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School of Education

Lenses from the Margins: Young schooling mothers' experiences in two high schools in Gauteng

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A research report submitted to the School of Education,
Faculty of Humanities in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

Supervisor

Dr. Elizabeth Walton

September 2014

Declaration

I, **Wacango Kimani,** declare that this research report is my own unaided work except as stated in the acknowledgements. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the report. It is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other universities.

Signature of Candidate Date: September 15, 2014



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Abstract

Listening to the voices of learners, also referred to as 'student voice', 'pupil voice' or 'insider perspective', is an aspect of inclusive education research that views learners as experts on their own lives, and provides insight into school subcultures that are relatively inaccessible to adults. This study listened to the voices of eleven young schooling mothers to find out the factors that help or hinder their successful completion of high school.

A participatory methodology was used to listen to learners' voices. The study's model of inclusive research involved using a participatory approach in which the young schooling mothers assumed the role of co-researchers. The multiple data collection methods employed recognise the values of community, respect for diversity and belonging also enabled inclusive engagement by building on the participants' strengths and encouraged meaningful participation. I collected data using cellphone messaging, learners' journals, interviews, focus group discussions and video interviews. The multiple opportunities provided to the learners to speak about their school experiences highlighted the efficacy of the methods and revealed the learners' preferences. Data was analysed using phenomenography, an approach that identified the qualitatively different ways in which the experiences of the young schooling mothers could be understood.

The study found that learner-managed methods (cell phone messaging, journaling and learners' video interviews) provided unique and authentic perspectives into the young mothers' private lives. The learners stated that they felt included in school by being involved in the research and by voicing their experiences of school as young schooling mothers. The young schooling mothers experienced school and schooling as rapidly changing experiences of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. The learners identified situations when they could be treated as both the same as, and different from other learners. Recommendations to ensure the learners successful completion of high school include a differentiated recognition of difference approach and a review of policy based on a non-judgmental construction of young motherhood.

Key Terms: inclusive education, inclusion, voice research, young schooling mothers, phenomenography, exclusion, marginalisation, high school

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge with gratitude the excellent guidance and patient support of my supervisor Dr. Elizabeth Walton. I am grateful to Dr. Walton for her support in backing me for the Wits Education International Bursary and for providing the opportunity to present preliminary findings at the SAALED/Unesco 'Making education inclusive' Conference, 2013.

I am grateful to the principals of the two schools in Gauteng for not only allowing me to conduct the study in their schools but also for providing support and an enabling environment during the six months I engaged with their learners.To Mrs. J. Mshale and Mrs. G. Richardson I must say a heartfelt thank you for their interest and support.

The long, and many a time difficult journey through research and writing, was made easier with the encouragement, friendship and input of my fellow journeyers: Amanda Combrink, Kelly Geyer, Linda Dolowitz and Tarryn Taylor; and Chioma Nwachukwu and Emure Masoke.

I also acknowledge Prof. Yvonne Reed for her feedback and Genevieve Wood for her professional editing.

A special *"Asante Sana"* to Cukia, Muguro, and especially, Henry, for their patience, moral and material support. A special prize goes to Cukia for his longsuffering efforts in getting Mxit to 'go live'.

Most of all, I can hardly express my gratitude to Tereza, Jennifer, Lucy, Sera, Angela, Shannon, Juliet, Nomsa, Mbali, Khanyisile and Thulela. In sharing their lives, joys and sorrows, they showed me that the pursuit for inclusive education must continue to be an audacious and undying endeavour.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

DoE	Department of Education
DBE	Department of Basic Education
IE	Inclusive education
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SASA	South Africa Schools Act
sms	short message service
UN	United Nations
UNGEI	United Nations Girls Education Initiative
Unesco	*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*
WP 6	White Paper

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background
1.2 Problem statement
1.3 Aims of the study
1.4 Research questions
1.5 Rationale
1.6 Research methods
1.7 Key concepts
1.8 Structure of the Report

1.1 Background

The headline of an online news article caught my attention: "Pretoria school for pregnant girls gives hope for learning" (Sapa-AFP, 2013). Ironically, the inclusion suggested by this headline is immediately juxtaposed with the reality of exclusion for the young mothers-to-be in the first line of the article, which reads: "outcasts elsewhere, the schoolgirls chatter, compare homework and shuffle to class just like other teens but with one big difference – all are expectant mums in South Africa's only school for pregnant girls" (Sapa-AFP, 2013).

The young schooling mothers-to-be attending the Pretoria Hospital School represent a fraction of learners who become pregnant in Gauteng every year. Between 2010-2011, Gauteng public health facilities delivered 11, 358 babies born to young women under the age of 18 (Gauteng Department of Health, 2012). Even though there has been a decline in the numbers of learners who become pregnant (from 4874 in 2008 to 4217 in 2011 [Creecy, 2013], accounting for 5.6% of all babies born in the province [Gauteng Health and Social Development, 2011]), there is still concern for the numbers of young schooling mothers who may not complete their education.

To safeguard the education of young mothers who desire to continue their schooling after delivery, the national Department of Education has a policy that requires schools to create an enabling environment for young schooling mothers (DoE, 2007). A circular issued in 2009 to clarify the policy states that learners should be encouraged to return to school to complete their education (Soobrayan, (2009). In addition to the national policy, which was developed using an inclusive approach, the Gauteng provincial Department of Education (GDE) actively advocates for young mothers to complete high school (SAPA, 2012; GDE, 2013). Even though the policy encourages young mothers to return to school, they experience barriers to their learning, and

many subsequently dropout. For example, in 2005, only 29% of young mothers returned to school after delivery, and of this figure, only 34% successfully completed their secondary education (Bhana, Morrell, Shefer & Ngabaza, 2010).

1.2 Problem statement

There is a construction that adolescent pregnancy is a problem and this has led to the marginalisation and exclusion of young schooling mothers. Reviewing public debates on teenage pregnancy, Macleod (2011) argues that the construction of young pregnancy as a problem stems from the perception that 'adolescence' is considered a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood. This discourse of 'adolescence as transition' has led to the construction of teenage pregnancy as a 'threat of degeneration' (Macleod, 2011, p. 148). This idea is articulated both in literature (Panday et al., 2009; Grant & Hallman, 2006; Pittaway, 2005), and the mass media through alarmist front page headlines such as "Pregnancy Tsunami" (Mclea, 2011). As a health problem, teenage pregnancy involves risks of HIV infection and the dangers of childbirth and maternal mortality. As an economic problem, it can result in lost opportunities for education and skilled employment, the aggravation of poverty and a drain on the social welfare system (Macleod & Tracey, 2010). This chain of problems is said to rob young women of educational opportunities, frequently marginalising and excluding them from schooling (Panday et al., 2009).

Inclusive education, which recognises the diversity of learners, is a constitutional mandate of the education system in South Africa. The Constitution of South Africa provided the basis and impetus for the first major policy of inclusive education. The policy, *Education White Paper Six: Special needs education. Building an inclusive education and training system* (DoE, 2001) was published by the DoE in 2001. As means of emphasising the right to access and complete education for all learners including young schooling mothers, several policies have been drawn up to complement White Paper 6. These include *Measures for the prevention and management of learner pregnancy* (DoE, 2007); and the *National strategy on identification, assessment and support* (DoE, 2008).

Notwithstanding these developments, inclusive education is not entirely understood by educators and there are have been inconsistencies in its implementation (Wildeman & Nomdo, 2007).

Messiou (2006) has called inclusion a 'puzzle', with many pieces needing to be assembled in order to develop a distinctive picture. Among the pieces needed for better implementation of inclusive education are the voices of marginalised insiders. These are the learners who are inside the school system, but do not directly benefit from what the system offers. Corbett and Slee (2000) argue that listening to these voices plays a key role in inclusion. They describe these marginalised insiders as 'voices devoid of existing hierarchies of status and privilege' (p. 135). Young schooling mothers fall into this category of insiders with little institutional agency.

The voices of young schooling mothers have been documented and their negative experiences upon returning to school after delivery are widely reported to have included stigmatisation, bullying, unresponsive school policies, and unsupportive teachers (Morrell, Bhana, & Shefer, 2012; Vincent, 2012; Chigona & Chetty, 2008; Chohan, 2010; Pittaway, 2005). Attempts to end the educational marginalisation and/or exclusion of young schooling mothers have, however, omitted the learners' direct input. For example, extensive research on young parent learners in the Western Cape and Durban found that female learners have little or nothing to say about decisions concerning their schooling, and that their own desires and plans are hardly acknowledged (Shefer, Bhana, Morrell, Manzini, & Masuku, 2012, p. 145). It could be the case that efforts to deal with the barriers that young schooling mothers face prove unhelpful due to the fact that the learners do not participate directly in designing these solutions.

1.3 Aims of the study

Voices/Views from the margins is a commonly used title of research. From political and economic topics to educational issues, the title has been used to highlight the experiences of marginalised individuals and groups. Giving voice to marginalised persons has provided insights about "disconnection, devaluation, discrimination, and deprivations" (Charmaz, 2008, p. 9). Charmaz (2008) contends that perceptions from the margins can provide facts that lead to institutional and individual transformation. Her research into the marginalisation of chronically ill persons found that benefits can be derived from listening to views from the margins. This research affords young schooling mothers an opportunity to speak out about their school experiences, and documents the particular issues they experience at school that may jeopardise their successful completion of high school.

The capacity for change constitutes a critical premise of this research. Charmaz (2008, p. 14) argues that views from the margins, or from outside, offer novel explanations of what is happening at the centre, and could also be the impetus for "renewal, change, and transformation". The potential for transformation has also been identified among young marginalised schooling mothers who experienced catharsis as a result of having their voices heard (Chohan, 2010, p. 87). Chohan (2010) found young schooling mothers to be proud of their perseverance in continuing their schooling.

The education of young schooling mothers in mainstream schools need not be viewed as a problem. Pittaway (2005), who conducted ethnographic research in which young schooling mothers were consulted, quotes Probert and Macdonald (1999, p. 25) as stating that "we will not be able to secure better futures for young women without recognising the reality of their lives … and responding in constructive ways, rather than seeing their decisions and lives as the problem."

Using an inclusive education conceptual framework, this research intends to highlight the need to confront the educational marginalisation of young schooling mothers rather than to focus on the learners as a problem. From phenomenography and voice research methods, this aims to study provide concrete information on the experiences of young schooling mothers, and creates an awareness of inclusionary and exclusionary practices in schools. It is hoped that this will ultimately inform policy and practice with regard to the ways in which schools can become more responsive to young schooling mothers.

1.4 Research questions

Main Question

In what ways do young schooling mothers perceive school and schooling as being inclusive with regard to their status as schooling mothers?

Sub-Questions

1. To what extent do young schooling mothers perceive a difference in their inclusion in school and schooling between the time before and after becoming mothers?

2. What do young schooling mothers perceive to be an ideal inclusive school for school-going adolescent mothers?

1.5 Rationale

Young schooling mothers are encouraged, after delivery, to return to complete high school. Provisions for this is contained in a national inclusive education policy, The White Paper Six (DoE, 2001), and is reinforced by a specific policy on learner pregnancy and schooling mothers (DoE, 2007), which aims to support the young mothers to complete their schooling. However, as few as one third of learners who become pregnant return to school, and of those learners that do, only 30% complete high school. Studies have found that young schooling mothers face almost insurmountable challenges to complete their education (Panday et al., 2009).

The voices of learners may provide an important perspective on the inequalities in schooling that would be useful for eliminating marginalisation (Messiou, 2012). Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers regarding their experiences of school and schooling can provide evidence that could inform policy and change practice, hopefully bridging the disparity and enabling young mothers who return to school to successfully complete high school.

Studies on learner pregnancy and motherhood in Gauteng have examined the experiences of motherhood, their agency and self-perception (Sowden, 2013; Chohan, 2010). However the primary focus on these studies is not to listen to the voices of the learners in relation to their inclusion at school. A study, such as the current one, thus attempts to fill this gap by focusing on the learners' voices in a participatory model and in phenomenographic research. The findings would be used to confront marginalisation of young schooling mothers.

Having worked to promote girls' education with the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), I had a personal motivation in conducting this research. FAWE, an Africa-wide organisation, was founded by Ministers of Education who were concerned about the exclusion of girls and women from education. I found that the promotion of girls' education needs to pay specific attention the different groups of marginalised and excluded learners, in particular to the aspirations and needs of young schooling mothers. By listening to the voices of young schooling

mothers I expect that my work in this field will generate new knowledge to ensure the educational ideals of these learners are met.

Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers speaking about their experiences in school may result in understanding the reasons for the disparity between the numbers of those who return and the number of those who complete high school. This study is significant because it will provide information for the inclusion of young schooling mothers. The findings can also be used to revise policy and create awareness on inclusive school practices.

1.6 Research methods

This study used an inclusive model to listen to the voices of young schooling mothers. To capture the experiences of young school mothers, this study used a variety of methods: cellphone messaging, learners' journals, interviews, focus group discussions and interview videos. These multiple opportunities to speak about their school experiences enabled me to listen to the authentic voices of the learners

The voices of the learners were analysed using phenomenography, a method suited to the purpose, aim and rationale of the study. It looks at "how people experience, understand and ascribe meaning to a specific situation or phenomenon" (Loughland, Reid, & Petocz, 2001, p. 190).

Phenomenography was used in conjunction with voice research as the two approaches can be used to make a difference in teaching and learning contexts (Bowden, 2000, p.4; Walton, 2011). The methods provided knowledge about the ways that young schooling mothers perceive schooling and can assist in designing effective inclusive interventions that would enable learners to complete high school.

1.7 Key concepts

1.7.1 Inclusive education

This research views inclusive education from a social justice perspective. From this perspective inclusion is understood as involving taking a stand for a more just, and a more equitable society. Scholars in South Africa have identified the principles and purpose of inclusive education as a

concern for democracy (Englebrecht, Oswald, & Forlin, 2006; Sayed & Soudien, 2005; Oswald & Engelbrecht, 2004). This concern might be translated into a responsiveness of schools to learner diversity and particularly to marginalised groups of learners. Inclusive education discourse thus calls for change in schools, to make the "physical, social, cultural and educational arrangement" suitable for all learners (Slee, 2011, p. 13).

1.7.2 Voice research

This research espouses the epistemological value of 'voice'. Young (2000, p. 530) has defended the value of voice, stating that "history and experience inevitably enter all forms of knowledge". He has also noted that the reverse is true, namely where knowledge and truth are rooted in social activities, it is the case that experiences are shaped by epistemologies. This parallel, symbiotic relationship gives voice research the kind of authenticity that makes it a viable source of new knowledge. A critique of voice research and its incorporation in the methodology is discussed in Chapter Three.

1.7.3 Young schooling mothers

Various terms have been used to describe adolescent schoolgirls who are also mothers – parenting students/learners, learner parents, mothering schoolgirls, schooling teen mothers, and school-going adolescent mothers. This study initially used the term 'schoolgirl-mothers' to avoid terms that foreground the common negative descriptors that propagate the learners' exclusion and marginalisation. The term was formulated in order to avoid the stigma associated with the term 'teenage'. Ingham (2012) has suggested that using the term 'teenage' may increase the victimisation of schooling parents. Furthermore, as an example of voice research, this study seeks to listen directly to learners with the aim of promoting inclusion, and thereby corroborates Veck's (2009) observation that labels which highlight what is considered deficient in learners can form a barrier to listening to the learners' distinct voice, and can consequently promote marginalisation and exclusion.

One component of inclusive education is the use of inclusive language that is respectful and not prejudicial. Inclusive language is a necessary part of social justice. And since adolescent learners are also mothers, the term 'girl' could inadvertently conceal their status of motherhood.

Therefore, the term 'young schooling mothers' was adopted during data analysis, after considering how the research participants chose to describe themselves. These descriptions are discussed in Chapter Four.

1.7.4 Learners, teenagers and adolescents

South Africa has adopted the term 'learner', rather than 'student' or 'pupil'. Therefore this report uses the term 'learner' in to refer to school-going individuals and groups. In general and in research literature, the terms 'teenager' and 'adolescent' are often used interchangeably to refer young persons aged between 13 and 19. This study uses 'adolescent' rather than 'teenager', except when quoting directly from literature where the 'teenager' has been used.

1.8 Structure of the Report

Chapter One: Introduction lays the foundation for the study. It begins by outlining the concern that many young schooling mothers, who return to school after delivery, do not complete high school. It sets up the main argument of the study that listening to the voices of young schooling mothers can be the first step towards promoting inclusion and confronting exclusion and marginalisation.

Chapter Two: Literature Review expounds the key concepts used in the study. The chapter reviews the pertinent literature, and argues that the voices of young schooling mothers have not been heard in studies using an inclusive education conceptual framework especially with regard to the use of voice research to find out what helps and hinders their successful completion of high school.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology explores how phenomenography and voice research were used to collect data using cell phone messaging, journals, interviews, video and focus group discussions. The chapter details the sensitive way in which the young schooling mothers were invited to participate and the modalities that were employed to ensure that their anonymity and confidentiality were protected.

Chapter Four: Findings and Discussion is the heart of the study. A selection of the verbatim expressions and a metaphor that summarises the schooling experiences of young mothers are presented under three categories of description. The discussion of the findings using an inclusive education lens includes the rationale for the title of the report and an explanation of the recognition and non-recognition of difference.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations reiterates the research questions, the main argument and summarises the key issues that emerged from the study. Personal reflections on the research journey are presented. Finally, the chapter offers recommendations for policy, practice and research, towards promoting inclusion for young schooling mothers and enabling their successful completion of high school.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Inclusive Education
2.3 Young schooling mothers
2.4 Dilemma of difference
2.5 Conclusion

2.1 Introduction

"It is not the end of the world! [I] have a right to come to school and have a life ahead [of me]!" (Chohan, 2010, p. 79). These words of Lisa, a young schooling mother and participant in a study on "teenage mamas" (Chohan, 2010), encapsulates the attitudes of some young schooling mothers towards their education. Chohan found that the young schooling mothers in her study valued their education. They were proud to have persevered in their studies and to have matriculated, some being the first in their family to have completed high school.

"My life has changed so much. It's much harder. I have a baby now. I said I wanted to be a lawyer, but now I can't. So now I have to think again about what I can do, not just about what I want to do" (Shefer et al., 2012, p.127). Noxolo's discontent is the more common theme for learners who become mothers. Many young schooling mothers, like Noxolo, are unable to complete high school even when they desire to do so.

The voices of these learners provide insight into young mothers' experiences of schooling. They indicate that there is a disparity between the number of young schooling mothers who return to school after delivery, and the number that subsequently go on to complete high school successfully. Many pregnant learners leave school to have their babies with the expectation that they will return to school after their babies are born. However, as few as one third of learners who become pregnant return to school, and of those learners that do, only 30% complete high school. Studies have found that young schooling mothers face almost insurmountable challenges to complete their education (Panday et al., 2009).

Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers speaking about their experiences in school may result in understanding the reasons for the disparity between the numbers of those who return and the number of those who complete high school. This gap needs to be closed, because the right to education, as enshrined in the country's Constitution and the *South African Schools*

Act (RSA, 1996), is an inalienable right. The Department of Education has stressed that this right must be accorded to young schooling-mothers, and they published a policy in 2007 that protects the learners' educational pursuit (DOE, 2007). This policy, entitled *'Measures for the prevention and management of learner pregnancy*', was developed within an inclusive education framework (DoE, 2007). However, young school mothers are often pushed out of school because of several factors including teaching and learning practices; school policies and the schooling environment; language and discipline policies, financial requirements; and deleterious competition (Bhana & Ngabaza, 2012; Chigona & Chetty, 2008). Studies have highlighted school practices excluding and marginalising young schooling mothers, which are in conflict with the Department's commitment to inclusive education.

Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers regarding their experiences of school and schooling can provide evidence that could inform policy and change practice, hopefully bridging the disparity and enabling young mothers who return to school to successfully complete high school. Messiou (2012) contends that listening to the voices of marginalised learners offers an opportunity for confronting marginalisation and promoting inclusion. This chapter will therefore interrogate research on young schooling mothers, and in particular, on their voices regarding their schooling experiences.

As has been noted, the education of young schooling mothers in South Africa is protected and promoted within an inclusive education framework. Therefore the review will begin with an analysis of inclusive education (IE) and how it is practiced in a South African context. This will provide a framework with which to review research on young schooling mothers, their inclusion and their voices within the school context. The review will conclude with a summary that will indicate the gaps in the current literature as it relates to inclusive education and voice research with young schooling mothers and will point the direction the research took.

2.2 Inclusive Education

Inclusive education is a vision for education embraced by many countries around the world. The notion of inclusive education grew out of the disability movement when parents, teachers and advocates for learners with disabilities called for access and full participation of all learners with

disabilities in mainstream schools (Armstrong, Armstrong & Spandagou, 2011). This led educationalists to demand that learners with disabilities be integrated into mainstream schools. However, integration was not widely implemented, because changes were not being made to the educational system in order to make learning effective for those learners with disabilities (Topping & Maloney, 2005).

Debates on the concept of inclusion were enlivened by new United Nations conventions that mandated the protection of the rights of children. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989), UNESCO's Salamanca Statement (Unesco, 1994), and the World Declaration on Education for All, formalised inclusive education as part of a social justice and rights agenda (Unesco, 1990). The ratification of these international instruments by member nations indicates that the human rights approach to inclusive education is widely accepted internationally. Yet, there have been ongoing debates about what constitutes inclusion as well as what counts as an inclusive school (Walton & Nel (2012).

There is no single definition of inclusive education that is universally accepted. This fact is because definitions are provided according to context in which, and the community by whom, the concept is defined (Ainscow, Booth and Dyson, 2006). Ainscow, Booth and Dyson (2006) state that the original view of inclusion as being concerned with learners with special needs participating in mainstream schools was formalised by the Salamanca Statement. The Education for All (EFA) movement has also been associated with particular definitions of inclusive education because it provides a framework that enables the inclusion of large numbers of children in the school system. However, Unesco (2005) asserts that even though the EFA framework acknowledges vulnerable and marginalised learners – particularly girls – excluded from school does not automatically mean inclusion (p. 29).

The values fostered by inclusive education provide a means to define the term. Ainscow and Miles (2008) state that inclusive education needs to be viewed as a principled approach to education that fosters the presence and participation of learners, the restructuring of policies and practices, and the achievement of all learners, in particular those vulnerable to exclusionary pressures. They posit that inclusion is a principled approach to education concerned with

inclusive values of equity, participation, community, compassion, respect for diversity, sustainability and entitlement. To these, Jones (2013a) adds meaningful participation and belonging.

A definition of inclusion that incorporates concepts embraced by Walton and Nel (2012) and Ainscow et al. (2006), is provided by Jones (2013a):

> a system of policy and practices that embraces diversity as a strength, creates a sense of belonging, equal membership, acceptance, being valued and involves fundamental civil rights. Inclusive teaching and learning occurs in natural settings, with extensive and appropriate instructional supports, modifications, and accommodations, which are meaningful to students and teachers (p. 4).

