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**FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND  
PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION ON  
SEXUALITY: THE CASE OF NAIROBI //**

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
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**SEPTEMBER 2002**

## DECLARATION

I, Peter Willingston Ohon, hereby declare that this project is my original work; that the views expressed here are absolutely mine, based on the research I carried out with the exception of those quoted from other authors whom I have duly acknowledged; and the this work has neither been published nor submitted elsewhere for any academic award

Signed



Peter Willingston Ohon


Date

13 - 09 - 2002

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

\*

Signed:



ERISA ANYARA

Date:

17-0

## **DEDICATION**

To all those who care about the sexual conduct of adolescents

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

It is my pleasure to convey my most sincere regards to all people who participated to ensure the success of this study.

In particular my very humble appreciation is dedicated to Dr. Dana April Seidenberg for tirelessly moulding me in research circles. To her I say, "You have shown me the right path".

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## **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this investigation was to establish the association between family background characteristics and the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent offspring with special reference to the city of Nairobi. The family background characteristics examined were broadly classified into socio-economic, demographic and control factors. The socio-economic and control factors were measured by parents' educational attainment and parental power base (locus of household authority) respectively while demographic factors included sex of the parent in the household, number of siblings, premarital pregnancy status of the mother, a daughter's premarital pregnancy status and a son's involvement in premarital pregnancy.

The required data was obtained from a sample of 200 high school students aged 15-19 years within Nairobi province, Kenya, by means of self-administered semi-structured questionnaires. Frequency tables and bar graphs are used to display the results. The Chi-square tests are also performed to reveal the significance of the associations between the examined variables.

Only the sex of the parent in the household as well as premarital pregnancy status of the mother and a daughter in the family is found to be significantly associated with parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. It is therefore concluded that some socio-economic and demographic factors within the family environment influence parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. On the basis of the study findings, it is recommended that interventions on parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters should emphasise structures that promote marital stability as well as sensitising parents with high formal educational attainment on the need to be open with their adolescent children on matters related to sex.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	11
DEDICATION.....	10
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 General Overview.....	1
1.2 Problem statement.....	2
1.3.0 Objectives of the study.....	3
1.3.1 General objective.....	3
1.3.2 Specific objectives.....	3
1.4 Rationale of the study.....	4
CHAPTER TWO.....	5
LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	5
2.1 Literature review.....	5
2.1.1 Trends in adolescent sexuality.....	5
2.1.2 Indicators of adolescent sexuality.....	9
2.1.3 Sources of information on sexuality.....	14
2.1.4 Empirical evidence.....	24
2.1.5 Summary of literature review.....	31
2.2 Theoretical orientation.....	31
2.4 Conceptual hypotheses.....	39
2.5 Definition of variables.....	40
2.5.1 Independent variables.....	40
2.5.2 Dependent variable.....	41
2.5.3 Other working definitions.....	41
2.6 Operational model.....	43
2.7 Operational hypothesis.....	43
CHAPTER THREE.....	45
DATA AND METHODOLOGY.....	45
3.1 Background of study area.....	45
3.1.1 Regional setting.....	45
3.1.2 Historical development of Nairobi.....	47
3.1.3 Demographic profile of Nairobi.....	55
3.2 Sample design and execution.....	60
3.3 Data processing.....	62
3.4 Methods of data analysis.....	62
3.4.1 Frequency distributions.....	62
3.4.2 Cross-tabulation.....	62
3.5 Scope and limitations of the study.....	63
CHAPTER FOUR.....	64
FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION ON SEXUALITY.....	64
4.1.0 Respondents' family background characteristics.....	64
4.1.1 Sex of parent in the household.....	64
4.1.2 Educational attainment of parents.....	64
4.1.3 Locus of household authority.....	66
4.1.4 Number of siblings.....	66
4.1.5 History of premarital pregnancy.....	66
4.2.0 Association between family background characteristics and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	67

4.2.1 Sex of parent in the household and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	67
4.2.2 Educational attainment of the parent and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	73
4.2.3 Premarital pregnancy histoiy and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	75
4.2.4 Number of siblings and parent - adolescent communication on sexuality.....	77
4.2.5 Locus of household authority and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	77
CHAPTER FIVE. ....	80
DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AN D RECOMMENDATIONS.....	80
5.1 Discussion.....	80
5.2 Conclusion.....	82
5.3 Recommendations.....	82
5.3.1 Recommendations for policy.....	82
5.3.2 Recommendations for future research.....	83
REFERENCES.....	85
APPENDIX. QUESTIONNAIRE.....	104



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 :Trend of population distribution in Nairobi by race. 1906 - 1962*.....	57
Table 2:Population density by province, 1969 - 1999.....	58
Table 3: Intercensus proportion of people aged 15 - 19 years in Nairobi, 1969- 1999.....	59
Table 4: Distribution of respondents according to the schools selected.....	61
Table 5.1'croont distribution of respondents by their family background characteristics.....	65
Table 6: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by the sex of parent in the household.....	68
Table 7: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by level of parents' educational attainment.....	74
Table 8: Percent distribution of responses on parent - adolescent communication on sexuality by premarital pregnancy status of mother/sister.....	76
Table 9: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by number of siblings.....	78
Table 10: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by the locus of household authority.....	79

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Widening gap between sexual (physiological) and social (marriage) maturity.....	6
Figure 2: Age/sex distribution of AIDS cases in Kenya, 1986 to November 1995.....	13
Figure 3: Percentage of parents who talk to their children and what they discuss with regard to sexuality .	15
Figure 4: Percentage of Kenyan parents who educate their young about sexuality by topic.....	16
Figure 5: Conceptual framework <i>for</i> the study of female sexual behaviour in Africa:.....	37
Figure 6: Conceptual framework for analysing family background characteristics and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.....	39
Figure 7: Operation model for the study.....	43
Figure 8: Location of Nairobi Province in Kenya.....	46
Figure 9: The main residential areas in Nairobi.....	54
Figure 10: Distribution of parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by topic and sex of parent.....	70
Figure 11(a): Distribution of paternal communication on sexuality by sex of the child.....	71
Figure 11(b): Percent distribution of maternal communication on sexuality by sex of the child.....	72

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 General Overview

Adolescent sexuality is a phenomenon that has aroused considerable interest in the circle of social scientists and people concerned with developmental ramifications of demographic processes in societies. In the past few decades, researchers in this field have been particularly preoccupied with the question of sources of information on sex related issues for adolescents. Although it has almost become a standard tenet that the family is the locus of socialisation of attitudes and learning of values associated with sexual activity in the early years of human life (Coleman, 1961; Bandura, 1969; Sai, 1977; Ross and Rapp, 1981; Vandewiele, 1981a, 1981b; Thornton and Camburn, 1987; Rose and Jones, 1994; Epstein, 1998; Barber, 2000), empirical studies in place (Ramsey, 1960; Hollander, 1971; Sheinkopf, 1971; Konopka, 1977; Zelnik, 1979; Muriuki, 1980; DeLamater, 1981; Montemayor, 1982; Zelnik and Kim, 1982; Khasiani, 1985; Flick, 1986; Macdonald, 1987; Rukaria *et al.*, 1992; Kiragu and Zabin, 1993; Lee and Made, 1994; Population Information Program, 1995; Coleman and Hendry, 1999; Johnston and Muita, 1999c; Johnston, 2000) unanimously point out that parents are the least providers of information on sex related matters to their adolescent children. However, attempt in the way of articulating plausible explanations of this discrepancy has not registered sufficient exploration. ^

Pitched on the premise that an absolute appreciation of antecedents of parental participation in moulding values and attitudes associated with the sexual lives of their adolescent children may be gained through analysis of the family atmosphere, the primary concern of this inquiry is to establish the association between family background characteristics and the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent children. How, for example, does the level of schooling of the parent, history of sex-induced problems in the family, structure of parental power in the household and the number of children the parent has to attend to translate into parental effort in

disseminating information on sex related matters to the adolescent child? This question is the core of the attention in this study.

The city of Nairobi has been decided on to be the area of this investigation due to its pre-eminent position in the urban hierarchy of Kenya (Obudho and Aduwo, 1988) and, as scholars in various parts of the world have pointed out (Whiting, 1969; Lees, 1979; Ross and Rapp, 1981), it is the place where adolescent sexual promiscuity is likely to be rampant.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

The uncertainty surrounding who is best placed to guide adolescents on matters related to sex during this period of sexual debut is an international anathema. But why this vexatious concern with the flow of information on sex related matters to adolescents?

Available data from various demographic and health surveys conducted in the 1990s reveal that today adolescents comprise one fifth of the world population (Jimerson, 1988; Population Information Program, 1995). In Kenya this cohort constitutes 25% of the population and an enormous proportion is sexually active (Gachuhi, 1973; Njau and Radeny, 1994; National Council for Population and Development, 1999). However, most of these sexual activities are hardly protected (National Council for Population and Development, 1999; Johnston<sup>2000</sup>) thereby disposing them to risks such as sexually transmitted diseases (Lema and Mulandi, 1992) including the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) as well as unintended pregnancy (National Council for Population and Development, 1995) and its attendant evils such as disruption of schooling (Ferguson, 1988; Gyepi - Garbrah, 1985) and clandestine abortion (Aggarwal and Mati, 1983 ; Lema and Kabeberi - Macharia, 1992).

Problems of unprotected sexual activity aside, adolescents are condemned to an environment where the mass media convey messages and scenes that highly arouse the desire for coitus (Galang, 1983; Wilson and Liedtke, 1984; American Academy of Pediatrics, 1986; Kigundu, 1987; Mensch *et al.*, 1994; Ocholla - Ayayo, 1997; Caldwell

*et al.*, 1998) yet sources of information on protected sex for adolescents are scanty, rather informal and in some cases prohibited <sup>12</sup> In the absence of formal sources, networks such as peer groups have taken up the role and occasionally remitted unreliable and or distorted information (Zelnik, 1979; Population Information Program, 1995; Varle *et al.*, n.d). Although it is near-universally evident that parents are at the centre in the quest for biological facts of life and moral standards of sexual behaviour, various studies (Ramsey, 1960; Castillo, 1986; National Council for Population and Development, 1995; Johnston and Muita, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c) have revealed that the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent children is low. However, the explanation of this paucity has not received sufficient attention. It is with this regard that this study attempts to examine the association between socio-economic (parents' level of education), demographic (number of siblings, mother's premarital pregnancy status, sister's premarital pregnancy status, brother's involvement in premarital pregnancy in the household) and control/power (locus of household authority in decision making) factors within the family environment and parent-adolescent communication on sex related issues.

### **1.3.0 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The main objective of this study is to establish the association between family background characteristics (demographic, socio-economic and control /conjugal power and the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent children.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

Specifically, this study endeavours:

- a) To examine the association between the sex of the parent in the household and parent - adolescent communication on sex related matters;

The Kenya Government, for example, maintains that there should be no provision of contraceptive services in schools (Daily Nation, December 13, 1994, p. 1).

A case of fundamentalism was demonstrated by Cardinal Maurice Otunga at a meeting of the Synod of Bishops in Rome where he admitted that the baffling aspirations of the youth was one of the problems facing the Church

- b) To examine the association between parents' level of education and parent - adolescent communication on sex related issues;
- c) To examine the association between the locus of household authority over matters arising in the family and parent - adolescent communication on sex related issues;
- d) To examine the association between premarital pregnancy experience of the mother and daughter as well as involvement in a premarital pregnancy of a son in the family and parent -adolescent communication on sex related issues; and
- e) To examine the association between the number of siblings and parent- adolescent communication on sex related matters.

#### **1.4 Rationale of the study**

The influence of parents on the sexual life of their adolescent children has been an absorbing subject. Although numerous studies (Davis, 1960; Goldsmith, 1969; Njau and Radeny, 1994; Population Information Program, 1995; Johnston and Muita, 1999) have demonstrated the existence of differentials in parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters, the explanatory factors are rather wanting. Thus, the findings of this study would provide additional information on issues dealing with adolescent sexuality.

The strain put on the socio-economic welfare of the country by the consequences of misinformed adolescent sexual activity, notably, attack by sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), clandestine abortion and unwanted child bearing have become so enormous (Centre for the Study of Adolescence, 1994) that being hush-hush on the adolescent sexual activity can only be catastrophic. In view of the building consensus in many countries that young people need expanded information concerning sexual and reproductive health (Flick, 1986; Macdonald, 1987; Lee and Made, 1994; Barnett, 1997; Gage, 1998; Hughes and McCauley, 1998), this study casts into the glare some factors in the family to which attention may be given when formulating intervention programs focused on the flow of information on sex related issues from parents to their adolescent children.

in Africa but described the clamour for contraceptive use as an "insidious birth control propaganda" (Daily Nation, October 31, 1974, p.5).

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

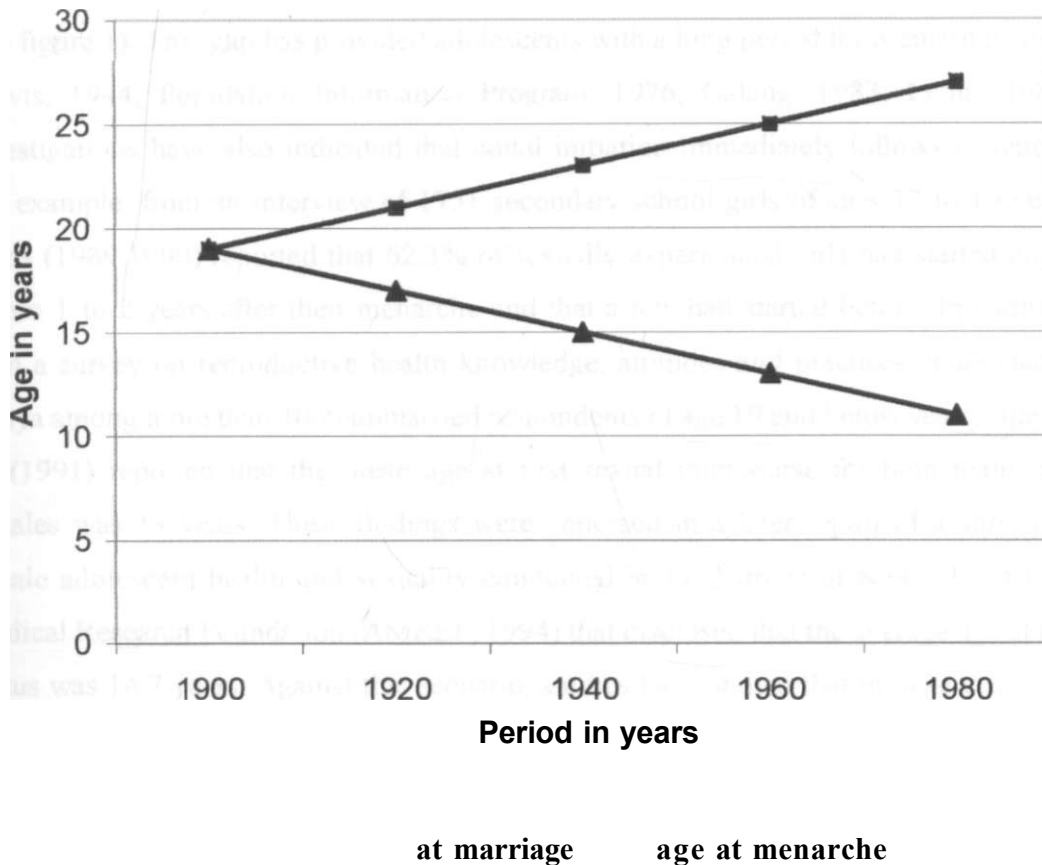
#### **2.1 Literature review**

In the past few decades there has been a worldwide proliferation of research and discussion on adolescent sexuality among social and biological scientists not just interested in demographic dynamics of societies, but their developmental ramifications as well. The major areas of concern have been adolescent sexual intercourse, their consequences and sources of information on sex related matters for adolescents.

##### **2.1.1 Trends in adolescent sexuality**

Sexuality and reproductive health oriented investigations that have been conducted reveal that a large proportion, over 70%, of Kenyan adolescents is at present sexually active (Njau and Radeny, 1994; Johnston, 2000). A study conducted by Gachuhi (1973) revealed that by age 15 most of them have had their first coitus. Zelnik and Kantner (1980) carried out a survey of metropolitan-area adolescents in United States and found that half of all unmarried adolescents had had intercourse at least once and that 69% and 25% of 19 and 15-year-olds respectively had had non-marital sexual intercourse. However, most of such coitus is hardly protected. Various scholars (American Academy of Pediatrics, 1986; Flick, 1986; Macdonald, 1987; Lee and Made, 1994; Gage, 1998; Johnston, 2000) have ascribed this tendency of engaging in risky sexual intercourse among adolescents to a lack of proper guidance.

**Figure 1: Widening gap between sexual (physiological) and social (marriage) maturity**



Source: Populations Reports. Series J, No. 10, 1976, p. 163

A number of studies have indicated that the age at menarche has been declining. In Kenya, African Medical Research Foundation (1994) reported that the mean age at menarche is now 14.35 years. This is a situation that is not confined to Kenya. In a review of literature on "earlier maturation in man," Tanner (1968) indicated that the mean age at menarche in the Western European population was about 16.5 years in 1870; it declined to 14.5 years by around 1930 and was down to 13.5 years during the 1950s. In early decades of the twentieth century, the age at menarche in the United States had been



about one year below that of Western Europe and had equally shown a parallel decline. Although it is in the institution of marriage that the society approves sexual intercourse (Davis, 1944; Doddridge *et al.*, 1987), studies have shown that since the advent of the twentieth century the age at marriage has been increasing while sexual maturation, indicated by age at menarche (Davis, 1944; Conger, 1973), has been taking place earlier (see figure 1). This gap has provided adolescents with a long period for premarital coitus (Davis, 1944; Population Information Program, 1976; Galang, 1983; Lema, 1989). Investigations have also indicated that coital initiation immediately follows menarche. For example, from an interview of 1751 secondary school girls of ages 12 to 19 years, Lema (1989,1990) reported that 62.3% of sexually experienced girls had started coitus within 1 to 2 years after their menarche and that a few had started before. In addition, from a survey on reproductive health knowledge, attitudes and practices conducted in Kenya among more than 3000 unmarried respondents of age 19 and below years, Ajayi *et al.* (1991) reported that the mean age at first sexual intercourse for both males and females was 13 years. These findings were endorsed in a later report of a survey on female adolescent health and sexuality conducted in 17 districts of Kenya by African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF, 1994) that disclosed that the average age at first coitus was 14.7 years. Against this scenario, studies have shown that in most cases, the information girls receive from their parents during this period is not related to sexual behaviour. Based on the conclusions drawn from educational material (Whisnant, Brett, and Zegans, 1975), Clarke and Ruble (1978:231) have reported that "the main message conveyed to adolescent girls is that menstruation is a hygienic crisis." In a related study, Steinberg and Hill (1978) assessed the effects of physical and intellectual maturation at puberty on parent-child interaction and found that the "midpuberal period may be a difficult period of adoption for the family; parental interruption are high and explanations are low, adolescents and their mothers yield to each other relatively infrequently, and over all patterns of interaction are rigidly structured " (p.684).

The upsurge in adolescent sexual activity and the health and social consequences associated with it has attracted international attention to the extent that the 1984 United Nations International Conference on Population urged governments to ensure that

**both boys and girls receive adequate education including family life and sex education with due consideration given to the role, rights, obligations and changing individual and cultural values. Suitable family planning information and services should be made available to adolescent within the changing socio-cultural framework of each country<sup>1</sup>**

In a related circumstance, representatives of 179 countries and seven observers converged at Cairo in 1994 under the auspices of the United Nations International Conference on Population and Developmental (ICPD) and approved a 16-chapter Programme of Action. Chapter seven, devoted to reproductive rights and reproductive health, stated that "appropriate services" for adolescents "must safeguard [their] rights...to privacy, confidentiality, respect, and informed consent, respecting cultural values and religious beliefs. In this context countries should, where appropriate, remove legal, regulatory, and social barriers to reproductive health information and care for the adolescents."<sup>4</sup> Counselling about gender relations, violence, responsible sexual behaviour and sexually transmitted diseases were outlined as some of the important resources for adolescents (Programme for Appropriate Technology in Health, 1998). The 1995 United Nations Conference for Women held in Beijing reaffirmed the dire need to protect the sexual activity of adolescents expressed in the previous meetings. The delegates in question equally urged that young people be given better access to health care information, especially that pertaining to reproductive health care, taking into account the responsibilities of parents and guardians (Population Information Programme, 1995).

