

**FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH PRE-MARITAL TEENAGE
PREGNANCIES AND CHILD-BEARING IN KIAMBU AND NAROK
DISTRICTS**

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DECLARATION.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother **Hannah Wambui** for guiding and supporting me through my teenage years.

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ABSTRACT

This study is on pre-marital teenage pregnancies and childbearing among the Kikuyu of Kiambu and the Maasai of Narok districts.

The main goal of the study is to investigate the factors that explain why more girls become pregnant and remain unmarried after child-bearing in Kiambu District as compared to Narok District. This is in view of understanding the factors that contribute to pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child-bearing in Kenya. The objectives of the study included looking into the dynamics of pre-marital teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour as well as an attempt to explore the teenagers' individual, social and cultural factors that predispose them to becoming pregnant and remaining unmarried in the two districts.

A total of 235 teenagers and 68 key respondents were interviewed in both districts. The study used qualitative research methodology with a combination of methods in data collection. These included Indepth Interviews, Focused Group Discussions, Observation and Review of Ethnographic Data.

The study was based on two assumptions: that pre-marital teenage pregnancies were explained by teenage personality factors and secondly, that the apparent absence of these pregnancies among the Maasai as compared to the Kikuyu was explained by lower levels of sexual intercourse among the Maasai youth.

The study reviewed extensive literature on the theories of human sexuality and factors associated with teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour. The theoretical framework was guided by Biological, Psychoanalytic, and Symbolic Interaction Theories. The latter, Symbolic Interaction Theory, was adopted in the study because of its unification of the other theories in defining sexual and reproductive behaviour as a function of the interplay between biological, social and cultural factors.

The study came up with the following findings. That the teenage individual characteristics as well as levels of sexual intercourse are similar in both communities and cannot, therefore, on their own, account for the differences in levels of pre-marital pregnancies.

Pre-marital pregnancies are therefore explained by an interplay of individual and socio-cultural factors within the contexts of the communities in which the teenagers

live. The extent to which the community directly intervenes in the regulation and management of sexual and reproductive behaviour of the general population and teenagers in particular, is found to be a crucial factor in determining whether or not the pregnancies occur.

On the basis of the findings, the study recommends that the communities become more involved in assisting the State in the management of teenage pregnancies, through measures that are not only punitive and condemnatory but more sympathetic and humane. These include community, parental and peer involvement in the provision of meaningful sex education programmes, as a preventive technique of unsafe sexual involvement and pregnancies; sympathetic government policies that do not expel girls from school without providing alternative opportunities and community support systems for girls affected by pre-marital pregnancies.

CHAPTER ONE**INTRODUCTION**

This study is about teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour outside the institution of marriage. It focuses on unmarried teenagers in two rural communities in Kenya, namely the Maasai of Narok and the Kikuyu of Kiambu. The study is interested in understanding the dynamics of teenage sexual behaviour and the factors that influence pregnancies and childbearing before marriage.

In the last two decades, there has been a wave of global concern about young peoples' engagement in sexual activities, becoming pregnant and bearing children during their teenage years (Oettinger and Burr Hunt, 1977; Chui, 1978). Studies have shown that pregnancy levels among teenagers are quite high world- wide (Gachuhi, 1974; Zelnik, Melvin and Katner, 1979; Anigan, 1981; Jagdeo, 1981; Kozakiewicz, 1981; Lema, 1987; Ferguson, 1988).

According to the Demographic Health Surveys (D.H.S. 1992) more than 15 million young women aged 15 - 19 years give

birth every year, with the majority in developing countries¹. These reports further indicated that in Sub-Saharan Africa, one out of every five teenagers had one or more children. Although the teenage fertility trends appear to be on the decline, those of unmarried teenagers are said to be on the increase².

According to the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) report (1979), one fifth out of all infants in the U.S.A. were born to unmarried teenage mothers.

In developing countries, findings based on studies carried out in Kenya, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Ecuador and Paraguay suggest, that between 5% and 15% of teenage first births are to unmarried women (United Nations 1987). In Nigeria, a five year review of adolescent hospital admissions for pregnancy and abortion at Lagos University Hospital in 1973 showed that 93% were to single girls (Akingba, 1974). Similarly in Zaire, out of the 4,000

¹.The high birth rates in developing countries could be explained by the fact that abortion is largely illegal compared to most developed countries. Consequently, more girls give birth in developing countries thereby making their numbers higher than in those countries where abortion services are legal and freely available.

².In the 1970's the teenage fertility rate was 213 per 1000 but has since dropped to 153 per 1000 by 1991 (D.H.S. 1992).

deliveries in Mama Yemo Hospital in Kinshasa, 15% were to single adolescents (Pauls, 1974).

In Kenya, hospital and school records indicate that the incidence of pre-marital pregnancies is quite high. Ferguson (1988), has documented school drop-out rates of 10,000 girls per year in secondary schools resulting from pregnancies. Studies from various hospitals in Kenya confirm significant rates of pre-marital teenage pregnancies. The incidence at Kenyatta National Hospital, for example was 10% (Aggarwal and Mati, 1980); while other cases were reported as Pumwani, 30% (Olwande, 1986); Machakos, 10% (Aggarwal and Mati, 1980); and Kisii, 32% (Obwaka, 1986).

Teenage pregnancies among unmarried girls are associated with many moral, social, economic, health and demographic problems (Njogu, 1981; Mati and Ngoka, 1980; Khasiani, 1985; Lema, 1987) that need to be addressed. Pre-marital teenage pregnancies are a pointer to the fact that young unmarried girls are engaging in sexual activities.

This is supported by studies carried out in various parts of Kenya which show that between 15 - 25% of the teenage girls and 50 - 83% of the boys engage in sexual activities during their teenage years (Gachuhi, 1974; Wanjohi, 1986).

The peak age at first coitus has been documented as 13.7 years for boys and 14.9 years for girls (Lema, 1987; Maggwa, 1987).

The implications of these sexual activities question the moral fabric of the society. These activities further predispose teenagers to contraction of sexually transmitted diseases, cancer of the cervix and the deadly Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) (Mati, 1986; Mulandi, 1985; Kibunguchy, et.al 1985). The early ages at which teenagers start sexual intercourse, coupled with their pre-marital nature, increases their chances of having many partners and further risks of contracting these diseases. Kibunguchy, et.al (1985) have shown that women who started sexual activities at age 15 years or less had slightly higher prevalence of cancer of the cervix and cervical related infections than those who started at later ages.

Teenage pregnancy and childbearing are also accompanied by numerous health problems. They, for example, are associated with many antenatal and post natal problems such as anaemia, hypertension, premature labour, obstructed labour, infant mortality and maternal mortality (Makhokha, 1980; Sanghvi, et.al 1983; Muraya and Mati, 1985; Rogo, 1986). As growing children the teenagers growth processes can also be hampered by pregnancies.

Besides the health problems, Njogu (1980), and Khasiani (1985) have documented the social and economic consequences of early adolescent pregnancies. These include expulsion from school, and the consequent loss of training and income earning opportunities thereby becoming dependent on parents (Ferguson, 1988; Too, 1988). These girls also suffer psychological problems through ridicule from friends, parents and relatives (Njogu, 1980). Such teenagers have reduced chances of getting married and when they do, they have higher chances of resulting in divorce (Ahawo, 1981).

The tendency to abort among unmarried teenagers is therefore high due to attempts to avert the above situations. Given the illegal status of abortion in Kenya, teenagers induce abortions using unconventional and unhygienic means such as drinking strong tea, herbs, soot, ink or dangerous drugs. They also insert dangerous instruments such as wires, coat hangers, ribbons, and sticks in their genital and uterine canals, to induce abortions (Kigondu, 1986; Rogo, 1992). These result in many abortion related complications such as uterine infections, perforations and death (Aggarwal & Mati, 1980; Mumia, 1986; Lema and Njau, 1991).

Demographically, teenage pregnancies contribute significantly to the already high population growth in

Kenya whereby teenagers account for between 20 - 30% of the total pregnancies occurring among women aged between 15 - 19 years (The Kenya Contraceptive Prevalence Survey (KCPS, 1984). There are, however, other subtle but equally grave issues emerging from pre-marital teenage sexual and reproductive activities.

Unmarried teenage girls are normally stigmatized when they become pregnant or give birth. The stigmatization of the unmarried teenage girls has a negative effect on the development and reinforcements of self images for both the girls, and their offspring. In some communities where sanctions against pre-marital pregnancies are very strong, such girls are conceived as having committed the "Unforgivable sin", while the offspring are considered to be illegitimate.

Due to pre-marital pregnancies the girls also lose opportunities to participate in social, economic, religious and political activities. It is not uncommon, for example to hear unmarried women with children being rejected in social-political arena. Even in some churches, unmarried women who have children are excluded from baptism or burial rituals within the church.

Expulsion from school is overt gender discrimination on the part of girls (boys who make girls pregnant are never expelled), in addition to the ensuing lack of job opportunities since employment is highly correlated with educational levels.

The combination of stigmatization and discrimination described above means further that these girls are alienated and not well integrated in their communities. They are judged as guilty and assumed to have acquired negative characteristics. They thus become passive observers rather than participants in the affairs of their society.

Despite the grave consequences associated with these teenage sexual and reproductive activities, there remain many unresolved issues on their causes, how they can be prevented, minimized or managed. One of the major controversies, for example, is whether or not unmarried teenagers should be provided with sex, pregnancy and child-bearing related services. The contention has been whether or not the provision of these services will lead to increased sexual activity and promiscuity and indeed reduce the incidences of such happenings thereby enhancing the coping capacities and minimizing the consequences suffered

by the teenage girls.³ It is therefore imperative that ways are found of resolving these controversies considering the glaring inadequacy of services geared to the needs of unmarried sexually active teenagers, those who are pregnant or have children.

1:1. Problem statement

One of the unresolved issues as far as teenage pregnancies are concerned is where the responsibility for the phenomenon, child bearing and their being unmarried lies in terms of its prevention and management.

The underlying problem is whether the factors accounting for these teenage activities have to do with the individual teenage characteristics, the parents or other forces in

³. The issue of the provision or non provision of pregnancy preventive and supportive services for teenagers has raised controversies among policy makers in parliament and among church leaders, for the last ten years. Outspoken among those was Shikuku (Member of Parliament 1983) who condemned any form of supportive services for pregnant unmarried teenagers. Instead, he advocated severe punishment for these girls. (see his statement in the Daily Nation, March 10, 1983; The editorial, Daily Nation March 11, 1983; The Weekly Review March 18, 1983). The Catholic Bishops also have continuously condemned the provision of family planning services to the unmarried girls and the youth in particular (see Weekly Review, Nov. 1985). The argument behind these condemnations is that provision of these services will only encourage immorality and will be viewed as rewards for promiscuity among the youth.

society. So far explanatory attempts have been inadequate, contradictory and one-sided.

Studies on the subject have dwelt on teenage characteristics such as their lack of information on sexual, contraceptive and reproductive matters as well as non-use of information when they have it, thereby engaging in risky sexual behaviour (Ngoka and Mati, 1980; Njogu, 1981; Khasiani, 1985). It is however not clear why teenagers lack this information or what they mean when they say they "know" matters concerning sexuality as well as why they do not use such knowledge in preventing pre-marital pregnancies and child-bearing.

It is therefore important to understand the relationship between teenage sexual, contraceptive and reproductive information with practice. The relationship between teenage sexual attitudes and behaviour is not clear particularly when teenagers are said to believe that pre-marital sexual activities are wrong and yet they engage in them (Khasiani 1985; Lema, 1978). It is critical to understand these relationships in order to explain why belief and knowledge become redundant in face of sexual intercourse.

The role of the family and society in providing sexual information and in the shaping of appropriate sexual attitudes has not been fully explained. Consequently the relationship between the teenagers' engagement in sexual activities and the broader social, economic, policy, cultural and other issues have yet to be explored. It is important to understand for example, how the society prepares its teenagers for sexual and reproductive roles in society and how it helps them deal with their emerging sexuality which is characteristic of the teen-age period.

Whereas in the traditional communities there existed mechanisms for the expression of youth sexuality and reproductive capacities in ways that were socially acceptable, there is need to understand what society is doing today to help teenagers deal with them⁴.

4. In many traditional societies, safe sexual expressions through dances, masturbatory practices and early marriages were allowed to help teenagers deal with their emerging sexuality without coitus. Social sanctions also existed to punish errant sexual behaviour and reward appropriate ones in order to elicit conformity with the social norms. See Kenyatta. J. Facing Mt. Kenya, 1965. See also Njau P.W. "Traditional sex education in Africa, A case of Kenya, 1992".

This is a crucial question given that society at the same time requires that teenagers postpone the gratification of the sexual impulses until they complete school, become adults and get married.

The concern here is with the understanding of whether indeed there exist such mechanisms today in terms of social norms, beliefs, and structures that would help teenagers understand their sexuality and prevent situations whereby they may indulge in sexual activities that are socially unacceptable. The expectations that teenagers conform to social norms in as far as their sexual activities are concerned should be seen in the light of the existence of such norms. This is crucial in putting the teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour in perspective in terms of whether they are deviating from existing social norms or they are only doing what is natural in the absence of societal guidance. It is therefore important to understand how in effect the teenagers perceive and deal with their sexuality, pregnancies, childbearing and related consequences in the light of whether or not these norms exist.

In view of the above issues, the research questions as far as this phenomenon is concerned are, why pre-marital child-bearing is visible in communities such as among the Kikuyu

and yet invisible in other communities like the Maasai and some Islamic Communities. It is important to understand whether the apparent lack of pre-marital child-bearing activities in these communities is a function of lack of pre-marital sexual activities or it can be explained by other factors that have yet to be explored.

The related research question is whether it is the teenagers who have become disobedient and immoral or it is the society that has slackened and failed in its enforcement of youths' sexual standards. This study therefore echoes Semmens and Krantz (1970) who have summarized the problem of teenage pregnancy when they say:-

"Adolescent pregnancy speaks loudly and says 'something is wrong' but the message is not necessarily a clear one. It may be 'something is wrong

with me' or 'something is wrong with my family' or 'something is wrong with our way of life'. Adolescence pregnancy dramatically points to the existence of a problem and eloquently begs for a solution" (Semmens and Krantz, 1970; 151 - 152).