This definition of inclusive education incorporates principles of human rights, and seeks the acceptance of all learners in a general school; it also involves an experience of belonging, support and the participation of all learners in mainstream schools in addition to formal access and geographical placement (Jones, 2013a). This definition therefore foregrounds the need for the school system to adapt and change in order to provide an environment where all learners can realise success.

The changes required for inclusive education to be realised begin with measures to guarantee formal access and the geographical placement of all learners. These measures include legislation, policy, and in many countries, free education. Formal access is the broad premise of EFA and the Millennium Development Goals, which have enabled an average of 97% attendance at primary school in Sub-Sahara Africa (Lewin, 2009). However, these exceptional figures fail to indicate much about the learning and achievement of students once at school. Lewin (2009) assertion that the EFA and MDG goals for access to education for all children ought to be broadly defined to include school safety, adequate staffing, progression at the appropriate age, continuous attendance, access to post-primary education, and learning achievement and outcomes lean closely to the concepts and definition of inclusive education.

Lewin's broad definition of access alludes to the possible circumstances in which formal access may not ensure epistemological access (Morrow, 2007) and social access (Walton, 2013) in school. Epistemological access involves learners gaining access to knowledge and is mainly

dependent on teachers and teaching (Morrow, 2007, p. 2). Social access, a rarely researched aspect of inclusive education, is an important component of inclusion, as it enables learners to make friends and experience a sense of belonging (Walton, 2013). These umbrella concepts cover the inclusive education ideals of "equity, participation, community, compassion, respect for diversity, sustainability and entitlement" (Ainscow et al., 2006, p. 23).

In order to achieve these ideals, an inclusive school works to meet the diverse learning needs present in the school. It is a celebration of difference (Corbett, 2001). Inclusion acknowledges that every learner is different and that each learner requires support at some time during their schooling. This requires differentiating and responding to individual learner needs without undermining any given learner, but rather by providing high quality learning experiences (Corbett, 2001). Inclusive policies and practices aim to ensure that learners are safe in school and share a sense of belonging that enables them to learn from each other, are free from discrimination, and become engaged in cooperation rather than deleterious competition (Slee, 2011, p. 41).

These broad expectations of inclusive education have led to debates and questions such as those regarding its limits (see Evans & Lunt, 2002). As such, implementing inclusive education is described as an elusive struggle, because it is also a call to confront the "norm"; a political endeavour and an audacious challenge to the attachment that the world ascribes based on "ascending and descending values of different people" (Slee, 2011, p.14). It is a call to reforms that "embrace the practice and rhetoric of inclusion, democracy, equality and excellence for *every* child, because each one matters" (Slee, 2011, p. 14). Every country implements it differently. In South Africa's case, the process began with laws and policies that would seek to embed democratic values, equality and social justice after the advent of democracy in 1994.

2.2.1 Inclusive Education in South Africa

During South Africa's segregated past, an undemocratic and racist worldview was propagated by the government. After 1994, the democratic government began reforms in all sectors to inculcate democracy and mandate equality for all South Africans. The transformation has been a complex

and long-term task that began with a new constitution in 1996, which subsequently provided the legal infrastructure for educational reform.

Educational reform in South African is one of the government's strategies aimed at transforming society and embedding a rights-based and justice led agenda. Inclusive education in South Africa was developed and based on the Constitution within a human rights framework. In pursuit of democracy, the government enacted the South Africa Schools Act (RSA, 1996). The law was enacted to give local level governance direct responsibility over its own affairs, and is intended in the spirit of the constitution as a form of social justice for all. The constitution provides the foundation of inclusive education in South Africa. It celebrates diversity as a unifying characteristic of the nation's democracy. It promotes social justice for all persons stating that every learner has a right to education.

Inclusive education was formally introduced in 2001 with the release of White Paper 6: special needs education (DoE, 2001). White Paper 6 (WP6) states that education is a means to transform and democratise society. It stipulates that inclusive education in South Africa is based on democratic principles and values including human rights and social justice, participation and equality (DoE, 2001). The policy includes the Ministry of Education's assurance that educational opportunities will be provided to learners who experience barriers to learning "because of the inability of the education system to accommodate their learning needs" (DoE, 2001, p. 6), rather than ascribing a problem to the learner. This meant that the focus of inclusive education reforms would be on the system, rather than on the learner to fit within the system. It establishes that the education system should be structured to respond to the diversity of learners and their learning needs and mitigate any barriers that may cause learners to be marginalised or excluded from learning (DoE, 2001, p.11).

The government's commitment to implementing inclusive education in South Africa has included the publication of other policy implementation documents that serve as instruments for professional practice and development. The *Guidelines for full-service/inclusive schools* (2009) provide regulations and benchmarks that school governance and management bodies can follow in order to measure progress towards inclusion. The *Guidelines* establish that inclusion is a

collaborative, community concern. Other policy documents that are used for professional learning and to incorporate inclusive values and practices in the classroom include The *Guidelines for Inclusive Teaching and Learning* (2010) is meant to be used in conjunction with the *National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support* (2008).

The South African model of inclusion as presented in WP6, and enumerated in successive policy and professional practice documents, seeks to identify institutional, social and economic barriers to participation in education (DoE, 2001). The barriers to learning are further elaborated as emanating from extrinsic or intrinsic sources (Walton, Nel, Hugo & Muller, 2009). Intrinsic barriers include physical conditions that interfere with a learner's ability to access the school environment and the curriculum. Extrinsic barriers may arise from a learner's family, cultural, social and economic circumstances (Walton et al., 2009).

Taking cognizance of the fact that these barriers cause learners to be excluded and marginalised, the *SIAS* policy was intended to provide guidelines for "assessing the level and extent of support needed to maximize learners' participation in the learning process" (DoE, 2008, p. 1). Support is provided to mitigate or remove barriers to learning. In-school support could vary from counselling to in-class support, such as the modification in the way a learner performs a task and accommodation and adaptations in assessment (Walton et al., 2009).

Many teachers in South Africa indicate they are not trained for inclusive education and although they would like to meet the needs of diverse learners, they do not know how to (Stofile, 2008). In response to teachers' need for guidance in the classroom, the DoE published the ***Guidelines for Inclusive Teaching and Learning*** in 2010 to make inclusive education a reality. With the overriding notion that "no two children are alike" and "all children can learn" the *Guidelines* provide advice and sample lesson plans, so that teachers can incorporate inclusive strategies into their classrooms. The policy states that diversity among learners must be celebrated and a welcoming atmosphere in schools be created in order to ensure participation of all learners.

The foregoing shows that since the formulation of WP6 in 2001 there has been further policy support to progress inclusive education in South Africa. Policy developers and researchers are in

agreement when it comes to the need for inclusive education. However, researchers have identified discrepancies in the way inclusive education is understood and implemented in South Africa (Wildeman & Nomdo (2007). Wildeman and Nomdo (2007) show that the financial and human resource allocations not only hinder full achievement of inclusive education, but that they also create a fragmented and disconnected system. To start the implementation of inclusive education, the WP6 states that selected special schools would be converted into resource centres, and designated mainstream schools converted into full-service schools. From the *Guidelines for Full Service/Inclusive Schools* (2009) published eight years after the WP6, it can be inferred that full service schools were yet to be established by 2009, when the *Guidelines* were published.

Responding to criticism on the implementation of inclusive education, Pather (2011) describes a model of inclusion as evidence that the inclusion agenda is still on track. Her model of inclusion is a vivid account of inclusion of learners with physical disabilities into a mainstream school, with exceptional community participation and a supportive neighbouring special school. This model came about by 'default', as it was 'off the policy radar'. It is a model of inclusion by a conscientious community, rather than a deliberate implementation of policy. The school in Pather's study is a positive example of inclusion. The open admission policy and accepting attitudes of the teachers in this study indicate that inclusion is possible.

Other research on inclusive education focused on whether or not the principles and purposes of inclusive education espoused democracy among school governors and administrators, teachers and learners (Oswald & Engelbrecht, 2004); Englebrecht, Oswald & Forlin (2006); Sayed & Soudien (2005). Oswald & Engelbrecht (2004, p. 9) have stated that inclusive education is not only a proposal for education, but also a "strategy most likely to achieve a democratic society" and to bring about reforms towards democracy from a fragmented and authoritarian past; and to establish community concern – where all role players build a shared vision (Engelbrecht, Oswald & Forlin, 2006).

School governance structures have also circumvented inclusion. Sayed & Soudien (2005) decry the discriminatory admission policies of former whites-only schools, which Oswald and Engelbrecht (2004) describe as conservative. Sayed & Soudien (2005) show that democratic

practices can be a double-edged sword: they are necessary for the rights discourse in school management, but they have been misused. Their research found that the democratic principles of decentralisation and civil participation have created "structured exclusion." Unfortunately, the interpretations by school governing bodies, which are composed of parents, teachers, learners, and school support staff, have created exclusions based on race and inequality, but have dressed this up as maintaining high "standards". Schools in their study keen to uphold "standards" and with a 'pliant parent body' were able to implement admission policies that excluded learners of certain religious and language backgrounds (Sayed & Soudien, 2005, p. 120).

Teachers' attitudes and values have also been identified as the biggest barriers to inclusion, and the participation of teachers in decision-making was required for inclusion to succeed in high schools (Oswald & Engelbrecht, 2004). The Oswald and Engelbrecht study indicates that teachers accepted the rationale for inclusion, but were negative when confronted with its actual practice. The teachers labeled learners with special needs in pejorative terms. This treatment of learners signifies that the teachers see the learner as the problem, rather than identifying a barrier that impedes learning.

Schools need to change their practices in order to effectively implement inclusion. However, many face constraints from beyond their boundaries. Naicker (2006) laments that the implementation of inclusive education in South Africa has been constrained by political, bureaucratic and ideological factors. In defining what counts as inclusion, Walton & Nel (2012) recommend that inclusion be approached as a process that is continually being revitalized, with new knowledge and experience that will include both school and system-wide restructuring and improvement, rather than pursuit towards an end-point (Evans & Lunt, 2002).

Even though there is evidence that inclusive education is being implemented, there are many learners who continue to be excluded due to opposition to, and non-implementation of, inclusive education (Walton, 2011). However, the pursuit of inclusion need not only examine implementation, but must also investigate how and why learners are excluded and marginalised (Slee, 2011; Messiou, 2012).

2.2.2 Exclusionary pressures and marginalisation

When inclusion is understood from the perspective of a human rights discourse, it constitutes a commitment to a more just and equitable society. This translates into a responsiveness of mainstream schools to learner diversity, and particularly to marginalised groups of learners. The broad definition of inclusive education enables teachers to identify and support any learner that is at risk of being excluded and marginalised. The inclusive policy framework in South Africa guided by Education WP6 (DoE, 2001) provides strategies to support all learners. *The National Strategy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support,* formulated with particular emphasis on supporting vulnerable learners, admits that many learners are marginalised and excluded (Doe, 2008, p. 2).

Various school practices can marginalise learners. Lewin (2009) has explained the nuances of exclusion with a model that identifies seven phases during the school cycle at which learners are excluded. From issues related to a learner, such as low achievement and sporadic attendance, to social and economic constraints, the zones of exclusion indicate that exclusion is widespread. What Lewin (2009, p. 10) calls silent exclusion, regarding those attending school but learning little , is similar to Morrow's (2007) description of lack of epistemological access.

Other less obvious forms of exclusion and marginalisation are conjured by the wording of school policies. Whereas the wording of policies should be tailored to support the specific needs of learners, discriminatory policies have been developed to exclude learners – in particular young schooling mothers – thereby infringing on their rights as learners. The protracted legal battle between the Free State Education Department and Welkom and Harmony High Schools exemplified such an infringement of national policy (Sapa, 2013). School policies meant to protect and promote the best interests of learners as espoused by SASA, have been formulated to disrupt the education of young schooling mothers (Wilter, 2013). Slee (2011) describes the predicament of such learners as the occupation of a form of tenancy at the margins of school.

Exclusionary language is not only an aspect of school documentation but in reference to learners. Sookrajh, Gopal, and Maharaj (2005), investigating exclusionary and inclusionary practices of learners fleeing conflict in their home country, found that the terminology used to describe

learners, the curriculum and physical alienation, can contribute to the marginalisation of learners. Physically separating learners and then using derogatory terms, along with a lack of acknowledgment of learners' prior knowledge, marginalised learners in their study. Even though the learners were included, they were frustrated by the assumptions that the school community made about them, and the alienation they felt for being labelled. They wanted to be regarded and accepted as individuals (Sookrajh et al., 2005).

Exclusion and marginalisation in school reflect what happens in wider society. Slee (2011, p. 48) says the characteristics of exclusion have existed from antiquity, and are ubiquitous. He states that the prevalence of exclusion and marginalisation has dulled our responses to the injustices exclusion visits upon individuals and communities, and he is concerned about the social tendency to ascribe "ascending and descending values to different people" (p.14). Slee adds that inclusive education needs to listen to "the perspectives of those who are devalued and rendered marginal or surplus by the dominant culture of regular schools" (p. 107), in order to confront educational exclusion.

2.3 Young schooling mothers

Girls' education is a pillar in the development of any nation. This value is emphasised in international and national development agendas, with the goal of eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2015, which has been stated as the key to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (World Bank, nd). Exclusion of girls from school is a concern throughout the world, often instigated by social and cultural norms (UNGEI, 2013). Additionally traditional gender norms related to pregnancy and motherhood further curtail a young woman's education (Greene, Cardinal, & Goldstein-Siegel, 2010). In South Africa, learner pregnancy has been identified as one of the potential socioeconomic barriers to learning (DoE, 2010, p. 16). The Minister of Education has also stated that "teenage pregnancy undermines the Department's efforts to ensure that girl children remain in school" (Panday et al., 2009, p. 3).

'Teenage pregnancy' has been identified as one of the socio-economic barriers (DoE, 2010) facing learners, and a policy that mitigates the possible exclusion of young mothers was developed in 2007. The policy – Measures for the prevention and management of learner

pregnancy (DoE, 2007) – stipulates that schools should "strongly encourage learners to continue their education" after delivery. The policy urges schools to promote a "climate of understanding and respect" to protect young schooling-mothers from "unfair discrimination." Despite this policy, schools continue to exclude learners, necessitating a circular demanding that schools adhere to the policy by refraining from expulsion of the learner and instead providing them with support (Soobrayan, 2009).

These measures by the government to ensure young schooling mothers complete their schooling and the learners' experiences in school have been subject of research. The perspectives and frameworks that have influenced the research with and about young schooling are reviewed in the following discussion to identify gaps requiring research and in order to position the current study.

The policies to ensure young schooling mothers complete their schooling indicate that the learners' require support to complete their schooling. The support they require has led to their classification as learners with special learning needs (DoE, 2009; Chigona & Chetty, 2008). Although learners with special needs have traditionally been learners with disabilities, in the context of young schooling mothers, their categorisation as learners with special needs takes into consideration their dual role as learner and mother, and the resulting responsibilities. Young schooling mothers as learners with special needs has become an area of increasing interest and research (Vincent, 2012; Morrell, Bhana & Shefer (eds.), 2012; Chohan, 2010; Chigona & Chetty, 2008; Pittaway, 2005). The learners face a myriad of challenges, ranging from how to disclose pregnancy, to the restrictions and powerplays that they ought to negotiate once they become mothers (Ngabaza, 2011).

The policy on learner pregnancy, which covers young schooling mothers too, is meant to influence school administration in supporting young schooling mothers when completing their education. It states that educational support be given to learners "within reasonable limits" (DoE, 2007, p. 6). These are imprecise measures, which are open to varied interpretations; and can be a "clause of conditionality that can be applied to create exemptions and subvert the spirit of the policy" (Slee, 2011, p. 113). Schools' governing bodies regulate access and inclusion in order to

control who is admitted to a school (Sayed & Soudien, 2005), sometimes infringing law and policy. Exclusion of young schooling mothers by two schools' governing boards has been the focus of a long, protracted legal battle. The Free State Education Department went to court in 2010 to oppose the exclusion of young schooling mothers from two high schools. The case ended in the Constitutional Court, which found that the policies in the two schools were on "face-value*"* (Wilter, 2013) infringing on the constitutional rights of pregnant and parenting learners, including their rights to human dignity, which include the right to receive a basic education and to be free from unfair discrimination (Wilter, 2013).

The Court said the schools' policies limited the learners' fundamental right to basic education; discriminated on the basis of gender; "violate[d] learners rights to human dignity, privacy and bodily and psychological integrity" and did not make the learners' best interests of paramount importance (Fredericks, 2013). A similar case was reported in Gauteng, in which the Equal Education Law Centre, intervened to have a pregnant learner resume school (Equal Education, 2013). These situations devalue and marginalize young schooling mothers.

To address the marginalisation and exclusion, and in tandem with WP6's preference for separate education in South Africa, a school specifically for young schooling mothers operates for the few who are able to be admitted. The Pretoria Hospital School offers pregnant learners and young schooling mothers an opportunity to learn in a "non-judgmental environment' (Khumalo, 2013). However, separate education settings, which are suggested in WP6 (DoE, 2001) and practiced for other learners in South Africa, continue to entrench the view that 'the Other', particularly young schooling mothers, are a problem, as 'outcasts' (Sapa-AFP, 2013).

The exclusion and marginalisation of young schooling mothers reflects society's deeply held attitudes in dealing with anything concerning sex and sexuality, as reflected in research and in the media (Bhana, Clowes, Morrell & Shefer, 2008; Macleod, & Tracey, 2010). Additionally, talking about sex and sexuality with young people is surrounded by taboo or approached with resistance (Bhana, Morrell, Shefer & Ngabaza, 2010; Francis & DePalma, 2013). These perceptions look at pregnant learners and young schooling mothers as "recalcitrant individuals" (Clowes, D'Amant, & Nkani, 2012) often referred to as those with "bulging stomachs" (Nkani &

Deevia Bhana, 2010), or as "slappers" (Vincent & Thomson, 2010) and even "stupid sluts" (Kelly, 2000), who do not belong in school.

When school administrators accord the young schooling mothers their right to return to school, the learners' categorisation as learners with special needs is based on a construction of the learner as a problem, with a certain future of deprivation, rather than being based on the identification of the social, cultural and economic barriers that affect the learners' education. Chigona and Chetty (2008) discuss several studies that indicate that young schooling-mothers need to be supported in order to complete their education, because the mothers and their babies would otherwise be condemned to a life of poverty and ignorance.

The construction of learner pregnancy and young motherhood as a problem, is framed by a view that adolescents are in transition: they exist neither as child nor as adult (Macleod, 2011). This transitional space, that mainly leans towards the perception that the adolescent is a child (Koffman, 2012), also serves to construct an narrative of the young mother as the embodiment of society's moral decline and degeneration (Koffman, 2012; Macleod, 2011). This discourse projects adolescents, and especially the young schooling mother, as lacking in agency (Macleod, 2011), lacking sexual self-control and needing to be controlled (Coleman, 2011). A young schooling mother's life is considered to be an unfortunate life that rarely heads in a positive direction, faced with the inevitabilities of poor health and low educational achievement (Creecy, 2013). These perceptions are widely published in the mass media, where commentaries on young schooling mothers note that they are an expensive drain on the welfare system (Makwabe, 2013). Even though there has been a shift in the tone of academic research (Macleod & Tracey, 2010), the stereotype of the problem of young mothers is still pervasive in academic research, government documentation and mass media (Willan, 2013).

These discourses inform the negative responses of the educational establishment that marginalises and excludes the affected learners. The association of young parenthood with future problems has often been the backdrop for policy formulation (Zachry, 2005). However, these discourses are being challenged. Macleod (2012) has challenged the construction of adolescent pregnancy as a social problem and as a threat to social degeneration. The author argues that other

researchers are now revealing 'teenage pregnancy' to be a rational choice, and are challenging the discourse and research practices that cast the outcome of young pregnancy and young motherhood as a certain route to disadvantage, disease and dependency. These researchers have been called revisionists (Macleod, 2012, p. 57). Arai (2009), who also challenges the negative social construction of adolescent motherhood, found that young women enjoyed being mothers. Arai cautions researchers and policy makers about the continued negative construction, as this view of adolescent motherhood as a pathology negates the very campaigns aimed at social and educational inclusion.

To revisionists, there is only a thin dotted line connecting poor academic achievement and social and economic wellbeing to learner pregnancy and young schooling mothers. Learners in the UK (Duncan, 2005) and in South Africa (Panday et. al, 2009) who become pregnant and have children, experienced academic, social and economic impediments prior to pregnancy. Zachry (2005) provides evidence that refutes the discourse that says pregnancy and motherhood are the main reasons behind the educational problems causing young schooling mothers to abandon their studies. She states that school policy or the learners' previous experiences in school are to blame. Young motherhood has been shown to be a motivator for educational achievement. Studies have found that upon having their children, young mothers' developed greater persistence, resilience and motivation to complete their education and to provide a better life for their children (Middleton, 2010; Vincent 2012; Pillow, 2004; Chohan, 2010).

The revisionist perspective is similar to the dominant conceptualisation of inclusive education in South Africa in that it identifies the problem with educational structures and not the learner. It attributes the educational marginalisation and exclusion of young schooling mothers to the educational establishment and not to the learners. Mulongo (2006) urges "alternative constructions." She found that when young schooling mothers are perceived only as being a problem, or as being deviants, attention is shifted from them as individuals and as learners, and attention is focused on the apparent moral, economic and social malaise. Recasting the perception and considering them to be young mothers and learners provides an opportunity to attend to the structural issues that ought to be considered in order to achieve educational success (p.48).

The oft-cited irresponsibility of adolescents is also challenged with new research, which states that adolescents shape their own lives (Coleman, 2011). Coleman (2011) quotes Feldman and Elliot (1990) who asserted the agency of adolescents two decades earlier: "Too often adolescents are portrayed as passive recipients of circumstance […] in reality they play an active role in shaping the context in which they operate" (Coleman, 2011). The revisionist perspective sees young mothers exercising personal agency and confirms Coleman's (2011) theory that adolescents construct their own development. Young schooling mothers' persistence and resilience in the pursuit of their education provides evidence of deliberate agency.

When researchers perceive adolescents as possessing and exercising agency, they are more likely to engage their voices to understand the world the adolescents inhabit. Coleman (2011) urges researchers to interrogate the model with which they research adolescents. He argues that researchers continue to use antiquated models including the Victorian notion of the child as a possession and the child or young person as an innocent individual in need of protection. Coleman asserts that using a research model that accepts that adolescents exercise agency, then listening to the voices of young people becomes an important aspect of research into their lives.

2.3.1 The voices of young schooling mothers

Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers provides an insider's view of the learners' experiences. The schooling experiences of young mothers have often shown common themes related to devaluation (Willan, 2013). However, the choice of research method appears to provide a different outcome. Voice research acknowledges the agency of adolescents (Fleming, 2011, Fielding, 2007), and also listening to adolescents provides evidence that adolescents exercise agency (Coleman, 2011). The outcomes of both approaches suggest that agency and voice are interrelated. Walton (2011) has noted that voice research can be empowering and emancipatory for marginalised learners, especially when learners "become more than a source of knowledge about inclusion, but also participating in the production of that knowledge" (p. 89, 90).