The Kenyan share was witnessed in the formation of the Centre for the Study of Adolescence (CSA) following a 1988 gathering of multi-disciplinary group of Kenyan researchers and academics at a workshop in Nairobi. The attendants decreed the near-silence approach adapted to what they saw as "some critical issues" relating to adolescent health such as abortion, adolescent sexuality and STDs. They went ahead and endorsed advocacy as the only way through which policy changes could be effected, a requirement

<sup>1</sup>United Nations (1984) Report of International Conference on Population, p. 24, quoted in Senanayake (1987:

<sup>4</sup> ICPD Programme of Action" (1994), Populi, 21(9): 9

which gave birth, in 1992, to the African Association for the Promotion of Adolescent Health (AAPAH) and Kenya Association for the Promotion of Adolescent Health (KAPAH) in 1994.

### **2.1.2 Indicators of adolescent sexuality**

The consequence of adolescent sexuality is an area in which researchers have portrayed an overwhelming degree of concern. In particular, pregnancy, childbearing, abortion, school dropout and exposure to STDs, especially AIDS may be pointers to adolescent sexual activity with which a considerable number of scholars have saliently identified. Save for the impact of contraception, each year 15 million births occur to adolescents aged 15-19 years (Programme for Appropriate Technology in Health, 1998), accounting for up to one fifth of births world-wide (Population Information Program, 1995). Further reports of demographic and health surveys from selected African and Latin American countries divulge that about 20% to 60% of pregnancies occurring to women under age 20 are mistimed or unwanted (Population Information Program, 1995). This situation is not any different in Kenya. Although demographic and health surveys conducted in Kenya in the last two decades portray a declining trend in the country's total fertility rate (TFR)<sup>5</sup>, the rate for the adolescent group is much slower than for the older group. Knaul-Baker and Rich (1992) reported that births to women under the age of 20 represent approximately 20% of the total fertility rate, while the 1993 KDHS indicated that 17% of all 15-19 year old women had one child and another 8.6 % were pregnant at the time of the survey. In a later report, Alan Guttmacher Institute (1998) estimated that nearly 60% of births to young women of ages between 15 and 19 are unplanned for.<sup>6</sup> Edwards *et al.* (1980) have attributed these unplanned teenage pregnancies to a lack of knowledge about the risk of pregnancy or how to prevent it, or to the unavailability of services designed for adolescents. In addition to limited sexual knowledge, Smith *et al.* (1984a) further contend that the escalating cases of adolescent pregnancy could be ascribed to early physiological maturation, early dating, and immature ego development.

<sup>5</sup>The TFR has declined from 8.1 in the mid 1970s to 6.7, 5.6 and 4.7 in 1989, 1993 and 1998 respectively. Reported in Varied *a/*, (undated, p.81).

Abstracting from the associated studies (Furstenberg, 1976; Carol and Wise, 1978; Hardy *et al.*, 1978; Baldwin and Cain, 1980; Klerman, 1980), Smith *et al.* (1984b) have enumerated neonatal loss, disruption of education, marital problems, and dependency on welfare as the range of predicaments that correlate highly with frequencies of unintended pregnancy. In Kenya, existing information suggests that one of the social disturbances the country has to contend with is pregnancy-induced school drop out. An outstanding example in this way is provided by a survey that monitored pregnancy drop out rate and its associated factors in a set of 154 primary and secondary schools in Kenya during 1987. This activity also calculated drop out rates for 1985 and 1986 and revealed that between 1985 and 1987, an average of 10,000 girls dropped out of school per annum due to pregnancy (Ferguson, 1988). Further evidence in this direction obtains from a report of a survey on the socio-cultural and medical outcomes of adolescent pregnancies done by Illinikumugaba *et al.* (1994). In their study, Illinikumugaba and colleagues interviewed 1058 adolescents and found that 42% first got pregnant while in school and subsequently all of them had to terminate schooling<sup>7</sup>. These findings were consistent with Ahn's (1994) on the association between teenage childbearing and high school completion in United States of America. The estimates in Ahn's study indicated that the birth itself, family background characteristics and individual heterogeneity affected differences in high school completion rates between women who had teenage birth and those who did not. This study particularly found that having a teenage birth would lead to a 50 % reduction in the likelihood of high school completion compared with not having a teenage birth. In a study related to that of Ferguson (1988), Ahn (1994) and Illinikumugaba *et al.* (1994) carried out in Sheffield, Preston and Lindsay (1976) demonstrated that most girls who conceive while at school are not likely to return to school after birth.

Extensive studies in place etch that many cases of unwanted adolescent pregnancy culminate into unsafe, expensive and clandestine abortion. Hyjazi and Diallo (1996) conducted two hospital surveys in Guinea in a bid to ascertain the prevalence of

Illinikumugaba, A., Njau<sup>W.</sup> and Rogo, K. (1994) Socio-cultural and medical outcomes of adolescent pregnancies: a survey report of four districts. Nairobi: Centre for African Family Studies, cited in Njau and Radeny (1994:5).

complications related to induced abortions and establish the proportion of adolescents exposed to this high risk. They found that out of 83 patients with complications arising from illegal abortion, 31 were adolescents. An earlier similar study conducted by Alan Guttmacher Institute (1981) in United States revealed that teenagers accounted for 31% of all abortions. In a survey of knowledge, perceptions and practises associated with adolescent sexuality and fertility in Kenya, Ajayi *et al.* (1991) observed that 29% of students in Kenya aged between 16 and 19 years reported that they had sought an abortion at the time of the survey. According to Lema and Kabeberi-Macharia (1992), as high as 74% of women with abortion admissions in Kenyan hospitals are adolescents. Aggarwal and Mati (1980) studied the emergency gynaecological cases in Kenyatta National Hospital, Nairobi, and found that 53% of those who had septic abortions were teenagers.

Save for socio-economic factors such as nutrition and prenatal care, which may reduce mortality resulting from obstetrical complications, age factor has independent relative risks and for those below 20 years of age, mortality appears to be inversely proportional to age (Population Information Program, 1976). This contention is in harmony with the findings of Makokha (1980) and Wanjala *et al.* (1985). In his analysis of maternal mortality in Kenyatta National Hospital, Makokha found that 26.3% of the maternal deaths were of women below the age of 20 years. He particularly found that 22.2% of the deaths were as a result of post-abortion sepsis with 80% exhibiting interference. Wanjala and colleagues' (1985) analysis of mortality due to abortion at the same institution for the period 1974 to 1983 indicated that 85% of all women admitted with cases of abortion died, and 24.2% of the dead were less than 19 years of age, all whom had illegally induced abortion<sup>x</sup> In the event of many terminations being performed outside medical establishments, it is highly probable that these figures merely paint a faint picture of the scenario at stake. Even if an unintended pregnancy were carried to the term, to the degree that prospects of adoption in Kenya are gloomy (Jones, 1974), both the young mother and her child are at a risk of being condemned to what Cutright (1971:46) calls "a life of private misery and public dependency."

<sup>x</sup>The findings of Makokha (1980) and Wanjala *et al.* (1985) are reported in Lema *et al.* (1991:39).

Reproductive health oriented studies have equally gauged that adolescents tend to be more prone to infection by sexually transmitted diseases than the general population. Programme for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH, 1998) has reported that one third of infection by sexually transmitted diseases in developing countries occur among the 13 to 20 age group. A study in Nairobi by Okumu (1989) of 500 prenatal subjects found that the incidence of sexually transmitted disease was significantly higher amongst girls aged 15-19 years". Also, a 1991 study conducted at the Kenyatta National Hospital by Lema and Mulandi (1992) revealed that 36 % of pregnant women aged between 15-24 years had had at least one sexually transmitted disease and the corresponding proportion for those aged above 24 years was 16%.<sup>10</sup>

Research findings have demonstrated that most HTV/AIDS infections occur among adolescents and are particularly prevalent among women between the age of 15 and 19 years (see figure 2). According to the 1989 Report on AIDS in Kenya, the rapid spread of the pandemic in the country has been facilitated by the promiscuous heterosexual behaviour and life-style of the young.<sup>11</sup> The National AIDS Control Council (NACC) attributes this scenario, on one hand, to the sexual intercourse between these adolescent women with older men who already have high levels of infection and on the other hand, to the physiological immaturity of these women.<sup>12</sup> Recognising the dire need for intervention, the World Health Organisation has urged families and communities to educate their members on AIDS Prevention."

Reported in Varle *et al.* (n.d., p.3).

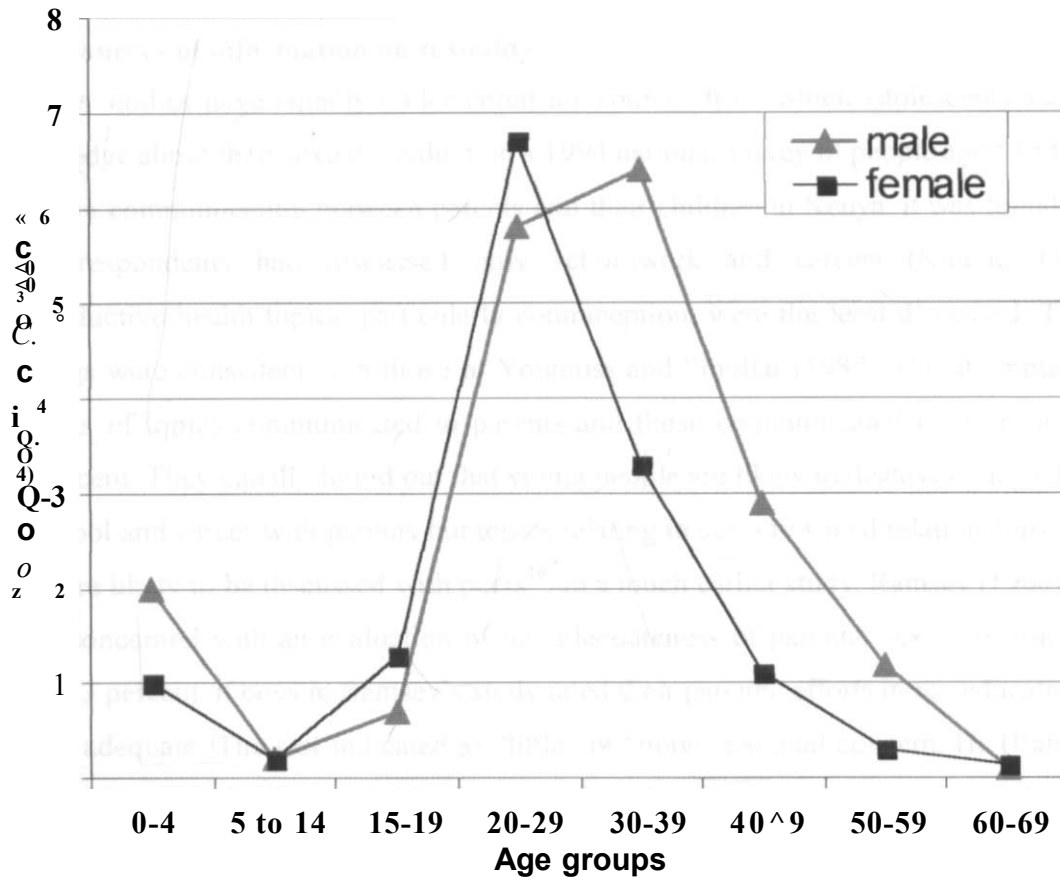
<sup>10</sup> Reported in Njau and Radeny (1994:9).

<sup>12</sup> Weekly Review September 8, 1989, p.6

<sup>13</sup> QailiLNation, December 1, 2000, p.32.

QaUjLNation, December 2, 1995, p.28.

**Figure 2: Age/sex distribution of AIDS cases in Kenya, 1986 to November 1995**



Source: Adopted from Daily Nation. December 2, 1995; p.28

In this vein policy issues related to NACC as outlined in Session Paper No. 4 of 1997 on AIDS in Kenya emphasise the need for efforts to promote socio-cultural norms, values and beliefs

necessary to reduce the risk of HIV/AIDS transmission.<sup>14</sup> In addition to encouraging the use of condoms in all non-marital sexual contacts and changing beliefs and practises that make young women vulnerable to sexual exploitation by older men, the council's priority prevention activities which focus on the youth and creation of an open environment for talking about HIV/AIDS also stress the importance of working with parents and young people to encourage them delay the onset of sexual activity. However, the policy is not sufficiently audible on how specific family conditions that have

continuously sustained the communication gap<sup>15</sup> between adolescents and their parents may be impeccably channelled to the desired direction.

### **2.1.3 Sources of information on sexuality**

Various studies have equally underscored the sources from which adolescents acquire knowledge about their sexual conduct. In a 1994 national survey of people aged 15 to 19 years on communication between parents and their children in Kenya, it was found that most respondents had discussed only schoolwork and careers (Kiragu, 1995). Reproductive health topics, particularly contraception, were the least discussed. These findings were consistent with those of Youniss and Smollar (1985) who attempted an analysis of topics communicated to parents and those communicated to peers by the adolescent. They equally found out that young people are likely to discuss issues related to school and career with parents but topics relating to sex and social relationships were far more likely to be discussed with peers<sup>16</sup>. In a much earlier study, Ramsey (1960) had been concerned with an evaluation of the adequateness of parental sexual instruction. Only 13 percent of boys in Ramsey's study rated their parents' efforts in sex education as fair or adequate. The rest indicated as "little" or "none" parental concern. He (Ramsey, 1960:338) generally observed: "the fact is evident that the majority of parents make little or no effort to give sex instruction to their children and that only one in every ten parents is rated by the children as doing a fair or adequate job." This conjecture was reckoned by Reiss (1961) and replicated in Njau's (1992) study in which it was reported that parents rarely discuss sexual matters with their children (see figure 3). The 1999 findings of Johnston and Muita (as in figure 4) were in harmony with those of Njau (1992).

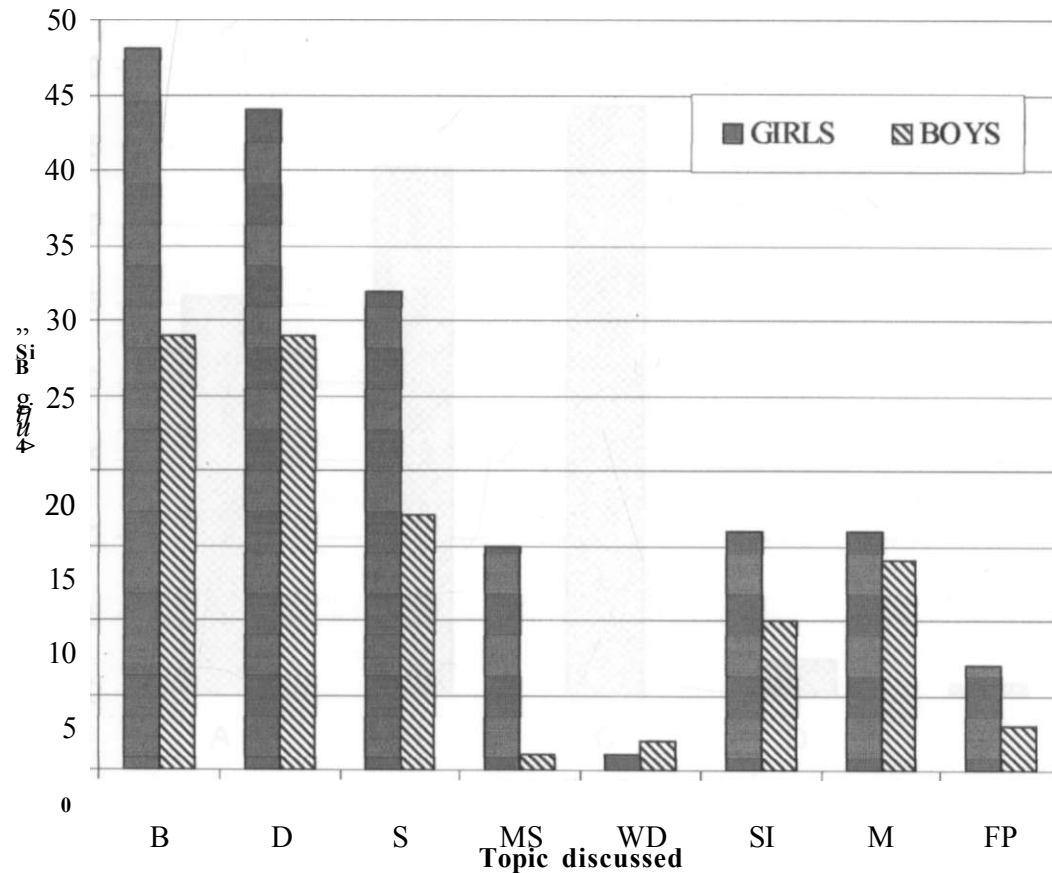
<sup>14</sup> Daily Nation, December 1, 2000, p.32.

The term "gap" has been used in popular discussions to denote significant intergroup discrepancies along attitude or belief continua (Lerner *et al.*, 1971:139). The concept of "generation gap," thus, assumes that there exists a substantial disagreement between different age groups in attitudes held toward various contemporary issues (Lerner *et al.*, 1971:139; Mahoney, 1976:62). Applied to the analysis of parent-adolescent interaction, As Stamm *et al.* (1973:630) propose, communication gap may be conceived as the gap that the youth and adults perceive may or may not correspond to objective reality. This could be triggered by the pressures resulting from earlier sexual maturity coupled with the delayed economic independence (Kuttner and Smith, 1977).

<sup>16</sup> Reported in Coleman and Hendry (1999:80).