1:2. The purpose of the study

The study seeks to investigate the factors that contribute to the high prevalence of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child-bearing in Kiambu District and their apparent absence in Narok District.

This is with the aim of understanding the dynamics and process of pre-marital teenage sexual and reproductive activities in Kenya. This is with a further view to seeking ways that will help improve on policies, attitudes and services which are responsive to the situation of unmarried teenagers with sex, pregnancy and child-bearing related needs.

The specific objectives of the study therefore are:-

1. To describe teenage pre-marital sexual and reproductive behaviour.
2. To explore the teenage characteristics that predispose them to become pregnant and bear children before marriage.
3. To explore the social, cultural, economic and other factors that influence teenage sexual and reproductive activities.

1:3. Justification of the study

The rationale for this study lies in the need to understand the conditions and circumstances that lead to the occurrence of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child-bearing. This is necessary because these activities have far-reaching and grave consequences that affect the youth

yet the latter form a very crucial and significant population group.

Teenagers are at an age when they are preparing for productive and reproductive roles that are important for the survival and development of this nation. Most of them are in educational and training institutions whereby a lot of family and state resources are invested. These opportunities and resources are lost when the girl becomes pregnant and is expelled from school.

This study is also necessitated by the need to seek ways of improving the plight of the unmarried teenagers who become pregnant. This study will therefore contribute to policy and other service programmes that can meaningfully address and respond to this situation for the benefit of all concerned. Unless this situation is checked the lives and health of future generations and their offspring will be at stake.

Further, since teenagers contribute significantly to the population growth, it is important that ways are sought to curb this behaviour. Hence the need to understand the conditions and circumstances that lead to these situations. While recognizing the research activities in this area, there is still a dearth of information that makes the

understanding of the phenomenon inadequate. In the first place, information lacks on the role of the male in pre-marital teenage pregnancies. Most of the studies have dealt with girls only, in isolation from those they have sex with and those who make them pregnant.

There has been an urban bias in the choice of settings for these studies thereby excluding the rural areas. Yet the bulk of the Kenyan young women reside in the rural areas. Where the rural areas are given attention, there has been an emphasis on the agricultural as compared to pastoral ones. To the researcher's knowledge, there is not a single study carried out among the pastoral and nomadic communities as far as pre-marital pregnancies and child bearing are concerned.

It has also been noted that most studies have concentrated on the regions where levels of these activities are high, neglecting the areas where these are relatively low or non-existent. Hence the choice of the Maasai community for this study.

This study is further justified by the need to contextualize teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour. Researches on teenage pregnancies have been institution-based, having been carried out mainly in school and

hospital settings. Consequently, information lacks on teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour outside these settings.

The teenage girls therefore have been studied in isolation from the community settings and contexts within which sexual activities and pregnancies occur. The effects of social, cultural, economic and family backgrounds on pre-marital teenage sexual behaviour have been underplayed. While the two variable or single variable studies have been useful in explaining some aspects of the problem, it is important that their relationships are not isolated from the total community context.

The effects of policy or lack of it in the various areas affecting adolescent education, health, welfare, contraception, early marriages etc. have not been studied.

There is therefore a need to understand this behaviour within the various levels of community set-ups in which they occur for better understanding of the situation.

It is equally important to understand the teenagers' sources of information concerning sexual and reproductive matters as well as the content of this information. The study will also assess the quality of information from

these sources in terms of accuracy or misinformation.

1:4. The scope of the study

This research is limited to the study of unmarried teenagers (age 13 - 19 years) of both sexes in the two communities. Although it focused on pre-marital pregnancies, boys have been selected alongside the girls in order to understand the role they play in sexual activities which are a prelude to pregnancies. In Maggwa's (1987) study, there are indications that girls are made pregnant by boys of the same age within communities. Hence their inclusion.

The study looks at pre-marital pregnancies and not those that occur to married teenagers. While it may be argued that married and unmarried teenagers experience similar problems related to sexual activities and pregnancies, grouping them together camouflages the unique features, experiences and problems faced by the unmarried ones.

The married teenagers tend to experience lesser difficulties in terms of social acceptability than their unmarried counterparts since sexual activities and pregnancy within marriage is acceptable regardless of age. The married teenage girls therefore have more family support systems from their own parents, husbands and their

in-laws than the unmarried. The married also have relatively easier access to pregnancy preventive services, and antenatal care than the unmarried. The latter are more restricted by the negative attitudes that inhibit their access to the available adult-oriented services.

Given the above situation, the negative consequences of sexual activities and pregnancies are minimized for the married teenagers as compared to their unmarried counterparts.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2:1. Towards an understanding of Human Sexuality

Human sexuality is a subject that has generated multi-disciplinary interest. These include, among others, Mythology, Biology, Science, Medicine, Sociology, Anthropology, Religion, Psychology, History, Demography, Politics and Education. These have contributed in a complementary manner in terms of the development of the theories of sexuality, and its concepts; the labelling and description of the sexual anatomy, as well as the constitution and functions of sexuality.

From these various disciplines have evolved bodies of knowledge known as 'Sexology' and 'Sexosophy' which deal with the science, philosophy and principles of sex and erotic behavior. Money (1980) makes distinctions between Sexology and Sexosophy. According to him, Sexology refers to the science of sex and eroticism in the human and other species while Sexosophy refers to the sexuality of human species, including personal and value systems in defining human sexual behavior. In common discussions and writings on sex, Sexosophy has been subsumed under sexology and it has yet to be an independent discipline. The development

of sexosophy has been hampered by a number of difficulties. Some of the greatest problems in the study of sexosophy have been the morality and ethics that have inhibited experiments and observation of sexual behavior on humans. In humans, sexual behavior is associated with adulthood and privacy. Very few experimental studies have therefore been carried out on adult human sexuality, and sexual practices (Malinowski, 1929; Mead, 1928; Kinsey Pomeroy & Martin, 1948; Masters and Johnson, 1966). Until recently it has been difficult to conduct experiments on children's sexual behavior. This study is one such effort dealing with sexual behaviour of young adolescents in this country.

The problems of carrying out experimental studies on human sexuality at all stages of human development has therefore resulted in many knowledge gaps on infantile, childhood, adolescent and geriatric sexuality. Most of what is known in sexosophy has therefore largely been based on adult sexual studies as well as inference from sexological and biological studies carried out on animals. In this sense therefore, sexology has contributed immensely to the understanding of human sexual behavior.

2:1:1. Principles of Human Sexuality

The most significant sexologists who have contributed to literature on human sexuality among others, include Havelock Ellis (1913-1930s); Van de Velde (1930-1950s); and

Masters and Johnson (1966). Most of their writings have come to be known as "sex manuals" and sex education literature. Notable among these works are Ellis's "Art of Love" (1913); Gallichan's "Modern woman and how to manage her (1909), and "Sexual apathy and Coldness in Women" (1927); Sanger's "Happiness in Marriage" (1926); Stope's "Married Love" (1918); Van de Velde's "Ideal Marriage" (1928) and Wright's "Sex Factor in Marriage" (1930).

The main aim of these manuals, was to teach people how to copulate and enjoy sex (Brecher, 1970). They were based on the idea that stable marriages, family life and social order depended and were based on good and satisfying sexual relationships. Poor marriages and high divorce rates at the time were explained by unsatisfactory sexual relationships within marriage. These ideas were propagated by 'sex experts' in form of gynaecologists, psychologists, psychoanalysts and birth control propagators (Ehrenreich & English 1979).

These were mainly concerned with the propagation and translation of ideas to the ordinary people on the prevention and cure of sexual maladjustment such as frigidity and antaorganismia, sexual diseases and separation of reproduction from sex all with the aim of maximizing sexual pleasure.

The main characteristic of human sexuality according to these writers is that sexual desire is a basic biological urge, drive or instinct that demands satisfaction or outlet. Their writings are based on the Freudian psychoanalytic theory that emphasizes the importance of sex and sexual expression (Freud, 1924; Kinsey, et.al. 1942). This sexual urge is supposed to be greater in males than in females (Jackson, 1984).

Accordingly, if this sexual urge is repressed and denied legitimate expression, it results in neurosis (Freud, 1924), physical and other mental illnesses.

In men, this repression leads to male sexually deviant behavior such as rape, and sexual abuse of children (Masters and Johnson, 1966). The only legitimate means and forms of this sexual expression or outlet is

therefore sexual intercourse. These writers legitimized heterosexuality by asserting that it was the only normal and natural sexual relationship (Ellis, 1913; Stopes, 1918).

Stopes condemned vigorously other forms of sexual expression such as lesbianism and celibacy. Lesbians according to Stopes are 'sexually starved' and abnormal. Lack of sexual intercourse is seen as depriving women of chemical substances supplied by male sexual secretions.

Stopes even recommended that such sexually starved women should take daily capsules of prostatic extracts (Jackson, 1987). It would be interesting to understand how teenagers view the functions of sexual intercourse and what it does to the body.

2:1:2. The principles of Heterosexuality.

One of the major postulates of heterosexuality is that human sexual relations are natural and based purely on the principles of "animal courtship" (Ellis, 1913). The major proponent of this view is Havelock Ellis in his five volumes of "Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 1913". In these works, Ellis has expounded on this theme of animal courtship which he defines as the

pursuit and conquest of the females by males. Ellis describes the universal male role in courtship as that of a 'chaser', 'hunter', 'wooer' and 'pursuer' while that of woman is to be 'hunted', 'wooed', 'pursued' and 'conquered'.

Margaret Sanger (1926) supports Ellis' view when she says that woman has to be wooed and won. According to her:-

"Nature and tradition have decreed that man shall be the wooer, the pursuer, the huntsman. Man is the aggressor.." (1926:61).

In this game of being hunted, the woman's role is to be luring and to resist, not with an aim of escaping but to be finally caught (Ellis, 1913). Leonora Eyles (1923)

expounded on this view when she wrote:-

"Every woman likes a man to be, at times, something of a caveman; she likes surprises; she likes to run away and be captured and to be made love to" (1923:96).

According to Ellis and his proponents, female resistance in courtship increases male arousal thereby increasing their sexual power and desire. The male role in these circumstances is to finally capture the female and overcome resistance by force if necessary. Ellis further argues that feminine resistance is not real and her 'no' means 'yes'.

To him, this resistance is part of the game designed to increase male pleasure. This resistance is merely normal feminine modesty originating from the primitive fear of the hunted animal. It is considered essential and crucial to male sexual satisfaction and is expected from any normal woman. According to Ellis "the woman who lacks in this kind of fear is also lacking in sexual attractiveness to an average normal man" (Ellis, 1913:I). Sanger, agrees with this view when she wrote:-

"Primitive man does not highly value an easy capture" (Sanger, 1926:61).

These notions of sexual courtship patterns were very influential in the West as propagated by Ellis and other writers of sex manuals and sex education programmes.

The significance of these writings on sexuality is that they provide notions of sexuality that have been unquestioned for many years in many parts of the world. The practices advocated by these writers are also found to be applicable even in communities which have not read these facts of human sexuality. Even in the West where feminism is quite advanced, women are still struggling with issues inherent in this model. For example, it was only late 1991 that it was recognized that a husband can rape his wife in

Britain and the practice outlawed!

These writings on sexuality are significant in this study because they explain the basis upon which men and women base their sexual relationships. Within these, coded messages of sexual do's and don't's are postulated. They help explain the contradictions between male and female perceptions of sexual partners and sexual activities.

These prescribed behavior patterns are characteristics of adolescent sexuality and are reinforced through the socialization process and sex education programmes not only in Kenya but world wide. The messages inherent in these writings help explain the different adolescent courtship patterns between boys and girls. They help explain why boys appear to be very serious in courting girls, and why girls in courtship play hard to get as they have been taught, thereby unknowingly increasing the boy's hunting and conquest desires.

While the girls interpret coitus as a beginning and sealing of 'intimacy', for the boys it is the climax point of conquest and once it has been achieved, the hunting urge is over regarding the girls and it is time to move on to

conquer new prey. The extent to which girls can balance the contradictory roles of sexual luring, resistance and submission is one of the concerns of this study. Pre-marital teenage pregnancies can therefore occur as the girls attempt to balance these roles.

2:2. Factors associated with teenage sexual activities, pregnancies and child-bearing

Researchers have cited a number of factors that explain pre-marital teenage sexual behavior, pregnancies and child bearing. A number of scholars see these pregnancies as an expression of a number of social, cultural, economic and emotional forces (Darabi, et.al 1978; Anigan, 1971; Jagdeo, 1981).

2:2:1. Breakdown of traditional socio-cultural structures, values and practices.

Social change and its associated factors of modernization, rural- urban migration, urbanization and the infiltration of foreign cultural values have all been seen as major factors contributing to an increase in teenage sexual activities, pregnancies and child-bearing (Lincoln, 1976; WHO, 1977; Calderone, 1977). These factors have been associated with shifts and disruption of family structures and the breakdown of the strict traditional taboos, values

and social rules that regulated the sexual behavior of young people (Cook and Wilson, 1982).

According to Ravenholt (1977), pregnancy among unmarried teenage girls did not seem to be a problem in the past because until recently there were constraints on teenage fertility which were largely accomplished, through the mechanism of social control of sexual behavior, using restrictive sex and marriage codes. Traditionally among the Kikuyu, for example, sexual activity which could result in pregnancy was strictly forbidden (Kenyatta, 1965; Muriuki, 1976; Erny, 1973). According to Kenyatta, the Kikuyu girls were expected to be virgins at marriage. Any boy who made a girl pregnant was severely punished by the tribal council and isolated. The strict traditional taboos, rules and rituals concerning sexual intercourse played a big part in preventing pregnancy among unmarried teenagers.

Early marriages were also encouraged so that teenage girls could give birth within a socially acceptable setting, thus avoiding pregnancies and childbirth outside marriage (Muriuki, 1976). With the breakdown of traditional values, the strong penalties against pre-marital sex have broken

down thus encouraging unmarried teenagers to get pregnant and give birth without the accompanying stigmatization .

It is however, not yet clear as to the extent to which these have broken down or persisted, and how much they have contributed to the problem of teenage pregnancies among unmarried teenage girls. It would also be interesting to study communities where traditional cultural values and practices are largely intact to see whether these teenage sexual activities exist. This study attempts to do so.