The experiences of young schooling mothers have been captured using various research

methods, many leaning towards a feminist paradigm (Ngabaza, 2010; Chohan, 2010). Extended, semi-structured interviews are the dominant method that has been used to listen to the voices of young schooling mothers' experience of school (Vincent, 2012; Zachry, 2005). Ethnographic studies that include using creative methods, including in-class skits and theatrical productions by the young mothers for the whole school, have challenged the dominant negative perception of these learners (Luttrell, 2003). These studies have documented the marginalisation of young schooling mothers but have not explicitly considered the learners' voices as a means to mitigating their marginalisation.

Transformational potency is a feature of young motherhood. Zachry (2005) has characterised motherhood as an agent of change, providing motivation for the young mothers to stay in school. The young women's narratives also indicate the schooling environment to have been a major factor in their educational engagement. This included teachers' attitudes and interactions with their peers. Similarly, using a narrative methodology, Miller (2012) in New Zealand, confirms motherhood to have been a turning point at which young schooling mother made choices to return to school in order to offer their children a better life. Mangino (2008), investigating the reasons for the successful completion of high school, used retrospective interviews for her research on young schooling mothers. Mangino (2008) explains that the study had provided a forum for the voices of young schooling mothers to retrospectively recall their schooling experiences, while enrolled at a programme that facilitated the learners' graduation from high school. Using a narrative research approach, Mangino found that the learners' reflections through the narrative helped them recognise their transformation since becoming mothers. The learners who had previously not had an opportunity to be heard had excercised their agency and had made the decision to ensure they completed high school, often fueled by a desire to provide a stable future for their children.

Locally, using the narrative method within a feminist paradigm, Ngabaza's (2010) study illustrates how young schooling mothers exercise agency and employ strategies to take control of their lives. Chohan and Langa (2011) confirm this potential for empowerment. The young schooling mothers interviewed for their research were reported to have said that voicing their experiences was "cathartic and empowering" (p. 94).

Published research that listens to the voices of young schooling mothers has been conducted in South Africa, motivated by a concern over their educational environment (Chigona & Chetty, 2008; Shefer et al., 2012). These studies have been framed within a feminist paradigm. A study with young schooling mothers using an inclusive education perspective was carried out in the United Kingdom, and recommended that the education of learners be considered from a broad set of criteria including participation, belonging, accommodation, and valuing of student choice of study (Vincent, 2012).

Voice research using an inclusive education perspective has not been carried out in Gauteng. Despite the increased focus on pregnant learners and young schooling-mothers and their education, the learners' involvement in the way in which their own education can be changed, is still not widely considered. Listening to the voices of young schooling mothers in relation to their education can be seen as taking on the challenge that disability organisations often use to refer to any research on people with disabilities "nothing about us, without us" (Slee, 2011, p. 158). Therefore, using voice research with an inclusive education perspective could provide greater insights into the issues that hinder and help the educational success of young schooling mothers.

2.4 Dilemma of difference

When learners are classified as having special educational needs, they are invariably marked as different. Difference is associated with deviance and stigma (Minow, 1985), based on "socially constructed perceptions and unquestioned assumptions of the dominant culture" (Vincent, 2012, p. 10). Minow (1985, p. 1) asks, "How can schools deal with children defined as 'different' without stigmatising them on that basis?". To ignore a learner's needs impedes their learning, but in attending to their need, one can also highlight a learner's deviation from what has been perceived as normal. Therefore, whether such deviation is acknowledged or not, the teacher is faced with a dilemma, namely, the dilemma of difference.

Teachers and researchers in the field of inclusive education both grapple with the dilemma of difference when dealing with learners identified as having special educational needs, including

young schooling mothers. To deal with difference in schooling, Norwich (2002) urges that the dilemma be recognised in order to find creative ways to resolve it, which could include concessions on academic performance and broadened standards of learning and achievement. Wedell (2005) has similarly proposed flexibility, while Terzi (2005) has proposed adapting the capability approach developed by economist Amartya Sen. In voice research, the researcher faces a similar dilemma. Sampling one group of learners for voice research labels the group and may reinforce difference and perpetuate stigma and deviance; but if the researcher listens to the whole class without disaggregating, he/she will not be able to distinguish the particular concerns related to marginalisation that stem from the identity markers used (Walton, 2011). For research, Walton (2011) has proposed listening to a whole class and using the mosaic method of engaging voices that makes use of various modes of communication, including art, theatre and discussion.

Dealing with the dilemma calls for changes in the way in which difference is perceived. In her seminal work on dealing with the dilemma of difference Minow (1990), cited in Kelly (2000, p. 91), challenges the dichotomy where people are viewed as either normal or abnormal, and calls for the invention of "practices that treat difference as just the variety of human experience". In her study on the inclusion of young schooling mothers in two public schools, Kelly (2000) found there were pros and cons to each of the strategies devised to deal with dilemma of difference, and concluded that developing and evaluating the strategies was an on-going process. Among the strategies was 'considering the perspective of the marginalised group', which included teaching the young schooling mothers to 'speak up for themselves'.

Educational policy responds to mitigate the discrimination of learners marked as different; and in the case of young schooling mothers, the DoE (2007) also intended to foster their education. The policy provides a platform to treat the learners as special, while also emphasising their equality (p. 2). Both approaches may have had negative implications for the learner (Vincent, 2012) and special treatment can either address, or indeed accentuate stigma (p.227). Vincent has adopted Fraser's (1999) proposition that difference needs to be recognised and learners need to be treated both equally, and differently. Fraser developed a "differentiated recognition of difference", which means acknowledging and attending to certain differences, eliminating (not recognising) other differences and enjoying other differences. To achieve this apparently improbable balance,

Fraser stated that there are conditions that will call for focusing on either side of the scale, namely both recognising and not recognising difference. The recognition and non-recognition of difference calls for both equal treatment, and different treatment, and is a means of achieving social justice as it promotes the education of young mothers (Vincent, 2012).

Vincent (2012) expounds this concept, and deciphers helpful and non-helpful recognition of difference; along with helpful and non-helpful non-recognition of difference. Recognising differences can be helpful, or unhelpful. Vincent's study found that young motherhood was recognised, but that recognition was unhelpful when it perceived the adolescent mothers as incompetent. Non-recognition of the impact of stigma on young motherhood was also unhelpful. Helpful recognition of young schooling mothers involved making timetable adjustments; while helpful non-recognition of motherhood included having the same coursework expectations from the young mothers with all their learners. Each of these four propositions conveyed messages to the young schooling mothers. Both helpful recognition and helpful non-recognition play a part in communicating to the learner that she is valued and belongs in school; that her education is important. Unhelpful recognition and unhelpful non-recognition on the other hand, convey accusatory and stressful messages, often of moral decay, truancy and disruptiveness.

The framework for recognition and non-recognition of difference does not conceptualise the learner as the problem, and can be implemented in tandem with the South African model for inclusion that works to identify barriers to learning. For young schooling mothers, their circumstances require that difference be considered in ways that promote their inclusion, participation and success in school.

2.5 Conclusion

Inclusive education, considered from a social justice perspective, seeks a more just and equitable society which is central to the entrenchment of democracy in South Africa. Because every learner is different, inclusive education responds to learner diversity by identifying and removing barriers to learning. Inclusive education is also considered as a principled approach to education that is concerned with inclusive values of equity, community, compassion, respect for diversity,

sustainability, entitlement and meaningful participation and belonging. Inclusive education allows all learners to reach their cognitive potential (Nussbaum, cited in Slee, 2011, p. 158).

Progress towards inclusive education is enabled by identifying learners who are marginalised and excluded. This literature review has shown that young schooling mothers are among learners that are devalued and marginalised mainly as a result of moralistic constructions of adolescent pregnancy. To confront this situation policy and some research have labelled the mother as learners with special needs and thus recommended support and accommodation to help the learners successfully complete their schooling. Other research, referred to as revisionist, has challenged the moralistic construction and offered a different perspective to adolescent motherhood that could provide more realistic educational support to the young mothers.

Embracing a revisionist perspective this study has identified that the young mothers' voices have not been listened to using an inclusive education framework with the aim of confronting marginalisation and exclusion in Gauteng. The revisionist perspective has a relation to the conceptualisation of inclusive education in South Africa because both perspectives challenge views that the individual is at fault or is lacking in any way. These perspectives therefore seek to identify and remove barriers to learning and participation. Barriers to learning are the factors which lead to the inability of the system to accommodate diversity, and which lead to learning breakdown or which prevent learners from accessing educational provision (NCSNET/NCESS, 1997)

One approach to achieving inclusion and identifying barriers to learning that young school mothers are faced with is to listen to the learners as they voice their experiences of school and schooling. Voice research can "identify and understand the destructive workings of power, privilege, disadvantage and exclusion in education" (Slee, 2011, p. 158). Voice research conceptualised within an inclusive education framework may result in a unique perspective that could confront the learners' marginalisation and enable young schooling mothers to complete high school. The participatory methodology used in this study to listen to the voices of young schooling mothers is described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Research Design
3.3 Data collection
3.4 Data Analysis
3.5 Trustworthiness
3.6. Ethical Considerations
3.7 Limitations
3.8 Conclusion

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to listen to the voices of young schooling mothers regarding they ways in which they experience school. By listening to young schooling mothers talk about their schooling experiences, the study seeks to explore and understand the issues that may enhance or jeopardise their chances of completing high school successfully.

The study is an example of qualitative research that uses voice research and phenomenography to explore the schooling experiences of young mothers through the lens of inclusive education. This chapter explains the processes and methods used to collect data.

3.2 Research Design

The research was designed as an inclusive project in line with Walton's (2011b) efargument that "successful inclusive schools have become inclusive by being inclusive" (p. 243). Similarly this study intended to promote inclusion by designing a participatory research methodology. Listening to voices, using phenomenography and voice research is inclusive because it can identify exclusion in education (Slee, 2011, p. 158). The formulation of a participatory approach with multiple data collection methods foregrounds inclusionary values of community, respect for diversity and belonging (Jones, 2013a)

3.2.1 Participatory Research

This has been a participatory study in which young schooling mothers were considered to be co-researchers (Fielding, 2007). The researcher led the study but endeavoured to have a dialogic and collaborative relationship with participants (Coleman, 2011). As co-researchers, the participants provided input on data collection, including the interview schedule for the 'sister-sister' video.

The learners' participation constitutes collaboration in meaning making (Benjamin, 2002). Kellet (2010) supports this collaborative approach, noting that learners possess an insider perspective that adults cannot access, and therefore create a valuable new body of knowledge that is based on their experiences.

The participatory approach used in this study includes involving the young school mothers in task-centred activities during data collection (Heath, Brooks, Cleaver & Ireland, 2009, p. 65). The study gave participants tasks to carry out on their own, namely cell-phone and paper-based journaling as well as conducing video interviews of one another. The video interviews gave the learners complete control of data generation as they developed the questions without my involvement. This form of involvement echoes with Kirby, Lanyon, Cronin, & Sinclair's (2003) model of the participation that does not define participation in hierarchical terms. The hierarchical ladder discussed by Messiou (2012) considers some participation to be more valuable than others.

Two aspects of Messiou's framework were used in the study. Her framework, more closely resembles Participatory Action Research (Mouton & Babbie, 2001, p. 60). One common feature of Messiou, Kirby et al. (2003) and Participatory Action Research is the value of social equity as a motivator of participation. In Kirby et al. (2003) model, the form participation used is dependent on the study as there can be no single 'best fit' approach. According to Kirby et al, (2003) therefore, the study can still be considered to be participatory even if only one component of participation is involved. Another form of participation involved in this study is the dissemination of results to learners (Heath et al. 2009). The purpose of participation was to improve understanding and knowledge about the lives of young schooling mothers with the ultimate aim of improving their schooling and not primarily as a generation of new knowledge.

Learner participation was guided by two frameworks. These are aspects of Messiou's (2012) four-step framework for promoting inclusion and the three-stages of the "Young People as Researchers" model used by Carrington, Bland and Brady (2010). Table 3.1 presents the two published models, and shows how the current research mirrored aspects of the two models. The first step involved inviting participants to collaborate and also to prepare for the research. The

preparation involved training the participants with regards to the the structure of the research, and defining the terminologies and concepts that will be used. Several meetings were held which included preparation and presentation of collages and photo elicitation. These activities informed, engaged and created buy-in from the learners. This is an important step to encourage participation in voice research. The second step involved data collection using various data collection methods. The data analysis, findings and discussion made up step three and four, namely writing this report and meeting the participants and providing them with findings, respectively.

Table 3.1 Phases of participatory voice research

Steps described by Messiou	**Stages described by Carrington et al.**	**Activities of the current study**
	1. Shared understanding of research focus	***Preparation for Data Collection*** **1.** Collage and Photo Elicitation
1. Opening doors: enabling voices to emerge	2. Learner groups implement a school-based research project	***Data Collection*** **2.** Mxit Diary & Journals Interviews, Video, Focus Group Discussion
2. Looking closely: bringing concerns to the surface		
3. Making sense of the	3. Learners present their	***Data Analysis, Findings &***

evidence: sharing data with learners	findings to education staff, parents and community	***Discussion*** **3.** Report writing
4. Dealing with marginalisation: encouraging inclusive thinking and practice		***Data Analysis, Findings & Discussion*** **4.** Presenting findings to participants

3.2.2 Voice Research

3.2.2.1 Voice Research and Inclusion

By listening to learners' voices, I aimed to gather information using participatory methods that could be used to enhance inclusive education, particularly the inclusion of young schooling mothers. Studies have shown that learners want to be engaged in making decisions about their education, and that this engagement fosters higher academic achievement, creates a greater sense of belonging, and increases learners' sense of agency (Kushman, 1997; Fielding & Rudduck, 2002). The voices of learners may provide an important perspective on social inequalities in schooling and may be useful for eliminating marginalisation (Messiou, 2012).

Listening to learners' voices, also referred to as 'student voice', 'pupil voice' or 'insider perspective', is an aspect of educational research that considers learners as experts on their own lives (Kellett, 2010). Kellet (2010) distinguishes between research on children, about children, with children, and by children, and claims that while research with children is participatory, research by children is empowering. Children have an insider view on a school subculture that is relatively inaccessible to adults and that can provide valuable knowledge. Veck (2009) has stated that listening to learners' voices is an aspect of inclusion, noting that to "listen is to

include" (p. 146).

The value of children's voices is enshrined in Article 12 of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC); the right of the child to be heard (United Nations, 1989). However, the Committee on the Rights of the Child states that the implementation of this statute especially for children belonging to marginalised and disadvantaged groups (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2009, p. 6) is often impeded by various factors. The committee thus developed guidelines to support signatories of the UNCRC, including South Africa, in implementing this article. The committee states that the "respect for the right of the child to be heard within education is fundamental to the realization of the right to education" (United Nations, 1989, p. 24). It urges states to listen to children's views in the planning of curricula and school programmes and notes that giving a voice to children is necessary in the elimination of discrimination and in the prevention of bullying.

Studies have found that learners and teachers benefit from listening to the voices of learners'. The insider perspective in inclusive settings is valuable as learners provide teachers with a view of inclusion and exclusion that reveals how school experiences impact learning and can consequently improve teaching (Jones, 2013b). Learners who are listened to are able to achieve better performance, increased self-confidence and improved behaviour (Rose & Shevlin, 2004, p. 156). Nind, Boorman and Clarke (2012) have agreed, and add that, "enabling voice can be a potential source of empowerment and a challenge to the hegemony of accounts that privilege certain voices over others" (p. 651).

In South Africa, there has also been comments on the absence of learners' voices in the attempt to practise inclusion. Van Rooyen and Grange (2003), in their social constructionist analysis of the White Paper 6 Policy, have stated that the absence of voices on the margins authenticates the separateness of certain persons who do fit the norm, and prejudices the public against the "other". Inclusive education research has also given little attention to the insider experience of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation (Walton, 2011).

The educational establishment has ignored the voice of marginalised learners, and as a result, they are accorded little or no status in decision-making (Rose & Shevlin, 2004). Messiou (2012b) contends that listening to the voices of marginalised learners provides an opportunity to confront marginalisation and to promote inclusion. Listening to learners on the margins will not only examine exclusion, it will uncover issues that teachers may not be aware of, and is itself an act of inclusion. Messiou (2012b) argues that when schools value learners' perspectives, they find ways in which to improve the learners' experiences. She contends that listening to student voices will promote inclusion, especially when such voices are elicited through active levels of involvement, such as learners as researchers (p.21). Listening to learners' voice empowers learners as full members of the community and hence constitutes a form of inclusion (p. 27).

3.2.2.2 Epistemological Value of Voice Research

Having been used in qualitative sociological research since the 1970s, voice research has afforded researchers a perspective on social inequalities from inside schools (Arnot & Reay, 2007) and has been used successfully to change teachers' classroom practice (Ferguson, Hanreddy & Draxton, 2011). However, it has been criticised as epistemologically weak (Arnot & Reay, 2007, p. 312). Arnot and Reay's (2007) critique builds on Moore and Muller's (1999) attempt to discredit voice research in its entirety, which the latter called dubious, nihilistic and anti-epistemological. They argue that voice research is simplistic, reductionist, relativistic and has no theoretical basis.

Focusing their critique on the work of Usher and Edwards (1994), these characteristics, they say, come from the reliance on the knower for knowledge, celebrating difference and diversity, rather than universalism and objectivity. Moore and Muller (1999) say that voice research lacks sustainable credibility, because it offers only a relative perspective, where the speaker is given sole authority for truth. This makes voice research internally contradictory – as it opposes the dominant epistemology and promotes the standpoint and interests of "allegedly" marginalised or silenced groups; and excludes those groups that are not labeled 'silenced' and 'Other'.

Another contradiction, according Moore and Muller (1999), is that data from voice research is analysed from texts, thus creating an imaginary voice. The knowledge is further endangered

through the transcription of the hearer, where the transcription privileges the field position of the hearer. Moore and Muller (1999) have further criticised voice research, observing that if the knower is then the holder of knowledge, then the boundary of knowledge is proliferated and fragmented when every knower holds knowledge. This fragmentation, they insist, creates an unstable basis for knowledge because the "anchor for the voice is an interior authenticity that can never be demonstrated", creating a crisis of credibility (Moore & Muller, 1999, p. 200).

In response to Moore and Muller's criticism, Young (2000) argues that, "history and experience inevitably enter all forms of knowledge", and that although voice research requires refining, it should not be dismissed wholesale. Young (2000) concludes that the debates on voice research is based on the fact that it challenges traditional and conventional epistemological grounds for knowledge. He can be seen to have rescued voice research in this polarised debate by arguing that history and experience are inevitably part of all knowledge, noting that they play a part in the production of new forms of knowledge. He adds that the reverse is likewise true: Knowledge and truth are rooted in social activities. This parallel, symbiotic relationship foregrounds voice research as part of the authenticity of lived experience, indicating that it would be erroneous to insist that experiences are not shaped by epistemologies.

3.2.3 Phenomenography

Phenomenography is a qualititative research methodology developed in the 1970s by educational researchers, who identified that there are different ways that learners might understand or experience a phenomenon (Maybee, 2007). Phenomenography "maps the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualise, perceive, and understand various aspects of, and phenomena in, the world around them" (Bowden, 2000, p. 2).

Phenomenography analyses a second order perspective, in which the researcher describes participants' conceptions of their world. In a second order perspective, people describe their experiences related to a phenomenon, as opposed to a first order perspective in which people describe aspects of the phenomenon (Yates et al., 2012, p. 99). Marton (1981), quoted in Yates, Partridge & Bruce, 2012, p. 99), calls the second order perspective a view from the inside. This insider perspective is regarded as a critical way for implementing inclusive education (Messiou,

2006). Listening to the voices of marginalised insiders – those learners inside the school system but who do not fully benefit from all the goods the system has to offer – is important for promoting inclusive education (p. 306).

Developmental phenomenography is a branch of this methodology that seeks to find out how people experience some aspect of their world, and then to enable them or others to change the way their world operates (Bowden, 2000). This usually takes place in a formal education setting (p. 3). Marton and Booth (1997), has also indicated the value of experience in making a difference to a particular context:

> [I]n order to make sense of how people handle problems, situations, the world, we have to understand the way in which they experience the problems, the situations, the world, that they are handling or in relation to which they are acting (quoted in Giorgi, 1999, p. 111).

The ultimate aim in phenomenographic research is to provide findings that can be used to improve teaching and learning (Bowden, 2000, p. 4). Knowing how young schooling mothers perceive schooling can assist in the design of effective success-oriented interventions that would enable the learners to complete high school. This agrees with the suggestions made by established scholars of phenemenography to new researchers that among the outcomes of a phenomenographic study should be the difference made in the learners' lives after they contribute to the creation of new knowledge (Walton, 2011).

3.2.3 Voice Research and phenomenography

The earlier discussion of voice research in this chapter, which argued for its value and validity, provides the point of reference for choosing phenomenography as an approach. An oft-quoted statement by Marton, the founder of phenomenography, 'you cannot act but in relation to the world as you experience it' (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 111) indicates the value of voice research, and by extension the appropriateness of phenomenography for the current study. Svensson (1997) presents an argument similar to Young's (2000) that supports a view of phenomenography as a "reaction against, and an alternative to, the then dominant tradition of positivistic, behaviouristic and quantitative research" (p. 171). Knowledge, according to phenomenography, is devised through the relationship that people have with their environment; and the various meanings and the similarities and differences of the meanings that people

associate with the phenomenon (Svensson, 1997).

The traditional positivist paradigm that Moore and Muller (1999) support, frames the world as a dual ontology where the person and the world are different entities (Yates et al., 2012, p. 98). Phenomenography is based on a non-dualist ontology, in which an individual and his/her environment are considered in relation to one another (p. 98). Marton (2000, p. 105) explains this relationship in the following way:

> There are not two worlds: a real, objective world, on the one hand, and a subjective world of mental representations, on the other. There is only one world, a really existing world, which is experienced and understood in different ways by human beings. It is simultaneously objective and subjective.

This statement indicates that the epistemological assumptions of phenomenography are based on the relationship between people and a phenomenon (Yates et al., 2012, p. 100). The objective of the study and the research question require a methodology that accepts participants' views without judgment. Phenomenography recognises that learners have qualitatively individual experiences of a specific phenomenon, and that their expression of their experiences is valid. Listening to the learners' voice, their experiences of school and schooling validates their perspective as a source of knowledge (Carrington et al., 2010).

3.2.4 Participants

Purposeful sampling, which was used in this study, is the most commonly used technique in phenomenography and is non-random, because a specific phenomenon is explored and participants are selected for their appropriateness to the purposes of the study (Åkerlind, 2005). Two schools in Gauteng were selected based on convenience as they were located near each other, and were accessible to the researcher (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). The Gauteng Department of Education gave written permission for the research to be conducted (Reference no. D2013/315P). The principals of the schools consented to the study, and wrote cover letters to accompany the information sheet sent to learners and parents/guardians. The principals invited the young schooling mothers in their respective schools to meet with me.

