

## **Child Marriages: Analysing the Narrative Conversations with Survivors**

by

Mukuka Lydia Mulenga-Hagane and Harrison Daka

*The University of Zambia*

### **Abstract**

*This paper examined the narratives of survivors of child marriages. Their perceptions were important in understanding the mindset that drive the contraction of child marriages. The study was carried out in Lusaka and Central provinces of Zambia and used a narrative design. Qualitative data were collected using the semi-structured interview guides. The girls were introduced to the researchers via snowballing. These girls were married off whilst in school. At the start of this study, only one of the girls was still in matrimony. Within the context of attribution theory, the study findings showed that participants indicated that the law on child marriage was problematic for the following reasons: The belief that law has no space in family issues, marriage was salvation from destitution and that there was no space for criminal law in matrimony. In addition, pregnancy was believed to be a precursor to marriage. The study recommended the re-orientation of people on the law and economic support for the children that fall pregnant with a view of taking them back to school and discourage them from early marriages. The findings of the study have implications for how the law against child marriage was being implemented in Zambia. The success of the law lies in the re-orientation of the people on the necessity of the law. There should be an emphasis on removing laws that are repugnant to justice such as the customary law that allows parents and guardians to marry off underage children.*

*Key words: Child marriage, survivors, perception, Marriage Act, Customary law*

### **Introduction**

Over the years, the government of the Republic of Zambia have worked tirelessly to address the problem of child marriages in Zambia through the enactment of laws and policies. For example, the Juveniles Act, Matrimonial Act, and the Marriage Act forbid child marriages. The *Education Act of 2011* also put in measures to address the problems of child marriages in education. Studies on child marriages in education and in Zambia showed different views of families on the subject matter. For example, a study by Mulenga-Hagane (2021) in Lusaka and Kabwe showed that families shielded offenders of child marriages from prosecution. In addition,

Mulenga-Hagane, Matala and Mukalula (2015) in their research also uncovered the lack of knowledge of the laws impacted negatively on the prevention of child marriages among participants in Lusaka. Another study by Mulenga and Daka, (2022) in rural communities of Chama District in eastern Zambia also found resistance when it came to issues of pursuing child marriages. Furthermore, research by world vision highlighted the effect of poverty on child marriages. There are scanty records of child marriages that would help in tracking such vices (Mulenga-Hagane and Mwanza, 2018; UNDP, 2019). All these studies reflect some challenges in eradicating child marriages in Zambia. Recent studies have continued to record cases of child marriages in rural parts of Zambia. Studies have shown that 31% of Zambian girls are married before their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday and 6% are married before they reach the age of 15 (Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Health, and ICF International, 2014: 34; UNICEF, 2017; Mulenga and Daka, 2022; Kamanga, Daka and Mwale-Mkandawire, 2022). The trend is still worrying as there still seems to be a systematic violation of the girls' rights to benefit from the education system at the same pace as the boys (Daka et al, 2020). The question then is how then can the law help?

The law that prohibits child marriages in Zambia is outlined in Section 17 of the Education Act, 2011. Noticeably, the law on child marriages merely addresses learners that are children. In an event of an abrogation, the law stipulates custodial sentences as the following excerpt shows:

- (1) Subject to the Constitution and any other written law, a learner who is a child shall not contract any form of marriage. (2) A person shall not— (a) marry or marry off a learner who is a child, or (b) prevent or stop a learner who is a child from attending school for the purpose of marrying or marrying off the learner who is a child. (3) A person who contravenes this section commits an offence and is liable, upon conviction, to imprisonment for a period of not less than fifteen years and may be liable to imprisonment for life (Zambia, 2011 Education Act, Section 17).

The excerpt from the 2011 Education Act is essential to this research as it identifies child marriages, as a bottleneck that may keep girls away from school. While other socio-economic factors may result in low retention of girls in school, The Ministry of Education Statistical Bulletin of 2018 identifies pregnancies as one of leading factors hindering the progression of girls in school, similarly, the Examination Council of Zambia (2013) pointed at the role of child marriages in the dwindling numbers on girls sitting for examinations. For this reason, the study explores perceptions of girls that had fallen pregnant on the likelihood of this law working in their settings.