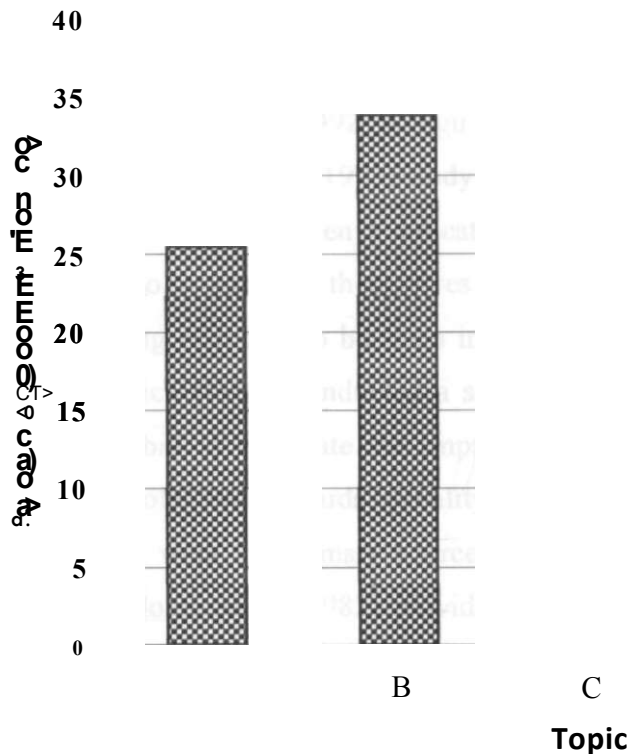
**Figure 3: Percentage of parents who talk to their children and what they discuss with regard to sexuality**



B: Boys/Girl friendship \*\*  
 D: Dating  
 S: Sleeping out  
 M: Menstruating  
 WD: Wet Dreams  
 SI: Sexual Intercourse  
 M: Marriage  
 FP: Family Planning

Source: Rogo, K.O (1994) Analysis documentation of research on adolescent sexuality and unsafe abortion in Kpnaya Nairobi: Centre for the Study of Adolescence, p. 10

**Figure 4: Percentage of Kenyan parents who educate their young about sexuality by topic**



- A: Sex hygiene and body changes
- B: Warning on the consequences of sex and pregnancy
- C: Warning on the consequences of sex and STD/HIV
- D: Prevention of STDs/HIV
- E: Prevention of pregnancy

Source: Johnston, T. and Muita, W. (1999) "Research Implications: What every project and programme manager needs to know about communication," *Ukweli*, No.9. p. 1

An inherent feature of the foregoing studies (Ramsey, 1960; Youniss and Smollar, 1985; Njau, 1992; Kiragu, 1995; Johnston and Muita, 1999) is that parents do not provide concrete information to their adolescent children in the matter of sexual morality and sexual intercourse and as DeLamater (1981:270) argues, "a fertile ground remains for sexual fantasy", an eventuality which peers hardly hesitate to exploit (Reiss, 1961; Rubin, 1994). An indicator of this relative influence is provided by Pick de Weiss *et al* (1991) in

a study of female adolescents aged 19-20 years in Mexico City. In comparison to perceptions of parents, Pick de Weiss and associates found peer attitude, as liberal and communication with peers regarding sexual intercourse and contraceptives use were significantly associated with contraceptive practise. These scholars also found that higher levels of communication with friends about sexuality, pregnancy, and contraception were equally associated with a lower likelihood of conception. Grotevant and Cooper (1982) also had similar results. These findings are in harmony with the results of some studies (Knaul-Barker and Rich, 1992; Kiragu and Zabin, 1993) that have been conducted in Kenya. Kiragu and Zabin's (1993) study of correlates of premarital sexual activity among school-age adolescents in Kenya indicated that adolescents who associate with sexually experienced colleagues are themselves much more likely to be sexually experienced, thus, the strong relationship between individual and peer behaviour. In 1990, Knaul - Barker and Rich (1992) conducted a series of focus group discussions in Kenya and Nigeria in a bid to elucidate the impact of peer interaction and societal factors on attitudes of adolescents towards sexuality and contraception. These authorities also found out that peers were the primary source of information. Studies done by Burger *et al.* (1975) and Montemayor (1982) provide notable examples of attempts that have been made to explain this discrepancy. Burger and colleagues (1975) sought to ascertain whether the reports of subjects at lower grade levels as indicated in Schaefer's (1965) Child Report of Parental Behavior Inventory would be characterised by the same factors found for older children. The<sup>^</sup> found that with advance in age, children perceive a decrease in psychologically controlling behaviours and a concomitant increase in parental rule making and limit setting, which they (Burger and associates) alleged, could be due to less time spent with parents or increased parental demands for independent functioning. Montemayor's interest was to discern the strength of the then conventional wisdom, as demonstrated in Millen and Roll's (1977) study, that among adolescents, an inverse relationship exists between parent and peer involvement, and that conflict with parents is associated with peer orientation. One of his observations was that adolescents spend equal amounts of time with parents and peers but engaged in very different types of activities. Time with parents mostly centred around the completion of a variety of social and household activities such as eating, shopping, and performing home chores, while

peer time was spent in entertainment, playing games and talking. Thus, he concluded that parents and peers provide adolescents with contrasting social worlds. Montemayor (1982:1517) implicitly mused:

Interactions with parents and peers provide complimentary socializing experiences that are of benefit to adolescents in quite different ways. The task time that adolescents spend with parents centers around the completion of instrumental activities that may teach the fulfilment of duties and the development of sense of responsibility. In contrast, the unstructured free time spent with peers provide adolescents with many opportunities to develop reciprocity and role-taking skills may explain why adolescents like to be with peers rather than parents. Peers form equalitarian relationships that centre around age-specific interests which make association with peers considerably more attractive than the hierarchic task oriented relationships that adolescents have...with parents.

Most investigations coalesce about peers and friends as major sources of information on adolescent sexual activity. However, other sources have also received attention. With television, radio, books and magazines gaining popularity, the mass media has emerged as one of adolescents' budding source of information about sex. According to a study of people aged 13-19 years in Nairobi and Mombasa, Maina (1995) found that 22% of respondents had learnt about sex from their books, 20% from films, 9% from radio, 7% from school and less than 9% from their families.<sup>17</sup> A survey on contraception among undergraduate students in a university in Kenya carried out by Rukaria *et al.* (1992) also found that 73.5% of respondents had received most of their then knowledge on contraception during their secondary school days and the main sources were books, magazines, films and televisions and that the parents had not played a major role. A similar finding was reported by African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF, 1994) from its survey of health and sexuality among female adolescents in Kenyan secondary schools.

In some cases the information disseminated by the media, in the terminology of Kiai (1994:6), "is designed to be supportive rather than a foundation." Wilson and Liedtke (1984) demonstrated this in their two surveys to determine the influence of major films on the practice of masturbation, intercourse, and genital contact and frequencies of such acts among male and female students. They found that more men than women are likely

Mama, G. (1995) "Youth peer survey in Kenya", cited in Varle *et al.* (undated), p.7

to engage in sexual activity after viewing an arousing film, but that a group of 'movie-inspired' women can rival men in the frequency of their sexual practices. The Adolescence Committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics (1986:535) has equally observed that "Regular television programming is seldom educational and realistic about sexuality. Topics related to sexuality are mainly presented in documentaries or in programs with sophisticated language, subtle references, and or sensationalism, any or all of which may limit their educational value for young people." In a bid to synchronise the media and parental participation in providing sex related information to the adolescents, AIDS Control and Prevention (AIDSCAP) project has developed radio and television messages in the Dominican Republic that aim at getting young people to delay the initiation of sexual intercourse and to use condoms in the event of becoming sexually active in which at the end of each programme, participants are told, "Go talk to your dad about AIDS or to your mother about STDs."<sup>18</sup>

Almond and Verba (1965) have remarked, "The most significant institutions for the socialization of the child are the family and the schools."<sup>19</sup> Some indication that this thesis may be extended to parent-child communication on sex related matters is provided by a 1990 study (Knaul-Baker and Rich, 1992) in which among the respondents who were in school, more than 40% said that they had received information on sexuality from the school. Ajayi *et al.* (1991) also found the school to be among the preferred sources for students. However, the role of schools in imparting information on sexual issues to the adolescents has been characterised by controversy over the content and impact of the message conveyed as well as the personnel involved.

The advent of the 1960s witnessed development planners try to evolve sex education in schools from being a matter of academic corpse to a useful programme, "Family Life Education (FLE)," for motivating students to limit the size of their own families (Population Information Program, 1995). Regrettably, for nearly two initial decades,

J\* Reported in Barnett (1997:18).

Almond, G.A. and Verba, S. (1965) Civil culture, political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Princeton, "inceton University Press, quoted in Hollander (1971:473).

these programmes hardly addressed issues closely linked to family planning such as contraceptive use. Although a massive body of literature review and findings of evaluation of adolescent reproductive health interventions (Goldsmith, 1969; Zelnik, 1979; Edwards *et al.*, 1980; Forrest *et al.*, 1981; McCarthy and Radish, 1982; Zelnik and Kim, 1982; Newcomer and Udry, 1985; Vincent *et al.*, 1987; Sarada, 1988; DuRant *et al.*, 1990; Howard and McCabe, 1990; Population Information Program, 1995; Bamett, 1997; Gage, 1998; Hughes and MacCauley, 1998; Johnston and Muita, 1999a, 1999b; Johnston, 2000) suggest that creating awareness is more likely to mitigate rather than intensify adolescent sexual irresponsibility, some school systems have not portrayed a keen interest in this course for fear that such knowledge may promote sexual experimentation. Under the illusion that adolescent sexuality does not transcend the horizons of morality, proponents of this view contend, in the words of Blau and Gullotta (1993 :184), that "adolescents should not be sexual." Nonetheless, with the increase in concern about the spread of AIDS in the late 1980s, many nations and school systems saw FLE in schools as an efficient arena for public information about the dreaded disease.

Research has indicated that even in some cases where school systems have gone into sex education, the information obtained has not adequately measured to the moral sexual standards of the recipients. In a review of literature on the psychological impact of menarche on early adolescent females, Greif and Ulman (1982) report that Helene Deutsch described women's psychological reactions to menarche as having a common root 'in which the approaching adulthood and sexuality are experienced as a threatening danger' (Deutsch, 1944:156). In conformity with this school of thought, Rayner (1966) run sex education courses in a number of London youth clubs in London for eight years during which she noticed that most of the girls had learned about their own anatomy and physiology at school but none had ever been told of the psychological effects of puberty. Rayner (1966:535) further noted that:

Also, few of them had been told, by teacher or parent, that there would be a time during the menstrual cycle-often coincident with ovulation-when they would experience an increase in sexual desire. They had not been warned that prolonged "necking" at this time could rapidly reach a point of no return when the girl herself would push her partner to complete sexual intercourse.

Studies have shown that religious affiliation is a key element of the set of factors to which inadequate performance of schools in transmitting sex-oriented information to young people may be ascribed. Having cross-examined studies conducted in the early years of FLE programme in schools (Pace, 1960; Fishman, 1962; Riesman and Jenks, 1962; Williamson and Cowan, 1965; Mayhew, 1966), Jurich (1984) comes to the conclusion that denominational schools tend to have a conservative and rigid environment while non-sectarian schools tend to be liberal and flexible.

Macdonald (1987) presents another thrilling contribution to the debate on sex education in schools. In search of a way forward on the problem of teenage pregnancy in United States, Macdonald (1987) proposes that a useful initial step would be to look at the different components of sex education curriculum. He observes that sex education is often reduced to provision of information about sperm, ova, the avoidance of fertilization, and the reduction of risks associated with sex. He calls such information "biology" or "health-related instruction" that has no "effect in reducing rates of sexual activity and the array of related risks." Noting that children's sexual practices are directly related to the protection offered them by their parents and the society at large, Macdonald (1987:384) stresses that sex education is "incomplete and potentially dangerous" unless it addresses values, ethics, morality, deferment of gratification, and goals of the children. His conviction (Macdonald, 1987:384) is that:

**A logical means of avoiding the dilemma is to direct the information regarding sexual activity not primarily toward children but toward parents and others who are more mature and thus better able to deal effectively with difficult decisions. That is, we should place more emphasis on the information needs of the individuals and social institutions that are charged with overseeing the welfare and education of our children-parents, churches, and others in the community.**

In the same year Macdonald's excellent piece was published, a study of school-girl pregnancies in Kenya conducted by the Ministry of Health revealed that teachers tended to feel inadequately trained to handle topics of sex education and reproduction and parents had played an inadequate role in educating their children on reproduction and contraception<sup>20</sup> This finding recapitulated that of Burke and Weir (1978) in which,

<sup>20</sup> Ministry of Health, Division of Family-GTZ Support Unit (1988), Schoolgirl Pregnancy in Kenya: Report of a study of its prevalence and associated factors, quoted in Rukaria *et al.* (1992:68). Also see Ferguson

whereas respondents spent a considerable part of their day in the school environment, neither teachers nor the school counsellors were indicated as important resources. However, the work of Jurs (1984) appears to present a rather peculiar picture,

Jurs (1984) examined the differences in the level of moral development of sexually active teenagers who use birth control and those who do not use birth control, pregnant teenagers and sexually active but never-pregnant, and pregnant teenagers who choose to abort. He found that there were significant differences in moral development between those who had taken a sex education course and those who had not. Jurs' study particularly demonstrated that higher moral development scores were related to rating school as an important source of information and taking a sex education course in school. In view of the raging debate over the competence of schools in addressing adolescents on matters related to sex, various scholars have advocated for parental intervention as a way forward in the management of adolescent sexuality.

Convinced that changing risky behaviour requires more than education, Donna Flanagan of AIDSCAP remarks: "A lot of what young people need is the experience and the practice of making decisions and feeling responsible for their own actions."<sup>21</sup> Throwing this challenge to the parents, she adds: "We adults do not give them a chance to be responsible for very many things ... Suddenly, they are faced with decision-making about sexual issues, and they don't have those skills."<sup>22</sup> This standpoint is also reckoned by Flick (1986:144) who has recommended that:

**Interventions should encourage rational decision-making, which may mean a delay in first intercourse. They [parents] can encourage young people to recognize when they want to say no and develop the skills to do so, as well as encouraging the timely recognition and acceptance of the choice of being sexually active and the use of contraceptives early in their sexual careers.... Because parents continue to influence adolescent behavior greatly, parental involvement and communication should be strengthened to help adolescents become more responsible. Programs are needed to help parents...become better informed and comfortable with discussing sexuality and contraception.**

!! Quoted in Bamett (1997:18).  
*"Ibid., p. 18.*



Stressing the role of parents in FLE to the adolescents, Muriuki (1980:10) urges, "parents should teach and emphasise values and facts of life and what in life has meaning and lasting importance." She adds, "Sex is something that many parents should be able to talk over freely with their children as they should be able to talk of marriage." In his address of the 24<sup>th</sup> annual delegates conference of the Kenya National Union of Teachers, Ominde (1981:24) maintained, "the family must actively continue to remain an essential conduct for the balanced nourishment of the developing personality." In 1981 Michel Vandewiele conducted two studies on the influence of family, peers and school on Senegalese adolescents. According to both studies (Vandewiele, 1981a, 1981b), Senegalese subjects seemed to look more to their parents than to their peers. Thus, Vandewiele (1981b: 734) remarked:

**The school peer group is more like a social melting-pot in which groups of students of various extraction are tossed together year in and year out. It is not surprising that, when facing such an unstable new world, parents should lose nothing of their primary influence as reference for values, a permanent source of advice and confidence.**

In his call on people concerned with sex education to lay emphasis on what works in society in general, Herbert Friedman, formerly director of World Health Organization (WHO) Adolescent Health and Development Programme, says:

**'Adolescents tend to believe what their parents do, but too often interventions tend to pull apart the parents and youth. We push sex education projects without involving the parents, and they react with horror. People promoting health need to pay attention to the values of society' (Finger, 1997:23).**

The importance of parental integration in sex education programs has been demonstrated by Vincent *et al.* (1987) and Orr (1982). Vincent and associates' study showed that a community-based pregnancy prevention program with substantial parental input and conducted in both schools and churches had significantly reduced the rate of adolescent pregnancy in a non-Hispanic population in South Carolina. Orr (1982) conducted a survey of sex education in United States public high schools and noted that parental involvement appeared to strengthen the sex education program, with the result being a wider scope of topics covered.

#### 2.1.4 Empirical evidence

The last several decades have witnessed a substantial body of research place the family at the helm of the range of social factors circumscribing the world of adolescent sexuality. Withdrawing from problem behaviour theory and complimentary models of behaviour, Plotnick (1992) examined the influence of attitudes and related personality variables on the probability of the teenage pre-marital pregnancy and in the event of a pregnancy occurring, the mode of its resolution. Although the dependent variable in this investigation was pre-marital resolution, Plotnick (1992: 800) observed that "attitudes and related personality variables are important paths through which family background characteristics influence adolescent... behaviour."

In a study of determinants of adolescent sexuality among secondary school girls in Nairobi, Lema (1989, 1990) interviewed a total of 1751 secondary school girls aged 12 to 19 years and noted that girls staying away from their parents were more likely to be sexually involved than those living with their parents. This study further reported lack of parental guidance, good exemplary behaviour as well as lack of factual knowledge of reproductive biology and environmental over-stimulation as some of the factors the girls felt were responsible for the upsurge in adolescent sexual involvement. Inadequate guidance and counselling has also been shown in a study by Mugwe (1989) on how socio-economic and demographic variables relate to adolescent fertility in Kirinyaga district of Kenya. The majority of respondents in Mugwe's inquiry blamed their parents for increasing level of adolescent pregnancy due to lack of guidance and counselling on sex related issues. This prompted her (Mugwe, 1989: 40) to recommend that:

**There is need, therefore, to encourage and educate parents to be more often free and open with their children as far as issues regarding sex and reproduction are concerned - so that they can discuss them freely with their children, thus creating confidence and so have children confiding in them too.**

Researchers have also shown that successful child development is a function of parenting pattern. Pelaez (1998) provides an exhibit of this from a random interview of students in learning institutions in Havana city. Pelaez found that the majority of adolescents who lived with both parents had not initiated sexual relations. Studies of father-absent families

suggest that children without fathers have significantly more difficulty in the development of their sex-role identity, morality and behaviour (Biller, 1974 Lambert and Hart, 1976). This study bears resemblance to those of Biller (1974), Lambert and Hart (1976) and Pelaez (1998) in that it includes the impact of the sex of the parent the child lives with on parent - adolescent communication on sex related matters.

An emerging body of research point out that marital status and behaviour of parents significantly translate into sexual activity of their children. In 1979, Hogan and Kitagawa monitored differentials in the percentage of Black females aged 13-19 living in the city of Chicago who had ever been sexually active and pregnant. They (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985) reported a 36.1 % sexually active response from participants whose parents were not married while the corresponding figure for respondents whose parents were married was 31.6%. Marital dissolution and remarriage may have far-reaching consequences both for parents and for their children. As Thornton and Camburn (1987: 325) have pointed out, "many children know whether their parents are sexually active after a marriage dissolution and formerly married parents who continue to be sexually active serve as behavioural models for their maturing children, thus increasing the children's level of permissiveness". In a study of adolescents in Iowa, United States of America, on the influence of both sexual activity and the use or non-use of contraceptives among adolescents, Graham (1990) found that adolescents in frequent sexual activities had poor or non-existent relationships with their mothers and a very unstable familial environment. Later, this finding was confirmed by Juma (1992) whose study divulged that adolescents living with both parents are less likely to initiate sexual activities at an early age. Juma also found out that adolescents who never discussed sex-related issues with their parents had the highest fertility rates.

Divorce or separation may be regarded as indicators of marital instability to which researchers have turned substantial energy in relation to adolescent sexuality. Crockett *et al.* (1996) compared the effects of living with a single parent to other variables such as socio-economic status, puberty timing, school performance and sibling behaviour. They

" Reported in Adebayo (1996:12).

found that of all the variables, parental circumstances was the most significant factor influencing sexual debut for both boys and girls<sup>21</sup> Exposure to sexual norms and the absence of a parent due to divorce which could decrease the quality of parent- child relationship to the extent of trimming the level of parental monitoring and supervision are some of the explanations that have been advanced for this doldrums (Thornton and Camburn, 1987; Coleman and Hendry, 1999). The words of a 16-year-old woman reported in the work of Moore and Rosenthal (1995) succinctly goes:

**If your parents are divorced or separated, and your mum or dad brings different people on weekends and each night of (lie week and stuff, then you sort of think that (having sex) is no big deal It is not special or anything like that. Out if your parents are married and stuff like that you soil of sec it as a big deal and should only share it if you love the person.**

Demographic and ethnographic researchers have reported that pre-marital pregnancy occurring to the mother may have negative consequences for she and her children. To the extent that children are aware of a parental premarital conception, they may regard this as a grant to their own premarital sexual activity, occasionally independent of actual parental attitudes (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985; Thornton and Camburn, 1987). This conundrum is consistent with the findings of Adebayo (1996) that mother's marital status at first birth, closeness to mother and the presence of an unmarried sister are significantly associated with adolescent sexuality. However, whether this significance is a product of parent - child discussion on sex related matters or dictated by other factors outside the family matrix has not been established. In this respect, this study includes the premarital pregnancy history in the household in a bid to map out how it can be an impediment to or foster information flow on sex related matters from the parent to the adolescent child

Research on the family structure as an early development arena in which norms governing sexual activities are imparted has not neglected the influence of siblings on intrafamily relations. As Forbes and Dykstra (1971:363) have noted, "although one might speculate that increase in family size should be associated with greater socialization and

" Cited in Coleman and Hendry (1999:103).

Moore, S and Rosenthal, I). (1995:65) Sexuality in adolescence, London: Routledge, quoted in Coleman and Hendry (1999:103).

higher frequencies of desirable personality characteristics, the bulk of the empirical evidence indicates that increase in family size are associated with increase in personal and social maladjustment." Forbes and Dykstra (1971) have particularly cited Nye (1982) and Hawkes, Burchinal, and Gardner (1958) as some of the scholars whose studies have shown that children from large families have less favourable relationships with their parents than do children from small families. Guided by the theorem that the instrumental and emotional dimensions of group life vary considerably with the number of members in the group.

v

Elder and Bowerman (1963) investigated the effects of the number and sex of children on paternal involvement in child-rearing and behaviour-control methods. They established that paternal involvement and external behaviour control would occur more often in large families than in small families composed of boys rather than girls. This finding was corroborated in that of Holtzman and Moore (1965) on the problems, concerns and attitudes of high school youths. Their study had been triggered by the desire on the part of the departments of home economics education in Texas colleges and universities and in the Texas Education Agency to undertake a thorough study of the youth which would form the basis for a revision of high school courses dealing with home and family living. The duo found that youths from families of six or more children were consistently more negativistic and less egalitarian in their attitudes and were equally distrustful of relationships with others. However, Holtzman and Moore (1965:52) were quick to warn that their "findings did not mean that all large families present major difficulties for their children. Rather, they indicate that family size does create real problems for some of today's youth." However, neither of the studies (Elder and Bowerman, 1963; Holtzman and Moore, 1965) established the direction of causality of their finding.