Eleven female learner-parents – four from one school and seven from the other school in the same district – accepted the invitation to participate. Samples of the information sheets to the

principals and learners are provided in Appendix 1. The learners, aged 15-19, in Grades 10-12, had returned to the same school they had previously attended before the birth of their babies. Following two meetings in which I explained the study and answered the learners' questions, eleven learners opted to participate. One important requirement for participation was that the learner had to have a personal cellphone. All research activities took place in the school, in rooms provided by the principals.

3.2.6 Preparation for Data Collection

Phenomenographers encourage researchers to conduct a pilot phase before commencing with their research (Bowden, 2000). A pilot study fulfills the requirements of Messiou (2012) and Carrington's (2010) preparatory stages, mentioned above in section 3.2.1: Participation. In this step, researchers work collaboratively with learners in various activities to create a conducive environment for data collection. The participants created collages and participated in photo-elicitation sessions.

Collage

As an imprecise art form, the collage does not inhibit learners who may feel self-conscious. As a preparatory activity to data collection, collages were particularly useful for this research, because they enhanced visualisation capabilities (UNICEF, 2001, para. 5). The imbalance in power relations between the researcher and the participants has been cited as a problem in voice research (Hadfield & Haw, 2001). The collages provided an opportunity to mitigate this imbalance, and to enable voices and issues to emerge.

The collage was selected in order to serve as an ice-breaker and an introduction to the research. The participants were provided with poster paper and glue. From an assortment of magazines, the learners selected and cut pictures and texts, and created a self-portrait entitled: 'This is Me'. In one school, the portrait was undertaken by students in their own time, and subsequently presented to the group. The group asked questions and discussed the collages. In another school two girls prepared their posters and presented the posters to one another. This exercise enabled the participants to freely interact with each other and with the researcher. The posters were not used as a source of data, but as a preparatory activity to data collection.

Photo elicitation

Pictures downloaded from the internet of young schooling mothers in school environments were shown to the participants. The aim of this activity was to sensitise the learners to the terms to be used in research (Carrington et al., 2010). For the current study, the terms inclusive education, exclusion, and marginalisation, were defined. This was followed by discussion about the way in which the participants experienced school and schooling.

3.3 Data collection

Marginalised learners such as young schooling mothers rarely have access to traditional ways of student participation in school affairs (Kaplan, 2008). They are less likely to have their perspectives about school considered by educators and fellow learners. Furthermore, listening to the voices of young people requires methodologies that will "elicit the tacit voice", rather than the surface expressions of student talk (Hadfield & Haw, 2001). As a result, data was collected using varied media. The use of various media also built upon the participants' strengths and allowed participants with different abilities and interests to take part (Clark, 2004, p. 144). Using multiple methods of collecting data is also inclusive because they encourage participation (Walton, 2011).

Chronologically, mobile phone messaging and journal writing were the initial data collection methods used. These were followed by interviews at which the leaners reflected upon the process and issues arising from the phone messaging and journal writing. The semi-structured interviews were conducted either with an individual or with two participants. This inconsistency is explained in Section 3.7: Limitations. Next was the highlight of the research for the learners, the filming of the 'sister-sister' videos. The final data collection activity was a focus group discussion in each school, where all the participants came together.

3.3.1 Prompted "Mxit" diary and written journals

Listening to legitimate and authentic expressions is critical in voice research. A diary format using phone messaging on the Mxit platform was used because it is relatively inexpensive, compared to standard 'sms' messaging. It is also easy and quick to access on most mobile

phones. Although Mxit is a social networking platform, for this study it was not used as a group network but as a messaging platform.

Each participant had to have her own cell phone. The study began with a prompted cell phone diary. For three weeks, I would send each participant R10 from my research funds to purchase sms bundles and Mxit moola, the data required to operate the Mxit platform. Every weekday I prompted diary messages with questions such as: What did you enjoy at school today? The research began with mobile phone messaging, not only as a means for genuine expression, but also to ease the participants into the research with as little inconvenience as possible.

The Mxit diary entries were prompted by questions which I sent via sms. For three weeks, I sent questions using short media message (sms). The questions are provided in Appendix 4. Some learners found Mxit inhibiting, and suggested the use of written journals. One week into the phone message period, the learner requested paper journals. They found the diary a beneficial activity that they wished to write more than the short messages on Mxit.

As co-researchers, the learners' perspective was accommodated and I provided journals to all participants, who were free to choose to respond to the questions as written entries in their journals, or digitally via Mxit and sms. When the participants responded with sms, their messages were sent to my cellphone. Each message was then transcribed onto a computer word processing document. When the participants responded via Mxit, they used their cellphones to post messages. These posts sent via cellphone were accessed on a computer on which the Mxit platform had been installed. The posts were downloaded, collated in word processing software, and filed in documents according to the date they were posted.

The phone messaging diary and written journal allowed participants to freely express themselves. With the diary and journal method, experiences are recorded in their "natural, spontaneous context" (Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003). Carter and Mankoff (2005) state that the diary method using the mobile phone enables participants to be spontaneous and is a medium with minimal participant burden. The data differed according to the media used to respond to the prompts. The digital entries were short, often using abbreviated language. The written journal

entries were lengthy, providing detailed descriptions of experiences. The entries were therefore separated according to media used and were analysed accordingly. Mobile phone were selected as mobile phone use is popular among adolescents in Gauteng (Oelofse, 2008). Mxit offers instant messaging and chat-room services that can work on most cellphones and it is widely used among South African youth (Bosch, 2008).

3.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Phenomenography employs open-ended questions that allow the participants to choose the aspects of the question to which they would like to respond (Bowden, 2000, p. 8). What the participants choose to focus on is an important source of data, because it indicates that which is particularly important to the interviewee (Marton 1986, p. 42). Semi-structured interviews are also best used when there is limited time (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013) and allow the researcher to further explore in greater depth the perceptions that interest the participant (Trigwell, 2000). Ultimately, the emphasis was on the relation between the participant and the phenomenon and the variation in the way in which the learners experienced and understood the phenomenon (Yates et al., p. 102).

For this study the semi-structured interviews were conducted within the school premises with one or two learners at a time, and lasted between 20 and 45 minutes. The schedule of questions is provided in Appendix 5. The nuances of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation, were not easily understood by participants. To explain these concepts to the learners, diagrams depicting the concepts were discussed at the beginning of each interview. Using the diagrams in Appendix 6, I explained marginalisation as ‘what people say or do’, or ‘how questions are asked’, or ‘how people treat the learners that makes them feel unwelcome’.

Interviewees were encouraged to express their ways of understanding the phenomenon through follow-up questions such as: ‘Could you explain further?’; ‘What does that mean to you?’ (Bowden, 2000, p. 10). This enabled the participants to express how they conceived of phenomena, providing the second order perspective of relationship and not the first order perspective that focuses on what the phenomenon look like (Yates et al., 2012, p. 99).

3.3.3 "Sister-Sister" Videos

Videos were used in this study for specific reasons germane to the study's aims and rationale. Each learner was requested to choose a partner who was also participating in the research and they took turns to interview and record a short video clip of their partner. They were shown how to use the video application on an iPad and they shot videos that were 1-3 minutes long. The videos clips were not edited or processed. The dialogue was transcribed as raw data.

As co-researchers the learners developed questions to ask their partner. Before developing the questions, I discussed with the participants what we had done so far. Each learner was given a sheet of paper to write their questions, but did so without consulting with other participants. Appendix 7 is a sample of the questions written by two participants. This activity indicated the learners' grasp of the issues related to inclusion and marginalisation.

Video is among those arts-based activities that schoolgirl-mothers have used to explore ways to re-frame, re-present, and discuss their own understanding of issues in their lives. A programme documented by Levy and Weber (2011) found that arts-based activities are among the most important vehicles for enabling young women to discuss their situations and express their feelings. The arts allowed a "multiplicity of voices […] bringing attention to the needs and viewpoints of girls and young women who are too often marginalised or silenced" (p. 307). Levy and Weber (2011) found that by producing meaningful media themselves, the young mothers' programme became transformative and emancipatory.

In South Africa visual methodologies in particular, video portraits have been shown to help individuals develop their confidence and actualise personal agency (Walsh, 2007). Insights from research by Walsh (2007) were particularly useful in this regard, because the participants in this study found shooting videos of each other to be the most beneficial form of expression.

3.3.4 Focus group discussion

Although the focus group discussion was initially designed for adults, it can be successful with children and adolescents when they are given the opportunity to raise issues they wish to discuss

(Kellet & Ding, 2004). Kellet and Ding (2004) also advise that groups are less intimidating than individual interviews and are productive when organised around a theme (p. 167).

Focus group discussion was chosen as the last data collection activity of the study, because it is socially oriented and encourages responses, while at the same time allow for in-depth discussion (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The focus group discussion also provided an opportunity to incorporate some aspects of Messiou's 'Step Three' (2012) and Carrington, et al.'s 'Stage Three' (2010) into the study methodology. Their phases are concerned with sharing data collected over the research period, amongst participants and broadly with relevant authorities.

The focus group discussion was held with all participants in each school. The process involved three types of questions, namely: questions that I generated after viewing the 'sister-sister' video; questions that I generated from the whole project that the learners picked and asked the group; and questions that the learners were invited to ask. The first type of question was based on my initial review of the video and sought to clarify issues from the video. The second type included general questions, including modalities of the project. In the third type of questions the participants fielded questions from one another and from me. The process for this activity provided in Appendix 8. At the close of meeting, I shared preliminary findings from the research with the learners.

3.3.5 Participation and data collection methods

Although all the young schooling mothers were invested in the study, they were not always available to participate in every activity. In most instances, their children falling ill, and having to take the child for medical attention occasioned their absence. One of the participants had briefly dropped out of school. The following table indicates how each learner participated in the project. They all participated in the photo elicitation exercise. Only one learner was absent during the 'sister-sister' video recording, and the focus group discussion.

Table 3.2 Participation and Data Collection Methods

		Preparation/Orientation for Data Collection		Data Collection Method				
	Participants (Pseudonyms)	**Collage**	**Photo Elicitation**	**Mxit/sms**	**Journal**	**Interview**	**Video**	**Focus Group Discussion**
1	Tereza	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	Jennifer	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3	Lucy	X	X		X	X	X	X
4	Sera	X	X			X	X	X
5	Angela	X	X		X	X	X	X
6	Shannon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
7	Juliet		X	X	X	X	X	X
8	Nomsa		X	X		X		
9	Mbali		X	X		X	X	X
10	Khanyisile		X	X			X	X
11	Thulela		X	X			X	X

3.4 Data Analysis

In phenomenographic studies, analysis of data can be carried out in different ways (Larsson & Holmstro'M, 2007; Bowden, 2000; Yates, Partridge & Bruce, 2012; Åkerlind, 2005). However, all researchers use an iterative and inductive process in which the researcher sets aside any predetermined views and conducts exhaustive reading and re-reading of transcripts in order to identify the collective experience. This study followed a four phase process used by Soon and Barnard (2004). These phases do not indicate a sequential process, but a general grouping of tasks.

Phase 1: Transcribe and read transcripts
Phase 2: Identify meanings and contexts
Phase 3: Organise results into categories
Phase 4: Produce the outcome space

3.4.1 Phase 1: Transcribe and read transcripts

Recordings of the individual interviews, focus group interviews and the 'sister-sister' videos were transcribed for analysis. The transcripts were read and re-read to confirm their accuracy, as well as to allow me to familiarise myself with the content.

3.4.2 Phase 2: Identify meanings and contexts

As there is no specific technique prescribed for analysing transcripts in phenomenographic research (Yates et al., 2012), I analysed the transcipts using open coding from grounded theory (Charmaz, 2003). Open coding has been used in other phenomenographic studies also (Parisio, 2011). These codes were written in the margins to enable visual review of the data. Bell (2010) cautions that the coding of data in qualitative research is not about words, but about their meaning. In her view, coding allows the researcher to "cluster" key issues so as to draw conclusions (p. 222). This inductive coding method is a feature of phenomenographic data analysis. For an example of coding, see Appendix 9.

The researcher is needs to be aware that the experiences of participants may be counter-intuitive to his or her personal perceptions (Mann, Dall'Alba, & Radcliffe, 2007). Therefore care was

taken, through re-reading of transcripts, to prevent ascribing meanings from the researcher's perspective rather than capturing the meanings of the participants (Sin, 2010, p. 316). I collated groups of meanings from each different data collection method into batches. The batches reflected the different aspects of an experience.

To identify meanings that are relevant to a study, Marton & Booth (1997) (cited in Yates, Partridge & Bruce, 2012) guide researchers by outlining the "anatomy of an experience". According to Marton and Booth , an experience has two aspects: structural and referential. The structural aspects provide an external and internal horizon. The external horizon is a viewpoint regarding the background or context of the experience. The internal horizon is the specific feature that the participant concentrates on. The internal horizon indicates that upon which the participants are focused. The referential aspect of the experience refers to the participant's understanding of the experience, based on the participant's prior knowledge of the phenomenon.

Yates et al. (2012) provide an example of someone sighting a bird in a forest. With regards to the structural component, the external horizon refers to the way in which an individual perceives a bird and distinguishes it from the forest; and the internal horizon refers to the way in which the individual perceives the bird's physical features. In the referential aspect, the individual's understanding of what a bird is comes from their prior experience. This theoretical explanation of an experience is presented here in order to provide an understanding of a phenomenographic experience. The anatomy of experience related to this study is presented and explained in Chapter Four. The aspects of the experience, the anatomy, enables the researcher to form categories of description.

Anatomy of an Experience

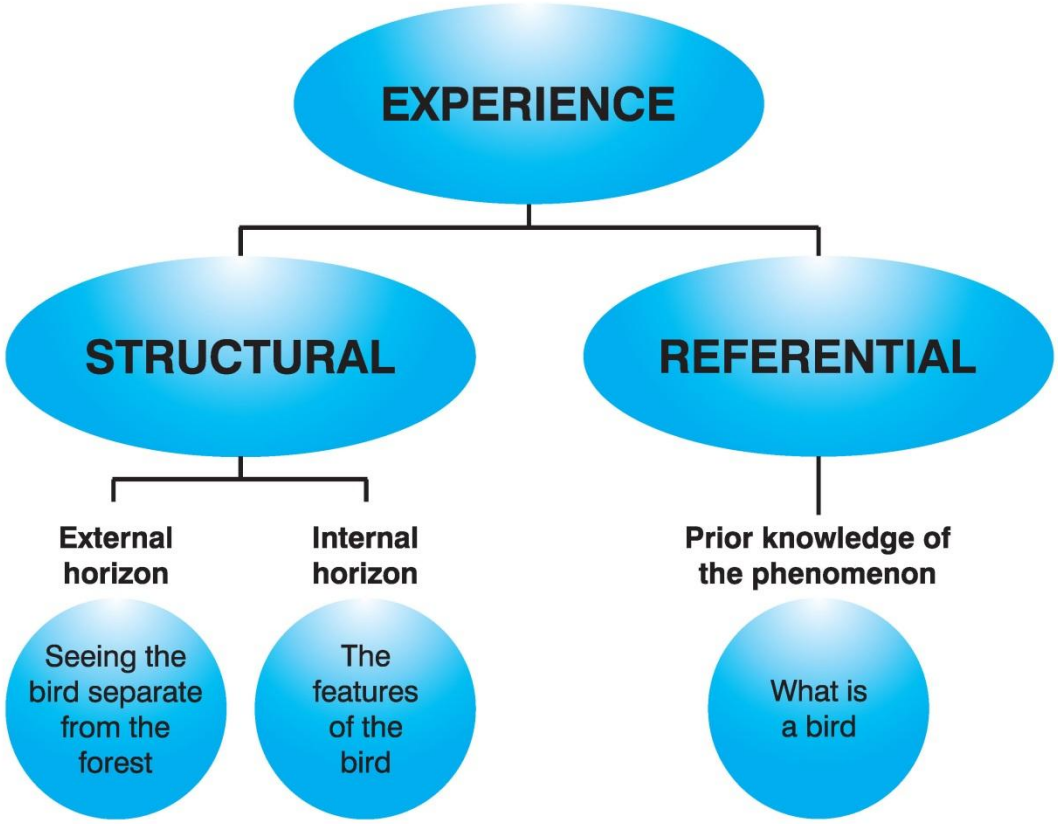


Figure 3. 1 Anatomy of an Experience, adapted from Yates et al. (2012).

3.4.3 Phase 3: Organise results into categories

Phenomenography requires that experience, as delineated through coding, is presented and arranged according to themes. These themes are called "categories of description". Each category expresses the structural and referential aspects of the phenomenon, and reveals the collective experience of the phenomenon (Yates et al., p. 106).

To identify the categories, the researcher constantly asks questions such as 'is there another way of interpreting this statement?' (Åkerlind, 2005, p. 322). The categories of description are the researcher's abstractions of the different ways of understanding that were identified from the codes. The categories of description express the different ways the phenomenon has been experienced by the participants. The categories are mutually exclusive, self-contained categories that can be understood as a set of separate, stand-alone statements (Larsson & Holmstro'M,

2007; Mann, Dall'Alba & Radcliffe, 2007). Entwistle (1997) (cited in Degen, 2010), advises that categories of description should be provided with sufficient extracts from the transcripts in order to define the category, as well as to provide the relationship between/among the contexts of the individual transcripts.

The way a participant experiences a phenomenon is not equivalent to a category of description. Sandbergh (1997) distinguishes the two concepts as an individual versus a collective way of experiencing. An individual's experience is a conception, while multiple conceptions from all participants represent the category of description. The categories of description refer to the qualitatively different ways the phenomenon appears to the collective (Yates et al., p.105).

Using an iterative process, I reviewed and re-read the transcripts and developed tentative categories before I arriving at the final categories. The categories of description changed several times during the analysis process. The transcripts were considered as a complete set of data, rather than as individual transcripts. Each category is described in Chapter 4 with verbatim excerpts from the transcripts of every data collection method. A label for each category of description was developed at the end of the analysis.

3.4.4 Phase 4: Produce the outcome space

The categories are arranged into an outcome space, showing how the categories are related. The outcome space is also a synonym for the phenomenon, showing the various ways of experiencing the phenomenon (Yates et al., 2012).

These relationships specify the similarities and differences between the categories, and help to reveal categories that are more comprehensive than others. The relationship between the categories can also be taken as a hierarchical relationship. The hierarchical relationships between the categories are not value judgments from 'better' to 'worse' (Mann, Dall'Alba & Radcliffe, 2007), but rather a consideration of those categories that are more comprehensive; providing an overarching group. The outcome space can also represent a developmental progression, showing how one category explains another (Yates et al., 2012).

The outcome space does not represent all the ways in which a phenomenon is experienced, but the collective way a particular group experiences the phenomenon (Yates et al., 106). Diagrams, tables, pictures or metaphors can be used to illustrate the outcome space, and thus, a reflection of the phenomenon (Mann, Dall'Alba & Radcliffe, 2007).

In this study the results – or, the outcome space – demonstrate how differently young schooling mothers perceived their shared schooling situation. An illustration of the outcome space is presented in Chapter Four.

3.5 Trustworthiness

The value of the findings of qualitative research is determined by the overall concept of trustworthiness (Mouton & Babbie, 2001). Rigor in research through the use of careful and thorough procedures promotes the trustworthiness of the research findings. The components of trustworthiness include credibility, dependability, conformability and transferability. Additionally, validity in phenomenographic research is recognised as the extent to which the goals of the study have been achieved (Åkerlind, 2005). Åkerlind (2005) suggests that the researcher check for validity by receiving feedback from the research community, and through ascertaining that the outcomes of the research are useful for the intended audience.

Different measures have been taken to make the findings of this research reliable. For this study, validity was safeguarded through introspection, triangulation and feedback methods.

3.5.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is recommended to inclusive education researchers. Allan and Slee (2008) urge researchers to be intensely sensitive to their interests, motives and desires, and to become researchers of their own selves (p. 98). They ask researchers to interrogate themselves about why they are conducting their research.

Reflexivity requires the researcher to "actively acknowledge, and reflect on, how their social locations, biographical histories, and worldviews interact with, influence, and are influenced by the research process" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 75). To promote my own reflexivity in

relation this study, I kept a journal in which I made entries of my experiences and thoughts. I reflected upon my position and relationship to the participants, recording and analysing my assumptions as the study progressed.

In phenomenography, subjectivity and objectivity are taken as interwoven. The aim of this kind of work is to record and analyse what the participants perceive as their truth, rather than attempting to establish objectivity from participants' expressions (Yates et al., p. 54). In adopting an interpretivist paradigm, through phenomenography, I acknowledged my position throughout the study. Marton (1986) and Webb (1997) (cited in Degen, 2010), have noted that this is an aspect of phenomenography similar to the way in which a botanist classifies new plants. Researchers are encouraged to transcend their preconceptions through proactive reflexivity (Degen, 2010, p. 70). Therefore a researcher's own presuppositions about the phenomenon must be acknowledged and set aside or 'bracketed' (Mann, Dall'Alba, & Radcliffe, 2007; Ashworth & Lucas, 2000). Bracketing refers to the "need for the researcher to set aside his or her own assumptions, so far as is possible, in order to register the student's own point of view" (Van Rossum & Hamer, 2010, p. 45).

3.5.2 Triangulation

The use of different methods to collect data over a period of time has been recommended by Cohen and Manion (1994), so as to provide an expansive view of human behaviour (p. 233). These authors note that research that uses triangulation can be confidently defended. This research employed different methods as a result of which data could be validated over the period of data collection, which covered five months.

Individual or paired interviews were used to follow up issues presented in the mobile phone messages and the journal entries. The focus group discussion enabled clarification of issues presented in the 'sister-sister' videos. Vincent (2012b) recommends repeat interviews when dealing with vulnerable populations on sensitive issues, and for research that explores participants' experiences. She found repeat interviews for her research with pregnant schoolgirls and schoolgirl mothers to be valuable, and even necessary, as the conditions for interviews were not always conducive for the privacy required to explore sensitive matters. The repeat interviews

also allowed for her participants to become comfortable with her and to express themselves more personally.

3.5.3 Participant review

After data was collected and categorised, I consulted my participants so as to confirm that I had understood their messages, especially after analysing the video transcripts. This was especially important as their language and verbatim accounts used phrases that required "cultural translation" of a kind (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010, p. 331).