2:2:2. Socialization and transmission of sexual information

According to Anigan (1981), with the breakdown of the traditional and family forum for socialization and the teaching of young people matters concerning sexuality, responsible adulthood and parenthood, the teenagers have been left to be socialized by other forces outside the family. In a study done in U.S.A. by Furstenberg (1971) where adolescents below the age of 18 were interviewed, it was found that nearly all the girls interviewed had acquired information on contraceptives and sexuality from casual conversation with friends, relatives and mass media. Other studies also found that most of the teenagers had

learned most about sexuality from the media with parents, educators and health professionals contributing only minimally. Studies carried out in various parts of Kenya confirm this view (Lema, 1987; Maggwa, 1987).

This information from friends and the media was superficial and very sporadic. Consequently as indicated by studies done in Thailand (Maungman, 1979); Malaysia (Palan, et.al. 1976); Europe (Kozakiewicz, 1981); and Kenya (Gachuhi, 1974; Ferguson, 1988), it was found that teenagers had considerable ignorance and misinformation about sexual matters.

This ignorance is explained by the fact that the parents who are presumed to be the right sources of information have failed to provide it. According to Furstenberg (1971), there appears to be a "conspiracy of silence" between mothers and their daughters on matters concerning sexuality, pregnancy and how to prevent it.

According to Shifter (1982) about 40% of early puberty girls have never discussed any aspect of sexuality with their mothers and 96% of fathers never did so with their children. Shifter argues that this lack of

communication between parents and their children could stem from the fact that the parents themselves may be ignorant and misinformed about their own sexuality and hence find it difficult to communicate effectively with their children.

Fustenberg (1971), further argues that parents carry a number of unexamined beliefs, attitudes and values from childhood into adulthood and continue to make adult decisions based on their childhood understandings of what they experienced and what was taught to them, without taking time to identify those assumptions and to examine them in light of new information (Shifter 1982). Parents could also find it difficult to talk about sexuality and may feel embarrassed talking to their children about it. In Kenya, the factors that explain this conspiracy of silence have not been investigated.

According to Shifter (1982) with the lack of forums for the transmission of proper values, the teenagers have been forced to make sense of conflicting messages and information they receive from the mass media, peers, schools and other institutions (Cook and Wilson, 1982).

Consequently this lack of proper information and education has led to confusion, ignorance and misinformation among the teenagers on matters related to sex (Palan, et.al. 1976; Maungman, 1979). Many teenagers have thus engaged in sexual activities and made other far-reaching social and sexual decisions without well considered values or accurate information (Calderone, 1977; Jagdeo, 1984). The extent to which parents in Kenya talk to their children on these matters as well as the problems they face will be examined.

2:2:3. "Contradictory environmental stimulants".

The second major contributory factor to confusion among the teenagers is what Marino (1977) calls "Contradictory environmental stimulants". In a study on adolescence pregnancy in Latin America, Marino found that the society was highly confused about sexuality yet it simultaneously transmitted equally dogmatic "do's and don'ts" messages about sexual behavior to the youth leaving them more confused. According to Marino (1977), the parents and the adult population tell young people that sex is bad and should be avoided while the mass media bombards the youth with erotic stimulation.

The youth are told not to get pregnant, but little instruction or information is given on how not to get pregnant (Furstenberg, 1977; Anigan, 1981). The youth are confused on distinction between love and procreation (Marino, 1977). To summarize this confusion Marino says,

"The truth is that the adolescents experiencing their first sex experience do not want to procreate. They only want to love each other. Everything around them conditions them to and prepares them for love-family, - friends, groups, recreation, T.V., Novels, magazines. On the other hand, nothing prepares them for the consequences of love (Marino, 1977:81)".

This may be true in urban areas or among those to whom the mass media is accessible like in America or in urban areas. The extent to which these influence rural girls is yet to be established.

Consequently according to literature, for the majority of teenagers, knowledge on sexuality lags behind experience on sexual intercourse (Furstenberg, 1977). The result is an increase in teenage pregnancy before the teenagers understand the implications of sexual intercourse.

The teenagers are further confused by the double standards existing in society in which girls are punished for being

pregnant while the boys are said to prove their virility when they make girls pregnant (Kingori, 1977).

2:2:4. Non-use of contraceptives

Another reason that has been advanced for the causes of unwanted pre-marital teenage pregnancy is the lack or non-use of birth control and other pregnancy preventive measures (Katner and Zelnik, 1972; Gachuhi, 1974; Njogu, 1981; Khasiani, 1985; Muroki, 1985; Lema, 1987; Liku, 1988; Ferguson, 1988). Research findings by Zelnik et.al. (1979) on contraceptive patterns and pre-marital pregnancy among women aged 15 - 19 in America found that eight to ten per cent of those teenagers with unwanted pregnancies did not use any method of birth control. In Kenya, Gachuhi (1974), found that only 10% of the young people between the ages of 14 - 20 years engaging in sexual intercourse had ever used some form of contraceptives and only 8.5% of the youth at the time of the interviews were actually using any contraceptives.

Many factors are associated with the non-use of contraceptives by teenagers. Among these is the lack or non-availability of these to the teenagers (Furstenberg, 1977). Marino (1977), gives the following reasons for the

non-use of contraceptives among teenagers:

- a). Many women especially adolescents consider the use of contraceptives as a planning of the sexual act which they consider wrong, improper and unromantic.
- b). Girls confused with respect to their sexual values avoid contraceptives because it provokes a sense of guilt in them.
- c). They use the sexual act and pregnancy as a means of rebellion against their parents particularly when the youth lack confidence and communication with parents.

The extent to which the above reasons are applicable to the Kenyan teenager will be examined. Of equal concern to this study has been the extent to which unmarried teenagers in Kenya use birth control methods in preventing pregnancies, particularly when arguments have been going on, on how safe they are even among adults.

2:2:5. Age.

Another factor that has been associated with teenage pregnancy is that biologically, the teenagers are at a developmental stage at which their potential for pregnancy and child-birth are very high (WHO, 1977).

World wide studies by IPPF and World Health Organization (Kozackiewicz, 1981), have suggested that adolescents are physiologically maturing and becoming sexually active at very early ages, sometimes at 10 or 11 years of age.

Adolescence is also a time when their sexual appetite and motivation is aroused, (WHO, 1977). The declining age at menarche has been cited as a contributing factor in the increase of adolescence pregnancy (WHO, 1977; Cook & Wilson, 1982). This declining age of menarche and the upsurge of sexual motivation in the absence of knowledge about factors relevant to the sexual behavior contribute to the risks of pregnancy among unmarried teenagers (WHO, 1977, Muriuki, 1976).

2:2:6. Socio-economic, family and other factors

Other social and economic factors have been associated with pregnancy among unmarried teenage girls. There is, however, very little research done in Kenya on these factors. The social factors identified in other parts of the world include education, the changing aspirations of women which make some delay marriages (Edstrom, 1977), frequent dating patterns, changing ideas about sexual behaviour and too much leisure time.

Furstenberg (1977), has also argued that divorce and broken homes have been contributory factors to the increase in the number of unmarried teenagers who become pregnant. According to him girls who come from broken homes where love is not shown would like to have their own babies whom they can love and who can love them in return (Njogu, 1981). This may be so to a certain extent but is not clear why girls from stable homes get pregnant. The economic factors cited include poverty (Marino, 1977; Calderone, 1977), unemployment (Oettinger & Burr Hunt, 1977) and difficult home life (Kingori, 1977; Njogu, 1981).

Other factors cited as contributing to an increase in teenage pregnancy include:-

- a). Solitude as a result of poor relationships with maternal figure, brothers and sisters making teenagers turn to heterosexual companies as a source of consolation and understanding (Marino, 1977; Calderone, 1977; Cook & Wilson, 1982).
- b). Rebellion as a result of lack of confidence and communication between parents and children . (Semmens et.al, 1970; Marino, 1977).
- c). Weakness in character and immorality (Semmens et.al, 1970).
- d). Immature fantasies about having a baby (Marino, 1977).
- e). Poor mental health, suicidal ideas and personal guilt (Marino, 1977).
- f). Curiosity (Semmens, et.al, 1970) and the desire to innovate. According to a WHO report (1977), the adolescent males and females were found to be

risk takers challenging difficulties and new experience without taking the danger into account, and this includes sexual activities.

- g). Low ego and the desire by boys to prove their virility and enhance their "Macho" image (Kingori, 1977).

2:3. Consequences of teenage pregnancies in Kenya

The bulk of literature and research activity on this topic in Kenya is characterized by emphasis on the social, economic and health consequences of teenage pregnancies as discussed in the introduction.

2:4. Summary and critique of literature

From the above review of literature and related research it is evident that a lot of studies have been carried out on teenage sexuality, pregnancies and childbearing. These have produced ample information on various aspects of the phenomenon, ranging from issues prior to and after pregnancies.

The issues emerging from these studies show that Kenyan studies concur with the research findings from other parts of the world, with the following observations:-

- a) Teenagers were engaging in sexual activities.
- b) They were doing so without knowledge on how their bodies worked.
- c) They received a lot of inaccurate information on sexuality from peers and the mass media but very little from parents and teachers.
- d) They had very little information concerning contraceptives from professionals but had no contraceptive practice.
- e) Teenagers were becoming pregnant before the age of twenty years.
- f) They were aborting.
- g) They were experiencing negative health consequences associated with pregnancy and abortion, such as

- abortal sepsis, maternal mortality, low birth weight, anaemia and premature labour among others.
- h) Teenagers were dropping out of school as a result of pregnancies.
 - i) They were experiencing negative social and economic consequences such as poverty and dependence on parents for survival.
 - j) As these teenagers were becoming pregnant, their chances of getting married were minimized and they had low marriage survival rates when they did.

While recognizing the useful research efforts carried out in Kenya, there are many information gaps and unanswered questions as far as issues related to pre-marital teenage sexual activities, pregnancies and childbearing are concerned.

These studies are very informative on the description of the situation of teenagers as far as sexual and reproductive issues are concerned. There is also ample information on the consequences of teenage pregnancies. However, there is a glaring information gap as far as the

explanation of the phenomenon is concerned. For example, these studies indicate that teenagers are engaging in sexual activities, becoming pregnant and bearing children without saying why teenagers are engaging in these activities.

Currently, in Kenya¹ there is also a dearth of information on the long term effects of these pregnancies and child-bearing. Most of the studies have been one-shot studies at the time the girls are pregnant or soon after they have delivered. There has been no follow up to indicate whether some of them do actually experience an improvement in their situation in later life. Again, the impression that pregnancy is the main cause of poverty and loss of educational and employment opportunities among teenagers could be misleading. Without disregarding its contribution to these problems, the conditions of pregnant teenagers need to be seen in relation to other girls of the same age

1. Studies done in America on the long term effects of teenage childbirth discount the negative images of teenage pregnancies and parenthood. With support teenagers have been successful in their future lives. (See Furstenberg, et.al. (1987). Adolescent Mothers In Later Life. New York: Cambridge University Press.

in their communities, as well as in relation to the policies or their absence in responding to these conditions.

A further critique to the existing literature is that the choice of the teenagers that were studied had some limitations as far as the understanding of this subject is concerned. In the first place, a distinction has not been made between married and unmarried teenagers in the existing literature. The importance of making this distinction has already been discussed as a central theme of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

In the selection of the theoretical framework, the study recognizes the fact that sex by its very definition is a behaviour that is influenced by biological, personality, familial, socio-cultural and other factors. It is also a subject that has generated multidisciplinary interests. To understand teenage sexual behaviour therefore, this study has adopted various theories that have been deemed relevant in guiding this study. These include the biological theory of sexuality, the Psychoanalytic theory, the rationalist theory of sexuality and Symbolic Interactionism.

3:1. The Biological Theory of Sexuality

This theory was advanced by Lambroso, (1899); Sheldon, (1949); and Young, et.al. (1964) as an orientation which explains sexual behaviour as being determined by variables and conditions based in individual physiological and hormonal characteristics. Accordingly, human sexual behavior is explained by the inborn physical and hormonal make up that is basic to the survival of the human species.

Thus human beings have inborn androgens or sex hormones that trigger sexual instincts and impulses. These provide people with the capacity to reproduce and mature during adolescence. Sexual behavior is seen as a natural response at reproduction and continuation of species (Mihaly and Larson, 1984).

Teenage sexual behavior as explained by the biological theory is therefore a response to body signals that are characterized by an upsurge of sexual activities, menarche and other pubertal qualities that prepare teenagers for reproduction.

3: 2. The Psychoanalytic Theory

This theory was formulated by Freud, (1924) and Fenichel, (1945). It is a theory which bases human sexual behavior on personality factors within the individual.

The Psychoanalytic theory of sexuality is based on the biological theory and argues that sexual instincts and impulses are inevitable and must be allowed expression and satisfaction (Freud, 1924; Masters and Johnson, 1966).

Sexual behaviour is thus a response to the pressure for expression and satisfaction by these inborn sexual instincts. Teenage sexual behavior as explained by the psychoanalytic orientation is therefore a natural satisfaction of the sexual urges that are inherent and are at their peak during teenage years.

3:3. The Rationalist Theory of Sexuality

As postulated by Foucault, (1980) and Foucault and Sennet (1967; 1981), this model of sexuality is based on the Kantian, Cartesian and Augustinian moral traditions which to a large extent form the basis of the Christian sexual morality. It is a theory of sexuality that negates the expression of sexual impulses except when it is absolutely necessary for procreation.

In the Rationalist model, sexuality as instincts, desires and drives are viewed as animalistic, primitive, savage and horrible. Sex is herein seen as being purely libidinal and sinful, dangerous and antithetical to reason and self control (Foucault & Sennet, 1981). According to Blum (1981) sexual feelings paralyse deliberate thought by tempting people from the path of reason and morality.

Within the rationalist tradition, male and female sexuality are described as distinctly different. Despite their recognition that both males and females are highly sexual creatures, male sexuality is defined as being more rational while the female one is seen as irrational, unlimited and dangerous, and must therefore be controlled.