Girls have the experiences of having fallen pregnant at a tender age and are vital here because they have experiences being survivors that may inform conversations on use of the law on child marriages.

### **Statement of the Problem**

In 2011 the Zambian government passed the law against child marriages via the 2011 Education Act. The essence of the law was to ensure that girls who mostly bear the brunt of child marriages stay long enough in the system. However, child marriages have continued despite the law that forbids such unions (Mulenga-Hagane, 2021; Kakupa, Tembo and Daka, 2015; Mulenga-Hagane and Mwanza, 2018; Mulenga and Daka, 2022). The premise is that the problems of pregnancies and child marriages form many dropout cases, for this reason, if child marriages are addressed, retention levels will improve significantly as the statistics from Ministry of General Education, (2017) and UNICEF (2013) show.

Despite the increase in child marriages, very few studies have been conducted to pay attention to perceptions of survivors on the introduction of punitive laws against child marriages. This study was birthed from the understanding that there are gaps in studies dealing with perceptions of survivors on the law. The opinions of this group are essential as they may contribute to conversations surrounding this phenomenon. This study therefore brings to the fore perceptions of these survivors on the current law.

### **Objective**

The objective of the study was to assess the perspectives of survivors on the laws of child marriages.

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study used attribution theory. Attribution theory helps to explain how different forces impact decision making and how perceptions of people involved influence choices (Malle, 2011, Robbin and Judge, 2007). Furthermore, attribution theory gives insights into the intricacies involved in judgement and how they impact individual action. The theory explains that some behaviours are internally drawn hence are a product of individuals themselves. However, behaviour may also be compounded by external factors (Weiner, 1972, Heider, 1958). Applied to this study, everyday experiences are assigned causes. A detailed analysis from the studied group revealed how experiences have influenced the perception of girls on the law on child marriages.

The decisions and perception of the girls on the law may be because of the attributes they have on child marriages. For example, some decisions made on child marriages are born out of factors the girls see as being external to the environment while others are seen as internal. In this study external factors include reasons in the environment such as socio-cultural factors whilst internal factors point to the internal characters and failings of the girls themselves to adhere to a celibate life. Both internal and external factors have a bearing on the use of the law. Whilst many blame others for their fate (Malle, 2011), the participants in this study seemed to centre on internal attributes. Although this was noted, the general view was that the causes of child marriages weigh profoundly on external factors. Malle (2011) shows that at times there would be confusion about the outcome for an action. The confusion about the outcome of an action arises from the combination of personal characteristics and environmental forces.

## **Literature Review**

Zambia is ranked as one of the countries with highest rates of child marriages in the world (UNFPA, Population Council and Ministry of General Education, 2017). Girls are affected more by early marriages than boys. For instance, among 15-19 years old adolescents, 16.6% of girls are married compared to 1% of boys (Population Council, UNFPA and Government of the Republic of Zambia, 2017:1). This is despite the Marriage Act stating the age at which one must contract marriage, which is the age of 21.

In Zambia, children may contract marriage despite being under eighteen as such marriages are permitted under customary law. In addition, the definition of who a child is not contained in a single legislation. While the Penal Code (Section 131A) defines a child as a person below the age of sixteen, the Constitution defines a child as a person who is eighteen (18) years and under (The Constitution of Zambia, Article 266).

Meanwhile, child marriages are permitted under customary law. For a marriage to be legal under customary law, parents or guardians must consent to it. One notable matter of contention concerns the age at which one can marry. According to Customary Law, a girl who attains puberty can get married (Mushota, 2005). Also, parents are permitted to arrange marriages for their children (Himoonga, 1988). Such arranged marriages often involve a payment of dowry and are permitted by customary law. Additionally, Sections 17 and 34 of the Marriage Act exempt marriages under customary laws from minimum age requirements of 21 years under the law (Zambia, Marriage Act, Section 17). What this means is that with consent, a person described by the Article 266 of the Zambian Constitution as a child, but with parental consent, can still enter

matrimony. How then can these laws be harmonised to benefit the girls that need to be in school?