3.5.4 Supervision

Dr. Elizabeth Walton, an expert in inclusive education in South Africa, with considerable experience and knowledge in voice research, guided the study. Her expertise ensured that standards of rigour in data collection, analysis and writing, were maintained.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

The Gauteng Department of Education (Reference Number: D2013/315P) and the Wits School of Education granted research clearance (Protocol Number: 2012ECE175). These clearances were sought with particular sensitivity because of the age and circumstances of the participants. For this research the young schooling mothers were considered vulnerable participants and extra care was taken to ensure no harm came to them for being involved through constant reminders that their participation was voluntary. Heath, et al (2009) provide the parameters and cautions of researching young people's lives. While the standard ethical considerations, such as informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, at the start of the research are important, they emphasise that ethical practice needs to be embedded in all aspects during and after the study (p. 38).

3.6.1 Informed Consent

The researcher met with the learners, within school premises, during school hours, and explained the research. They were informed that their participation was voluntary, and were reassured that if they chose not to participate, they would not be disadvantaged in any way. The participants were informed that they would not be paid for participating in the study, and that their names and the identity of the school would be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing

through the use of pseudonyms. The learners were given opportunities to ask questions. They were provided with an information sheet and consent forms shown in Appendices 1 and 2 for their further consideration, and obtained an information sheet and consent forms for their parent/guardian/caregiver.

3.6.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Because most of the young schooling mothers in this study were under 18, and are vulnerable individuals, care was taken to ensure anonymity and confidentiality throughout and beyond the research period.

Confidentiality: Participants were reassured of the confidentiality of their contributions. The researcher requested the learners to keep private what was said during all group activities and discussions. However, the researcher could not guarantee that the learners kept the discussions private.

Anonymity: The learners were requested to choose a pseudonym in order to conceal their identity. The pseudonym was used in all documentation.

Direct quotes from the data were used in the research report, but did not include any identifying information. The direct quotes were attributed to pseudonym identities. Video and audio recordings were not part of any presentation. Only the researcher and supervisor viewed the video and listened to the audio recordings.

3.6.3 Risk factors

Minimal risk (such as emotional discomfort) was anticipated from participation. I attempted to conduct every activity with sensitivity and ensure no harm came to the participants. The school activities were furthermore conducted with permission from the school principal.

Psychological discomfort: the researcher anticipated that young schooling mothers could experience discomfort from questions that would require them to reflect on their school experiences. This discomfort stems from societal views of learner pregnancy and motherhood as unacceptable (Rolfe, 2008). The participants were reminded at each meeting that they did not

have to answer any question they were uncomfortable to answer, and that they could stop participating at any time without suffering any negative consequences.

The learners were provided with 24 hours a day telephone contact details for the researcher and research supervisor. They were informed about Childline were they to harbour any concerns about what was discussed, which they felt they could not discuss with either the researcher or researcher supervisor, they could call a toll-free telephone number from a landline and from a Vodacom cell number.

Online Safety: Knobel (2005) states that the standards and principles that apply to physical space research are often amplified when conducting research in cyberspace (p. 151). For this reason, and to ensure safety and appropriate use of the Internet, learners were requested to consent to and abide by specific guidelines, as indicated in Appendix 3.

Financial concerns: Costs for all resources required for the study, including mobile phones for three learners who did not have mobile phones, as well as airtime for all participants, were covered for the duration of the study.

Safety: All the activities were conducted during school hours at break-time, within the school premises, and at a discreet venue in order to avoid stigmatisation.

Parental concern for mobile phones: parents were reassured in the information sheet that they or the learners who were provided with mobile phones would not be held liable for loss of or damage to mobile phones.

The Raw data: Audio and video recordings and transcripts; transcripts of online messages and interview and focus group discussion transcripts comprised the raw data. All data is kept securely in a locked office. The raw data is accessible only to the researcher and the supervisor. All data will be destroyed within 3-5 years after completion of the research.

3.7 Limitations

In conducting this study, I encountered a number of constraints. The following limitations in designing and doing the research can provide direction for further research.

3.7.1 Design

The eleven participants in this study constitute a small sample size, and therefore, the findings cannot be generalised to represent the perspectives of young schooling mothers, either in Gauteng, South Africa or elsewhere. The research was conducted in two schools that were less that a kilometre away from each other. This excluded the views of learners from other areas of the province that could represent a different geographical and socio-economic population.

3.7.2 Implementation

Young schooling mothers were sometimes absent from school, often due to illness of their children. Therefore, not all participants were available for every activity of the research. The participants were only available during the school mid-morning break. The break was either 30 or 45 minutes long, depending on the day of the week. As participants took time to arrive at the venue, some activities were either carried on for more than one day, or were required to be to be rushed through.

The absences explained in Section3.3.5: Participation and Data Collection Methods explains the reason for semi-structured interviews being conducted either with an individual or with two participants. This was not the preferred situation but could not be avoided.

3.8 Conclusion

The methodology presented in this chapter enabled the researcher to listen to the voices of young schooling mothers in an inclusive and participatory manner. The study was collected over a five-month period, resulting in a significant quantity of data. The sensitivity with which the data was gathered required a paced-out process that allowed the learners to participate without undue strain. The following chapter presents the data and explains the findings within an inclusive education paradigm.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction
4.2 Participants
4.3 Concerns from data analysis
4.4 Findings
4.4 Discussion
4.5 Conclusion

4.1 Introduction

This study argues that listening to the voices of young schooling mothers can be the starting point for promoting inclusive education, which can ultimately lead to their successful completion of high school. By listening to young schooling mothers talk about their experience of school and schooling, the study obtained an insider view of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation.

The findings of the study are presented in line with the phenomenographic process. A discussion of the findings are discussed from an inclusive education perspective.

4.2 Participants

There were eleven participants drawn from two high schools in Gauteng. The information in the table below was gathered from the collage poster presentations that the participants made prior to data collection. For the collage presentations, the participants were requested to focus on the topic devised for them, titled: “This is Me.” They included information on their children and their future goals. The names are pseudonyms used to protect the participants’ anonymity. Even though the profile of the participants is provided in the Table 4.1, the study is undertaken in the tradition of phenomenography, and does not attribute extracts presented in this chapter to any particular individual, instead it presents their collective views.

Table 4.1 Participants

	Name (Pseudonyms)	Grade	Academic and Career Aspirations	Pregnancy & School Absenteeism	Child: Name, (Pseudonyms) sex, age, living circumstances
1	Khanysile	12	University	Absent for 1 term	Parma: Male 9 months; lives with child
2	Mbali	12	University	Returned immediately after delivery.	Andile: Female 11 months; child lives with granny; see her on weekends
3	Thulela	12	University	Absent for 1 year	Ntando: Male 2 years
4	Shannon	12	Nurse	Missed 1 month of school prior to child's birth; returned to school 2 weeks after delivery	Letisha: Female 1 month
5	Juliet	11		Missed 1 year and Repeated 1 year. Dropped out of school during the project	Tamera: Female 2 years; lives with child
6	Angela	12	Employment after matric. Later study-lawyer, social worker	Absent for 1 year	Male: Keenan 9 months; lives with child

7	Nomsa	12		1 year away	Lebo: Female 3 years; child occasionally lives with relatives in rural home
8	Lucy	11	Doctor	1 year away	Gayle: Female Lives with daughter, Lucy's parents and extended family
9	Sera	10	Doctor	Missed school for a few weeks	Avril: Female 1 November 2012 Lives with Sera's parents; Paternal grandmother looks after her during the day.
10	Jennifer	11	Teacher	Dropped out of school before the end of the year.	Duncan: Male Lived with Jennifer's parents; Jennifer moved to Duncan's great-grandmother's home after the start of the research.
11	Tereza	11		One year away from school.	Shela: Female Lives with Tereza's sister and sometimes cared for by Tereza's mother, who lives in a different home.

Phenomenographic research considers the collective experiences of a group. Even with this conceptualisation, the profile of each young schooling mother was documented as an aspect of

inclusion. Inclusion values diversity and each learner is considered an individual with their own profile. Table 4.1 provides some aspects of the learners' profiles. The academic and career aspirations were important because among the aims of the study was the successful completion of high school. Not all learners were sure of what they aspired to do beyond high school. The correlation between their absence from school, the age and circumstances of their child was not analysed but these variables were important when the mothers failed to attend school during the period of the research.

4.3 Concerns from data analysis

During data analysis, I was obliged to make decisions as to how to refer to my participants and how to present their voices. Both issues are contentious, and some of the concerns are discussed below.

4.3.1 The term 'young schooling mothers'

This research uses the term 'young schooling mothers' to depart from other often-used terms such as 'teenage mothers', which is pejorative and reflects moralistic paradigms (Rolfe, 2008). Indeed, Ingham (2012) argues that the term 'teenage' increases the risk of victimisation of learners. As discussed in Chapter Two, these prejudicial terms are often used in the negative social construction of pregnancy among learners. This study prefers 'young schooling mothers', because it makes reference to the individuals as mothers without the often judgmental and prejudicial tags of teenage and adolescent, which suggest immaturity.

The term 'young schooling mother' was partly chosen because of the way in which the learners described themselves. The learners rarely called themselves girls and often used the gender-neutral 'parent'. This is in contrast with the findings of Luttrell (2003), who initially referred to the young mothers in her study as young women, while they called themselves girls. The participants considered themselves as having matured since having their babies. They also indicated they longed to be independent. In the following extracts, I have highlighted in **bold** the words and phrases the learners used that informed the choice of the term:

> ***I am a mother*** *now and I have a responsibility. At first I just thought I am still young.*
>
> *Gayle and her dad makes me the happiest* ***woman*** *and mother on earth.*
>
> *My life has really changed ever since I have a child I feel more* ***matured [****…]*

*Well **I got a job** that pays me R40 at least.*

*I guess its life **I need to grow up** and be strong.*

*I go forward in life because of **my responsibilities**, taking care of my child.*

The participants also stated that their roles as mothers set them apart from other learners. The young mothers were therefore keen to fit into their new roles:

> *I won't bunk school and do all the wrong things that other children do because I told myself if teacher found out and say: "you're a mother of a child, you should have known better".*

Any label for these learners is problematic (Luttrell, 2003), and researchers in general grapple with not only the prejudicial terms, but also other nuances such as how to distinguish learners on the teen-age continuum; wanted and unwanted motherhood; and the marginalisation of young fathers when using gender neutral terms (Vincent, 2011). This term was chosen to reflect the revisionist stance that this research takes in order to reflect the dual responsibilities of the participants as both learners, and mothers.

4.3.2 Verbatim presentation of voice

A common problem in qualitative research is how best to present data. The contestations discussed in Chapter Two (under the section on the epistemological value of voice research) are further compounded by the dilemmas of how to present the voices following data analysis (Tierney & Lincoln, 1997). Phenomenographers propose that interviews be transcribed and presented verbatim (Åkerlind, 2005). In this regard, Ashworth & Lucas (2000) urge flexibility and Bowden (2000) suggests that each category of description is illustrated from the data that comes from verbatim transcription. However, Van Rossum & Hamer (2010) state that, contrary to common practice, they occasionally changed or inserted words in order to improve readability.

This research presents the participants' voices verbatim as appears to be the practice of some phenomenographers, which is congruent with voice research. And, whereas my text has benefitted from the services of a professional editor, I chose to present the participants voices in an "unmediated way" to preserve their "textual innocence" (Lather, 1997).

4.4 Findings

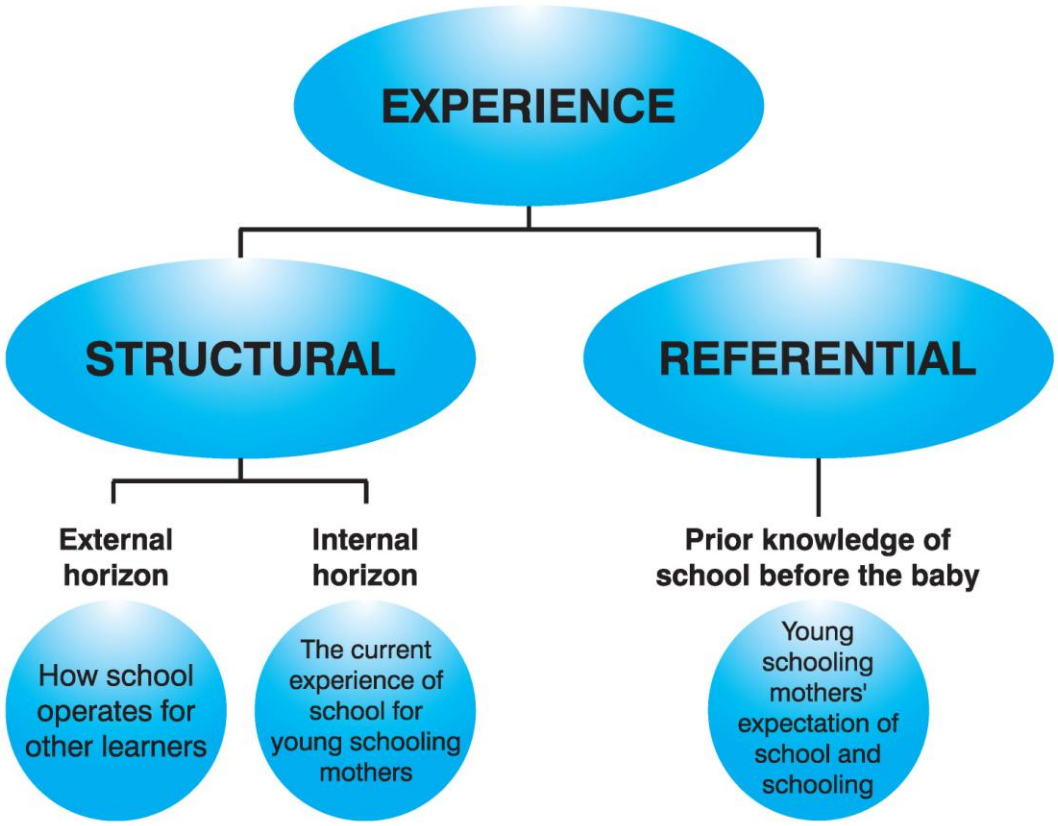
The findings of this study come after a highly iterative process in which meaningful fragments were extracted from the transcripts and grouped. The first grouping developed the anatomy of the experience. From this formulation, the fragments were further divided into categories of description.

4.4.1 Anatomy of the young mothers' schooling experience

In phenomenographic analysis, an experience has two main elements: the structural and the referential. The structural element comprises an external and an internal horizon. The anatomy of an experience was discussed in detail earlier in Chapter Three. Figure 4.1 shows the structure of the young mothers' schooling experience. The external horizon refers to the context of the experience. The young schooling mothers perceived the school in comparison to and in the context of other learners. This was how they perceived the way in which the school operated for other learners. The learners looked at school comprising aspects that were aspects, beyond their control.

The internal horizon is the specific feature upon which participants concentrated. The internal horizon indicates that which the participants gave focus. The internal horizon was an introspective perspective, which featured the learners' feelings and thoughts. Their feelings were a reflection of their perception of school. Therefore, when the learners felt sad, the school was not a beneficial place to belong. The referential aspect of the experience refers to the participant's understanding of the experience, based on the participant's prior knowledge of the phenomenon. This aspect is based on the mothers' perception before they became mothers, and on their expectations of how their schooling or their lives should be as new mothers. This was expressed as a wish, or a hopeful expectation. The desire for the way in which school ought to be experienced was, as stands to reason, informed by the learners' experience of school before their became mothers. After identifying these three conceptions of school and schooling, I discovered themes that intersected the conceptions. I placed the structure in columns of a table and found that there were thematic rows. The thematic rows were developed into categories of description.

Figure 4:1: Anatomy of the young mothers' schooling experience



4.4.2 Discovering the categories of description

Phenomenography requires that experiences are presented and arranged according to themes. These themes are called "categories of description". The categories show that the participants' experiences of the phenomena are varied. The value of using phenomenography for this study is that the method affords varied perspectives of schooling, and does not assume that the young mothers experience school homogenously.

Even though this research collected data from cellphone messages, journals, interviews, focus group discussions, and videos, the title of the research highlights an aspect that one could see as borrowed from the process of filming, namely: 'lenses'. This focus came about because the learners expressed the view that shooting the video interviews of one another was the activity they enjoyed most. They said it was gratifying to freely express their feelings as if speaking to a TV audience. The visual significance in data collection was carried through in data analysis. The

categories of description and 'outcome space' were serendipitously discovered as image metaphors.

In my initial readings of the data, I obtained a 'bifocal' sense of the learners' experiences consisting of two distinct and conflicting categories of description, namely 'sweet and sour', 'bitter-sweet', 'joy and sorrow'. Two phrases from the poem *Joy and Sorrow* by Kahlil Gibran capture this dichotomy:

> Your joy is your sorrow unmasked.
> And the selfsame well from which your laughter rises
> was oftentimes filled with your tears….
> …you shall find it is only that which has given you sorrow
> that is giving you joy (Gibran & Waterfield, 1995, p. 167).

However, further reading of the data found that the two dichotomous categories of the learners' experiences were not entirely dichotomous. It became apparent that the two categories of joy and sorrow, were determined by the learners' interactions with people, including family, friends, schoolmates and teachers. The influence of people on the learners' experience was foregrounded by the response to a frequently asked question: "What enables you to succeed?" This question was also asked as, "What are the things that pull you down?"; "How should school be different?"; "What helps you succeed most?" The responses to these questions were as follows:

"What are the things that pull you down?"

*It's a new experience I am going through and with the **people** I have in my life*

"How should school be be different?";

"What helps you succeed most?"

*When everything is fine with **everyone**.*

Therefore, to the preliminary dichotomy of joy and sorrow, I added a third category of description that related to the learners' interaction with various people. These categories lent themselves to the metaphor of an image and a lens through which it is perceived. The titles of each category reflect three aspects of lenses: focus, vision and orientation. The final categories of description were titled: 'Focused Forward'; 'Blurred Vision'; and 'People-Oriented'.

The relationship between the structure of the experience and the categories of description is shown in Table 4:2. Each category of description has an external and internal horizon and a referential element.

Table 4.2 Categories of Description in relation to the Anatomy of Experience

Anatomy of the experiences	**Structural Element**		**Referential Element**
Category of Description	***External Horizon*** Others/ Uncontrollables	***Internal Horizon*** Current feelings	Expectations/Desires
Forward Focus	Comparisons with other learners	Fulfillment at school	Self-encouragement
Blurred Vision	Time constraints and many responsibilities	Overwhelmed and giving up	Pleas for support
People Oriented	The people	Joy and Sorrow	See Me

Table 4.2 illustrates the relationship between the categories of description and the experience. Each category is analysed using the aspects of the experience illustrated earlier:. The following discussion enumerates how each aspect of the experience was identified from the young schooling mothers' experience.

4.4.3 Categories of description

To understand the experience of school and schooling using phenomenographic analysis necessitates the plotting of the voices according to the anatomy of experience described above. Three categories of description developed from the data in this study. The categories were

identified as: ‘Focused Forward’, ‘Blurred Vision’ and ‘People-Oriented’. These were the overall ways in which young schooling mothers experience school.

Each category is a distinct aspect of the experience of school and schooling. Each category is further clarified according to the structural and referential aspects of an experience. The structural aspect consists of an external and internal horizon. The external horizon refers to how the young schooling mothers perceived that school operated for other learners. The internal horizon refers to the current experience of school for the young schooling mothers. The referential aspect of the experience is a comparative component of the young schooling mothers’ prior experience of school and schooling which creates an experience of expectation for the current engagement.

4.4.3.1 Category one: Focused forward

This category of description was labeled: ‘Focused Forward’ because of the young schooling mothers’ experience of schooling as a preparation for the future. Under this category, the learners described school as interesting and exciting, which refers to the internal horizon of an experience. The external horizon was developed when they considered their future and comparing themselves with other learners. Additionally, in keeping with this focus for the future, the young schooling mothers developed self-encouragement strategies in order to succeed in school.

Comparison with other learners

This was the external horizon of the experience. When the young mothers though of their classmates they expressed the view that their classmates did not always take school seriously. The young mothers did not like their classmates’ attitudes towards school. The comparison with other learners bolstered the mothers’ confidence and enjoyment of school.

> *Our class were very disrespectful and most of the teachers said they were not gonna* [sic] *teach us. I don’t know what wrong with our class. It is just disrespectful, but to me, I told myself I am not disrespectful.* [That’s] *not me.*

> *What made me proud is when teacher told me I did so well, yet I came so late to school.* [The teacher said]:“*They were here full time and they getting 9 out of 50. I am proud of you. Keep it up” It made my heart feel so…*

The young mothers indicate an aspect of agency that is brought about by their status as mothers (Middleton, 2010). Their formal access enables attendance and some achievement (Lewing, 2009).

Fulfillment at school

The forward focus was supported by positive feelings for, and enjoyment of school and they looked forward to attending school. In this internal horizon of the experience the learners found school exciting and expressed happy feelings when they performed well in class or in exams. These feelings of joy were also perceived as an aspect of inclusion; the learners felt they were part of the goings-on at school. The learners perceived school as critical to future prosperity. Succeeding at school was a way to provide a better future for their children and to achieve personal career goals. The learners identified schooling as especially beneficial, a perspective it is worth noting they didn't have before they became mothers. The following text messages were sent in short hand express joy at being in school, were reinforced with longer diary statements that also expressed why school was enjoyable.

> *I really enjoyed my exams and I studied very hard because I want to pass, and I want to reach my goal, and I want to finish my school, and that is all I am dreaming [of] because I want to give my son the life that he deserves. I don't want him to grow up in the way I was brought up, moving from place to place, sleeping under people's tables and going to bed hungry.*

Achievement, belonging and inclusion go hand in hand. Despite the socio-economic barriers that can lead to family instability, success at school bolsters confidence and feelings of inclusion.

Self-encouragement

When the learners experienced school as a place to belong, one in which they enjoyed participating in, they developed ways to encourage themselves. Using self-talk and engaging with other young mothers showed their desire to succeed in school and helped them make decisions that advance their education. The self-encouragement is also in the context of their child. It is not only about the learner, but about the future of their child too.

The referential element of the Focus Forward experience is founded in the learners' prior knowledge and experience of school. Previously they were carefree but becoming mothers created a new perspective that made the learner to engage differently.

> *Today we got great advice from the head of the school, which made me realise that life is all about challenges and that I should never give up. It [is] not all about what you have, but [about] what [is] coming your way, and the only way that could happen is if you try harder. And failing doesn't make you a bad person, but a person who should open your eyes and try harder.*

This first category of description, *Focused Forward*, concerned the learners' perspective for their success and aspirations for better future for their children. Finding was to forge ahead to a prosperous future gave the learners a desire to succeed and achieve their goals to ensure a better life for themselves and their child.

4.4.3.2 Category two: Blurred vision

The second category of description sits in sharp contrast to the first. In this category, school took on an uncertain dimension. In the external horizon learners described their experience with despondency, because there was so little time to complete both school assignments and home chores. The internal horizon was a painful experience as the mothers felt overwhelmed, stating they were 'lost'. With this instability, the referential aspect of the experience evidenced the learners express their need for help but these pleas for support were not always heeded. The mothers struggled to maintain a sense of their own dignity. These learners live in a world of flux, having to 'juggle' many responsibilities.