The biological, psychoanalytic and rationalist theories are important in providing biological, hormonal and personality determinants of human sexual behavior. However their major weakness lies in their inadequate recognition of sexual determinants outside the individual. For example, it can be argued that despite the existence of inborn sexual urges and capacity to reproduce, the question of whether these should be expressed; when, how, where and with whom, lies more in the social, cultural and to some extent religious realms.

3:4. Symbolic Interactionism

This theoretical orientation was formulated by George Herbert Mead, (1934); Goffman, (1959); Garfinkel, (1967); Blumer, (1969); Berger and Luckman, (1967) in their analysis of human interaction.

It is a theory that sees human behaviour as a form of interaction in which individuals define, interpret, and give meaning to each others' actions instead of merely reacting to them. Human behaviour is seen as meaningful and people individually or collectively rationalize behaviour on the basis of the meanings and impressions of the objects that characterize their world. According to Blumer:-

"Individuals with their own backgrounds, self objects, and role taking patterns relate and interact with physical objects in their environment, with other people (with their background) and with the moral order and value systems in an ongoing, dynamic, symbolic and interpretive systems located within the individual" (Blumer, 1969:50).

Symbolic Interactionism sees human interaction as having its basis in primitive human motives of attractions and desires for rewards which in turn lead people to form relationships and associations (Blau, 1964). The theory also recognizes that the interactive and interpretive process does not occur in a vacuum. Rather, it is defined by particular group contexts and is influenced by a normative and moral order (Blumer, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967). People therefore make sense out of everyday life and actions through "interpretive rationality" in reference to this moral order.

Sumner (1907), calls this "moral order" folkways and 'mores' or habits and customs of social life, which are developed through constant ritual and become institutionalized as the moral basis of society. These are sanctioned by taboos which have coercive powers, that define and constrain human behaviour.

Borrowing from the Social Behaviourist theory, symbolic interaction theory argues that the normative phenomena are not static, but are constantly changing and developing in response to changing societal conditions (Sumner, 1907). Society is envisaged as dynamic and evolving. Therefore, the strengths of the effects of the norms are seen as being determined by the nature of society within which the individuals interact (Merton, 1957).

Symbolic Interaction also recognizes the fact that behaviour in general and sexual behavior in particular, is a product of cultural impositions on biological forces and vary from culture to culture (Caplan, 1981) according to socio-cultural traditions which have been created within social organisations and reinforced through cultural, religious, legal and other doctrines. The main argument here is that it is the socialization process rather than

biological factors that influence sexual expressions. Through the socialization process, the values and behavior patterns associated with sexuality and its expressions are acquired, learned and assimilated. The socialization process is therefore influenced by the modelling of the socialization agents who reinforce behavior patterns. These include the peers, teachers, playmates, siblings, parents, folk stories and the media (Money, 1981).

Further, it is the social and cultural prescriptions and proscriptions that determine the modes of sexual expressions in terms of the socially "acceptable" and "unacceptable", the "normal" and the "abnormal" or "deviant". The normality and abnormality of sexual behavior is culture specific and is based on factors such as preference of sexual partners, the timing and the purpose of sex.

The sexual preferences range cross-culturally from celibacy, masturbation, bisexuality, homosexuality, heterosexuality, bestiality and incest. The normality or abnormality of sexual expressions is further assessed on the basis of whether it takes place within or outside

marriage, below or above certain age limits and whether sex is for reproductive, recreation, or economic purposes.

Further, different cultures define normal and abnormal sex on the basis of whether it is coital, non-coital or reproductive.

3:4:1. Relevance of Symbolic Interactionism

For a number of reasons, this theoretical framework was found to be relevant and crucial in the analysis of teenage sexual behavior that results in pregnancy and child-bearing.

One, human sexuality is one arena where the principles postulated by Symbolic Interaction theory find a lot of applicability. This study is essentially a study of young females as they interact with males in a sexual way. Sexual relationships and activities are interactive behaviours. They are laden with symbols and meanings that people give to themselves, to each other, to their actions as well as to objects used and exchanged in the relationships. Sexual behavior is therefore interactive

and interpretive at various levels from the level of courtship, through sexual intercourse, pregnancy, childbirth and thereafter.

When a boy and a girl, for example, form a love relationship they form symbolic mental images of each other. The boy and girl define themselves and each other on the basis of the meanings they give to the mental images and with reference to the relationship. Thereafter, every action, word or gesture is symbolically interpreted to show or mean love. These symbolic meanings guide the direction and intensity of the relationship. Any objects exchanged or withheld are similarly interpreted.

Secondly, Symbolic Interaction contextualizes sexuality by recognizing that it cannot be separated from the history, economic, political and cultural matrix within which it is embedded. According to Caplan, (1987), sexual definitions and practices cannot be discussed in a vacuum since what people want and what they do in any society is what they are made to want and allowed to do. Sexuality cannot therefore escape its cultural dimension.

Hence Symbolic Interactionism recognizes that sexual interpretations in sexual activities are influenced by the nature of social values and structures that control and regulate them, and not purely by natural sex drives (Weeks 1985). Community value systems are crucial in providing the basis for the individual interpretations of the sexual values and behavior. This framework is relevant in the understanding of human sexuality in general and teenage sexuality in particular as interactive and interpretive behavior.

Thirdly, Symbolic Interaction theory was adopted for this study because of its holistic characteristics that link the biological, personality, and social factors which are crucial in the understanding of teenage sexual behavior. As far as human sexuality is concerned, the Symbolic Interaction theory goes beyond the biological determinant theories in arguing that human sexual arousal and behavior is not merely determined by androgens and other physiological characteristics but also by social, psychological and cultural factors (Jeffery, 1978). Although sexual instincts exist in human beings, it is the social and cultural environment which inhibit or permit the

expression of the biological influences below a certain age or outside marriage.

Jeffery (1978) argues, that it is not the upsurge of sexual impulses, per se, that force teenagers to engage in sexual intercourse but a combination of factors:

"It is unlikely that increased androgen production during puberty results in a sudden interest in dating and hetero-sexual activity. Instead, when adolescents begin to develop the outward appearance of an adult male or female body, they begin to be exposed to a new eroticized social environment composed of dating, petting, jokes, sex information and misinformation. Once a person is socially "seen" as a sexual being, the erotic responsiveness become channelled by parents and peers, in the direction of socially approved goals of sexual expression" (Jeffery, 1978:151).

Sexual activity is therefore a function of interactive, interpretive experience and acquired through socialization and learning of erotic meaning rather than from any direct hormonal influences as proclaimed by the biological and psychoanalytic theories. Human beings therefore engage in sexual activities in response to social and cultural factors and not merely because of being biologically turned on.

3:5. Summary

So far, a discussion has been made of the different theoretical models guiding this study. Sexual expressions and behavior have also been discussed within the context of biological, psychoanalytic, and rationalist theories within which sexual impulses, are seen as normal and natural. While the rationalist theory negates sexual expression, psychoanalytic theory views it as normal and essential.

Symbolic Interactionism has been adopted as a guiding theoretical model due to the nature of the subject matter of this study. Definitions of sexual identities and behavior as already seen from the above theoretical models are symbolic interpretations of interactive and reciprocal behavior between males and females, in a social context. The patterns and characteristics of this interaction form the premise of Symbolic Interaction.

Symbolic Interaction therefore as a main theoretical framework adopted in this study, has unified these varied but complementary theoretical models, thus providing broader and significant insights in the understanding of human sexuality.

In summary, this study is based on the premise that whereas being male or female as well as possessing sexual instincts may to a large extent be biologically determined, and individually experienced, the extent to which these are expressed depends on social and cultural factors. These factors determine and define the socially acceptable purposes, means, extents and contexts within which sexuality may be expressed, gratified or inhibited. This study therefore contributes to the understanding of human sexuality by defining sexual behaviour as an interplay of biological, social and cultural forces.

3:6. Basic assumptions of the study

The basic assumptions guiding this study are:-

- 1) That the factors explaining pre-marital teenage pregnancies are to be found in individual teenage personality characteristics.
- 2) That Kikuyu teenagers in Kiambu have different personality characteristics from those of the Maasai in Narok and this explained why pre-marital pregnancies were more prevalent in Kiambu than in Narok district.

- 3) That the low prevalence of pre-marital teenage pregnancies in Narok district are a function of lower levels of pre-marital teenage sexual activities in Narok district as compared to Kiambu.

3:7. Definition and operationalization of concepts and variables

3:7:1. Sex

As a concept, sex has various meanings, with biological, psychological, socio-cultural, economic, moral and political constructs (Caplan, 1987).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D., 1978), sex has been defined as being "male" or "female". It is a reference to one's personal and reproductive status as male or female or uncertain on the basis of the genitalia (Money, 1981). Sex in this sense is a biological construct that is considered natural, and innate in a person.

Sex has also been defined in terms of sexual behaviour (O.E.D, 1978). In this sense, sex has been seen as an expression of erotic instincts and drives that are also considered to be inherent in individuals. This is a definition of sex as sexual intercourse or coitus.

3:7:2. Sexuality

'Sexuality' according to Caplan, (1987) is a relatively new concept first appearing in the Oxford English Dictionary in 1900. The O.E.D. (1987) defined sexuality as sexual characteristics or activity.

Sexuality is a concept that connotes a set of ideas and behavior, based upon one's maleness or femaleness. It is one of the basic concepts upon which people base their self definition on both a personal and social level (Caplan, 1987).

Given the broadness and elusiveness inherent in the definition of sexuality, classifications have been made to facilitate its study and analysis. These have been made between human and animal sexuality (Money, 1981) and within these male and female sexuality have been distinguished. Sexuality as identity and preference of sexual behavior has also been classified as heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality, lesbianism and masturbation (Weeks, 1985). Sexuality has also been classified in terms of historical periods as in Greek, Victorian or modern sexuality (Caplan, 1987).

Further classifications have also been made in terms of the certain developmental stages of human development such as embryonic, infantile, childhood, pubertal, adolescent, adult or geriatric sexuality (Freud, 1929; Money, 1981). Cultural and Cross-cultural classifications of sexuality have also been made, as in the Anglo-saxon, Judeo-Christian, Kikuyu or Maasai sexuality (Mead, 1928, Malinowski, 1927; 1929; Kenyatta, 1965).

Sexuality therefore can be seen as the broad term that inclusively encompass the various definitions of sex in terms of being male or female, as well as sexual expression, preference and behaviour.

3:7:3. Sexual activities

These include having boyfriends, dating, petting, embracing, kissing, having sexual intercourse, masturbation and other forms of sexual expression.

3:7:4. Teenager

A teenager refers to any girl or boy aged between 12 and 19 years.

3:7:5. Parous girls

This refers to any teenager who has ever conceived whether or not she is currently pregnant, has aborted or has had a child birth. Where girls were not visibly pregnant or with children, their classification as parous entirely depended on their own admission.

3:7:6. Nulliparous girls

This refers to teenage girls who have never conceived, been pregnant or have had a childbirth. Due to the difficulty in measuring nulliparity, their classification depended on their own admission.

3:7:7. Pre-marital teenage pregnancies and childbearing.

This refers to a situation where girls have had a conception, pregnancy and childbirth before marriage and have remained unmarried. It also refers to situations whereby boys have made girls pregnant before marriage.

3:7:8. Socio-demographic/characteristics

These refer to personal characteristics such as age, educational background, aspirations, number of siblings, position in family, level of sex education, religious commitments and attitudes towards sex.

3:7:9. Family factors

These refer to the family background of the teenager. They include such factors as the marital status of the parents, educational background of parents, their occupation, socio-economic status, number of children and level of discipline.

3:7:10. Levels of sex education

This refers to the extent to which teenagers know or are ignorant about matters related to sex as measured by knowledge on the sexual parts of the human body and how they function: when and how to get babies; the consequences of sexual intercourse and what one would do if one became pregnant; knowledge of petting, dating, kissing and love.

3:7:11. Parental influence on sexual social learning

This refers to the extent to which parents provide a conducive atmosphere through which learning of matters

related to sex by their children can take place. This was measured by asking the parents of teenagers how often they discussed matters concerning sexuality; the content of sexual messages; the language they used in such discussions; the problems they faced in providing sexual information and their perceptions towards this role.

3:7:12. Other sources of sexual social learning

These refer to peers, play-mates, friends, siblings, television, movies, printed matter and teenagers' own discoveries which provide social learning for the teenagers on sexual matters. This was measured by asking the teenagers where, apart from their parents, they received information, role models and the language used to define sexual objects. The teenagers were further asked about how many boyfriends and girlfriends they had, which movies they attended and what kinds of books they read.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4:1. Research Design

Sex is a private, individual, sensitive and taboo subject that is not easily discussed. Sexual and reproductive matters involve subjective decisions, feelings, motives, responses, experiences and meanings which cannot be easily understood without indepth exploration. Kinsey et.al. noted this when they said that no area of study is more private or more prone to misinterpretation than that of individual attitudes and behaviours in matters of sex (Kinsey, Pomeroy and Martin, 1948).

The nature of this study called for qualitative rather than quantitative methodological approaches. The choice of qualitative methodology was therefore influenced by the goals of the study, the theories adopted and the nature of the subject and communities to be studied among other issues. These were deemed most pertinent to the study, and thus adopted with the following rationale:-

- (a). They are descriptive, exploratory and holistic. They allow the researcher to familiarize oneself with the

problem, gain insight and understand the problem in greater depth. They enable the researcher to find out as much as possible about a situation (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Filstead, 1970).

- (b). They are concerned with the understanding of the natural contexts within which behaviour is taking place (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Goldstein, 1976).
- (c). Qualitative methods are concerned with the process rather than simply the outcomes and products of behaviour. (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975; Bailey, 1987).
- (d). They are also concerned with the "meaning" of behaviour from the actors' perspectives. The concern here is with the understanding of the inner dynamics of situations and experiences such as mental and thought processes which may be invisible to outsiders but can only be known from the inside (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975).

Use of qualitative methodology therefore made it possible to capture the teenagers' perspectives and motives for their engagement in these sexual activities.

Secondly, sexual activities, though individual in nature, are essentially social in as far as the community defines which relationships, sexual practices, and pregnancies are socially acceptable and which are not. This therefore necessitated that holistic methods be used in order to capture the perspectives of the individual teenagers and those of the community as they interacted, interpreted and responded to community values.