For this reason, Mushota (2005) suggests that the country deals with the confusion on the definition of a child. To augment the analysis above, Zambia has a dual system of laws namely, customary, and statutory laws. These laws work concurrently. Himoonga (1988) describes customary law as laws of various ethnic groups. These laws are not written down and differ from one ethnic group to another. Customary law is informal and is said to serve the needs of the people. In addition, the form of justice dispensed under customary law does not essentially adhere to rules for justice delivery (Institute for Security Studies, 2009). It is therefore not surprising that most people have access to customary law. For example, The Government of the Republic of Zambia (2019), Ndulo (2011) and Coldham (1990) indicate that most Zambians have access to customary law in matters relating to land and personal relations such as marriage. It should be stated here that Local Courts have jurisdiction over customary law. Local Courts were established under Article 19 of the Constitution of Zambia and Constituted under Section 4 (1) of the Local Courts Act, Chapter 29 of the Laws of Zambia. The Judiciary 2019 Annual Report further state that although local courts are placed at the bottom of the judiciary hierarchy, they attend to most civil and family disputes in Zambia. Customary laws are allowed in Zambia for as long as they are in tandem with the Constitution (Zambia Constitution, Article 1(3)).

The use of both statutory and customary laws has consequences for contraction of marriage. For example, Zambia must deal with conflicts that arise because of discrepancies in the administration of the dual legal system. One may cite the legality of marriages. The marriage ordinance enacted in 1917 permitted Africans to marry under customary law. Also, the marriage ordinance of 1963 gave Africans the choice of either marrying under customary or statutory law, the trend that has continued to date. Although there is an option to marry under statutory law, many Zambians marry under customary law (Coldham, 1990). The advantage is that those who marry under customary law do not have to seek recourse from statutory courts. Statutory courts have been said to be inept in resolving disputes (Chirwa, 2014). Relating to this study, it is clear that the confusion regarding the age at which one can marry has contributed to child marriages, while the 2011 Education Act forbids child marriages, customary law, to which may people in Zambia ascribe to allow it. This then becomes problematic. Laws should be reconciled to protect the girl child from being marriage off.

Munshya (2017) argues that Local Courts being courts that dispense customary laws, in their current form, are limited by customary practices concerning marriages that usually

disadvantage women. Also, Rupp (2008) indicate that customary law places women in subordinate positions to men with respect to marriage. Reviewed literature notes the existence of two forms of customary law, that is, one that is controlled through statutory law and the other that is privy to chiefs and other traditional leaders called the people's customary law (ISS, 2009, Phoya, 2007, Stapleton, 2007). Officers serving in local courts have been accused of not being as conversant in traditional law as they are not its custodians. For this reason, most of the rural population in Zambia prefer to have access to traditional courts which they label as humane (Stapleton, 2007). The preference of customary laws in peri urban setting and rural areas often lead to an increase in child marriages.

Ndulo (2011) makes an appeal for the recognition of the rights of women in contexts where dual laws are in place. He argues that customary norms that are detrimental to the wellbeing of women should be discarded. He cites international jurisprudence that he presents as having been developed in human rights courts as binding in decisions that prohibit any form of discrimination. Similarly, Section 12 of the Local Courts Act of 2011 indicates that Local Courts allow the practice of African Customary laws if they are not repugnant to natural justice or morality and are compatible with statute law (Zambia Local Court Act, Section 12, Sub section 1(a)). Repugnant here means that the law must not be against the concepts of equity and must not be offensive. Taking this into context, marrying off a learner who is a child or preventing a learner who is a child from attending class is distasteful and is in opposition to principles of equity and good conscience. While the Local Courts Act of 2011 indicates which African Customary practices are allowed, including contraction of marriages, child marriages are often not registered hence leave room for their contraction.

