

The Unheard Voices of Teenage Mothers in Public Senior High Schools in Ghana

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the experiences of teenage mothers in public senior high schools (SHSs) in Ghana. Using a purposive sampling technique, eighteen (18) participants, comprising fourteen (14) teenage mothers in senior high schools (SHSs), two (2) Heads of public SHS and two (2) Guidance and Counselling Coordinators (School Counsellors) were sampled. With semi-structured interview guide, data was collected through face-to-face interview and analysed using thematic analysis. The findings were experiences of rejection, abuse, discrimination and stigmatization from peer students, and teachers. It emerged that the ripple effects of these experiences on the teenage mothers included depression, isolation and low grades. Also, the results indicated that the teenage mothers employed an internal locus control, and divine intervention. In order for teenage mothers to succeed with their schooling, a clear state policy on teenage mothers' school re-entry, integration and completion is needed, as well as maximum support from all stakeholders - school authorities, educators, parents, peers and the entire community. It is necessary that public SHSs in the country establish well-structured guidance and counselling programmes so that teenage mothers can access the needed counselling support.

Keywords: Experiences, Girl-child, Public, Senior high, Teenage mothers

Introduction

Adolescence is characterized by series of transformations that mark the complex moment of transition, and become even more difficult when pregnancy occurs. Adolescents in sub-Saharan Africa have one of the highest birth rates, accounting for a significant proportion of the overall fertility in many countries in the region (UNFPA, 2015) compared to adolescents in the other regions of the world. About 12 million females in under developed countries give birth during their pubescent age. The utmost proportions of early motherhood are found in sub-Saharan Africa, where birth rates among teenagers reach over 200 births per 1000 girls age 15–19, compared to lower rates in other regions. Countries such as Central African Republic, Niger, Chad, Angola and Mali were highest on the list of countries with peak juvenile birth rate above 178. Between 2010–2015 periods, over 45% of women between 20–24 years reported having given birth for the first time by age 18 (UNICEF,2017).

It has also been reported that at least 777,000 births occur in adolescent girls younger than 15 years in developing countries (UNFPA, 2015). The global population of adolescents continues to grow and projections indicate that the number of adolescent pregnancies will increase globally by 2030, with the greatest proportional increases in West and Central Africa and Eastern and Southern Africa (UNFPA 2013).

Various factors documented as major contributors to adolescent pregnancies include: societal and traditional norms such as early marriage (Rutaremwana, 2013), childbearing as a measure of maturity and a means to elicit societal respect (Gyesaw & Ankomah, 2013). Furthermore, sexual abuse and living in violent communities (Brahmbhatt et al., 2014), lower level of education (Faisal-Cury et al., 2017; Raj, Bhattarai, Poobalan, van Teijlingen, & Chapman, 2010), and influence or pressure from peers (Mushwansa, Monareng, Richter, & Muller, 2015) all account for teenage pregnancies. Others indicators which have been found to cause early birth by teenagers include adolescent sexual behaviours such as unprotected sex and/or lack of use of contraceptives (Hindin & Fatusi, 2009), early sexual debut, frequent sexual intercourse, and alcohol consumption (Panova, Kulikov, Berchtold, & Suris, 2016). Furthermore, family related factors such as divorce or non-intact family structure (Panova et al., 2016), history of maternal and sibling adolescent pregnancy (Akella & Jordan, 2015) and poor family economic status (Akella & Jordan, 2015; Nyovani, Zulu, & Ciera, 2007) have all been noted as causes of teenage pregnancy. Chandra et al have also reported of media influence on adolescent early sexual behavior as a risk factor of adolescent pregnancy (Chandra et al., 2008)