Thirdly qualitative research methods have been recommended for studies in the area of deviance (Filstead 1970). Pre-marital teenage sexual activities, pregnancies and child-bearing are categorized as deviant. Qualitative methodology, would allow for sensitivity necessary in eliciting information on deviant behaviour.

In order therefore to understand teenage sexual behaviour, their meanings, interpretations and the contexts within which they took place, the study relied heavily on exploratory techniques that would allow for depth, openness, flexibility rather than on close ended and fixed interviewing approaches.

Preference was therefore given to use of open-ended interviewing, observation, probing, non-verbal expressions, focus group discussions and presentation of data in their own words.

These approaches were however, not without noted weaknesses. Bogdan & Taylor (1975), Blalock (1972), and Goldstein (1976) argue that the major weaknesses of qualitative methods include bias, lack of generalizability and representativeness. This was taken into consideration during the selection of the methods. However, the use of qualitative methods was justified by the sensitive and "deviant" nature of the topic, the research objectives, the localized nature of settings, the type of communities under study, accuracy, depth and intensity as well as the cultural specificity of the settings. These concerns made issues of generalizability and representativeness secondary.

There was however, a limited use of quantitative methods for illustrative purposes. These were mainly used for the description of basic socio-demographic data such as age, occupation and income among others.

4:2. Sampling

The study used two sampling procedures, namely, purposive sampling and snowball sampling. These are non-probability sampling procedures. According to Blalock (1972), probability sampling is not recommended for use in exploratory studies that are essentially qualitative in nature and not hypothesis testing.

4:2:1. Choice of settings

Purposive or judgmental sampling was used for selection of settings to be studied. According to Bailey (1987) in purposive or judgmental sampling, the investigator uses her own judgement, research skills and prior knowledge to choose settings and respondents. The researcher was interested in understanding why pre-marital teenage pregnancies appeared to exist in some communities and apparently not in others. Therefore, Nyambari, a community where this behaviour was manifest and Mosiro, where it was invisible were purposely selected. (Details concerning these areas are described fully in the site description section on pages 82-86 and Maps on Appendices F,G and H. on pages 358 to 360). From the hospital records in Kiambu District Hospital, Nyambari has high levels of pre-marital pregnancies and childbearing. Mosiro was selected because

of assumptions that these activities are not prevalent among traditional pastoral communities.

The other factors determining the choice of setting were resource and time constraints that made it difficult to cover large areas. Further the concern for depth in the study necessitated the selection of smaller communities. Language, distance and access to research sites were also considered.

4:2:2. Sampling for individuals as units of analysis

The individuals to be studied were as follows:-

- (a). Girls between 12 and 19¹ years currently pregnant, ever pregnant or ever given birth. The girls had to be unmarried and resident in the sampled area.
- (b) Girls aged between 12 and 19 years not pregnant or with children, unmarried and within sampled area.

¹ To a large extent, the size of the body was used in identification of teenagers by informants due to problems of recording years chronologically. However, the number of years in school particularly in Kiambu was used to assist determine age in years. The 12 and 20 years were acceptable age limits. The lower limit (12 years) was acceptable but those in higher age limits were left out. These were sometimes discovered during the interviews but not included in the analysis.

- (c). Boys aged between 12 to 20 years, unmarried resident in the sampled area, whether or not they had made girls pregnant.
- (d). Parents (male or female) of teenage children in the sampled area.
- (e). Key respondents. These were people knowledgeable in community history and its value systems. (Some of the identified parents served also as key respondents).

The "snowball" approach was adopted in the selection of the girls, boys, parents and key informants. The choice of the snow-ball sampling approach was necessitated by a number of factors. To start with, there were no existing lists of pregnant teenage girls or teenagers in general and where these were to be specifically located². It was also not possible to compile a sampling frame for this purpose. In effect, there was no pre-determined numbers of respondents to be interviewed. The number to be interviewed therefore

² School and hospital records were inadequate in locating teenage respondents because of the non-existence of actual physical addresses in rural areas.

depended largely on the availability, accessibility and willingness to respond by the identified informants. I had also to use my own judgement regarding whether I had the right³ respondents to adequately address the issues relevant to the study⁴.

Further, considering the deviant label given to pre-marital pregnancies, it was not possible to know before hand how many would be willing to be interviewed.

As already indicated, some parents and teenage boys were identified in the same snow-ball approach. The identified parents were interviewed in depth on some issues relevant to their role in preventing, and responding to these teenage activities. These were however very few since they did not form the core unit of analysis but their

³ For example, married teenagers with babies or older women with pre-marital pregnancies and births were sometimes identified and turned up for interviews. While these were not rebuffed or turned back, they were talked to but not in detail. These were however not included in the analysis.

⁴ It was sometimes difficult to identify pregnant teenagers whose pregnancies were not visible. The study therefore re-defined pregnancy as a situation whereby pregnancy was visible or when a girl had had a baby. Most of the "pregnant" girls interviewed were therefore those who had had babies, live or dead.

information was relevant in understanding the issues from a wider perspective that was not limited to the teenage perspective.

These parents were part and parcel of the few community members who were identified as the key respondents in providing information relevant to cultural and social factors in the respective communities.

The key respondents identified were men and women who were considered to have knowledge in community traditional, religious, historical, cultural, political and other matters of importance in the community that may have a bearing on pre-marital teenage pregnancies. These were asked to explain the visibility or invisibility of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and births in their communities. Research assistants were quite instrumental in the initial identification of respondents.

4:2:3. Sampling problems

There are two problems normally associated with the snow-ball sampling approach (Biernacki & Waldorf, (1981). One problem has to do with bias and selectivity in the

identification of respondents. The second problem has to do with contamination of data whereby the already interviewed respondents may reach the yet to be interviewed and discuss the content of the interview.

Although these were not completely avoided, they were minimized by moving to distant areas within the sampled settings. What we did was to spatially distribute the sampled area so that interviews were conducted at the furthest ends.

Despite the non-representativeness and non-generalizability associated with purposive and snow-ball sampling approaches, these were found to be the most suitable for this study. The concern with the nature of the topic and the exploratory study goals dispensed with concern for generalizability. The problems of bias and non-representativeness in sex studies is not unique to this study. These have been recognized by notable sexologists and sex researchers such as Kinsey, et.al. (1948; 1953) and Money (1980). Money summarizes the sampling problems

associated with sex research as follows:-

"There was infact, no possibility of obtaining a truly random probability sample for a sexual study and there still isn't. Too many people are shy, and inhibited and too many are fearful of self incrimination to cooperate. There is therefore always a volunteer bias, the significance and extent of which needs to be estimated and allowed for" (Money, 1980: 111).

4:3. Data Collection Methods

A combination of complementary data collection techniques were used in this study. These included:-

4:3:1. Indepth Interviews

The indepth interviews were guided by a list of open ended questions related to various issues on sexuality, pregnancy and childbearing. See appendices A. (page 314), B. (page 329) and C. (page 341). The questions had been pre-tested after formulation.

In formulating the guiding questions for indepth interviewing, a number of factors were taken into consideration in keeping with Bailey's (1987) caution that

sensitive and taboo subjects such as sex are prone to "social-desirability bias"⁵ and respondents may feel threatened to answer questions truthfully. In order to minimize the provision of normative answers, a number of mechanisms have been suggested in question formulation, to secure adequate answers.

Kinsey et.al (1948) has recommended the use of "interlocking questions" whereby a researcher can repeatedly pose questions that ask the same thing but not understood to be for such purposes by the respondents. Bradburn and Sudman (1979), 1982) have also recommended the use of long open questions when seeking information on threatening or socially undesirable behaviour. Like Kinsey et.al., Bradburn and Sudman suggest that threatening questions should be embedded in a list of less threatening topics. This approach was adopted in the formulation of questions.

⁵. This is a situation whereby respondents answer sensitive or taboo questions in ways that are consistent with norms even though they are false answers for fear of disapproval and social undesirability. (Bailey, 1987: 115).

These indepth interviews were useful in eliciting information on behaviour, opinions, attitudes, feelings and perceptions on various issues related to the topic. The use of guiding questions was important for assuring uniformity although responses were not limited to the questions asked.

During the interview, the respondents were encouraged to speak freely, elaborate on answers and bring out other relevant or important topics that were not included in the guiding questions. The interviews were tape recorded and answers written in the guiding questionnaires.

The research assistants had been trained on how to ask probing questions in between the guiding questions format and to listen to any other relevant information that the respondents gave in explaining, reflecting or responding to questions whether or not they appeared in the guiding questionnaires. In this way, it was possible to capture perceptions in greater depth and record them. The indepth interviews were carried out on individual teenage girls, boys and their parents. The interviews were conducted by the researcher with the assistance of two research assistants, in Kiambu.

In Narok, due to problems of language, three research assistants who could understand the Maasai language were used as interpreters in conducting the interviews.

4:3:2. Focused Group Discussions

Focused group discussions were predominantly used in data collection among the key informants. They were also used to a smaller extent among some teenagers and parents. Focused Group Discussions for the teenagers and parents consisted of discussions in groups of between 6 -10 people with some homogenous characteristics such as sex and age categories. For the key respondents, various different age categories were put together ranging from age 16 to over 60 years.

The Focused Group Discussions were conducted by at least two researchers per group. For purposes of these discussions, a number of guiding questions were formulated, but their nature changed and progressed depending on the trend of the discussion. The researcher served as a moderator in posing questions and guiding and encouraging participation in the discussions.

These discussions were tape recorded and notes taken by research assistants. The questions asked in the Focused Group Discussion are presented in Appendix D page 355.

These discussions were sometimes accompanied by pictures which served as "projective techniques" reflecting the theme under discussion where relevant⁶.

During these discussions, probing, cue-giving, nodding, listening and encouraging the respondents to talk were the main techniques used.

These discussions went on well after the initial shyness and apprehension. After introduction to each other, to the topic and purposes of the discussion and as the discussions progressed, the respondents opened up and it was difficult to stop them. Despite their usefulness, Focused Group Discussions had a number of problems but these did not in any significant way appear to influence the quality and amount of information required.

⁶ See Appendix E. page 357.

The emerging difficulties for example, were initially, adjustment to the tape recorder and adjustment to each other in the focus groups (considering that most of the members of the group did not know each other).

Secondly, it was sometimes difficult to control the trend of the discussions as the respondents touched on many other topics that were sometimes irrelevant to the theme of the discussion. This, in effect, was time-consuming.

4:3:3. Use of Ethnographic Data

This method consisted of an analysis of studies and publications that provided historical and cultural information concerning the Kikuyu and the Maasai way of life.

4:3:4. Observations

Simple observations were carried out on a number of items and activities in the community and the respondents' homes.

These were useful in helping the researchers to understand the socio-economic backgrounds and living conditions of the respondents, the nature of physical amenities such as

houses, land, and general environment; availability of food, firewood, and dressing among other things. Observations were also made on the number of children and siblings in the respondents' homes, and their relationships with parents, other siblings and their own babies. Observations also helped to understand the nature of activities that teenagers engaged themselves in after they had had babies.

Unlike the researches that are done in the school classrooms or hospital beds, where respondents are removed from their interactive situations, interviews and observations in their own surroundings minimize the chances of lies and exaggerations in the definition of their lifestyles and living conditions. These observations were therefore important in understanding the teenagers within their environmental contexts. The observations were noted in the course of the interview or later in situations where writing was discouraged if it was seen to interrupt the interview process.

The sampling and data collection methods were pre-tested and refined in a pilot study conducted in the two research areas.

4:3:5. Summary

The use of purposive and snow-ball sampling approaches was helpful in securing the respondents for the study. Ample information relevant to the study goals and purposes was collected by use of the data collection methods adopted.

There were fewer problems encountered in the process of data collection, in Nyambari, Kiambu, as compared to those in Mosiro, Narok. In Narok, the major problem identified in the pilot study was the difficulty in locating and identifying the unmarried teenage respondents. There seemed to exist some suspicion towards strangers probably due to the closed nature of the Maasai community. It was also difficult for the researcher as a woman to have access to Maasai young men.

Secondly, once the girls were identified it was difficult to talk to them mainly due to language barriers since the Maasai could not speak any other language. These problems in Narok were overcome by over-reliance on the research assistants who had to be thoroughly trained on how to locate the respondents and how to conduct the interviews.

Consequently detailed questionnaires had to be developed for use in Mosiro to minimize the research assistants' problems in conducting the interviews. A combination of interviews, Focused Group Discussions and use of research assistants made it possible to interview the Maasai respondents.

Parents and key informants in Narok were interviewed mainly through Focused Group Discussions. The research assistants identified them while the researcher moderated the discussion, relying purely on translation from Maasai to Kiswahili (languages). Distance and poor roads proved to be another handicap in conducting research in Mosiro.

These problems were however overcome and adequate information collected with regard to the research goals. Consequently, a total of 67 pregnant girls, 53 non-pregnant girls, 49 teenage boys and 36 key respondents, most of whom were parents themselves were interviewed in

Kiambu. In Mosiro, Narok 32 non-pregnant girls⁷, 34 boys and 32 key respondents were interviewed.

4:4. Site Description

This section discusses the areas where this study was carried out. As already mentioned, the study was done in Mosiro in Narok and Nyambari in Kiambu district.

4:4:1. Narok District

Mosiro is a sub-location in Mosiro location of Narok district. It is situated on the Eastern side of the district bordering Kajiado. It is about 180 Km away from Nairobi off the Nairobi -Narok road (See map on Appendix G. page 359).

Mosiro is populated predominantly by the Maasai compared to other parts of Narok that are inhabited by migratory, groups such as the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu. It is also one of the marginal areas of Narok District experiencing harsh

7. There was not a single case of a pregnant unmarried girl or with a childbirth identified in Mosiro, Narok. All the unmarried teenage girls interviewed were therefore those who were not pregnant and had no children.

climatic conditions.

The area has poor infrastructure. There is a small local centre in Mosiro connected to the Narok - Nairobi road by a minor road that is almost impassable during the rainy season. Although there is a Dispensary here people are forced to travel to Narok town (about 20 Km away) or to a Health Centre in Nairegia Enkare (also nearly 20 Km away).