Time constraints and many responsibilities:

This was the external horizon in which the learners reported that time in and for school was constrained and difficult to manage. There was too much to do and too many responsibilities. At home the learners are often in disagreements, some enter into violent fights which sometimes result in the learner being sent away from home, or choosing to leave home. This instability often means the learner will miss school.

> *I didn't go to school because my mum was angry at me and didn't wanna look after Keenan.*

Wow I hav 2 assignmentz dat haz 2 b in 2m n my bby doesn't wana leave me 2do my wrk idk wat am I gna do (history n economics) im in so much trouble damn (cross eyed face) [sic].

It also motivates me to work harder knowing that my mum always puts me down. I have someone to work hard for

The difficult home situations create a yearning for school and a resolve and resilience to continue at school. Not only was school a place to learn but also a refuge from the problems experienced at home that included conflicts and financial constraints.

Overwhelmed and giving up:

The learners felt overwhelmed and had thoughts of giving up. In this internal horizon the young schooling mother express their frustrations and pain. Even though the learners expressed their love for their children, they also voiced how difficult it was for them to be a mother.

I'm so lost!!!

God knows my heart. I feel like going to sleep and not waking up, ever.
Wow, I never knew having a baby and being in matrick [sic] *can be so difficult, I feel like giving up.*

Knowing you are a mother and father to your kid […]. *Well everyone thinks its so easy being a mother and being at school. Well this is what I got myself in[to]. So 'that's life' and what I've got to do to make it better...I hate being in school, being alive, because I wouldn't want this life for anyone in the world. Well my kid is okay, bt it gets too much*

The category is filled with conflicts and dilemmas. This situation weighs heavily on the young mother, who is tempted to abandon her studies. However, it is at this point that the resilience and perseverance of the mother is most evident. The participants in this study push beyond these barriers in order to stay in school and complete their studies.

Pleas for support:

In the referential aspect of the blurred vision category the young schooling mothers expected support from school for their studies and support in caring for their baby so as to enable them to

fully participate in and enjoy school. Their pleas for support were express in their diaries but were rarely followed with actual request for support at school. And even when the school provides support, the learners face a dilemma. As exams approached, the schools offered extra classes, which were a welcome support for some, but a dilemma for others.

It was a welcome support because the learners could concentrate specifically for their examinations while at school rather than at home where there were interruptions. However, these extra classes were a school initiative that did not take the young mothers' circumstances into account. The classes would coincide with the times for picking up their children from child care. The learners were happy for the support at home in taking care of their babies, but the timing of these different forms of supports was nonetheless in conflict. The much-needed extra academic support sometimes comes in conflict with when child-care support is unavailable. They felt that because some teachers are mothers the teachers would help the learners. The dilemma either forces the mother to abandon the extra academic support, or take a risk that the child-minder will stay longer without charging the mother for the extra time.

> *Having a crèche and extra classes would help us.*
>
> *Dear diary:frm nw on we stayin in after school up until 4:30. So that we can study. i am so stress becoz that's da tym my child comes frm my mothers house. I felt uncomfortable coz we had to stay after 4 study class nd had to leave 4:30*

The support the learners expect included physical and moral support and accommodations for schoolwork. Accommodations are changes to the usual school programme and the expectations of learners that help them to work around their constraining circumstances. An inflexible school programme is a barrier to learning (WP 6, p.7), especially when it does not consider the diversity of learner needs.

4.4.3.3 Category three: People oriented

In most instances people were the factor that determined whether school was positive or a negative experience. This finding is presented in the third category of description: People-Oriented. The interaction with friends, teachers and family created an external horizon. The interaction could tip the scale to either joy or sorrow, feelings that then came to define the

internal horizon. A desire for equality and non-judgment framed the referential element of the experience.

The people:

For each learner there were people who had a positive impact on their schooling and others who made their schooling experience difficult and confounding. There were individuals that they singled-out and for others blanket statements were made with no particular persons mentioned. Interaction with teachers was described in strong words.

There were people that the learners reported made school a worthwhile experience for them. Having friends made school bearable and desirable, which was contrasted with their interaction to the general school populace which created angst and anger. A sickly learner caught the attention of two participants in one of the schools, and they empathised with him and felt compelled to befriend him. They were affected by his condition. They first expressed their feelings on Mxit and their diaries and these were discussed further during the interview. The friendship with the boy was not only to make him feel better but because they recognised that his social exclusion and marginalisation was similar to the way they too sometimes felt.

> *I got to school and my friends were just excited as I was, and didn't have anything to worry about. We just forgot about our problems when we were at school, but we always talk about our children we never forget about them.*
>
> *At school this was very depressing. There's this boy who is very ill. ...Like us, I think he felt depressed, felt left out; we felt different.*
>
> *I felt different because everyone was looking at me funny…feeling like being pushed out of school. It was heartbreaking because they were…looking at you different and I felt I don't care about what people think or say about me….I'm here to learn.*

Interactions with others determined whether school was an inclusionary, exclusionary or marginalising experience. By giving the participants a perspective of schooling in terms of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation, the learners became sensitive to other learners' experience of school, especially where it resembled their own experience.

Joy and sorrow

The young schooling mothers experienced school as a welcoming, inclusionary space, or as a hostile and exclusionary environment, depending on whom they associated with. However, coming together as mothers in school created a comforting space in which to share their joys and sorrows. Being able to be with friends makes school an exciting experience.

> *I had a great day because my friends make it nice for me and I really enjoy their company because we can talk about anything and one reason for that is because all of us got children and we really understand each other.*

Interacting with friends fosters a sense of belonging and provides learners with support. When the school foster the values of community, it creates an inclusive environment. However, without a sense of community, learners may perceive the school as a hostile environment, hindering social access (Walton, 2013) and creating marginalisation and exclusion.

See me:

The learners expressed the desire to be seen as individuals. Participating in the study was an opportunity to voice their thoughts and fostered in them a sense of visibility. The learners identified that they often felt invisible. They found being part of the research had created a useful group in which to feel differently. They said they were 'present'; they were, as they described it, 'here'. This is evident in their online sign-in and sign-out expressions, sometimes with no further message as if to express: "Can you see me? I am here". The young mothers found being in the study helped their self-esteem because they were no longer invisible. Writing in the diary was also an important part of building agency and visibility. The spoke about being invisible to friends who were not mothers.

The young mothers felt invisible to their school mates who excluded them in discussions or the friends would pretend not to see them Excluded from the social fabric of school came to a fore at the launch of a pregnancy prevention programme. The learners expressed anger and feelings of exclusion. The young mothers identified their 'invisibility' in the presentations made by other learners who were not mothers.

> *There are learners at school that are parents already. Give us a word of encouragement. In front of the whole school. Let us also feel included…we felt excluded. Because they were only talking about say no to teenage pregnancy [in this way]: "how can you be in*

> *school and fall pregnant? And, how you make a boy take advantage of your body" …They were only discouraging you more and more and more.*

Their visibility is important and would be fostered if teachers "treated them equally" and modelled inclusivity. A learner who was irked by the teacher's attitude towards the young schooling mothers confronted a teacher who consistently berated the mothers during class-time. A young mother openly expressed her frustration to the teacher. By expressing her feelings the young mother hoped to have made an impact on how they would be treated by the teacher.

> *[you always] look at us at mothers… [when we were] doing a topic on birth rate and death rate and … you change the topics and you speak about school-girl mothers. That you never trained to teach school-girl mothers. [Do] you know how offensive it feels? We feel out[ostracised]. You're making us feel [left] out [at]of school [while you are] supposed to encourage us as a mother. You are a mother yourself. You're supposed to make us feel part [of school]. We are mothers, but we are still learners.*

Teachers have a major impact on inclusion and exclusion. They can provide the support that the young mothers need in school, or can propagate the stigma and discrimination. They hold an important key to a young mothers' success in school. Relationships are a blessing or a burden. They can be the inspiration for the mothers to pursue their studies or the catalyst of social exclusion. The maturity of the young mothers to deal constructively with people around them is seen in their refusal to engage with conflict.

4.4.4 Outcome Space

The Outcome Space indicates the relationship between the categories. This relationship can be represented as a metaphor and/or a diagram that can also be considered a synonym for the phenomenon. The categories in this study have a cyclical relationship, as presented in Figure 4.2. Each category, represented by a circle, is linked to and influenced by the other categories. The lines indicate directions of influence in both directions.

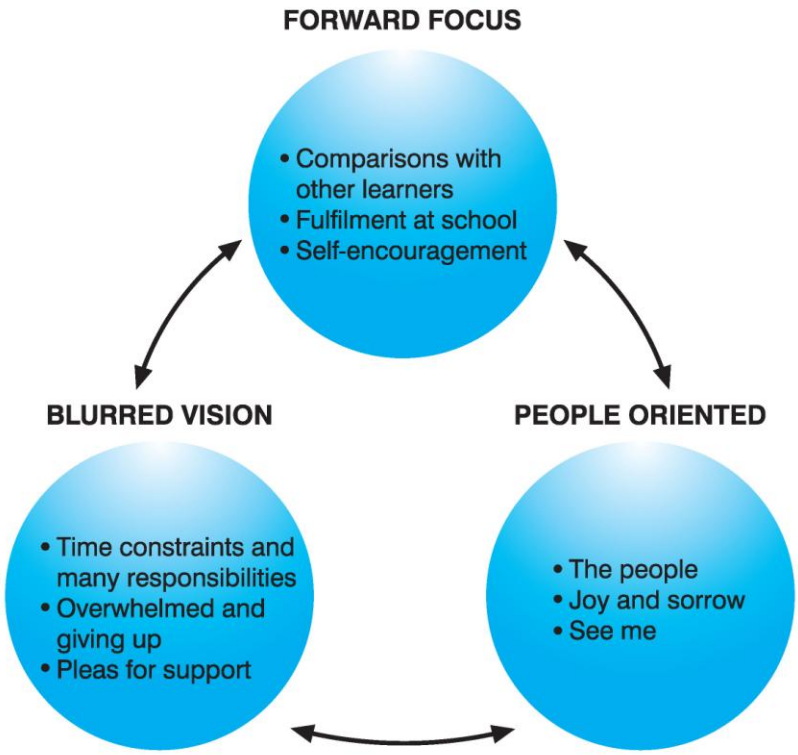


Figure 4:2 The Outcome Space

This study found the learners' experiences of school and schooling to be consistent with a moving picture. There is forward and future focus; some images were in focus, while others were blurred; and they had a people orientation. Each aspect of the moving image influenced the other aspects. The young schooling mothers looking into school perceived three intertwined experiences, naming them: Forward Focused, Blurred Vision and People-Oriented.

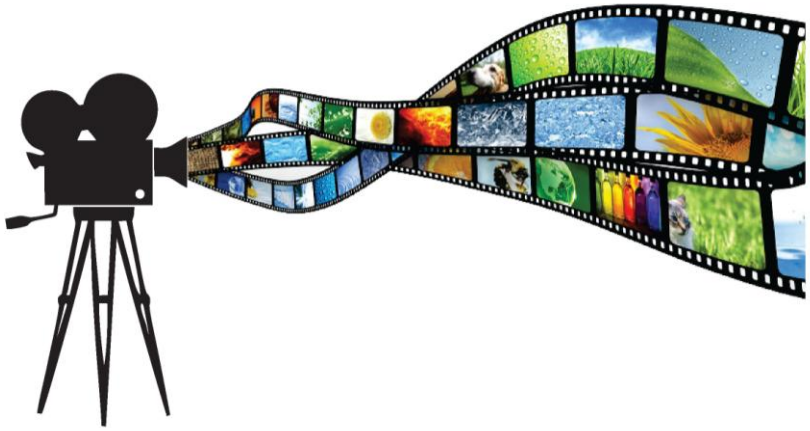


Figure 4:3 The Lenses Metaphor

Digital video is made up of many images displayed in rapid succession. Digital video allows the person recording to zoom into images and take still pictures or take moving images. The experiences described on Mxit and sms provided snap shots of the learners' experiences of school symbolic of a still picture. The diary was a close-up view of the learners' experiences that can be considered an image that has been zoomed-into. Digital video, which the learners shot of each other, depicts the movement and change that the learners experience every day. Just as the digital video allows a user to produce adaptable images, so likewise, the young schooling mothers had to adapt every day in order to realize success at their schooling.

Figure 4.3 depicts three intertwined films that illustrate the three categories of description. The three categories are experienced as constantly weaving into each other. However, just as the images and experiences are moving rapidly, so the young mothers are adapting to the different scenarios. This study found that the learners defy the stereotype of wasted opportunities and poor decision making. They adapt to their lives as mothers without giving up the aspirations they had before they became mothers.

The findings have presented the different ways in which young mothers experienced school and schooling. The three categories of description have a cyclical relationship in which each category influences the other two. This relationship was described with a metaphor of three moving film

reels, indicating that the learners' experiences of school are fast-paced and changing, requiring them to adapt quickly. The ways in which these experiences are related to inclusive education undergo discussion in the next section.

4.4 Discussion

The findings reported above are considered through an inclusive education perspective. An inclusive education perspective considers not only what aspects of inclusion are evident from the findings, but also the exclusionary pressures and aspect of marginalisation that have been uncovered. The discussion to follow will consider the inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation experiences of the young schooling mothers; how the young schooling mothers perceived their difference from the general school population; and the affordances of voice research.

4.4.1 Inclusion

The inclusion of young schooling mothers is based on safeguarding the human rights of the learners. The policy and circular on learner pregnancy (DoE, 2007; Soobrayan, 2009) strongly emphasised that the learners shall not be unfairly discriminated against. This policy is the backdrop against which young schooling mothers are accorded their right to access school. Even though being present is the starting point for operationalising inclusive education, inclusion is broader, and needs to comprise the scope discussed in Chapter Two: Section on Inclusion Education, which includes acceptance, and a sense of belonging. Aspects of inclusion that the young schooling mothers experienced were a partial inclusion consisting of formal access, limited teacher encouragement, and friendship with some classmates and amongst themselves.

Formal Access

Formal access to school is a prerequisite for inclusion. Young schooling mothers in this study had formal access to school, as the school had implemented the policy, including the guidelines developed to manage learner pregnancy and parenthood (DoE, 2007). Despite the inclusive policy framework in South Africa, it has been the case that some young mothers are not allowed back to school (SAPA, 2013). The schools' administration enabled the learners to return to school and gave permission for this study. Facilitating this voice research gave the learners the opportunity to be heard. Veck (2009) has confirmed that listening is an act of inclusion, while

Messiou (2013) has stated that collaborating with learners in inclusive research constitutes an act of inclusion. Therefore, it can be said that listening with interest (Luttrell, 2003, p. 7) and with empathy (Walton 2013), bolsters the learner's experience of inclusion.

Limited Teacher encouragement

Even though the learners face marginalisation and often feel like dropping out of school, a vision of the better future for their children enables them to persevere through the difficulties. This resilience to complete their schooling is fostered by the support they receive in school. A few teachers who encouraged the learners also gave them more time to complete assignments and enabled the experience of inclusion. Additionally the learners' concept of inclusion comes from being goal-oriented. Collins (2010) confirms that schooling mothers can develop their potential when provided with support.

Young schooling mothers' friendship promotes belonging

Experiences of inclusion are also fostered by a sense of belonging. The young schooling mothers found that the research group provided them with opportunities to share experience and forge new relationships. Nind, Boorman, & Clarke (2012) found that shared experiences enabled girls to develop pleasing and rewarding relationships. In their new friendships, the learners found support and comfort from sharing their challenges and joys of schooling and motherhood. Their sense of agency was strengthened, giving them further resilience to complete their schooling. An extensive multi-site research project found that girls expect that talking about problems will make them feel better about themselves (Rose, Schwartz-Mette, Smith, Asher, Swenson, Carlson, Waller, 2012, p. 588).

4.4.2 Exclusionary pressures and marginalisation

Barriers to learning may not emanage from or be the sole responsibility of the education system. However, the educational establishment need to be aware of the exclusionary pressures that learners may face ((NCSNET/NCESS, 1997). Inclusive education calls on our ability to recognise and understand the varied forms of exclusion. Exclusionary pressures and marginalisation are closely related concepts. Walton (2012b) calls exclusion a nuanced phenomenon, while Slee (2011) identifies hidden, in-school, and 'unofficial' exclusion, which

Lewin (2007) refers to as 'silent' exclusion. Exclusion does not only involve formal access and geographical placement. When learners are unable to access the curriculum, do not feel a sense of belonging, face barriers to their success in school, they are excluded. Messiou (2012) identifies marginalisation as a subtle phenomenon, which can be experienced when an individual is perceived as and feels undesirable, unworthy, unimportant, insignificant and different. Such perceptions and feelings, those that lead to inequity, unfairness, and deprivation, are also revealed by the learners' lack of access to mainstream power (p. 11).

It is possible for learners to have formal access to school, but to be deprived of epistemic and social access. The dominant public perspective of a young schooling mother as a problem, influenced how one of these mothers would be treated. The exclusionary pressures that the young schooling mothers experience stem from the construction of young schooling mothers as a problem, as well as their epistemic marginalisation, and social exclusion.

The negative construction of young schooling mothers

The social construction of young schooling mothers as a 'problem' is pervasive. Pregnancy and school were two concepts that never went together. Jansen (2013) reminds us that in the not-too-distant past, even pregnant teachers were sent off to early 'retirement'. This construction leads to the pervasive societal perception that young schooling mothers do not belong in school. The negative construction of young schooling mothers leads to exclusionary pressures such that even where school exists to assist these young mothers in successfully navigating their education, inclusion policies and practices are ignored or flouted. In tracing the history of adolescence and pregnancy Macleod (2011) shows the perception of young unwed mothers as a social problem to be a deeply held belief at every level of society.

Even though the learners in this study have an internal drive to successfully complete school, they are especially confounded and confused by their negative reception by those they expect to encourage them to continue their education. The principles in the policy guidelines espouse a caring, empowering, supportive and safe school environment, but this supportive ethos is not extended to young schooling mothers. Teachers and classmates who make disparaging comments in class about pregnancy and motherhood stigmatised the learners. The finding of this study is

congruent with findings by Shefer, Bhana and Morrell (2013), who argue that the pervasive moralistic discourses on adolescence and female sexuality taken as a sign of social decay and degeneration, form the basis for negative responses to young schooling mothers. These beliefs make schooling pregnancy and parenting unintelligible combinations, and lead to parenting learners' experiences of exclusion. Slee (2011) asserts that exclusion is ubiquitous (p. 149), and says that as long as "we ignore the exclusions beyond school, we will not achieve inclusive education." What happens outside school is replicated inside school.

Epistemic Marginalisation

One finding of this study is that the curriculum was, at times, inaccessible to the learners. Demeaning class discussions led to an inability to learn. The fear of being labeled a failure because of motherhood created stress and an inability to complete exams. Inflexible homework completion dates also meant that the learners could not participate in learning. Lotz-Sisitka (2009) has shown that classroom practices can constrain, limit and affect epistemological access to quality knowledge.

The teachers perceive the young mothers ability to come to school as a favour granted to them. The discrimination was blatant and a painful experience for the learners. This hinders the learners from enjoying their right to education. Chapter 2 Section 5 of the SASA says: A school must admit learners and serve their educational requirements without unfairly discriminating in any way (RSA, 1996). Additionally, while schools in general are expected to inculcate the principles of democracy (Oswald & Engelbrecht, 2004), some in the school community of this study discriminate against the learners and foster separation and injustice. With the human rights and justice approach to inclusive education, this exclusion infringes on the basic rights of the young mothers.

Social exclusion

The young schooling mothers in this study were angry at what they expressed as exclusion and discouragement during a campaign by local schools to prevent teen pregnancy. The exclusionary pressures that young schooling mothers face, reflect a school-wide treatment of learners that are perceived as different. The empathy that the young schooling mothers had for a sickly boy whom

they observed being bullied by other boys may reflect a school culture/ethos that marginalises others. Warrington & Younger (2011, p. 165) warn that peer group exclusion and isolation can create feelings of depression and anxiety, which ultimately impacts negatively on learners' self-esteem and academic engagement. Scare tactics and pathologising of adolescent sexuality are strategies used in sex education (Francis & DePalma, 2013).

School arrangements

One of the challenges faced by young schooling mothers is finding suitable and sustained childcare. At home the learners must deal with family who sometime withdraw support and childcare. This is confirmed in both local and international studies (Chigona & Chetty, 2008; Vincent, 2012). However, when school arrangements interfere with the delicate arrangements that the learners make around childcare, this 'throws the learners off balance'. The schools arranged for extra classes in the afternoons, about which the learners, although willing to attend, had to make tough choices between studying and picking up children from caregivers.

4.4.3 Recognition and non-recognition of difference

My argument that listening to the voices of young schooling mothers can be the first step towards inclusion, can be problematic because it appears to propagate the dilemma of difference discussed in Chapter Two. However, it is only by listening to their voices that we can understand the circumstances they experience, and become able to categorise these experiences. The experiences are categorised according to how teachers ought to respond to learners. This response can be recognition of experience for special accommodations; recognition for treatment similar to that of other learners; and experiences to be ignored.

The requests of young schooling mothers to be treated equally came mainly with reference to discrimination and stigmatisation. They indicated those situations in which their specific circumstances needed to be accorded special treatment. The learners in this study asked that they be treated the same as other learners in the school, but also wished that their specific circumstances be taken into consideration, for example, when they had to miss school because of a sick child. The learners also identified instances where their status needed to be considered. For example, learners desire that teachers who are also mothers would empathise with them and

provide guidance on how to bring up a child. Using Fraser's (1999) recognition and non-recognition of difference (Vincent, 2012), it is possible to distinguish between what aspects of schooling ought to be recognised as special to the young mothers and aspects of the schooling that should be universally equal.

Table 4:3 Recognition and Non-recognition of Difference

	Helpful	**Unhelpful**
Recognition of difference	Time accommodations for handing-in assignments.	Class discussions on sexuality
Non-recognition of difference	Classwork groupings	Pregnancy prevention campaigns

Vincent (2012) tabulates the helpful and unhelpful recognition and non-recognition experiences in her study. Her table is reproduced below, Table 4:3, but the details included relate to the experiences of young schooling mothers in my study. The young mothers speak about instances when it was necessary to afford their circumstances different treatment, such as time accommodations when handing-in assignments. However, they are disturbed by the unhelpful recognition of their motherhood during class discussions, as these are more often than not, demeaning to them. They also observed that presentations during the teenage pregnancy prevention campaign marginalised them. The lack of recognition of their status sent them the message that they were not valued members of the school community.

4.4.4 After effects of voice research

The discoveries of this study corroborate the rationale of emancipatory research (Barnes, 2003). The concept of 'emancipatory research' was formulated by disability activist Mike Oliver as the "empowerment of disabled people through the transformation of the material and social relations of research production" (Barnes, 2003, p. 6). This concept has been incorporated into inclusive education research and calls for research to be of benefit to the participants (Walton, 2011).

Barnes (2003) advances that the rationale of emancipatory research is the production of research that has meaningful practical outcomes (p. 12).

