’ right to education, other rights like those that promote the conducive education of

expectant learners and provision of care and support after childbirth have not been considered (Chilisa, 2002).

3.4.2 Empirical studies on teenage mothers' education in Zambia

Mwansa (2011) analysed the re-entry policy in two districts, namely Lusaka and Chongwe, based on the fact that Lusaka is an urban area and Chongwe is a rural town. The study evaluated the application of the return strategy and analysed the impact of the poor stakeholder involvement in the strategy design formulation and execution of the policy that promotes the education of expectant learners.

The study revealed a number of findings, and few that are important to the current study have been noted. It revealed that policy implementers and beneficiaries were not involved at the early phase of strategy design. Many stakeholders were left out during the policy development stage and these were involved only at the implementation phase through a public circular. One interesting finding was that CSOs knew about the policy from various formal and informal sources such as their involvement in policy formulation, circulars, friends and radio.

The finding on whether the participants had access to the policy document or the guidelines revealed that;

> "Only 22 (17%) of the informants had seen both the circular and the policy guidelines while the majority (83%) of the informants interviewed who were mainly students and some teachers did not" (p. 16).

On whether there was clarity of the policy for implementers, it was revealed that;

> "More than half (60%) of the informants, a majority of whom were teachers and head teachers (42), reported that because the policy was new, they needed to be oriented to it before being asked to implement it." (p.16)

On whether the implementers were accorded time to understand and to implement the policy, the results showed that both implementers and beneficiaries and the church representatives interviewed noted that the strategy design phase was not consultative and it was hastily developed. The main research findings indicate that strategy design

and execution processes were driven by the government without the participation of the many stakeholders. Issues that politicians assumed were not only for them but that they affected many citizens, were supposed to be involved. For instance, the study by Mwansa did not involve the parents in the communities where the teenage mothers were coming from. The government in trying to come up with a policy such as the re-entry policy should have taken into consideration the views of the parents. Stakeholder participation and engagement is also advocated by the multi-level governance theory, which underpins this study. The parents of the teenagers have a tradition where teenage mothers are a good source of finances in form of dowry (Carmody, 2002).

Mulungushi (2007) observed the importance of stakeholders in policy formulation and implementation, and stated that;

> "Because of its broad nature, policy development should be broad based and all-embracing and should involve as much as possible all stakeholders to ensure that the process is accepted and owned by the people. This is the only sure way for policies to gain support from the beneficiaries during implementation and beyond." (p.67)

Breaking this tie needs a compromise between the government and the communities. Ignoring stakeholders such as mission schools, among others, in policy making such as the mission schools means jeopardising their contribution in the education sector. This is because when it comes to implementing a government policy on education, the Ministry of Education relies on other stakeholders' contributions.

The research by Mwansa (2011) is applicable to this current study in that they both deal with the re-entry policy. Mwansa dealt with evaluation, which involves relevance and fulfilment of objectives, as well as efficiency, effectiveness, impact and sustainability. This was too wide, and specific issues may have been detailed. The current study deals with the re-entry policy implementation. When dealing with a specific issue, more details can resurface that could have been overlooked and the findings cannot be generalised based on two districts in Lusaka Province. The study is significant in that it made the researcher aware of similar issues though implemented at a different site.

Another study in Zambia by the MoE on re-entry policy was done by Mutombo and Mwenda (2010). The goal was to appraise, document and assess the re-entry strategy

efficacy and outcomes since 1997, as a means of contributing to a more responsive and effective education policy. The method of data collection was through mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative. Four provinces were selected namely Copperbelt, Luapula, North-Western and Southern. The study revealed a number of findings, and few that are important to the current study have been noted. These included: expectant learners in school faced a lot of resentment from various sections of society; many teachers observed the inadequacy of the policy as they did not have the actual guidelines on how to implement the policy; and failure by guardians and parents to re-enter teenage mothers after the maternity leave. Many teenage mothers cited various challenges such as lack of financial support for both their school and child, stigmatisation from members of society such as parents, teachers and pupils, academic, and that most schools had no support system such as guidance and counselling.

The research by Mutombo and Mwenda (2010) is pertinent to this study as it deals with the aspects of the re-entry policy in education and both include matters of implementation of the policy. In reviewing the policy, it included broad-based issues, unlike implementation, which is specific. Therefore, in a specific phenomenon like implementation, more details are likely to be brought out.

South Africa, Botswana and Kenya are not the only countries implementing the re-entry policy for teenage mothers. Other countries have re-entry and continuation policies as stipulated in table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Types of school re-entry policies in African countries

Country	Policy	Conditions
Botswana	**Re-entry**	• Former pregnant pupil to be re-entered in the same grade after a year of absence from school • Date of re-entry into school calculated from the date of delivery (evidence needed) • Application for re-entry to comply with the age of school entry (evidence-based)
Cameroon	**Continuous**	• Period of absence to give birth is negotiable

		• Extra tuition given during period of absence from school
Madagascar	**Continuous**	• Pregnant learner allowed to return to school immediately after delivery • No stipulated period of absence from school to deliver
Malawi	**Re-entry**	• A former learner can apply for re-entry at least one year from date of giving birth • Application for re-entry to have proof of safe custody of the baby while at school • Re-entry can only be allowed once in one's school life
Swaziland	**Re-entry**	• Former pregnant learner can be allowed to continue with schooling at another school after a period of one year of nursing the baby

Adapted from Chilisa (2002) and Hubbard et al. (2008)

3.5 Factors that affect re-entry policy implementation

Implementing re-entry policies is affected by several factors and these can either promote the education of teenage mothers or cause them to completely dropout depending on how they are addressed at school, home and in the communities. Aspects affecting the re-entry strategy application are considered below.

3.5.1 Stigma

The stigma associated with being a teenage mother is common in societies and communities. Studies have revealed that many suffer stigma from their peers in terms of being looked down upon, being called all sorts of names and frowning on anything and everything they do (Gillham, 1997; Wanyama and Simatwa, 2011).

A study conducted on teenage pregnancy in Australia similarly revealed that young mothers are at great danger of being single parents, having many failed relationships and experiencing violent relationships (Boulden, 2001). The research by the Canadian Ministry of Education (1998) on the problems and choices of accommodating re-entered teenage mothers in schools established that fellow learners and teachers used judgemental glances or mean remarks, and that other teenage mothers quit

school because of pressure from school administrations (Canadian, Ministry of Education, 1998).

Wanyama and Simatwa (2011) argue that many teenage mothers assume their family responsibilities alone because the fathers of their babies often leave earlier than the birth of their children. In the same vein, the Canadian Ministry of Education (1998) in its study further stated that teenage mothers do not receive any support from their partners, who often do not show tangible commitment as fathers. This is attributed to the policy itself, which is discriminatory as it fails to address the issues of support from male pupils who make teenage girls pregnant. Other scholars (Chilisa, 2002; Hamusonde, 2003; Mwansa, 2011; Wekesa, 2014) contend that the re-entry policy only works against pregnant girls, as it does not ensure that the teachers and boys who impregnate girls are punished. The male learners are left to continue learning without any disturbances while the girls take leave and care for the children and the studies. Although the current re-entry policy guidelines provide for the pupil who makes a school girl pregnant to be on 'paternity' leave, there is need to also analyse the level of social and financial support they give to teenage mothers and the babies.

Some studies have established that some girls experience many problems regarding their education when they become teenage mothers. The duo role of motherhood and being a pupil contributes to their failure to complete their education as the girls lack coping strategies (Grant and Hallman, 2006). Chilisa (2002) argues that the re-entry policy in a way violates the rights of girls, as they are required to be removed from school while the boys, teachers and other people who make them pregnant continue with their life with little or no disturbances. The teenage mothers have to cope in unfriendly institutional settings, and are subjected to seclusion, disgrace and shame from peers, parents and teachers (Chigona and Chetty, 2007). Furthermore, they criticise the act as being punitive on the affected girls.

Santrock (2009) argues that in many schools, classrooms and teachers do not encourage the spirit of unity in resolving the challenges faced by teenage mothers and their families. Teachers, schools and the communities do not promote emotional intelligence among the youths. Santrock (2009) further contends that classrooms need to spell out the requirements that need to be adhered to for the teenage mothers to

learn in harmony. Discrimination and stigmatisation should not be encouraged in order to help the teenage mothers to learn in a conducive environment. Many studies in Africa have revealed that teenage mothers are stigmatised upon return to school (Hamusonde, 2003; Mwansa, 2011; Wekesa, 2014; Grant and Hallman 2006; Runhare, 2010). Consequently, some teenage mothers may be compelled to drop out completely or get a transfer to another school where their status is not known. This would enable them to focus on their education with minimal disturbances due to the stigma attached to teenage motherhood.

Bhana et al. (2008:11) conducted a qualitative study on how the school managers implemented the re-entry policy in two provinces in South Africa. The study revealed that while some school managers implemented the re-entry policy well, others were against it as observed in their negative reactions towards the expectant learners and teenage mothers. The teenage mothers and expectant learners were viewed as immoral and irresponsible and were not wanted in schools. Some of their negative comments were stated in the following excerpt:

> "None of us really want them at school…..if we could say there is a special school for those who are pregnant…..they must go there…..be taught there and they can look after their babies altogether."

This attitude by key policy implementers on the ground shows their poor comprehension of the policy and its benefits of promoting gender equality and empowerment of learners as the beneficiaries are vilified instead of being encouraged to re-enter and successfully complete their education.

Banda (2007), in his descriptive study on the Re-entry Policy in Zambian secondary schools, argued that in some mission schools teenage mothers are not re-entered. The ones not re-entered are taken to public schools, where there are insufficient social services. As a result, many teenage mothers view themselves as having nothing to strive for, but are only filled with shame and disgrace. This is further complicated by their chaotic family relationships and their friends shunning them and considering them as unprincipled, immoral and unmotivated learners. Families may be torn apart, distant and unforgiving towards teenage mothers for their status. Hence, this study analysed

some of the challenges teenage mothers face at school, home and the community, and how they affect the re-entry policy implementation to have a holistic understanding of their problems.

3.5.2 Rejection of expectant learners and teenage mothers by their families

Rejection of expectant learners and teenage mothers by their families can have devastating effect on their education. As a result, others may discontinue their education or move to live with another relation. In a study conducted by Barmao-Kaptanui et al. (2015) in Bungoma County in Kenya, on the impact of teenage motherhood on their education performance, they found that 40% of the head teachers agreed that the education of teenage mothers is dependent on how parents react to teenage pregnancy and teenage mothers. The head teachers also observed that support from parents was critical for the successful completion of teenage mothers' education. Without the support from their parents, expectant learners and teenage mothers would not successfully complete their education.

A study conducted by Banda (2005) established that majority of teenage mothers run away from home to live in rented small rooms in nearby places. Some search for shelter from well-wishers, which lasts for only weeks or months. Others have suffered beatings from their brothers who believe unmarried girls should not be allowed to relate with their family. Several teenage mothers shared how they were abused by family members who threw them out of homes and ended up living in nearby suburbs. The research further revealed that some people believe an unmarried young single mother is a disgrace to a family, and that if, not punished, other young girls would follow suit. These are problems that teenage mothers face when they become pregnant, hence many drop out. Others think of changing schools and living with a family member who can offer them the support they desperately need.

3.5.3 Rejection of teenage mothers in the community

In a study conducted in Kenya, Wanyama and Simatwa (2011) note that teenage mothers suffer discrimination as the community does not value or recognise them as they call them prostitutes. In a study on community challenges in Meru, it was revealed

that young teenage mothers confessed that it becomes hard for one to get married as men would not accept someone else's child as he or she is viewed as a burden. The study further revealed that old men take them for granted and sexually abuse them for small favours, and that men demand for unprotected sex just to punish them. Banda (2005) adds that teenage mothers are perceived as perverse and hence no man likes to associate with them or even to ask for their hand in marriage. This has been intensified by the cultural belief that girls are not meant for education or leadership, hence less effort is put to take teenage mothers back to school or assist with the upkeep of their children to put them on track to complete their education. A study conducted by Mpetswa (2000) focusing on adolescent moms and established that public groups had varied destructive feedbacks concerning young mothers. Nearly all groups inclined to respond with surprise while others spoke negatively about their families. It was further revealed that some church members would even deny teenage mothers chance to be involved in church programmes. Mpetswa's (2000) study reported that some members were gravely treated by their families who felt betrayed by their children.

3.5.4 Role conflicts of teenage mothers

The teenage mothers become mothers when they are still teenagers and learners. This situates them in a very difficult circumstance, as they have to manage their multifaceted roles of being adolescents, mums and pupils simultaneously. In a study on returning to school, conducted in the United States of America, it was established that the re-entry of teenage mothers is challenging because of the difficult roles of motherhood and being a learner (Arlington Public Schools, 2004).

Although teenage life is a conversion stage for mature life (Phoenix, 1991; Nsamenang, 2002), teenagers are still supposed to be adolescents, as stated by the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) that describes a person less than 20 years as a child or a minor. This minor immediately takes up the role of a mother and a pupil upon becoming pregnant and that negatively affects her education. The department of education, in a research done in 1998 on teenage mothers in Zambia, revealed that teenage mothers face problems in organising their new lives, managing their roles as mothers, and meeting the demands of school. The study further revealed that teenage mothers experience day-to-day problems in progressing, education-wise

they lag behind with schoolwork and have to catch up during school holidays and weekends. This becomes expensive in terms of tuitions and transport, but in some cases, they are working very late in the evening to meet deadlines (MOE, 1998). In another study in Namibia on teenage mothers, De Boek and Honwana (2005) noted that teenage mothers start to manage adult roles of becoming early mothers and are unable to enjoy their youthful and mature life.

Chetty and Chigona (2007) established that being a teenage mother end up dropping drop out of school because many find it very challenging to spare ample time for studies and parenting. Literature also points to the fact that since these teenage mothers have assumed new status, their roles are always in conflict because of some emergency frequenting issues pertaining to school and parenthood (Kaufman et al. 2001). Lema (1997) further states that in Tanzania, regardless of the age, a girl is regarded as an adult after she has a child; she is anticipated to undertake mature tasks and discontinue going to school. This leaves the girl with no opportunity for her to pursue her education. In addition, in cultures where roles of girls and boys are explicitly stated, it fits well with the concept of having children only when one is married (Phoenix, 1991). In a marriage set-up, mothers have the major responsibility of taking care of children while fathers provide for their families. However, times have changed and both men and women are expected to contribute to the family basket. Hence, without decent education, teenage mothers cannot take up that critical role in their families.

3.5.5 Time management by teenage mothers

With conflicting roles that teenage mothers are subjected to, it is evident that these cost them time management in school. In a study conducted in Australia on teenage mothers, Boulden (2001) brings out the fact that balancing the demands of family and school can cause many teenage mothers to feel fatigued and generally stressed. Chetty and Chigona (2007), in their study on the education of girls, established that adolescent mothering is a major cause of low retention rates at primary and secondary school levels. This is so because of their new roles that affect their time management. The research further stated that girls do not manage their time well to attend to their academic needs and their roles as mothers. Equally, their helpers would want to be relieved of some tasks when they return home from school. Additionally, the study

further reveals that their children also want to spend quality time with their mothers when they are back home.

3.5.6 Low self-esteem among teenage mothers

Low self-confidence is a challenge that many people have and this situation is worsened when one is young and pregnant. In some instances, low self-esteem has affected the academic performance of many teenage mothers (Wekesa, 2014; Omondi, 2008). Many teenage mothers report feeling out of control, worthless or useless to their communities (Banda, 2005). This has been a major setback for them, hence they have not realised their full potential in achieving their dreams. As a result, men take advantage of girls and this has made many of them give birth to more than two children whose fathers they do not know. Teenage mothers face depression, anxiety and marginalisation from families and society.

3.5.7 Lack of guidance and counselling services

Guidance and counselling is significant in the successful completion of learners' education and choice of career. Leadership and psychosocial facilities in institutions can help address the challenges teenage mothers and expectant learners face about their academic, social and personal lives to shape their destiny. In many schools in several countries in Africa and Europe, expectant learners are either allowed to continue or re-enter after pregnancy (Chilisa, 2002; Zellman, 1981; Vincent, 2009), as earlier highlighted. Teenage pregnancy is a social problem that can negatively impact on the education of girls. Some expectant learners and teenage mothers drop out completely while others end up getting married, thus disengaging themselves completely from school.

Many studies on the education of girls and teenage mothers have established that teenage mothers face several challenges such as lack of support for child care, school fees and long distances to schools. As a result, others fail to re-enter after pregnancy, and those who re-enter find it difficult to manage such challenges (Grant and Hallman, 2006; Mwansa, 2011; Chigona and Chetty, 2007). The most affected are those from poor families who have no access to social facilities and live far from these services. In the absence of counselling which, should enable them to focus on their education

and manage their duo tasks of being a pupil and a mum, these learners cannot realise their educational aspirations.

A teenage mother needs to be counselled to prepare her and the family to handle the many difficulties that come with teenage parenting and education. The counselling, if properly done, can ease family tensions that develop because of the presence of young mums in the family and prepare teenage mothers to re-enter in schools. A study by Kurt (2008) in Portland found that a good counsellor could greatly affect a learner's motivation to stay in school. This motivation can also lead to successful life after school due to a good career. Kurt (2008) further observed that teenage mothers drop out of school due to many reasons, such as lack of funds, failure, feelings of inadequacy, serious emotional conflicts and marginalisation. These problems can result in poor academic performance or one dropping out from school.

The American School Counselling Association (ASCA, 2004) policy highlighted that school counselling programmes are important in helping learners attain maximum growth, acquire positive social skills and values, set career goals and realise academic potential for them to be responsible citizens in the world. Therefore, the roles of school counsellors can never be undermined, especially when implementing re-entry policies. School counsellors need to work with learners in schools to offer academic support services, peer education and crisis management to enable them to complete their studies (ACSA, 2004).

Haihambo (2002) notes that both the 2002 and the 2006 Rundu studies in Namibia on educational assessment of the re-entry policy established that many schools did not have a counselling teacher to offer services to the pupils. In addition, the teachers that were handling pupils that needed counselling had no professional training. Many performed this counselling role on a voluntary basis upon seeing the pressure the pupils were subjected to. This also poses a challenge to the pregnant learners and teenage mothers as the environment changes by virtue of their situation. The counselling services they receive aid them to cope with such life challenges but they are exacerbated in the absence of a professional counsellor.

The re-entry policy guidelines (MoE, 2012) state that guidance and counselling services should be commenced when a learner is confirmed pregnant to ease her

situation at school as pregnancy is very demanding emotionally. Leadership and psycho social services enable expectant learners and young mums to manage stress associated with pregnancy. Therefore, it is a key determinant for re-entry and successful completion of high school education and management of the double role of motherhood and student life. Other studies have established that inadequate professional leadership and psychosocial services in government institutions negatively affects the education of teenage mothers and learners (Mulenga and Mukaba, 2018; Moonga, 2014).

Also, other scholars have revealed that therapy, helpful family, improved enthusiasm, constructive association with teachers and learners provide achievement of knowledge practices and rational chastisement strategies are some of the motivations for return and continuing in school (Christenson et al., 2000; Bruers and Hatch, 2002; Howe, 2009). Therefore, it is important that each school employs a qualified counsellor to mitigate some of the challenges faced by teenage mothers.

3.6 Opportunities of educating girls and teenage mothers

The opportunities of educating girls can best be expressed in a common phrase that is used to persuade parents to take their children to school, “Educate a woman, and educate a nation.” The word “nation” can be used to mean “family” (Rihani, 2006). This means the value of educating girls has an immense bearing on her clan’s wellbeing, pecuniary status, and access to education. It also means that the right of female learners’ education is not just for their personal benefits but also for those of their entire family and clans. The education of females is the most significant asset that has more benefits for development (FAWE, 2004). Keeping girls in school contributes to changing their life and that of future generations. However, in the past, parents saw no benefits in the education of girls. Instead, more importance was centred on marriage (Carmody, 2004). Therefore, many girls were deprived of their lifetime opportunity to attain education because of their parents who did not realise the benefits of educating girls (Carmody, 2004).

Kane’s (2004) study in South Africa observed that investing in the education of girls and women goes a long way in contributing to the development of a family and nations at large and, most importantly, for families from poor socio-economic backgrounds.

Many families, however, do not consider the education of a girl as a big investment (Carmody, 2004). In a study conducted in South Africa, Chigona and Chetty (2007) observed that parents do not want to send a girl-child to school. They prefer to marry her off at a tender age so that the bride price can be used to educate the male siblings and increase the income for the family. Kane (2004) also established that the economic benefits of educating girls include the following: growth in the economy through the employment of girls and their investments in income-generating activities, increased job opportunities, more resources for the family, and participation in decision-making activities, good health and having a small family, among others. The findings from Kane's study suggest that investing in girls' education increases economic growth at all levels.

Other opportunities that come with the education of girls as noted by Kelly (1999), include poverty decline, substantial decreases in child death rates and disease, good family nourishment and well-being, and decrease of fertility rates. In addition, better education opportunities for their children in future of children's education, and improved prospects for household wages in both formal and informal areas. More so, educated women would like to see their children attain better quality education. This is crucial in supporting development because of the need to break the poverty cycle. Educated women can make constructive contributions to the development of their clans and societies. They can participate in key decision-making positions, negotiate their rights and are aware of their responsibilities. According to Maluwa-Banda (2004), girls' education is a venture that promotes the education of every child. Further, education is perceived as a means to improving an individual's life and accomplishment of a better life for families and their off-springs. CREAW (2007) asserts that educated females who complete their advanced school delay to marry and have small families. Therefore, such benefits should inspire governments, families and learners including teenage mothers to carefully implement re-entry policies as the education of girls in particular has several benefits.

Grant and Hallman (2006) believe education plays a critical role in reducing poverty among girl children. This is the reason why the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNUDHR, 1948) stipulates that education is a human right. Hence, many countries including Zambia have signed this declaration. Nonetheless, nothing

is mentioned relating to how the re-entry policy is developed and implemented to promote the education of teenage mothers. Instead, the discourse on education and pregnancy of teenage mothers is on the socio-economic situations of poor families, posing huge challenges to teenage mothers, who have no economic means to acquiring knowledge. Therefore, many families become angry with such a child and fail to support the teenage mother to enable her to complete her education. Such conditions that the teenage mothers find themselves in reduce their self-esteem and motivation to be in school and contribute to high dropout rates even prior to being pregnant (Lloyd and Mensch, 2006; McGaha-Garnett, 2007).

According to a UNICEF (2005) report, participating in girls' education promotes the health of the mother and that of her children, sizeable families, economic empowerment and equality, among others. Educated girls and women can participate in the governance of their communities and governments. While this is true, it is oblivious to policy benefits for the teenage mothers in Zambia and worldwide. In short, failure to appreciate views of teenage mothers on policy benefits to them renders the whole process of policy implementation irrelevant to school dropouts in Zambia.

The African Population and Health Research Centre (2007) carried out a study that established that secondary education is important for socio-economic development and reduced poverty levels. It further emphasised that secondary education is important for creating fiscal overtures and social development at national and personal levels. Bhana, Morrel and Shefer (2008) support the idea of giving youths an opportunity to continue their education after pregnancy as it is crucial for postponing another pregnancy, besides creating an opportunity for youths to be educated and improve their way of living. Egbochuku (2002) considers the re-entry of teenage mothers and expectant learners to be an important tool for completion of their education as such a strategy would help to reduce poverty and illiteracy and at the same time stimulate wealth creation, and personal advancement and development.

3.7 Reasons for teenage pregnancy and barriers to education

External intrinsic factors are said to have worsened the increase in teenage mothers' dropout rates at school. These are poverty, violence, alcohol, distance to school, and the cost of education, among others (Chilisa, 2002; Mwansa, 2011). These factors have contributed to high dropout rates for girls, hence lowering the enrolment ratios at

secondary and tertiary levels. Yet, none of these writers shows how these factors are embedded in legislation and how statutory laws affect schools' decisions on teenage mothers' exclusion from the re-entry policy. Therefore, this study directly analysed the conservative government values of teenage mothers' exclusion to policy implementation and development, which are invested in a legislative framework. The multi-level governance theory suitable in this study explains the importance of engaging stakeholders throughout the policy formulation and implementation process. This promotes inclusion and policy ownership by the stakeholders, which in turn eases the implementation.

The disadvantages associated with teenage pregnancy include dropping out early, being single in life, failure to complete college education and having children who are unable to complete their education too, hence exacerbating their life situations. Other disadvantages include failure to pass mathematics, repeating a grade, unemployment and having a generation of uneducated children (Grant and Hallman, 2006).

Stapleton (2010) investigated teenage motherhood from a British perspective. She argues that Britain has high rates of teenage pregnancy amongst the Western countries. Common characteristics of teenagers who become pregnant are that they are typically African-American, they are from disadvantaged backgrounds, and these pregnancies are often unwanted. Stapleton (2010) illustrates that regardless of the provision of sex education in British schools, teenage pregnancy is still influenced by cultural and social norms such as men's influences on contraceptive use. Due to the rise in teenage pregnancies, the British department of education recommended the introduction of sex education lessons in institutions in 1996 (Stapleton, 2010). Zambia has also introduced Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in a bid to curb teenage pregnancies (UNESCO, 2014). Thus, the nation may escalate the percentage of girls completing both primary and secondary education with some proceeding to tertiary levels. There would also be a reduction in the number of pregnant pupils especially at secondary school level, this has many benefits for families and nations at large.

Being pregnant can have devastating effects on the education of the learner. According to Macleod and Tracey (2010), pregnant learners are easily affected in their studies due to their pregnancy situation. Their concentration gets affected and this

results in the high dropout rates from school (Potjo, 2012). Teenage mothers can easily drop out of school due to the many hardships they face in caring for their children, especially in instances where the family does not provide any support due to poverty and other social challenges. Some parents may not support teenage mothers with the view that the latter have the responsibility to support themselves and their babies (Kanku and Mash, 2010). Additionally, teenage pregnancy affects generations of children who will be affected by poverty as their mothers wouldn't be able to complete their education and provide their offsprings with a decent education too. Kirby (2007) observes that the most negative impact of teenage pregnancy is that it affects one generation to another. Teenagers born from mums younger than twenty years easily stop schooling to take care of their children or get married, get lower marks and show low levels of attendance (Cassell, 2000; Kirby, 2007). In his study, Cassell (2000) observed that when children are born of teenage mothers, 32 percent of them are also pregnant before the age of twenty compared to 11 percent of those whose mothers had children later. This study explains that the lack of understanding the meaning and implication of re-entry policy by some scholars on this issue ignites some very complex and subtle issues to do with marginalisation and disempowerment of teenage mothers later in their life trajectories.

3. 8 Socio-economic barriers

Many barriers exist in the education of girls. Some of these barriers are associated with the cost of education and the poverty of many families in developing countries in Africa and Asia. Rihani (2006) states that in South Africa and some Asian countries, poverty is a key reason that forces families to choose whether to educate girls or boys. Maluwa-Banda's (2004) study identified socio-economic, socio-cultural and school, associated issues as factors that affect the education of girls in Malawi and other African countries.

Socio-economic barriers affect the education of girls in many developing countries. Primary education is free in most countries but very few families can afford the cost of secondary and tertiary education. Rihani (2006) states that in a study in Malawi, it was observed that the dropout rate for girls is high at secondary school level because of the cost of secondary education. The cost of education also affects boys, but as Rihani (2006) noted, girls are affected more due to the loss of their labour services at home.

Hence, the major reason why parents cannot send girls to school is that they need them to perform house chores.

However, despite these reasons, Zambia lacks a national centre for education statistics as the primary federal entity responsible for collecting, analysing, and reporting data related to teenage mothers too. This means that almost all that most scholars report lacks statistical validity, hence the lack of understanding of the social fragmentation of analysis. This is because, Wildavsky (2006), policymaking is pluralistic rather than rational. No single participant has sufficient information to make a rational decision. To the contrary, information is dispersed throughout the system, and different participants have different self-interests, organisational interests, and perspectives on the public interest. This shows that most policy makers fail to link social situation of stakeholders to pluralistic policy formation in Zambia.

3.9 Poverty

High poverty levels have an impact on the learning of females. For some developing countries and other areas, poverty has been feminised and is common in rural areas. The UN report (2011) states that almost 77 percent of the rural people are poor and living on subsistence farming. The report further states that women's labour is concentrated on the household work, and for those that live in urban areas, many are engaged in low-paying jobs and businesses which have very low profits. The Zambian Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (LCMS) for 2015 established that the main reason for leaving school is lack of financial support to meet educational costs with 44.8 percent of the poor living in rural areas and 36.3 percent in urban areas (CSO, LCMS, 2015). Further, Bunyi (2008) agrees that many people are very poor in African countries and this affects the education sector grossly in terms of equity and equality. While the case is true, as it is related to poverty and teenage mothers' conditions, and though very little is mentioned regarding policymaking, it is not a process of analysis followed by decisions but rather a process of interaction among multiple actors with different information, interests, and perspectives. Hence, the use of the multi-level governance theory in this research helps to comprehend the part played by actors in re-entry strategy formulation implementation in Zambia.

Participants anticipate one another's moves and manoeuvres to secure the best outcome they can for themselves by adapting to the views of the majority. Teenage mothers feel excluded from this process, hence the increase in gender inequality and dropout at primary and secondary levels in Zambia. In the long term, this results in the rural-urban inequalities in the education sector where more learners in the rural areas are unable to access education compared to those in the urban areas. According to Watkins (2000), being poor promotes gender inequality, hence children from underprivileged families have lesser opportunities for education than those born from rich families. These findings are similar to those of the LCMS 2015 conducted in Zambia which established that poverty levels are higher among households with low or lack of education (CSO, LCMS, 2015).