The level of literacy is very low in Mosiro, particularly among women. In fact, the area has one of the lowest primary school enrollment and the highest school drop-out rate (as high as 60%)⁸ in the district.

The low literacy rates in the area are attributed to the Maasai nomadic way of life necessitated by the harsh climatic conditions and lack of interest in education among the Maasai. Early marriage among girls is another factor that affects female education in this community.

⁸. The Narok District Development plan 1989 - 1993. Republic of Kenya. Ministry of planning and National Development. Government Printers, Nairobi. pg. 20.

The major social and economic activities in Mosiro are largely centered around livestock rearing. The Maasai traditionally have a self sustaining pastoral economy. They rear animals for subsistence obtaining from them meat, milk, blood for food and hides and skins for sale. Sale of livestock is also the main source of income among the Maasai in Mosiro. Livestock ownership is a status symbol in this area.

In the traditional livestock management, the Maasai were organised into a number of distinct clans, occupying specific territories and having their own autonomous political, systems.

In these units which were the basis of the traditional herding system, control was vested in the family and community. Animals were owned by individual families. They were however herded and watered communally by the co-residential unit⁹.

⁹. Gachukia, Kabira & Njau (eds). Rural Woman's Contributions to Economic Development. A Unesco Project, 1986.

Today however, although much of the traditional herding patterns exist, people have been forced into Group Ranching and the area is officially declared a Ranching Zone by the Government.

4:4:2. Kiambu District.

Nyambari is a sub-location of Gitithia Location in Lari Division, Kiambu District. It is located in the Western part of Kiambu District bordering Nyandarua District to the North East and Nakuru District to the West. It is about 40 Kilometers from Nairobi on the Nakuru - Nairobi highway. (See map, Appendix H. page 360).

Nyambari is a rural area populated by the Kikuyu people, a sedentary community for whom small scale agriculture is the dominant socio-economic activity. The major crops in this area are maize, beans, vegetables, and seasonal fruits such as pears, plums and tree-tomato. This is largely attributed to the favourable climatic and soil conditions in Nyambari.

Other socio-economic activities in the area include small scale business and petty trade along the Nairobi - Nakuru

highway. Many residents of Nyambari commute daily to Nairobi where they are engaged in wage employment or to neighbouring areas such as Limuru and Kiambaa to work as Casual Labourers in tea and coffee plantations. Many young people are however, unemployed.

Nyambari sub-location has a primary school and a secondary school for both boys and girls. Primary school enrolment is quite high but there are cases of school drop-outs particularly among girls. The major reasons for non-retention of pupils in the educational system is lack of school fees, and examination failures at exit years.

CHAPTER FIVE**TEENAGE PREGNANCIES AND INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS****5:1. The Prevalence of Pre-marital Teenage Pregnancies in Kiambu and Narok Districts**

Attempts were made in this study to understand the prevalence of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child-bearing within two communities under study. To gauge the prevalence, teenagers were asked if they had ever been pregnant or had made girls pregnant. They were further asked if they had brothers, sisters, or relatives who had pregnancies or children as teenagers before marriage, within their communities.

In Kiambu district, pre-marital teenage pregnancies were quite prevalent among the Kikuyu compared to the Maasai of Narok district. While among the Maasai it was not possible to find any teenage girls with pre-marital pregnancies, in Kiambu, these were found in almost every second home, in the area under study. Out of the 120 teenage girls interviewed in Kiambu, 67 had pre-marital pregnancies compared to 53 who did not. The pregnant girls comprised of 55.8% of the total teenage girls studied in Kiambu (See table 1).

Among the boys, 55% in Kiambu had made girls pregnant as compared to only 3% in Narok. In Kiambu, 4.4% of the boys had made more than one girl pregnant while 40% of the girls had repeat pre-marital pregnancies.

TABLE 1. LEVELS OF PRE-MARITAL TEENAGE PREGNANCIES IN KIAMBU AND NAROK DISTRICTS.

	KIAMBU			NAROK	
	BOYS %	PAROUS GIRLS % *	NULLIPAROUS GIRLS **	BOYS %	GIRLS % ***
% OF TEENS WITH CHILDREN BEFORE MARRIAGE					
YES	55	100	0	3	0
NO	45	0	100	97	100
% OF TEENS WITH SISTERS WITH CHILDREN BEFORE MARRIAGE					
YES	41	65	21	0	0
NO	59	35	79	100	100
% OF TEENS WITH FRIENDS WITH CHILDREN BEFORE MARRIAGE					
YES	70	77	55	1	0
NO	30	23	45	99	100

KEY:

- * Parous girls - Ever been pregnant or with childbirth.
- ** Nulliparous girls - Never been pregnant or with childbirth.
- *** All the girls in Narok were nulliparous.

In Narok district there was no girl who had a brother known to have pre-marital babies. In Kiambu, only 3% of the nulliparous girls had brothers with children before marriage, as compared to 36% of the boys and 33% of the parous girls.

Similarly, there were no teenagers in Narok with sisters who had children before marriage. However, in Kiambu, there were more teenagers with sisters who had children before marriage. Over 65% of the parous girls had sisters with pre-marital children as compared to 41% of the boys. Very few of the nulliparous girls (21%) had sisters with children before marriage.

Finally, the study found out that the teenagers in Kiambu had more friends than relatives who had pregnancies and children before marriage. As with brothers and sisters, more parous girls (77.2%) had friends with such children as compared to 70% of the boys and 55% of the nulliparous girls.

In Narok, less than 1% of the boys and girls had friends who had pre-marital pregnancies. According

to those who said that they had them, the friends had aborted the pregnancies before the babies were born. In the course of the discussions with the teenagers and their parents, it was further found out that some of the mothers (20%) of these teenagers (particularly among parous girls) had had their first children before marriage in Kiambu district.

From these data, it can be concluded that more teenagers who had pre-marital pregnancies and children had siblings and friends and to some extent parents who had conceived in their teenage years and out of wedlock.

5:2. Teenage Socio-Demographic Characteristics

In this section, we present data on the teenage socio-demographic characteristics and their family background.

5:2:1. Age.

The data show that while in Narok there were no pre-marital pregnancies, in Kiambu the levels increased with the girls' ages.

Over 80% of the pre-marital pregnancies¹ occurred to girls aged between 16 and 19 years. About 10% of pre-marital pregnancies were to girls aged between 13 and 15 years, 20% to girls aged 16 years, 25% to girls aged 17 years, 25% to 18 years and 18% to 19 year olds. In Narok where none of the girls had been pregnant, about 78% were aged between 16 years and under (see table 2).

5:2:2. Education

The study found that the lowest levels of formal education were found among most Maasai teenagers, and the Kikuyu parous girls compared to the nulliparous girls and boys in Kiambu. Among these, 90% of the Maasai boys, 97% of Maasai girls and 87% of Kikuyu parous girls had primary school education and below as compared to 23% of Kikuyu nulliparous girls and only 11% of the boys. More nulliparous girls (74%) and boys (82%) in Kiambu had secondary school education compared to other teenage categories (See table 2).

¹. These included first and repeat pregnancies.

The major reasons for the low levels of formal education attainments by parous girls in Kiambu were poor academic performance, examination failure, lack of school fees, desire for marriage and pregnancies.

TABLE 2. THE SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TEENAGERS.

	KIAMBU			NAROK	
	BOYS%	NULLIPAROUS GIRLS%	PAROUS%	BOYS%	GIRLS%
<u>AGE IN YEARS</u>					
13 AND UNDER	9.0	7.0	6.7	4.7	28.1
14-16	33.3	30.7	33.3	28.4	49.4
17-19	56.3	62.3	60.0	63.9	22.5
OVER 19	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0
<u>RELIGION</u>					
CHRISTIANS	95.7	96.2	94.9	9.0	7.0
TRADITIONAL	0.0	0.0	0.0	90.3	92.8
ISLAM	2.0	2.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
INDEPENDENT	2.0	1.5	3.4	0.3	0.2
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
NONE	0.6	0.0	1.7	20.6	40.2
PRIMARYSTD 1-8	11.2	23.0	87.1	70.3	56.0
SECONDARY					
F1-F4	71.9	71.0	11.2	5.9	3.0
F5-F6	10.8	3.0	0.0	1.5	0.2
COLLEGE	3.2	2.0	0.0	1.2	0.6
UNIVERSITY	2.0	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
NONE	20.6	3.4	80.5	83.6	90.2
STUDENT	70.0	93.0	3.0	15.8	9.8
WAGEEARNING*	6.0	2.5	10.0	0.0	0.0
PETTYTRADER	3.4	1.1	6.5	0.6	0.0

KEY

- * Wage earning employment included casual and farm labour, domestic and clerical work.

In Narok, formal education was not highly valued among the Maasai and least of all among the female children. Education among girls was seen as a corrupting factor

that spoilt Maasai girls, and therefore discouraged. Further, the low levels of education among the Maasai have been explained by the Maasai nomadic way of life. (District Development plan, Narok, 1989 - 1993).

It was interesting to note that among the Maasai where formal education was not highly emphasized, almost none of the girls became pregnant while in Kiambu where it was stressed a significant number became pregnant before marriage.

5:2:4. Occupation

Occupation was used in this case to mean a wage earning activity. Among the parous girls in Kiambu, 80.5% had not been in any formal employment and neither were they in school prior to becoming pregnant. The situation remained the same even after pregnancy and childbirth.

They stayed at home with their parents or relatives providing farm and domestic labour in exchange for their own and their children's support. Their labour was not paid for in monetary terms.

The majority (93%) of the nulliparous girls in Kiambu were still in School as already indicated, and these did not require employment yet.

Among the 30% of the boys who were not in school in Kiambu, 20.6% had no formal employment. Similarly, 84% of the boys and 90% of the girls in Narok had no wage earning occupations. These helped with the herding of family livestock and domestic chores for which monetary rewards were not offered. The very few who were in income earning occupations were employed in low paying jobs as casual farm labourers, petty traders, domestic servants and clerks (see table 2).

To a large extent, acquisition of income earning occupations in the formal sector depended on the educational attainments and acquisition of marketable skills. As has already been discussed, most of the teenagers not in school at the time of the study had dropped out with low levels of education. Very few of them had any training for income earning skills. Hence their inability to acquire jobs in the formal employment sector.

While in Narok teenage girls were not concerned about occupations, those with children in Kiambu associated their becoming pregnant with search for financial, and other forms of support.

According to our findings, girls became pregnant after failing to secure employment for prolonged periods of time and in the course of their attempts to get permanent boyfriends who would marry them, provide a home, land and security.

5:2:5. Religion

Among the Maasai of Narok where pre-marital pregnancies were quite low, nearly all teenagers practised traditional religion. On the other hand, among the Kikuyu of Kiambu where these pregnancies were quite high, over 90% of the teenagers were of mainstream Christian religions (see table 2).

Among the Protestant teenagers, for example, 53% had pre-marital pregnancies as compared to 40% of the Catholics. Nearly 4% of the pregnant girls were Independent Church followers. None of the few Muslims interviewed had been pregnant.

Religion therefore seems to be associated with pre-marital pregnancies. These pregnancies occurred more among Christians than among traditional and non Christian religions.

5:3. The Teenagers' Family background

5:3:1. Parents' Status

Most of the teenagers reported that they came from homes where both parents were still alive. In Kiambu, 74% of the parous girls had both parents alive compared to between 83-87% in the other teenage categories in the two districts. Those with no living parents ranged from 2-5%. The rest of the teenagers had only a father or mother alive.

5:3:2. Parents' Education

The district differential levels of education were also reflected in the parental educational levels. In Kiambu, the fathers of teenagers had higher levels of education as compared to that of the mothers in Kiambu and the fathers and mothers in Narok District.

Only between 8-10% of the fathers in Kiambu had no formal education as compared to over 90% of the fathers and mothers in Narok.

In Kiambu, 44% of the parous girls' mothers had no formal education as compared to 30% of the boys' mothers and 24% of the mothers of the nulliparous girls.

In Kiambu, 42-51% of the fathers and 17-29% of the mothers had secondary school education, while in Narok, very few parents of both sexes had secondary school education. Very few parents in both districts had University education.

5:3:3. Parents' Marital Status

The majority of the parents of the teenagers in both districts were married and living together. There were no situations in Narok whereby the teenagers' parents were unmarried, separated or divorced. In Kiambu, the parous girls had higher incidences of parents who were divorced (14%) and never married (13%) compared to the other teenage categories. Narok had higher cases of parents who were widows compared to Kiambu district.

What emerges from the data is that the teenagers' parents' marriage rates were higher in Narok compared to Kiambu. Similarly in Kiambu, these rates were lower for parous girls than for the other teenage categories.

5:3:4. Parents' Occupations

The majority of the parents in Kiambu were involved in agricultural crop production activities. Over 80% of these parents were small scale farmers owning less than two acres of land. The main crops grown were vegetables, maize and potatoes.

Parents depended wholly on their land for income. They also supported large families with an average of 6 children per family. The landless parents in Kiambu were petty traders, selling eggs, vegetables, fruits, second-hand clothes and kept road-side kiosks. Others were casual labourers in neighbouring coffee farms in Limuru. Less than 5% of parents of both sexes were involved in formal salary-earning occupations.

In Narok, most parents (over 98%) were involved in livestock production. Other activities included sale

of livestock and livestock products such as hides and skins which were also the major sources of income. There was no emphasis among the Maasai on formal employment outside the livestock-rearing activities.

5:3:5. Teenagers' Upbringing

Most of the teenagers were brought up by both parents. Over 80% of the teenagers in the other categories were brought up by both parents compared to 73% of parous girls in Kiambu. The parous girls (25%) also formed the majority of the teenagers who were brought up by mothers alone, compared to 11% nulliparous girls, and 9% boys in Kiambu; and 7.2% boys, and 7% girls in Narok. Very few teenagers (less than 2% for all categories) were brought up by fathers alone.

Nearly all the other teenagers lived in extended family set-ups whereby uncles, aunts and grandparents lived nearby. The nuclear family compositions were quite large with siblings ranging from 3-12 children. The average number of children per family in Kiambu and Narok was 5 and 3, respectively.

The data presented above indicates that pre-marital teenage pregnancies tend to occur within marital and extended family set-ups in Kiambu while they do not occur under similar circumstances in Narok.