Hogan and Kitagawa (1985) reported a similar observation to that of Elder and Bowerman (1963) and Holtzman and Moore (1965). To the extent that Hogan and Kitagawa included the number of siblings in their investigation, they reported a 43.2% sexually active response from participants who hailed from families with five or more children. The corresponding figure for respondents whose family backgrounds were characterised by four or less children was only 26.3%. Although their focus was on

pregnancy, they noted a variety of reasons why this factor may be positively associated with adolescent sexual activity but of more significance was that (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985: 851): •

**Parents with large numbers of children and families living in urban ghettos are seen as having reduced control over the sexual lives of their teenage daughters, exposing them to an increased risk of unintended pregnancy.**

Kevin Majoribanks examined the relations between birth order and profiles of dimensions of learning environments in Australian families. His finding of moderate separation among environment profiles for girls and boys of different birth-order positions, though with an extreme overlap of profiles among the groups, prompted him (Majoribanks, 1981:919) to conclude that this was a "tentative support for the confluence proposition that, families create different learning environments for children of different birth-order positions." Almost a decade after, Haurin and Mott (1990) examined the influence of an older sibling's age at first sexual intercourse on the sexual initiation of a younger sibling and established a direct linkage between the two. However, they themselves admitted that owed to their failure to incorporate information regarding all siblings in a family, they could not ascertain that the effects they found would be robust to such a modification. This study also includes the number of siblings with a view to assess the extent to which parental effort to talk to the adolescent child on sex related matters may be diluted or intensified in proportion to the number of children in the household to whom the parent has to attend.

The impact of occupational conditions of the parent on the sexual behaviour of the adolescent is yet another area that has drawn an absorbing concern, especially from scholars interested in socio-economic differences in child rearing practices. Tallman *et al.* (1983) have enumerated the scope of available choices, the amount of information assimilated and generated as well as the level of concreteness at which he works as some of the work-related experiences of the father that may have corollaries in family behaviour and parent-child relationships. In their assessment of reciprocal effects of occupational experience and psychological functioning, Kohn and Schooler (1973: 97) have precisely stated that:

**occupational conditions conducive to the exercise of self-direction in one's work namely, freedom from close supervision, substantially complex work, and a non-routinized flow of work-are empirically tied to valuing self-direction and to having an orientation to one's self and to the outside world consonant with this value.**

Tallman and colleagues have interpolated these findings within their theory of processes and outcomes. They differentiate between "modernisation" and "industrialized" structure as constituted by manual and white-collar workers respectively. These scholars contend that manual workers are not expected to generate new information but rather they are expected to apply the information given to them by superiors while their counterparts generate knowledge for prediction and future planning. To the extent that the level of information integration required in job has its corollary in the home, they (Tallman *et al.*, 1983: 69) argue that "cognitive abilities associated with these types of information integration are thought to carry over into the family". Enchanted by the postulates of such scholars as Kohn and Schooler, Mortimer and Simmons (1978) have advanced a "generalization theory" in which they (Mortimer and Simmons, 1978:429) contend that "socialization of attitudes, values, and ways of thinking is abstracted and generalized from the modes of adoption to daily life pressures and situations ... For example, orientations developed in the work situation may be generalized to the family". Since the design of this study is such that it garners data from the adolescents about conditions within their family background, it will not embrace factors within their parents' working environment, which would otherwise be best provided by the parent\*themselves

Educational attainment of parents is yet another socio-economic indicator that research has shown to have a bearing on the parent-child interaction in the way of parental guidance on sex and reproductive health issues. Accordingly, Thornton and Camburn (1987:325) have stated that.

**Education may reflect exposure to liberalizing ideas that increase acceptance of pre-marital sexuality. At the same time, however, highly educated parents have greater educational aspirations for their children and with widespread recognition of the difficulty of combining educational achievements with early marriages and parenthood, highly educated parents may discourage sexual activity among their children.**

These scholars have further alleged that the expectation of a differential impact of parental education on attitudes and behaviour explains why some empirical studies (DeLamater and MacCorguodale, 1979, Zelnik, Kantner and Ford, 1981) have only found a weak correlation between parental education and adolescent sexuality. Using the level of education as an indicator of social status in his examination of social class and premarital sexual permissiveness, Reiss (1965:755) observes that "upper-class permissiveness was affected by the liberal conservative setting more than was lower-class permissiveness". In this vein, he contends: "primarily because liberal persons of higher status displayed a markedly higher level of permissiveness, the relation between class and permissiveness was positive among liberals." This study equally plants itself in this agony but will be confounded on the premise that the number of years spent by parents in school has a bearing on their depth of knowledge on sex related issues that may translate into parent-adolescent communication on sexual issues.

Investigations have shown that parents tend to be more involved in rearing children of the same sex. Henry's (1957) work indicated that "mothers tend to punish daughters and fathers tend to punish sons."<sup>26</sup> Similarly, in a study of adolescents in Ithaca, New York, Bronfenbrenner (1961) found that each parent tend to be more active, unyielding and demanding with a child of the same sex, and more lenient and indulgent with a child of different sex.<sup>27</sup> Margolin and Patterson (1975) a finding congruent to that of Henry (1957) and Bronfenbrenner[J](1961). In a related study, Montemayor (1982) found a negative correlation in time spent with parents and peers for females and time spent with parents and alone for males. In support of the observed differences, he (Montemayor, 1982) went ahead to argue that males and females follow very different developmental pathways in the process of separating from the parents and developing an independent identity. Budding from this trend, this inquiry assimilates the influence of sex of the parent vis-A-vis that of the child of parent in the household on parent - adolescent communication on sex-related matters.

Henry, A.F. (1957) "Sibling structure and perception of the disciplinary roles of parents," Sociometry. 20:60-74, quoted in Bowerman and Elder (1964:554).  
Reported in Bowerman and Elder (1964:554).



### 2.1.5 Summary of literature review

The foregoing revisit of inquiries in this field suggests that researchers have delved into who has done what but have only availed scanty information on the direction of causality. Even scholars who have specifically touched on the parent-adolescent interaction (Monteniayor, 1982; Mugwe, 1989; Casper, 1990, Zabin *et al.*, 1982) deplore a lack of sufficient qualitative information about communication on sex related issues between parents and their adolescent children. It is in this vein that this study adopts a quantitative and qualitative approach in a bid to map out some conditions in the family that may influence parental participation in discussing sex related issues with the adolescent child.

### 2.2 Theoretical orientation

*Historical and theoretical accounts of adolescent sexuality are both like huge, incomplete jigsaw puzzles. The successful assembly of a jigsaw puzzle is a function of the puzzle itself and of the persons working on it*

-Downs and Hillje (1993:1).

*The fundamental problem of research in adolescence, given its myriad origins and sources of dissemination, is less an inability to produce substantive research than to perceive the research that exists*

-Grinder (1982:223).

*At the empirical level, those relationships are so complex, variable, and fluid that they defy complete categorisation, description and consequently, explanation*

-Tallman *etal* (1983:53).

The above statements give a synopsis of the theoretical scenario in this field. Although concern with adolescent sexuality appears to be as old as mankind, the act of isolating measurable relationships is only at a preliminary stage. In particular, Bengtson (1975:359) ascribes the lack of a clear theory concerning intergenerational value

transmission to "ignoring the distinction between family and generation effects." This position was acknowledged at the Ninth West Virginia University Conference on intergenerational relations and life-span developmental psychology where "resilience and dynamism of intergenerational relations as reflected in the family's renegotiation of roles in response to various life events" (Rosich and Meek, 1987:60) was emphasised.

Reflecting the early Greek concern with adolescent enthusiasm, Plato commented that they (adolescents) would "leave no stone unturned, and in their delight at the first taste of wisdom, they would annoy everyone with their arguments."<sup>28</sup> Aristotle, another Greek philosopher, observed that:

**The young are in character prone to desire and ready to carry out any desire they have formed into action. Of bodily desires it is the sexual to which they are most disposed to give way, and in regard to sexual desire they exercise no self-restraint. They are changeable too; and fickle in their desires, which are as transitory as they are vehement for their wishes are keen without being permanent like a man's fits of hunger and thirst."**<sup>0</sup>

It is credible that Greek philosophers like Aristotle and Plato and early Christian theologians developed theories on adolescent sexuality. Nevertheless, they were merely speculative (Conger and Petersen, 1984; Downs And Hillje, 1993). With the advent of the twentieth century the pressure for scientific investigations on adolescent sexuality found luck in the work of Granville Stanley Hall entitled *Adolescence: its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* (1904). Enchanted by Darwinian concepts of evolution, Hall developed an analogous, psychological and social theory of *recapitulation* in which adolescence was considered to be a period of universal 'storm and stress' with quite new emotions, interests and abilities arising (National Foundation of Educational Research in England and Wales, 1965). Stanley Hall also incorporated historic and religious perceptions of adolescent sexuality in his theory of recapitulation (Downs and Hillje, 1993). However anachronistic some of the notions posited in Hall's work may sound to his critics, "they set the stage for the subsequent development of a scientific psychology of adolescence...and for clearer

<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Conger and Petersen(1984:4).  
*Ibid.*, p. 4.

delineation of many of the most important theoretical and empirical questions facing the field."<sup>30</sup>

Current models of parental efforts regarding intergenerational transmission of information on sexuality are interwoven in the fabric of multi-disciplinary theories that have evolved in the twentieth century. One approach has "highlighted forms of parental social controls or disciplinary actions as they impinge on adolescent sexual behaviour" (Haurin and Mott, 1990: 538). Proponents of this perspective contend that the current level of adolescent sexual activity is a product of the breakdown of social controls that older persons had over younger ones (Davis, 1940,1944; Psathas, 1957; Coleman, 1961; Ryder, 1965; Gachuhi, 1973; Konopka, 1977; Kuttner and Smith, 1977; Sullivan and Sullivan, 1980; Ross and Rapp, 1981; Vandewiele, 1981a; Macdonald, 1987; Migot-Adholla, 1987; Condon, 1990; Kiai, 1994; Lee and Made, 1994; Djamba, 1997). According to Migot-Adholla (1968:28), "teenage sexuality is rooted in the process of rapid socio-economic change resulting in high rates of physical and status ability, dislocation and dysfunctionization of traditional social institutions and value conflict," a view put forward by Davis as early as 1940:

**Our society provides little explicit institutionalization of the progressive re-adjustments of authority as between parents and child. We are intermediate between the extreme of virtually permanent parental authority and the extreme of very early emancipation, because we encourage release in late adolescence.<sup>31</sup>**

And on sex tension, Davis further observed:

**If until now we have ignored sex taboos, the omission has represented deliberate attempt to place them in their proper context with other factors, rather than in the unduly prominent place usually given them. ...Undoubtedly, because of a constellation of cultural conditions, sex looms as an important bone of parent- youth contention. Our morality, for instance, demands both premarital chastity and postponement of marriage, thus creating a long period of desperate eagerness when young persons practically at the peak of their sexual capacity are forbidden to enjoy it. Naturally, tensions arise-tensions which adolescents try to relieve, and adults hope they will relieve, in some socially acceptable form. Such tensions not only make the adolescent intractable and capricious but also create a genuine conflict of interests between the two generations.<sup>12</sup>**

p.11.

<sup>31</sup> Davis, K. (1960:380) "Sociology of parent-youth conflict" in J.M Seidman.(ed ), The adolescent: A book of readings, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. This work initially appeared as an article in American Sociological Review.5.1940:523-535. *Ibid.*, pp. 382-383.

According to Sullivan and Sullivan (1980:94), the result of this conflict is often "diminished affection and interrupted communication between parents and adolescents as well as inhibition of independent strivings."

Various scholars (Macdonald, 1987; Kiai, 1994, Lee and Made, 1994) have pointed out that the shift from rural to urban life-style is an aspect of modernisation that has greatly contributed to the radical transformation in the family's traditional role as the child's principal place for guidance on sexual issues and the range of all matters in the bracket of adulthood. The consensus of opinion of these scholars is that this life-style diffusion has not been commensurate with, in the words of Lee and Made (1994:8), "openness about sex and sex education."

Another view within the frame of social control that equally acknowledges biological basis is that posited by Miller *et al.* (1993: 59):

**Although a biological substrate clearly triggers sexual development and influences sexual arousal among both male and female adolescents, behavioural effects of biological variables appear to differ by gender. Both biological and social explanations appear to be important to understand differences between males and females in adolescent sexual arousal and behaviour.**

Petersen and Taylor's (1980) model of biopsychosocial development provides an even greater conceptual complexity to this research area by emphasising the interactions of biological, social and psychological influences on the adolescents' own response to puberty.<sup>33</sup> Steinberg (1981) contends that to this suggestion one may add that the adolescent's response to puberty may in itself shape or be shaped by parental reactions. A similar line of reasoning has been followed by Jessor and Jessor (1975:473) who maintain that

**Because the transition to non-virginity may have such multiple and diverse personal meanings for youth, a psychological understanding of its occurrence and its consequences would seem to require a social-psychological approach to development. In such an approach, the transition would be considered from the vantage point of theoretically relevant personality, social and behavioural attributes.**

Cultural anthropology is yet another school of thought that informs the discussion about adolescent sexual expression. An example in this direction is provided by the work

<sup>33</sup> Petersen, A. and Taylor, B. (1980) "The biological approach to adolescence" in J. Adelson (ed.) Handbook of adolescent psychology. New York: Wiley, cited in Steinberg (1981 833).

Benedict entitled *Pattern of culture* (1935) in which she points out that although it is a fact of nature that a child becomes a man or a woman, "the way in which this transition is effected varies from one culture to another and no one of these particular cultural bridges should be regarded as the 'natural' path to maturity."<sup>34</sup> Simon and Gagnon (1969) propose an environmental model in which, as James (1984) reports, they argue that sexual desires of human beings are highly culturally determined. Abstracting from historical and sociological views, Brumberg (1982:1469) stresses that "in addition to the systematic study of the physical world and its phenomena, science is also an expression of our culture and our social relations". Since culture is about society and the family is a unit of society, it suffices, as Thornton and Camburn (1987: 323) have noted, that "the socialisation of attitudes concerning sexuality and the learning of appropriate norms of sexual behaviour begin early in life and are influenced by the environment of the home and the values and behaviour of parents. The family is a central institution in the formation of attitudes and behaviour because it provides role models, a social and economic environment and standards of sexual conduct."

Antill (1987:297) has proposed a causal-effect model in which it is suggested that:

**Parents' beliefs and values about sex roles derive from their general background characteristics, their experiences and their personalities. Then their beliefs, values, personalities, and background characteristics feed into the way they raise their children in terms of sex typing. Finally, the degree of sex typing of their children in terms of their personalities, preferences, values, and so on is partly derived from parental child-rearing practices and partly from parents' beliefs and values. .**

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Alwin (1984) singles out family size, birth order and education as socio-demographic and economic variables potentially relevant to parental socialisation values. On the family size, Reiss (1967) emphasises that "the greater the responsibility for other family members. . .the greater the likelihood that the individual will be low in permissiveness."<sup>35</sup> In an expansion of this conjecture, DeLameter (1981:265) argues that "such responsibly makes more salient the possibility of undesirable consequences of sexual activity by other

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales(1965:1).

Reiss, I. L. (1967) Ibe social context of premarital sexual permissiveness. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, quoted in DeLameter (1981:265).

family members. This makes the individual both more conservative in his/her sexual standards and more likely to attempt to control the behaviour of others.

Bronfenbrenner (1979:248) points out that "(t)he further one goes in school, the more likely one [is] to experience freedom from close supervision, non-routinized flow, substantively complex work and opportunity for self direction<sup>TM</sup> On the basis of this thesis, it may be contended that parental orientation of the sexual lives of their children would be an interpolation of their (parents) own educational achievement and dispositions.

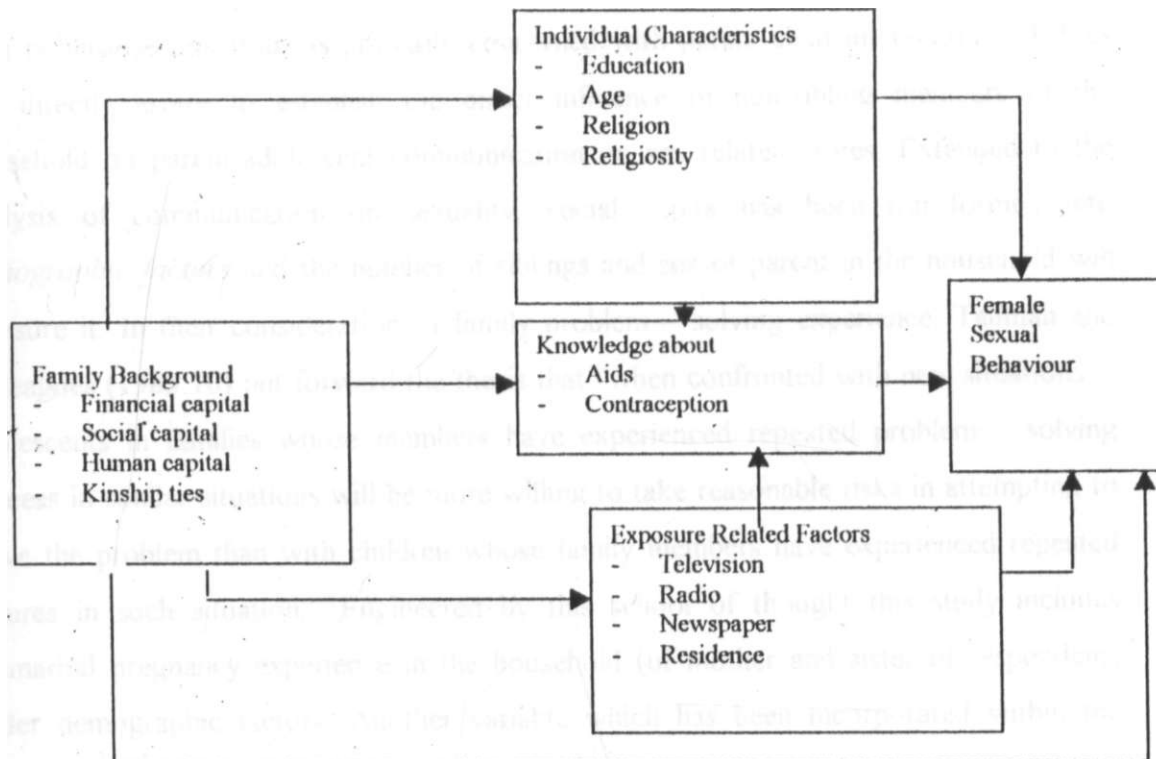
In most cases, adolescents who view parents as capable of inflicting some degree of power in family affairs tend to see this parent as being the authority figure in the child rearing policy (Bowerman and Elder, 1964). Thus, it may be expected that parental impact on adolescent sexuality may be compounded in the analysis of conjugal relations and dominance in parent-child relations.

### **2.3 Conceptual framework**

The conceptual framework adopted in this study (figure 6) has been constructed from the theoretical and empirical perspectives reviewed above but heavily guided by the conceptual framework for the study of female sexual behaviour in Africa proposed by Djamba (1997) as shown in figure 5.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted in Alwin (1984:373).

**Figure 5: Conceptual framework for the study of female sexual behaviour in Africa:**



Source: Djamba, Y K (1997); "Theoretical perspectives on female sexual behaviour in Africa: a review and conceptual model," African Journal of Reproductive Health. 1(2), p.72.