Owing to the shortage of resources and poverty rates in some states in developing countries in Africa (especially sub-Saharan Africa), many households are reluctant to send their children to school. Families would rather engage them in income generating tasks to cope and manage their daily lives. According to the EFA monitoring report of 2015, pupils are likely not able to attend school due to huge workloads, most of which are done at household level. Many youths engage in hard labour with 41percent of these children living in Africa, followed by Asia at 21 percent and Latin America at 17 percent. The report further observed that in Africa, the growth of the population, a weak budget, starvation, and wars, among others, contribute to the high number of children who are not in school. The African culture has negatively affected the education of girls in the sense that girls are viewed as homemakers, not worthy to go to school (CREAW, 2007). Therefore, equity and equality in education is a challenge as disparities are seen in urban and rural communities due to social and cultural reasons. In Kenya, CREAW (2007) also established that many girls are viewed as homemakers who don't deserve to go to school. Therefore, there is no equity and equality that exists in the remote areas as regards the education of girls and teenage mothers. While these views on equality are true, the multi-level governance theory was used to construe obstacles of re-entry policy execution using several participants' perspectives (head teachers, teenage mothers, learners, and MoE officials). The multi-level governance theory aims at understanding the detailed causes of the challenge at hand and how it affects the beneficiaries. This is done through engagements with all stakeholders at the top and bottom levels. Thus, policy formulators agree with policy

implementers and beneficiaries on how best to implement the re-entry policy by participating in both policy formulation and implementation.

Early marriage has also contributed to many girls dropping out of school. A UNICEF (2004) report observed that in cultures where the education of boys is promoted more than girls, many girls fail to complete their education, are married off early and start having children when they are very young. This implies that their education is curtailed, and they continue being poor. Their children too fail to go to school and the trend continues in the family and hence poverty persists in such families. A report by UNICEF (2004) shows that in many cultures it is a custom for adolescent girls to get married when they are very young. Therefore, those that are married off cannot complete education. Zambia is experiencing the adverse impact of early marriages. According to the CSO (2015) report, about 22 percent of teenagers have a baby before the age of 19. As a result, many would have not completed their secondary education, others would be married and a few would have re-entered into school.

Another study by Mwanzia and Strathdee (2010) observed that certain cultures portray women as being slow learners compared to their male counterparts. The re-entry policy and affirmative action, among others, are therefore meant to offer girls the opportunity to complete their education and compete with boys. As a result, many women have accepted the belief that girls or women have no rights to own property and participate in the governance programmes in their homes and countries respectively because of the idea that girls are slow learners and not as smart as boys. Therefore, women have little or no confidence to take up leadership roles and actively participate in the management of their family and societal affairs. They fail to take up leadership roles at family and community levels. Mwanzia and Strathdee (2010) identified key factors that can help address the cultural barriers, which make societies to view women as less powerful and intelligent. They suggest that to lessen gender disparities men need to be re-trained on the importance of promoting gender equity and equality. Through this re-training, men will support the education of girls amidst economic challenges that hamper the education of girls and teenage mothers, as many parents are not able to afford their education.

Hart (1998) proposes that when designing programmes aimed at engaging girls, stakeholders need to realise the different perceptions that society has about girls,

teenage mothers and women. The assumption that girls and teenage mothers are less intelligent, insecure and undeserving to go to school must be discouraged and positive views of them be promoted instead. This assumption must be changed through the design of programmes that depict girls as decision-makers in society at all levels. CREAW (2007) observed that girls fail to complete their education due to the negative assumptions highlighted above that society has about them. As a result, many would not complete school but would be married and work as domestic workers. The report also states that when chances are made for females to attain gender equality, many of them are still overburdened by household chores and the burden of caring for the family in the absence of a mother or an older sibling.

The Zambian government has made many interventions to end child marriage by harmonising the customary and statutory law to ensure that children can learn with dignity. Despite the awareness created on ending child marriage, the rate is still high in Zambia. The UNFPA (2014) report states that many young females marry early compared to their male counterparts. The high prevalence of child marriages is caused by the lack of support for the education of girls and teenage mothers by families and societies in general. Failure to involve the stakeholders in education on policy formulation and implementation creates a gap on the actual needs of the beneficiaries. The multi-level governance theory promotes the inclusion of actors to have their views considered throughout the public policy cycle.

3. 10 Effect of violence on the education of girls and teenage mothers

Understanding the meaning of teenage pregnancy involves some very complex and subtle issues to do with marginalisation and disempowerment. Some of these complex issues include reasons for the girls' inability to complete their education due to violence at home and school. Sometimes the violence occurs on their way to school and parents may withdraw their children from schools due to violence in these institutions. A study conducted in Malawi by Maluwa-Banda (2004), found that many girls are subjected to violence from their peers, teachers and within their families. Instances of girls being sexually harassed were recorded in Malawi and these were done by their male teachers who wanted sex in exchange for good marks and other goods the girls could not afford. Violence in any form does affect the education of girls. According to a FAWE report (2000), the high dropout rate among girls is attributed to gender based

violence (GBV), which results in teenage pregnancy, early marriage and drop out. Girls and teenage mothers are subjected to child marriages, among other institutional, social and economic factors, which push them out of school. Others are unable to attend school due to the cost of education (FAWE, 2014). Violence in school causes physical and psychological pain and, in some instances, death.

Since this study is a critical policy study, on the effect of government reform on teenage mothers, it is important at this stage to mention that teenage mothers' increase in school dropout has much to do with the way in which state power is distributed; more of the centrality of the state in the education system as a whole than a mere fraction of violence experienced by the girls at school.

3.11 Impact of HIV and AIDS on the education of girls and teenage mothers

HIV and AIDs adversely affects the education of girls and teenage mothers. Zambia has the high HIV infection rate for youths aged between 15-19 years, at 14.3 percent in 2007 and 12.6 percent in 2013 (GRZ, 2014:10). The effect of HIV on children and other infected people in general cannot be overemphasised. HIV and AIDs has contributed to the generation of orphaned and vulnerable children (OVCs) and increase in child-headed homes. According to a UNAIDS report, "AIDS has contributed to the death of at least one million lives annually in SSA since 1998" (UNAIDS, 2011:7). In Zambia, about 600,000 children have been orphaned because of HIV and AIDS. This has correspondingly contributed to the high dropout rates in schools (GRZ, 2007:79). Many studies have recognised that the loss of one's parents contributes to high dropouts at school and late enrolment (Klocker, 2007). Many children whose parents are critically ill may fail to attend school due to the high cost of education and the burden of care they must provide for their sick parents or siblings. This is so because HIV and AIDS reduces or increases the demand on financial resources that are already depleted for many families and, in turn, this negatively affects the education sector. The effect of the disease on the youths is the increased workload at household level which involves caring for the patient and looking for money and food to sustain the family when the breadwinner is sick (UNICEF, 2004).

AVERT (2007) postulates that men who are HIV positive are targeting children that are HIV negative as a cure for their HIV and AIDS because of the 'virgin cure' myth

(which wrongly claims the cure of HIV and AIDS with a virgin). HIV and AIDS has increased the defilement of young children even in Zambia and some parts of Africa. While this is the case about reasons regarding increase in the dropout rate among teenage mothers at primary and secondary school levels, much is to do with absence of participant engagement in strategy design and application. Consequently, the key stakeholders are left out in key decision-making that affects their own lives. Using the multi-level governance theory, all stakeholders can contribute towards policy formulation and implementation.

3.12 Chapter summary

A thorough review of empirical research studies on the education of teenage mothers around the world were sampled from international, regional and national perspectives. USA and England presented the international perspective while South Africa, Kenya and Botswana provided a regional perspective and two studies from Zambia were reviewed to give a national view.

Studies on teenage mothers' education around the world are still limited; this is due to changes in educational policy on teenage mothers who were left out of school when they got pregnant. Sadly, this stigmatisation was practised by both developed and less developed countries. The major area that has been explored in most studies about this new policy change is how it has been implemented by stakeholders in order to ascertain whether the policy has been relevant, effective and efficient. In all the literatures, the relevancy of the teenage mothers' education was acknowledged as it brought more increased opportunities for the teenage mothers using a rights-based approach.

The effectiveness of the policies in both developed and less developed countries analysed the extent to which implementation has attained its objectives. Policies that promote the inclusion of teenage mothers have attained their objectives, especially in developed countries where favourable conditions exist as well. On efficiency, both developed and less developed countries have failed to meet the expectations due to conservative opinions on the re-entry policy implementation and stigmatisation from communities that were still very conservative in the manner they view the integration of teenage mothers and expectant learners in schools, resulting in ineffective outcomes and inefficient implementation of the policy.

Most of the studies have been generalising their findings with small sample sizes and used samples of schools that were predominately in different socio-economic and cultural environments. This research provides supplementary perceptions and provide in-depth information on the Re-entry Policy implementation from a case study in Monze District in Zambia's Southern Province. The following chapter looks at the methodological approaches to the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH APPROACH, DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the literature review on the international, regional and national literature on the re-entry policy implementation. The chapter focused on the benefits of educating girls and causes of teenage pregnancy. The re-entry policy implementation and aspects influencing the process. The aspects included rejection by families, communities and schools, role conflicts of teenage mothers, and lack of professional counselling, among others. This chapter presents the research approach, design in addition methodology. Details on sampling procedure, data collection methods and data analysis and also the research quality assurance and ethical issues are in this chapter too.

The purpose of the study was to investigate how the strategy that allows adolescent mothers to return to secondary schools was implemented in Zambia. The study was guided by the multi-level governance, which promotes the participation, policy networks, engagement, decentralised decision-making and accountability of strategic stakeholders during policy formulation and implementation. This results in effective implementation of policies and attainment of policy objectives. The main research question was: How is the re-entry policy for teenage mothers implemented in Zambian secondary schools? The following were the questions originating from the major study question.

- What opportunities does the re-entry policy offer for the teenage mothers, schools and communities?
- What are the challenges experienced by teenage mothers and how are they addressed by re-entry policy implementers in secondary schools?
- Which support systems are in place to enhance the implementation of the re-entry policy?
- What framework can be designed to ensure the effective implementation of the re-entry policy?

The above research questions directed the research paradigm, methodology, data collection and analysis processes. Since this study focused on the in-depth understanding of how the re-entry policy is implemented in secondary schools, the researcher used the qualitative case study research methodology. This methodology assisted the researcher to analyse and interpret the way the policy is implemented from various participants' views that included the Ministry of Education officials, head teachers, teachers, teenage mothers, learners and parents.

4.2 Philosophical assumptions: Ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the study

Philosophical assumptions, when used in research, mean ideas and beliefs that inform the study. This means that a researcher must have ideas or beliefs in what is involved in qualitative approach before the study begins. The researcher had assumptions on how the re-entry policy for teenage mothers was implemented in Zambian secondary schools. Lincoln and Guba (2011) posit that philosophical assumptions shape how problems and research questions are formulated for the study and how information is required to answer the specific questions raised in the research that is being carried out. This is true when one looks at the difference between qualitative and quantitative studies where the former looks at a particular or single phenomenon in detail. For this study, the qualitative approach explained a single phenomenon about the implementation of the re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Zambian secondary schools.

> *"the research that situates the participant in their own home environment and uses it to make their own world visible through their interpretations. This level of qualitative research involves an interpretive realistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their normal setting, attempting to make sense, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people attach to them."*
>
> Denzin and Lincoln (2005:3)

For the purposes of this study, the ontological and epistemological assumptions have been used to guide the study on

the implementation of the re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Zambian secondary schools.

Creswell (2012) describes the two philosophical assumptions as ontology and epistemology. Ontology relates to the nature of reality and its characteristics. These realities can only be constructed through the point of view of participants, meaning that reality is relative, subjective and differs from one person to another, hence multiple realities (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:110). Therefore, to understand how the re-entry policy is being implemented, the researcher used the participants' lens, which provided multiple realities to implementation. In this study, the MoE officials, teachers, teenage mothers and learners' views were critical in understanding how the policy is implemented in secondary schools in Monze District. The multiple realities from the multiple participants assisted the researcher to understand and interpret the research on re-entry policy implementation in schools.

All research is conducted within a given philosophical interpretation. Therefore, the knowledge of any given study cannot be viewed in a vacuum because there are always meanings attributed to something. This is called the philosophical assumption (Ambert et al. 1995). Epistemology is defined as how the researchers know what they know or the forms of knowledge. Using the interpretive paradigm, which views knowledge as dependent on the interpretations of the people involved, the researcher obtained the knowledge on the re-entry policy implementation from the MoE officials, teachers, teenage mothers, parents and learners. The researcher was able to understand how the return strategy is implemented from the participants' perspectives.

The participants were more knowledgeable about the re-entry policy according to their given roles and positions in society. They interpreted the study's meaning of from their own social context (Crotty, 1998:42). Therefore, the researcher decided to engage in qualitative study that helped to investigate, describe and interpret the personal and social involvement of the participants in line with Creswell (1994). This description and approach assisted the researcher to describe how the re-entry policy is being implemented in the Zambian secondary schools using interviews and documents. Hence, the researcher obtained in-depth information using a small sample of participants to understand this phenomenon.

4.3 Research paradigm

The research was located within the Interpretivist paradigm. Interpretive research paradigm aims at obtaining richer, better and thorough thoughtful and narrative explanation of the phenomenon within the participants' environment. Neuman (2000) defines interpretive paradigm as the well-planned analysis of a collective group of important actions by direct reviews which are comprehensive in the real environment so that one reaches an understanding and be able to interpret how people create and preserve their collective environment. Wellington (2000) concurs with the above description that, in the interpretive approach, the researcher understands that makes participants create the reality according to how they have experienced it. That is the essence for obtaining participants' views in this study to understand how the re-entry policy is implemented in secondary schools. Through the participants' perceptions, the researcher was able to obtain insights on the re-entry policy implementation in secondary schools, opportunities it offered by this policy, challenges faced by the teenage mothers and existing support systems to enhance their education. Interpretive research allows a researcher to probe further in order to obtain better insights (Wellington, 2000). For instance, some teenage mothers were not willing to discuss the challenges they faced at both school and home, but the researcher was able to get insightful data on this study through probes considering that the study was sensitive as it affected their private lives. The researcher probed further through questioning, getting clarity and explanations on the details of the participants' experiences. Follow-up enquiries were based on explaining like what happened, how they did that and many more.

According to Barbie and Mouton (2001), the interpretivist paradigm affords the researcher the opportunity of knowing and construing the world using the members' perspective. The head teachers, teachers, Ministry of Education officers, parents, learners and teenage mothers who had experienced the implementation of the re-entry policy provided the information for this study. The multi-level governance theory guided the interview process on stakeholders' involvement in the strategy application at school level and supervisors in schools who included officials from the MoE. To explore how the policy was implemented, interpretative paradigm was preferred as it enabled the researcher to study the members' involvement regarding the re-entry

policy implementation in their own natural settings, secondary schools in Monze District. This is because interpretive researchers focus on actions that should provide meaning for the given behaviour (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). Therefore, the participants had to explain how the re-entry policy was implemented based on their experience in relation to the re-entry policy implementation in Monze District. A research can only be worthwhile to individuals when the researcher is able to establish the reasons why people do things the way they do when they share that knowledge or skills (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007). In addition, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) also state that to maintain the truthfulness of the situation being explored, it is important to collect in-depth interpretations of how the participants view the phenomenon being studied. That is the characteristic of the interpretive paradigm; to collect in-depth information from the study participants.

Grbich (2007) outlines the following as the main characteristics of the interpretivists: they aim to understand how people view their situations in a specific place. The researcher found out how the participants view the re-entry policy implementation in their respective schools. Interpretivists also aim to know how the participants' situations impact their definitions of the real world they live in, such as how and why they follow guidelines when implementing the policy and how it benefits the teenage mothers. The researcher perceived that the investigators' own life practices affect their explanation of gathered information from the study participants; and recognised that the investigator's bias due to their own practices lead to the formation of study biases and misinterpretations of study findings. As a result, the researcher positioned herself as a learner during the entire research period as she wanted to ascertain the opinions of the participants about the study and not the researcher's views, which are biased.

Interpretive research has a number of disadvantages. Firstly, the interpretive research findings cannot be generalised (Cohen, Manion and Marison, 2011) because of the small sample size. For instance, the study was only conducted in four schools in one district with 44 participants in total. Secondly, the interpretivist ontological view is subjective and not objective (Mack, 2010). This means that the re-entry policy implementation could only be understood and interpreted from the participants' point of views and not through scientific methods. Further, reality can be interpreted in various ways via several participants' views.

4.4 Research approach

The researcher used the qualitative approach to investigate, describe and interpret the personal and social involvements of the research participants on the application of the return strategy (Creswell, 1994). Qualitative research offers perceptions into complicated and ever-developing truths (Mann, 2003). The importance of qualitative research lies on how meaning is created and formed (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter, 2006). The participants in this study interpreted the understanding of the study in their own way.

The fact that qualitative researchers obtain data from participants in their own setting, enabled the researcher to investigate how the re-entry policy was implemented in secondary schools. Qualitative research also helps a researcher to explain human behaviour (Yin, 2012). Hence, the researcher studied this phenomenon using a small number of participants to get rich and detailed data through their perceptions.

Qualitative research is identified by the distinct research tools used and data gathering procedures that are followed. The data collection tools allow for flexibility on the part of the research participants, the researcher and the type of data generated. This study used focus group and individual interviews, field notes and document reviews as data collection tools. The study identified three main advantages for qualitative research. Firstly, qualitative research method uses semi-structured interviews. These helped the researcher to understand the beliefs of the participants, showing how they made sense of their lives, what they said they believed, what they did and how they expressed their feelings and the reasons for their feelings. For instance, the participants provided detailed views on how the strategy was applied, the opportunities derived from the policy, the challenges they faced and how they were assisted to pursue their education.

Secondly, qualitative research is inductive and less concerned with generalisation but focuses on engaging participants in order to collect deep meanings of the participants' situations in their own environment (Tuli, 2010:100; Yin, 2012:7-8). Participants provided detailed meanings on the re-entry policy implementation which are specific to their given context. Thirdly, qualitative research focuses on obtaining meaning of the participants' situations in their life, describing how they interpret the situations they

are involved in (Maree, 2007:51). The participants interpreted how the re-entry policy was implemented from their own point of view, and their views were recorded and presented accordingly. Lastly, qualitative research enables a researcher to obtain deep meanings to research findings and conclusions. During the course of this study, these meanings were utilised to have a detailed comprehension of the research.

There are several disadvantages in conducting a qualitative study. Firstly, qualitative studies are expensive and quite demanding, and a researcher needs to be in the field for a long time and may spend many hours of interviews with participants. True to this, the researcher spent a long time with the participants in Monze District to familiarise herself with the study location and the members. The whole period of research was extended to eight months (January to August 2018) from the time the study was piloted in two schools in Lusaka.

The qualitative research methods also involve good planning and application. Researchers must be thoughtful in ensuring that the study participants are not negatively affected by conducting it in a way that is acceptable. There was good planning that was done prior to the research through MoE officials, head teachers and learners from respective schools in the district. In addition, qualitative data is prone to personal bias and judgment. As a result, one needs to be careful to present credible findings as observations and not proof (Shuttleworth and Wilson, 2008). The data collected was made credible by following the criteria described in detail in this chapter.

Despite the above disadvantages, the researcher used the qualitative approach, as it was appropriate, and collected the data needed to comprehend the research. Adequate time with the participants promoted the collection of thick descriptions of the study. The researcher listened to the participants' stories on teenage pregnancy and how the re-entry policy was implemented.

4.5 Research design

The case study design enabled the researcher to get detailed contextualised data from many participants namely MoE officials, teachers, teenage mothers, learners and parents. Creswell (2007:73) describes a case study as a method where a researcher

explains a situation within a given period using data gathering means that give in-depth information involving numerous data tools. Another definition of a case study by Stake (2000) posits that it is an investigation about the case and product of the investigation. The reason why the researcher used this study strategy was to gain rich data on the re-entry policy and its implementation in Monze District.

The researcher considered the opinions of the participants in this study to interpret how the re-entry policy for teenage mothers was implemented and interpret the challenges faced when implementing it in Monze District in particular. During the study, the researcher suspended past knowledge (setting aside personal beliefs, feelings and perceptions) and focussed on getting fresh ideas to augment the description of the data that was collected. The researcher's approach to obtain accurate and complete understanding of how stakeholders view the chances and difficulties teenage mothers experienced as they pursued their education after pregnancy and how the re-entry policy was implemented was holistic. Berg (2001) states that case study methods use organised ways of obtaining adequate data of a specific individual, community background, event or group to avail the researcher an opportunity to successfully know the study. This was the researcher's goal in this study.

The advantage of using this method is that it is intensive and assisted the researcher to get rich data for the study. Case studies also take place in a real set-up (Berg 2001; Yin 2009), and Monze district was the set-up for this case study. Hence, the four secondary schools (school 1, 2, 3 and 4)) from urban, peri-urban and rural areas in Monze were selected based on their detailed information they have on teenage mothers in schools and how the re-entry policy was implemented. The multi-level governance theory also uses case studies to understand in detail the phenomenon being studied. Ekane et al. (2014) used a case study approach on the sanitation sector study in sub-Saharan Africa using this theory with various stakeholders at all levels to gather comprehensive study facts. Similar study methods were also used in this research. Case studies also have weaknesses such as lack of generalisation of the findings of a particular study, not being open to reviews; and being prejudiced and private, even if efforts may have been made to manage these weaknesses through the reflexivity process (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

4.6 Research methodology

The current study used qualitative research methodology as the investigator intended to collect detailed data on the re-entry policy implementation from many participants and using diverse data sources. The data was collected from MoE officials, who are the supervisors of the schools in the province and district, the head teachers who manage the schools, the teachers who teach the learners, and teenage mothers and their parents as the beneficiaries of the return strategy. These participants assisted the researcher to interpret views on the return strategy implementation for Monze District.

4.6.1 Sampling technique and sample size

The criteria used to select the schools were based on type and location. Government and mission schools were selected for this study. Public institutions implement government programmes unlike mission schools, which are supervised by church leaders. However, mission schools receive a grant from the government for their management and the teachers are supervised through the Ministry of Education and the manager for school administration. Nonetheless, only one mission school participated and only the head teacher was interviewed. The researcher purposefully chose schools from urban, peri-urban and rural settings so that the study could capture the financial and cultural factors that affect the implementation of the re-entry policy at secondary school level. It is important to study the socio-economic setting of a study site so that factors that affect or influence the lives of the people in that area are known. These are useful to understand the reasons why participants go through certain life experiences. The South African study established that schools with many teenage pregnancy proportions are those that lack resources and are situated in areas without social services (Panday et al. 2009). Such background information provided a rich context for this study.

4.6.2 Purposeful sampling

A sample is a representative sub-set of the population from which generalisations are made about the population. It arises from the inability of researchers to test all the individuals in each population (Maree 2007).

This study used purposive sampling, defined by Cohen (2007:115) as the process in which researchers select the cases to be included in the sample, based on their decision and essential characteristics. The participants in this study were identified because of the key roles they played in their respective positions with regard to the re-entry policy implementation. Only key people with the required information participated in the study by nature of their position in relation to the study and the knowledge they had about the study. Creswell (2007) maintains that this type of sampling is used when accessing 'knowledgeable people' with a deep knowledge about the study. The knowledgeable people in this study were the MoE officers, school administrators, teachers, adolescent mums and guardians and parents. In addition, Cohen et al. (2005) states that, in purposive sampling, investigators choose the participants to be interviewed because of their knowledge about the study. By using this method, the researcher accessed participants who were conversant with the research topic and had in-depth information on the study. Therefore, education officers at national, provincial and district levels, head teachers, career teachers, teenage mothers, learners and parents and guardians were purposively sampled. The teenage mothers and learners were purposively sampled through their respective guidance and counselling teachers. Schools were selected based on the number of teenage pregnancies recorded as advised by the MoE officials. Thus, schools with more than five recorded pregnancies were included in the study.

The following were the participants who were purposively selected and took part in this study:

Ministry of Education officials: Six members from the Ministry of Education were nominated. The participants were selected at the national, provincial and local levels. The reason for their participation was that they were involved in policy formulation and implementation and also supervised the schools. They monitored the application of government strategies such as the one being explored. They also disseminated information to do with the re-entry policy and other government-related policies, programs and strategies.

Head teachers and deputies: Six members participated in the study as they were in charge of implementing the re-entry policy in schools. They supervised the guidance

and counselling teachers and class teachers. They were recipients of policy documents such as the re-entry policy and guidelines and other official documents from the Ministry of Education and other government departments and stakeholders.

Guidance and counselling teachers and class teachers: Twelve members participated because they were the ones in charge of the re-entry policy process, starting from identifying the expectant learners, counselling them and ensuring that they re-entered after maternity leave. They were also in contact with teenage mothers and other learners on a more regular basis.

Teenage mothers: Sixteen teenage mothers participated as beneficiaries of the re-entry policy. They were the key informants in this study as they were very familiar with the policy and had experienced the implementation process first hand.

Parents and guardians: Four parents and guardians participated and they provided data on the responsibility they played in ensuring the re-entry of the teenage mothers, addressed the challenges they faced and provided the support they needed.

Learners and parents: Some of the students and parents participated in the focus group interviews to make available the research facts from the members' perspectives and share any experiences in relation to the subject of this study.

Table 4.1 Summary of study participants

No.	Name	Initials	Quantity
1	Ministry of Education National officials	MOE-NO	3
	Ministry of Education Provincial officials	MOE-PO	2
2	Ministry of Education District officials	MOE-DO	1
3	Head teacher	HT	4

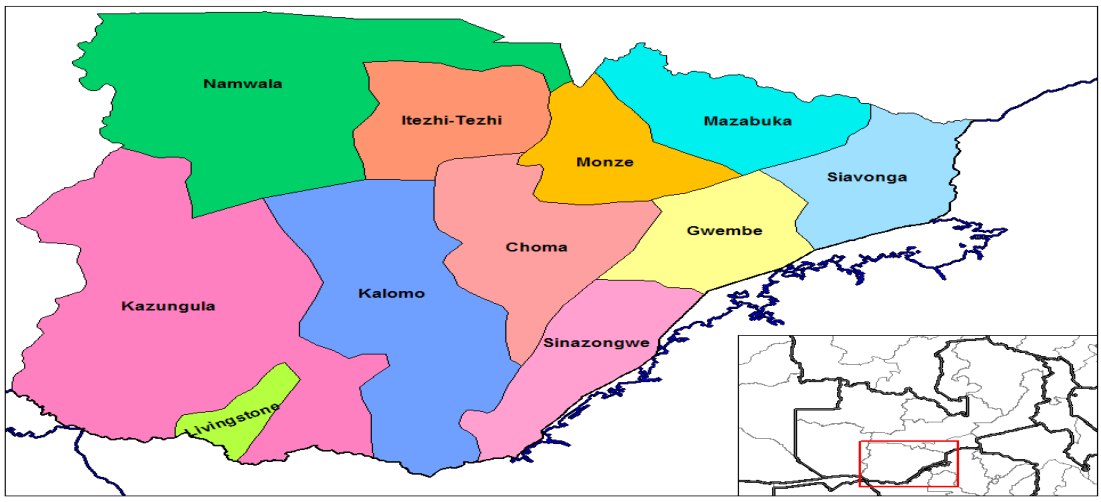
4	Deputy head teacher	DHT	2
5	Guidance and counselling teacher	GCT	4
6	Class teacher	CT	8
7	Teenage mother	TM	16
8	Parents and guardians to teenage mothers	Parent to TM Guardian to TM	4
	TOTAL		**44**

Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

4.6.3 Selection of research site

This research was carried out in Monze District, at three (3) government secondary schools, one from each urban, peri-urban and rural site which has the highest pregnancy rates in the district. One mission school participated through its head teacher only because mission schools did not fully implement the re-entry policy as highlighted by other studies (Hamusonde, 2003; Mwansa, 2011; Moonga 2014). A total of four schools participated in the study. Southern Province was identified as a study site because it has high teenage pregnancy rates (MoE, 2015). Therefore, it was important to understand how the re-entry policy was implemented in a province that had a high number of teenage pregnancies with low retention rates. Monze District, which is about 180km south-west of Lusaka, was identified as a research site because it had the high number of pregnant learners in the province. The district's proximity to Lusaka made the study less expensive. The schools in the district were not so far apart. Monze District is named after a Tonga chief, Moonze, also known as the spiritual leader for the Tonga people. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the area with maize being the main cash crop. Most of the people in that area are also cattle and goat keepers and this is what sustains them economically.

Figure 4.1: Map of Southern Province, Zambia



Source: https://.www.google.search (Retrieved 20.8.2018)

4.6.4 Data collection tools

The study applied three qualitative data collection tools, namely interviews, document analysis and field notes. The use of the three data sources and multiple participants enabled the researcher to triangulate and maximise the study's authenticity as well as to view issues from different participants' perspectives. The strength of qualitative research lies in using more than one data collection tool for the purpose of triangulation (Patton, 2002). The detailed separate and focus group interviews, field notes and document reviews assisted the researcher to obtain data from diverse participants who had rich information on the study. The following tools are discussed below.

4.6.4.1 Individual interviews

This study used in-depth individual interviews, which were semi-structured, as a key research tool. Gray (2004) defines semi-structured interviews as a modified questioning method mainly applied in qualitative research. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to enquire further in lieu of detailed clarifications on the topic. There are several advantages of using individual interviews. Firstly, they help create a rapport between the participant and the researcher, resulting in collaboration between the two (Maree, 2012). They also encourage the researcher to

probe the questions further for clarity and understanding. In order to obtain further clarifications on a number of issues during the interview, the researcher had to probe further. This enhanced the credibility of this study and provided rich data on the research. The probes were often used when the participants were reluctant to respond to some questions that were quite personal as they focused on the problems they experienced at school, home and in the community. The researcher used semi-structured interviews because they allowed the study participants to discuss their life situations in a comfortable way using their own language and in their individual locations (Reid et al. 2005; Smith, 2004). Some participants were interviewed from their own homes while the learners and teenage mothers were interviewed from school. Creswell (2009) states that interviews are adjustable, flexible, repetitive and consecutive, not something that you need to prepare upfront and keep for future use. Further, Bray (2008) posits that interviews are used to deepen the knowledge of the community being studied.