5:4. Characteristics of Men who made Teenage Girls Pregnant

The majority (83%) of the girls in Kiambu, were made pregnant by young unmarried boys from their own villages and schools. These were either of the same ages as the girls or slightly older. About 15% were made pregnant by married men, 1% were raped by men they did not know, while 1% were as a result of incestuous sex relations with their fathers.

In Narok, the 3% of the Maasai boys who made girls pregnant had attained Secondary School education, and were slightly older than the girls. It was also evident in the study that while teenage first pregnancies in Kiambu were by the young boys, the subsequent pregnancies were by older and married men. None of the girls in Narok had been made pregnant by married men.

Where girls had subsequent pregnancies, the older married men had initially been sympathetic with the girls' situation after their first pregnancy and had promised material and emotional support to the girls.

According to the teenage girls, these men had even promised more support if the girls agreed to have sex with them. When the girls declined on grounds of fear of pregnancy, the men assured them that they would provide even more help to the girls' first babies, if the girls had the men's own children. In most cases, the girls fell for the idea but after the pregnancy, the married men abandoned them and went back to their wives.

5:5. Summary

From the data presented, it is evident that pre-marital pregnancies occurred more among the Kikuyu of Kiambu than among the Maasai of Narok. This behaviour was related to the pregnancy and child-bearing environment found among teenagers with children particularly in Kiambu.

Here it was evident that teenagers who had these pregnancies had more siblings, friends and parents who had conceived and given birth before marriage.

Secondly, where pregnancies occurred in Kiambu, older teenagers were more likely to become pregnant than younger teenagers. In Narok where nearly 30% of the girls were under 13 years, these pregnancies were quite low. Thirdly, pre-marital pregnancies occurred more in an environment where formal education and wage earning occupations were prevalent and emphasized as in the case of Kiambu than among the Maasai where these were not stressed.

The emphasis on higher educational attainment for women has resulted in the demand for delayed marriages among the girls in Kiambu. With the delay in marriages, the girls were also expected to postpone sexual and reproductive activities as these were only permissible within marriage. Ironically, the teenage girls were asked to postpone sexual and reproductive activities at a period in their life when their capacities for these were maturing and at their peak.

Unless therefore these girls were highly motivated towards education and were academic achievers, the chances of dropping out of school were quite high.

We have seen that the girls in the study are poor performers. With the notion that higher educational levels are not attainable, the girls have justifications for indulging in sexual and reproductive activities particularly in Kiambu where marriage timing is not clearly spelt out although it is emphasized after education.

This "timing" for marriage and therefore permission to engage in sexual and reproductive activities can explain why girls become pregnant during school exit years (Lema, 1987). The poor performers feel that they are about to complete school and since further education is not their goal, they can engage in sexual relationships which sometimes result in pregnancies.

This also explained why the girls engaged in sexual intercourse two or three years after "completion" of education as they expected to accomplish no educational goals.

Not only were teenage girls expected to delay marriage, sexual and reproductive activities until after completion of higher education but they were also expected to get wage-earning employment.

The occupational status, was however related to the educational levels attained. Girls who stayed longer in school were therefore expected to get better-paying employment. Before a girl engaged in sexual and reproductive activities, she was expected through education, to choose one of the various occupations such as becoming a nurse, teacher, doctor or secretary.

For many teenagers, the demand that they delay satisfaction of sexual and reproductive activities for diverse, diffuse and sometimes unattainable educational and career goals is not an easy task.

This is a situation where the social expectations and expected adult roles for the teenager in Kiambu are through education made complex and conflicting against the demands for sex and reproduction which are characteristic of their stage of development.

Among the Maasai of Narok however, there are no conflicting demands made upon the girl as she matures sexually. There is no demand for educational or career achievements, requiring that she postpones marriage.

The transition between sexual maturity and opportunity for their expression is smooth. As soon as a girl shows signs of maturity she is married off. Immediate marriage with onset of puberty therefore sanctions the engagement in sexual and reproductive activities as soon as they emerge and therefore precludes many chances of these occurring before marriage.

Further, these pregnancies were more common among the Kikuyu where Christian religion was predominant as compared to the Maasai who practised traditional religion. It was also evident that girls were made pregnant by married men or boys who shared similar socio-demographic characteristics with the girls.

The study also found that parental marriage rates were high in both districts. However pre-marital

pregnancies were higher in Kiambu, despite similarities in parental marital status. In Kiambu where girls became pregnant, it was to some extent among teenagers who had parents with low marital rates, divorced or separated.

CHAPTER SIX

PRE-MARITAL PREGNANCIES, TEENAGE SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE INFORMATION

6:1. Levels, Sources and Content of Sexual and Reproductive Information

So far, we have presented data on the teenager's socio-demographic and family background and their bearing on pre-marital pregnancies. In this section, we discuss the teenagers' levels, sources and content of sexual and reproductive information as they dealt with their emerging, developing and maturing sexual and reproductive capacities (see table 3).

As table 3 shows, over 70% of the teenagers in Kiambu and Narok Districts said that they had some knowledge of most sexual matters. The general observation was that boys were more informed than girls on all sexual matters even on areas that affected girls only, like menstruation.

This difference in levels of knowledge was explained by the fact that boys tended to be more open about sexual matters, than girls. Boys also said that they taught younger boys on various sex related issues.

TABLE 3: THE PERCENTAGE OF TEENAGERS WITH KNOWLEDGE OF SEXUAL MATTERS.

KIAMBU							NAROK			
*	BOYS %		NULLIPAROUS GIRLS %		PAROUS GIRLS %		BOYS %		GIRLS %	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
1	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	0
2	76	24	76	24	92	8	78	22	50	50
3	82	18	16	84	20	80	82	18	10	90
4	81	19	59	41	60	40	43	57	16	84
5	88	12	70	30	100	0	85	15	70	30
6	79	21	58	42	65	35	56	44	80	20
7	73	27	22	78	28	72	17	83	10	90
8	78	22	43	57	90	10	71	29	86	14

* KEY: SEXUAL SUBJECT

1= Name of sexual organs

2= Menstruation

3= Wet dreams

4= Kissing

5= Sexual intercourse

6= Pregnancies

7= Contraceptives

8= Marriage

As far as anatomical knowledge was concerned, all the teenagers said that they knew the names of their body parts including sexual organs. However, what the teenagers termed as knowledge on body parts and sexual organs was nothing more than a labelling of the external physiology.

Regarding menstruation, 91.8% of the parous girls in Kiambu District had the knowledge, 8.2% did not. As for the boys and nulliparous girls 76% knew about menstruation in Kiambu.

In Narok, 50% of the girls and over 75% of the boys knew about it. Here again, this knowledge was superficial and was limited to the fact that menstruation occurred at certain monthly intervals. How it happened and where the blood came from was not known to the teenagers.

Boys, however, were as much informed about the menstruation as the girls. In the case of "wet dreams" very few girls in both districts knew about them, while only about 18% of the boys in both districts said that they did not know about them. These happened to be the ones who had not yet experienced them.

As far as kissing was concerned, more teenagers in Kiambu said that they had the knowledge, compared to those in Narok where the practice was not widespread. Knowledge on kissing consisted basically of information on how to kiss and its purposes. For the girls, the purpose was to demonstrate love to the boys while for the boys, it was to arouse the girls' sexual feelings towards them.

As for sexual intercourse, over 70% of the teenagers in both districts said that they had knowledge of it. This knowledge consisted of information on how coitus was performed as well as its consequences such as diseases and pregnancies.

Others said that they knew sexual intercourse served the purpose of showing love to the opposite sex. More boys than girls knew about pregnancies in both districts. Surprisingly, even the parous girls still said that they did not know about pregnancies, and how they occurred. According to them, pregnancies just happened after sexual intercourse but they did not know how and when they occurred.

The teenagers' in Kiambu were more conversant with contraceptives than those in Narok. However, this is one area where teenage girls were least informed. In Kiambu, more boys (73%) than girls (22-27.8%) were knowledgeable about contraceptives. The knowledge on contraceptives was limited to hearing about contraceptives and the various types. Information on how they worked, were used and their availability was not accessible to the teenagers.

Regarding marriage, over 70% of all teenagers and 43% the nulliparous girls in Kiambu said that they had knowledge. To the teenagers, marriage was something that they were all expected to do when they grew up. From the above discussion, it can be said that most of the teenagers' knowledge of sexual matters was basically information on names and labels of the external sexual anatomy and

reproductive activities in their own languages, in English and in slang. According to the respondents, these activities could be labelled in English mainly by those who had attained at least standard seven of primary education. These were the ones who had learned the names of these activities from teachers, biology and nature study books.

Although the teenagers' knew the names of these sexual organs and activities in their own languages, they said that they found it extremely difficult to communicate about them using their mother tongue. According to most of them, talking about these in their own languages sounded vulgar. Hence their use of slang and to some extent English in their discussion of sexual matters.

The study therefore found that slang was the commonest language used by teenagers to label and communicate on sexual matters, in both districts. What emerged from the data was that there was very little difference between the teenagers in Kiambu and those in Narok as far as knowledge of sex related matters was concerned. Although nearly all said that they had information and knowledge, in these matters, it was scanty and superficial.

These findings concur with those of Palan, et.al. (1976); Gachuhi, (1974); and Ferguson (1988) that teenagers receive sporadic and superficial sex information leading to considerable ignorance concerning sexual and reproductive matters.

In order to explain why teenagers had such information and knowledge, it is important to understand the sources that provide it.

6:2. Sources of Teenage Sexual and Reproductive Information

In this section, we assess the teenagers' sources of sexual and reproductive information. In an earlier discussion, it was shown that most teenagers in Kiambu and Narok districts lived and had been brought up by both their parents and relatives within large extended family set-ups. The assumption would therefore be that teenagers in this situation would be socialized on sexual matters by parents and relatives.

However, a closer look at the data shows that parents and relatives played a very minimal role in this process of socialization as compared to other sources outside the family (see table 4).

TABLE 4: TEENAGERS' SOURCES OF SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE AND

INFORMATION

SUBJECT AND SOURCE	KIAMBU			NAROK	
	NULLI PAROU GIRLS %	PAROUS GIRLS %	BOYS %	BOYS %	GIRLS %
<u>1. SEXUAL ORGANS</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	49	42	2	2	60
PEERS (BOYS)	16	10	70	58	3
BOOKS	18	22	4	1	2
SISTERS	11	10	0	0	20
GRANDPARENTS	0	0	0	12	14
DON'T KNOW	2	10	10	10	0
PARENTS	0	0	0	0	0
<u>2. BOY/GIRL RELATIONSHIP</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	50	53	0	0	39
PEERS (BOYS)	32	20	56	60	20
SIBLINGS	7	4	36	6	18
GRANDPARENTS	0	0	0	31	0
EXPERIENCE	16	33	90	76	21
PARENTS	0	4	0	3	5
BOOKS	10	10	0	0	0
<u>3. MENSTRUATION</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	81	68	36	60	65
PEERS (BOYS)	0	0	15	0	0
TEACHERS	5	10	22	10	1
BOOKS	10	10	27	14	1
EXPERIENCE	60	70	0	0	67
PARENTS	0	3	0	0	0
<u>4. SEXUAL INTERCOURSE</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	37	30	0	0	54
PEERS (BOYS)	50	40	61	61	31
EXPERIENCE	10	30	80	67	50
SCHOOL	13	8	6	3	3
PARENTS	0	2	0	0	0
<u>5. FAMILY PLANNING</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	38	20	38	0	3
PEERS (BOYS)	31	21	10	4	4
SISTERS	11	10	0	0	0
SCHOOL	13	36	36	4	5
RADIO	6	10	17	2	2
NONE	0	0	0	90	86
PARENTS	0	3	0	0	0
<u>6. MARRIAGE</u>					
PEERS (GIRLS)	18	20	0	11	27
PEERS (BOYS)	21	25	47	23	3
PARENTS	23	20	26	26	25
GRANDPARENTS	12	16	9	10	25
SIBLINGS	8	7	0	20	2
BOOKS	12	12	16	0	0

As table 4 shows, peers were the primary sources of information for the teenagers on all sexual and reproductive matters such as boy/girl relationship, dating, kissing, menstruation, wet dreams, sexual intercourse, contraception and marriage. Among the peers, boys provided information to other boys and as well as to girls while girls provided information to other girls only.

Text books were also major sources of sexual and reproductive information among teenagers particularly in Kiambu district. In Narok, due to lower educational levels and unavailability of reading materials, text books and magazines were not prominent.

The text books provided factual information on names of sexual organs, menstruation, pregnancies, marriage and contraceptives. These, however, provided very little information on dating, and sexual intercourse. Novels and magazines such as "True Love" provided information on more emotional aspects such as kissing, dating, marriage and boy/girl relationships.

Teacher information to teenagers was limited to names of body and sexual parts, menstruation and contraception. The teachers, however provided very little information on other sex-related issues.

Sisters provided information to girls on marriage, names of body parts, boy/girl relationships and family planning. Grandparents featured in the provision of information on names of sexual organs, boy/girl relationship (in Narok only).

Brothers provided information to boys on all the issues, related to sexuality. The mass media (radio) featured only in providing information on family planning.

The study confirmed the findings of Palan, et.al (1976) and Lema, (1987) who argued that friends and peers, were the dominant sources of sexual information to teenagers, in both Kiambu and Narok districts.

Finally, the knowledge of boy/girl relationships, dating, menstruation, sexual intercourse, conception and childbearing was gained through self experience by a significant number of the teenagers.

6:3. Parental Involvement in the Provision of Sexual and Reproductive Information to Teenagers

According to the teenagers, parents provided scanty information and to very few teenagers (less than 5%) on boy/girl relationships, dating and marriage. They did not provide any information on names of body parts, kissing, sexual intercourse, wet dreams and contraception.

When parents were asked whether they provided sex information to their teenage children, a few parents said that they provided it on selected issues (see table 5).

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHO DISCUSSED SEXUAL MATTERS WITH THEIR CHILDREN.