## **Methodology**

This was a qualitative study. The study used purposive sampling to identify four girls that were survivors of child marriages. This was accomplished by tracking the girls via their former schools. Ethical procedures were followed since the girls involved were under eighteen (18). Permission was sought from parents who consented to the interviews. The study employed semi-structured interviews. In addition, vignette questioning format was used. This format included small illustrations to help the participants to understand the discussion. Vignettes are often used in themes that are not very familiar to participants. In this study, this was done to educate the girls about the law on child marriages before soliciting for their comment about their situation. Thematic

analysis was used to analyse the data.

## Findings and Discussion of Findings

This sub-section presents the findings and discussion of findings emanating from the interviews with survivors of child marriages. In this study pseudonyms were used to protect the identity of participants. The findings and discussions are presented thematically.

### *The belief that laws have no space in family issues*

One participant here presented as Namakau viewed child marriage as a consequence of personal choices emanating from the desire for independence. For this reason, she did not see how the law preventing child marriages would help as the following excerpt shows “*pregnancy felt like a way out of parental control, I wanted my own little home, like my other friends*”. Another participant pseudo named Busiku\* viewed child marriage as punishment for doing wrong. She had this to say:

*in such situations, it is difficult to think that parents are marrying you off, you cannot, while pregnant think of how parents are being fair or unfair, all you know is that you have done something wrong and you deserve all that is coming your way, I am married now*

The deduction here is that the girl perceived pregnancy as a personal weakness, in her submission, she did something wrong which could only be rectified via marriage. In addition, the girls indicated that the deprivation that they lived in pre-determined their fate. This can be deduced in the following citation from participant pseudo named Buumba\* “*there are many girls that are married, and it feels like you are wasting time at school, you get into problems because you want to help yourself or you just want little things for yourself. It is a struggle that is hard to win*”

Even then, the girls did not think that the police via the law on child marriages should be involved as the following citation from one of the discussants Buumba\* shows; “*I think the police would be surprised, no one I know has reported to the police, even for pregnancy if a boy refuse there is a family meeting to discuss.*”

A careful analysis of the obtained data shows that it would be unrealistic to take cases of child marriages to court. The girls viewed themselves as having played a major role in them falling pregnant because they did not abstain. The discussion saw the role of victims and villains being interplayed. For example, the girls stated that economic woes led to social pressures that sealed their fate. Eventually, the two families would sort out the problems arising from pregnancies.



A definite trend was evident from the discussion with the four participants in this study. The study noted that falling pregnant created a dent on the girls' self-esteem. The girls' low self-esteem was seen to be influenced by the fact that they had gotten pregnant, a situation that left a big scar on their self-concept. Because of this, perceptions from the girls were that their environment and the situation constrained them thereby decided their fate. It was clear that there was interplay between internal and external attributions. In this situation, the forces outside were stronger hence sealing the fate of the participants. Namakau\* explained that there are limited chances of getting out of the scarcity conditions that was worsened with the onset of pregnancy. She explained thus. *"My parents tried to talk me out of it but with the pregnancy, there wasn't enough room for me and my baby there (in reference to her parent's house), so my parents had discussions with the family to the boy, that's how we got married."*

#### *Marriage was salvation from destitution*

Another discussion was with a girl called Natasha\*. Natasha\* had withdrawn from school in sixth grade to get married due to hardships. Through in-depth discussions with her, the study found that her choices were limited by destitution thereby forcing her into child marriage. She was fifteen (15), an orphan and was involved in a polygamous marriage. She said she needed someone to look after her as the following quotation shows, *'I needed someone to look after me and I found a man who could help me.'* She stopped school immediately and she alleged that she was looked after very well. She thought deeply about the law against child marriages as outlined in the 2011 Education Act and if that would be relevant to her. She had misgivings. She believed that girls like her did not have a chance in life and they would not have one in court as she rightly stated, *'who would be punished in my case, this man who saved me from dying of hunger, from being homeless? I had very few options if anything I had no options.'*