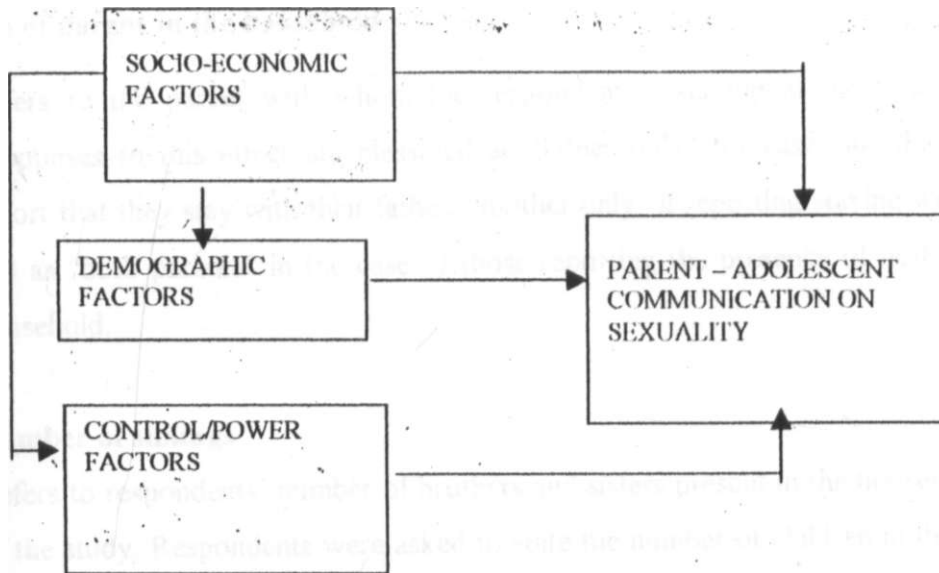
In order that the above framework is tenable to this study, some modifications have had to be done. By confining his work to theoretical and empirical studies of female sexual behaviour that, in the author's own words, "best fit African models of social organization" (Djamba, 1997:68), he resolves the approaches into three broad categories: anthropological perspectives, rational adoption or economic hypothesis and social disorganization theory. On this basis, he formulates a framework, which is an expansion of Coleman's (1988) model of social capital. At family background level, Djamba adds "kinship system" to three types of family resources or forms of capital originally distinguished by Coleman as essential in social action. However, this study will only focus on the human and social capital. While Djamba, under the guise of the effect of extended family, argues that the subject of human capital be extended to include the

educational attainment of all adults within the same household, this study sticks to the original Coleman's instruction to measure human capital by parents' level of education. This is because this study is primarily concerned with parent-child interaction and does not directly aspire to establish the direct influence of non-sibling members of the household on parent-adolescent communication on sex related issues. Extended to the analysis of communication on sexuality, social capita has been transformed into *demographic factors* and the number of siblings and sex of parent in the household will measure it. In their consideration of family problem - solving experience, Tallman and colleagues (1983:70) put forward the thesis that "when confronted with new situations... adolescents in families whose members have experienced repeated problem - solving success in similar situations will be more willing to take reasonable risks in attempting to solve the problem than with children whose family members have experienced repeated failures in such situation." Engineered by this school of thought this study includes premarital pregnancy experience in the household (of mother and sister of respondent) under demographic factors. Another variable which has been incorporated within the fringe of family background factors, though alien to Djamba's model, is *control /power factors* and will be measured by locus of parental authority over decision making on crucial issues arising in the family.

Djamba's hypothesis is that family background factors affect female sexual behaviour via other factors, which he lumps under individual characteristics; knowledge about AIDS and contraception; and exposure related factors. These intervening variables are not treated in isolation as the associated data transcend the scope of this inquiry. In this study, discussion on boy/girl friendship, contraception, pregnancy, menstruation and sexual intercourse are used as measures of the response variable (parent-adolescent communication on sexuality). Thus, the conceptual framework for this study is as presented in figure 6.



**Figure 6: Conceptual framework for analysing family background characteristics and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.**



Source: Modified from Djamba, Y.K. (1997): "Theoretical perspective on female sexual behaviour in Africa: a review and conceptual model." African Journal of Reproductive Health. Vol.1. No.2. p.72.

#### **2.4 Conceptual hypotheses**

- a) Socio-economic factors are likely to be associated with parent - adolescent communication on sexuality;
- b) Demographic factors are likely to be associated with parent-adolescent communication on sexuality; and
- c) Control / power factors are likely to be associated with parent-adolescent communication on sexuality/\*

## **2.5 Definition of variables**

### **2.5.1 Independent variables**

#### **Sex of parent in the household .**

Refers to the parent with whom the respondent is staying at the time of the study. Responses to this effect are classified as "father only" for cases in which respondents report that they stay with their father, "mother only" if reporting staying with the mother; and as "both parents" in the case of those reporting the presence of both parents in the household.

#### **Number of siblings**

Refers to respondents' number of brothers and sisters present in the household at the time of the study. Respondents were asked to state the number of children in their families and the responses to the effect of 1 to 3 children were coded as "small" while those corresponding to 4 and above as "large."

#### **Premarital pregnancy**

Conception occurring to a woman before marriage. In this study, it only refers to conceptions resulting in live birth and excludes the range of all other possible pregnancy outcomes such as abortion and stillbirths. Respondents were asked two questions: (a) "was your mother married when she had her first baby?" and (b) "Has any of your sisters ever had a child before marriage or before attaining the age of 20 year?" Responses were coded as "conceived" if in affirmative and as "never conceived" if in negative.

#### **Locus of household authority.**

Refers to the centre of parental power over decision making on crucial matters arising in the family. Respondents were asked: "When important matters come up in the family which parent usually has the most influence in making the final decision?" Responses were coded on the basis of the criterion adopted by Bowerman and Elder (1964):

1. Patriarchal - in which the father is reported as the main decision maker,
2. Matriarchal - in which the mother is reported as the one always seen as having more influence on decision making; and

3. Equalitarian- in which the respondent reports that both parents are seen as constantly sharing in making decisions on matters arising in the family.

#### **Parents' education**

Refers to the duration of time spent by the mother /father in school. This was coded as "none" in the event of the parent reported as absolutely having no schooling; as "primary" if the parent has below secondary level of schooling, and as "secondary and above" for cases in which the parent was reported as having secondary, college or university schooling.

#### **Brother's involvement in premarital pregnancy**

The history of at least one son in the family impregnating a woman out-of-wedlock.

#### **2.5.2 Dependent variable**

Parent-adolescent communication on sexuality refers to the flow of information from parents to their children regarding actual heterosexual contact and the range of relationships associated with the same. It was measured by respondents' report on discussion with parents on opposite-sex (boy/girl) friendship, contraception, pregnancy, sexual intercourse and menstruation.

#### **2.5.3 Other working definitions.**

##### **Adolescence/adolescents**

This is a term whose meaning varies according to authorities that use it. The World Health Organization (WHO, 1977) defines adolescence as a period between ages 10 and 20 years while the United Nations (1981) considers adolescents as persons aged between 15 and 24 years. Both Kenya Fertility Survey (1977/1978) and the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (1993) define adolescence as people aged 15 to 19 years. The definition of adolescence adopted in this study is that postulated by Population Foundation Center (PFC, 1982) as the period during which the individual reaches sexual maturity, the individual's psychological processes and patterns of identification become those of an adult (Galang 1983) and adolescents connote men and women in the 15-19 age group.

**Clandestine abortion**

Refers to a deliberate attempt to terminate the growth of foetus through non -therapeutic means,

**Contraception**

Refers to any attempt aimed at delaying or preventing conception.

**Informal source of information**

The unofficial networks through which adolescents acquire knowledge about sex related matters.

**Sexual intercourse**

Refers to heterosexual vaginal penetration.

**Sexuality (sexual activity)**

Refers to actual heterosexual contact and include the range of relationships that may lead to the same.

**Sexually active**

Describes a man or a woman who has had at least one coitus.

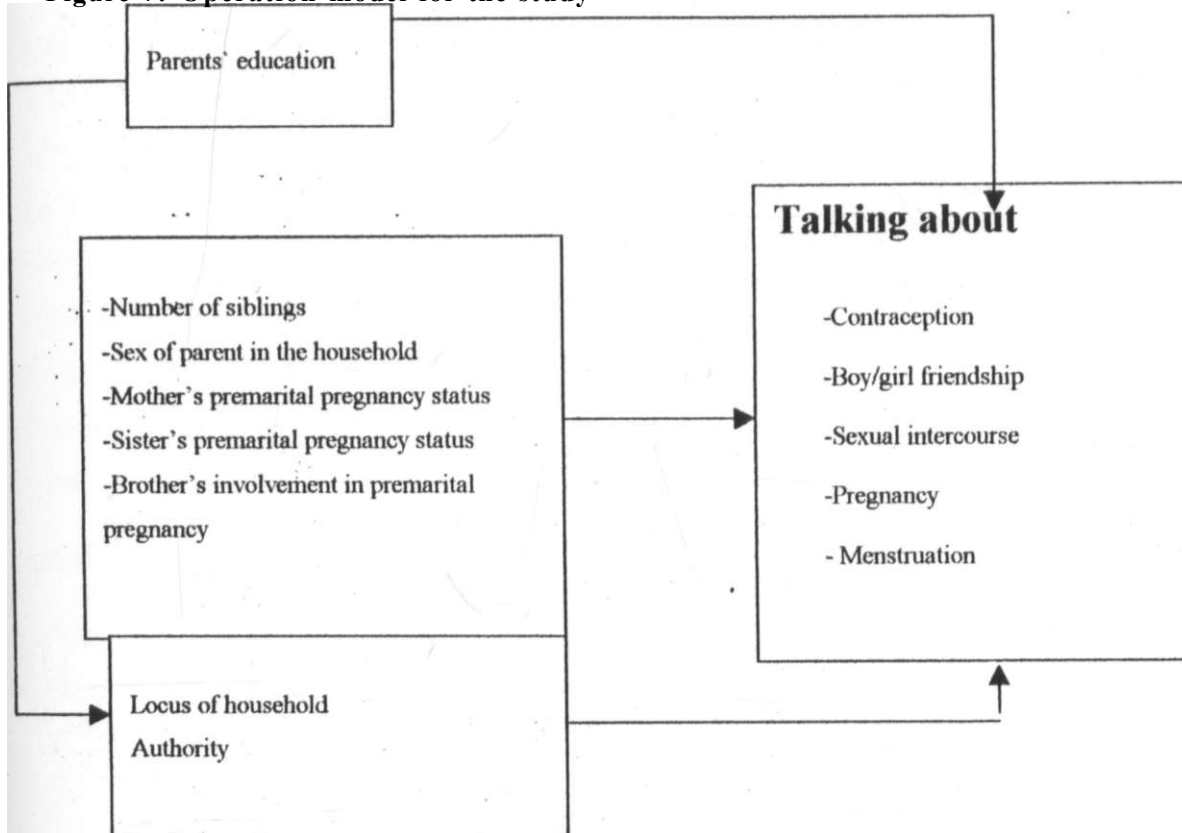
**Unintended (unwanted/unplanned) pregnancy**

Conception occurring to a woman against her wish and that may result in clandestine abortion, dropping out of school or may generally compel the mother and the child to destitution.

## 2.6 Operational model

From the above definitions, the operation of socio-economic, demographic and control/power variables is as presented in figure 8

**Figure 7: Operation model for the study**



## 2.7 Operational hypothesis

- The level of education of the parent is likely to be associated with parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters.
- The sex of the parent in the household is likely to be associated with parent-adolescent communication on sex related issues.
- It is probable that premarital pregnancy status of the mother and at least one daughter in the household as well as a past involvement in an out-of-wedlock pregnancy of at least one son in the family are associated with parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters.

- (d) It is likely that there is an association between the number of siblings and parent-adolescent communication on sex related issues.
- (e) It is likely that the locus of household authority is associated with parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

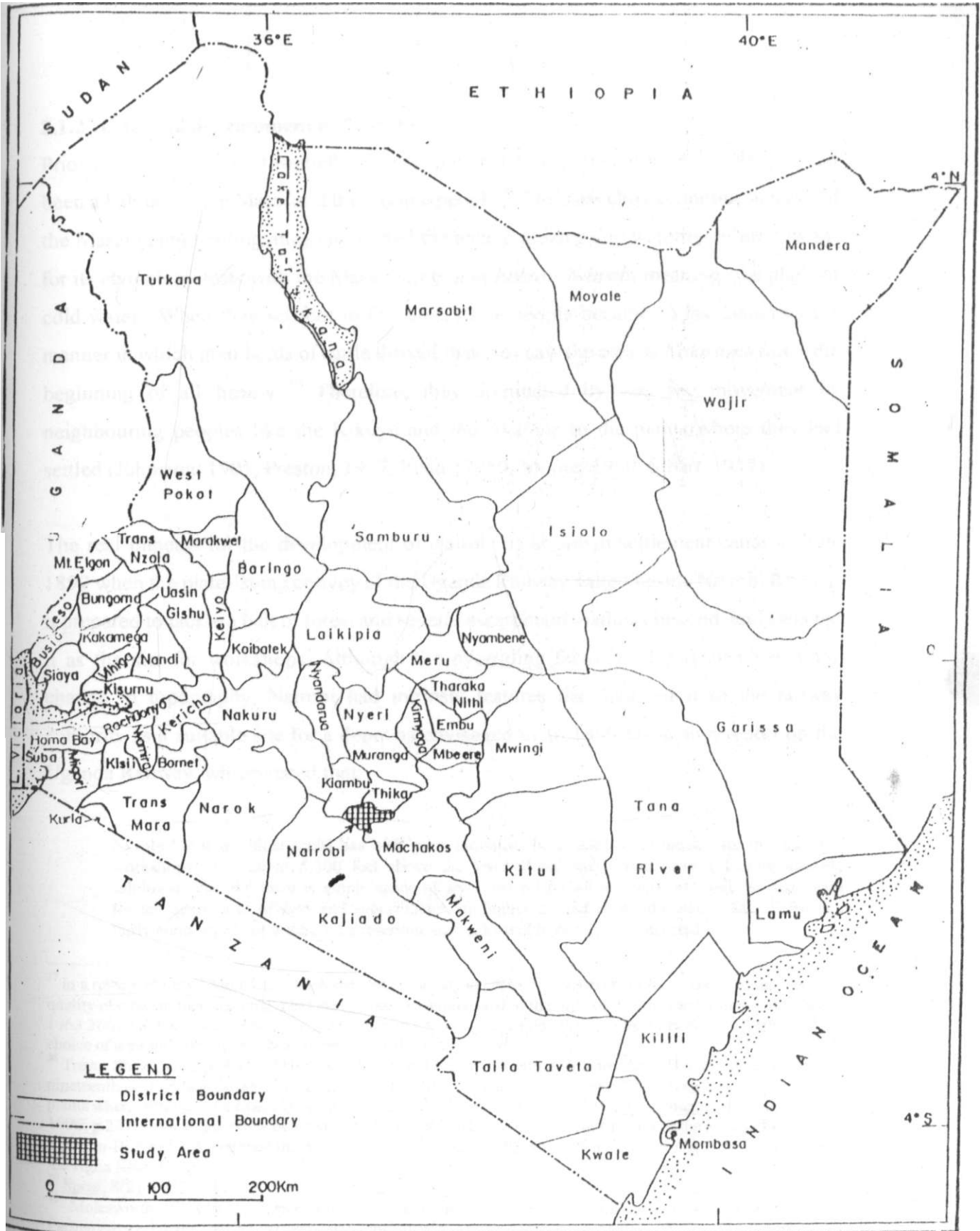
This chapter gives a historical-geographic and demographic account of the study area, the sampling procedure and subsequently, methods of data analysis.

#### **3.1 Background of study area**

##### **3.1.1 Regional setting**

The city of Nairobi, where the study is based, has grown from a mere railway depot in 1899 to the prime urban centre in Kenya (figure 1), covering an area of 696 square kilometres (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). It is situated 495 kilometres and 338 kilometres from Mombassa and Kisumu respectively. It lies around latitude 1° 17'S and longitude 36° 48'E and is situated on the East African plateau with an altitude ranging from below 1675 metres in the city centre to 1905 metres above the sea level at the north-western part.

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### 3.1.2 Historical development of Nairobi

Prior to the turn of the twentieth century, the area that is known today as Nairobi had been a habitat for the Masai and the Kikuyu people.<sup>s</sup> The then chief economic activity of the Masai being herding, they committed the area to grazing and watering of their cattle, for its etymology rests with the Masai expression *F.nkare Nairobi* meaning 'the place of cold water.' When they set foot in this area, these people became so fascinated by the manner in which their herds of cattle thrived that they saw the area as *Nakusontelon* - 'the beginning of all beauty.'<sup>39</sup> Therefore, they dominated by war any movement by neighbouring peoples like the Kikuyu and the Akamba to the plains where they had settled (Johnston, 1905; Preston, 1917; Foran, 1950; Moore, 1950; Smart, 1957).

The real impetus for the development of Nairobi as an urban settlement came in June 1899 when the plate-laying convoy of the Uganda Railway halted beside Nairobi River as it prepared to tackle a belt of forest and several escarpment viaducts beyond, and selected it as the site for workshops. Although the overriding factor in this decision was the change in topography, Nairobi had intrinsic features that blended it to the railway authority as a suitable site for a depot as envisaged in an 1899 inspection report on the Uganda Railway, which stated that:

Nairobi [as it was then spelt] has with great judgment been selected as (he site for the principal workshops. It is about 5,500 feet above the level of the sea, which insures a comparatively salubrious climate: there is (triple space of level ground for sii requirements and exceiient sites for the quarters of officers and subordinates, on higher ground above the station site. There is a fairly good supply of water, but a reservoir and tanks will have to be constructed""<sup>0</sup>

" In a review of Lewis Mumford's book entitled, "The city in History, Dickinson (1962) notes that the "real quality of cities in their regional relations can only be appreciated in the light of their history" (quoted in Fisher, 1963:266). On the "basis of this dictum, this section sets the foundation on which the principles underlying the choice of area and subsequent data collection for this study is laid.

Trevor Sheen, an explorer who traversed the present Nairobi's Central Business District at the close of the nineteenth century later wrote of the then Nairobi: "I share memory with many others of trailing over these plains when nothing but a Masai Boma marked the site of the Norfolk Hotel" (*Globe Trotter*, 21 November, 1906, p.23). From an interview of a resident of Nairobi before the time of construction of the railway line, Toulmin-Rothe (1974) reported that there had been a Kikuyu settlement called Kenoine, about the present site of the Agha Khan Hospital.

"Spear, 8(2), 1967, p.42.

Molesworth, G. (1971) Report on the Uganda Railway" in Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers, No.67, Reports and other papers on the partition of Africa and the construction of the Uganda Railway 1890 -1899. Shannon: Irish University Press, p.371.

This observation was rekindled by Stopford (1902:55) when he wrote that "the town of Nairobi has been established on the best part of Highlands, a town likely in future to be a starting point for many a settler."

In July 1899, the railway headquarters were moved from Mombasa to Nairobi and the railway authority immediately embarked on rigorous programmes with a view to upgrade the depot into a sound station.<sup>41</sup> In September 1899, the government also transferred its administrative headquarters for Ukamba province from Machakos to Nairobi. The railway administration did not applaud this move as it felt that it would interfere with its autonomy especially in matters pertaining to land ownership (Temple, 1973). This created a cleavage between the two authorities during the early years of the township that partially laid the foundation for what would become the spatial-structure of the urban Nairobi. Nevertheless, the relocation of provincial headquarters from Machakos to Nairobi and its subsequent relegation to the status of the capital town of British East Africa in 1905 resulted in centralisation of government, social and economic activities around the depot, thereby increasing its prospects of expansion<sup>42</sup> Within a short time, the embryo town had become the foci for traders, administrators, soldiers, farmers and adventures.

In April 1900, regulations were published providing for the establishment of a Municipal Committee to look into the affairs of the infant town. Although the regulations defined the boundary of the township of Nairobi as "the area comprised within a radius of Wi miles from the present office of His Majesty's Sub-Commissioner in Ukamba,"<sup>43</sup> this only met official recognition in a proclamation of His Majesty's Commissioner under the

<sup>41</sup> For details of the work undertaken by the Railway, see Hake, A. (1977) African metropolis: Nairobi's self-help city, London: Chatto and Windus, p 23.

<sup>42</sup> ~ Independence supplements of Sunday Post, December 9, 1973, p.24; and East African Standard, December 12 1973, p.iii.

Official Gazette of East Africa and Uganda Protectorates, December 1, 1901:307.