In Ghana, the phenomenon is not different. Adolescents in the country represent 22% of the total population and of all births registered in the country in 2014, 30% were by adolescents and 14% of adolescents aged between 15 and 19 years had begun childbearing (Gyesaw, & Ankomah, 2013). The Ghana Health Service report on Antenatal care registrants recorded 115 pregnancy cases among teenagers between the ages of 10-14, whereas 5,474 cases happened among teenagers between 14-19 years, and this was an increase from 5,518 to 5,564 teenage pregnancy cases documented in 2014 and 2015 correspondingly. The Volta Region recorded 15.0%, while the Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions recorded 14% respectively. Central, Upper West and Western Regions recorded 13% respectively, Northern and Ashanti regions had 11% respectively with Greater Accra Region recording the lowest pubescent pregnancy rate of 6% (Awuni 2017). Within the first half of 2017 alone, 57,000 teenage pregnancies were recorded and a total of 9,100 adolescents reportedly got pregnant in the Ashanti Region of Ghana in the same year under review (GNA, 2017). This shows a sharp increase of the incidence of teenage pregnancy in the region from 2016 to 2017. In terms of rural-urban variations, the percentage of women aged 15 to 19 (18%) who reside in rural communities had begun childbearing as at 2015 (GSS et al., 2015). However, in 2017, the percentage for teenage pregnancy was highest in the Western Region (19%) with Greater Accra still maintaining the lowest percentage (GSS et al., 2018).

Teenage pregnancy in some Ghanaian societies continue to be strongly associated with shame, disruption of academic pursuit or withdrawal and limited chance of advancement for the mother and the child (Ananga, 2011; FAWE Ghana, 2015). Many well-intentioned people blame the pregnancy of young school-going girls on their risky behaviour to engage in sexual activities

prematurely because commonsense and social conventions tell them that it should not have happened. Although pregnancy and motherhood do not always interrupt a schoolgirl's education, they do introduce a new set of circumstances that influence future decisions related to the girls' education (Grant & Hallman, 2008).

Indeed, being a school-going mother has numerous consequences in the lives of such mothers and their children as they, *inter alia*, get ostracized and relegated to the margins of society by both their peers and teachers. According to Ghana Education Service (GES, 2015) report, school girl's pregnancy can have a profound impact on the mother and child by placing limits on her educational achievement and economic stability as well as predisposing her to single parenthood. The unmarried, pregnant teenager (school-girl) finds herself in the midst of a multifaceted crisis characterised by the emotional and physical reality of pregnancy, the interruption of normal physiological and psychological development, a possible change in education and career pursuits, as well as in parental and kinship support, an increase in medical risks during pregnancy, and premature assumption of the adult role with its associated responsibilities (FAWE Ghana, 2015). It also places a teenager at an educational and economic disadvantage (Britwum, et al. 2017). As a result, the teenage girl may take longer period to complete her studies, and may therefore be economically inactive for a longer period of time. She may also fail to complete her education, struggle to find proper employment and may have to make ends meet with a support from relatives. Britwum, et al., (2017) revealed that the presence of a teenage mother in a classroom is not only a threat to their own academic achievement, but also to the collective academic performance of the class as well as the classroom harmony. It is worthy to note that in most communities in Ghana, women are expected to subordinate their needs and desire to those of their children and family (FAWE, 2015). Thus, students with children have to grapple with the roles of motherhood and studentship vis-à-vis their children's education.

Teenage mothers' school re-entry and completion determinants

Various factors influence a teenage mother's school re-entry decision and process after delivery. According to Britwum, et al. (2017), the socioeconomic standing of the families of teenage mothers determines the kind of support they offer to a teenage mother's school re-entry and completion. Parents of strong financial background with high level of education and have an interest in educating the girl child, influence the assistance given to their girls to return to school (Birungi, et al., 2015; Riordan, 2002).

Social and cultural beliefs and values of the teenagers' families and communities also determine a teenage mother's school re-entry. A study conducted in Kenya, for example, revealed that the main factors influencing the re-entry of student mothers were gendered customary practices such as patriarchy or female subordination and early marriage (Onyango, et al. 2015).

Teenage mothers' school re-entry rate is also attributed to the nature of institutional structures. Structural and institutional obstacles such as exclusion from mainstream schooling, negative school experiences, financial needs, including for example, childcare, cannot be overlooked. Others like barriers to accessing existing alternative education and training opportunities, lack of external counselling and support programmes greatly influence teenage mothers' desire to return

to school (Riordan, 2002). In the UK for instance, it has been found that poor experiences associated with school life during pregnancy is a major inhibiting factor for re-entry despite an enabling policy for re-entry (Simigiu, 2012; UNESCO, 2014; Vincent, 2016). A responsive school environment, targeting the needs of teenage mothers can motivate these girls to remain in school.