#### *Pregnancy is a precursor to Marriage*

According to the girls, getting pregnant was equated to getting married. One participant here referred to as Natasha hoped that someday there could be precedence set especially against those that married off girls that were not pregnant *'someone will be able to do so, especially those that get married off and they are not pregnant there is no reason to marry off such girls.'* Being pregnant is permission to be married regardless of the age of the girl involved. Pregnancy and their context determined the destiny of the people involved. It is possible then that the same



circumstances would direct the fate of the law against child marriages. As the excerpt above shows, Namakau\* indicated that her parents did not marry her off, the situation put her in an awkward position. She seemed to think it was all her fault not her parents' fault that she was married as is seen here *'in such situations, it is difficult to think that parents are marrying you off,'*

Clearly, the perception by the girls that circumstances married them off and not adults around them was problematic. This is because adults around them were responsible for them since they were children. Understandably so this emanates from their interaction with the environment that indicates that girls are responsible for sexual activities, which they should be in control of. This then advocates that there is need to implement Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in schools as proposed by Kawonga, Mbozi and Daka (2021), Daka (2017), Phiri, Musonda and Daka (2020) and Wamunyima, Mwale-Mkandawire and Daka (2022) to equip girls with social life skills to help them establish boundaries in their interaction with the opposite sex. In support of this, the girls in the study made attributions about their circumstances originating from their socialisation and their dire economic situation. In the same vein, attribution theory helps to explain how culture, and economic status impact on decision making and perceptions of people involved (Malle, 2011; Robbin and Judge, 2007). When internal attributes are stronger than the external ones, it would be difficulty for girls to engage in behaviours likes to result in child marriages. By understanding this interaction, perhaps the girls could be retained in school. In this study, the girls viewed themselves as villains who deserved what happened to them but then these are children who should have been protected and guided accordingly. The argument that circumstances married children off should not hold whereas the law says learners that are children should not be married off. The law is there to regulate behaviour, it is therefore vital that this view is disseminated to the community so that they can understand that the law has space in family life.

In trying to understand the thinking of the girls around the theme of child marriages and the law, one can see the problem of the dual laws, here being statutory and customary laws regulating social relationships. It is evident that families met to discuss the predicament of the participants under the guise of customary law. The act by parents was legal as it is supported by statutory law shown in Sections 17 and 34 of the Marriage Act that exempt marriages under customary laws from minimum age requirements of 21 years under the law (Zambia, Marriage Act, Section 17. This act is in line with Mkandawire, Simooya and Monde (2019), Mushota (2005) and Himoonga (1988) who states that customary law permits parents to marry off their children if

they reached puberty. However, this act of marrying off children is repugnant to the laws of natural justice contrary to the Zambia Local Court Act, Section 12, Sub section 1(a). Consequently, the dual system is problematic, especially that it infringes on the right to education and is not in tandem with the constitution. Perceptions by children about marriage was in line with their socialisation, an experience which is a product of customary law and acceptable in the dual law adopted in the country. However, such perceptions can be altered to create space for girls to flourish in the education system.

### *No space for criminal law in matrimony*

There was a general attribution in this study that falling pregnant was the path to marriage. For this reason, the study found that girls that had fallen pregnant did not perceive child marriage as a criminal offence. For instance, through vignette questions Namakau\* felt that she would not be able to report her parents to the police. She retorted *thus 'It is not really a case for the police unless someone is hurt or threatened.'* In essence, under the guise of tradition, parents can lawfully arrange marriages for their children. This perception is covered by the Zambia Marriage Act itself. In this Act, with permission, a child under sixteen can get married with permission from parents. This is therefore the reality of the participants born out of tradition and as Himoonga (1988) states customary law serves the needs of the people such as these. For this reason, survivors did not feel that child marriage law would work as such cases are sorted out within families.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

In conclusion, important findings that emerged from this study were that survivors of child marriages did not think that punitive laws had a place in contexts in dealing with child marriages. In addition, these girls were of the view that getting pregnant was a pathway to marriage hence their getting married was legal and rightly so as under customary law, their form of marriage would be legal as there is no stipulated age to contract marriage under customary law. But then again, under rules of natural justice, marrying off children is repugnant to the laws of natural justice hence it should be frowned upon, however, there should be harmonisation of laws to prevent this from happening.