"East Africa Townships Ordinance 1903."<sup>44</sup> This boundary has undergone extension at various time intervals<sup>45</sup>

Another teething enemy of the development of Nairobi was the doubt cast on the suitability of the site for a large settlement dominant among residents during the first half-decade of the town's inception. As early as 1901, the "Local Notes" column of an issue of the East Africa and Uganda Mail noted that:

There is no doubt but that a better site would be selected were another chance possible, there is nothing to beat the kikuyu tableland as a sanatorium. The Nairobi Railway Station and workshops might have been located by themselves where they are at present and all dwelling places made with very great advantage nearer to Kikuyu.<sup>46</sup>

Sir Charles Eliot<sup>47</sup> expressed similar sentiments in 1904 when he wrote that 'it was (sic) regrettable that the site of the town had not been transferred a few miles up the railway line; that it closely resembles a mining settlement in Western America.'<sup>48</sup> The clamour for relocation became even more acute with an outbreak of an epidemic of plague in 1902 that killed more than fifty people.<sup>49</sup> Cases of this epidemic became very frequent in the successive years and in 1906, the services of an Inspectorate Commission, led by George Bransby Williams, was hired to advise on the sanitary and drainage aspects of the township of Nairobi.

Commenting on this invitation, an issue of East African Standard enthusiastically noted that:

If the Nairobi Township question is not settled very soon, we shall feel compelled to publish an article on vacillation. Much is expected from the approaching visit by the new Sanitary Inspector. We trust this said official will exercise every possible caution before he frames his report as to Nairobi Township.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Official Gazette of East Africa and Uganda Protectorates. September 15, 1903, pp.320-321.

For details of the boundary extensions, see Kahimbaara, J. A. (1986) "Population density gradient and the spatial structure of a third world city: Nairobi, a case study", Urban Studies. Vol. 23, No. 4, p.313

East Africa and Uganda Mail. February 16, 1901, p.6.

Commissioner of East Africa Protectorate, 1901 -1904.

Sir Claud Hollis' memories of early Nairobi recalled at a meeting of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League, London, in the eve of Nairobi's rise to the status of a city (Trevelyan, 1950: 962). At the time Sir Charles Elliot was writing, Claud Hollis was his private secretary.

<sup>49</sup> Nairobi district record book (Kenya National Archives, KNA: DC/NBI/1/1/1).

East African Standard. June 30, 1906, p 5

The quest for the relocation of Nairobi Township was, however, brought to an end by the Williams Commission whose report regarded the subject as "outside the bounds of practical politics."<sup>51</sup>

In spite of the raging debate over the suitability of the site, by 1906 Nairobi had demonstrated an overwhelming potentiality for expansion. The manner in which the bulging settlement in this area symbolised this propensity quickly motivated the editorial column of an issue of the East African Standard to divulge: "houses are springing up at Mombasa and Nairobi like the proverbial mushroom."<sup>52</sup> In a comparison, an adventurer who saw Nairobi in 1902 later wrote:

Nairobi when I last saw it at the end of 1906 was hard to recognize as the same as it was on my introduction to it. then a few houses scattered broadcast on the open veldt, it was without form and void."

Conversely, a continuous influx of immigrants in the wake of frequent outbreak of bubonic plague, the cleavage between the railway and the civil administration, the debate over the suitability of the site and the absence of an adequate surveying machinery"<sup>54</sup> were a combination of forces that only produced an *ad hoc* layout of the town<sup>55</sup> Against this confusion, by 1905 Nairobi had developed a distinctive residential differentiation (Popenoe, 1973) by race, a pattern that Tiwari (1972:36) called "three social Nairobis."

European houses were located in the Nairobi Hill to the west and north-west and in Parklands to the north, nearer to the government offices in the town centre and its northern and north-eastern side mushroomed the Indian labourers and traders while

<sup>51</sup> George Bransby Williams, Report on the sanitation of Nairobi 1907. p.4, quoted in Temple (1973:28).

<sup>52</sup> East African Standard, December 29, 1906, p.8

<sup>53</sup> Wilson, H. A. (1913) A British borderland. London: John Munay, p.17.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, G. E. (1908) "Survey of British East Africa," Agricultural Journal of British East Africa. Vol. 1, part 1, pp.69-73. Major Smith, then Director of Surveys, had been commissioned by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to investigate and report on the surveys of the protectorate. His report, dated July 30, 1905, pointed out that the time lapse between the date of application for a grant of land and that of registry was 12.6 months

<sup>55</sup> Faludi (1973: 1) defines planning as the "application of scientific method - however crude - to policy-making. What this means is that conscious efforts are made to increase the validity of policies in terms of the present and anticipated future of the environment". Going by this standard, the policy makers operating under these unbearable conditions would not have been expected to formulate schemes with long-term effect.

Africans were living in the eastern side as well as in the suburbs of the town. This residential pattern which was dominant in the colonial era was a product of the widely held belief in British racial superiority by the 1890s which was strengthened by the then prevailing economic and political circumstances in Kenya (Perraton, 1967; Van Zwanenberg, 1974).

As Parker (1951:42) has noted, under the guise of "the theory of the superiority of European methods of production, of their culture and moral standards, which was susceptible of application both against the Indian and the African, competition was narrowly restricted and the largest area open for support was consolidated by the clearly recognized symbol of race". Thus, while the real motive behind this policy was to escape from the wrath of economic competition from members of other communities, especially of Asian character (Jeevanjee, 1906; Ishmael, 1908; Hill, 1944), the notion that non-Europeans had racial and domestic habits repugnant to European ideas was used to justify the pursuit of this policy<sup>56</sup> As early as 1901, Colonel Gracey's report on the Uganda Railway noted that:

It would appear desirable that European and Eurasian quarters should be kept separate from natives of India and Africa. The liquor shops and bazaars are built too near these quarters. The native subordinates should be relegated to their own quarters.<sup>57</sup>

Later, the Land Committee (1905) reported "a unanimity of opinion in favour of keeping locations in towns distinct for separate races,"<sup>58</sup> a view that was later endorsed by the Simpson Commission." \*

Although the 1923 White Paper prohibited official legislation of separation of races in townships, other criteria, including, *inter alia*, the imposition of restrictive conditions on the purchase of residential property and the enactment of by-laws prohibiting Africans

<sup>56</sup> For further details on the subject of racial superiority in the context of Colonial Kenya, see Outlaw, April 15, 1922, pp.8-10 vide the title "The Indian question in Kenya."

<sup>57</sup> East Africa and Uganda Mail, September 28, 1901, p.5.

East Africa Protectorate (1905) Report of Land Committee. Nairobi: Uganda Railway Press, p.21.

East Africa Protectorate (1913) Report of Nairobi Sanitary Commission 1913. Nairobi: Uganda Railway Press, P-7: "The evidence in favour of the principle of segregation is overwhelming and the commissioners have no hesitation in accepting it."

from congregating in houses other than those in the Native Location,<sup>60</sup> worked in favour of a racially segregated settlement.

During the first two decades of Nairobi's inception as an urban settlement, the question of delineating appropriate "location" for Africans had been a matter of procrastination. Prior to the outbreak of the first world war, an issue of East African Standard noted that the "old question of the locations has now been with us for years and has most religiously found a place on almost every agenda of the Municipal Committee meetings but rather than progressing is proving the opposite."<sup>61</sup> This meant that the majority of Africans had to stay in "villages" throughout this period. By 1910, these villages - Somali, Mombasa, Masiking, Pangani and Unguja - had naturally found site at a distance of about half a mile from the Nairobi River<sup>62</sup> Apart from health standards, another cause of this complexity infiltrated from the desire for African labour, which meant that every attempt had to be made to have Africans located within the proximity of European farms and industries. Subsequently, African residential neighbourhood became associated with the centre of the industrial area rather than with the city centre (Kahimbaara, 1986).

In 1919 the management of the town of Nairobi graduated from that by a Municipal Committee to a Municipal Corporation and the immediate challenge that the new-look municipality had to grapple with was to create some order in the settlement of the African segment of the town's population. This led to the birth of Pumwani, in 1922, as the first "African location." Subsequently, the earlier "villages" were demolished and inhabitants relocated to Pumwani. In 1925, Kariokor joined Pumwani's band. Other areas that became forerunners of the present Eastlands were Shauri Moyo, Ziwani, Starehe, Mbotela, Kaloleni and Bahati.

As independence loomed, racial barrier appeared to have been paving way for economy as the parameter for determining who would live where in Nairobi.<sup>63</sup> This wind of change

<sup>60</sup> Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Annual Report on Central Province 1938 (KNA: ADM 5/2/1A vol. vi) East African Standard, February 22, 1913, p 6

~ Nairobi district political record book, *op cit.*, (see footnote 49).

Sunday Nation, February 19, 1961, p.5.

has been more pronounced in the independence era (Tiwari, 1972; Werlin, 1973; Muwonge, 1980; Obudho and Aduwo, 1988; Kirimi, 1994). Accordingly, to the North and West of the city centre are predominantly high-income areas while the middle and low-income households are located to the south and east (see figure 9). Nonetheless, the residential pattern put in place during the colonial regime on the basis of the informal policy of racial segregation (Chana and Morrison, 1973) has not changed to date.

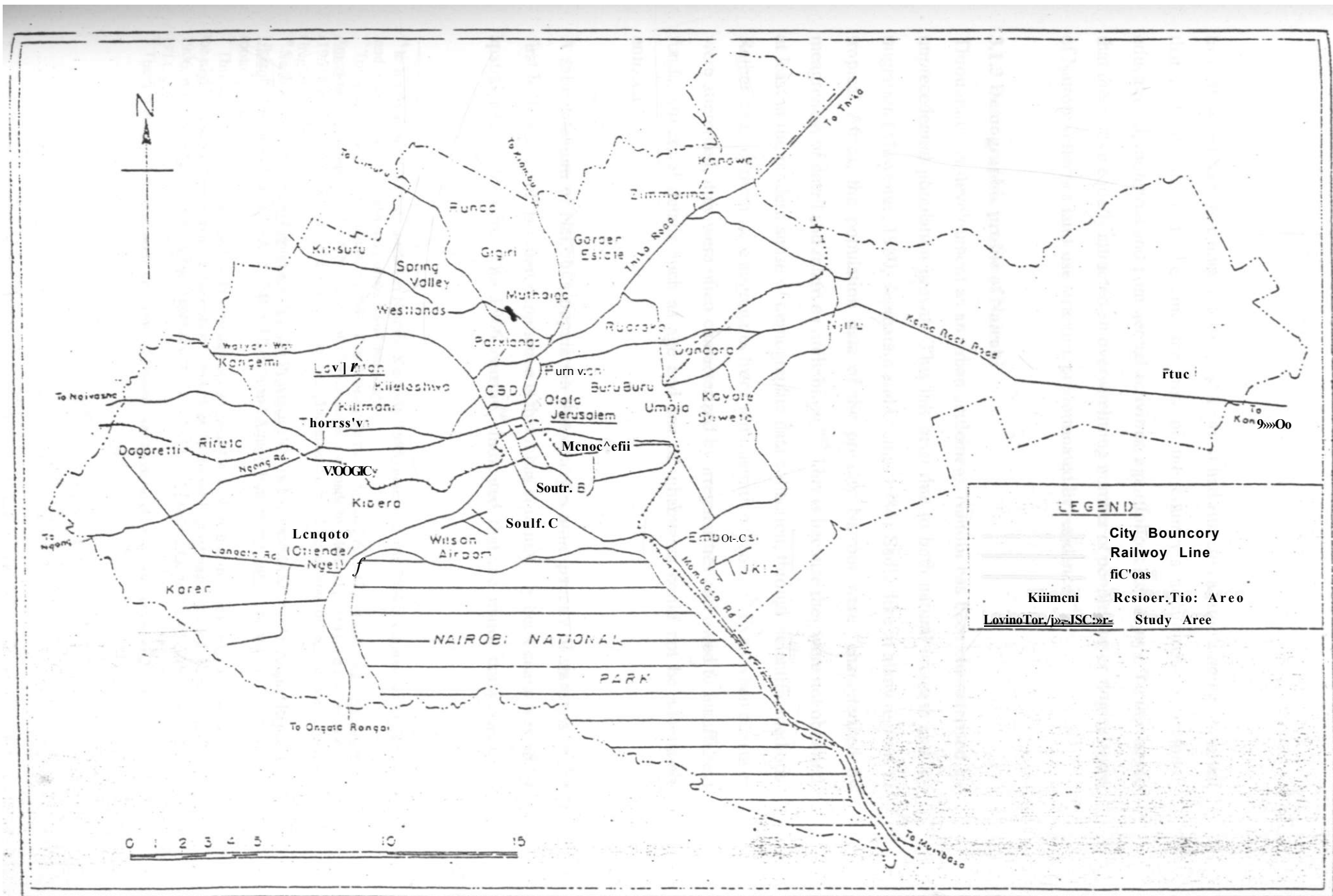


Fig 9: The main residential estates in Nairobi

Source:

Unpublished by the Catholic University of Nairobi, 1930.



In 1950 when Nairobi gained the status of a city, it had attracted a large amount of capital that had enabled it to become the hub of the country's administrative, cultural, educational, industrial and commercial activities, a portfolio it still enjoys. To the degree that these have equally attracted an overwhelming number of people, the ecological view of Nairobi reflects a land-use structure predominated by residence<sup>64</sup>

### 3.1.3 Demographic profile of Nairobi

Throughout its development as an urban settlement, Nairobi has been characterised by unprecedented population growth. This has been due to both natural increase and immigration (Muwonge, 1980; Seetharam and Olenja, 1984). Sadly, like in many regions of tropical Africa, the population data of the pre-city Nairobi were "characterized by meagreness of detail and relative unreliability."<sup>65</sup> This is because they were not obtained, at least in the modern sense of demographic data collection, through scientific methods. Rather, most of them were aggregates from administrative records.<sup>66</sup> Even when censuses were attempted, they were often characterized by irregularities and owed to insufficient funds, structural details such as age and sex of inhabitants could not be adequately enlisted<sup>67</sup>

A salient feature of Nairobi's population that emerges amid paucity of statistics in the first half-century of its urban experience is that it has continuously been characterised by spatial native diversity. The 1906 census<sup>68</sup> indicated that the major components of

<sup>64</sup> In his Analysis of housing market in Nairobi, Kingoria (1985) notes that over 75% of the area of all built up land in Nairobi is for residential purposes and amenities.

Trewartha, G.T. and W. Zelinsky (1954) "Population patterns in tropical Africa" Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 44, No. 2, p. 136. This point is also made by Melland (1934) and Badenhorst (1951). For a detailed account of the general demographic situation in Africa, during this period, see Cordell and Gregory (1980).

<sup>66</sup> Such as those in Annual Report for Ukamba Province 1921 (KNA:DC/MKS/1/5/11); Annual Report for Ukamba Province 1912 (KNA:DC/MKS/1/5/10); and Annual Report on Central Province 1938, *op.cit.*, footnote 60.

This scenario was emancipated in the censuses of 1906 and 1909 where Indians temporarily left the town on the night of the censuses to evade enumeration. For further details see East African Standard, November 17, 1906, p. 12; Advertiser of East Africa, September 10, 1909, p.3; and Leader of British East Africa, December 30, 1909, p. 5.

<sup>68</sup> The first attempt toward an accurate census of Nairobi was taken on the night of November 2, 1906.

Nairobi's population were Africans, Asians and Europeans in that order<sup>69</sup> Successive censuses and records on the population of Nairobi reveal a similar pattern (table 1)

Another succinct demographic position that draws from a series of census conducted since 1969 is that Nairobi is the most densely populated province (see table 2) and the fastest growing urban centre in Kenya (Obudho and Obudho, 1994). However, its residential pattern is characterized by a great variation in density (Ominde, 1971; Tiwari, 1972; Seetharam and Olenja, 1984; Kahimbaara, 1986; Kenyan Government, 1991). The northern and western sides of the city centre are predominantly low-density areas while the southern and eastern sides are areas of high density. Also, on average, people aged 15 - 19 years have continuously comprised 10% of the population of Nairobi (see table 3).

<sup>m</sup> Because of their relatively small number, the tendency was to lump other members of the population such as Eurasians and Goanese under one group and portray them as miscellaneous." See Nairobi district political record book, *op. cit.*, footnote 49.

**Table 1: Trend of population distribution in Nairobi by race, 1906 - 1962\***

Year	Europeans		Asians		Africans	
	No	%	No	%	No	%
1906 <sup>a</sup>	559	05.1	3030	27.6	7371	67.3
1909 <sup>b</sup>	799	05.9	3171	23.5	9524	70.6
1911 <sup>c</sup>	968	06.3	2645	17.1	11866	76.6
1921 <sup>d</sup>	2423	11.2	7192	33.3	12000	55.5
1926 <sup>e</sup>	3612	10.6	9589	28.0	21000	61.4
1931 <sup>f</sup>	7164	8.6	14951	18.0	60949	73.4
1938	7976 <sup>g</sup>	10.0	19593 <sup>h</sup>	26.0	48500 <sup>h</sup>	64.0
1948	10830 <sup>i</sup>	9.1	41810*	35.1	66336 <sup>k</sup>	55.8
1953 <sup>l</sup>	16000	9.1	60000	34.1	100000	56.8
1962	21477 <sup>i</sup>	6.2	86453 <sup>j</sup>	25.2	235570	68.6

**Sources:**

a: The corresponding figures are those of census results published in East African Standard. November 17, 1906, p. 12.

b: Advertiser of East Africa. September 10, 1909, p. 3.

c: Nairobi distinct political record book (Kenya National Archives: DC/ NBI/1/1/1).

d: Annual Report for Ukamba Province 1920/1921. Nairobi district chapter (Kenya National Archives: DC/MKS/1/5/11).

e: Kenya Colony and Protectorate (1928) Blue book for the year ended December 31, 1926. Nairobi: Government Printer. Section 15, p. 12.

f: Kenya Colony and Protectorate (1932) Report on the census of non-natives 1931. Nairobi: Government Printer, p. 12.

g: Annual Report on Central Province 1938. Nairobi district chapter (Kenya National Archives: ADM. 5/2/1A Vol. Vi).

h: Kenya Colony and Protectorate (1939) Blue book for the year December 31, 1938. Nairobi: Government Printer, p.214.

i: Kenya Government (1966) Report of Kenya population census 1962. Vol. iv, p. 41.

j: *Ibid.*, p. 7

k: *Ibid.*, Vol. iii, p. 23.

l: City Council of Nairobi (1954) Report of Medical Officer of Health for the year 1953. Table 1, p 11.

\*The researcher computed the corresponding percentages of totals.

**Table 2:Population density by province, 1969-1999**

PROVINCE	1969	1979	1989	1999
NAIROBI	746	1210	1911	3079
CENTRAL	127	178	235	282
COAST	11	16	22	30
EASTERN	12	17	24	30
NORTH-EASTERN	2	2	3	8
NYANZA	168	211	280	350
RIFTVALLEY	12	19	27	38
WESTERN	161	223	307	406

Sources :Central Bureau of Statistics and Ministry of Finance and Planning (1980) Report of Kenya Population Census 1979, Vol. II, pp. 3-4;

Central Bureau of Statistics, Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Planning and National Development (1994) Report of Kenya Population Census 1989. Vol.1, pp. 1-2; and

Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning (2001) Report of Population Census 1999. Vol.1, pp. xxxiii -xxxiv.

**Table 3: Intercensus proportion of people aged 15 - 19 years in Nairobi, 1969- 1999.**

Census Year	Total Population*	People within 15-19 age group	
		Number*	% of total**
1969	509,286	49,843	9.79
1979	827,775	87,496	10.57
1989	1,324,570	127,762	9.65
1999	2,143,254	215,556	10.00

Sources:

\* Kenya Government (1970) Report of Kenya population census 1969.

Vol. I, pp, I and 118;

Central Bureau of Statistics (1994) Report of Kenya population census 1989. Vol. n, p. 23;

Kenya Government (1980) Report of Kenya population census 1979. Vol.1 p. 181;

Central Bureau of Statistics (2001) Report of Kenya population census 1999. Vol.1, p. 2-2.

\*\* Computed by the researcher from the corresponding row entries.