The MoE officials, head teachers, deputy head teachers, guidance and counselling teachers, class teachers, teenage mothers and parents and guardians participated in the individual interviews. These participants responded to the following aspects of the study:

- Re-entry policy implementation process
- Opportunities the policy presents to families, learners and communities
- Challenges faced by teenage mothers
- Home and school support systems to enhance their learning

The list of questions asked was a guide to enable the researcher to stick to the topic of discussion. The sequence of questions asked was attributed to the topics that arose in each interview. These participants were all interviewed during their free time, especially the teenage mothers, learners and class teachers. The interviews were all voice-recorded to ensure that no data was lost and the interviews lasted between 45-60 minutes. All members consented for involvement in the study and be voice documented. Fifteen teenage mothers consented as they were over 18 years old except one who was 15 years old, whose consent was obtained from the parent, who was also interviewed. Each participant was interviewed in their own comfortable space and others who could not express themselves in English used Tonga, the local language as the researcher was able to translate the interviews from Tonga into

English and transcribed them. The schools that participated in this study provided the guidance and counselling teacher's office and the library as the venues for the individual interviews for confidentiality and privacy. Two of the parents were interviewed from their homes while the rest were interviewed from their offices and schools respectively. Some teenage mothers and teachers did not want to participate in this study due to personal reasons. The researcher did not coerce them to do so but simply respected their decision not to participate in the study.

4.6.4.2 Focus group interviews

Focus group interviews were used in this study as a research tool. According to Rabiee (2004), focus group interviews enabled a researcher to gather detailed group data from knowledgeable participants about a subject. The researcher conducted focus group interviews with teenage mothers, learners and parents to have various perceptions on the re-entry policy implementation from different participants. Therefore, the focus group interviews conducted provided rich and diverse perceptions from many people within a short period of time. Hennink (2007) and Krueger and Casey (2000) confirm that focus group interviews allow a researcher to obtain in-depth and valuable data in a short period. The researcher used the focus group interviews to obtain rich information on the study and obtain diverse views from the participants on the Re-entry Policy implementation. However, focus group interviews also have disadvantages, one of which is lack of participation by some group members, as observed by Polit and Beck (2006). Thus, as the moderator, the researcher ensured that all participants played an active role in the interview. Parents from schools 1 and 2, and some learners from three schools participated in focus group interviews. To ensure that rich data was obtained, many data sources were used. Willig (2001) and Babbie (2003) promote the usage of many data sources because it helps an investigator to obtain rich data. The researcher had six focus group interviews, 2 with parents, 3 with learners and 1 with teenage mothers.

Table 4.2: Participants in the focus group interview

Focus group	Category	Total
1	Pupils-School 1, 4 males and 4 females	**8**
	School 2, 4 males and 4 females	**8**
	School 3, 3 males and 3 females	**6**
2	Parents- School 1, 8 female parents	**8**
	School 2, 4 males and 6 females	**10**
	PTA members- School 2, 1 male and 2 females	**3**
3	Teenage mothers- School 2	**4**
	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS	**47**

Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

Table 4.2 shows the participants in the focus group interviews. Many scholars propose different figures ideal for a good group interview. They propose any number between 6 and 10 (Krueger and Casey, 2000; Rabiee, 2004). The focus group interviews for the study were limited to 6 to 10 participants to allow for effective engagement. The researcher moderated all the focus group interviews and transcribed the data. Each interview lasted for 60-90 minutes. The interview with learners included both boys and girls learners and one was for teenage mothers only at school 2 as it had quite a good number of them. However, only four teenage mothers participated in the focus group interview because others did not volunteer to participate. The researcher took time to explain the objective prior to the start of the conversation. The study participants were similarly asked if they were ready to participate and only those who were willing did participate.

The focus group interviews with parents and guardians were done in Chitonga (local language) as the participants were comfortable to express themselves in this language. The researcher is also Tonga and this made the interview sessions relaxing and interesting. The rest of the focus group interviews were conducted in English, the

language that the learners were comfortable with. The focus group interviews facilitated the conversations on a general synopsis of topics below:

- Awareness about re-entry policy in schools
- Opportunities and benefits of the re-entry policy
- Challenges faced by teenage mothers in schools, at home and in the communities
- Support for teenage mothers at home and school

The parents that participated in the focus group interview were those who had children at schools 1 and 2. The pupils were those learning with teenage mothers. The researcher also had one focus group interview with teenage mothers at school 2 to obtain group information on the re-entry policy implementation, opportunities of the policy, problems and support systems for expectant learners to enhance their education. All these group interviews were conducted at the most convenient time for the participants to minimise disruptions in their learning. The best time identified was the afternoon, after class sessions at 15:00hrs. This was also a conducive time as some classrooms would be free for use. The interview sessions were captured using a digital voice recorder to ensure accuracy. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) note that the use of voice recording adds value to written scripts that contain a one-on-one word communication between the interviewer and the participant. Interviews were concluded with statements like: “do you have any questions or comments?” “Feel free to contact me if you need to add anything else.” As a result, the participants were given a chance to share any experiences, as Patton (2002) asserts. The researcher also took time to thank the participants for taking part in the research.

4.6.4.3 Field notes

Field notes were used to aid the collection of information for this study. Wolfinger (2002:86) defines field notes as shorthand reconstructions of events, conversations and observations that take place in the field. In this study, field notes included any observations noted during the interviews and extra data from participants. During the time of the interviews, the researcher observed many facial and verbal expressions from teenage mothers and parents whose children were interviewed. The way they expressed themselves on the research study, especially on the challenges teenage mothers face and support systems in place in different schools, was taken into

consideration and this provided good notes that were used to analyse and interpret the findings.

4.6.4.4 Document analysis

Documents were similarly reviewed in this study. Documents such as the MoE re-entry policy guidelines, and review, statistical bulletins, school minutes and re-entry policy documents for teenage mothers were all reviewed. Archival newspaper articles were also reviewed and they provided useful data for this research. According to Yin (2009), documents are significant for any case study. Therefore, a researcher is required to use them cautiously and correctly. Further, Yin (2009:81) observed that documents are used to substantiate and enhance evidence from other sources. Using documents, correct spellings for titles of organisation and other important information are checked too. Documents further help in the provision of particular details to validate data from other sources. Lastly, interpretations can be found from documents (Macmillan and Schumacher, 2001; Maree, 2012; Briggs et al. 2012). There are some disadvantages associated with using documents as materials may not be complete and documents may not be trustworthy or precise (Cresswell, 2012). The researcher only used authentic documents, which had official stamps and were from reliable sources who confirmed the authors in order to ascertain originality of the documents.

4.7 Data analysis

Data were analysed using thematic analysis. In qualitative research, data analysis comprises specific investigation of the collected information to develop themes. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) state that qualitative data analysis includes classifying, analysing and expanding information. According to Braun and Clark (2006), thematic analysis offers supple plus valuable study means that conceivably offer a detailed and comprehensive, yet complicated study facts. The data from interviews, documents and field notes were analysed thus obtaining themes using the research tools discussed earlier. According to Van den Berg (2008), thematic analysis is associated with case study design. Therefore, the researcher found the thematic analysis useful for this research. Under this type of analysis, themes are umbrella ideas, which are observed by the researcher before, during and after data collection (Yin, 2003).

Thematic analysis involves analysis of data without using pre-existing themes (Maree, 2012). This study had no pre-existing themes as it was new and there was no other research conducted in the study area. Thematic analysis is ideal for a study where there is very little that is known about the research topic (Burnard et. al. 2008). The researcher further wanted to find out the benefits of this policy to the schools, communities and teenage mothers, challenges the teenage mothers faced at home, at school and in the community with regard to their education, and what support systems were in place at home and school to enhance their education.

In brief, the data analysis involved reducing information into meaningful parts, merging, probing for patterns, determining the significant and knowledgeable ones and deciding what to tell others (Burnard et al. 2008; Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006). The process of information analysis and clarification was done simultaneously with data collection from the beginning of the field work to get a preliminary overview of the findings. This enabled the investigator to check the relevance of data gathered (Silverman, 2005). However, a detailed analysis was done after all the field work. Thematic analysis involves the following stages which the researcher followed in analysing the data: familiarisation with data, creating codes, viewing emerging themes from the codes, revising themes, describing and identifying themes and, finally, writing the study story (Braun & Clarke 2006:79 & 87).

The researcher took the following steps in analysing the data following the above process: data from the interviews, field notes and documents was coded. The investigator read and re-read all facts collected to familiarise herself with the information. The investigator also listened to all tape recordings before coding the data and realised there was too much to do. Therefore, the researcher hired an associate to support the transcription and coding process. The research assistant was recommended to the researcher by a colleague who was involved in qualitative research. The researcher concentrated on translating the interviews conducted in the local language (Chitonga) into English and transcribed them. The transcribed scripts were checked by a colleague who is fluent in the Tonga language to confirm that the scripts were correctly transcribed. The researcher also reviewed all the data transcribed by the assistant to ensure that it was correct. Throughout the process of

data collection and transcription of the interviews conducted in Tonga, the researcher took note of all the impressions about the data.

After reading through all the transcribed scripts, the researcher started to code the data according to the research questions. However, due to the huge amount of work involved, the researcher also decided to use software, Nvivo, to code the data. The hired transcriber was also a specialist in using Nvivo software and he was hired to code the data using this software. Thereafter, the researcher prepared the information as per research objectives and analysed responses and reactions, checking for consistencies and differences. Liamputtong (2003) identified are two core applied stages of undertaking thematic analysis. Firstly, a researcher needs to review all the data transcripts and understand the meanings from the information; secondly, he or she must scrutinise the transcripts and assess the views of the research participants. This means there should be a thorough check throughout the collected data to identify similar forms of connotations, carrying out preliminary coding to analyse information, assembling it into codes and defining connection within the information. This is the exact process the researcher applied to analyse the data for the study as it was relevant for this research. The reason why the researcher used thematic analysis is that it was appropriate for the study, which was qualitative in nature and mainly interpretive.

The last stage of the analysis process involved the presentation of main themes that were identified from the information and conclusions arrived at in connection with the study objectives, reviewed literature, as well as theoretical framework. Replications of findings were finally made and these led to the making of conclusions and recommendations for the study.

4.8 Ethical Issues

The ethics clearance process began with the ethics approval from the Ethics Committee at the University of Pretoria. Thereafter, the researcher obtained authorisation from the Zambian government through the Ministry of Education, the regional and district offices in Southern Province to conduct the research and to interview participants at the 4 selected schools. During the interviews, all participants gave consent to be part of the research. Members were told that they were free to

leave if they were uncomfortable to proceed with the study. As the re-entry policy and pregnancy issues are sensitive topics, the participants were guaranteed of privacy and obscurity. Pseudonyms were used, and information obtained was secured, as it was highly confidential. A good rapport with the participants guaranteed confidentiality and encouraged voluntary member involvement. The investigator was not judgemental throughout the research process and allowed the participants to express themselves as freely as possible, as advocated by Silverman (2005). The study investigator was aware that personal judgements and views were likely to influence the research, and to address this, only the participants' experiences were captured to ensure the data emerged from the participants' points of views on the research.

4.9 Research quality assurance

Trustworthiness is important in qualitative research. Hittleman and Simon (2006) maintain that trustworthiness is a concern of all researchers to ensure that the collected data is representative. Credibility and trustworthiness were used as the criteria to increase the legitimacy and trustworthiness of this study's results. Several means of information gathering methods, like semi-structured discussions, field notes and document reviews, were done to confirm the study reliability. The responses from all sources were compared to obtain the analysed data. Credibility, in qualitative research, is establishing trustworthiness through data analysis and conclusions to ascertain whether the study is correct and accurate (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011; Patton 2001). To enhance the study credibility, the researcher built a rapport with the participants besides using member checking to review the data, its interpretation and conclusions.

To ensure trustworthiness, all discussions were documented using a tape recorder and were transcribed. Extracts from transcribed data were used to illustrate the participants' views. Data from the field notes, documents and interviews was triangulated to obtain the full meaning of the findings. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) encourages the usage of many sources of data. Also, it is important for public officers to public policy indicates that public officers and all other stakeholders at different level to interact during policy formulation. Input from both policy formulators and policy implementers is good for effective public policy implementation, support and ownership. The link between public policy and the features of the multi-level

governance theory namely participation, engagement, decision making, accountability shows how each of these complements the other. Features of governance indicate that public policy must be participatory, stakeholders engaged in decision-making and the capacity of implementers built so that they are accountable for their decisions during the implementation process. The interactions between public officials in charge of policy formulation, the implementers and the beneficiaries create opportunities for policy refinement and, ultimately, effective implementation due to policy support and study ownership. This study was done in the real setting for the research members. For instance, some participants were interviewed at home, in the case of parents and guardians, while the teachers, learners and teenage mothers were interviewed at school, and their local language (Chitonga) was used, where necessary, to obtain full information relevant for the study. Below, the researcher discusses the issues to do with trustworthiness in detail.

4.9.1 Credibility

Mutch (2005) states that credibility ensures that what is said by participants is true and understood correctly so that the study is regarded as credible. To attain this, the researcher used several data gathering tools and techniques and diverse data sources. Interviews, field notes and documents were used to collect the data from diverse participants who included MoE officials, head teachers, teachers, parents, teenage mothers and learners. The corroboration of the different data sources assisted the researcher to authenticate the views of participants and to get dense explanations and obtain information saturation. Similarly, member checking was used to allow participants to view the gathered information before it was recorded into a research account, in line with Lietz, Langer and Furman (2006) view. Member checking allows participants to check information discovered from the data analysis so that the participants can affirm or dispute the accuracy of the report. Also, in this study the participants were allowed to freely participate and urged to be honest throughout the interview process. This was necessitated by the longer stay to build a rapport with them in the field to collect rich in-depth information on the research. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) promote longer stay in the field to augment credibility of a study as the researcher gets familiar with the participants and builds a rapport with them to collect rich and significant data. This was more applicable when interviewing

teenage mothers, head teachers and guidance and counselling teachers who were interviewed more than twice in some instances to obtain in-depth data. Babbie (2008) states: “being there is a powerful technique for gaining insights into the nature of human affairs in all their rich complexity” (p. 343).

4.9.2 Transferability

Transferability is the level to which research conclusions of a given study can be applied to a like-sample of participants, research context and settings (Ritcher & Mlambo, 2005). Since this research was conducted in Monze District and in four schools, the outcomes are not generalisable. Conversely, the study outcomes are transferrable to schools with comparable descriptions of the study sites. To enhance transferability, a full narrative of the procedure used for information gathering for this research was outlined. The narrative included the selection process of the schools and their social-cultural contexts. These descriptions ensured that the context and the schools were compared to other similar settings where a parallel study would be conducted.

4.9.3 Dependability

This is the duplication of the study under similar assumptions repeated using corresponding research tools. Additionally, information gathering processes are carried out on a comparable study sample and under related settings (Lietz, Langer & Furman, 2006). The researcher conducted the research in a manner that outlined a clear method which, if applied, a similar study would yield similar findings. The data tools used were piloted and reviewed by the researcher’s supervisor and colleague familiar with qualitative research studies. This was important in guarding against individual prejudices and sentiments that would interfere with the accurate documentation of information from the participants’ views.

4.9.4 Confirmability

Conformability is all about research bias which is verifiable as generated data and findings should not represent a researcher’s perceptions and meanings but those of the participants (Lietz, Langer and Furman, 2006). Transcribing exactly the same words recorded during all interview sessions was a way of making sure that the

participants' views were accurately captured and expressed. Narratives from the participants were thoroughly checked to ensure that they represented their correct views on the study and to ensure reality was reflected. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) postulates that "in qualitative data, validity is addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the objectivity of the researcher" (p.133). The use of multiple data tools and sources provided rich data and the participants' views were captured and recorded (see chapter 5).

4.9.5 Privacy and confidentiality

The confidentiality of the respondents was always respected. The researcher ensured that their identities were protected and anonymous. The research topic was an emotive one and rapport with the teenage mothers was needed to ensure that they freely expressed themselves. The information obtained was treated with the highest confidentiality. The respondents' privacy, autonomy, dignity and basic human rights were respected. The accounts of the study were gotten rid of at the end of the research.

4.9.6 Voluntary participation

To participate in this study, the participants volunteered, and they were permitted to withdraw at any time. They were told the objectives of the study and that the data was for academic reasons only. The members signed up a consent form to approve their participation. The form described the research process and participants' readiness to be involved in the research. The attached consent form was read and acknowledged by members before the study commenced. In a research, freedom to withdraw at any stage should be guaranteed (Creswell, 2003). The members were given due reverence and self-worth for their involvement. Corebetta (2003:15) note: "each participant has his or her own dignity and worth as a human being, and safeguarding their welfare, at least about their participation in the research process, is one of a researcher's paramount responsibility." The participants knew the objective of the research, which was to comprehend how the re-entry policy was being implemented in schools and the benefits of the study as regards promoting gender equality.

4.9.7 Informed consent

To encourage free participation of all participants, letters were prepared seeking their consent to be involved in this study and the participants signed the consent letters at the beginning of each interview. Cohen et al. (2007:50) state that "informed consent is a way of confirming that participants know what is implied by getting involved in a specific study, so they make an informed decision to join". Therefore, the members signed letters to be involved in this research.

4.9.8 Anonymity of participants

During this research, the researcher complied with the ethics committee's conditions regarding the exposure of the names of the participants, their institutions and residential addresses, in the case of parents. Participants were assured of anonymity before, during and after the research project in a letter signed before the conversation. The members were informed that their identities would be unknown and only pseudonyms would be used.

4.10 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the research approach, design and methodology. The study used the qualitative approach, interpretive paradigm and case study design because of the nature of the research. The reason why this method was identified was purely to assist the researcher obtain rich data on how the return policy for adolescent mothers is applied in secondary schools. Purposive sampling was used to identify research sites, and informed members to provide in-depth information on the study. Ministry of Education officials, head teachers, deputy head teachers, guidance and counselling teachers, class teachers, teenage mothers and parents and guardians were key participants. The study had a total of 44 participants. The researcher had six focus group interviews, 2 with parents, 3 with learners and 1 with teenage mothers. Thematic data analysis was applied in this study. The study findings are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the research approach, design and data analysis were presented and discussed extensively. This chapter presents findings collected from four secondary schools in Monze District. The participants for the study were MoE officials, head teachers, deputy head teachers, class teachers, career and guidance teachers, teenage mothers, learners and parents and guardians. Data was collected from three sources namely interviews, field notes and document analysis, to have a detailed comprehension of the implementation of the re-entry policy in secondary schools in Monze District. Through several data collection tools, an opportunity for triangulation of the findings was provided and this enhanced the credibility of the data (Patton, 2002). The four specific study questions were:

- What opportunities does the policy offer for the teenage mothers, schools and communities?
- What are the challenges experienced by teenage mothers and how are they addressed by re-entry policy implementers in secondary schools?
- Which support systems are in place to enhance the effective implementation of the re-entry policy?
- What framework can be designed to ensure the effective implementation of the re-entry policy?

In order to answer these questions data was provided by the participants, who were selected purposively to participate in the study. The collected data was coded using the software called NVivo and analysed thematically.

Table 5.1 shows the selected type of schools, location and area, grade offered and socio-economic factors of the schools that participated in the study. All the schools are in Monze District, Southern Province, Zambia.

Table 5.1: Contextual background and categorisation of the secondary schools

No	Name	Location/Area	Type	Grade offered	Socio-economic status
1	School 1 Day school: Mixed-Boys and Girls	Rural	Government	Pre grade - 12	Poor
2	School 2 Day school: Mixed boys and girls	Peri-urban	Government	Pre grade-12	Poor
3	School 3 Boarding school : Mixed boys and girls	Urban	Government	8-12	Average
4	School 4 Boarding school: Mixed boys and girls	Urban	Grant-aided	8-12	Average

Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

Table 5. 2 below shows the categories of participants who were selected from the Ministry of Education, schools and parents. The total number of participants from each category are also given.

Table 5.2: Categorisation of participants

N0.	Name	Initials	Quantity
1	Ministry of Education- National officials Provincial officials District officials	 MOE-NO MOE-PO MOE-DO	 3 2 1
2	Head teachers	HT	4
3	Deputy Head teachers	DHT	2
4	Guidance and Counselling Teachers	GCT	4
5	Class teachers	CT	8
6	Teenage mothers	TM	16

7	Focus Group Interview with Pupils	FGI-pupils	4 Groups
8	Focus group interview with parents	FGI-parents	3 Groups
9	Parents/ guardians to teenager mothers	Parent/ guardian to TM	4

Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

5.2 Categorisation of identified themes and sub-themes

The organised data was categorised into themes and sub-themes.

Table 5.3 Categorisation of identified themes and sub-themes

No	Theme	Sub-themes
1.	Nature of current school re-entry policy implementation	Responsibility for implementation of re-entry policy in secondary schools Identification of expectant learners, unavailable and unclear clear policy guidelines Availability of guidance and counselling services in schools Parental/ guardian and learner engagement on the re-entry policy Assurance of re-entry into school
2.	Opportunities through the re-entry policy	Continuation with education, comprehensive sexuality education in schools, School, health centre relationships No opportunity but negative influence
3.	Weaknesses of the re-entry policy	Poor community engagement on the re-entry policy in remote areas Lack of parental and guardian and learner awareness of re-entry policy without clarity
4.	Challenges faced by teenage mothers	**At school** Peer discrimination, peer bullying of teenage mothers, shame of being a teenage mother, loss of self-esteem and academic challenge **At home / community** Lack of psychosocial support, responsibility conflict as a mother and pupil, financial problems and long distance to and from school.
5.	Existing support systems	NG0-school ties, Government effort via social welfare and parental and pupil support

Source: Namayuba Chiyota, 2019

5.3 Theme 1: Nature of current school re-entry policy implementation

Numerous sub-themes emerged relating to participants' experiences, knowledge, adherence and observation of the implementation process from the theme. These

were: responsibility for implementation, identification of who is pregnant, availability of guidance and counselling, parental/guardian and learner engagement on the re-entry policy, and assurance of re-entry into school.

5.3.1 Sub-theme: Responsibility for implementation of re-entry policy in secondary schools

This sub-theme sought to find out the officers responsible for managing the re-entry policy in school. When officers were asked from the schools, district and province whether they had an input in the formulation of the policy, the majority of the participants said they did not participate in the policy formulation. The MoE officials acknowledged having received the policy document and guidelines from the policy makers, the government. The document was handed over to the provincial office, which handed it over to the district office (DEBs). The DEBS office finally passed the re-entry policy guidelines to the schools in the district for implementation. The schools have head teachers and teachers in charge of day-to-day activities of their institutions. Apart from the teachers, the schools visited had guidance and counselling teachers working together with their committees. The findings indicated that the above officers had each their own responsibilities toward the re-entry policy implementation.

The Ministry of Education (MoE) provincial and district offices, apart from merely receiving the policy document, revealed that the process of implementing the re-entry policy was done at the schools (MoE-PO, 2018). The MoE officers were just informed particularly about the names and statistics of the pupils that were involved and went further to elaborate that if a pupil fell pregnant while in school, the administration was informed and this was purely a school-based activity. The MoE official in the district noted the action that school head teachers take in any given situation as indicated in the excerpt below:

> *If it is a fellow pupil, both are given leave when the girl goes to give birth. The boy is also allowed to go on leave and comes back to school when the girl is ready, but if it's not a pupil, there are other forms which parents complete and the person who is responsible for the pregnancy also fills the form where they pledge support to the affected girl and they also indicate when it is time for her to come back to school, to facilitate her coming back to school…, now because of shame associated with*

teenage pregnancy/premarital sex, usually girls don't come back to the same school **(MoE-DO, 2018).**

At the school level, the findings were similar in government schools and divergent views were found at the mission school. The head teacher at school 1 explained that he ensured that the right procedure was followed when implementing the policy. He also stated that the actual execution of the return strategy was the duty of the guidance and counselling teacher and the head teacher supervises the guidance department. The above views were also similar to those expressed by the head teachers at schools 2 and 3. However, the re-entry policy is implemented differently at the mission or grant-aided school. At a grant-aided school visited, the head teacher said they only followed the re-entry policy up to the time the pregnant learner commenced her maternity leave. When she returned, she was given a transfer to another school. The head teacher stated that:

> *…the implementation that we do is that when our children become pregnant we allow them to learn with us up to maternity. When they go for maternity, as they come back, we offer them transfers to other schools to continue learning in other schools* **(HT school 4, 2018).**

The MoE official also confirmed that grant-aided schools have an agreement with the line ministry on how they implement the re-entry policy. He said:

> *Grant-aided schools follow certain principals based on their specific religion and in most cases the issue of teenage pregnancy is against their morality, hence they do not want to compromise on morality issues and our office simply facilitates the transfer of these girls to other government schools* **(MoE-DO, 2018).**

The execution of the return strategy was not the sole responsibility of the guidance and counselling teachers and the head teachers, but class teachers also had a vital task in guiding the implementation process as the first contact persons with the expectant learner. When it was time to formalise the process, the task was handed over to the guidance teacher as she/ he keeps public policy documents and has 'expertise' to counsel the pregnant learners and teenage mothers. The pregnant learner was not mandated to return to school after a year, as the return period was

flexible depending on support for the teenage mother and the care for her child. Those who had support easily and quickly re-entered when they were ready to do so. According to all the guidance and counselling teachers, many learners did not come back to school, especially those who concealed their pregnancy.

5.3.2 Sub-theme: Identification of expectant learners

The findings revealed that the identification of expectant learners was the most important task for the application of the return strategy. It was reported to have been a responsibility of class teachers in day schools and matrons in boarding schools. The study also revealed that for those in boarding schools, clinical pregnancy tests were done at a nearby clinic while most of the teachers at day schools cited observational method as a way of identifying expectant learners. The data revealed that they also waited until the pregnancy was visible and impossible to hide in some cases before they took action. Pupils agreed to observing and experiencing this process of identification either from themselves or their friends who were pregnant. Teachers also identified the expectant learners in the same way. The verbatim quote below substantiates this finding:

> *We call the individual pupils, we make programmes, usually we know when they are pregnant. After hearing that this one is pregnant, we don't do medical check-ups but we confirm by observing the girl when the pregnancy is big. When she can no longer hide it, then we call her and find out about who did it and that is when now we sit and discuss issues of the re-entry policy and that this is not the end of education. We explain how the process should be and advising the girl that she shouldn't leave the school without letting the school know. We tell them the whole procedure* **(CT school 2, 2018).**

The task of identifying expectant learners was a very challenging one. According to the class teachers, identifying a pregnant learner is an emotive process. The class teachers expressed pain on realising that one of their pupils is pregnant as this in most cases implies the end of one's education or the beginning of numerous challenges that negatively impact on the education of the expectant learner. The following quotation substantiates this process:

> *… you know, it's just like a doctor. Yes they are also human beings when they lose a patient, they don't feel well. The same with us, when a child is pregnant, it's something that saddens us. It's a loss especially if you find that most of the girls that get pregnant are those that are intelligent, so you find that they bring the pass rate down. So if the girl wants to come back to school after pregnancy, for us we are happy because also these other girls will see what has happened and will be encouraged. Last year we had about two grade nine pupils writing in almost their full terms and we advised them to be moving with everything just in case they needed to go to the hospital* **(CT school 1, 2018).**

It was also stated that in certain instances, it was the class teacher who informed the guidance and counselling teacher of the expectant learner in his / her class. The narrative below explains this process:

> *The first thing, we notify the guidance and counselling teacher because when you notify the guidance teacher when the pupil feels she is tired, she can't continue coming to school because of the pregnancy or she is feeling shame and she doesn't want to come to school, then she will notify us that now am ready to go on maternity leave, then they will give her maternity leave after because the same re-entry policy, the pupils are* allowed to come to school after six months of delivery. Depending on some parents, like other parents say, she would come earlier than others, but following the same re-entry policy, the child is supposed to be back in school after six months, but depending on the parents, if they are able to take care of the child, as for the case I handled, my pupil came back to school after six weeks of delivery because the mother agreed to take care of the child **(CT school 2, 2018).**

The return of teenage mothers to school after the maternity leave mainly depends on the support she receives from home. If she has a mother or family relations willing to take care of the baby and provide other forms of support, then chances of re-entry are high.

5.3.3 Sub-theme: Unavailable and unclear re-entry policy guidelines

Lack re-entry policy guidelines in schools affected the application of the return strategy. Only school 1 had a copy of the guidelines while the rest did not have them. Further, the school head teachers and guidance and counselling teachers lacked clarity on the number of chances for teenage mothers to re-enter. By this theme, teachers meant that the policy was not clear on how many chances an adolescent

should be given upon getting pregnant. The participants found this lacuna problematic because they felt it contributed to increasing prostitution levels among the teenagers, as well as carelessness in terms of sexual behaviours. These problems were found to increase the number of teenage pregnancies among learners. This weakness was reflected in the quotes below:

> *This school does not have a copy of the re-entry policy guidelines. So we are not sure of what needs to be done* ***(*GCT school 4, 2018*).***

> *It's like it's not clear also as to how many times a girl should be re-entered. That is a weakness* **(HT school 1, 2018).**

This lacuna shows that the most crucial participants and implementers (head teachers and guidance and counselling teachers) were not knowledgeable about the re-entry policy guidelines. The head teachers should have been very familiar with the guidelines, which clearly states that a girl be allowed in school twice after pregnancy. This information gap is caused by the non-availability of the guidelines.