Agency and Self-Esteem

The negative construction of young schooling mothers and the challenges they face in pursuing their education both impact on the learners' self-esteem and their sense of agency. Their involvement in the voice research of this study not only gave them a new sense of self, but it also inspired them to persist with their studies. Messiou (2013) has indicated that the participation of learners in research is in itself an act of inclusion. Finding solutions for their difficulties and getting support has enabled the learners to persevere. This built their resilience, to move beyond their frustrations. The learners exercised their agency, and made independent choices so as to enable them to succeed in school.

This study has shown that young schooling mothers can find ways to succeed in school. This defies the stereotype that present the learners as predestined to failure and a subsequent life of poverty. The prevalent and pervasive problematising of young schooling mothers is a one-sided view of the learners, and does not conform to their perception of themselves. Their agency is often overlooked. Voice research has afforded a different perception. In a similar vein, the research by Sookrajh, Gopal & Maharaj (2005) have revealed that learners constructed as 'foreign' by their classmates and teacher did not see themselves this way. Mulongo (2006) suggests that young single mothers be seen as social actors, who can organise and form alliances, and hence, the structures needed to embrace this alternative perception and to collaborate with the learners to ensure win-win situations.

The construction of young schooling mothers as a problem has, in the last decade, been critiqued as biased (Macleod, 2011, p. 133). There is growing evidence that the education and future prospects of young schooling mothers are not entirely in jeopardy or a lost cause (Mangino, 2008; Arai, 2009; Chohan, 2010). Although studies acknowledge and identify the challenges that young schooling mothers face in balancing their education and childrearing responsibilities, they provide a perspective that concurs with the findings of this research. This research finds that

young schooling mothers not only have a resolve, but also the ability to succeed in their education in spite of their challenges.

Learners as knowers

The mothers provided information to their friends who were grappling with the conflicts of an unwanted pregnancy. They were pleased to have been a source of comfort and support to one another. An implication of this is the possibility young schooling mothers have to bravely return to school to become resources in the discussion of the sensitive topics of sex education and teenage pregnancy. Francis & DePalma (2013) stress that when teachers see learners as 'knowers' then "teaching and learning will be more engaged if learners' knowledge and experience are treated respectfully as a valuable and critical part of the data that is unpacked in the classroom" (p. 11). The frustration the young mothers felt during the pregnancy prevention campaign was due to the fact that the event actively excluded and demoralised them. Their voices would thus be a potentially powerful tool in advising schoolmates about sex, pregnancy and motherhood.

4.5 Conclusion

This research afforded schooling mothers an opportunity to look at their school and at their schooling. The learners voiced their opinions about the issues that could help and could jeopardise their successful completion of high school. Research on learners who are considered different from the general school population has also found that the learners feel included, excluded and marginalised at different times in the school day. Benjamin, Nind, Hall, Collins & Sheehy (2003) found that learners experience moments of inclusion and exclusion on a continuous basis. Messiou (2012) confirms that any child can experience marginalisation. Young schooling mothers in this study also experience school and schooling as a rapidly changing cycle of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation.

These experiences are found even in schools that intentionally implement inclusive education. These varied experiences can result from how policy is framed and how schools respond to exclusionary and inclusionary experiences (Vincent, 2012). In order to confront partial inclusion, epistemic and social marginalisation, there is need to reexamine the way in which schools view

young schooling mothers. When it comes to educator attitudes towards young schooling mothers, Jonathan Jansen (2013) has adviced acceptance of the reality and seeking in-school solutions. The young mothers are saying the same when they return to school, and work towards completing their high school education. There is a need to recognise their motherhood in ways that are helpful and in ways that preserve their dignity, ensuring they succeed at high school and avoiding economic and social marginalisation in broader society.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
5.2 Summary of Findings
5.4 Reflections
5.5 Recommendations
5.6 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I reiterate the main findings of the study, and include my personal reflections, followed by recommendations for inclusive education policy, practice and research. In the report I have argued that unless we listen to the voices of young schooling mothers about their experiences of school and schooling, we will not have an insiders' perspective and learn what enables and hinders their successful completion of high school.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study found that young schooling mothers found school a roller coaster experiences. They go through unstable experiences of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. These experiences were informed by a comparison between their experiences prior to becoming mothers, and after becoming mothers. The learners wished that the school community would treat them the same as other learners are treated, while especially as regards to school assignments and catching up with missed classes, they wished their special circumstances as mothers would be accommodated.

The main question and first sub-question that this study asked were:

1. In what ways do young schooling mothers perceive school and schooling as being inclusive with regard to their status as schooling mothers?
2. To what extent do young schooling mothers perceive a difference in their inclusion in school and schooling between the time before and after becoming mothers?

In answering these questions the study finds that young schooling mothers perceive school as a constantly changing experience of inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation. They want to succeed and have a focus for their success. However, the focus often becomes blurred, due to interactions with schoolmates, teachers and family members. The major differences after

becoming a mother were that the young schooling mothers were surprised by their exclusion and marginalisation.

With reference to the third question, concerned with schoolgirl-mothers' perceptions of an ideal school for school-going adolescent mothers, the study found that the learners' main concern was their treatment as equals, as they considered the discrimination and stigma that they experienced an impediment. They wanted to be treated the same as other learners, and there were instances where they would want to be treated differently.

The findings in this study have provided an insight into how the findings from voice research can be used to support young schooling mothers to complete high school. Listening to voices is a viable way to confront exclusion and marginalisation. Firstly, the fact of participating in voice research promotes inclusion and enhances self-esteem and bolsters individual agency. Secondly, it can effectively uncover inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation.

5.4 Reflections

5.4.1 Reflexivity and Bracketing

While conducting the research I became aware of my biases in favour of the girls' education. My assumptions may have prevented me from listening carefully to my participants. Bracketing, an aspect of phenomenographic research mentioned in Chapter Three, was an important feature of my reflexive writing. I had held firmly to the belief that participants in my study were victims of discrimination, who needed to be defended against a discriminatory culture. This stance could create a tone of advocacy in the writing inappropriate to research.

Reflexivity and bracketing also call for self-criticism. Barton & Rioux (2007) alert inclusive education researchers to the 'dangers of unexamined orthodoxies.' I questioned whether my focus on high school completion conveyed a message that qualifications were the route out of a possible life of poverty. However, I qualified my premise, noting that it is valuable for the learners to complete high school with the fact that the young schooling mothers had chosen to return to school and to go beyond the compulsory Grade 9 with the intention of gaining a matric certificate.

5.4.2 Young mothers pride of motherhood

In each school, I requested a private and discreet space where I could conduct meetings. The rooms were provided in each school, but they were too exposed for my liking. However, the learners had no problem with the rooms, because they felt they had nothing to hide about their motherhood or their children. On a few occasions some participants came to school with their babies in full view of other learners in the school. They were proud to show off their children. They also sent me text messages when their children reached a milestone: first tooth; starting to walk; first birthday. I learned to see their status as they did – without judgment; "It is what it is," they philosophised.

5.4.3 Completing high school

From listening to young mothers talk about their schooling, the research hoped to uncover the possible reasons for the low completion rate of young mothers attending high school. However, viewed through an inclusive lens, it becomes clear that the education trajectory for young schooling mothers need not follow the normative matriculation path. According to Luttrell (2003) "there is no single or predictable 'next chapter' (p. 183); while Pittaway (2005) has cautioned against prescribing a fixed path for schooling mothers.

After listening to my participants' career and occupational goals it becomes evident that there could be options other than the formal matric that could meet their needs and desires. Therefore, a young mother may opt for a path that does not necessarily result in her completing high school.

After completing the data collection, I returned to the schools to present the participants with a summary of my findings. I learned that two participants had since left their high schools and would continue their education in Further Education and Training colleges. While this may not provide a neat close to the argument presented in this study (Walton, 2013, p.10), it emphasises that education is like a glove; it must be tailored to fit the wearer. Whether young schooling mothers choose to continue with formal high school education and gain a matric certificate or whether they choose to take an alternative path and gain a trade, it is necessary to recognise the persistence, resilience and achievement of either path with equal merit.

5.5 Recommendations

The first decade of inclusive education in South Africa was marked by research into teachers' perceptions. In this second decade a call has been made to reframe the research agenda in order to creatively involve learners and to listen to their voices concerning inclusion, exclusion and marginalisation (Walton, 2013; Walton, 2011). Additionally, implementing inclusive education needs to be supported by a radical research agenda that upholds social justice and values all learners' success (Slee, 2011, p.108).

The study was carried out in two high schools in a suburb/township of Johannesburg and therefore the findings are peculiar to specific context. Even though the findings of qualitative research cannot be generalised to other settings or to beyond those who participated (Mouton & Babbie, 2001) the recommendations from this study can be a useful starting point in similar contexts for the successful inclusion of young schooling mothers in high schools in South Africa. It is hoped that school administrators, education policymakers and researchers, respectively, will consider the following these recommendations.

5.5.1 Recommendation to schools

Adopt collaborative differentiated recognition of difference

Teachers and school administrators need to reflect upon their treatment of learners who experience barriers to their enjoyment of, and success at school. Working collaboratively with the learners, teachers and admininstrators can determine the helpful and unhelpful ways that difference is recognised, in order to develop strategies that will enable success at school.

In recognising difference the school can provide solutions that are not the choice between 'either/or', but between 'both/and' (Vincent, 2012). This will enable teachers to see the that inclusive education is not only about location – the learner in school – but a broad concept that requires an open and flexible support system for all learners.

5.5.2 Recommendation to policy makers

Interrogate the construction of the messages that underlie inclusion

Young schooling mothers are 'on the educational radar', but continue to be bombarded with

exclusionary messages that problematise young parenthood and sexuality and negate the purpose, intention, and outcome of inclusive education. They have exposed the "false stereotypes" (Vincent, 2011) that influence the way they are treated. The pervasive judgmental responses to young motherhood undermine the goals of inclusion.

When policy is based on the premise that young motherhood is almost an undeniable choice to poverty, it sends messages of shame, stigma and scorn. The orientation that acknowledges young parenthood and adolescent sexuality without moral acrimony (Shefer, Bhana & Morrell, 2012; Francis & De Palma, 2013) needs to be reflected in policy. Policymakers need to unpack the underlying negative and stereotypical messages and assumptions that undergird policy. A reframed policy could lead to meaningful change at school.

5.5.3 Recommendation to inclusive education researchers

Do inclusive education research inclusively: Listen to voices

Research on inclusive education needs to be in line with the principles of inclusivity. Particular attention must be paid to the oft "hidden" voices in inclusive education research (Allan, 2007). Jones (2013b) has asserted that learners are experts in their own learning, especially on the important affective and social dimension of school and classroom life. She has emphasised that the lived experiences of inclusion and exclusion from learners capture perspectives that cannot be articulated in any other way. Listening and understanding the voices of learners has been shown elsewhere to increase their sense of belonging (Jones, 2013b). The insider perspective, provided by those for whom teaching and learning is designed, namely learners, is an imperative for research and a hallmark of inclusion. Using creative and whole class initiatives, voice research can contribute to broadening uptake of inclusive education in South Africa.

5.5.4 Recommendation for further research

Voice research designed and conducted by young schooling mothers

Voice research designed and conducted by young schooling mothers could empower these young women, and provide information to improve school and schooling.. The findings of such study could be the starting point for large-scale research, the outcomes of which could be generalised.

5.6 Conclusion

The importance of social inclusion cannot be emphasised often enough. It cannot be allowed to become a cliché. Inclusion is about a community in which all members participate meaningfully and have a sense of belonging; inclusion is an experience (Jones, 2013b). When learners feel they belong to the school, they become engaged, which is a sure way to succeed. When young schooling mothers choose to complete high school, their right to a fair and enabling environment must be perceived as inalienable. They want to succeed in school and in life. What schools do can enhance or extinguish their enthusiasm for learning. As one of the Gauteng learners, Sera, in Grade 10 has expressed:

> "because I now want to become a doctor you see, dropping out of school now that's not gonna make my dreams come true. That's why I don't worry about the things people tell me. I go forward in life."

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Information Sheets

Appendix 1:1 PRINCIPALS INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Principal

My name is Mrs. Wacango Kimani and I am a Masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am doing research to find out **how schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**.

With guidance from the Gauteng Departments of Education and Health I have chosen your school to participate in this research. I am interested in listening to schoolgirl mothers talk about their school experiences.

I was wondering whether you would mind if I invite 4 schoolgirl mothers in your school to participate in this research.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If the schoolgirl mothers do not wish to participate in the research they will not be disadvantaged in any way. If they choose to participate they will be reassured that they can withdraw at any time during the project without any penalty.

The schoolgirl mothers' participation will involve the following activities:

- Making a collage poster for 45 minutes. All the materials will be provided.
- Writing an Internet diary using a cell-phone, and online chatting among the schoolgirl mothers. They will write the diary and chat for a maximum of 10minutes a day for three weeks. If they do not already have a cell phone, one will be loaned to them free, for use during the three weeks. Airtime will be provided. The schoolgirl mothers will agree on a time that is convenient for all of them to write their diary and chat.
- Each learner will choose a partner who is also participating in the research project. They will each have a turn to record a video of their partner. The video will be 5 – 10 minutes long. They will be shown how to use a digital camera.
- 3 focus group discussions will be held for 45 minutes after each of these activities and each meeting will be audio recorded.

The names of research participants and the identity of the school will be kept confidential at all times and in all academic writing about the study through the use of pseudonyms. All research data will be kept securely in a locked office and will be destroyed within 3-5 years after completion of the research.

The participants will not be paid for participating in the study. There are no foreseeable risks or inconveniences in participating in this study. Light refreshments will be served at all meetings.

I kindly request that you provide me with a discreet room on the school premises where I can meet with the schoolgirl mothers. The meetings will be held after school hours and will not interfere with the schoolgirl mothers' school day.

The findings of the research will be used for a research report and other academic writing such as books, journal articles and conference papers. I am willing to share a summary of my findings. Please let me know if you would like to receive a summary of the study findings.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

WacangoKimani
8 Galway Road,
Bryanston, 2191

wacango@yahoo.com
079-250 1051

Supervisor
Dr. Elizabeth Walton
Elizabeth.walton@wits.ac.za
011-717-3768

Appendix 1:2 LEARNERS' INFORMATION SHEET

Learners' Information sheet and invitation to participate in research

Dear Learner,

My name is Mrs. Wacango Kimani and I am a Masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am doing research to find out **how schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**. I would like to invite you to participate in this research project.

Voluntary participation

Participating in this research is voluntary, which means you are free to choose to be involved. The choice is yours alone (with your parent's permission). If you choose not to take part in this study, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to be involved, you are also free to stop participating at any time during the activities and tell me that you don't want to go on with it. If change your mind halfway, you can choose to withdraw, and you will not be affected negatively in any way.

What the study is about

I am interested in listening to schoolgirl mothers talk about their school experiences. I will invite 5 other schoolgirl mothers to participate.

To participate in this project you will be asked to be involved in the following activities:

- Making a poster of pictures from magazines for 45 minutes. All the materials will be provided.
- You will be asked to write an Internet diary using a cell-phone, and online chat with 3 other schoolgirl mothers participating from your school. You will write and chat online for a maximum of 10 minutes a day for three weeks. If you do not already have a cell phone, one will be loaned to you free, for use during the three weeks. Airtime will be provided. You and the 3 other schoolgirl mothers will agree on a time that is convenient for all of you to write your diary and chat online.
- You will be asked to choose a partner who is also participating in the research project. You will each have a turn to record a video and interview each other. The video will be 5 – 10 minutes long. You will be shown how to use a digital camera.
- After each of these activities we will get-together and discuss your experiences.

These activities will start in February 2013. The activities will be spread out over 4 months and will end in May 2013.

Permission to participate

Since you are under 18 years, I need to ask permission for you to participate in these activities from you and your parent/guardian/caregiver. You would be involved in these activities when it is convenient for you. Your normal school programme will not be disturbed.

Your privacy

I will record your name and details during the activities but you will not be identified by name in my report, books, journal articles or conference papers that I will write. I will keep what you say private by using a pseudonym. I will ask the other schoolgirl mothers to keep what is said during all group activities and discussions private. However, I cannot guarantee that the learners will keep the discussions private.

All the information I collect from the activities will be locked in a secure office. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the information.

Risks and benefits

I do not expect there will be any negative risks in participating in this research. There will also be no direct benefit to you or your parent/guardian. However, the information you share with me may be of benefit in improving schooling for schoolgirl mothers in the future.

If you do not have a cell-phone one will be loaned to you for use during the research. Neither you nor your parents/guardians/caregivers will be blamed if the cell-phone is lost or damaged. Meetings will be held in a discreet room within on the school premises after school is over. Light refreshments will be served at all meetings.

Questions, complaints or concerns

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my supervisor

Mrs.WacangoKimani	079-250-1051
Dr. Elizabeth Walton	011-717-3768

If you have any concerns about what we have discussed, that you can't discuss with either me or my supervisor, please call Childline on 08000 55 555. This is a free call from a landline or a Vodacom cell number.

At the end of the research I write a report. I may also write about the research in books, journal articles and conference papers. I will be willing to share with you a summary of my findings.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

WacangoKimani
8 Galway Road,
Bryanston, 2191

wacango@yahoo.com
079-250 1051

Supervisor
Dr. Elizabeth Walton

Elizabeth.walton@wits.ac.za
011-717-3768

Appendix 1:3 PARENTS/GUARDIANS/CAREGIVERS' INFORMATION SHEET

Dear Parent/Guardian/Caregiver,

My name is Mrs. Wacango Kimani and I am a Masters student in the School of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am doing research to find out **How schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**. I would like to invite your daughter/schoolgirl-mother in your care to participate in this research project.

Voluntary participation

Please understand that the schoolgirl's participation in this research is voluntary. The choice to participate or not, is yours and hers alone. If you choose not to allow her to take part in this study, neither you nor your daughter will be affected in any way. If you agree to allow her to be involved, she will be free to stop participating at any time during the activities. If she chooses to withdraw from the research she will not be affected in any way.

What the study is about

I am interested in listening to schoolgirl mothers talk about their school experiences. I will invite 3 other schoolgirl mothers in her school to participate.

The learner's participation will involve the following activities:

- Making a poster of pictures from magazines for 45 minutes. All the materials will be provided.
- Write an Internet diary using a cell-phone, and chat online with 3 other schoolgirl mothers participating from your school. She will write and chat online for a maximum of 10 minutes a day for three weeks. If she does not already have a cell phone, one will be loaned to her free, for use during the three weeks. Airtime will be provided. She and the 3 other schoolgirl mothers will agree on a time that is convenient for all of them to write their diary and chat online.
- The learner will choose one partner who is also participating in the research project. She will have a turn to record a video and interview her partner. The video will be 5 – 10 minutes long. She will be shown how to use a digital camera.
- 3 focus group discussions will be held for 45 minutes after each of these activities and they will be audio recorded.

These activities will start in February 2013. The activities will be spread out over 4 months and will end in May 2013.

Permission to participate

Because the learner is under 18 years, I am required to get consent from you before she participates in this study. Your daughter/learner in your care will also be asked whether or not she wishes to participate. She would be involved in these activities when it is convenient for her. Her normal school programme will not be disrupted.

Child's privacy

With your permission, I will record learners' names and details during the activities but they will not be identified by name in my report and all other academic writing such as books, journal articles and

conference papers. I will keep what she says confidential by using a pseudonym. I will ask the other schoolgirl mothers to keep confidential what is said during all group activities and discussions. However, I cannot guarantee that the schoolgirl mothers will keep the confidence.

All the information I collect from the activities will be locked in a secure office. Only I and my supervisor will have access to the information.

Risks and benefits

I have taken special care to ensure that your daughter/learner in your care will be safe and that the activities and questions will not be upsetting or harmful. I do not foresee that taking part in this research will create a risk to her. In the end, while your daughter/schoolgirl in your care will not personally benefit from the project, we hope that the views of the participants will contribute to making schooling better for schoolgirl mothers in the future.

If your daughter/learner in your care does not have a cell-phone, one will be loaned to her for use during the research. Neither she nor you will be held liable if the cell-phone is lost or damaged. Meetings will be held in a discreet room within on the school premises. Light refreshments will be served at all meetings.

Questions, complaints or concerns

If you have any questions about the study, please contact me or my supervisor

Mrs.WacangoKimani 079-250-1051

Dr. Elizabeth Walton 011-717-3768

If the learner has any concerns about what we will discuss, that she can't discuss with either me or my supervisor, please encourage her to call Childline on 08000 55 555. This is a toll-free telephone number from a landline and from a Vodacom cell number.

At the end of the research I will write a report. I may also write about the research in books, journal articles and conference papers. I will be willing to share with you a summary of my findings.

Please let me know if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

WacangoKimani
8 Galway Road,
Bryanston, 2191
wacango@yahoo.com
079-250 1051

Supervisor
Dr. Elizabeth Walton

Elizabeth.walton@wits.ac.za
011-717-3768

Appendix 2 Consent Forms

Appendix 2:1

Parents/Guardians/Caregiver Consent for Learner's Participation in research

I_____ consent to _____ (name of learner) to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow the learner to participate in the research. All information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that

- My daughter's/learner in my care's participation in this research is voluntary and she can withdraw at anytime without any negative outcome to her or her Parents/Guardians/Caregiver.
- No identifying information will be included in the research report, and all learner's responses will remain confidential and her identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym.
- All information gathered will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- Direct quotes of discussions may be used in the final report but will not include identifying information; and that only pseudonyms will be used.
- The findings of the research will be published in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study.
- There are no benefits involved in being a participant or a parent/guardian/caregiver in the study.

I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet and I also confirm that the details above have been explained to daughter/learner in my care.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian/Caregiver Sign Date

Appendix 2:2

Parents/Guardians/Caregiver Consent for Audio recording of Focus Group Discussions

I_____ consent to _____ (name of learner) to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow the learners answers in **Three (3) Focus Group Discussions to be audio recorded**. All information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that

- My daughter's/learner in my care's participation in this research is voluntary and she can withdraw at anytime without any negative outcome to her or her Parents/ Guardians/ Caregiver.
- No identifying information will be included in the research report, and all learner's responses will remain confidential and her identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym.
- The audio tapes will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The audio tapes will be heard only by the researcher and supervisor of the study
- The audio tapes will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study
- Direct quotes of discussions may be used in the final report but will not include identifying information; and that only pseudonyms will be used.
- The findings of the research will be published in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study.
- There are no benefits involved in being a participant or a parent/guardian/caregiver in the study.

I confirm that the details above have been explained to daughter/learner in my care.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian/Caregiver Sign Date

Appendix 2:3

Parents/Guardians/Caregiver Consent for Learner's Use of Cell-Phone and Internet for Research on Schoolgirl mothers

I_____ consent to _____ (name of learner) to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow my daughter/learner in my care to **use of a Cell-phone and the Internet** during the research.