### **3.2 Sample design and execution**

The required information was obtained from high school students in Nairobi aged 15 to 19 years with the aid of a semi-structured questionnaire (see appendix). The intention had been to administer 200 questionnaires to male and female respondents in equal proportions and this was successfully done. Although adolescence begins much earlier than the age of 15 years, this cohort was singled out for this study because it is within this age bracket that adolescent sexuality is at its zenith (Vockel and Asher, 1972; AMREF, 1994). Although the study had mainly targeted students in forms three and four, due to the tight schedules for students in these top classes met in some schools, students in form two were also included in the sample. Students in primary schools and those in form one were excluded from this exercise due to the complexity of research questions.

Nairobi area was categorised into Central, Westlands Makadara, Kasarani, Embakasi, Pumwani and Kibera divisions based on the 1999 population and housing census criterion. However, Central and Westlands were selected purposely as sample areas due to the ease with which they were accessible to the investigator and their ability to reflect the socio-economic differences of the respondents.

The next stage was to identify of schools within the selected areas. This was done by obtaining a list of all schools in the selected divisions from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology that acted as a sample frame.

On the basis of the magnitude of population density of the two sub-divisions, two and four schools were randomly chosen from Westlands and Central respectively for the study. Only day schools were selected for the exercise. The circumstances that made it necessary to adopt this decision on the nature of schools to be visited were twofold. In the first place, adolescents attending day schools are frequently in touch with the home environment thereby enhancing their chances of interaction with the parents as compared to their counterparts in boarding schools. Secondly, as some studies done in the past (Ferguson, 1988; Lema, 1989) have shown, it is the group attending day schools that is more prone to sexual promiscuity. The six schools selected are as grouped below:

Group A		Girls' day schools	2
Group B		Boys' day schools	2
Group C		Mixed day Schools	2
Total			6

Prior arrangements were made with the heads of the various schools chosen for the exercise so that they could inform the students in advance of the actual day of data collection and to ascertain that students prepared were only those who met the desired criteria (must be aged between 15 and 19 years and staying with at least one of the parents). On the day of the visit, students who had been informed about the activity were assembled in classrooms where they sat quite apart from each other to avoid influencing each other's responses. Thereafter, the intention of the study was explained to them during which they were assured that information they gave would remain as confidential as possible and that their identities would not be disclosed anywhere. The questionnaires were then distributed and filled under the researcher's own instruction. In this way, it was possible to explain to the respondents any part of the questions which they might have not understood well, especially the open-ended questions. During the exercise, respondents were given the liberty to walk out but none did. This was the procedure for each school visited and which ensured successful administration of 200 questionnaires, distributed as shown in the table below:

**Table 4: Distribution of respondents according to the schools selected**

Type of school	Number of boys	Number of girls
Girls' day schools	.	60
Boys' Day schools	65	.
Mixed Day schools	35	40
Total	100	100

As shown in table 4, the number of questionnaires administered to males was equal to that administered to females. This was an attempt to eliminate any bias that might have been caused by variation in proportion of males and females in the sample.

### **3.3 Data processing**

The filled-in questionnaires were edited and the open-ended questions were coded then entered into the computer. Analysis was thereafter done using the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS).

### **3.4 Methods of data analysis**

#### **3.4.1 Frequency distributions**

In the first stage, frequencies and percentage distribution tables are used to present data to enable understanding and interpretation of the findings at a glance. In situations where it is desirable to demonstrate certain patterns emerging from the responses, bar graphs are employed.

#### **3.4.2 Cross-tabulation**

In order to establish the percentage distribution between any two variables, cross tabulation became useful. In this study, it was used to reveal the row and column percentage distribution of independent variables according to the categories of the dependent variable.

#### **Chi-square test**

The chi-square test became useful to discern if the observed series of values differed significantly from what would be expected under certain theoretical assumptions. The formula for chi-square ( $\chi^2$ ) is \*\*

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} \text{ where}$$

O - is the observed frequency and

E - the expected frequency.

If the calculated Chi-square is less than that tabulated for given degrees of freedom, then the null hypothesis is rejected at a given level of significance. Otherwise, the investigator



fails to reject the null hypothesis. On the computer package used in this study (SPSS), the hypotheses were tested at 0.01 level of significance.

### **3.5 Scope and limitations of the study**

The data for this investigation is obtained from adolescents only and none from the parents. This scenario is dictated by time and financial constraints which further made it impossible to draw a proportionately large enough sample. Under such circumstances some level of objectivity in the responses may be suffered. Also, only a limited number of variables are examined and it is only prudent to appreciate that the findings could as well be shaped by other factors not embraced in this study. Save for Nairobi's regional pre-eminence, care need be taken when generalising the findings for a larger area or for all urban centres.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FAMILY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS AND PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION ON SEXUALITY**

#### **4.1.0 Respondents' family background characteristics**

A total of 200 students, equal number of girls and boys, filled the questionnaires. However, the number of boys and girls varied from one school to another. The various family background characteristics of respondents are as outlined in table 5.

#### **4.1.1 Sex of parent in the household**

Table 5 shows that a vast number of respondents (73%) lived with both parents at the time of the study. Those staying with their mother only were 20% while the rest (7%) reported that they were staying with their father only.

#### **4.1.2 Educational attainment of parents**

The figures in respect of the educational attainment of the parents in table 5 show that a vast majority of respondents (78.5%) indicated that their mother had "secondary and above" level of education. The corresponding entry for fathers' educational attainment is 75%. The "unknown" category is constituted by cases in which respondents did not answer the question on the educational attainment of their parents. This finding shows that the majority of respondents came from families in which both the father and the mother had higher levels of educational attainment.

**Table 5: Percent distribution of respondents by their family background characteristics.**

Family background characteristics	Number	% of total
Parent in the household		
Mother only	40	20.0
Father only	14	7.0
Both parents	146	73.0
Total	200	100.0
Number of siblings		
Small (1-3)	57	28.5
Large (4+)	143	71.5
Total	200	100.0
Locus of household authority Matriarchal		
Patriarchal	21	14.4
Equalitarian	50	34.2
Total	75	51.4
Total	146	100.0
Mother's premarital pregnancy status		
Conceived	79	39.5
Never conceived	74	37.0
Unknown	47	23.5
Total	200	100.0
Sister's premarital pregnancy status		
Conceived	23	11.5
Never conceived	162	81.0
Unknown	15	7.5
Total	200	100.0
Brother's involvement in premarital pregnancy		
Has impregnated a girl	12	6.0
Never impregnated a girl	146	73.0
Unknown	42	21.0
Total	200	100.0
Maternal educational attainment		
None	9	4.5
Primary	20	10.0
Secondary+	157	78.5
Unknown	14	7.0
Total	200	100.0
Paternal educational attainment		
None	5	2.5
Primary	6	3.0
Secondary+	150	75.0
Unknown	39	19.5
Total	200	100.0

#### **4.1.3 Locus of household authority**

The study assessed the locus of power in families in which respondents were staying with both parents at the time of the study (54 respondents were therefore not eligible to answer the question on this subject). The proportion of respondents who reported coming from "patriarchal" families was slightly more than twice those who reported that they came from "matriarchal" families. According to table 5, the majority of respondents (51.4%) reported that they came from families where power was exercised equally by both parents. Abstracting from the experience of other parts of the world such as the United States and Britain (Elder, 1965), the dominance of shared parental authority in the household could be ascribed to the increasing level of urbanisation, technological advance and rising levels of education, all of which are typical of the area of study.

#### **4.1.4 Number of siblings**

Table 5 equally shows that only 28.5% of the respondents came from families with small number of children (1-3). The rest, 71.5%, reported that they came from families with a "large" (4<sup>+</sup>) number of children.

#### **4.1.5 History of premarital pregnancy**

Table 5 shows that 39.5% of the respondents reported that their mother had a premarital pregnancy while 37% responded in the negative. The remaining proportion (23.5%) either did not respond to the question on this subject or were ignorant about the status of their mothers' premarital pregnancy.

It is further ventilated that a vast majority of the respondents (81%) came from families where no daughter had had a premarital pregnancy. This is in comparison to only 11.5% whose sisters had been pregnant before marriage. The remaining "unknown" cases (7.5%) are those in which where the respondents were either the only children of their parents or had no female siblings.

This study also attempted to explore the influence of past involvement in premarital pregnancy of at least one son in the household on parental effort to guide other children

in the family on matters related to sex. When asked to state whether any of their brothers had made a girl pregnant outside marriage, only 6% of the respondents reported that at least a son in their family had impregnated a girl out- of- wedlock. However, the majority (73%) responded in the negative and 21% (the unknown) cases did not answer the question. Given this nature of response, subsequent attempt to establish the association between brother's involvement in premarital pregnancy and parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters was not ventured into.

#### **4.2.0 Association between family background characteristics and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality**

##### **4.2.1 Sex of parent in the household and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality**

Table 6 shows that over 70% of the respondents who reported that communication on boy-girl friendship, contraception, sexual intercourse, pregnancy and menstruation takes place in the family lived with both parents. Note that the majority of the respondents (73%) reported that they were staying with both parents at the time of the study. The frequency of parent-adolescent communication on sexual issues in mother only families, with the exception of menstruation, was found to be almost thrice that reported by respondents from father only families. The question on menstruation was directed to female respondents only. As shown in table 6, none of the girls staying with their father only reported of a discussion on menstruation having taken place in the family. This suggests that in households where both parents were present it is the mother who solely discussed menstruation issues with their daughters.

**Table 6: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by the sex of parent in the household**

Parent-adolescent communication on	Parent in the household								Chi-square value*
	Mother only		Father only		Both parents		Total		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Boy/girl friendship									X <sup>2</sup> = 0.16 df = 2
Discuss	26	19.4	9	6.7	99	73.9	134	100.0	
Don't discuss	14	21.2	5	7.6	47	71.2	66	100.0	
Contraception									X <sup>2</sup> =0.08 df = 2
Discuss	13	21.0	4	6.5	45	72.5	62	100.0	
Don't discuss	27	19.6	10	7.2	101	73.2	138	100.0	
Sexual intercourse									X <sup>2</sup> =0.26 df = 2
Discuss	16	18.4	6	6.9	65	74.7	87	100.0	
Don't discuss	24	21.2	8	7.1	81	71.7	113	100.0	
Pregnancy									X <sup>2</sup> = 0.64 df = 2
Discuss	17	19.8	7	8.1	62	72.1	86	100.0	
Don't discuss	23	20.2	7	6.1	84	73.7	114	100.0	
Menstruation									X <sup>2</sup> = 0.34 df = 2
Discuss	14	18.2	0	0.0	63	81.8	77	100.0	
Don't discuss	6	26.1	6	26.1	11	47.8	23	100.0	

\* Association not significant at  $p = 0.01$

The study sought to establish differentials in parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by sex of the parent. As figure 10 shows, it was borne out that maternal participation in discussion with the adolescent child on sexual matters is higher than paternal involvement. This observation is in harmony with the view popularly held by social scientists (Biller, 1974; Lambert and Hart, 1976; Lamb, 1976; Mack, 1976; Burke and Weir, 1978; Fein, 1978; Skeen and Robinson, 1984; Lamb *et al*, 1986; Morgan and Waite, 1987; Rosich and Meek, 1987) that fathers generally assume a disproportionate influence on the development of their offspring, especially on matters related to sex, perhaps due to what Lamb and colleagues (1986:152) describe as "their relative novelty [which] increase their salience in the eyes of their children."

The Chi-square values indicate that the sex of the parent in the household is not significantly associated with parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters. However, when the sex of the parent vis-a-vis that of the child were cross tabulated according to communication on sex related matters, the pattern that emerged (see figure 11 a and 11 b) indicates that parents are likely to discuss sexual issues with children of the same sex than with those of the opposite sex. A similar finding has been reported in other studies elsewhere (Henry, 1957; Bronfenbrenner, 1961; Margolin and Patterson, 1975; Montemayor, 1982).

Figure 10: Distribution of parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by topic and sex of parent

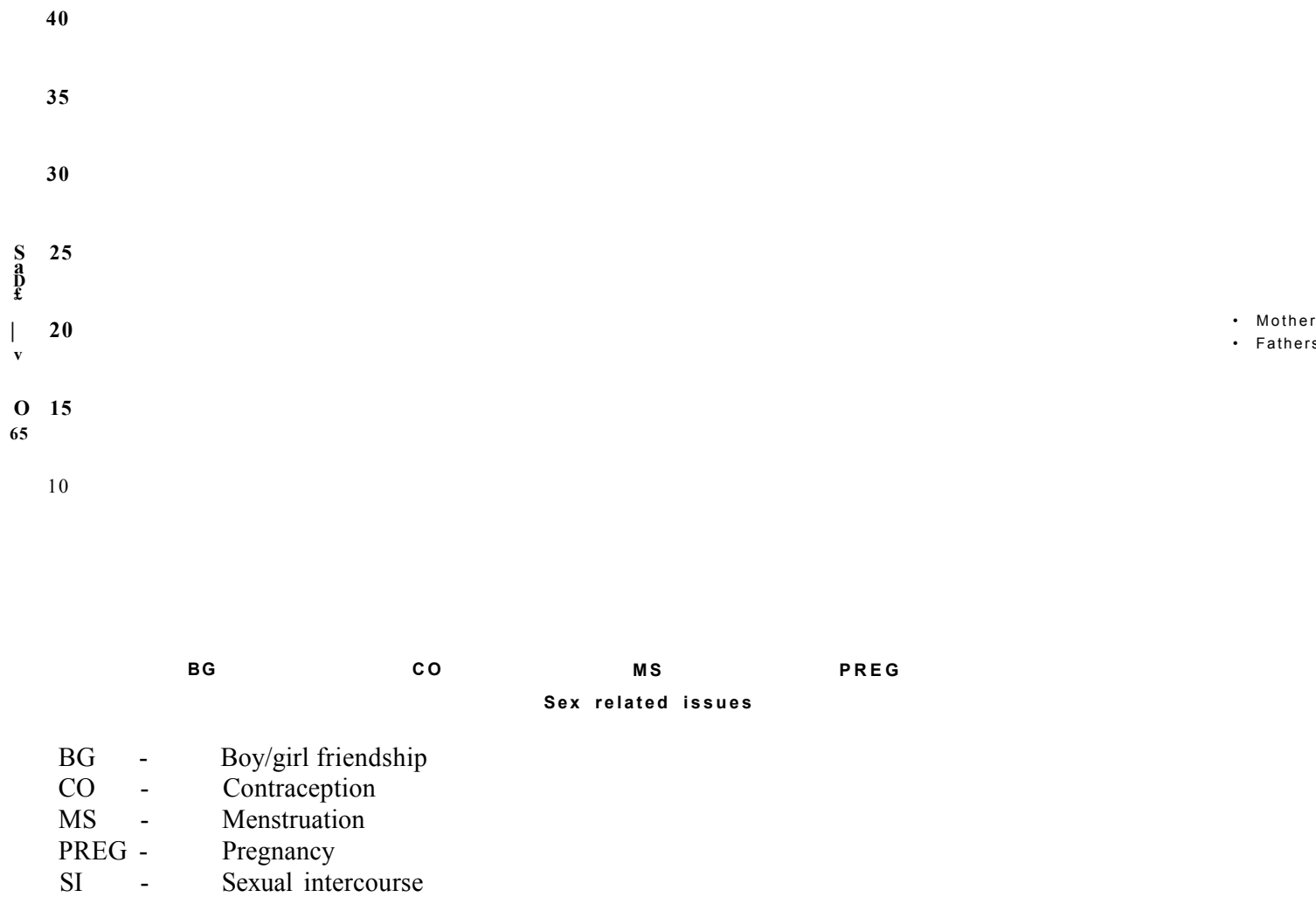
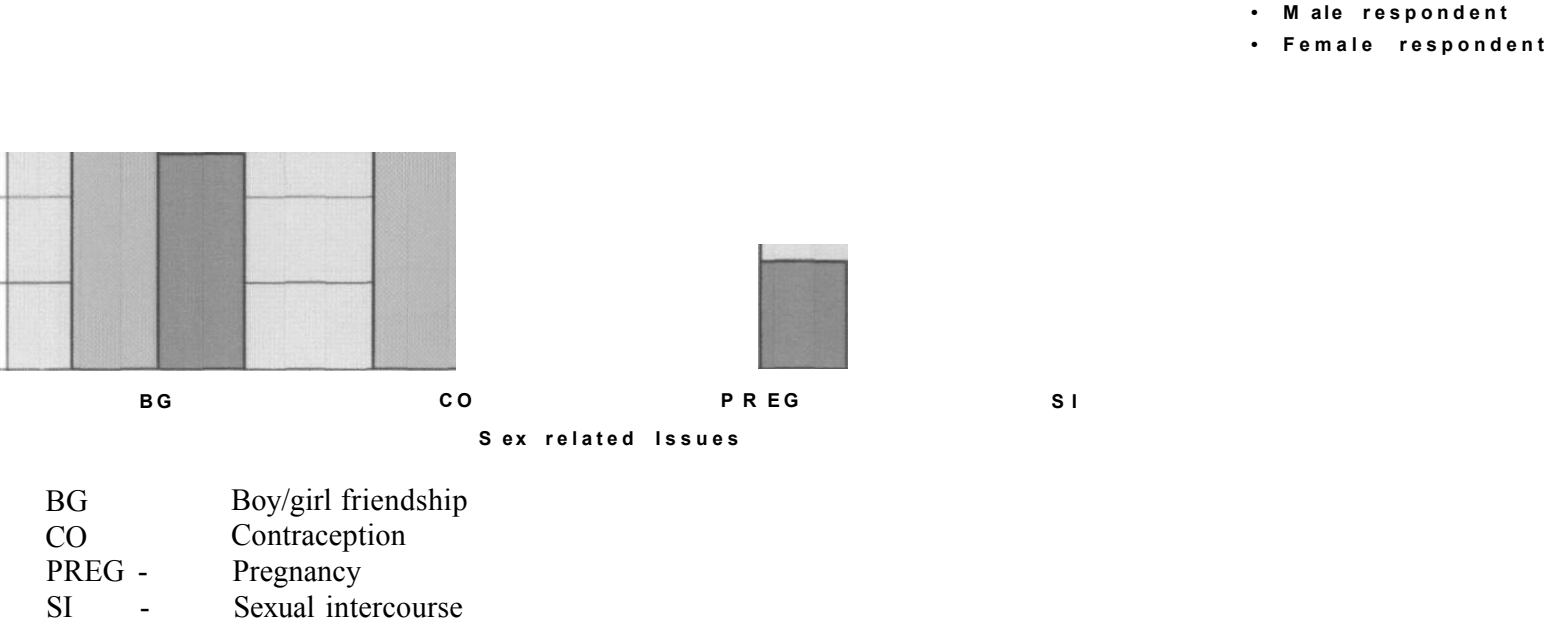
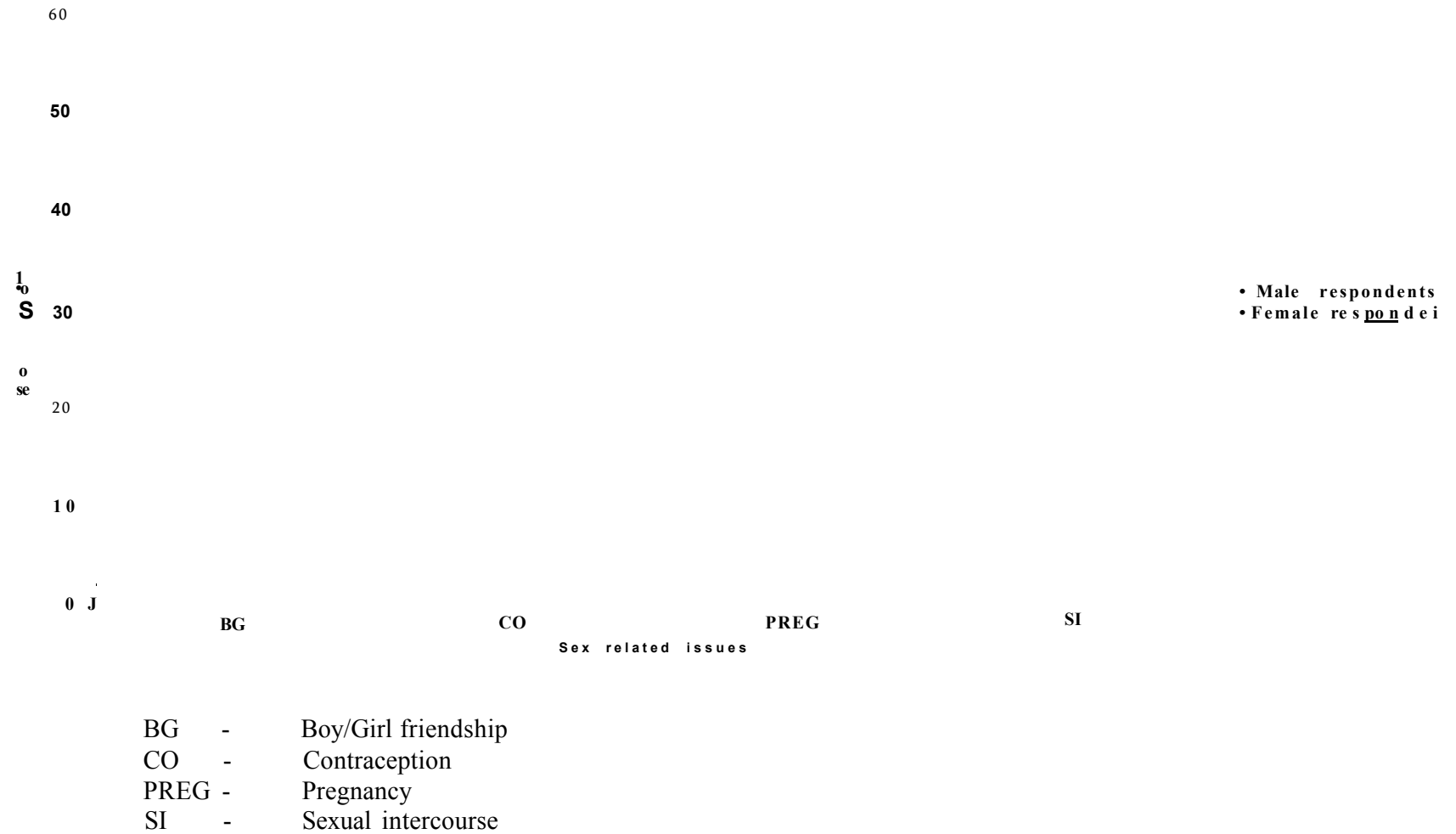




Figure 11(a): Distribution of paternal communication on sexuality by sex of the child



**Figure 11(b): Percent distribution of maternal communication on sexuality by sex of the child**



#### **4.2.2 Educational attainment of the parent and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality**

The association between the level of schooling of the parent and the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent offspring was assessed in this study. Table 7 shows that parent-adolescent communication on all topics regarding sex hereunder considered was found to be high (over 75%) in families where mothers and fathers had "secondary and above" educational attainment. Although the corresponding entries do not differ greatly, being less than 10% in all cases, table 7 further shows that parents without formal education are more likely to discuss sex related matters with their children than those with "primary" level of education. Note that the majority of respondents reported that their parents had "secondary and above" level of education.