The findings of this study have important implications for the society and the people in which the law is being implemented. People's perceptions can be configured to re-orient them to

expectations of the law. Without doubt, the success of the law lies in the re-orientation of the people involved particularly on the pathway to marriage. There be an emphasis on removing laws that are repugnant and replacing them with those which will create new narratives for the people. One of the laws repugnant to justice is the customary law that allows parents and guardians to marry off underage children. Adults are responsible for their children hence the latter should not feel compelled to get married under duress. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further investigations in this area and possibly provide solutions to increasing cases of child marriages. Lastly, the law should not exclude children that are not in school hence the need to include child marriage as a crime in the Penal Code.

## References

- Central Statistical Office (CSO). [Zambia], Ministry of Health (MOH) [Zambia], and ICF International. (2015). *Zambia Demographic and Health Survey 2013-14*. Rockville, Maryland, USA: Central Statistical Office, Ministry of Health, and ICF International.
- Chirwa, B, Mtonga, C. and Anyangwe, S.C.E (2005). 'Health inequities, insecurity and attainment of the MDG in Sub-Sahara Africa: The case of Zambia.' *Internal Environment Resource in Public Health*, 3(3) 217-227.
- Coldham, S. (1990). 'Customary marriage and the urban courts in Zambia' in *Journal of African Law*, 34 (1), 67-75. School of Oriental and African Studies. Accessed 1/12/2015
- Daka, H. (2017). *Social Life Skills in the Era of HIV/AIDS among Learners in Learning Institutions*, Muka Graphics and Printing Hub, Lusaka.
- Daka, H., Mwelwa, K., Chibamba, A. C., Mkandawire, S. B. & Phiri, D. (2020). The Role of Traditional Leadership in Ending Early Child Marriages for Education: Experiences from Kalonga Gawa Undi Chieftdom of Katete District, Zambia. *Malcolm Moffat Multidisciplinary Journal of Research and Education*, 1(1), pp 101 – 120.
- Government of the Republic of Zambia (2011) *The Education Act*. Lusaka: GRZ
- Government of the Republic of Zambia (2016) *Constitution of the Republic of Zambia*. Lusaka: Government Printers
- Government of the Republic of Zambia (2011) *Liquor Licensing Act*. Lusaka: GRZ
- Government of the Republic of Zambia. Chapter 88 The Criminal Procedure Code Act

Government of the Republic of Zambia. *Subordinate Court Act* : Chapter 28 of the Laws of Zambia

Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. New York: Wiley

Himonga, C.N (1988) 'A Reflection on the Validity of the Common Law Marriage in Zambia' in *Zambia Law Journal*, 20, 1-10.

Kakupa, P., Tembo, P and Daka, H. (2015). 'Linking Teacher Effectiveness to School Performance: Evidence from Rural Day-Secondary Schools in Western Province of Zambia.' *Zambia Journal of Teacher Professional Growth*. 2 (2), pp. 17-30.

Kamanga, R., Daka, H. and Mwale-Mkandawire, M. M. (2022). Perspectives of Managers on how Girl Re-entry Policy Should Be Managed –to Deter Re - Entered Girls from Falling Pregnant Again. A Case of Some Selected Secondary Schools in Lusaka District. *Global Scientific Journal*. 10 (3), 1934 - 1946.

Kawonga, S., Mbozi, E. H. and Daka, H. (2021). 'Community Involvement in the Implementation of Comprehensive Sexuality Education in Rural Areas: A Case of Selected Secondary Schools in Chibombo District of Central Province, Zambia'. *International Journal of Research and Scientific Innovation*, 8 (4), 216 – 228

Malle, B,F (2011) 'Attribution Theories How People Make Sense of Behaviour' in Chadee, D(ed) *Theories in Social Psychology* (pp 72-92) Wiley-Blackwell

Mkandawire, S. B., Simooya, M. S., & Monde, P. N. (2019). *Zambian Culture: Harnessing Cultural Literacy with a focus on Myths and Taboos*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Lusaka: UNZA Press.

Ministry of General Education (2017) Ministry of General Education Statistical Bulletin.