5.3.4 Sub-theme: Availability of guidance and counselling services in schools

Many participants said that there were counselling services for teenage mothers in schools. The head teachers, deputy head teachers, teachers and pupils acknowledged having counselling services for all learners with different problems. The participants stated that, upon identification of the pregnant mothers, class teachers referred them for counselling at the guidance and counselling office to discourage the adolescents from dropping out of school. This activity was evident in all the schools covered in this study. In line with this theme, the study revealed that such counselling was mostly done when a pupil was found pregnant but there was no evidence in the data to show continued counselling of the teenage mothers especially after re-entry. The class teacher and teenage mother stated that:

> *As a class teacher, when you discover that there is a girl who is pregnant, first you start by talking to them, then after talking to them, you bring the case to the guidance*

> *and counselling office, then the guidance office also will find time to talk to that person* **(CT school 1, 2018).**

> *Yes...my guidance teacher talked to me about continuing with school until I became tired* **(TM school 3, 2018).**

It was further revealed that the schools did have guidance and counselling committees. The head and deputy head teachers, when asked how the guidance committee was formed and how many members it was composed of, stated that the schools constitute the committees from various professionals though the majority of teachers were not trained in guidance and counselling. It was also revealed that all guidance and counselling teachers were supervised by the senior guidance and counselling officer at provincial level. One of the guidance and counselling teachers stated that:

> *We are six in the committee and all the members of the committee do counsel learners, but I also rely on the services of one qualified counsellor* **(GCT school 1, 2018).**

The participants stated that the guidance and counselling teachers in schools were not professionally trained and were appointed based on their level of maturity, church roles and personality. The participants confirmed that:

> *Guidance and counselling teachers in schools are handpicked by the head teachers based on their personality. They are not professionally trained* **(HT, school 3).**

> *The MOE has not trained professional counsellors in school because the counselling training programmes currently in colleges are relatively new* **(MoE- NO 3).**

The MoE official confirmed that the counselling training programmes were new in colleges; hence, not every counsellor was trained. Besides being unprofessionally trained, the guidance and counselling teachers also stated that they had huge class and other workloads. They were not employed as full-time counsellors. The participants noted that counselling in many settings was done by several people even strangers, because it is believed that a child belongs to the entire community. It was

also mentioned that counselling of teenage mothers and expectant learners was sometimes conducted by all subject teachers and not only the class teachers and the guidance and counselling teachers.

5.3.5 Sub-theme: Parental/ guardian and learner engagement on the re-entry policy

Parental engagement was among the themes that were identified in the study. This theme came from the interview with teachers but was silent among the adolescents. Parents were reported to be engaged during Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings and open days when parents collected their children's report forms. The point of engagement was reported by teachers when they discovered the girl was pregnant, and during the early days of counselling, the school invited the parents for discussions regarding the return strategy and its details availed to the parents and in some cases the person responsible for the pregnancy. The study findings also showed that during this process, signing of leave forms and confirmation of the pregnancy was done by the teenage mother, the parent/ guardian and the person responsible for the pregnancy. The teachers and the administrators stressed that these activities were strictly guided by the re-entry policy document. However, there was evidence regarding signing of a form from teenage mothers, but the parental engagement aspect was not mentioned by this category of participants. Guardians to the teenage parents equally did not bring out this evidence so strongly. The quotations that follow echo these findings:

> *So, we make sure that teachers do the identification of the girls who look to be pregnant and counsel them in line with the policy. Thereafter, we follow up the parents of both the girl and the boy who is responsible for the pregnancy. This is done to ensure that both the boy and the girl don't think of abortion. After this we make them sign the form for the Re-entry Policy. Both a girl and boy are sent on leave* **(CT school 3, 2018).**

> *Sometimes you find that the parents are the ones who are coming to tell us to say, my child is pregnant, what do I do? Mostly it's the parents themselves coming. When they come they will tell us that the child is pregnant then we advise that they are supposed to come with the parents of the boy and the boy and they should come*

> *when they have already discussed and shared what they have decided* **(GCT school 2, 2018).**

The teachers stated that parental engagement commenced when a learner was confirmed pregnant and the reason for this engagement was for parents to confirm support for re-entry of the expectant learner and child care.

Many of the teenage mothers had no form of support from their partners and this was reiterated by the guidance and counselling teachers who also mentioned that the men responsible for the pregnancy only come in cases where a learner is made pregnant by a fellow learner. When it is the outsider involved, it becomes very difficult for the parents to convince them to sign the commitment forms for support. This is due to the fact that the school authorities are restricted in the manner they handle pregnancy cases involving partners outside their environment and this then becomes the responsibility of the family. Lack of policy awareness and dialogue between parents and schools leads to apathy in the management of learner affairs. Another head teacher explained that failure by parents and the partner to fill in the required re-entry policy forms indicating commitment for support to the teenage mother and her baby implies that the young mother is not sure of re-entry after maternity leave.

It emerged from the interviews that efforts were made to make parents and learners mindful of the return strategy. The participants stated that these efforts included communication of the policy provisions through annual general meetings, school assemblies and career classes. Among learners, messages regarding abstinence from sex were also mentioned as common discussion topics with pupils. The participants stated that:

> *So in our school assemblies we would spare time to mention the return strategy. During PTA and annual general meetings we would also encourage the parents not to withdraw their children from school on account of being pregnant but they should allow them to be in school or give them options. Either the girl can still come back to the school or if they feel she'll not be free to learn in school because of being pregnant, they can still get a transfer and take her to another school* **(DHT school 2, 2018).**

> *During assembly, they used to teach us, when you do this, you do that, you become like this, just like that, HIV, they used to come and teach us* **(FGI with pupils, school 3, 2018).**

This way parents and learners are made aware of the re-entry policy through PTA and assembly meetings. Learners are also taught how to prevent pregnancy and HIV by keeping away from sexual activities so that they can concentrate on their education. However, there are no options given to those who are sexually active in terms of promoting the use of condoms as this may be viewed negatively by teachers and learners who can misconstrue it for promoting premarital and unprotected sex among pupils.

5.3.6 Sub-theme: Assurance of re-entry into school

The theme assurance of re-entry into school was stated to enlighten the stakeholders of the application of the strategy in secondary schools. It was noted in activities such as signing of re-entry policy forms for leave and re-entry upon return. The teachers in the study mentioned that this activity was guided by the policy itself, which gave assurance to the parties involved (parents/guardians, teenage mothers and teachers) on the re-entry of teenage mothers. Both the teachers and the teenage mothers themselves confirmed this activity. They mentioned that among the forms they signed was the maternity leave form, which was mostly signed in the last trimester. This was to ensure the teenage mothers did not miss school for too long a period. The following quotes echo these findings:

> *The girl is given maternity leave when the pregnancy maybe reaches seven months. She will go on maternity leave and then after she will come back. I just reported to the guidance teacher and the guidance teacher is the one who made that girl to fill in the forms, to go for maternity leave* **(CT school 4, 2018).**

> *Yes [the head teacher told me] that even if you are pregnant, continue coming to school. When you are due, we will give you time to go and deliver and when the baby has grown, you can come back to school* **(TM school 1, 2018).**

Another aspect of this theme was that certain schools especially mission schools, did not give such assurance but instead gave transfer letters which they felt to some extent was a violation of the provisions of the re-entry policy. The MoE official noted that:

> *Southern Province has a high number of mission schools, most of whose beliefs do not allow girls to go back to school after getting pregnant. As such the re-entry policy is not implemented in these schools* **(MoE - PO, 2018).**

One head teacher explained that some mission schools demand that a pregnant girl leaves school immediately she is discovered pregnant regardless of whether she is in an examination class or not. The head teacher narrated that:

> *I reported a case of a grade twelve pregnant pupil who was brought to our school because she was pregnant. The girl was at a mission school, and the head teacher transferred her to another school for fear of influencing other pupils in school. However, I refused to admit her in school and referred the matter to the MoE district official because the girl needed to write her examinations at the same mission school* **(HT school 2, 2018).**

Failure by mission schools to re-enter teenage mothers creates demand for the few government schools in the province and the district. It also makes teenage mothers and their parents to worry over school, despite the assurance of a place by the head teacher. As a result, others may completely drop out of school.

5.4 Theme 2: Opportunities through the re-entry policy

The perceptions about the prospects of the return strategy to the teenage mothers, schools and communities. The findings of this theme include continuation with education, comprehensive sexuality education in schools, school-health centre relationship and, on the contrary, no opportunity but negative influence.

5.4.1 Sub-theme: Continuation with education

One theme that emerged strongly from the interview was that the greatest strength the re-entry policy had was the opportunity it presented for the teenage mothers and expectant learners to proceed with school despite the pregnancy setback. Participants mentioned that getting back to school was associated with increased likelihood of success and socio-economic gains for a teenage mother's family looking at the known benefits that come with education. Parents and class teachers mentioned that the re-

entry policy created an opportunity to offer lessons to other pupils about pregnancy and how it affects one's education. They narrated that:

> *I think she [teenage mother] is given a second chance to come back to school since, she has learnt the mistakes that she made. She is able to teach or tell other pupils about the effects of falling pregnant while you are in school, the disadvantages and what she faces because, for example, if the child is sick, she will tell me, "Madam, the child is sick; tomorrow I won't be able to come to school." Quite all right, the mother was there to take care of the child, but when it's time to take the child to the clinic, for under five, she does that, so you find that if there is that work, she has to take that child to the hospital. She will notify me that "I won't come to school; I have to take the child." That is the only disadvantage. However, the other advantage is that she is able to continue with her education and learn from the mistake that she made* **(CT school 2, 2018).**

> *It gives them a chance to get back to school, yes, then the other one, it makes some of the children who fall pregnant to reform their lives because some learn from past experiences* (**Parent to TM, school 1, 2018**).

Some of the participants' views on the re-entry policy benefits include the reduction of ignorance in the communities and promoting the girls' rights to education. They added that certain girls who get pregnant reform their lives afterwards and counsel other girls on the disadvantages of teenage pregnancy and motherhood. They said:

> *If ignorance is reduced, we will have healthy communities, healthy citizens, parents who will understand the value of education because a mother that goes through early pregnancy would not want their child to go through the same after experiencing it the harder way. So for us, it is an opportunity* (**HT school 1, 2018).**

> *It is good because everyone wants to go to school. It has helped a lot of girls unless others do not want to go to school* **(TM school 1, 2018).**

The re-entry policy has many benefits at individual, family and society levels. The policy enables the girls to re-focus their lives after pregnancy and mentor others to work hard and pursue their careers.

5.4.2. Sub-theme: Comprehensive sexuality education in schools

The availability of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) in schools was one of the opportunities the policy was offering. The integration of comprehensive sexuality education as part of the mainstream curriculum meant that learners had the privilege of learning sexuality education in schools. Participants did not mention this theme as existing due to the policy but mentioned that it was more of a support mechanism that came to exist at the right time when the re-entry policy needed it. Most learners talked to agreed that lessons on comprehensive sexuality education in schools were available. They stated that:

> *By teaching us during classroom lessons, we have lessons especially in biology when our madam talks about the dangers of getting pregnant [while] young and contracting HIV* **(TM school 2, 2018).**

The pupils added that at school they are taught social behavioural change lessons to help them live in harmony with boys and how they can protect themselves from HIV and AIDs, STIs and unwanted pregnancy, stating that:

> *Yes, they teach us social behavioural change lessons, maybe per month once, how one is supposed to conduct herself near boys. There is family planning, which only protects you from pregnancy and not HIV or STIs. It can't protect you … so you must make sure you do what you are supposed to do* **(TM school 1, 2018).**

This means that the schools are also having talks with learners on the prevention of gravidity and the spread of infections. This is good as it deters other learners from getting pregnant as this would disturb their education. One of the participants emphasised that parents should also teach them the dangers of pre-marital and unprotected sex so they don't indulge in sex and they should complete their education to avoid unwanted pregnancies, which may lead to the end of their education and early marriages in some instances. That can also help prevent the spread of sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

> *Parents need to educate us on the importance of school and how to keep away from boys, that when you come near a boy [have se], you can become pregnant, or contract diseases* **(FGI with TM, school 2, 2018)**

Schools and homes are good sources of education and can help to address many social challenges facing the youths today, including teenage pregnancy.

5.4.3 Sub-theme: School-health centre relationship

School-clinic collaboration emerged as a theme that revealed health and education opportunities for the teenage mothers. Participants revealed that this collaboration also characterised the provision of sexual and reproductive health rights discussions with pupils. Clinics helped in disseminating information on pregnancy or antenatal for those expecting, administration of contraceptives to girls, encouragement of condom use and talks regarding abstinence and the importance of education. This study revealed that this collaboration between the clinics and schools provided an opportunity for the young people as part of the re-entry policy.

> *Once we realise that two or three pupils seem to be pregnant, we take them with about seven others to the clinic so that they don't feel ashamed. Thereafter, we know whether there is really a pregnancy or not. If such is the case, we do as prescribed by the re-entry policy* **(GCT school 1, 2018).**

Clinics and schools were also viewed as strategic sources of information on the re-entry policy and sexual reproductive health services. For instance, some parents and pupils stated that the schools and the clinics did talk to them about the re-entry policy. The learners said:

> *….at the clinic and at school, they were saying that if you fall pregnant, there is no stopping school, continue with school* (**FGI with parents & pupils, schools 1 and 2, 2018**).

This means that schools and clinics were disseminating awareness messages to the learners and other service seekers on the need for them to re-enter after pregnancy, as the re-entry policy exists for their benefit. Other learners were also encouraged to protect themselves against diseases and undesirable gravidities.

5.4.4 Sub-theme: No opportunity but negative influence

Interestingly, the study also revealed a contradictory theme attributed to some participants, especially teachers and administrators, who felt that the re-entry policy had a negative influence on the school-going adolescents and did not provide any opportunity. This theme also meant that the policy was encouraging prostitution, reducing fear of wrongdoing, putting children at risk of contracting HIV and STIs, as well as increasing pregnancy cases in schools. Nearly all members believed that the strategy encouraged pupils to engage in prostitution when they realised that some pupils were engaging in risky sexual behaviours with elderly men, including married ones for pecuniary gains. The excerpt below highlights the perceptions of participants regarding the negative influence of the re-entry policy.

> *I think this re-entry policy has given a leeway for a girl-child. They don't even [take] care of themselves because they know that even if I get pregnant I'll come back to school. So it has brought carelessness among some learners as they will continue learning knowing that they won't stop for good* **(CT school 2, 2018).**

> *The weakness is that it has brought prostitution and unruly behaviour in schools. You can imagine teaching a woman who has a husband, hence uncontrolled absenteeism* **(DHT school 2, 2018).**

Unfortunately, the above views were stated by teachers and administrators who are managing the application of the strategy and motivating the teenage mothers and the rest of the pupils in schools. Therefore, their negative attitude towards the return strategy negatively affects the strategy application.

5.5 THEME 3: Weaknesses of the re-entry policy

This study assessed the perceived weaknesses of the return strategy application across all the participants. This was necessary to identify the areas that needed improvement to ensure the policy was effectively implemented. Several themes emerged under weaknesses and these included: poor community engagement/ awareness, lack of parental/ guardian and learner awareness on the re-entry policy.

5.5.1 Sub-theme: Poor community engagement/ awareness on the re-entry policy in remote areas

Another theme emerging from the current study under the weaknesses was poor community engagement. This theme was evident from both the perspectives of teachers and the parents. The participants felt the public did not know the policy existed. Besides those who had knowledge about it just knew a little. Some participants blamed this on the schools' reluctance to sensitise the communities about the policy to encourage them to send their children back to school after the mistake. The only point of engagement that was mentioned was during PTA, annual general meetings and occasional disciplinary sittings. The following verbatim substantiates this:

> *…..so they [parents] feel if someone falls pregnant, some of them encourage her to go to school. Some of them will make her stay at home to take care of that child, so I feel the parents they could be imparted more knowledge on the importance of school through the REP* **(Parent/ guardian of TM, school 2, 2018).**

> *Maybe to sensitise parents again, because some of the parents are not all that knowledgeable* (**Parent/ guardian to TM, school 1, 2018**).

One of the guardians of a teenage mother and a health worker in the area around secondary school 1 stated that parents in remote areas have challenges of ensuring that teenage mothers return to school. This information was obtained through her interactions with parents when they escorted their expectant children for delivery at the health centre. She stated that:

> *…..but those who come from dyole dyole [remote areas], they are the ones with those issues [early marriage and less value for the education of girls]. Yes, so far at least even us as health workers, we keep encouraging them to send back their children to school* **(Guardian to TM, school 1, 2018).**

The remote areas in the district have poor access to information on many public policies, including the re-entry policy. The distance from the main road networks makes them less informed on a number of developmental issues hence they fail to appreciate the policy too.

5.5.2 Sub-theme: Lack of clarity on the number of chances to re-enter

Lack of clarity on the number of chances for teenage mothers to re-enter emerged as a common theme among participants. By this theme, teachers meant that the policy was not clear on how many chances an adolescent should be given upon getting pregnant. The participants found this lacuna problematic because they felt it contributed to increasing prostitution levels among the teenagers as well as carelessness in terms of sexual behaviours. These problems were found to increase the number of teenage pregnancies among learners. This weakness was reflected in the quotes below:

> *For the policy suggests that a girl should repeat after child delivery, but most parents do not agree with this and, as such, this policy is not really followed. It's like it's not clear also as to how many times a girl should be re-entered. That is a weakness* **(HT school 1, 2018).**

> *It is not clear how many times a teenage mother must be allowed back into school after pregnancy* **(Guardian to TM, 2018).**

Dearth of clear re-entry policy guidelines makes it to be implemented in unclear ways and the beneficiaries do not fully understand what is required of them.

5.5.3 Sub-theme: Lack of parental/ guardian and learners' awareness of the re-entry policy without clarity

Another sub-theme that emerged strongly was limited parental knowledge of the return strategy in detail. Lack of awareness was revealed in aspects such as 'never heard about it', 'heard about it but don't understand it', while others felt confident about knowing the policy but portrayed serious knowledge gaps in their understanding of the policy. The data also suggests that there is a misconception among most teachers to suggest that the parents were aware of the policy. The theme is reflected in the following verbatim quotations:

> *I think most parents do not know the existence of the policy until they find themselves in such situations [daughter is pregnant]* **(CT school 3, 2018).**

The participants also explained that in some instances even pupils are not aware, hence, the reason why many do not re-enter or return after pregnancy. One teacher stated that:

> *I think even most pupils don't even know about the same re-entry policy. It only appears when a child gets pregnant, that's when they will get to know about it, then they approach you, and then you tell them about the re-entry policy. Now, if the child does not approach you or the parents haven't said why the child is not coming to school, you tell them about the re-entry policy, that's when they will be aware of it. Therefore, you find that most parents are not aware of the re-entry policy and hence most pupils don't return* **(CT school 3, 2018).**

> *ummm... I have heard of such a policy but am not sure what it is about? But I think it is a situation where a child can go back to school after having a child* **(Parent of TM school 1, 2018).**

> *Yes, we know about it [re-entry policy]. They told us that, for example, if my daughter is found pregnant, she will stop and then go back later after giving birth. At least they have allowed them to go back to school that is all we know* **(Parent, school 2, 2018).**

Teenage mothers' fellow learners were not satisfied with the awareness of the re-entry policy in schools. Teachers rarely give the pupils detailed information about the policy. The awareness message does not promote gender equality because only girls are invited to attend. In one of the group interviews, the pupils said:

> *The guidance and counselling teachers, they will just tell them [female learners] to say, this Friday after lessons, morning or afternoon sessions, I want to talk to the girls. He/ she would ask them the challenges they are facing here at school or home and how the guidance and counselling teachers can help together with teachers. Therefore, mostly we as students, we only learn that re-entry policy is just about coming back to school; we do not know what is involved. We don't know what re-entry policy is, we just know that "uka nkala namimba, nikubwelela ku school" (when you are pregnant come back to school), that's the only thing we know about that re-entry policy to be honest, so if they used to give us time, explain to us what that is all about* **(FGI with pupils, school 3, 2018).**

Poor policy engagement with learners in schools prevents them from making use of the policy. Teachers do not make all learners aware of the policy so they can make informed decisions. The meetings with the learners are not gender-inclusive.

5.6 THEME 4: Challenges faced by teenage mothers and how they affect the implementation of the re-entry policy

Study findings on difficulties facing teenage mothers at school, home and the community after re-entry were split between two perspectives, the school and the community or home environment. School-related challenges included peer discrimination by fellow pupils, peer bullying, and shame of being a teenage mother, loss of self-esteem and academic challenges. The home/ community challenges are lack of psychosocial support, responsibility conflict as a mother or as a pupil and long distance to school. Below are the sub-themes identified from the data that related to challenges experienced by teenage mothers.

5.6.1 Sub-theme: Peer discrimination by fellow pupils

The study findings from most participants state that peer discrimination was among the challenges facing teenage mothers. Peer discrimination was viewed as stigmatisation and segregation by several participants. Segregation was experienced when some pupils associated only with those who had no children. Although they did not verbally express it, there behavioural cues seemed to affect the teenage mothers negatively. Teenage mothers identified peer discrimination when some peers verbally expressed their discomfort at being friends with them. Teenage mothers reported of having experienced peer discrimination both in the community and the school environment but found the school experience to be worse. A class teacher stated that:

> *They are stigmatised as to whether they are girls or mothers. Yes...especially from their fellow pupils and from teachers. Bullying such pupils is common in school* **(CT school 2, 2018).**

Findings from focus group interviews with pupils confirmed that stigmatisation was targeted against teenage mothers and they shared their insights on how the vice can be minimised in schools when they stated that:

> *Honestly speaking, the way some girls were talking bad about one of the teenage mothers is unfair. Personally, I feel it is not only her who has sex but there are people who have sex in our class but I don't know maybe because they are lucky not to become pregnant, they would take it as if they are virgins, they would want to paint a bad picture of her as if she doesn't listen, she is a bad girl, she is not someone you can be with, laughing at her all the time* **(FGI with pupils, school 1, 2018).**

> *You first sensitise the entire group, don't sensitize a few individuals, only the people who fall pregnant, sensitise everyone, because if you sensitise everyone, there will be no stigma, no discrimination. This means that these girls won't drop out of school because of feeling inferior, or first the school should teach the entire group of learners to say this is what the policy is all about, this is what happens, and everything so that we know* **(FGI with pupils, School 2, 2018).**

Some of the participants stated that teenage mothers were also stigmatized and called names used to identify them as someone's mother. In many societies, any person who has a child is considered an adult, hence the use of names like the ones mentioned below:

> *Mostly they are stigmatised by their fellow pupils and sometimes they are bullied (calling them bana John [mother to John], bamama [mother] and so forth* **(CT, school 2, 2018).**

Negative name-calling associated with being an adolescent mother has a destructive education impact as it affects their self-esteem and concentration in class. Learners need to have a positive attitude towards teenage mothers so that they are encouraged to work hard despite their situation.

5.6.2 Sub-theme: Peer bullying

This study further indicates that peer bullying was a challenge facing the teenage mothers both at school and in the community. Bullying emerged as occasionally non-verbal but mostly verbal in form of insults, jokes, indirect comments and being called by demeaning names. Insults relating to them being mothers were mentioned as happening when an argument with fellow pupils ensued during school time. Sensitive jokes hinting towards their maternal status were passed by peers who deliberately targeted to upset them. Indirect comments that indirectly spoke ill of girls who had been pregnant before by other peers were equally common in schools. Being called

by demeaning names was experienced by the teenage mothers when their friends gave them nicknames associated with them being mothers or being pregnant. They also passed silly comments associated with their status as teenage mothers. The quotations below illustrate this:

> *Mostly they are bullied because of being mothers by other pupils. I think this is difficult for them to feel comfortable* **(FGI with Pupils School 1, 2018).**

> *They usually laugh say how can this old folk learn with us children?* **(TM school 2, 2018).**

The class teachers equally noted that teenage mothers are stigmatized by fellow pupils as to whether they are girls or mothers. This is because of the sociocultural connotations that view a pregnant person/ mother as an adult. Sex is regarded as a special reserve for adults and those who indulge and get pregnant are considered adults. The class teacher said:

> *They are stigmatised as to whether they are girls or mothers. Yes...especially from their fellow pupils and from teachers. Bullying such pupils is common in school* (**CT school 2, 2018).**

Another guidance and counselling teacher at one of the schools substantiated the issue of peer bullying of teenage mothers by their fellow pupils and said:

> *Yes, it affects them, you know we are human beings and despite sensitizing the school about this Re-entry Policy, still more when they are in class they are not all that comfortable because their friends will be saying; that one is pregnant or she has a baby. Even if they are having discussions, even you a teacher as you are teaching, maybe you talk about these early pregnancies, the teenage mothers, what have you, didn't mean to offend that person, you find that as you are talking, that person will be offended as a result, you find that they are intimidated in one way or another* **(GCT school 2, 2018).**

Interestingly, the participants did not mention of being bullied by teachers. This shows that the teachers could have been cautious in the manner they managed the teenage mothers and expectant learners.

5.6.3 Sub-theme: Loss of self-esteem

Another theme that emerged from the teenage mothers and largely observed by teachers was loss of self-esteem. Teenage mothers said that they felt they were not as intelligent and disciplined as the other pupils and their hope of completing school was slowly diminishing as they experienced prolonged discrimination from their peers, teachers and other community members. Observation from teachers revealed that the teenage mothers had low self-esteem and their participation in classroom lessons was very low. Teachers also observed that behaviourally, such pupils seemed out of place and preferred associating more with general workers as compared to their fellow pupils. The following verbatim substantiated these findings:

> *There is an inferiority complex among these girls who fall pregnant. I think they lose their self-esteem and they feel like they are less worthy than their peers* **(PTA executive member, school 3, 2018).**

Self-esteem and confidence after teenage pregnancy can motivate the teenage mothers to work hard and complete school with very good results. The schools and homes are good grounds for building the teenage mothers' self-esteem through motivation mentoring talks.

5.6.4 Sub-theme: Academic challenges

The study has established that teenage mothers face many academic challenges. These challenges were observed in the poor academic performance and failure to concentrate during class. Teachers observed poor academic performance during end of term tests and examinations. The teenage mothers themselves found concentration difficult because their attention was always divided between their parental and student roles. Their concentration in class was affected by childcare-related factors resulting in them missing class. The parents, teachers and pupils explained that:

> *Sometimes maybe the child will fall sick and again they miss classes. After they miss classes, some even fail to catch up because of missing lessons, sometimes also stigma because their friends laugh at them* **(CT school 3, 2018).**

> *The teenage mothers' academic performance will be low in that by the time she is in class her concentration won't be much on the teacher because she*

> *will be thinking about the child she has left at home and then she will also be thinking to say, people are talking about me and saying things about me* **(FGI with pupils, school 3, 2018).**

One of the guidance and counselling teachers further substantiated the issue of the teenage mothers' poor performance when they are pregnant and subsequently have a baby in reference to a specific case when she said:

> *I think the impact is the same on her, as academic performance wasn't good as it was before. She has gone down a bit on her performance compared to the way she was before. That's one of the challenges* **(GCT, school 3, 2018**).

Some participants also stated that the illness of the baby negatively affects the learning of a teenage mother. They clarified that the illness of a child affects the teenage mothers who often fail to attend class resulting in uncontrolled absenteeism. For those who live with their partners, their illness also implies that the teenage mother misses school to attend to her sick partner. Other teenage mothers whose children are being kept by their parents away from school also get affected by the illness of their children. Therefore, their concentration in class also gets affected, resulting in poor results.

5.6.5 Sub-theme: Shame of being a teenage mother

Shame associated with being a teenage mother was a sub-theme that arose in this study. This theme was similarly evident in words such as embarrassment, shyness and disgrace. Teenage mothers expressed their experiences of embarrassment when their classmates teased them openly about their status. They expressed shyness upon realising that they were the odd ones out in their peer group. The teenage mothers also felt disgraced when bad examples seemed to indirectly refer to them and when issues of irresponsible behaviour were being discussed in class by teachers and pupils. The pupils and teachers stated that:

> *They feel very embarrassed at first for having a child, especially when everyone is talking about bad effects of getting pregnant* **(FGI with pupils, school 1, 2018).**

Several participants further added that teenage mothers fail to easily mingle with their fellow pupils and that the pupils further subject them to teasing and name-calling. The participants added that some of the shame suffered by teenage mothers is self-imposed as they do not want to behave like ordinary pupils. They want to behave in very secretive ways like they are adults, yet they are pupils. They stated that:

> *In a school environment the biggest challenge I have seen is the shame. When the child comes back after having delivered, the friends are fond of teasing them and this sometimes puts them off in terms of academic work. They tend to give up. We have seen some who have given up to say no I think here am being teased too much, that's how they come to get transfers, to others schools* **(HT , school 1, 2018)**

The teenage mothers have to suffer shame for getting pregnant and being young mothers as illustrated above. The shaming of their status has to do with the way society views premarital sex. Therefore, the change of society mind-set about premarital sex and teenage pregnancy would promote the education of teenage mothers.

5.6.6 Sub-theme: Lack of home psychosocial support

Lack of home psychosocial support was an emergent theme associated with the home/ community environment. This aspect of the theme was reflected in statements such as not being a priority anymore, inadequate parental assistance for the child, being looked down upon by family members and loss of trust from parents. These home related challenges affected teenage mothers more psychosocially. Teenage mothers were experiencing poor support from their families. Some were denied food and other social incentives they needed. Their movements and programmes were questioned because of loss of confidence due to their status as teenage mothers. Others were called upon to care for their babies even when they were in boarding schools. Some participants explained that:

> *Sometimes such girls are no longer supported by both their families and the teachers because they are looked at as being not serious. As a result, no special attention regarding education is given to such girls* **(PTA member school 3, 2018).**

> *There could be some pressure from the guardians especially if they are not their parents as some of the guardians may not be patient enough to understand the situation in which the girl is in, you know, to look after the baby, but they would keep on sending messages when the child is sick* **(FGI with Parents, school 2, 2018).**

Some teenage mothers do not have good social support at home and that affects their education, as they have to manage the child and their academic affairs on their own.

5.6.7 Sub-theme: Responsibility conflict as a mother and a pupil

Responsibility conflict between being a mother and a pupil was identified among the challenges facing the teenage mothers. This theme meant that there was a time a teenage mother had to choose whether to be a careless mother or a good pupil or a good mother and a bad pupil. The participants, especially the teachers and the teenage mothers themselves mentioned this theme the most. They stated that:

> *Because sometimes they don't have people to take care of the child, sometimes people to take care of the child may be there but then time and again learning would be affected, maybe the child is sick, she will be required to take the child to the hospital or clinic for under-five* **(CT school 2, 2018).**

One of the parents of the teenage mothers similarly confirmed that the challenge of lack of support affects teenage mothers especially in situations where there is no support from the partner and his family. The parent explained that:

> *With a partner who is also a dependant, then it's a challenge because in terms of support, it is difficult without parents who are understanding* **(Parent, school 1, 2018**).