In addition, the role of both national and international policy guidelines on the re-entry of teenage mothers to school cannot be overemphasized. In many African countries, including Ghana, while policy has attempted to address pregnancy related school exits, studies still document poor rates of return (FAWE, 2015; Kioli & Nyambedha, 2015). In Ghana, the government through the Ministry of Education, issued a directive to allow teenage mothers' re-entry and retention at all levels of education in Ghana (GES, 2015, Ministry of Education, MoE, 2010). The directive was to compliment Ghana's effort to achieve the Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4) on ensuring all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes. As a result, Ghana Education Service (GES) and the Ministry of Education (MoE) in recent years do not bar teenage mothers from continuing with their education in Ghana (Britwum, et al., 2017, MoE, 2010).

Because of the state of legal backing for policy on re-entry, poor implementation of the re-entry policy, lack of political will and an absence of clear implementation guidelines as well as tracking and monitoring systems, teenage mothers continued to encounter various challenge in school (Britwum, et al., 2017; Chingona & Chetty, 2008; Karimi, 2015). In some cases, teenage mothers are unaware of support systems in the existing policies regarding teenage mothers' schooling (Britwum, et al., 2017; Karimi, 2015). In a similar observation, where a policy is present, it may not be implemented due to lack of official support or absence of guidelines for effective implementation (Birungi, et al., 2015).

Challenges of teenage mothers in schools

The challenges faced by these young mothers in finishing school are complex (Britwum, et al., 2017). In South Africa, Bhana, et al. (2010) conducted a study investigating the teachers' responses to teenage pregnancy and teenage mothers in schools. They found that teenage pregnancy is often shamed and punished in schools. Teachers had the ideology that teenage girls who fall pregnant in schools, bring a bad example to other girls and they therefore should not be allowed in schools. Bhana et al. (2010) argue that teachers' support for teenage mothers is often hindered by the already existing perception of teenage motherhood, which locates teenage mothers within a problematic discourse full of sexual immorality and disruption in academic life. In addition, teachers viewed schools as places of sexual innocence and dealing with teenage mothers disrupted that knowledge and understanding of the school environments. In the study undertaken by Bhana et al (2010) in schools around the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, aiming to understand teachers' responses to teenage pregnancy and teenage mothers in schools, it was found that some

teachers did not feel comfortable having teenage mothers at school. They often argued that teenage mothers would encourage other school children to view teenage pregnancy as a good thing, and therefore lead other teenagers into sexual anarchy.

Another study conducted in Kenya, the results of a web-based survey revealed that the school environment contributes to struggles of teenage mothers in school because of harassment. The survey further indicated that about 48% of teenage mothers undergo harassment at school (Mitchell & Halpern, 2003). The researchers revealed that some of the teenage mothers stopped their education because they could not overcome the harassment from their peers and teachers.

In Ghana, although few studies provide valuable insight on teenage mothers' schooling in the country, what is intriguing is the limitation of these studies to provide empirical data on how teenage mothers who return to school after delivery are treated. An example is Britwum, et al., (2017) study on girls who have dropped out of school due to pregnancy and factors facilitating and/or preventing their re-entry into school after delivery. Their study however was limited to the rate girl's drop out of school due to pregnancy and school re-entry process. Another study conducted by GES (2015) on teenage mothers' re-entry rate into pre-tertiary school in selected districts in Ghana which revealed that the number of teenage mothers in schools has increased but was silent on what these students encounter in the schools. Worse still, there is limited information on how teenage mothers in pre-tertiary schools cope with their academic, social and psychological needs in this situation of the lack of explicit policy on the issue. As a result, this study sought to unearth the unheard experiences of teenage mothers in public senior high schools in Ghana. The main objective of the study is to explore the experiences of teenage mothers who are in public senior high schools in Ghana. The following research questions guided the study: What are the experiences of teenage mothers in public senior high schools in Ghana? How do these experiences affect the teenage mother's school life? What coping strategies do these teenage mothers adopt to mitigate the effect of their experiences?