Mulenga, F. and Daka, H. (2022). 'An Exploration of School-Community Collaboration in Curbing Child Marriages Among Girls in three Selected Primary Schools of Chama District, Zambia'. *Journal of Lexicography and Terminology*, 6 (1), 37 – 59.usaka: MOE

Mulenga – Hagane, L. M. (2021). *Retention of Girls in School in the face of Absenteeism and Early Marriages: Implications for the 2011 Education Act*. Ph.D.thesis, University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Mulenga-Hagane, M and Mwanza, P (2018) 'Retention of Girls in School through the Implementation of the 2011 Education Act in Lusaka and Central Provinces of Zambia'. In *international Journal of Humanities social sciences and Education*. Pp 73-80. <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2349-0381.0507009>

- Mulenga-Hagane, L. M., Matale, M., Mukalula, M. (2015). 'Issues in Educational Law: What Educators must Know in Zambia'. *Journal of Teacher Professional Growth*, 2 (2), 61-71.
- Munshya, E (2017) 'Statutory Recognition of Customary Marriages in Zambia: Reforming Colonial Marriage Laws'. <http://www.eliasmunshya.org>. retrieved, March 14, 2021.
- Mushota, L (2005) *Family Law in Zambia: Cases and Materials*. Lusaka: Unza Press
- Ndulo, M. (2011). African Customary Law, Customs and Womens Rights. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 18 (1). <https://repository.law.indiana.edu/ijgls/vol18/iss1/5>. Retrieved 10th March 2021
- Nyambe, M. (1990). *The administration of Justice in the Local and Subordinate Courts of Zambia. An Overview of the appropriateness of the present structure, procedure, and qualification of personnel*. Lusaka: The University of Zambia.
- Phiri, M., Musonda, A and Daka, H. (2020). The Effects of Chinamwali Initiation Schools on Girl Child Education. A Case of Selected Public Primary Schools of Katete District, Zambia. *Malcolm Moffat Multidisciplinary Journal of Research and Education* 1, (1), 137 – 155.
- Phoya, H (2007) 'The view from Government in access to justice in Africa and Beyond. Making Rule of Law a Reality' Copenhagen: Chicago: *Penal Reform International and the Bluhm Legal Clinic* of the Northwestern University School of Law Chicago, Illinois
- Robbins, S and Judge, T, A (2007) *Organizational Behaviour*. New Delhi, Prentice Hall of India
- Rupp, T. (2008). *Meta Analysis of Crime and Deterrence: A comprehensive Review of Literature*. Ph.D. thesis, Technische Universität Darmstadt, Darmstadt.
- Sakala, J. B. (2014). *Role of the Judiciary in the Enforcement of Human Rights in Zambia*. African Books Collective.
- Stapleton A (2007) 'Legal traditions and Values in Inherited from Britain Colonial Past' in Access to justice and beyond. Making Rule of Law a Reality. Chicago: Penal Reform International and the Bluhm Legal Clinic of the Northwestern University School of Law Chicago.
- United Nations Population Fund (2019). *Accelerating Efforts to end Child Marriage: The Critical Role of Traditional Leaders*. [Zambia.unfpa.org](http://Zambia.unfpa.org). Retrieved January 14, 2020.
- UNICEF (2013) Every Child's Birth Right Inequities and Trends in Birth Registration. New York: UNICEF.
- UNICEF (2017) Ending Child Marriages. Zambia Country Profile. [www.unicef.org](http://www.unicef.org). Retrieved. 10th October 2019.
- Von Hirsch, A., A., Bottoms, E. Burney, E. and Wikström, P. O. (1999). *Criminal Deterrence and Sentence Severity: An Analysis of Recent Research*. Oxford: Hart Publishing.
- Wamunyima P. L, Mkandawire – Mwale, M and Daka, H. (2022). Formal Education a Multi – sided key in mitigating teenage pregnancy among secondary school children. A case of Munali area, in Lusaka Province, Zambia. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 6 (5), 337 – 243.
- Weiner, B (1972) 'Attribution Theory. Achievement motivation and the educational process' *Review Educational Research*, 42(2) 203-215