Many participants further expressed concern on how motherhood and education affects the general performance of teenage mothers and gave illustrations of this experience below:

> *Last time, I asked her why did you miss the test, she said 'no madam the child was unwell' and … when the child falls sick maybe, let's say at night, and tomorrow she has a test and the child gets sick, she won't have a peaceful night. She won't sleep properly because she has to take care of the child and then in the morning come to school maybe to write a test. So on that part, it is a bit difficult for her to try and*

> *balance schoolwork and motherhood, so that's the difficult part* (**CT school 3, 2018**).

Other participants added that teenage mothers do not participate in extra-curricular activities because they are always in a hurry to go home and check on their babies. This deprives them of the opportunities they have to mingle with other learners and join in co-curricular events such as sports and clubs. One participant said:

> *And also missing out as a teenager on other activities she cannot do because of being a mother. For example, we have sports day, if you request them to come in the morning or remain in the afternoon and participate in the sports, she can't because she has to rush home. She leaves home by 06:00hrs, leaving the child with the mother, so by 12:45hrs, you tell her okay remain for an extra hour, she can't because the mother has to go and do her businesses. Therefore, when she gets home, she takes the child and the mother has to do other works* (**CT school 2**).

According to teenage mothers, their roles as a mother and pupil is too demanding. They have to devise coping strategies to keep them afloat at both school and home. The verbatim below explains what they go through in their daily life.

> *At school I don't have time to study, some days I do not come to school, the baby would be sick and I have to take him to the clinic. Sometimes I wake up late, so I will be late to school. I don't have time to study, I have to take care of the baby when am home* **(TM school 2, 2018)**

All the above excerpts confirm the teenage mothers' conflicting roles of motherhood and student life. This affects their academic performance negatively and leads to poor academic performance, absconding class altogether and in some instances complete withdrawal from school.

5.6.8 Sub-themes: Financial problems

Financial problems emerged as a salient theme in the study and as a challenge affecting the teenage mothers both at school and in the community. School-related challenges involved lack of school fees especially for those who were coming from poor backgrounds or were just being kept by non-biological guardians. The home related challenges mostly affected those teenage mothers whose partners are

undependable, as they could not get any help in form of child support. As a result, a teenage mother and her family took up most of the responsibility of fending for the child, which adversely affected school attendance. The teenage mothers complained that life was hard for them and thinking about completing school was slowly becoming a fading thought in their minds. This theme is evident in the verbatim quotes that follow:

> *There are certain circumstances whereby you were made pregnant by someone. This someone maybe he's not even offering support to that child, then you are the one as a mother who is supposed to look after that child. Hence, it will be a challenge whereby you have to look for food, clothes, the basic needs. You are coming from a poor family, you can't afford to support that child. Then you have to think, how am I going to raise up my child? How am I going to provide the basic needs? So it also affects them in terms of concentration in class* **(FGI with pupils, school 3, 2018)**

The study findings revealed that all the teenage mothers that participated in this study were being cared for by their families and not the man's family. They have no support from the families of their children's fathers and this creates a lot of financial stress on their already financially stressed families. In order to overcome the financial challenges they faced, teenage mothers had to find coping strategies such as selling foodstuffs.

> *I started making popcorn to sell to other pupils as a way of raising money for my baby's needs such as milk, food and other requirements* **(TM school 1, 2018).**

One of the guardians further added that:

> *I am only able to help with the little I can, but she also has to raise money by making and selling popcorn to her fellow pupils* considering that the father of her baby does not support her in any way **(Guardian to TM, school 1, 2018**).

Lack of financial support for the education of adolescent mothers such as school fees in addition to other educational requirements affects their academic performance and their motivation to work hard at school. Therefore, financial support to ensure they complete their education is key for their re-entry after pregnancy.

5.6.9 Sub-theme: Long distances to and from school

The study revealed that long distance to school was a big challenge for the teenage mothers. This was due to the fact that there were schools in the district. It was noted that teenage mothers get tired of walking to and from schools. Others always reported late and ended up being punished.

> *Some of the greatest challenges to these cases are distance from residential areas to schools, resulting in late reporting and attracting punishments* (**CT school 2, 2018).**

> *Long distance has made my life in school and at home very difficult. In the morning I have to walk to school and the distance is long. By the time I come back home, my body is tired. At home I'm expected to nurse my child and members of the family expect me to participate in family chores. At night I have to attend to the baby* **(FGI with TMs, school 2, 2018).**

The scarcity of places in secondary schools creates a demand for school places and the available places have to accommodate several learners, including teenage mothers. Some teenage mothers have to care for the babies from home and this means that they cannot be in boarding schools. Therefore, access to nearby schools becomes a challenge and some walked long distances to access their education. Those who could not manage were living in unsupervised boarding houses close to the school.

5.7 THEME 5: Existing support systems

The study further investigated the support systems that existed to promote effective implementation of the re-entry policy. This was required to ascertain the strength in the context of multiple challenges that could be taken advantage of, to possibly enhance the effectiveness of the current implementation process. Three support systems emerged from this study which included the following: NGOs-school ties, the government through social welfare and parent and pupil support.

5.7.1 Sub-theme: NGOs-school partnerships

The study findings indicate that support systems from the NGO and school partnerships were good for teenage mothers. The head teachers acknowledged that many NGOs visit schools to remind them to implement policies that promote the rights of learners such as the re-entry policy.

> *I remember NGOs such as FAWEZA going round schools encouraging us to re-admit teenage mothers in schools. The NGOs could even threaten us that legal action would be taken against some head teachers who violate human rights and equal opportunities for girls and boys* **(HT school 1, 2018).**

The majority of the participants revealed that some NGOs were visiting these schools to provide sexual and reproductive health education and to help the expectant learners, teenage mothers, and all the other pupils with appropriate information on sexual and reproductive health rights. The following quote confirms this finding:

> *These NGOs are working with DEBS and schools in implementing this policy and they always bring back to school all the girls who had been married* **(HT School 1, 2018).**

However, some participants said that even if NGOs were there, the frequency of school visitations was not adequate in a term or year and this created problems because by the time they could visit the schools, more pupils were pregnant.

5.7.2 Sub-theme: Government effort via social-welfare

The study further acknowledged government and department of social welfare collaborations as a salient support system. This was because it was helping in sensitising parents in communities and in schools on the importance of education and discouraging them from early marriage. This sensitisation facilitated the goals of the re-entry policy. Participants felt that the ties that existed between the school and the social welfare department represented a conducive network and potential for executing the return strategy. Participants acknowledged that social welfare officials had been doing a lot of work in the community in sensitising them on many government programmes in rural areas.

> *Only the social welfare and HHI[1], which is an organisation for the disabled. So, the two have been helping us to address these problems* **(HT school 3, 2018).**

> *When we have problems in villages, the first people where we get information are from the social welfare as they direct us to many offices for many different issues* **(FGI with Parents, school 2, 2018).**

The existing networks between government institutions can provide many services for the communities especially in rural areas. Creating such synergies is good as it addresses developmental issues holistically.

5.7.3 Sub-theme: Parental and pupil support

Parental support towards the policy was one among the integral support systems in the current study. Parents, being stakeholders, felt that their positive response to the re-entry policy was a strength to the implementation process. Parental support was reflected in the parents' willingness to let their daughters continue with school and their perception of the policy as a helpful initiative. Some head teachers felt that, although not all parents found the policy very important, the ones that did created a potentially helpful support system. The pupils also assisted teenage mothers so they could be at the same level with the rest of their fellow pupils in their class work. The participants said:

> *My parents also just encouraged me to continue schooling. Yes, true....my mother used to encourage me a lot* **(TM school 3, 2018).**

> *There are friends whom I was schooling with, they helped me with Biology, they helped by writing notes for me* **(TM school 1, 2018)**

Schools and homes support teenage mothers so they focus on their education. Encouraging learners to help teenage mothers can contribute to the reduction in peer bullying and shaming of young mothers, as well as and improved academic results. In the end, every learner will enjoy the support they receive and forge ahead in school.

[1] An international organisation promoting the rights of the disabled.

5.8 Chapter summary

The chapter presented findings from the three analysed data sources on strategy application. In summary, the findings have established how the return strategy was applied. The strategy application from the MoE officers at national level to the provincial and district officers who supervised the implementation at school level was analysed. The participants stated that the re-entry policy was implemented well at secondary school level even though three schools had no re-entry policy guidelines. Hence, the district officers failed to effectively supervise its implementation as they could not avail the guidelines to the secondary schools. As a result, some participants, especially the head teachers, class teachers and guidance and counselling teachers, did not know certain aspects of the re-entry policy guidelines. Lack of information on the guidelines could have disadvantaged some expectant learners and teenage mothers.

The study revealed that there was need for more sensitisation on the re-entry policy so that the learners, parents and other stakeholders know about it to effectively facilitate its implementation. Lack of sensitisation would have disadvantaged other learners who were not aware of the existence of the policy. The participants also identified several opportunities that were attributed to the re-entry policy. These included the opportunity for continuity of education by teenage mothers, and the introduction of comprehensive sexuality education in schools as an integrated subject to prevent teenage pregnancy. Further, the study revealed that school-health centre ties encouraged learners to access reproductive health services and further policy engagement.

Promotion of immorality was identified as a weakness attributed to the return strategy application in schools and the community, the position held by some mission schools in the district. The study also established that teenage mothers face several challenges at both school and home. The teenage mothers were stigmatised at school; peer-bullied and suffered shame for being young mothers. This lowered their self-esteem and in turn affected their concentration in school. Academic challenges were due to frequent absenteeism because of parental and learner responsibilities. They too had many psychosocial challenges attributed to poor counselling and lack of financial support in terms of school fees and from their partners. Their partners

supported none of the teenage mothers in the study. The only support they had was from their families and in some instances, this was also minimal. There was also limited support from NGOs as those working in the district only supported orphans, vulnerable children, but not teenage mothers.

The next chapter discusses the findings according to the multi-level governance theory and the reviewed literature.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the study findings. This chapter discusses the findings using the multi-level governance theory supplemented by the top-down and bottom-up models. The theoretical framework stressed the participation of stakeholders in policy implementation, decentralisation of the implementation process and using policy networks to get the like-minded stakeholders on board at different levels to promote effective execution of the policy. Further, analysis was enhanced by the use of relevant literature to support the study findings. The five identified major themes were discussed, namely: nature of current school re-entry policy implementation, opportunities through the re-entry policy, weaknesses of the policy, challenges faced by teenage mothers and existing support systems.

6.2 Nature of current school re-entry policy implementation

This theme, identified as nature of current school re-entry policy implementation was meant to highlight how the policy was implemented at various levels with different responsibilities such as the MoE officials, schools and parents. This theme had various sub-themes, which were identified from the sample participants. These included the responsibility for implementation of the re-entry policy in secondary schools; identification of expectant learners; availability of guidance and counselling services in schools; parental/guardian and learner engagement on the re-entry policy and assurance of re-entry into school. Each of the sub-themes has been discussed and analysed.

6.2.1 Responsibility for implementation of re-entry policy at secondary schools

The responsibility for implementation of the re-entry policy at secondary schools was one of the major concerns which surfaced in this study in Monze District of Southern Province. It was found that the responsibility of implementing the policy was for MoE officials, the provincial education officials, the DEBS office, the schools, through the head teachers and teachers. The guidelines from policy makers, MoE and DEBS

clearly instructed the implementers to ensure teenage mothers' re-entry into schools. The actual implementation was done at school centres.

The responsibility for the implementation of re-entry policy at the mission and government secondary schools varied. This was reflected in the way the schools executed the various activities of the re-entry policy in schools. For instance, while the government schools allowed expectant learners to return or transfer to other schools after maternity leave, the mission school institutions only transferred the pregnant girl to other school. The transfers were facilitated by the district education board secretary's office as stipulated in the re-entry policy guidelines.

The study has established that of the four schools in the study, only one had the re-entry policy guidelines. The rest did not have a copy of the guidelines. This reflects the poor execution of the policy in the selected schools that took part in this study. Some schools and teachers did not know exactly when a teenage mother was to commence her maternity leave. Some were given leave after six months and others after seven months. The teachers did not know how many times a learner could re-enter after pregnancy despite the provision of the return conditions in the guidelines.

Hence, such varied implementations should first be traced from policy design that is, whether the design was conducive to achieving the policy results or not. Different implementation procedures and lack of clarity about the re-entry policy guidelines meant stakeholders were not part of the policy formulation and its subsequent implementation. Lack of participation creates resistance to policy change resulting in low re-entry rates for the affected learners. The multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up models support the participation of all stakeholders in public policy formulation and implementation. The participation and engagement of these stakeholders resolves any misgivings and misunderstandings, and promotes sustainability of the policy through support from both implementers and policy formulators. If the stakeholders address the uncertainties of the re-entry policy during the formulation period, implementation process could have been less problematic. The use of the multi-level governance theory, together with top- down and bottom-up models, could have resolved such differences. Participation, engagement, and policy networks are key in the multi-level governance theory as stakeholders agree on the policy and implementing the same in their various capacities. As a result, multi-level

governance theory offers a valuable change from policy transformation to application (Cerna, 2013:11). The principles of participation, decentralisation in decision-making and policy networking as features of the multi-level governance theory are vital for promoting effective policy implementation. The differences in implementation suggest that the transition from policy change to policy implementation of current school re-entry policy was not participatory and accountable and lacked stakeholder engagement, hence the multi-level governance theory and top-down and bottom-up models were not applied during policy formulation and implementation (Hooghe and Marks, 2003; Bache and Flinders, 2004). The difference in implementation also confirms that the policy formulation process lacked stakeholders' involvement because certain implementation concerns would have been resolved at the formulation stage. The use of the two models as noted by O'Toole (2000), benefits from the strengths of one another to allow different levels to interact. The involvement of technocrats (MoE officials) at the top and the implementers (school teachers, parents, teenage mothers and learners) at the bottom is important for policy ownership, effective implementation and sustainability.

One important finding on the responsibility for implementation of the re-entry policy in secondary schools was the way mission schools implemented it. The implementation by these schools is only executed in giving out transfers to teenage mothers, contrary to policy guidelines (MoE, 2012) in that transfers should not be mandatory except in a case where the girl or boy wishes to do so. It seems that the understanding and implementation of the re-entry policy differ between mission and public schools. Similar findings were established by Hamusonde, 2003; Mwansa, 2011; Moonga, 2014; and Banda and Nowanga, 2017. These studies conducted in various districts in Zambia also established that mission schools do not apply the policy. This refusal by mission schools brings in the aspect of participation and policy networking as emphasised by the multi-level governance theory and the top-down and bottom-up models. Through stakeholder participation and engagement, policy concerns could have been articulated during the process of formulation and a solution could have been found for the mission schools. The MoE should have engaged mission schools as their stakeholder to resolve the challenges with the re-entry policy implementation in these schools other than imposing the policy on them.

Although the memorandum of understanding (MoU) with the mission schools enabled teenage mothers to be transferred to other schools and was as confirmed by the schools and DEBS office, this act does not take into consideration the views of the expectant learners in the case where they do not want to be transferred to other schools as their stay at the current school is terminated by the pregnancy. To make it worse, the DEBS office supports the acts by the mission schools in facilitating transfers to government schools, which also have limited places. Therefore, this creates demand for school places especially in government schools where the places are already limited and in some areas where there are even no secondary schools. Regarding this act of transferring teenage mothers, Chigona & Chetty (2008) and Panday et al. (2009) argue that the re-entry of expectant learners is done according to socio-cultural factors of implementers, hence differences in execution of the re-entry policy. Concurrently, Elmore (1980) and Sabatier (1986) agree that professionals are key in policy implementation and can use their own preference depending on the context on the ground. Engagement in policy formulation is effective to manage the differences during implementation of public theory and this would have eased the Re-entry Policy implementation process for all stakeholders.

The differences in the way re-entry policy has been implemented were observed by other researchers in different countries who concluded that it encouraged teenage mothers to return to schools. The current study finding on the discrepancies was also found in developed countries as those of Monze District. In the USA, after the Acts were in place, Egan et al. (2012) observed similar challenges in that national administrators continued to be unpredictable with the execution of the policy. On varied implementation in England, Vincent and Thomson (2010) also found that, despite a common policy framework, there was a considerable gap concerning policy and implementation, thus inclusive experience for teenage mothers seemed far from certain due to varied school responses. The gap between policy and practice means that something is missing to bridge that gap. Policy and practice must be harmonised using the features of multi-level governance with top-down and bottom-up models which promote decentralisation in decision-making, participation, engagement and policy networking. Through the multi-level governance theory, holding policy makers and implementers accountable is realised.

The result of varied implementation in the current study coincided with Mwansa (2011) in Zambia, in that the exclusion or lack of participation of stakeholders had negative impact on the effectiveness of implementing the policy. This information has strengthened this argument in the study in that the design was somewhat not conducive to achieving the policy results. Mwansa (2011) observed that the re-entry policy was formulated without the involvement of many stakeholders. Those who were left out were mostly school teachers, head teachers and pupils. What was of interest was that those not involved in the formulation process, the policy was not inclusive. Some participants stated that they learned about the policy from a circular (MoE, 1997). Mwansa (2011) concluded that such serious omission of not involving the stakeholders, in policy formulation posed challenges in implementation at school level.

These varied observations of having different practices by school administrators and teachers were similar to the study conducted by Mutombo and Mwenda (2010), who reviewed the policy, leading to the revision of the guidelines (MoE, 2012). However, this study has established that some of the recommendations made in the review such as the provision of counselling services are being poorly implemented as will be explained later in this chapter. The study observed that each school had its own way of implementing the re-entry policy.

The Zambian re-entry policy has gone through the whole policy cycle with a review done (Mutombo and Mwenda, 2010) and the revision of the policy guidelines (MoE, 2012). However, the policy still has registered low re-entry rates for teenage mothers, as earlier observed (MoE, 2015), because few teenage mothers are returning after giving birth. That can be attributed to the above factors and many others discussed herein.

Expectant learners were identified by teachers, guidance teachers and matrons in boarding schools. The learners stated that confirmations of the pregnancy were done through physical signs and later clinical testing at a nearby health facility. In boarding schools matrons and house teachers carried out the inspections which were confirmed through a pregnancy test at a clinic. The guidance and counselling teacher was also involved through counselling and the policy implementation process after the confirmation of a pregnancy. The study has established that in some cases, parents

reported the expectant learners to the school authorities to make them aware of the pregnancy and to commence the re-entry process. In such instances, these parents would also ensure that their children re-entered soon after delivery because they wanted them to be educated. This was done with accordance to the re-entry policy guidelines (MoE, 2012).

The suggestion above concurs with Omwancha (2012) in Kenya on the detection of school pregnancy. Omwancha revealed that some teachers relied on the physical sign, to detect pregnancy. In his study, there was conflicting information about the person in charge detecting pregnancy. However, in this study, some of the teachers and parents reported on the teenage pregnancy cases. This promotes dialogue between schools and the parents, and this engagement can lead to common understanding of each other's expectations as regards policy implementation.

6.2.2 Availability of guidance and counselling services in schools

Findings from many participants revealed that guidance and counselling services were available in all the schools though many technical hitches were observed in that there were no professionally trained counsellors and appointments were based on their level of maturity, church roles and personality. Besides that, they also had huge classes and other workloads. None of the guidance and counselling teachers was employed as a full-time counsellor, and besides teaching, they managed examination-related work, pupil enrolment and other tasks.

The above situation is not good for such an important department. If counsellors are not professionally trained, it means they provide poor services to the beneficiaries and their appointments are questionable. All these could contribute to poor implementation of re-entry policy in schools. If schools were consulted during policy formulation, alternative measures could have been designed to facilitate the implementation of the policy. This finding concurs with Runhare (2010) and Mulenga and Mukaba (2018) who observed that lack of professionalism among school counsellors, space and time for counselling made this task difficult, hence learners benefited very little from this service. Omwancha (2012) also found similar results in that many schools' guidance and counselling departments were not functioning well. Majoko (2013) reported

shortages of trained school counsellors in many schools. The unprofessionalism and extra workload, coupled with lack of implementation guidelines, could have negatively affected the re-entry policy implementation.

The readiness of counselling facilities in schools is an important component that must be appreciated by stakeholders at all levels. Guidance services are a critical component for re-entry strategy execution as expectant learners and teenage mothers need assistance in order to assure them about their continued schooling even after giving birth. This should be discussed both at school and at home. With professional guidance teachers in schools, the re-entry policy implementation challenges are minimised and the teenage mothers, expectant learners and parents/ guardians are assured of quality services and successful completion of school. Counselling at the guidance and counselling department is also given in order to discourage the adolescents from terminating the pregnancy and to help them focus on their education.

In view of the aforementioned, many empirical studies have agreed that counselling in schools is important. ASCA (2004) observed that counselling services are important in enabling learners to achieve optimum personal growth, enhancement of positive social skills and values and setting of career goals to complete their education and support their children. Therefore, counselling for learners, teenage mothers, parents and teachers is significant in addressing challenges and other problems related to the re-entry policy implementation. In Kenya, Kurgat (2016) notes that the guidance and counselling departments, if strengthened, could reduce the stigma in schools and encourage teenage mothers to focus on their studies and increase their re-entry in schools.

Apart from lack of training for counselling teachers, they similarly had huge workloads, hence denying them the time for providing counselling services in schools. These findings concurred with results of studies done by different researchers. In Ethiopia, Alemu (2013) established that school counsellors did not have adequate time. In the USA, Smith et al. *(*2001) found many guidance teachers performing other responsibilities. In Kenya, Karangu and Muola (2011) reported that counsellors had teaching obligations during daytime like the other teachers, resulting in limited counselling hours. Denga (2001) reported lack of clarity on the counsellors' roles in

schools cutting across virtually all spheres. Beale (2004) gives a good conclusion citing the pressure to perform non-counselling duties as one of the factors that contribute to counsellors having difficulties to perform their counselling duties.

6.2.3 Parental/ guardian engagement on the re-entry policy

Teachers reported the point of engagement when they discovered the girl was pregnant, and during the early days of counselling, the school invites the parents for discussions regarding the policy details which are availed to the parents and, in some instances, they are given information about the person responsible for the pregnancy. The findings have also established that parents were engaged on the re-entry policy during Parent Teachers' Association (PTA) meetings and occasionally at the health centres. This shows that the engagement of parents and other stakeholders could be very limited and only done during PTA meetings, when the school confirms that a learner is pregnant, and upon re-entry after maternity leave. If the engagement of parents and other stakeholders is very limited, it means that they are not able to contribute towards the solution to the problem of teenage pregnancy and re-entry of teenage mothers.

Discussing the re-entry policy with parents when their children are pregnant does not reflect a good rapport between the community and the schools. re-entry policy awareness meetings were supposed to be held with the community before their children are affected to promote cooperation from parents. This clearly means there was not much of policy awareness and dialogue between parents and schools, which could lead to apathy in the management of learner affairs, and their education gets to be negatively affected. Lack of stakeholder participation, engagement and policy networks with likeminded CSOs as promoted by the multi-level governance theory (Hooghe and Mark, 2003) is attributed to poor re-entry policy participation, engagement and implementation.

Support from parents and partners is crucial for the re-entry of teenage mothers as they provide the finances and childcare responsibilities when the teenage mother returns to school. Nonetheless, engaging parents on re-entry policy during pregnancy, signing of maternity forms is not effective in preventing pregnancy and is not a good

way of parental/guardian engagement on the re-entry policy. Engagement on the re-entry policy should have commenced when the policy was introduced to the schools and continued to allow many parents/guardians to make use of the policy. This kind of parental/guardian engagement on the re-entry policy by guidance and counselling teachers was just meant to enlist support from parents that they should look after their teenage mothers and allow them to re-enter after pregnancy. Engagement on the re-entry policy by guidance and counselling teachers during pregnancy does not reflect good and improved communication between parents and schools on this matter. Communication before pregnancy among learners is significant for keeping girls in schools and preventing pregnancies.

Contrary to these findings, Mudenda and (2017) found that parents were reluctant to contribute in the policy execution and school managers were often unable to have PTA meetings that could inform parents about the re-entry policy. Thus, through the multi-level governance theory participation, engagement and policy networks with CSOs, traditional leaders and MOE (schools) are useful in policy implementation to promote policy ownership, support and effective public policy implementation. The multi-level governance theory also promotes accountability between policy makers, implementers and beneficiaries. According to Simon Joss and Alison Mohr (2004:23), ‘‘public accountability (relates) to policy and decision-making processes, the dynamics of social mobilisation, and wider public sphere discourse. Velden et al. (2014)’s study on flood risks in two cities in Tanzania and Senegal concurs that citizen participation is paramount for policy implementation.

6.2.4 Assurance of re-entry into school

The participants revealed this in activities such as implementation of the re-entry policy itself, and confirmed by signing of re-entry forms for leave and signing upon return from leave to confirm re-entry into school.

This gave assurance to the parties involved (parents/ guardians, teenage mothers and teachers) on the return of the teenage mothers to school. The implementation of re-entry policy is a great source of inspiration and guarantee among stakeholders such as the public administrators, provincial officials, and district education board

secretaries (DEBS) the schools and the community that girls will complete their education. Before 1997, there was no such a policy and many teenage mothers lost their opportunities to go back to school. After the policy was developed and implemented, teenage mothers and all stakeholders have been assured of a school place.

The signing of re-entry policy forms for leave and signing upon return is a good assurance of re-entry into school. This is a good way of having a record in school about the expectant learners who left that school and the whereabouts of the expectant learners is known for further follow-up. However, the study established that there was no follow-up done on those who failed to re-enter because of financial and human resources. In addition, record keeping for teenage mothers was poor. Though signing of maternity leave forms was significant to assure the teenage mothers of their re-entry, it does not give enforcement to schools that the teenage mothers would come back to school because returning to school is centred on many socio-economic factors of the teenage mothers' background. The Education Act, however, provides for enforcement of those who fail to comply with the provisions of the act on the re-entry of teenage mothers. Through the bottom-up model and the multi-level governance theory, teachers, parents and community stakeholders should dialogue and find a solution to such challenges. The local networks would be helpful to engage community members and CSOs can assist with their technical expertise on how best the community concerns can be heard and addressed.

6.2.5 Sensitisation of parents and the learners

The findings revealed that efforts were made to make parents and learners aware of the re-entry policy after its enactment. These efforts included communication of the policy provisions through annual general meetings, school assemblies and career classes. Among learners, messages regarding abstinence from sex were also mentioned as a common discourse with learners.

Sensitisation on policy developments alerts people who are not aware of the benefits of any intervention. Such a policy may have benefits, but if the beneficiaries are not aware of it, it creates apathy in the affected communities. Henceforth, to lessen such animosity, people must be sensitised.

The suggestion above is in line with Banda and Nowanga (2017) on the importance of sensitisation to efficiently manage the misconceptions around the re-entry policy and the promotion of prostitution in schools. Concurrently, Omwancha (2012) and Obonyo and Thinguri (2015) also agree that lack of awareness means teenage mothers are unable to return. Consequently, for the re-entry policy to be well implemented, parents and learners' sensitisation plays a fundamental role.

6.3 Nature of re-entry policy opportunities

In this theme, the nature of opportunities the re-entry policy has offered to teenage mothers, schools and the communities has been discussed. This has been articulated through various sub-themes identified through the participants in this section. These identified sub-themes were: continuation with education, comprehensive sexuality education in schools, school-health centre relationship, and no opportunity but negative influence. The significance of these sub-themes are discussed below.

6.3.1 Continuation with education

The above theme emerged from the interviews that the greatest strength the re-entry policy had was the opportunity it presented for the teenage mothers and other learners to proceed with their education despite the pregnancy. The participants revealed that the policy's benefits were huge for the teenage mothers and their families. These benefits included reduction of ignorance in the communities and giving girls a second opportunity to return to school.

Continuation with education is one such rare opportunity that teenage mothers missed before the introduction of the strategy. Education uplifts lives of learners who are given a chance to finish their education. Families and nations benefit from an educated citizenry as they positively contribute to development. For girls, the dependency syndrome inculcated in many of them because of the assumption that they are caregivers and wives is also minimised.

Many scholars support the above findings on education benefits. Kane (2004) conducted a study and noted how investing in education has many returns for families and societies in South Africa and world over. A report by UNICEF (2005) established that girls' education is associated with increased likelihood of success and socio-

economic gains. Maluwa-Banda (2004) also concurs that education promotes the education of every child. CREAW (2007) confirms that education makes females delay to marry and have small families.

6.3.2 Comprehensive sexuality education in schools

Another sub-theme that emerged under opportunities with the coming of the policy was that of offering an integration of comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) as part of the mainstream curriculum. Teachers acknowledged that lessons on CSE in schools had been incorporated and made available to learners. This means that pupils are taught sex and social behavioural change lessons to help them live in harmony with boys and how they can stop diseases and unwanted pregnancy. It is apparent from the findings that the existence of CSE presents an opportunity to pupils as it empowers them with knowledge they need to be assertive and protect themselves.

However, the extent to which these services are contributing to the reduction of teenage pregnancy is not known yet because this is quite a new intervention. The findings have established that CSE is taught as an integrated subject in Biology and Religious Education and is not examinable. Therefore, the learners who do not take these subjects do not benefit from such lessons and this makes them less knowledgeable about this matter. The learners and teachers also observed that sometimes teachers do not share detailed lessons on this subject and the inquisitive learners end up engaging in unprotected sexual relationships, making them vulnerable.

Some scholars have confirmed that CSE lowers pregnancy rates (Grant and Hallman, 2008; Kaufman et al. 2001). Majova (2002) agrees that comprehensive sexuality education enables learners to value themselves by making them assertive and sharpens their interpersonal skills so they are able to relate well with others. In addition, Kirby (2007) adds that sexuality education can delay sex among learners.