Material and Methods

An in-depth phenomenological case study approach was adopted to explore experiences of teenage mothers in public senior high schools in Ghana. The population included all teenage mothers below their twentieth birthday who exited senior high school education because of pregnancy and re-entered the same schools after delivery. Using the non-probability purposive sampling technique (De Vos et al. 2011; Brink 2006), eighteen (18) participants who consented to participate in this study in the Kumasi Metropolis in the Ashanti Region of Ghana were sampled. The participants comprise fourteen (14) teenage mothers (4 SHS1 students, 5 SHS2 students and 5 SHS3 students). In addition, four non-student participants comprising two (2) Heads of public senior high school and two (2) guidance and counselling coordinators (school counsellors). Table 1 shows some demographics of student participants. Table 2 shows demographics of the non-student participants.

Table 1: Demographic and some defining characteristics of participants (Teenage mothers).

#	Pseudonym	Age	Current form at the SHS	Programme of study at SHS	Marital Status	Day or Boarding System
1.	Mary	17	1	General Science	Not Married	Boarding
2.	Dzifa	15	1	Home Economics	Not Married	Boarding
3.	Louisa	16	1	Home Economics	Not Married	Day
4.	Lucy	16	1	General Arts	Not Married	Boarding
5.	Fafa	18	2	General Arts	Not Married	Boarding
6.	Akua	17	2	Business	Not Married	Day
7.	Mercy	18	2	General Arts	Not Married	Day
8.	Mikai	18	2	Home Economics	Not Married	Boarding
9.	Mimi	18	2	Visual Arts	Not Married	Boarding
10.	Cecilia	17	3	General Arts	Not Married	Boarding
11.	Abi	18	3	Home Economics	Not Married	Boarding
12.	Esi	18	3	General Science	Not Married	Boarding
13.	Serwa	17	3	Home Economics	Not Married	Boarding
14.	Cynthia	18	3	General Arts	Not Married	Day

Table 2: Demographics of non-student participants

#	Pseudonym	Position	Years of Working Experience	Nature of SHS
1.	Tinka	School Counsellor	15	Mixed-Gender school
2.	Kukua	School Counselling	17	Girls School
3.	Frank	Head Master	10	Mixed-Gender School
4.	Tina	Head Mistress	7	Girls School

Following the protocols, face-to-face interview was used to collect data. The interview was audio taped and transcribed. To ensure trustworthiness of the data, the transcribed interview was subjected to member check approach. Data was cleaned to identify the major themes using the open coding approach guided by the research questions of the study. In this case the researcher read through the transcribed data, listened to audio recordings several times - an exercise referred to as dwelling with the data (Burns & Grove, 2009). In the initial stage of data analysis, descriptive codes were used to identify emerging themes, that is, the terms participants used during the interviews. The descriptive codes were interpretatively coded, where meanings were attached to the participants’ terms. Some related minor themes were merged to form major themes which also reduced the data.

Results

Experiences of teenage mothers

The predominant challenges that emerged from the data were rejection, abuse, discrimination and stigmatization targeted at the respondents from students and teachers. With regard to abuse, from the data, participants repeatedly complained that on a daily basis, they were verbally and physically abused not only by their peers but also by their teachers. Participants intimated that some teachers made them feel that it was a crime to return to school when one has a baby as most of them claimed that they became the targets of verbal abuse by such teachers. Participants submitted that a descriptive name like ‘mother-in-school’, and a derogatory term like ‘spoilt child’ were openly used to brand them in class instead of their usual names which mostly, according to the participants, elicited laughter from the rest of their class mates. Incidentally, the students maintained that what worsens their plights is the fact that the teachers use those derogatory words on them any time they are unable to answer questions thrown at them and at moments when they do not perform creditably in a given task. This effectively put them off from attempting to offer responses to questions in class. The unedited comments below instantiate the assertions above:

Some of the teachers when they ask you questions and you are not able to answer, they insult you. I once answered a question in my class and the teacher’s remarks after I have

finished were: ‘Do you think this place is for mothers....you spoilt child? Don’t come and influence others. School is not for mothers’. I felt embarrassed throughout the day and I vowed never to answer questions again in her class’’. (Louisa)

...My teachers, sometimes ridicules me before my colleagues in class. They make me feel like I don’t know what is good for me in life. One day a teacher asked if I fed my child well before coming to school when he realized I was not paying attention in class. (Mimi)