I understand that :-

- My daughter's/learner in my care's participation in this research is voluntary and she can withdraw at anytime without any negative outcome to her or her Parents/Guardians/Caregiver.
- I understand that the cell-phone should be kept safely and handled carefully.
- If my daughter/learner in your care neither me nor my daughter/learner in my care will be held liable if the cell-phone loaned to her is lost or damaged.
- The cell-phone will be used for the research and outside school times.
- She will keep all information she shares about herself, her classmates, her teachers and her school in the Internet diary and chat messages private and confidential.
- She should not use the cell-phone to share information about herself, her classmates, her teachers and her school in another Internet chat.
- She should respect other participants and will keep the information they share private and confidential.
- She should not use the cell-phone to create, communicate or repeat any message which is illegal, indecent or insulting.
- If she receives a frightening or unwelcome message she should inform Mrs. Kimani.
- She should not use the research cell-phone to open or read unsuitable or harmful material on the Internet.

I confirm that the details above have been explained to daughter/learner in my care.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian/Caregiver Sign Date

Appendix 2:4

Parents/Guardians/Caregiver Consent for Learner's Participation in Online diary and chat messaging

I_____ consent to _____ (name of learner) to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow **the learner to participate in the online diary and chat messaging**. All information gathered from the online diary and chat messaging in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that

- My daughter's/learner in my care's participation in this research is voluntary and she can withdraw at anytime without any negative outcome to her or her Parents/Guardians/Caregiver.
- No identifying information will be included in the research report, and all learner's responses will remain confidential and her identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym.
- All information gathered will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- Direct quotes of discussions may be used in the final report but will not include identifying information; and that only pseudonyms will be used.
- The findings of the research will be published in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study.
- There are no benefits involved in being a participant or a parent/guardian/caregiver in the study.

I confirm that the details above have been explained to daughter/learner in my care.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian/Caregiver Sign Date

Appendix 2:5

Parents/Guardians/Caregiver Consent for Video recording of Learner by Fellow schoolgirl mother

I_____ consent to _____ (name of learner) to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow my daughter/learner in my care to be **video recorded by a fellow schoolgirl mother** and the video to be used in a study by Mrs. Wacango Kimani. All information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that

- My daughter's/learner in my care's participation in this research is voluntary and she can withdraw at anytime without any negative outcome to her or her Parents/Guardians/Caregiver.
- No identifying information will be included in the research report, and all learner's responses will remain confidential and her identity will be protected by the use of a pseudonym.
- The tapes will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The video tapes will be heard only by the researcher and supervisor of the study
- The video tapes will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study
- Direct quotes of discussions may be used in the final report but will not include identifying information; and that only pseudonyms will be used.
- The findings of the research will be published in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study.
- There are no benefits involved in being a participant or a parent/guardian/caregiver in the study.

I confirm that the details above have been explained to daughter/learner in my care.

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian/Caregiver Sign Date

Appendix 2:6

Learner Consent to participate in research

I _____ agree to participate in the study about **how schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**.

I also understand that I this is a consent form that will allow my answers to be used in a study by Mrs. WacangoKimani.

I understand that

- I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so.
- I can stop being involved at any point if I want to, and that this decision will not affect me or my parent/guardian/caregiver in a bad way.
- Participation involves meeting with other schoolgirl mothers; writing an internet diary and dialogue; making a video of a schoolgirl mother.
- I have the right not to answer questions that I do not want to.
- My identity will be protected. No information that may identify me will be included in the research report and my answers will remain confidential by use of pseudonyms.
- My direct quotes may be used anonymously in the final report.
- The information collected will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The findings of the research will be published in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after the report is completed.
- There are no benefits involved in the study.
- I have received the telephone numbers of the Researcher and supervisor to contact should I need to speak about any issues that come up while I am involved in the activities of this study.

I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet and Invitation to participate in research.

_____ _____

Learner Sign Date

Appendix 2:7

Learner Consent for Audio recording of the Focus Group discussion

I_____ agree to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form that will allow my answers in the **Focus Group Discussion to be audio recorded**. All information gathered in this study will be treated with the strictest confidentiality.

I understand that

- I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so.
- I can stop being involved at any point if I want to, and that this decision will not affect me or my Parents/Guardians/Caregiver in a bad way.
- I can stop the audiotaping of the discussion at any time.
- My direct quotes may be used anonymously in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- No identifying information will be included in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- All my answers will remain confidential and my identity will be protected by use of a pseudonym.
- The tapes will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The tapes will be heard only by the researcher and supervisor of the study
- The tapes will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after completion of the study
- Direct quotes of the discussion may be used in the final report but will not include identifying information. Only pseudonyms will be used.
- There are no risks or benefits involved in being a participant or a parent/guardian in the study.

_____ _____

Learner Sign Date

Appendix 2:8

Learner Consent for Transcription of Mxit and sms messages

I _____ agree to participate in the study about **how schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**.

I also understand that I this is a consent form that will allow my **Mxit and sms messages** to be written out and used in a study by Mrs. Wacango Kimani.

I understand that

- I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so.
- I can stop being involved at any point if I want to, and that this decision will not affect me or my parent/guardian/caregiver in a bad way.
- I have the right not to answer questions that I do not want to.
- My identity will be protected. No information that may identify me will be included in the research report and my answers will remain confidential by use of pseudonyms.
- My direct quotes may be used anonymously in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information collected will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The information will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after the report is completed.
- There are no risks or benefits involved in the study.
- I have received the telephone numbers of the Researcher and supervisor to contact should I need to speak about any issues that come up while I am involved in the activities of this study.

_____ _____

Participant Sign Date

Appendix 2:9

Learner Consent for Video recording by Fellow schoolgirl mother

I _____ agree to participate in the study about **how young schoolgirl mothers experience schooling**.

I also understand that I this is a consent form that will allow a schoolgirl mother to take **a video recording of me** to be used in a study by Mrs. Wacango Kimani.

I understand that

- I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so.
- I can stop being involved at any point if I want to, and that this decision will not affect me or my Parents/Guardians/Caregiver in a bad way.
- I have the right not to answer questions that I do not want to.
- My identity will be protected. No information that may identify me will be included in the research report and my answers will remain confidential by use of pseudonyms.
- My direct quotes may be used anonymously in a research report, books, journal articles and conference papers.
- The information collected will be securely locked in an office and kept safely throughout the research process.
- The video tapes will only be seen by the researcher and supervisor of the study.
- The video tapes will be destroyed within 3 – 5 years after the report is completed.
- There are no risks or benefits involved in the study.
- I have received the telephone numbers of the Researcher and supervisor to contact should I need to speak about any issues that come up while I am involved in the activities of this study.

_____ _____

Learner Sign Date

Appendix 3 Guidelines for use of mobile phones

Learner Consent on Using Cell-Phones and Internet for Research on Schoolgirl mothers

I_____ agree to participate in research regarding **schoolgirl mothers' experience of schooling**. I understand that this is a consent form about the **proper use of the Cell-phone and the Internet** during the research.

I understand that :-

- I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so.
- I can stop being involved at any point if I want to, and that this decision will not affect me or my Parents/Guardians/Caregiver in a bad way.
- The cell-phone should be kept safely and handled carefully.
- The cell-phone will be used for the research and outside school times.
- The information I share about myself, my classmates, my teachers and my school in the Internet diary and chat messages will be kept private and confidential.
- I will not use the cell-phone to share information about myself, my classmates, my teachers and my school in another Internet chat.
- I will respect other participants and will keep the information they share private and confidential.
- I shall not use the cell-phone to create, communicate or repeat any message which is illegal, indecent or insulting.
- If I receive a frightening or unwelcome message I will inform Mrs. Kimani.
- I will not use the research cell-phone to open or read unsuitable or harmful material on the Internet.

_____ _____

Learner Sign Date

Appendix 4 Questions sent via Sms

Date	**Wacango**
8 may 17:32:49	Hi! What did you experience in school today? Thanks. Wacango
9 May 15:37:05	[To many] Thks for sending messages.Using mxit is cheaper.But u can also sms.Say as little or as much as u wish.Today was a holiday But still tell me about a day this term that u remember?
10 May 15:21:11	Hi! Pls let me know what challenges or triumphs you faced today. Thanks. Wacango
12 May 09:05:09	Happy Mothers Day! How will you celebrate today?
13 May 19:35:20	Hi! Pls Tell me about your day. U can write in yr note book or sms or mxit. Wacango
14 May 18:59:39	Hi! Did you feel comfortable or uncomfortable about school today? Pls tell me what you felt and why. Thanks. Wacango
15 May 17:08:22	Hallo! Did you hear any jokes today? Or funny stories? How did they make you feel? Tell me about yr day.
16 May 17:23:06	Hi! Are you glad the week is over? Pls Tell me or write in yr note book about yr week. Have a good and joyful weekend. Wacango
27 May 19:25:59	Hi! I hope yr weekend was good. Are Mondays different from other days? Are you coping with yr studying for exams?
28 May 19:25:59	Hi! What support do you find useful at this time of exams? Who gives you the support you need?
29 May 18:46:37	Hi there! I really hope yr well. Write about things that help you to succeed in yr exams. Best wishes with yr exams. Wacango

Appendix 5 Semi-structured interview schedule after Mxit diary and written journal

Theme: My experience of school

Tell us more

Questions devised/arising from the experience of Mxit diary and written journal. Examples could be:

- What was the most important part of participating in the Mxit diary and written journal
- What differences did you feel about yourself when the Mxit diary and written journal?

Can you imagine?

- What advice would you give a schoolgirl mother returning to school after delivery?

Let's talk about me

- What does it feel like to be excluded?
- How easy was it for you to be friends with someone who was different from you?
- What part of who you are makes people discriminate against you?
- Do you ever feel excluded because of a teacher's choice of books or learning materials,
  lessons or activities? Please explain.

Seeing the difference

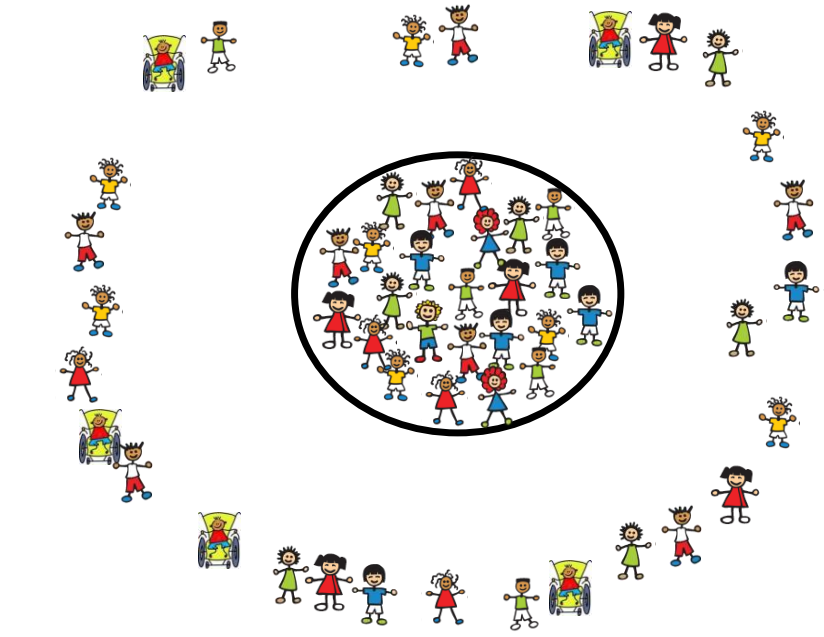
- Is it fair that some learners get treated differently from others?
- What differences did you identify in your schooling before and after delivery? The differences in:
  - The environment and facilities
  - The staff
  - Fellow learners
  - The nature teaching and learning

What do you think? (General opinion questions):

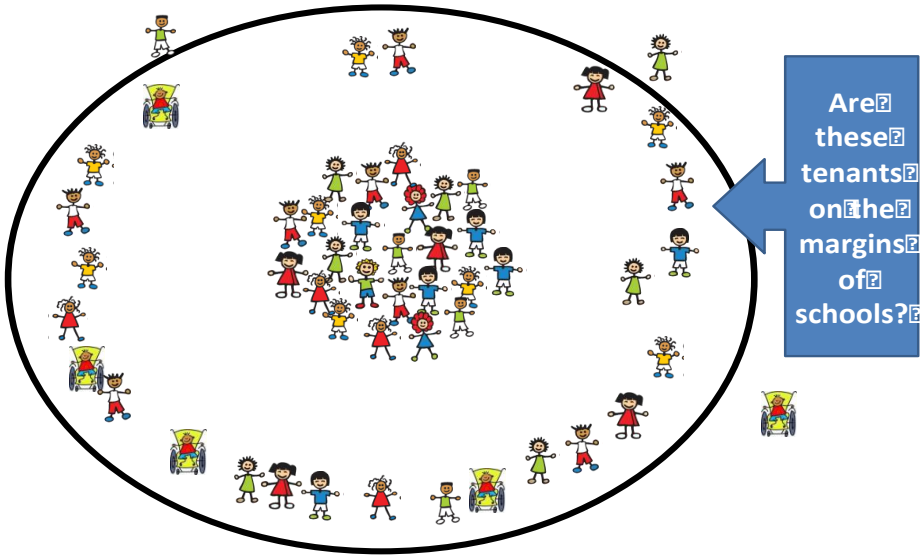
- What does the word "inclusion" mean to you?
- What does the word "exclusion" mean to you?
- What are the advantages OR disadvantages of being at school with learners who are different from you?
- Is there a difference between being included and belonging? Please explain.

- Is it possible for a schoolgirl mother to feel excluded even though it looks like she has been included? Please explain.

Appendix 6 Diagrams of Inclusion, Exclusion and Marginalisation



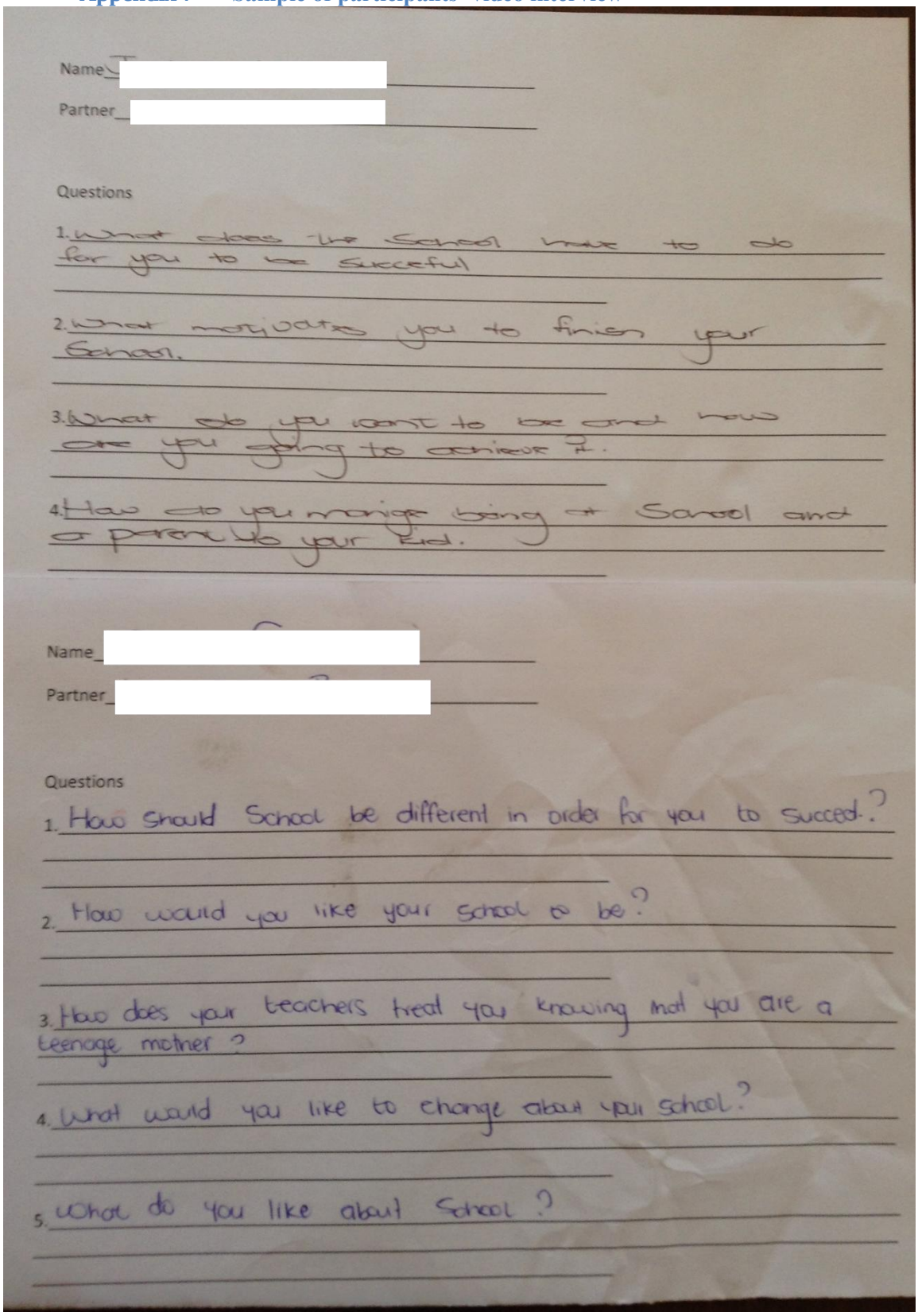
Exclusion?



Inclusion?

Source: Walton, E. An introduction to inclusive education. Lecture, July 10, 2013. University of the Witwatersrand

Appendix 7 Sample of participants' video interview



Name [redacted]

Partner [redacted]

Questions

1. What does the School have to do for you to be succeful

2. What motivates you to finish your School.

3. What do you want to be and how are you going to achieve it.

4. How do you manage being at School and a parent to your kid.

Name [redacted]

Partner [redacted]

Questions

1. How should School be different in order for you to succed.?

2. How would you like your school to be?

3. How does your teachers treat you knowing that you are a teenage mother ?

4. What would you like to change about your school?

5. What do you like about School ?

Appendix 8 Focus Group Process

1. I will remind learners of interview protocols:
   a. They have a right to refuse to answer/ discuss any topics
   b. They have a right to withdraw at any stage without giving reasons or suffering any prejudice. Re-assure them of the confidentiality of the discussion, and ask that they select a pseudonym, by which they can be identified in the transcription process. They should mention this name each time they contribute to the discussion.

2. There will be two forms of questions:
   a. Questions that I will generate questions from their Online activities/Video.
   b. Questions that I will invite the participants to ask.

3. I will explain that the questions I will have generated from their Online activities/Video will be in 3 coloured-coded groups. These questions will be placed on a table with their face down on different coloured cards, according to their category.
   a. I am ____
   b. Let's talk about school
   c. Can you imagine?

4. I will ask learners to think about the Online activities/Video and invite them to suggest questions that they would like to ask arising from making their activities.

   The questions the learners generate will be written on a flip-chart with their pseudonyms to acknowledge their individual contributions.

5. Each learner takes a turn in choosing a category and picking up a card, or selecting a question from the flip chart. The learner will be invited to either answer the question or select another question. After the learner has answered the question, should she choose to do so, the others in the group will then be invited to answer the question too, or comment on the question, or ask further questions. Once the question has been exhausted, the next learner will be invited to select a question.

   The process can continue until the time is up, or until learners no longer wish to participate, or all the questions that learners are willing to answer have been addressed.

6. I will thank the young schooling mother for their participation. I will remind them that Childline counseling services are available to any learner who feels distressed as a result of engaging in this process.

Appendix 8 Focus group interview question schedule

Theme: What I would like my school to be

Can you imagine?

- What advice would you give a schoolgirl mother returning to school after delivery?
- If your principal asked you to discuss how it is to be a schoolgirl mother, what would you like to tell her/him?
- What I would like my classmates/teachers to know about being a schoolgirl mother?

Tell us more! (Questions arising from the shooting the Video):

- How important was it to talk about changes to your school?

What do you think?

- What does the word "discrimination" mean to you?
- What does the word "exclusion" mean to you?
- What are the advantages OR disadvantages of being at school with learners who are different from you?
- Is there a difference between being included and belonging? Please explain.
- Is it possible for schoolgirl mothers to feel excluded even though it looks like she has been included? Please explain.
- How important is it to have the label "schoolgirl mother"?

Appendix 9 Example of coding

Interview_LV_J/L/T a & b

Int: so thats what we call being marginalised, its like you are being.....people are telling you, go away go away.,.....and how did that feel?

exclusion heartbreak

J: Uhhh.....I felt like very.....it was like heartbreaking because were looking at you different and I just felt, I don't care about what people think or say about me.....I'm here to learn.....

stubborn persistence

Int: How did you come to that point, I don't care?

teacher 'scold' book not update subject father

J: because when I went to school, this other teacher said to me, why isn't your books up to date, then I said all my books are upto date its just my business book because none of my friends does business that's in grade 11 and he said, why are bringing your father to school and I said because I must bring my father and she said, now you are making a scene of everything and I just looked at the so

Int: But what's inside you that says I will continue

persistence resolve

J: you just feel that you wanna go on with your life, no one can put you down. You wanna do what you wanna do. And you doing it for yourself, not for anyone.

Int: And you Luschen, so what is it that you felt, what were those feelings that you could see that that boy was feeling like you expected that he was marginalised?

exclusion empathy depressed not welcome burden

L: He felt depressed mam, he felt down, he felt excluded at school, he felt like he didn't uhmmm.....he wasn't welcomed there, no one welcomed him there, he felt like he's just a burden. The way I see it mam, he felt like he was probably just a burden for teachers in school and his mother most probably.....

Int: And did you feel like that?

doubts about return to sch.

L: Mam, I couldn't....I felt .....when I came back to school mam, the only thing that kept me going, I had doubts in myself. Even I hadn't told Jasmine about this, I had doubts in myself about.....I don't wanna go back to school, how would it feel me going back to school and she knew my whole things, I always speak to her openly....so yah.....I felt nothing is stopping me from going because there was this one girl also at....that I knew she was also at school , she fell pregnant and she dropped out and she came back in school and she finished her matric. So what 's stopping me from doing it and here I have a child that is encouraging me and she's.....there mam.....she's like....she brightens my morning every morning, she brightens my morning to stand up and go to school and do what I have to do at school and provide for her at the end of the day mam....

fellow sem support shoulder

role-model - encouragement from child

Int: Okay, the other thing I wanted to also ask you, okay Thimy its your turn, sorry....

others fearness looks

A: Yes mam, I think he felt left out like at a point he also embarrassment me because like me, when I went back to school mam, the way the children look at you and everything, you kinda feeling embarrassed because you think, why are they looking at me like that. They saw me with the big stomach and everything and now you are back in school. They've call your mother and everything and I think thats also how he's feeling also mam, because he's so thin and small and you can see that he's sick, he's not well. The children especially the boys maybe they picking on him, they insult him and things like that.. so he felt excluded

empathy

Int: Okay, is he now back at school?

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