The collaborations between the ministries of Education and Health (clinics and schools) are key in realising the benefits of CSE as these alliances provide access to reproductive health services which the schools are not able to and empowers girls

through sexuality education as observed by Bhana et al. (2010) and CSA (2008). Policy networks are important in the multi-level governance theory as they promote the use of specialised skills of collaborators. Therefore, early integration of (CSE) as part of the mainstream curriculum in education empowers girls. Slowiski (2001) postulates that sex education courses, if presented in detail with correct facts, can help youths in making good decisions and negotiation skills. These skills can be useful in negotiating for safer sex or abstinence.

6.3.3 School-health centre relationship

School-clinic collaboration emerged as a sub-theme that revealed health and education opportunities for the teenage mothers. This collaboration was characterised by discussions on sexual education to learners, with information on pregnancy or antenatal services for those expecting, administration of contraceptives to girls, encouragement of condom use and talks regarding abstinence and the importance of education.

This collaboration between the clinics and schools provided an opportunity for the young people as teenage mothers are empowered to prevent unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDs and STIs. This collaboration is very important because getting pregnant is a health issue and could have worked well with bringing all stakeholders to promote engagement, participation and policy networks during policy implementation. The problem is that teenage mothers have no access to reproductive services (Mkhwanazi, 2010). Using the multi-level governance theory, these collaborations can be strengthened to offer quality services to learners in and outside schools so that they stay protected.

6.3.4 No opportunity but negative influence

Interestingly, the study also revealed a contradictory theme such that a portion of participants especially teachers and administrators, felt that the re-entry policy had a negative influence on the school-going adolescents and did not provide any opportunity.

No opportunity but negative influence, as a theme, also meant that the policy was encouraging prostitution, reducing fear of wrongdoing, putting children at risk of diseases and increasing pregnancy cases in schools. As such, some sections of society do not support it. The study established that even some school implementers such as head teachers and teachers did not support the re-entry policy in schools for fear of promoting promiscuity among learners.

Some scholars and studies also found the above view of influencing others. FAWE (2004) observed that these teenage mothers preferred other schools as they thought they would influence other pupils to do the same. Even the head teachers and peers had the fear that teenage mothers would negatively influence others (Omondi, 2008). In addition, (Omondi, 2008) established that schools that encouraged the re-entry of teenage mothers were referred to as 'maternity schools', hence certain schools feared to be associated with such and this could have been the reason for such a negative attitude towards the re-entry policy exhibited by some participants in this study. The multi-level governance theory would have resolved these fears through participation and engagement of all stakeholders during policy formulation and implementation (DeBardeleben and Hurrelmann, 2007).

6.4 Weaknesses of the re-entry policy

One major theme identified by participants was the weaknesses of the re-entry policy. The identified weaknesses were: poor community engagement on the policy in remote areas, unclear opportunities for return and dearth parental/guardian and learner awareness of the re-entry policy without clarity.

6.4.1 Poor community awareness on the re-entry policy

This theme was evident from the perspectives of teachers, parents and teenage mothers. The participants intimated poor engagement on the existence of this policy, and besides, those who had knowledge about it were not adequately informed.

Those who are not aware, yet they are expected to implement the policy, would find themselves in a difficult situation. When you are aware, you are able to make judicious decisions compared to one who is not aware of the re-entry policy and the guidelines.

If parents who are the majority in a community are unaware of the policy, one expects problems in its implementation.

According to CSA (2002) and Riordan (2002), both parents and many implementers were not familiar with the strategy. Mutombo and Mwenda (2010) revealed that policy unawareness implies that implementers have difficulties in implementing the re-entry policy. In Kenya, Omwancha (2012) found most communities were unaware of the policy. Nonetheless, civil society organisations (CSOs) can be used to promote awareness even in the remote areas where communities are still hard to reach (CSA, 2008; Elimu Yetu Coalition, (2005). In Malawi, Samati (2013) established that there was limited awareness about the re-entry policy. Samati proposed that an awareness meeting be conducted to promote policy responsiveness. This study agrees with Samati's findings as the possible solution to many re-entry policy implementation challenges. Participation, engagement, policy networks and accountability are promoted by the multi-level theory in policy implementation (Dahl, 1984; Schmitter, 2002; OECD, 2001).

6.4.2 Parental awareness of the re-entry policy without clarity

The study established that there was lack of parental awareness and clarity on the re-entry policy. With clarity comes precision in decision-making. Therefore, lack of clarity is a barrier to implementation as well as the success of any intervention. This could be true considering that many stakeholders heard about the policy pronouncement and implementation on radio and circular (Mwansa, 2011; Banda, 2005 and 2007). Using stakeholders such as the community and faith-based organisations, civil society organisations and traditional leaders, the re-entry policy awareness levels could have increased in Zambia and many teenage mothers would have re-entered school and completed their education.

6.5 Challenges facing teenage mothers and how they affect the implementation of the re-entry policy in Monze District

A number of challenges with adverse effects on learners' education have been identified. These challenges were split between two settings, the school and the

community or home environment. These were peer discrimination, peer bullying of teenage mothers, shame of being a teenage mother, loss of self-esteem and academic challenge, lack of psychosocial support, responsibility conflict as a mother and pupil, financial problems and long distance to and from school.

6.5.1 Peer discrimination by fellow pupils

The study revealed that peer discrimination was among the challenges facing teenage mothers. It was viewed as stigmatisation or segregation by peers. Segregation was experienced when other pupils associated only with those pupils who had no children because such behavioural cues seemed to affect the teenage mothers negatively. Stigmatisation from their fellow pupils is a challenge as teenage mothers were also called names used to identify them as someone's mother.

Peer discrimination by fellow pupils suggests that expectant learners and teenage mothers in schools are compelled to withdraw and seclude themselves from class and other co-curricular activities. Those who cannot endure may drop out completely or opt for transfer to other schools. Such discrimination against teenage mothers from schools affects the implementation of the re-entry policy.

There are many empirical researchers who concurred with this study finding and concluded that discrimination against teenage mothers was observed in many schools (Banda, 2005; Wanyama and Simatwa, 2011; Wekesa 2010). In Canada (MoE, 1998) revealed that teachers and pupils were judgemental towards teenage mothers and used bad language. Other researchers have found discrimination against teenage mothers not only in schools but also in the communities where these the learners are coming from (Chunga 2014; Moonga, 2014; Boulden, 2001). Poor policy engagement on the promotion of the strategy and learners' rights to education contributes to stigmatisation. Consultation, information sharing and decision-making are critical in policy implementation (OECD, 2001) and several ways of engaging citizens are proposed (Coleman and Gotze, 2001).

6.5.2 Peer bullying

Peer bullying was identified as one of the challenges facing the teenage mothers both at school and in the community. Bullying was found in many verbal and non-verbal forms such as insults, jokes, indirect comments and being called by demeaning

names. Sensitive jokes hinting towards teenage mothers' maternal status were passed by peers who deliberately targeted to upset them.

With this kind of bullying, one would conclude that the teenage mothers are the most affected because they are more vulnerable than other pupils in schools. The impact of such peer bullying can cause a challenge when it comes to implementing the re-entry policy because teenage mothers would feel out of place, resulting in absconding from school and lack of concentration in school activities, among others.

The report on peer bullying has been found in many countries as a form of violence in schools. UNICEF (2006) found this evidence of bullying in many countries with variations, according to study findings between 2003 and 2005 in many developing countries in the Global School-based Health Survey (GSHS). In China (Beijing) a good percentage of learners were bullied and 23 percent of boys were bullied in the ages between13-15. The Central Statistical Office (SHS 2013-2014) school health survey found that over sixty percent of learners were bullied in Zambian schools.

6.5.3 Academic challenges

Academic challenges emerged as a theme under challenges facing teenage mothers in this study. Academic challenges in school also meant poor academic performance and failure to concentrate during class. Teachers observed poor academic performance during end of term tests and examinations. The teenage mothers themselves found concentration difficult because their attention was always divided between their parental and student roles, as well as childcare-related factors, resulting in them missing class. Engaging teenage mothers on the challenges they faced would have assisted in addressing many of the academic challenges they face. Through the multi-level governance theory, the teenage mothers would have been engaged as key stakeholders in policy implementation (Dahl, 1989; Schmitter, 2002).

The challenges highlighted present very limited options for academic improvement, especially if the childcare challenge is not well addressed as it leads to absenteeism and poor concentration in class.

Studies by Chunga (2014) in Zambia and Shanangwa (2007) in Namibia on challenges faced by teenage mothers confirmed that inadequate academic support negatively

influenced the academic performance of teenage mothers in Zambia and Namibia. In South Africa, Chigona and Chetty (2007) established that teenage mothers absconded class during the illness of their children and subsequent admission in hospitals. The absence from school affected their academic performance.

6.5.4 Shame associated with teenage pregnancy and motherhood

Arising from what the teenage mothers experienced, shame emerged due to their status. Shame was expressed by these participants in words such as embarrassment, shyness and disgrace. They expressed their experiences of embarrassment when their classmates teased them openly about their pregnancy. Disgrace was expressed when bad examples seemed to indirectly refer to them and when issues of irresponsible behaviour were being discussed in class by teachers and pupils.

The teenage mothers have to suffer shame for getting pregnant and being young mothers as illustrated above. The shame is a result of negative societal perceptions of teenage pregnancy as it happens outside marriage. This shame has negative impact on their life at school and in the community as well.

Chigona and Chetty (2007) agree that traditional beliefs make expectant learners and adolescent mothers susceptible to discrimination and humiliation associated with premarital sex. In agreement with the finding, Vandeyar and Runhare (2012) noted that teenage mothers failed to focus on their studies because of stigma and shame from peers.

6.5.5 Lack of home psychosocial support

Lack of home psychosocial support emerged from the teenage mothers and was associated with the home environment where the family members were upset about a girl-child becoming a mother. This was also reflected in statements such as not being a priority anymore, inadequate parental assistance for the child, being disrespected by family members and loss of trust from parents.

Lack of home psychosocial support negatively affects the education of teenage mothers. The most affected are those who may be viewed as less important because of the pregnancy and the child.

The findings coincided with Theron and Dunn (2006), who observed that lack of support from families and social support in communities had negative impact on learners. Similarly, both Mangino (2008) and Jamal (2014) agree that support from home is significant in ensuring that teenage mothers successfully complete their education. De Jonge (2001) agrees that children need assistance to take care of their babies so they can complete their education and further their studies. Therefore, home psychosocial support for teenage mothers is cardinal for their education and career prospects.

6.5.6 Responsibility conflict as a mother and a pupil

Responsibility conflict as a mother and a pupil showed that teenage mothers did not participate in extra-curricular activities because they were always in a hurry to go home and check on their babies due to their demanding roles as a mother and pupil. Arising from these findings, it implies that teenage mothers have to devise coping strategies to keep them afloat both at school and home. Teenage mothers have to make decisions to take up the duty of a mother and a pupil simultaneously. This becomes a challenge for them to decide the course of action. This calls for support to multi-task and ensure that the teenage mothers focus on completing their education. It also shows how being a mother and a learner affects the general performance of teenage mothers. The lack of support for childcare is worsened by having no support from their partners. This is exacerbated by the socio-economic conditions of their own families, which causes stress on themselves and their families.

Similar observations were made by Boulden (2001) in Australia. Boulden noted that balancing the demands of family and school can cause many teenage mothers to feel fatigued and generally stressed. The findings are in agreement with Chigona and Chetty (2007), who observed that expectant learners and adolescent mothers were unable to manage their responsibilities as students and mothers instantaneously.

6.5.7 Financial problems

Financial problems emerged as one big weakness affecting the education and home life of teenage mothers. Lack of school fees and other educational requirements has huge impact on the education of teenage mothers' education in general. Therefore,

when a teenage mother wants to re-enter school, this becomes the biggest obstacle she has to solve to enable her continue with her education. The findings concur with Hubbard (2008), who observed that financial support was significant for the re-entry of teenage mothers into school after maternity leave in Namibia. Others in agreement are Mwansa et al. (2004) and Matlala et al. (2014) who concur that financial support was very critical for teenage mothers' education and their babies. Through the multi-level governance theory, policy networks with CSOs and community members would motivate them to support the education of teenage mothers through grants and support from their families.

6.5.8 Loss of self-esteem

Loss of self-esteem emerged and affected teenage mothers in schools. Low self-esteem was observed in teenage mothers during their participation in class lessons. In terms of behaviour, teenage mothers seemed absent-minded. Loss of self-esteem resulted into absconding from school to attend to house chores and take care of their babies as a way of keeping away from their peers. The loss of self-esteem leads to low participation in class and other extra-curricular activities. Low self-esteem may lead to poor participation in class and eventual learner dropout. The findings are in conformity with Wekesa (2014) in Kenya where it was established that low self-esteem affected the academic performance of many students and other social activities. The multi-level governance theory promotes the participation, engagement and accountability of policy makers and implementers, and through this theory, stakeholders would have deliberated on these challenges and established better interventions. These interventions would then contribute to effective implementation of the Re-entry Policy.

6.5.9 Long distances to and from school

The study revealed that extensive distances to and from school was a big challenge for the teenage mothers. This was as a result of challenges associated with sparsely distributed government schools in the province such that there were long distances from the villages and between schools. The long distances contributed to low motivation of continuing with education as pregnant girls and teenage mothers were fatigued from school activities and walking back home whilst the child is waiting to be attended to before house chores are done (Bhana et al. 2010). They observed that

distance to school led to teenage pregnancy and learner dropout as those pregnant learners/ mothers from distant places failed to access their schools.

6.6 Existing support systems

The study revealed existing support systems available to the teenage mothers. This was necessary to identify the strength in the context of multiple challenges that could be taken advantage of, to possibly enhance the effectiveness of the current implementation process. Support from CSOs and government department such as the department of social welfare is necessary.

CSOs and school collaborations emerged as a sub-theme in schools in that some CSOs were visiting schools for awareness meetings on sexual disease and unwanted pregnancy so that expectant learners, teenage mothers and other pupils are given appropriate information on sexual and reproductive health rights. This study established that certain schools negotiated for sexual reproductive services for learners to make them aware of options they have to prevent unwanted pregnancies and protect themselves from HIV/AIDs and STIs. Counselling services can also be obtained from the CSOs and health personnel can give talks to learners on pregnancy prevention, HIV and STIs when invited by the school.

School support was found to be effective by CSA (2008); Elimu Yetu Coalition (2005) and Namibia MoE (2008) where the CSOs were also used to create awareness on the re-entry policy so that it is supported. Policy networks with CSOs as advocated by the multi-level governance theory are useful in providing support to teenage mothers and other vulnerable learners in schools.

6.6.1 Government effort via social welfare

The study revealed that the collaborations between government departments like social welfare served as a key support system in sensitising parents in communities and in schools on the importance of education and discouraging them from early marriage and many socio-economic issues affecting communities. The ties that existed between the school and the department of social welfare represented a conducive network and potential for effective implementation of the re-entry policy.

Social welfare is a well-known department among communities especially in rural areas because of its role in dealing with vulnerability groups in society.

The findings were in conformity with Runhare (2010), who established that partnerships promoted through principles of equally shared roles between schools and families and also other institutions like churches, clinics and political and government structures were very important. This kind of tie can be strengthened during implementation with the help of the multi-level governance theory on condition that top-down and bottom-up models are harmonised to offer support for effective policy implementation.

6.6.2 Parental and pupil support

Parental support is significant for the re-entry of teenage mothers into schools. It was revealed in the parents' willingness to let their daughters continue with school and their perception of the policy as a helpful initiative. The support from parents is more crucial as observed by other scholars (Grant and Hallman, 2006; Bhana et al. 2012). Without parental support, teenage mothers would not return to school on time because their support in terms of physical, financial, social and moral aspects are critical for their re-entry. Even if the re-entry is allowed by the policy, without enforcement, the schools would have done nothing to bring the teenage mothers back to school, unless the re-entry policy provided teenage mothers with all the necessary support that includes childcare and school fees, among others.

Bhana et al. (2010) also observed that support for teenage mothers and pregnant learners encourages gender equality and alleviates effects of early pregnancy. Other scholars too observed that parental support for teenage mothers is key for them to realise their full potential after re-entry into school (Cassel, 2002; Matlala et al. 2014). Much of the support from home was in form of childcare and school fees. The support was not only from natal members, but even the community at large. Other studies in the USA indicate that inadequate parental and peers care leads to high dropout rates (Cassell, 2002; McClelland et al. (2013).

6.7 Chapter summary

Discussions on findings about the re-entry policy implementation in schools have been presented in this chapter. The study has established that the policy is implemented by school administrators and teachers while the DEBS supervises the implementation, though in a very limited way through the provision of guidelines and the receipt of statistics on the teenage mothers in schools to monitor the implementation process. The study has established that the stakeholders were not engaged at the formulation stage, resulting in ineffective policy implementation. Lack of participation, engagement, accountability and policy networks among the stakeholders, as provided for by the multi-level governance theory, contributed to the ineffective strategy implementation. The study has established that the re-entry policy is only implemented in government schools and not mission schools, creating a demand for limited spaces in the former. The next chapter explores the conclusions, summary and recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the findings of this research in relation to the research questions. This chapter makes conclusions and recommendations on re-entry policy implementation in secondary schools. The conclusions are made based on the findings of the study. The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part of this chapter discusses the summary of findings of the study. The second part is on the significance of the study. The third part looks at the contributions made to new knowledge. Lastly, proposals for further research are considered.

7.2 Summary of main findings

The summary of the findings have been discussed according to the research questions. The first one concerned the re-entry policy implementation. The aim of the study was to find out how the re-entry policy was implemented in secondary schools in Monze District, Southern Province, Zambia. In order to have in-depth knowledge of this study, the researcher used the qualitative approach that sought a comprehensive understanding of the policy through several participants in their own natural setting. Through interviews, documents and field notes, in-depth information on this topic was obtained from participants who included Ministry of Education officials, head teachers, teachers, guidance and counselling teachers, pupils, teenage mothers and parents. The integration of findings from these participants assisted the researcher to triangulate the information and increased credibility of the study. The study had four key research questions with several themes that were identified (refer to chapter 5). The summary of the study findings has been presented, preceded by the specific research questions.

7.3 Responding to research questions

Main question

How is the re-entry policy for teenage mothers implemented in secondary schools?

The study established that the provincial and district offices have very little to do with the return strategy for teenage mothers. The head teachers, guidance and counselling

teachers and class teachers manage the execution of the policy in schools. The MoE officials at national level formulated the policy, while the provincial and district level officials supervised its implementation in schools. The multi-level governance theory promotes the participation and engagement of stakeholders at policy design and implementation levels. The reason for this is to encourage ownership of the policies and their successful application. MoE failed to engage the head teachers, parents, teenage mother and learners at the time of formulating the re-entry policy but asked them to implement it.

Therefore, failure to consider the views of the implementers implies that there is no uniformity in the way implementers (head teachers, teachers, parents and teenage mothers) implement the re-entry policy. For instance, in Monze District, the study has established that only one school had guidelines while the other three did not have. The absence of the re-entry policy guidelines in schools has an impact on policy implementation. As a result, some head teachers and teachers did not know when a pregnant learner would take maternity leave and how many times a pupil would be allowed to re-enter school after pregnancy. Lack of this information was attributed to the non-availability of the re-entry policy guidelines in schools and lack of participation, engagement and decision-making in the policy implementation process. This further affects the ability of implementers to be accountable to the beneficiaries in schools and communities.

The re-entry policy was implemented differently in government and mission schools. In mission schools a transfer was given to the expectant learner on commencement of her maternity leave, and at one government boarding secondary school, teenage mothers are not allowed in boarding school after maternity leave but can re-enter as day scholars. To support uniform policy application implementation of the re-entry policy in schools, guidelines for the policy application should have been availed to schools. Lack of orientation to the re-entry policy and its guidelines meant that the implementers were not familiar with provisions in the guidelines to guide the implementation at school level. Additionally, any concerns that implementers and other partners had on the ground would have been resolved prior to strategy implementation. The re-entry policy was formulated by technocrats who have no idea of what goes on the ground and what the critical needs would be to effectively implement such a policy.

The findings revealed that identification of expectant learners was the first thing in the process of implementing the re-entry policy. The identification of expectant learners was reported to have been the responsibility of class teachers in day schools and matrons in boarding schools. The study also revealed that for those in boarding schools, clinical tests of pregnancy were done at a nearby clinic while most of the teachers at day schools cited observational method as a way of identifying expectant learners. The study revealed that some schools also waited until the pregnancy was visible and impossible to hide before they took action.

Counselling services are available in schools and the counselling teachers are present too. However, the department has a lot of inadequacies such as lack of professionally trained guidance and counselling teachers, lack of room for confidential counselling services, unclear scheduling of the services and poor record keeping of key re-entry policy documents. The guidance teachers are appointed by virtue of their experience and character, hence rendering the guidance and counselling department ineffective. In addition, the schedule of counselling services is not available and pupils and learners requiring the service have to occasionally chance it. This study also found that twenty years after the introduction of the re-entry policy in schools, teachers, parents and learners still have negative perceptions about it, hence the need for continuous community engagement, training and counselling to minimise the stigma attached to teenage pregnancy and motherhood. This would ultimately contribute to change of mind-set on the policy, hence smooth teenage mother integration in schools.

Re-entry policy awareness strategies in schools are limited to the school environment only as they are done during Parents Teachers Association (PTA) meetings, excluding the parents whose children are part of the said schools. An inclusive awareness strategy is key especially outside the school to capture future learners and parents whose children are not members of the school so that they are aware of the re-entry policy. The fact that they are only conducted in schools limits the level of engagement and awareness as the remote areas were not included and the strategic departments like the ministries of Health, Social Welfare and Chiefs and Traditional Affairs were completely left out. If sensitisation was jointly done with these strategic partners, more people would have been reached on the ground. However, it was important to note that the head teachers' mandate was limited to their school environments only.

Nevertheless, the MoE can lobby strategic partners such as civil society organisations (CSOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs), traditional leaders and churches to work with schools on the ground in promoting responsiveness of the re-entry policy and its benefits to the teenage mothers and the communities. If this was jointly done, there would be joint responses to the challenges of teenage pregnancy, teenage motherhood, early marriages and other socio-cultural issues that negatively affect the education sector in the communities. Awareness meetings should promote learners' right to education, including pregnant learners, the disabled and all others, emphasising the benefits of education.

Research question 1

What opportunities does the re-entry policy offer for the teenage mothers, schools and communities?

The re-entry policy offers pupils a chance to complete their education as it is their human right as provided under the Zambian Education Act and the Constitution. Educated girls have several benefits both to their immediate families and the nation at large. Therefore, promoting their education is cardinal for ensuring the reality of their contributions to society.

Provision of comprehensive sexuality education to learners was an opportunity that came with the re-entry policy. The study established that comprehensive sexuality education is integrated in other subjects such as Religious Education and Biology. Hence, it is not examinable and not taught in a detailed way, making the learners more suspicious and inquisitive to venture in sexual-related activities. The study also established that the school and health centre relationship existed on the ground and this was an avenue for the provision of some health services to learning institutions.

Research question 2

What are the challenges experienced by teenage mothers and how are they addressed by policy implementers in secondary schools?

Teenage mothers face various challenges that affect their education, according to this study. These were also experienced at home and in the community. The challenges have a negative impact on their education if not mitigated. Peer bullying, shame, low self-esteem, academic problems were challenges teenage mothers faced at schools,

both in developing and developed countries. To provide a conducive environment for learners, head teachers and career guidance and counselling teachers need to counsel the teachers and learners on the impact of stigma on teenage mothers and expectant learners. The teenage mothers opted for transfer to avoid being stigmatised while others chose to ignore and focus on their studies. Those who continued at the same school did so due to limited secondary school places in the district and proximity to nearby schools. However, peer bullying and shame secluded them from other co-curricular activities such as sports and clubs.

Head teachers and teachers were aware of the academic challenges faced by teenage mothers such as poor concentration in class and absenteeism, which lead to low academic performance. The study found that there was no academic support given to teenage mothers even in form of access to educational materials and extra lessons or tuitions. They struggled to find a way of coping with these academic challenges. Despite the challenges the learners faced, the study revealed that they were motivated to work hard, pursue their different careers, and take care of their children.

Teenage mothers also faced various challenges at home/community and school. The home environment in some cases was not conducive, as parents still demanded that teenage mothers perform their house chores, go to school and take care of their babies after school. The difficulties the teenage mothers faced in multi-tasking exacerbated the challenge of concentration in class. This responsibility conflict is huge for a young mother and maintaining a balance takes a lot of courage and determination. Support at home, especially childcare and in school is crucial for teenage mothers' re-entry into school.

The financial challenges with regard to school fees and the needs of the baby also hinder the education of teenage mothers. Some families could not afford to spend extra resources for the upkeep of the baby and the adolescent mother's school. Therefore, those with support re- entered immediately after childbirth but others who did not have this kind of support had to wait until they weaned off their babies and their parents secured their school fees. Some of the teenage mothers engaged in small businesses to raise money for milk and school fees and when they had no milk and a baby-sitter, they opted to abscond class.

Research question 3

Which support systems are in place to enhance the implementation of the re-entry policy?

The study revealed that schools were working with the health centres in the nearby areas to provide health-related services to teenage mothers and other pupils. These services empowered learners with knowledge on sexual reproductive services, unwanted pregnancy and the contraction of diseases.

NGOs, department of Social Welfare and school ties are also good for learners as they provide a good opportunity for support. However, some schools were working with international NGOs that have constructed structures for the promotion of girls' education in schools and provided minimal support in terms of school learning materials. The social welfare department, working with schools, similarly conducted awareness programmes on early marriages, education of vulnerable groups and sexual gender-based violence.

Research question 4

What framework can be designed to ensure the effective implementation of the re-entry policy?

The framework for effective public policy implementation based on the multi-level governance theory and study findings has been developed (see section 7.5.2 below). This framework provides useful information on effective policy implementation by involving stakeholders' right from the formulation stage.

7.4 Study limitations

This study had a number of limitations stemming from the data sampling procedure. Purposive sampling was used to enable the researcher to obtain information from knowledgeable people who understand the phenomenon well, according to Creswell, (2013) and Cohen et al. (2011). As a result, the researcher obtained rich information but there was a threat of excluding other participants who could have been reached through other methods, thus adding diversity to the study.

Despite triangulating the data sources (teenage mothers, pupils, teachers and parents), which increased the credibility of the research results, the findings are not generalisable because of the small sample size the researcher used.

Additionally, the study focussed on teenage mothers only and not their partners as per study objectives.

Lastly, the intended documentary evidence from the schools was not utilised because poor record keeping. The researcher intended to analyse the re-entry policy documents such as the leave and re-entry forms and counselling records, among others, but these were not available in all the four schools. These documents would have provided a better trail on the re-entry policy implementation process in secondary schools where this study was conducted.

7.5 Contribution of the study

This study has provided new information on a model and knowledge of the re-entry policy implementation for teenage mothers in secondary schools.

7.5.1 Significance of the study to policy and practice

This section discusses the new knowledge the study is contributing to public policy implementation. While discussing the findings of the study, the researcher identified a unique contribution to effective public strategy application, which the main section emphasises. Below are following contributions are made by the researcher.

Firstly, the researcher has identified lack of *participation* at policy formulation and implementation level to be the main reason for poor public policy implementation. Participation in both policy formulation and its implementation is critical in the sense that such participation creates the sense of ownership which in turn promotes effective policy implementation (Weimer and Diez, 2003). The multi-level governance theory promotes the participation of stakeholders during policy formulation and implementation for support, ownership and effective policy implementation. The various stakeholders on the ground, namely parents, teachers and interested policy networks (individuals and institutions) need to deliberate on how the public policy should be formulated and implemented (Schmiter, 2002; Dahl, 1989). This highlights the need for the identification of possible challenges on the ground and the

understanding of the context within which public policies are intended to be implemented.

Secondly, policy *awareness* levels in outlying rural areas are low because of lack of *engagement* in decision-making at these levels. Logically, the public can only support that which they are familiar with and knowledgeable about. Policy awareness is very important for policy implementation, and inclusion in decision-making is a key element here. Schools, parents and interest groups on the ground should be included in decision-making so that they can own the policy and not feel excluded or 'alienated' from its intended goals. Policy networks through civil society organisations (CSOs), community based organisations (CBOs) and local structures on the ground are useful in this regard. Public policy awareness through various avenues such as Parent Teachers' Association meetings, community development meetings and other relevant avenues can be promoted. OECD (2001) highlights ways of engaging the public and this engagement is a very important feature of the multi-level governance theory. Velded (2014) identified lack of engagement of stakeholders as a contributing factor to the failure of management of flood risks in Tanzania. The frequency of dissemination activities as well as participation needs to be agreed upon by stakeholders to promote the positive feeling of inclusion that generates a sense of ownership.

Lastly, the researcher contributes to the advancement of support for teenage mothers in schools. The provision of a school place alone is not adequate to ensure that the expectant learners and teenage mothers complete their education. Schools have to be proactive and ensure that follow-ups are made and academic and financial support is provided for these learners. Coordination with like-minded institutions, individuals and stakeholders promotes effective policy implementation. Policy networks or coordination is another important feature of the multi-level governance theory, and the networks at individual or group level (Nergelius and Zetterquest, 2006; Rechlin, 2004) with stakeholders on the ground are important to ensure that these learners are holistically supported.

7.5.2 Proposed framework for public policy implementation

The proposed framework in figure 7.1 has been developed based on the multi-level governance theory, top-down and bottom-up models and the findings of the study. The

public policy implementation framework shows how stakeholders in public policy can be engaged throughout the policy formulation and implementation process to promote public policy ownership and effective implementation.