**Table 7: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by level of parents' educational attainment**

Parent - adolescent communication on	Mother's educational level										Father's educational level											
	None		Primary		Secondary+		Unknown		Total		Chi-square value*	None		Primary		Secondary^		Unknown		Total		ChiJ-square value*
Boy/girls friendship Discuss Don't discuss	No. 7	% 5.2	No. 7	% 5.2	No. 109	% 81.4	No. 11	% 8.2	No. 134	% 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> -3.11 df = 2	No. 4	% 3.0	No. 3	% 2.2	No. 103	% 76.9	No. 24	% 17.9	No. 134	% 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> = 3.59 df = 2
	2	3.0	13	20.0	48	73.0	3	4.0	66	100.0		1	1.5	3	4.5	47	71.0	15	23.0	66	100.0	
Contraception Discuss Don't discuss	5 4	8.1 2.9	3 17	4.8 12.3	47 110	75.8 79.7	7 7	11.3 V	62 138	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> -1.49 df = 2	2 3	3.2 2.2	0 6	0.0 4.4	47 103	75.8 74.6	13 26	21.0 188	62 138	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> =3.14 df = 2
Sexual intercourse Discuss Don't discuss	5 4	6.0 3.5	5 15	6.0 13.3	69 88	79.0 77.9	8 6	9.0 5.3	87 113	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> - 1.89 df = 2	3 2	3.4 18	1 5	1.2 4.4	68 82	78.2 72.6	15 24	17.2 21.6	87 113	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> = 3.91 df = 2
Pregnancy Discuss Don't discuss	6 3	7.0 2.6	2 18	2.3 15.8	68 89	79.1 78.1	10 4	11.6 3.5	86 114	100.0 100.0	X <sup>J</sup> =5.42 df = 2	2 3	2.3 2.6	1 5	1.2 4.4	68 82	79.1 72.0	15 24	17.4 21.0	86 114	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> =2.53 df = 2
Menstruation Discuss Don't discuss	5 1	6.4 4.3	4 2	5.2 8.7	60 20	78.0 87.0	8 0	10.4 0.0	77 23	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> -1.32 df = 2	2 1	2.6 4.3	0 0	0.0 0.0	63 17	81.8 74.0	12 5	15.6 21.7	77 23	100.0 100.0	X <sup>2</sup> = 1.65 df = 2

\* All the associations not significant at 0.01 level

The Chi-square statistical tests revealed that parent-adolescent communication on all the sexual issues considered were not significantly associated with parents' educational attainment. This scenario appears to be closer to the earlier studies (Reiss, 1965; Thornton and Camburn, 1987) that found a weak relationship between parents' educational attainment and premarital sexual behaviour and attitudes of their children.

#### **4.2.3 Premarital pregnancy history and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality**

Table 8 shows that slightly higher parent-adolescent communication on boy-girl friendship, contraception and sexual intercourse occurs in families where mothers "conceived" than in those where mothers "never conceived" before marriage. The difference is more pronounced in the case of parent-adolescent communication on pregnancy and menstruation where over 50% of the discussion was reported in families where the mother had a premarital pregnancy. The Chi-square values showed that mother's premarital pregnancy status was significantly associated with parent-adolescent communication on boy-girl friendship, sexual intercourse, pregnancy and menstruation but not with contraception.

The second section of table 8 shows that an overwhelming majority (over 80%) of respondents who reported that their parents discussed with them about aspects of sexuality came from families where a sister had "never conceived" before marriage. Note that the majority of respondents reported that their sisters had never had a premarital pregnancy at the time of the study. The Chi-square values indicate that the history of premarital pregnancy of a daughter in the family is significantly associated with parent-adolescent communication on boy-girl friendship, contraception and menstruation but not with pregnancy and sexual intercourse.

Table 8: Percent distribution of responses on parent - adolescent communication on sexuality by premarital pregnancy status of mother/sister

Parent-adolescent communication on	Mother's premarital pregnancy status								Sister's premarital pregnancy status									
	Conceived		Never conceived		Unknown		Total		Chi-square value	Conceived		Never conceived		Unknown		Total		Chi-square value
Boy/girl friendship	No	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	} f=9.92* df = 1	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	y r = 9.18* df = 1
Discuss	60	44.8	51	38.0	23	17.2	134	100.0		18	13.4	111	82.8	5	3.8	134	100.0	
Don't discuss	19	28.8	23	34.8	24	36.4	66	100.0		5	7.6	51	77.3	10	15.1	66	100.0	
Contraception					r				j <sup>2</sup> = 4.08** df = 1									HC = 6.98* df = 1
Discuss	28	45.2	25	40.3	9	14.5	62	100.0		3	4.8	57	92.0	2	3.2	62	100.0	
Don't discuss	51	37.0	49	35.5	38	27.5	138	100.0		20	14.5	105	76.1	13	9.4	138	100.0	
Sexual intercourse									x- =10.10* df = 1									X = 4.85 df = 1
Discuss	39	44.8	37	42.6	11	12.6	87	100.0		8	9.2	76	87.4	3	3.4	87	100.0	
Don't discuss	40	35.4	37	32.7	36	31.9	113	100.0		15	13.3	86	76.1	12	10.6	113	100.0	
Pregnancy									t= 14.24* df = 1									^ = 5.95 df = 1
Discuss	44	51.2	32	37.2	10	11.6	86	100.0		11	13.0	73	85.0	2	3.0	86	100.0	
Don't discuss	35	30.7	42	36.8	37	32.5	114	100.0		12	10.5	89	78.1	13	11.4	114	100.0	
Menstruation									i= 10.04* df = 1									x <sup>2</sup> = 10.67* df = 1
Discuss	41	53.2	23	29.9	13	16.9	77	100.0		8	10.4	69	89.6	0	0.0	77	100.0	
Don't discuss	6	26.1	9	39.1	8	34.8	23	100.0		2	8.7	18	78.3	3	13.0	23	100.0	

\* Association significant at P = 0.01

#### **4.2.4 Number of siblings and parent - adolescent communication on sexuality**

The impact of the number of children in the family on parent-adolescent communication on sex-oriented matters was also examined in this study. As table 9 ventilates, parent-adolescent discussion about each topic on sexuality was reportedly high (over 70 %) among respondents with "large" number of siblings while responses on discussions in families with "small" number of siblings was lower than 30% for all topics on sexuality. Note that a vast number of respondents (71.5%) were from families with "large" number of children. The association between the number of siblings and parent-adolescent communication on all sex related matters were not significant.

#### **4.2.5 Locus of household authority and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality**

Table 10 is concerned with the association between parental power base in the family and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. The largest proportion (nearly 40<sup>+</sup>) of the respondents who reported that they had discussed sex related matters with their parents came from families where household power was equally shared by parents. The table further shows that adolescents from families in which the father dominates household power are less likely to indulge in discussion on sex related issues with their parents than their counterparts from families where the mother dominates household power. None of the parent-adolescent communication on sexuality measures was found to be significantly associated with the locus of household authority.

**Table 9:        Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by number of siblings**

Parent-adolescent communication on	Number of siblings						Chi-square value*
	Small (1 - 3 )		Large (4 and above)		Total		
Boy/girl friendship	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	$X^2 = 0.07$ df = 1
Discuss	39	29.1	95	70.9	134	100.0	
Don't discuss	18	27.3	48	72.7	66	100.0	
Contraception							$x^2 = 1.55$ df = 1
Discuss	14	22.6	48	77.4	62	100.0	
Don't discuss	43	31.2	95	68.8	138	100.0	
Sexual intercourse							$x^2 = 0.32$ df = 1
Discuss	23	26.4	64	73.6	87	100.0	
Don't discuss	34	30.1	79	69.9	113	100.0	
Pregnancy							$x^2 = 0.07$ df = 1
Discuss	25	29.1	61	70.9	86	100.0	
Don't discuss	32	28.1	82	71.9	114	100.0	
Menstruation							$X^2 = 0.09$ df = 1
Discuss	21	27.3	56	77.7	77	100.0	
Don't discuss	6	26.1	17	73.9	23	100.0	

- None of the associations was significant at  $p = 0.01$



**Table 10: Percent distribution of responses on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality by the locus of household**

authority		Locus of household authority'										
Parent-adolescent communication on		Matriarchal		Patriarchal		Equalitarian		Unknown		Total		Chi-square value*
Boy/girl friendship		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	X <sup>2</sup> = 0.62 df = 2
Discuss		15	11.2	35	26.1	53	39.6	31	23.1	134	100.0	
Don't discuss		6	9.1	15	22.7	29	44.0	16	24.2	66	100.0	
Contraception												x <sup>2</sup> = 1.65 df = 2
Discuss		4	6.5	16	25.8	26	41.9	16	25.8	62	100.0	
Don't discuss		17	12.3	34	24.6	56	40.6	31	22.5	138	100.0	
Sexual intercourse												X <sup>2</sup> =4.32 df = 2
Discuss		5	6.0	21	24.0	40	46.0	21	24.0	87	100.0	
Don't discuss		16	14.0	29	26.0	42	37.0	26	23.0	113	100.0	
Pregnancy												X <sup>2</sup> =2.77 df = 2
Discuss		6	7.0	20	23.0	38	44.0	22	26.0	86	100.0	
Don't discuss		15	13.2	30	26.3	44	38.6	25	21.9	14	100.0	
Menstruation												X <sup>2</sup> =4.04 df = 2
Discuss		4	5.2	19	24.7	35	45.4	19	24.7	77	100.0	
Don't discuss		5	22.0	3	13.0	10	43.0	5	22.0	23	100.0	

\* None of the associations was significant at  $p = 0.01$

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Discussion**

This inquiry has examined the association between some family background characteristics and the flow of information on sex matters from parents to their adolescent offspring. The over-all findings indicate that many parents, especially fathers, do not discuss sex issues with their children. This is in agreement with the findings of previous studies such as those reported by Ramsey (1960), Hollander (1971), Zelnik (1979), DeLamater (1981), Montemayor (1982), Kiragu and Zabin (1993) and Johnston and Muiya (1998, 1999).

It had been postulated that the sex of the parent in the household would be significantly associated with parent-adolescent communication on sexuality but the results of the statistical test blended no support for this conjecture. This scenario may have been necessitated by the fact that the majority of respondents came from families where both parents were present in the household at the time of the study. However, the findings show that the sex of the parent influences parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. Some respondents succinctly demonstrated this in their remarks. For example, a female-respondent who reported that she often felt more comfortable confiding in her father her personal problems than in her mother wrote that when suspicious about her relationship with a man,

**"Dad tells mum to talk to me about it."**

Similarly, a male-respondent who reported being closer to the mother than the father admitted that with regard to sex matters, he would not approach her because

**"She is a woman and I am afraid to tell her anything concerning sex."**

The above positions presuppose that the absence of at least one parent in the household is likely to hamper the flow of information on sex related matters from the parent to the adolescent child.

Analysis of the association between maternal and paternal educational attainment and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality showed the majority of cases in which no discussion on sexuality had taken place was reported by students whose parents had "secondary and above" level of education. This appears to reinforce Rayner's (1966:537) contention that "even the most relaxed and intelligent parents may find it difficult, if not impossible to discuss sex with the products of their own sex lives."

Tallman *et al.* (1983) posited that families whose members have experienced problems in a given area are more likely to be committed to avoiding its re-occurrence than those whose members have not gone through the same. In this vein, it was anticipated that respondents from households in which the mother or at least a daughter had encountered a premarital pregnancy would report higher incidences of parental guidance in sexual matters than otherwise. This appears to hold for the mother but only in part for the daughter as the associations between parent-adolescent communication on contraception and pregnancy were found to be insignificantly associated with a past premarital pregnancy of a daughter in the family. On the question of pregnancy, a female-respondent reported that "my mum tells me that you can get pregnant so long as you are not under this roof" and on the same attribute, another female-respondent noted that her mother told her "if you get pregnant you will spoil your life." These reports raise the possibility that some parents concentrate on issuing threats or warnings on the predicaments of unprotected sex when engaged in discussions on sex related issues with their children but do not precisely speak out on how to handle situations of premarital coitus.

The findings also show that the association between the number of siblings and parent-adolescent communication on sexuality was not significant. Given that most of the discussions had taken place in families with a "large" number of children, these findings

supports the remark made by Holtzman and Moore (1965) that not all large families present major difficulties for their children.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The finding of this study shows that the sex of the parent has a significant influence on the parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters. However, the analysis reveal that the level of educational attainment of the parent, the number of children and the form of parental decision-making power in the family have little effect on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. Thus, it can be concluded that only some socio-economic and demographic family background factors have an impact on parent-adolescent communication on sexuality.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

In view of the current need to reduce the escalating scandals of adolescent sexuality, the following recommendations for policy and future research in the way of stimulating parent-adolescent communication on sex-oriented issues are made on the basis of the study findings.

### **5.3.1 Recommendations for policy**

The findings of this study reveal that the flow of information on sex related matters from parents to their adolescent offspring is generally low. Thus, it is recommended that parents, especially fathers, should not be hush-hush on matters affecting the sexual lives of their adolescent children. They should rather be open and precisely discuss sexual topics such as contraception sexual intercourse with them regardless of the sex of the child. This should be done in a reasonable and humane manner so that no sense of intrusiveness to the recipient's struggle for self-identity is created.

The study has shown that parents are more likely to discuss sex related matters with children of the same sex than those of the opposite sex. This suggests that the presence of both parents in the household is very crucial to parent-adolescent communication on

sexuality. In the interest of the guidance on sex related matters the adolescent person stands to enjoy at family level, it is recommended that parents strive for the stability of their marital union by avoiding divorce and separation.

A vast majority of respondents came from families in which the parents had at least secondary school educational attainment yet only a few reported that their parents discuss sex related matters with them. It is therefore recommended that the government of Kenya and organisations involved in the advocacy for communication on sexuality formulate programs that foster responsiveness rather than passiveness on the part of highly schooled parents when dealing with matters affecting the sexual lives of their adolescent children.

### **5.3.2 Recommendations for future research**

This information considered only a few family background factors with regard to parent-adolescent communication on sexuality. Further inquiry is required to show the influence of other factors such as religiosity, family financial aspects, marital stability of parents, age of the parents and the type of the family (monogamous/polygamous) may have on the flow of information on sexuality from parents to their adolescent offspring.

An in-depth assessment of the various factors here under examined is still needed to answer such questions as why there is less paternal than maternal participation in parent-child communication on sex related matters. Further related studies should equally underscore the association between the neighbourhood effect as well as future aspirations of the parent for the child and parent-adolescent communication on sex related matters.

The site of this activity was Nairobi only and this may not be representative of either all urban centres or the whole country. Further investigation of these factors in both rural and urban residential areas is necessary to promote the spatial representation of the findings.

The participants in this exercise were students attending day schools only. More information should be drawn in future studies. As a control measure, future inquiries in

this field should garner information from both parents and their adolescent children and include other instruments of data collection such as focus-group discussions.

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## APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

### UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

#### POPULATION STUDIES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE

1. Sex: 1. Male 2. Female

2. How many children are you in the family?

Total \_\_\_\_\_ Boys \_\_\_\_\_ Girls \_\_\_\_\_

3 Which parent do you currently stay with? 1. Mother 2. Father 3. Both

4 What are your parents' level of education?

	1 None	2. Primary	3. Secondary	4. University/College
Father				
Mother				

5. When your parents realise that you have/could be involved in a relationship with a friend of the opposite sex, what do they do?

	1. Always criticise	2. Sometimes criticise	3. Never show concern	4. Any other (specify)
FATHER				
MOTHER				

6. When important matters come up in the family which parent usually has the most influence in making final decisions?

1. Father 2. Mother 3. Both / almost equal

7 When your parents disapprove of your sexual behaviour, which parent usually talk to you about it? 1. Mother 2. Father 3. Both 4. None show concern

8. When you have a personal problem, which parent do you find yourself more comfortable informing about it! 1. Mother 2. Father 3. Either 4. None

9. Can you tell me the reason for your choice in question 8 AGAINST others?

10 Is the parent you have mentioned in 8 the same one you find easy for you to approach in matters related to sex 1. Yes 2. No

11 IfNo above, can you briefly tell me the reason for your answer?

12. Comparing yourself to your brothers and or sisters, what can you say about the way your parents treat you or show concern about your behaviour.

Father	
Mother	

13. If your parents are suspicious about your boy/girl relationship. How do they respond compared to such cases with your brothers and or sisters?

Y4. Study the list of issues in the table below and TICK appropriately depending on the parent you find showing concern or talking to you about each

	Boy/Girl relationship	Contraception	Menstruation (Girls only)	Pregnancy	Sexual Intercourse
Father					
Mother					
Both					
Neither					

15. Was your mother married when she had her first baby?

1. No                      2. Yes                      3. I don't know

16. If "NO" in 15 can you briefly tell me what she says about it?

17. What does your mother generally say about girls who get pregnant outside marriage?

18 What does your father generally say about girls who get pregnant outside marriage?

19. Has any of your sisters been pregnant before age 20 or before marriage

1. Yes    2. No

20 .Has any of your brothers ever made an unmarried girl pregnant?

1. Yes    2. No    3. Don't Know

21. If YES in 20, what did your parents say about it?

Father	
Mother	
22. How do you parents generally feel about boys who make ladies pregnant outside marriage?	
Father	
Mother	