Coupled with the verbal abuse, it emerged from the data that some of the participants experience physical abuse from their teachers as exemplified by the statement below:

... I was seriously punished by my teacher one day. I didn’t even know what I did wrong against this teacher. When I was crying as a result of the lashes he gave me, the teacher told the class to ask me whether I cry better than my baby at home. The mockery from my mates added to my pain and I cried the more. (Akua)

Another major concern of participants was discrimination. As opined by (Gyasi &Hayford, 2017), discrimination is pervading in many sectors of the country and common in educational institutions. Participants in this study revealed that they experienced discrimination repeatedly from their peers and teachers. On the part of their peers, the data pointed out that some of them were not willing to share items with teenage mothers, permit them to join their study groups or accept them as friends. Comments from some of the participants include the following:

.... my classmates avoid me. In the dormitory we do have communal use items like slippers and buckets when we are washing. But ever since I came back to this school after delivery, my mates would not permit me to touch their things, even a bucket. One day I took a friend’s bucket to wash my things, she came and poured the washed things on the floor and warned me not to touch her bucket again. (Mary)

... my classmates don’t want me to be part of their study groups. Sometime I did not understand some lessons we took in mathematics so I decided to join some of the study groups in the class. I was rejected by the two groups I visited so now I have decided to do the little I can do on my own. (Fafa)

It is quite instructive from the data that rejections and discriminations are not perpetuated by students alone but also by teachers as suggested by the comments made by a participant below:

...In the classroom, I have asked questions to clear my mind about what I found difficult to understand but, on several occasions, I have been ignored by teachers. I just don’t raise my hands but also call but they don’t mind me. It seems to me they no more consider me as any serious student that needs the attention of teachers. I came to this conclusion because I realized they do attend to other students who are not like me as a teenage mother. (Cynthia).

From the foregoing, it is evidently clear that teenage mothers in schools encounter some challenges in their quests to integrate after giving birth, it appears the school authorities are not aware of their

predicaments. Responding to this, the school heads and counselling coordinators who were interviewed stated that although their doors were open to all students and were to listen and assist all students with problems, students do not report their challenges to them. The comments below exemplify their concerns:

I am not aware of this challenge. No student has reported to me about any abuse she received from the hands of a teacher or teachers. I always talk to students to inform me of any form of abuse meted out to them by any teacher. So, I do not know why they have decided to keep issues of this nature to themselves (Tina, *Headmistress*).

The counselling unit is always there to support students in this school, but they do not patronize it. During orientation services, students are informed about the services the unit offers students. Also, we do have guidance programmes for students where we admonish them to visit the unit when they are experiencing any challenge. (Kukua, *School Counsellor*)

Effects of experiences on teenage mothers

As expected, the experiences encountered by the teenage mothers in public senior high schools negatively impact on their social, academic and psychological lives. It emerged from the study that the teenage mothers suffer from various emotional and psychological conditions. However, notable conditions that have been inimical to their academic pursuits were found to relate to severe emotional problems including self-blame, self-pity and depression. The sources of emotional and psychological conditions of teenage mothers in public senior high schools were abuse, rejection and stigmatization they experienced at the hands of some of their peers and teachers. The extent to which these crops of students suffer from emotional and psychological trauma is reflected in the comment made below:

.... Sometimes after the day is over, when I think about how some of the teachers insult me, say all kinds of things to me, I lose appetite and unable to even eat. Most often I cry and blame myself for coming back to school. I sometimes even feel like stopping the school, but my father will kill me when I go back to the house. It makes me feel sad and helpless. (Mary).

The ripple effect of the experiences of teenage mothers in public senior high schools appears to be the recording of low grades in their terminal examination. The data revealed that the reason for the participants' low grades were that some of them experience memory loss and attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), which are attributed to their emotional challenges due to the degree of rejection and stigmatization from peers and teachers. Although most of the teenage mothers regularly attend classes and as well have their private study; they tend to lose concentration anytime they recall the attitude of some of their peers and teachers. Others too find it difficult to remember what they have studied during the examination. The comment below buttresses the above assertion:

My performance is low. I wish I could do better, but I unable to concentrate anytime I take a book to study. Sometimes I sit with the book for about an hour but I cannot remember

even one line that I have read. Usually, when I sit alone to study, I recall instances where teachers have insulted me for no reason and the fact that my mates do not want to associate with me anymore, I end up crying when I am supposed to be studying. It would be better I stop the school because any time I am alone studying, I experience it and this is not going to help me in any way. (Dzifa).