Figure 7.1 Public policy implementation framework

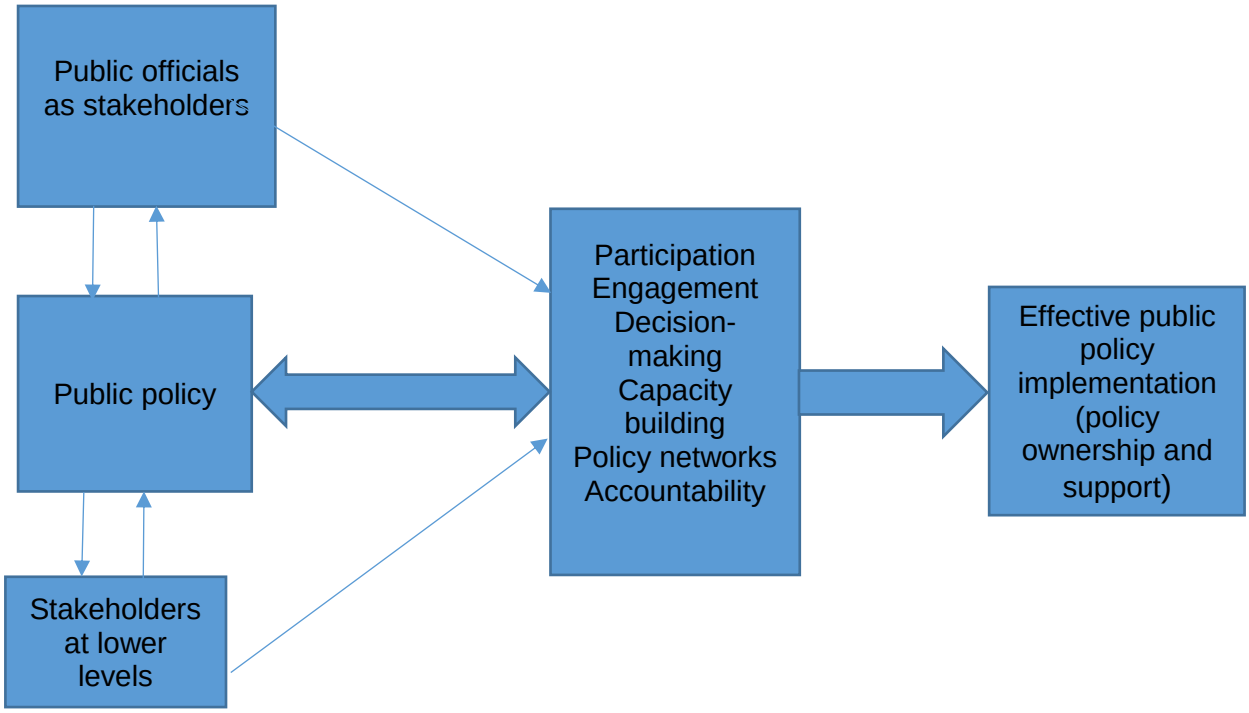


Figure 7.1 above shows the arrows from public officials to public policy and down to stakeholders. This indicates that public officers, together with stakeholders at different levels, need to interact during policy formulation and implementation. Input from both policy formulators and policy implementers is good for effective public policy implementation, support and ownership. The link between public policy and the features of the multi-level governance theory namely participation, engagement, decision-making, and accountability show how the policy formulators and implementers should be able to connect, engage and participate so that they are accountable to each other. Features of governance where the public policy arrow has two pointers shows that public policy must be participatory, stakeholders be engaged in decision-making, policy networks be promoted and the capacity of implementers built so that they are accountable for their decisions made during the implementation process. The interactions between public officials in charge of policy formulation, the

implementers and the beneficiaries create opportunities for policy refinement and ultimately effective implementation due to policy support and ownership.

7.6 Conclusions of the study

Stakeholder engagement for the design and implementation of public policy is significant for policy implementers and beneficiaries. The re-entry policy is not well implemented, as there are no policy guidelines in schools, compelling stakeholders to implement it their own way resulting in different outcomes. Nevertheless, the findings demonstrate that the re-entry policy had notable achievements such as the re-admission and completion of teenage mothers' education, awareness of the re-entry policy, strengthening of CSE in schools and collaborations between schools and NGOs, and other government departments.

Therefore, the study makes the following conclusions:

- The re-entry policy formulation and implementation should be participatory and inclusive to allow all stakeholders to have their input in public policy formulation for effective policy implementation. Ineffective re-entry policy implementation is attributed to poor policy engagement and lack of stakeholder participation and accountability in public policy.

- The poor coordination of the re-entry policy implementation by MoE in schools, implies that each of the partners had different roles on the clarity of activities that had brought different approaches to the application of the public strategy. The re-entry policy is implemented in government schools and not mission schools, which have their own reservations.

- The realisation by the stakeholders, schools, communities and the nation at large in re-entering the teenage mothers into school after teenage pregnancy is a good opportunity that the re-entry policy offers to teenage mothers.

- Lack of re-entry policy guidelines in schools as well as trained counselling officers affects the execution of the policy and renders it ineffective.

- Although the return strategy was implemented, it had many weaknesses such as the lack of policy guidelines and poor parental awareness.

- Despite implementing the re-entry policy, various challenges have negatively affected the teenage mothers. These include peer discrimination, peer bullying, academic challenges, shame, lack of home psychological support, conflicting responsibilities, financial constraints, loss of self-esteem and long distance to and from school.

- There are existing support systems for re-entry policy implementation for teenage mothers that included NGOs-school ties, school-department of Social Welfare ties and parental and pupil support. The coordination of the available support systems can contribute to successful policy implementation.

To effectively apply the return strategy in schools and promote ownership by stakeholders, the following recommendations are made:

- Government should ensure that the development of policies and implementation is participatory and engages stakeholders to promote and guarantee sustainability.

- School head teachers should be given orientation on the implementation of educational policies after their appointment and they should be given clear instructions on their key roles. This would ensure effective implementation of the strategy.

- The government through the responsible ministry, should strengthen the re-entry policy, other supporting policies and laws that can promote gender equality and inclusion to enhance educational opportunities.

- The MoE should train counsellors in schools for professional counselling services required by teenage mothers, pupils and parents. The counsellors

should be employed on full-time basis or they should be given less work to focus on providing counselling services.

- NGOs-school ties, school-department of Social Welfare ties and parental and pupil support should continue collaborating to promote the education of the vulnerable learners, including teenage mothers.

7.7 Recommendations for further research

The researcher proposes that the subsequent topics be investigated for future research:

- Achievements attained by teenage mothers who have benefited from the Re-entry Policy. How can these inspire other expectant learners and teenage mothers in schools?
-
- How mission are schools implementing the re-entry policy and what is the impact on expectant learners and their families?

- The role of the guidance and counselling department in schools with regard to the execution of the return strategy.

- Managing stigma from teachers and pupils in schools and its impact on the teenage mothers' academic and social life.

7.8 Chapter summary

This study has established that the re-entry policy was not well implemented in secondary schools in Monze District owing to several reasons. Firstly, the policy formulation and implementation process was not participatory as it excluded key stakeholders such as head teachers, teachers and parents. The multi-level governance theory is useful in understanding how public policies can be effectively implemented in the engagement of key participants to promote policy ownership.

The findings have also established that the policy is implemented differently in mission schools and government schools. While government schools allow teenage mothers

in schools, mission schools simply transfer the expectant learners at the time they apply for maternity leave.

The implementation of the re-entry policy is hampered by lack of guidelines, lack of professionally trained school counsellors, and lack of orientation of implementers on the policy and its implementation and limited awareness strategies. However, there are many opportunities presented by the re-entry policy such as continuation of education and provision of comprehensive sexuality education despite it being integrated with other subjects. Contrary, the policy is still not appreciated by some implementers who feel that it promotes promiscuity among learners and this can affect the re-entry of learners into school and also its implementation.

The study established that teenage mothers face various challenges at school and home and the academic challenges they face can be ameliorated with extra support from school. The support systems in place need to be strengthened by engaging more partners, on public policy design and execution for them to have an impact on learners.

The study found inconsistency with the theoretical framework that underpinned this study called multi-level governance theory. Lack of participation by policy implementers and beneficiaries means lack of ownership and support for the policy, which in some way explains the low re-entry rates in Southern Province and Monze District in particular.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter for permission to conduct research

University of Pretoria

Faculty of Education

Department of Education Management and Policy Studies

South Africa

Dear Sir/Madam,

INTRODUCTORY LETTER TO THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

I'm a registered PhD student in the Department of Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria. I'm conducting a study on the Implementation of the Re-entry policy for teenage mothers in Zambian secondary schools. To establish how the policy is implemented, I need to interview the education officers, head teachers, teachers, parents, teenage mothers and learners. I therefore request to conduct the above research in your institutions. I would also like to assure you that all the information gathered will be kept confidentially. Participants' names will not be used and each of them will have to sign a consent form showing that they can either choose to participate or decline to participate in the study. The consent form also allows the participants to withdraw from the study at any point should they feel uncomfortable to continue.

Thanking you in anticipation.

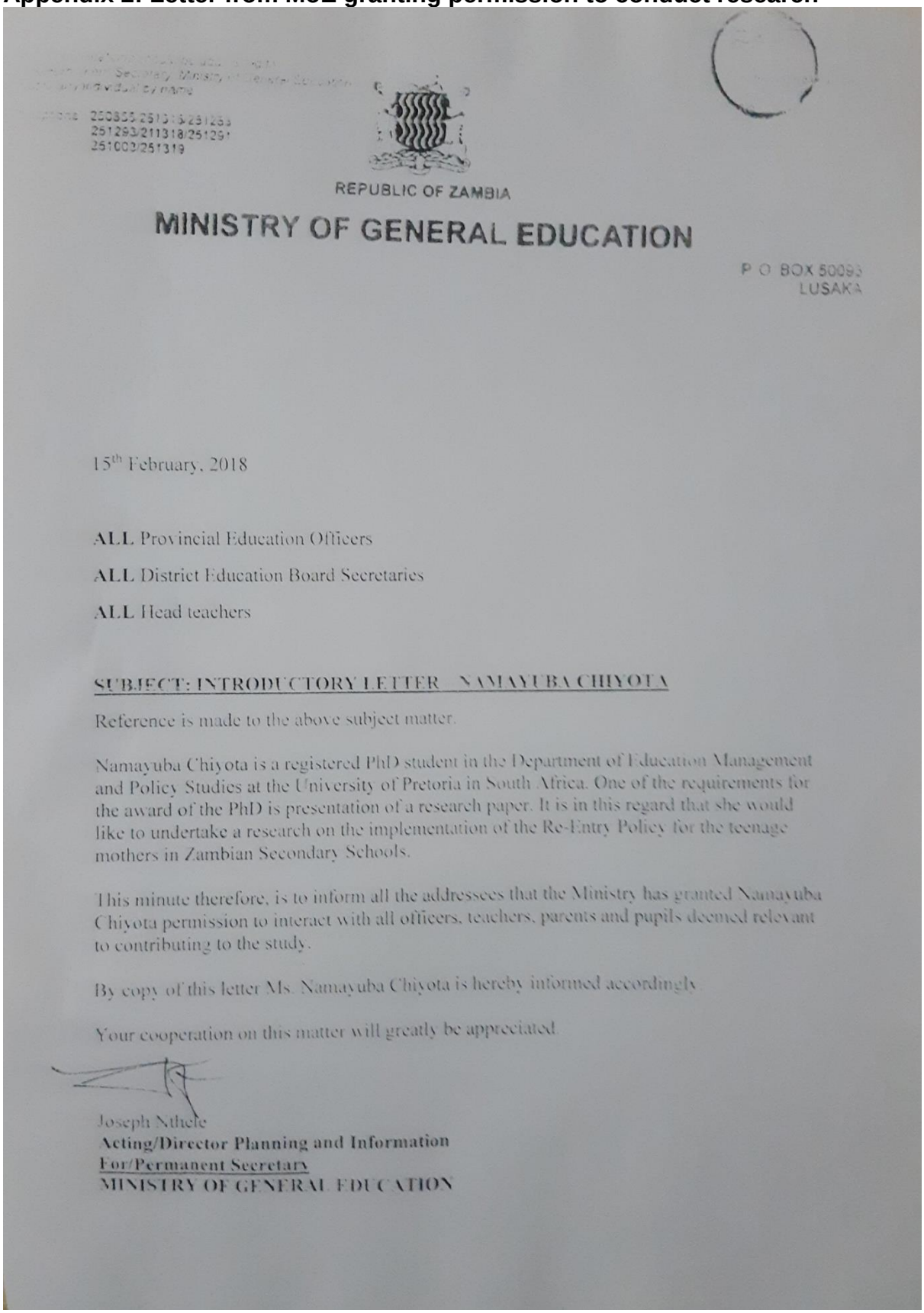
Yours faithfully,

Namayuba Chiyota

+260977879899

Email: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk

Appendix 2: Letter from MoE granting permission to conduct research



REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

P O BOX 50093
LUSAKA

15th February, 2018

ALL Provincial Education Officers

ALL District Education Board Secretaries

ALL Head teachers

SUBJECT: INTRODUCTORY LETTER – NAMAYUBA CHIYOTA

Reference is made to the above subject matter.

Namayuba Chiyota is a registered PhD student in the Department of Education Management and Policy Studies at the University of Pretoria in South Africa. One of the requirements for the award of the PhD is presentation of a research paper. It is in this regard that she would like to undertake a research on the implementation of the Re-Entry Policy for the teenage mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.

This minute therefore, is to inform all the addressees that the Ministry has granted Namayuba Chiyota permission to interact with all officers, teachers, parents and pupils deemed relevant to contributing to the study.

By copy of this letter Ms. Namayuba Chiyota is hereby informed accordingly.

Your cooperation on this matter will greatly be appreciated.

Joseph Nthele
Acting/Director Planning and Information
For/Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF GENERAL EDUCATION

Appendix 3: Letter to MoE Officials/ consent letter

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date ……..

The Provincial Standards Education Officer/ MoE Official

I am a student enrolled for my PhD degree in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. I wish to conduct research and present a written report on the topic: **Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** Therefore, I am requesting permission from your office to conduct the research at your school between June and July 2017.

The study will investigate how the Re-entry Policy for teenage mothers is implemented in Zambian secondary schools. Similar studies have been conducted in foreign countries, but I wish to establish how secondary schools in Zambia are implementing the policy. Interviews and document analysis, supported by field notes, will be conducted to obtain information in this study. Interviews with head teachers, teachers/ career teachers, teenage mothers in and out of school, learners and parents will be held.

The teachers, teenage mothers and learners will be interviewed. The interviews will last for no more than one hour and I trust that they will not interrupt school activities and teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed for analytical purposes and conducted at a venue and time convenient to the participants. All the information obtained will be kept private and confidential.

Documents dealing with the leave process for teenage mothers will form part of this research. This information will only be accessed by myself and my supervisor. Field notes will also be made to support the results that will be reflected in this study.

The learners will participate in focus group interviews. In addition, the parents will be required to sign a letter informing them about the research and giving their consent. The teenage mothers, teachers and learners' participation is voluntary and they can withdraw their participation at any given time. The identity of all participants will be protected using pseudonyms throughout the data collection and analysis processes. The researcher will ensure that the data collected will only be used for academic purposes.

Data collected for the study will be in my or my supervisor's possession and it will be locked away for safety purposes. After the completion of this study, the material will be stored in the university's Department of Education Policy and Management Studies - according to the policy requirements. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or myself using the email below.

Signature……..
Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk
Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I……., Ministry of Education official of……agree/do not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to allow……to conduct research at this school. The topic of the research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** I understand that the teachers/career teachers, teenage mothers and learners will be interviewed for no more than one hour at a venue and time that is suitable and will not interrupt school activities or teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped.

I understand that records related to the Re-entry Policy will be analysed by the researcher and other observations made will be recorded as field notes. The learners, teenage mothers and parents or guardians will receive letters of information regarding the research study.

I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research, which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy* which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants, will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date:……

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 4: Letter for head teachers and consent forms

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date:……

Dear head teacher

I am a student enrolled for my PhD degree in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. I wish to conduct research and present a written report on the topic: **Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** Therefore, I am requesting permission from your office to conduct the research at your school between June and July 2017.

The study will investigate how the Re-entry Policy for teenage mothers is implemented in Zambian secondary schools. Similar studies have been conducted in foreign countries, but I wish to establish how secondary schools in Zambia are implementing the policy. Interviews and document analysis supported by field notes will be conducted to obtain information in this study. Interviews with head teachers, teachers/career teachers, teenage mothers in and out of school, learners and parents will be held.

The teachers, teenage mothers and learners will be interviewed. The interviews will last for no more than one hour and I trust that they will not interrupt school activities and teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed for analytical purposes and conducted at a venue and time convenient to the participants. All the information obtained will be kept private and confidential.

Documents dealing with the leave process for teenage mothers will form part of this research. This information will only be accessed by myself and my supervisor. Field notes will also be made to support the results that will be reflected in this study.
The learners will participate in focus group interviews. In addition, the parents will be required to sign a letter informing them about the research and giving their consent. The teenage mothers, teachers and learners' participation is voluntary and they can withdraw their participation at any given time. The identity of all participants will be protected using pseudonyms throughout the data collection and analysis processes. The researcher will ensure that the data collected will only be used for academic purposes.
Data collected for the study will be in my or my supervisor's possession and it will be locked away for safety purposes. After the completion of this study the material will be stored in the university's Department of Education Policy and Management Studies - according to the policy requirements. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or myself using the email below.
Signature……..
Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk

Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I……, teacher/career guidance teacher of…….agree/ not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to allow……
to conduct research with me and my learners at this school. The topic of the research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** I understand that the teachers/career teachers, teenage mothers and learners will be interviewed for not more than one hour at a venue and time that is suitable and will not interrupt school activities or teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped.
I understand that records related to the Re-entry Policy will be analysed by the researcher and other observations made will be recorded as field notes. The learners, teenage mothers and parents or guardians will receive letters of information regarding the research study.
I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy*, which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants, will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date:……

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 5: Letter for teachers/guidance & counselling teachers and consent form

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date:……

Dear teacher/ career guidance teacher
I am a student currently enrolled for my PhD D degree in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. I wish to conduct research and present a report on my work. I am requesting permission to interview you and your learners for my study which is entitled: **Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** Similar research has been conducted on this topic in other countries, but I wish to establish what the situation is in Zambia.

The research study will investigate how the Re-entry Policy for teenage mothers is implemented in secondary schools. If you agree to participate an interview will be conducted with you and your learners. The interviews will last for not more than one hour and I trust that they will not interrupt school activities and teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped and transcribed for analytical purposes and they will be conducted at a venue and time convenient to participants. All the information obtained will be kept private and confidential.
Documents dealing with the leave process for teenage mothers will form part of this research. This information will only be accessed by myself and my supervisor. Field notes will also be made to support the results that will be reflected in this study.
The learners will participate in focus group interviews. In addition, the parents will be required to sign a letter informing them about the research and giving their consent. The teenage mothers', teachers' and learners' participation is voluntary and they can withdraw their participation at any given time. The identity of all participants will be protected using pseudonyms throughout the data collection and analysis processes. The researcher will ensure that the data collected will only be used for academic purposes.
Data collected for the study will be in my or my supervisor's possession and it will be locked away for safety purposes. After the completion of this study the material will be stored in the university's Department of Education Policy and Management Studies - according to the policy requirements. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or myself using the email below:
Signature……..
Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk
Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I……, teacher/career guidance teacher of…….agree/ not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to allow……to conduct research with me and my learners at this school. The topic of the research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** I understand that the teachers/career teachers, teenage mothers and learners will be interviewed for not more than one hour at a venue and time that is suitable and will not interrupt school activities or teaching time. The interviews will be audio-taped.

I understand that records related to the Re-entry Policy will be analysed by the researcher and other observations made will be recorded as field notes. The learners, teenage mothers and parents or guardians will receive letters of information regarding the research study.

I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy* which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date:……

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 6: Letter for Parent/Guardian & Consent form

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date:……

Dear parent/guardian

I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at University of Pretoria in South Africa. I would like to invite you to participate in the research I am undertaking as part of my doctoral studies. The title of my research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** Ministry of Education officials and head teachers are the main implementing agents of this policy and that is why their views are a focus of this research. Your participation and views are important for this research. However, you are under no obligation to be involved.

Should you agree to participate you will be asked to be part of a focus group and give permission for your daughter to participate in the research - if she agrees to do so. Should you or your daughter feel the need to withdraw from the project, you or she are entitled to do so without question at any time before the data collection and analysis has been completed.

The collected responses will help me greatly in my research. It will not be possible for you or your daughter to be identified personally as all material and information collected will be kept confidential. No other person besides myself and my supervisors will have access to the collected information. You will have a right to check the notes taken after the interviews or discussions and at a follow-up meeting and the right to change or make amendments to the gathered data. Data will be collected using a tape recorder or written notes - whichever is agreed upon. The final report will be submitted for marking to the Faculty of Education and deposited in the university library. It is intended that an article will be submitted for publication in an academic journal. All collected material will be destroyed five years after the end of the project.

If you have any questions or require further information about the project, please contact me or my supervisors using the details below.

Signature:_____

Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk
Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I…….(parent) agree/do not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to allow…… to interview my child ……on the research topic**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.**

I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy* which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date …….
Place……..

Witness/ researcher
Name……..
Signature……
Date…….
Place……..

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 7: Interview guide for MoE officials

Time of interview:……
Duration:……
Date:……
Place:……
Interviewer:……
Interviewee:……..
Gender: Male:……..
Female:……

1. Name of district……
2. How many students are in this district?.....
3. How many students have dropped out annually due to pregnancy in the past 5 years?
   ……
   ……
4. What is the MoE policy on teenage pregnancy?
   ……
   ……..

   ……
   ……..
5. How is the Re-entry Policy implemented in secondary schools in this district?.....
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……..
6. What opportunities does the policy offer teenage mothers, schools and communities?
   ……
   ……..

   ……
   ……

   ……
   ……
7. What are the challenges experienced by the teenage mothers, schools and communities and how are they addressed?
   ……
   ……

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8. What support systems can be developed to enhance the effective implementation of this policy?

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9. What is the best way of effectively implementing the Re-entry Policy?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Appendix 8: Interview guide for head teachers

Time of interview : ..…… Duration : ……..……
Date :……
Place :…….
Interviewee :…….
Interviewer :……..
Gender: Male :……..
Female :……

1. How many learners are in your school?.....
2. How many learners have dropped out in the last five years due to pregnancy?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
3. What is the Ministry of Education's policy regarding teenage pregnancy in schools?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
4. How is the Re-entry Policy implemented in your school?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
5. How many students have re-entered education after pregnancy?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
6. What are the major reasons for their not re-entering school?
   ……
   ……
   ……

……
……

7. What have you done to follow up on those who do not re-enter?
……
……
……
……

8. What opportunities does the policy provide for teenage mothers, schools and communities?
……
……
……
……
……

9. What challenges do the teenage mothers, schools and communities face and how are they addressed?
.....
.....
.....
.....

10. What support systems can be developed to enhance the effective implementation of the policy?
……
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……
……
……

11. What effective implementation framework can be designed to ensure the effective implementation of the Re-entry Policy?
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.....
.....

Appendix 9: Interview guide for teachers/ guidance and counselling teachers

Time of interview : ..…… Duration : ……..…….
Date :…….
Place :……
Interviewee :……
Interviewer :……
Gender: Male :……
Female :……

1. What is the main cause of girls dropping out in your school?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
2. What happens when girls become pregnant?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
3. How is the Re-entry Policy implemented in your school?
   .....
   .....
   .....
   .....
4. Is any form of counselling given to the girls who become pregnant?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
5. What opportunities are there for implementing the Re-entry Policy in schools for teenage mothers, schools and communities?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

6. What challenges do teenage mothers face and how are they addressed?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
7. What is the impact of these challenges on the academic lives of the students?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
8. Do the teenage mothers approach you for any help regarding the challenges they face?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
9. What support systems can be developed to enhance the effective implementation of the Re-entry Policy?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
10. What effective framework can be designed to effectively implement the Re-entry Policy in schools?
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

Appendix 10: Letter for parent/guardian & consent form

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date:……

Dear parent/ guardian

I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at University of Pretoria in South Africa. I would like to request for permission for your child to participate in the research I am undertaking as part of my doctoral studies. The title of my research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** The teenage mothers and learners are involved in the main implementation of this policy and that is why their views are a focus of this research. Your response for their participation and views are important for this research. However, you are under no obligation to be involved.

Should you agree, you will allow your child to participate in a focus group and give permission for him/her to participate in the individual interview research - if she agrees to do so. Should your child feel the need to withdraw from the project, she/he is entitled to do so without question at any time before the data collection and analysis has been completed.

The collected responses will help me greatly in my research. It will not be possible for your child to be identified personally as all material and information collected will be kept confidential. No other person besides myself and my supervisors will have access to the collected information. Your child will have a right to check the notes taken after the interviews or discussions and at a follow-up meeting and the right to change or make amendments to the gathered data. Data will be collected using a tape recorder or written notes - whichever is agreed upon. The final report will be submitted for marking to the Faculty of Education and deposited in the university library. It is intended that an article will be submitted for publication in an academic journal. All collected material will be destroyed five years after the end of the project.

If you have any questions or require further information about the project, please contact me or my supervisors using the details below.

Signature:_____

Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk
Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I…….(parent)agree/do not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to participate on the research topic**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.**

I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy,* which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date ……
Place……..
……
Witness/researcher…….
Name ……..
Signature……..
Date
Place……..
……

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 11: Letter for teenage mother/learner & consent form

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Date:……

Dear Teenage Mother/Learner

I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Education at University of Pretoria in South Africa. I would like to invite you to participate in the research I am undertaking as part of my doctoral studies. The title of my research is**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.** Ministry of Education officials and head teachers are the main implementing agents of this policy and that is why their views are a focus of this research. Your participation and views are important for this research. However, you are under no obligation to be involved.

Should you agree to participate you will be asked to be part of a focus group and individual interview. Should you feel the need to withdraw from the project, you are entitled to do so without question at any time before the data collection and analysis has been completed.

The collected responses will help me greatly in my research. It will not be possible for you to be identified personally as all material and information collected will be kept confidential. No other person besides myself and my supervisors will have access to the collected information. You will have a right to check the notes taken after the interviews or discussions and at a follow-up meeting and the right to change or make amendments to the gathered data. Data will be collected using a tape recorder or written notes - whichever is agreed upon. The final report will be submitted for marking to the Faculty of Education and deposited in the university library. It is intended that an article will be submitted for publication in an academic journal. All collected material will be destroyed five years after the end of the project.

If you have any questions or require further information about the project, please contact me or my supervisors using the details below.

Signature:_____

Name of student: Namayuba Chiyota Email address: namayuba02@yahoo.co.uk
Supervisor: Dr R N Marishane Email address: nmarishane@gmail.com

Consent Form

I…….(teenage mother/learner)agree/do not agree (delete whichever is not applicable) to participate on the research topic**: Implementation of a Re-entry Policy for Teenage Mothers in Zambian Secondary Schools.**

I understand that the researcher subscribes to the following principles:

- *Voluntary participation* in research which means that the participants may withdraw from the research at any time.
- *Privacy* which is the confidentiality and the anonymity of participants will be protected at all times.
- *Informed consent* means that the research participants will at all times be fully informed about the research process and purpose. They are required to give written consent to participate in the research.
- *Trust* means that the participants will not be subjected to any acts of deception or betrayal in the research process and in its published form.

Signature:……..
Date …….
Place……..
……..
Witness/researcher
Name …….
Signature……..
Date
Place……..

Thank you for being prepared to participate in this study.

Appendix 12: Interview guide for teenage mothers

Time of interview : ……..
Duration : ……..……..
Date :……
Place :……
Interviewee :……
Interview :……..

1. How old were you when you became pregnant?.....
2. What was the reaction of the teachers, pupils, parents and the community when you fell pregnant?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……..
3. Did you receive any form of counselling at school and/or at home?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

   ……
   ……
4. Did you know that there is a policy that allows pregnant pupils to return to school after maternity leave?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……
5. In your opinion, how is this policy implemented and what roles do the following people play?
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……

   a) Head teacher……
   b) Teachers……
      ……

c) Pupils and parents……

6. What opportunities do you think the Re-entry Policy offers teenage mothers, the school and the community?

……
……
……
……
……

7. What challenges do you face at school and at home and how are they addressed?

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8. What support systems can be developed to enhance the effective implementation of the Re-entry Policy?

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9. What framework can be designed to effectively implement the Re-entry Policy in schools?

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Appendix 13: Focus group interview guide for parents/ guardians & pupils

Interview guide for parents

1. What is your level of education?
2. How many children do you have, boys and girls?
3. What is the level of education of your children?
4. Are you aware of the Re-entry Policy for teenage mothers?
5. How is the policy being implemented and are you happy with the way it is done?
6. What changes can be made to ensure that it is well implemented or how can it be improved?
7. What challenges do teenage mothers face and how does that affect their education?
8. What opportunities does the policy offer for teenage mothers, schools and communities?
9. Why are few teenage mothers returning to school?
10. What happens in the community when a teenager becomes pregnant?
11. Does your community value the education of girls and boys? How does it do that?

Interview guide for learners

1. Why is education important?
2. What causes many of your fellow learners to drop out of school?
3. What is the role of the career teacher and how often do you contact him/her?
4. Are you aware of the Re-entry Policy for teenage mothers and how it is implemented?
5. What are the advantages of having this policy in place?
6. What challenges does the Re-entry Policy implementation have and how can these challenges be addressed?
7. How best can the Re-entry Policy be effectively implemented in schools?
8. Would you encourage teenage mothers to continue their education after maternity leave?
9. How does your class/other learners support their education?

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

INTERVIEW WITH TEENAGE MOTHER AT SEC SCH 1

(M-Moderator, R-Respondent)

M: Are you free to speak in English?

R: Not very good but I will try.

M: Okay, how old are you

R: 19.

M: When did you start school here?

R: 2016.

M: In which grade?

R: 10.

M: How old were you when you got pregnant?

R: 17

M: What was the reaction of the teachers when they discovered you got pregnant?

R: The teachers, some they get annoyed, because of my behaviour, because I was a good pupil at this school in terms of academic, so some they just give me an advice, don't give up it happens just accept, don't temper to abort this pregnancy.

M: What about other teachers, what did they say?

R: Like the head, he just complained that I should not repeat it in life

M: What about the pupils?

R: They just keep quiet.

M: Nobody talked to you

R: No one madam

M: They were just looking at you.

R: Yes

M: What happened?

R: They just kept quiet, and watched what was going on.

M: What about parents?

R: The parents, my mum got annoyed, and tried to refuse to give me money to come to school.

M: Are you staying with both your parents?

R: No my mum stays in Lusaka, my dad stays on Copperbelt, Chingola

M: So who are you staying with here?

R: I stay with one of the teachers.

M: Are you related to one of the teachers?

R: No

M: But how did you find yourself there?

R: They just got me according to my behaviour madam.

M: No, who is your relative here?

R: No one.

M: You are staying with your teachers?

R: Yes.

M: What does your mother do in Lusaka?

R: Nothing, only business in Matero, she just sells salaula (second hand clothes).

M: When you got pregnant, you were still staying with your teacher?

R: No, I was still staying that side in the dormitory, at the boarding house.

M: Alone?

R: Yes, with my friends.

M: From grade what?

R: From grade 10, I came here in grade 10.

M: And you fell pregnant when you were in grade 10?

R: Yes.

M: You just stay with the teachers.

R: Yes.

M: How did they react when you got pregnant?

R: They get annoyed, they said after my baby is 5 months, I should go and stay with them at Chisekesi in town.

M: Okay, so who is keeping your baby?

R: My grandmother.

M: Does she stay around here?

R: No, at Mapanza.

M: What about the man who was responsible for your pregnancy?

R: The same man.

M: He stays around?

R: No

M: Is he supporting the child?

R: No.

M: Did you receive any form of counselling at school when you became pregnant?

R: No.

M: Did they talk to you, the guidance and counselling teachers at this school?

R: No.

M: But how did they know that you were pregnant if they didn't talk to you?

R: They were doubting because my pregnancy wasn't too big, it was just small, only the breast shows so they were doubting to find if I was pregnant because I was very quiet madam because I wasn't talking to anyone.

M: But they didn't talk to you when they noticed that your breasts were too big

R: No

M: Ah, but then who knew, how did they come to know that you are pregnant, you told the teacher?

R: In the 9th month, I started vomiting, after vomiting, one of the teachers asked me and I said I was just okay. The following day, I went to the clinic, then one of the teachers went to find out, that's how they knew.

M: So when they knew you were pregnant, what did your grandmother say at home?

R: I did not go to grandmother, I went to my mum in Lusaka.

M: What did she say?

R: Ah, she complained.

M: She said a lot of things?

R: Yes

M: Like what, there is no money you will stop school what did she say?

R: Yes issues of money, because my father was refusing to pay for school fees.

M: So which teacher came to see you when you were sick?

R: Mrs. Kapulu.

M: Mrs who?

R: Mrs. Kapulu, one of the teachers at day school

M: Is she the deputy or what?

R: No, just a class teacher.

M: Class teacher?

R: No she just teaches us Zambian language

M: Did you know that there was a policy that allows pregnant girls to come back to school after they have delivered?

R: Yes, I knew but at this school, they were still refusing that law, the head said if you allow that Re-entry Policy at this school, the pupils will continue misbehaving.

M: But how did they allow you back at this school?

R: At the end, the head just agreed, they said let us agree as parents so that pupils come back.

M: So tell me, exactly what happened for you to come back, did you sign any papers when you were going to give birth, and did you sign papers when you were coming back?

R: Yes

M: Who gave you?

R: The deputy.

M: What kind of papers were they?

R: They were rules that were written on them, some to say I should never get pregnant again before I finish then I will have no place, there is no government boarding.

M: There are no boarding hostels I have seen around

R: I should never be seen with a boy in awkward places and time, then I will have no place at this school, so I should make sure I am just here for school.

M: So you followed the rules?

R: Yes, madam.

M: So in what grade are you?

R: 12.

M: How old is your child?

R: 1 year 7 months.

M: So the baby is growing up well?

R: Yes

M: So the head said you should follow the rules carefully?

R: It's written at the school when you want to go on maternity leave, you go to the deputy head's office.

M: What did your class teacher say?

R: She said don't tell anybody until you deliver because some of you may be short tempered or disturbed and you may try to do something that you are not supposed to do, but when I came back, I found that she had been transferred to Chikuni Girls.

M: So you found another class teacher?

R: Yes.

M: But she was told that you are pregnant?

R: The class teacher?

M: Yes

R: I don't think so.

M: Then there is no one who knew that you had a child.

R: All the pupils knew.

M: Oh, they knew, okay. When you came back, did your friends help you to get back to school?

R: There are friends whom I was schooling with helped me, they helped me with Biology, they helped by writing notes for me, and the madam for science had given me books in Biology and Chemistry, that I should be studying whilst I was at home, so that when I get back to school, I will not be behind and the madam who was teaching me Mathematics, also she is on leave, she went to Botswana, she also gave me time to study.

M: What about your parents, how did they help you get back to school?

R: They got the child, so that I have time to concentrate at school.

M: Who takes care of the baby?

R: It's my grandmother, to my mother's side

M: Okay, in your thinking, this helped to go back to school, how did it help you?

R: I have knowledge which I never had, and I can now take care of the child if I put much mind as I do now, I can learn without problems.

M: What do you want to become when you finish?

R: I want to be a nurse.

M: How does the school help you to get you back to school?

R: If we get back to school, they will see that a girl-child is stronger than a boy child, she brings progress in her country for example, like the vice-president, madam Inonge Wina, they take progress to their country because they can't

forget where they come from than a man, when he marries, yes he can't be compared with a girl child, he will only be taking to the wife's side.

M: What about the community, what benefits does the community help that people get back to school?

R: Before we talk about getting back to school, the parents need to educate us on the importance of school and to keep away from boys, when you come near a boy, you can become pregnant, or contract diseases.

M: They teach you here, how to take care of yourselves, you girls?

R: Yes they do, maybe per month once, how one is supposed to conduct herself near boys. There is family planning, use family planning which only protects you from pregnancy and not HIV or STIs. It can't protect you can be at a loss, so you must make sure you do what you are supposed to do.

M: When you finish school, how can you help in your places where you come from

R: If where we come from there are a lot of old people who cannot manage to work, they are old, they need to be given help, it's not only those that gave birth to you, whoever is old, and it's not only buying sugar for them, they will never stop demanding for sugar, you need to find out, has this old lady a field, has fertilizer been applied to the field? That's where you need to help because they will be able to buy their own sugar and so forth.

M: Like you teenage mothers, what challenges are you facing at school? Let's start at school.

R: The challenge is that, in case a child gets sick at home, we are not allowed with phones here, maybe the child is sick at home, there are sicknesses whereby the child gets seriously sick, so you learn late about the child's sickness, sometimes a child gets very sick and forced to go to the hospital, sometimes they call the head, but the number is constantly engaged, so there is a lot of challenges

M: What are the challenges you face at home that affects your education?

R: Maybe madam, school fees are late, as a head he will not accept that these have no money, them they will just look at the period looking at when the school opened, and they chase you at school, you at school, you try to find out, they say they have not yet found the money and that disturbs you, so as parents, they need to prepare on time so that when schools open they should be able to pay on time.

M: What problems oh those are the problems at home. At school, don't your fellow pupils talk about, we learn with people who have children, are there bad comments they pass about learning with teenage mothers?

R: I don't know unless the boys, you can't know that these boys have children, they are not like us girls, they just complain about their parents, just concentrate.

M: They talk a lot of things, what things do they talk about?

R: No apart from encouraging us to continue school

M: How can you be helped as teenage girls, what ways would you want to be helped?

R: We request if they could especially us who come from poor families, if you find someone to help, they shouldn't stop after you finish school, they need to continue at college they help so that you finish early and go home and take care of the child.

M: Any other way, they can be helped to those that still want to be helped

R: There are others who get pregnant but she has had someone who can support them but they don't want to continue with school, they should continue encouraging them so that they don't just think that the wealth at home will continue with them, they should work hard so that they also find money for those children they have and would be able to take care of their children.

M: So how can they work, because of the challenges in schooling, they find that there is no money and there is no one to take care of the baby and other problems.

R: How can they learn like taking care of the children, madam when you want to go back to school, you first sit with your parents, you say the money you want to give me to go to school, but who will take care of the child? When they fail, the parents will call the boy who impregnated you and ask him this person wants to go to school, now who will take care of the child, if it's that family which is organized, they will find someone to take care of the child, so that she goes back to school and she is not disturbed.

M: What other help would you want from the government, maybe at school?

R: Materials to use at school.

M: What kind of materials?

R: There are subjects like science, science needs practicals and the school does not have money to buy chemical for us to use, so even us we don't have we just watch and say it's okay and then in the exam, you find that it's hard and you end up getting less marks?

M: What about this policy which allows pregnant girls to go back to school, how can it be implemented?

R: The policy can be implemented well, is that especially us girls, we shouldn't misbehave because there is Re-entry Policy then you do it deliberately, because you will go back to school, get pregnant by accident, I won't bring sanity in our country, not that always they tell you that do not misbehave, though they try as a government, they won't manage because a lot of school have teenage mothers.

M: Here at this school, I have seen that there are a lot of small children, this school starts at early childhood, are there other children who are in grade 5 or 6 who are pregnant at this school?

R: No

M: Only those at the secondary level

R: Yes

M: How can they be helped to make sure so that even those young ones don't get pregnant?

R: Just as the head was saying, after 2 weeks of opening, they would bring the people from the clinic to do check-ups so that when one is found pregnant, she should be punished or sent back home and stay for 1 month so that she realizes that what I did was bad, and also in the middle of the term, again the medical people should come and do check-ups and also at the end of the term so that pupils should be conscious because they will be examined when they go to school, and when I am found I will go with this offence.

M: For this policy to be well implemented, what can the teachers and the head do so that it's implemented well here at your School?

R: They can start fearing.

M: That can prevent pupils from getting pregnant? Thank you very much, we end here unless you want to say something

R: Just to ask the government that this policy which they brought they should continue so that our country improves just as you know madam, our country

has more girls than boys so if girls don't go back to school, our country can't progress.

M: Okay so thank you very much.

Interview with DHT at secondary school 2

M: What are your experiences about the Re-entry Policy as deputy head teacher?

R: From my past experience yes.

M: So how old are you?

R: I am turning 53 in July this year.

M: For how long have you been in this profession?

R: I have been in this profession since 1992.

M: Okay in your own opinion, what is the cause of pupil dropout in Southern Province?

R: Mostly pupils dropout as a result of lack of support from parents.

M: What has support got to do with this?

R: In terms of finances.

M: Is it lack of support or what?

R: Most parents are vulnerable. When you look at dropout rates its rampant especially in the peri-urban, yes.

M: Is this school categorized as a peri-urban?

R: Yes

M: No, but DEBs told me it's urban.

R: It's urban, distance from town, because it's just about 4 kilometers from the main town centre but when you look at parents that are bringing their children here, most of them are jobless, they don't work.

M: So it's the issue of lack of support, what else?

R: Also when you look at pupils on themselves because of its locality again there is a lot of indulgence.

M: In what?

R: In mostly unsafe sex, unprotected sex.

M: Ok, so that contributes to their dropping out of school?

R: Most of these pupils that are coming here they may be coming from very far places they come here to learn and are staying on their own and it is because of that and coupled with not enough support sometimes they may have no food especially a girl-child unfortunately including boys they end up doing pieceworks and that does not work very well.

M: So what happens when girls get pregnant, in the schools where you have been?

R: In the schools where I have been, mostly when a girl gets pregnant there is very little information given to them.

M: By who?

R: By even the school, even by guidance, even by media, everyone involved, even all stakeholders. What I am talking about here pupils just sneak out of class because they are pregnant not filling in forms for them to allow them to come back to school as a result when they come back after delivering there is not enough information sometimes it's through understanding because otherwise if we go by what the policy says the child has to apply for that paternity leave and if she has not applied it is not mandatory.

M: For her to return.

R: Yes. And you find most…

M: but why do you think they just sneak out?

R: They have no information; they don't know what to do. That's why I said there is not much information to get to understand what they are supposed to do.

M: But in schools where a few are able to ask permission to take leave how do you think this policy is implemented?

R: very well… especially with government schools.

M: walk me through the process that they follow.

R: The process that they follow once a girl gets pregnant she should see the guidance teacher, there are forms that they fill. They don't have they come in, they are supposed to be a minimum of four people to fill in, they have four forms five forms that are filled in, there is a letter to allow that girl to go for maternity by the school, there is a form that the man involved or the boy involved in impregnating this girl should fill in to show consent to accept, there is a form that is given to the parents of the girl to fill in to accept responsibility, there is

another form that is filled in for the parents to the girl and there is another fifth letter, there are about five letter its quit tedious and those people must all be there all of them. The girl pregnant, the boy impregnates, the parent of the girls, the parents if the boy and the school.

M: Does that only apply when a girl is impregnated by a fellow pupil or even by an outsider?

R: Even by a teacher even by an outsider, even by anyone that man who does the pregnancy should be there he has a place for home to sign.

M: What of an instance where a person who impregnates a girls enters into an agreement with the family of the girl do they still have to come to school?

R: They still have to come to school even if they have paid each other there, they still have to come and fill in those forms.

M: Why do you think they still have to come and fill in those forms?

R: That is policy, this re-entry is a policy it's a government requirement.

M: But I have noticed that in some instances in some schools when the parent comes along with their daughter and they explain that probably the man who impregnated that girl is nowhere to be seen then the careers just take it up like that without demanding that the other family also comes in to commit themselves by signing those forms.

R: Yes, because for signing…. Now that is where now maybe this is where the girl doesn't even know who impregnated her the guidance would do it and it's none of our business if they fail to bring him because why we are doing that we want someone to take responsibility even after delivering because us we are interested in the girl and the child who is born as a school.

M: I want to find out are all the career guidance in the schools you've been professionally trained in their job?

R: Yes.

M: What kind of training do they have?

R: They go for to colleges and they learn guidance.

M: So all those that are appointed in that position are trained?

R: Not all of them.

M: What would you recommend?

R: I would recommend people that are trained, simple they know what to do.

M: So is there any form of counselling given to the girls who become pregnant?

R: Yes, there is that is why there is this guidance. There is a lot of counselling.

M: And there's proof. How do you prove that a child has been counselled.

R: We don't need to examine counselling.

M: Is there a form that is filled in to say on this particular day as careers department we counselled this girl?

R: They have records yes.

M: Are you sure?

R: Yes.

M: Ok. So what opportunities are there for implementing the re-entry policy for teenage mother?

R: what?

M: opportunities or benefits

R: Benefits! To reduce on the number of the illiterate, that is the only one.

M: For teenage mothers themselves?

R: Yes

M: And for the schools, what benefits do we get as a school for implementing this policy?

R: Is there any benefit as a school other than having a lot problems with these mothers.

M: are you sure?

R: I wouldn't site any benefit. No.

M: And to the community?

R: the community benefits by bringing back their children to school… who in our time would not even think of going back to school.

M: I remember yes. What challenges do these girls face when they return to school?

R: Though the girls of today are different from the girl of our days. Because the girl of today has got no conscious, no shame. During our time if a girl got pregnant

they would find it very difficult even to pass through school, but this time a girl pregnant in the school would come in a maternity dress walking greeting friends very unusual. But for real there should be some shame, because now even some friends would know and they don't even mind. I don't know where we are going.

M: But how can we address these challenges?

R: By stopping it altogether.

M: Stopping the policy?

R: Let us go back to our time.

M: But now we are told that they have the right to education how do we stop them from learning when it's their human right to access education?

R: Even the people that are in the mortuary had the right to living don't you know that?

M: I know.

R: But they are in the mortuary. But they had the right to life, so what are you telling

M: but these we need them.

R: If one decides to drop out, why force them, because now… during our time even this family planning was unheard of in school but why should someone decide to get pregnant today… maybe you have an answer?

M: I don't have I am also looking for those answers.

R: That's the thing. Let that person who has decided to drop out drop out just like that one who decides… if I decide to hung myself let me be in the mortuary awaiting for my burial. Would you stop me if I wanted to hung myself?

M: No. so how do we stop this in your view?

R: Pregnancies?

M: yes.

R: If we implemented the policy of those days even pregnancies will reduce.

M: Are you saying now there are so many teenagers who are getting pregnant.

R: Teenagers?

M: Yes.

R: From grade 5 up to grade 12 they are getting pregnant what are you telling me?

M: And southern province has one of the highest numbers.

R: you are telling me!

M: And has the low retention rates. Why? A lot of children are getting pregnant and very few are returning why?

R: Me I can tell you, this policy is government policy but government has failed to implement it, why, because it is segregative it's only in government schools where this done not in these mission schools now how many mission schools do we have in southern province unlike northern and other provinces in southern province government schools are just a third of the total number of schools.

M: Three-thirds are mission schools?

R: One third are government schools I mean three thirds yes are mission school who don't allow a child to come back.

M: so that could be the reason why

R: of course yes why not?
Because if you went to Chivuna, St. Joseph's you get pregnant there you'll not be allowed to go back to St. Joseph's you go to St. Mary's you go to Canicius, you go to those mission Choma Central school, Njase, you go to Macha, Masuku all those secondary schools that I have mentioned and how many government secondary schools do we have in Mazabuka we have only maybe only none in Monze we have only Monze boarding these big ones in Choma we have only maybe…

M: Choma secondary school.

R: Not Choma secondary school it's a mission school.

M: It's under who?

R: It's under BIC.

M: Choma secondary school?

R: Yes. It's under BIC, Njase under UCZ, Mukasa it's only Chuundu and Choma day and that trend goes up to Livingstone. But unlike in some other provinces where there are no mission schools so returning rate would be high.

M: Ok. So what are, am still coming back to the problems. What are the problems these mothers face, young mothers who return to school, what are the problems they face we'll start with the problems they face right here in school when they've come back?

R: Me I would tell you that one there are very few people that have accepted this meaning that they are not accepted, even when they come once they revealed themselves that me I am a mother it brings a problem. They face a lot of problems that is one of them they are not accepted even concentration is poor. Do you think a mother would concentrate there is a child to look after, there is a husband to look after.

M: How do we concentrate when we go to the university to study?

R: Me when I go to the university to study me I know that at least I have passed through stages. Not were by most of these mothers she can't be out of school for more than a year in 6 months someone wants to come back to school the child is still breast feeding, this child has got not even have a responsible father maybe it's a fellow pupil who impregnated her no means so there are so many things you have napkins to wash and you have no soap you thinking you are going to concentrate. Me even when I was going to school at least my salary was coming. My salary is coming, the government was even paying me for my study leave, and even paying me for my school, government was paying me for my school at undergraduate.

M: So what is the impact of all these challenges on their academic life?

R: It has brought down the performance rate of our children.

M: But how are you doing generally in southern province in terms of performance?

R: Generally we are doing fine. I mean as a school we are doing fine.

M: At this school?

R: Yes. We are just from talking about that, that teachers need to be at least given some incentives for performing well.

M: At this school?

R: Generally we are doing fine, because if I tell you that we have had the highest cut off point since inception.

M: At this school

R: In Southern Province.

M: Yes, Southern Province.

R: Because when you talk of 720 when others its just 600 flat you go to a boarding school us 700 plus so we are doing fine.

M: so in your life as an administrator have you been approached by any student especially these mothers for any kind of help even through careers or some coming directly?

R: Which kind of help now? Be specific.

M: Well maybe they need financial support.

R: Support for their children …financial support no I may not be available they see that I am not available for such.

M: For those that can't afford who are vulnerable especially these teenage mothers what support systems can be developed to enhance their learning and the effective implementation of this policy?

R: The thing is for me, with these teenage mothers they just need a lot of counselling that's all.

M: That's the support you can give?

R: Yes.

M: Any material support?

R: Material support, they don't deserve. They have a lot of sponsors.

M: From where?

R: From their husbands.

M: When you've said most of them come from vulnerable families?

R: Yes, from their husbands, they are married they have... if you have found someone to impregnate you, are you not comfortable?

M: What if they found themselves in such a situation because of the search for money to pay school fees?

R: That was the time they should have come to me and have assisted. No someone who has a child can't be asking for money I don't know maybe she is going to prepare a nice food for her husband.

M: What effective recommendations can you make to effectively implement the re-entry policy?

R: To implement it? Not to stop it

M: No you answer my question the way it is

R: Implementing again

M: Yes, because it's a policy it's there.

R: Maybe let it be universal

M: In all the schools

R: In all the schools let it not be segregative. Because if it is done at one school and not on the other it comes a problem.

M: But do you think the grant aided schools will be able accept?

R: They will not.

M: So how then do we make it universal?

R: It is not a good policy that what I am saying.

M: But we want to see each and every child in school.

R: Even those who don't want.

M: They want but they found themselves in this circumstance.

R: No. they have a lot of remedies.

M: like what?

R: If I was weak I would put on a condom, if you are a women you would take planning tablets. Not that someone decides to get pregnant because this time you decide even in our homes were it is free for all we choose when to have children.

M: So what are some of the weaknesses that this policy….

R: The weakness is that it has brought prostitution and unprotected sex and it has brought a lot of unruly behavior in schools you can imagine teaching a woman who has a husband, uncontrolled absenteeism because when the child is sick the mother can't come to school, when the husband is sick the mother can't come to school, even when the parents are sick even when herself is not well the because the body get worn out so a lot of problems.

M: Anything, strengths?

R: Strength of ….?

M: Of the policy.

R: Nothing, nothing…

M: No strength.

R: Nothing…

M: Anything you would like to add?

R: I am done.

M: Thank you so much.

R: okay.

In addition…

M: What is it about consultation? You wanted the ministry to consult all the teachers?

R: No, definitely, policies are made from up there, and brought down for implementation but us that are implementing the same policy, we have seen, we know the problems.

M: That's the reason why they needed to consult you.

R: They needed to consult the teachers who are on the grassroots, I wanted to tell you, did you know that there are girls in our classrooms that have more than 3 children?

M: Why?

R: Brought back to school again after 6 months, another one another child

M: But what does the policy say?

R: It says, it's just open and does it say after 2 children you stop to come to school. There are girls who have 3, others have 4 children, others are even becoming old

M: Maybe those are the ones are coming for the 1st time to take advantage of the policy

R: Ah, no, if in grade 8 someone had a child, come to grade 9 and 10, another child, come to grade 11 and 12, another child, repeats 3 children. Do you think that's helpful?

M: But then how do we as a school reduce on the number or pregnancies?

R: We just say, as a school, they are sisters won't be interested to talk to me

M: They will not even be interested and ask them how many have fallen pregnant in a year 1 and 2. Go to Monze boarding school, how many have fallen

pregnant, 15 come to our school, just up to where we are now, we are now in the 6th month, 10 of them some of them we don't know and you think that's a good policy. Naturally something that is in a child, when you are raising your child, you must be able to tell your child, our policy to say, once you fall pregnant, you will stop coming to school, you will stop your school, then within 2 to 3 years, you will how many numbers are going to reduce but now we are increasing the Zambian population by allowing such policies, thank you.

M: (Laughs)

Interview with guardian to teenage mother at secondary school 1

M: I am now interviewing the guardian one of the teenage mothers at Sec School 1.

M: You finished secondary school

R: Yes

M: How many children do you have?

R: I have 3

M: How many boys and girls

R: Only girls

M: Oh, what is the highest level of your children's education.

R: Twins are at reception and the other one, 1st one is in grade 2

M: Okay, are you aware of the policy that allows girls who fall pregnant to get back to school?

R: Yes.

M: How did you know about it.

R: It's there even where I am teaching at the school

M: Oh, you are also a teacher

R: Yes

M: Which school.

R: Sichanda

M: Oh, okay how is it being implemented in your own thinking, are they implementing it well.

R: Like at our school, they are implementing it well, they sensitize the girls.

M: When do they sensitise the girls?

R: Like the guidance teacher, that is her duty to do that, normally there is a program for girls.

M What do they do?

R: They encourage those, they are pupils who fall pregnant and then they encourage them to come to school and when they are about to deliver they give them kind of maternity again they come to school and with help of parents they are being talked to also.

M: When do they return to school? Is it when parents agree?

R: Yes.

M: Are you happy with the way the policy was implemented on your niece's case?

R: I was very much happy

M: What did they do?

R: Like I was called at school the head teacher called me and then I went there the time she was pregnant and then I was talked to as the guardian to encourage her to come to school and not to stop and so I did that. I talked to my girl, I told her this is not the end of everything, yes continue going to school.

M: What causes teenage pregnancies generally?

R: I think maybe its group influence

M: In what ways?

R: Like for me, I had to put it like the distance that she goes to school, so maybe she copied her friends doing that or so, and so I was kind of thinking maybe moving with her friends maybe group influence.

M: But why didn't you take her to Chikuni Girls nearby?

R: That's the school that she was selected to.

M: Oh Ok

M: You couldn't arrange for a transfer?

R: I was trying, I wanted to take her to Chikuni Girls but things were difficult, I couldn't manage

M: Oh okay, but if you are happy with the way they did it and still want to make changes, in the way they are doing the re-entry policy, what changes would you want to see?

R: To do the Re-entry Policy

M: Yes and the way they are doing it

R: Maybe to sensitize again to parents, because some of the parents they are not all that aware.

R: Yes, so they feel if someone falls pregnant, some of them they encourage her to go to school. Some of them they will make her stay at home to take care of that child, so I feel the parents they could be imparted more knowledge on the importance of education.

M: And in your case, how did you handle the issue of the man who impregnated her?

R: I made some follow-up, I had to find out first, she gave me the phone number because she said the boy is in Monze so I tried to make a phone call, and I talked to him, the response that he told me, he said, "I don't know".

M: He doesn't know her.

R: Yes, I don't know her, it's not my responsibility, it's not me who gave her that pregnancy. So I said I am sorry for pointing a wrong finger forgive me so by the time that I tried again to make another call, it was like phones were switched off. I tried to find out from friends because there are other friends who used to stay here, they said there is no trace.

M: So to date, there is no trace?

R: No trace

M: And how are you supporting the child? So there is no support from the man's side?

R: No, nothing so I took up the responsibility myself, the little that I earn I help her, I also help like during school days because when the baby is at home, I give her Lactogen, so it would be difficult like on my part if I just stay like that, and wait for a salary, so that's how I started making some popcorns. I would take even myself at school and sell at break time, I also give her some to sell so that we are able to raise some money.

M: It was very good instead of you waiting for support which was not forth coming, but where can improvement be made, apart from sensitization of parents, what can we as parents do?

R: To talk to our children, to tell them the importance of school and also the impact of having early pregnancies

M: But in your case did you do it?

R: Yes.

M: So but what problems does she face at school or at home?

R: Generally, at school because I have been finding out from the head teacher and deputy and teachers concerned that teach her, they say she is doing fine all she needs is to encourage her because she is grade 12, yes

M: She is almost done.

R: Yes, but here I could see that sometimes because she is naturally intelligent so no its very rare for her to catch a book, she tells me that once the teacher teaches, I understand so I think that's the problem part that I am facing with her

M: How many marks did she get at grade 9.

R: I have forgotten but the transcript I think she has it herself.

M: Oh that's good, it's good to encourage her, and so what are you going to do to her to encourage her to work hard so that she passes

R: Like what I have done, I have talked to some of the subject teachers, like the 2 subjects that I am not impressed with the results normally 60 somewhere there so I talked to the teachers concerned if they can give her some tuitions and here when she comes at home, at least I help her because in English I am good

M: Okay.

R: So certain subjects that I am good at I help her.

M: So what opportunities do you think this policy has for teenage mothers

R: There a lot of opportunities, one, it gives them a chance to get back to school, yes then the other one, it also makes some of the children who falls pregnant to reform their lives because some they learn from past experiences.

M: Okay and what about the school, how can the school benefit from having teenage mothers through the Re-entry Policy?

R: Like it will teach other girls also not to do the same as long as they are able to see the impact that their friends are having, they go to school they come back to breastfeed, yes so they will learn from their friends.

M: Okay and on the community, what was their reaction when she fell pregnant, you have lived here for some time, isn't it?

R: Yes, some of the parents where refusing some of their children to come near Sibongile that she will teach you the same manners and then you will fall pregnant, so she was almost being isolated, yes and others expected her not to get back to school, they were discouraging her even discouraging me as a guardian they said she will do the same again.

M: Oh, okay but she just fall pregnant this year?

R: Last year, and she delivered this year.

M: Okay, are there many girls who fall pregnant in this area and who go back to school.

R: Many fall pregnant but few go back to school.

M: Why?

R: As I have said, some parents they feel like taking a girl child to school, it's like sheer waste of time and their money, their resources they will feel she is going to fall pregnant again, so as a result that child stays at home.

M: Don't they marry them off?

R: Some they even get married as early as they are as long as they are of age.

M: It's common?

R: It's common, yes.

M: Why?

R: I think it' s lack of knowledge, yes

M: Okay

R: Some they would want to benefit as parents they call it Lubono (dowry) something like that

M: Okay, but generally does this community value the education of children especially girls?

R: No

M: Why do you say so?

R: I will give an example, like at the school, where I teach, they don't value education, you find that a learner would not come to school and normally it's a girl child, you ask that child, she will tell you my mother gave me work or my mother has gone to town so I was the one taking care of the children at home, but a boy child would come to school.

M: But have you as teachers in this community talked to these parents?

R: We have, when we have an AGM, these things have been spoken about often but they do the same things,

M: But why, what causes that?

R: Some have knowledge, some even if they have knowledge, I think it's just the environment itself, yes, just the environment.

M: So how can that be overcome?

R: Maybe continuing speaking to girl children and to tell them the importance of school

M: But without the support of the parents, you think that's possible?

R: If that continues because that child is still young, if that persists like in a family, you tell them at school, we tell them no one should tell you not to go to school, so if that happens, even if it is your parents, go and report to the police, then that person will be called, the guardian whoever is taking care of you, then they will be talked to that side, maybe that way it can bring change, and also as teachers, also to go and visit that family, to speak to them not to give up.

M: And that is done?

R: We do not do that.

M: Is there anything that you would want to add?

R: Nothing.

M: Okay, thank you so much.