Coping strategy

Asked about how they were managing to put up with their frustrations on school, participants involved in this study outlined the various kinds of coping strategies they have adopted to mitigate the impact of their experiences. Among them is an internal locus control factor. Some of the participants indicated that they are determined to acquire senior high school education certificate and that seems enough motivation for them to rise against any kind of oppression they face. The following are some of the comments that were made to give credence to the above assertion:

...I learned my lessons when I got pregnant. I am determined to complete school at this level and continue to the university. It does not matter what I encounter or anybody will do to me. I won't stop. I believe a lot of opportunities will be opened to me if I am able to complete this stage. I will surely finish school and become somebody in future. (Cynthia)

.... Once I have gotten the chance to come back to school, there is no way I will allow this opportunity to pass by me. I need to complete SHS, and move on to the tertiary level. I know after tertiary level, God will help me to be gainfully employed to care for myself and my child. I am determined to prove all those who are thinking my pregnancy and subsequent delivery of a baby is enough to terminate my dream wrong. (Fafa).

Other participants, for example Lucy, SHS1 teenage mother was found to have taken refuge in divine intervention from God.

... I am coping by God's grace. I derive my strength from God Almighty. I know that I have not lived like a Christian but I always pray to God for forgiveness; endurance, as well as enough strength and wisdom to enable me complete successfully. I have no one except God and I know he won't forsake me once I trust and rely on Him.

Discussion

In spite of government of Ghana's efforts to meet SDG 4 target for education, teenage mothers in public senior high schools in Ghana continue to experience various challenges while in school. Their challenges include abuse, rejection, discrimination and stigmatization. This supports revelation of the American Association of University Women (1991), that teenage mothers in schools are treated just like juvenile offenders. These students experience various challenges, which demotivate and act as counter-productive to whatever aims they have to re-enroll after birth. It is interesting to note that teenage mothers experience these challenges from their peers and teachers within the school. Similarly, in Kenya, a web-based survey revealed that the school environment contributes to the struggles of teenage mothers in school because of harassment. The

study uncovered a staggering 48% of teenage mothers who undergo harassment at school (Mitchell & Halpern, 2003).

As a result of the challenges experienced, teenage mothers in public schools are confronted with various emotional and psychological conditions. These conditions do not only affect their emotional states, but also affect their academic performance. The findings revealed that some of the teenage mothers suffer from memory loss and attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD).

Notwithstanding all these challenges, teenage mothers have adopted various coping strategies to enable them cope with their experiences. The findings revealed that some of the teenage mothers have a strong character to endure all pains to acquire a senior high school certificate. Other teenage mothers also depend on their maker for strength.

The findings revealed there is a difference between the availability of support systems put in place in public senior high schools and the utilization of those systems by students. It emerged that while management of public senior high schools have appointed guidance and counselling coordinators for the purposes of providing guidance services to help students deal with their psycho-social and educational issues, students are not patronizing their services due to lack of office for the coordinators. Also worthy of note is the professional practices of the coordinators regarding how they manage confidentiality.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Teenage mothers in public senior high schools in Ghana, who return to school after delivery, have various challenges concerning their integration in the schools. The main agents, which are teachers and peer, who are responsible to assist the teenage mothers to integrate in the schools tend to stigmatize and abuse them. Although the school management try to put some measures to support all students, including teenage mothers, its effectiveness does not meet the expectations of the teenage mothers. As a result, teenage mothers are exposed to depression, and memory loss which tend to affect their academic performance.

It is recommended, therefore, that the Ministry of Education, Ghana, should provide policy guidelines for the teenage mothers' re-entry, integration and completion of school. This will assist public senior high schools' management to effectively support teenage mothers in their schools. Also, each public senior high school in Ghana should have a well-furnished guidance and counselling unit with trained counsellors appointed to coordinate activities of guidance services in the schools.

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