SUBJECT	KIAMBU DISTRICT			NAROK DISTRICT	
		GIRLS %	BOYS %	BOYS %	GIRLS %
BOY/GIRL RELATIONSHIP	YES	48	29	21	41
	NO	52	71	79	59
DATING	YES	44	29	16	31
	NO	56	71	84	69
SLEEPING OUT	YES	32	17	8	16
	NO	68	83	92	84
MENSTRUATION	YES	15	1	0	20
	NO	85	99	100	80
WET DREAMS	YES	1	1	1	1
	NO	99	99	99	99
SEXUAL INTERCOURSE	YES	16	9	5	10
	NO	84	91	95	90
CONCEPTION	YES	6	1	1	2
	NO	94	99	99	98
BIRTH	YES	8	2	1	2
	NO	92	98	99	98
MARRIAGE	YES	16	14	20	32
	NO	84	86	80	68
FAMILY PLANNING	YES	7	3	1	1
	NO	93	97	99	99

KEY.

* Girls were both parous and nulliparous in Kiambu while in Narok they were all nulliparous.

A number of issues emerged from the examination of data on the level of parental involvement in the provision of sexual and reproductive information to teenagers in Kiambu and Narok districts. The first one is that more mothers than fathers discussed these issues with their teenagers. This is in agreement with Shifter's (1983) study whereby 96% of the fathers never discussed sex with their children.

Secondly, teenage girls more than boys were communicated with in both districts. Thirdly, the most discussed subjects by parents were boy/girl relationships, dating and to some extent marriage.

According to the parents, the least discussed topics with children were wet dreams, conception, birth, family planning, sexual intercourse and menstruation. It is apparent therefore that parents were very selective in the sexual issues that they discussed with their children, hence not effective as sources of sexual and reproductive information to teenagers.

6:3:1. Teenagers' Reaction to Parental Sexual Information

The teenagers said that parents told them nothing on various issues related to sex. But we have already noted this was not entirely true as they had selective information on these issues from parents.

A contradiction thus emerges when one analyses the information provided by teenagers concerning the role of parents in providing sexual information. This is because the teenagers perceived parental information as "no information" because according to the teenagers it was information that they could not trust.

Teenagers said that they believed parental information to be geared towards preventing them from having relationships with the opposite sex and from having fun. Others claimed that parental information was not straight-forward and in most cases it came 'too late' after they were already in trouble.

For example, girls claimed that when they wanted to get information from parents, it was either too exaggerated, or untrue.

Further, the teenage girls said that parents never told them how to handle their sexual feelings or what to do when with boys. Instead, the girls were told to keep away from boys and only scolded after they started dating.

This in a way explained why teenagers disregarded parental information. To the teenagers therefore, parents did not tell them "anything useful" on these matters. Teachers as providers of sexual information were also placed in the same category as parents.

6:3:2. Reasons for lack of discussion of Sexual matters between Parents and Teenagers

Shifter (1982), has highlighted two major reasons that explain why parents do not fully discuss matters related to sexuality and reproduction with their children.

One of the reasons is that society has taught parents that it is impolite to explicitly give their children information on sexuality, sexual body parts, pregnancies and how to prevent them.

According to Shifter, parents feel embarrassed talking to their children about these. Parents may also lack accurate information on these matters themselves. These views are confirmed by this study as table 6 shows.

According to table 6 the major reason for lack of discussion between parents and their children was based on their concept of the nature of the sexual topics. According to both the teenagers and the parents, it was not proper to discuss sexual matters between them as they felt shy and embarrassed to communicate on it. Both parents and teenagers among the Kikuyu, said that sex as a subject was not openly discussed outside peer circles as social boundaries prohibited parents from discussing it with or in front of their children.

TABLE 6: REASONS FOR NOT DISCUSSING SEXUAL MATTERS BETWEEN TEENAGERS AND THEIR PARENTS.

TEENAGERS	PARENTS
Fear of parents.	Fear of introducing sex to kids.
Embarrassment	Embarrassment.
Subject not proper for discussion.	Not good to discuss sex with kids.
Shyness.	Children are very shy.
Parents thought teens knew.	Thought they had learned elsewhere.
Parents were away from home.	Children are away in school.
Teens too young for discussion.	Will find out when they mature.
Will find out when mature.	Will make children test it if informed.
Parents will think teens do these things.	Children did not ask.
Did not ask Parents.	Had nothing to tell them.
It is not Parents' work.	It was not mother's duty.
Topic never arose.	Had no time.
Salvation.	No reason.
Parents do not know subject matter of sex.	Did not know what to tell them.
No reason.	It was Mothers' work (Fathers')
	No need. These occur naturally.
	They will learn through experience.

Both teenagers and parents believed this notion. It reflected the "conspiracy of silence" theory by Furstenberg (1977), whereby both parents and teenagers refrain from discussion on the basis of their common unspoken beliefs that the topic was not discussable between the two parties.

The other reasons advanced for lack of communication on these matters followed the above pattern of mutual assumptions and beliefs. According to the teenagers, they did not discuss sexual matters with their parents because, according to them, the parents assumed that they should have known them from other sources.

Parents confirmed this by saying that they assumed that the teenagers had learned about these from schools, books, peers and in Narok, from grandparents. This notion led to another shared assumption among teenagers and their parents that it was not the parent's duty to discuss or educate teenagers on these matters.

The "Volley-ball approach" to the discussion on sexual matters was found even among parents themselves. Mothers believed that it was the fathers' responsibilities to discuss these with the sons while fathers claimed that it was the mothers' responsibility. This notion that it was "someone else's" responsibility led to the belief among parents, and to some extent the teenagers themselves, that they will learn from their own sources. Some teenagers and parents believed further that since most sexual experiences were natural occurrences, the teenagers would naturally know about them when they matured. From the study, we have seen that a significant group of teenagers actually learned various sexual issues from their own experiences.

This lack of responsibility on the part of parents explains the "information gap" between parents and teenagers discussed by Anigan (1981).

The teenagers become ignorant on sexual and reproductive matters because the parents and professionals who are presumed to be the right sources of information have failed to provide it.

Another reason for this lack of communication between parents and their teenagers was based on age. Teenagers said that they knew that their parents thought that they (teens) were too young to discuss sexual matters.

This was based on the notion discussed earlier that sex was not a subject to be discussed with children. The parents confirmed this notion by arguing that teenagers were children and therefore too young to "know" sexual things. Teenagers were therefore afraid to ask because those were things for "grown ups" only. Fear was thus another major reason for teenagers' lack of communication with their parents on sexual matters. Almost all the teenagers in both districts said that they were afraid of discussing sexual matters with their parents. This fear was based on the belief that asking parents about these issues would make parents think that the teenagers already knew about sex. Parents also said that they feared to talk to their children about sex because by doing so, they would be introducing sex to the children who, according to them, were innocent and ignorant.

By talking about these matters, parents felt that they would be pre-empting teenagers' sexual knowledge, make the teenagers aware of their sexuality, awaken it, arouse their sexual curiosity and thereby 'test' some of the sexual information provided.

Another reason for lack of parental and teenage discussion of these matters was that teenagers did not ask for information and therefore parents did not provide it. For both the parents and the teenager, the topic "never arose". Some teenagers also said that they could not ask parents these matters because they believed that the parents did not know and did not have information about them. This view was expressed mainly by the educated teenagers and those who believed that their parents had outdated information that was not relevant to the modern youth. Some parents admitted that they had nothing to tell the teenagers on sexual matters.

Finally, lack of discussion between parents and teenagers was explained by absence from home. Teenagers in Kiambu said that the mothers were away from the house most of the time either working on their farms, selling vegetables or doing casual labour to earn a living.

Fathers were noted to be particularly absent at home except very late at night. These were in essence "absentee fathers" who would either be in town working, staying at the shop sides or in beer halls. Parents, on the other hand, said that their children were most of the times away from home in schools or out herding. Other parents, even those who were at home said that they were too busy and lacked time to discuss anything with their children, except to give them basic instructions on the duties to carry out at home.

However, many of the respondents (teenagers and their parents) said that they did not have any reason for not discussing these matters. A few teenagers said that they were saved and were not engaging in sexual activities, so there was no reason for discussing them.

There were other parental problems in communicating sexual and reproductive information to their children. Parents for example, lacked the language for discussing these and had problems with straight language.

According to the parents, the medium of discussion was "straight forward" language as far as boy/girl relationships were concerned.

However, they were less explicit regarding sexual intercourse and dating. According to the parents (and as confirmed by teens) they used the words "be careful with boys" and "don't play with boys" when talking about dating and sexual intercourse. This, according to the girls was quite unclear since they did not understand what "playing" with boys meant.

In most cases, this information was provided reactively and not pro-actively or pre-emptively. Thus it was not until the teenagers exhibited sexual activity that parents would start telling them to be careful with boys, or punished them for engaging in sexual activities without explanations as to why it was wrong to do so.

From the above discussion, it is clear that both teenagers and parents had similar but uncommunicated fears, beliefs and assumptions. Thus their lack of communication on sexual matters was to a large extent dependent on mutually silent interpretations of each others' presumed understanding of the parties concerned, the subject matter of the topic and the meanings of the process and consequences of the discussions.

This is one area where Symbolic Interaction becomes meaningful and applicable in explaining why teenagers and their parents fail to discuss sexual matters. This is largely due to their interpretations and meanings attributed to each others' thoughts. Both parents and teenagers believed that the other party "thought" it was wrong to discuss sex with each other. Parents also thought that teenagers knew from other sources. Both teenagers and their parents had mutual suspicions concerning the consequences of such discussions.

Despite this lack of communication between parents and teenagers on sexual matters, both teenagers and parents believed that teenagers should know these things and that parents would be the best people to provide information on them.

The parents felt it was important that the teenagers were informed as this knowledge would help shape their personalities and characters. According to the parents, this was important not just in their period as youth but also in the future. In informing the teenagers, the parents believed that they were preparing teenagers for responsible parenthood.

The parents also believed that it was important to inform the teenagers, so that they could also provide the information to their own children when they became parents.

The parents however admitted that despite these beliefs that they should inform and educate their children on these matters, the constraints discussed above made it difficult for them to accomplish the task.

6:4. Parental v/s Peer content of Sexual Information to Teenagers

Another issue arising from analysis of the parental role was that when parents provided information to teenagers, it was to a large extent in contradiction with that provided by teenage peers. Cook and Wilson (1982), have argued that teenagers to a large extent receive confused sex information and misinformation from "contradictory environmental" forces (Marino, 1977). These forces include the peers, parents, teachers and to some extent the mass media. These provide conflicting messages of do's and don't's concerning sexual matters that are quite confusing to the teenagers (see table 7).

As table 7 shows, in most cases the parents said very little to their children even on non-sexual matters.

Regarding various sex-related issues parents said less as compared to the amount of information provided by peers. The girls received more information from parents than the boys. The parental information to the teenagers was generally negative compared to that provided by peers. The girls however received more negative information than the boys, from both parents and peers.

Issue	Parental Information	Peer Information
1. Contraception	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%
2. Abortion	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%
3. Sexually Transmitted Infections	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%
4. HIV/AIDS	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%
5. Pregnancy	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%
6. Sex	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%	11. 100% 12. 100% 13. 100%

Table 7: THE PARENTAL AND PEER CONTENTS OF SEXUAL INFORMATION.

TOPIC	SEX OF TEENS	PARENTAL CONTENT	PEER CONTENT
HAVING GIRL/BOY RELATIONSHIPS	GIRLS	Nothing. It is bad for girls. Good only for boys. Not good when young. Not good when in school. It confuses girls. Have only one boyfriend. Be careful about boys. It should not happen.	It is normal. It is fun. It shows maturity. Be careful with boys. Choose a cute one.
	BOYS	Nothing. Choose nice girls.	It is normal. It is fun.
DATING	GIRLS	Nothing. It is bad. It is dangerous. It is ungodly. To wait till after school. To wait till marriage. Don't copy other girls.	It is fun. It is good. How one should behave. Be careful with boys. It can be dangerous.
	BOYS	Nothing. Good for experience before marriage. Choose age mates.	How to convince girls. It is good.
MENSTRUATION	GIRLS	Nothing. It shows maturity. Pregnancy now possible.	It is normal. It happens to women only. It is a sign of maturity. It comes when egg is released. It is painful. What to do when it happens. How to count dates.
	BOYS	Nothing.	It is blood. It happens to girls only.
WET DREAMS	GIRLS	Nothing.	It occurs to boys only.
	BOYS	Nothing.	It is good. It is normal. It occurs due to sexual longing for a woman. It can be dangerous. It can be cured by sex.

Table 7: CONTINUED

TOPIC	SEX OF TEENS	PARENTAL CONTENT	PEER CONTENT
SEXUAL INTERCOURSE	GIRLS	Nothing. It is bad. It is dangerous. It can lead to pregnancies. It brings bad diseases. It is immoral. It shows lack of discipline. Immoral before marriage. Good only for married couples. Wait till marriage.	It is painful at first but it is sweet and enjoyable. It is a test of maturity. It is a sign of love. Prevents period pains. Opens up sexual organs. How to count safe days before sex. Risks pregnancy and disease.
	BOYS	Nothing.	It is enjoyable. It is necessary. Sign of maturity. How to get it. How it is done. It cures wet dreams. Can lead to pregnancy.
PREGNANCY	GIRLS	Shameful before marriage. May force early marriage. Can occur after menstruation. Leads to pregnancy and child birth. Causes pain and can lead to death.	How, when and to whom it occurs. It happens only to women. It happens after sex. Possible during periods. Happens three days after periods. It is through vagina after sperm meets egg. It is not good before marriage. It is very bad (Narok).
	BOYS	Nothing	It happens only to girls. It proves one's manhood. How to prevent it (Narok).
MARRIAGE	GIRLS	Not good before completing school. It is good only for grown ups. Choose correct partner. Good to have a Christian Marriage.	It is good. It must happen. How to choose a partner.
	BOYS	Good when fully prepared. Choose age-mate.	Sex is free in marriage. Improves one's position in society.
FAMILY PLANNING	GIRLS	Nothing. Only good for married people. It is immoral. Children are God's blessings.	It is good. It is dangerous. It is unholy. How to use it.
	BOYS	Nothing. Immoral. It can stabilise family.	Makes sex enjoyable. Removes fear of pregnancy. Used by loose girls. Used for population control. Condoms are plastic tubes (Narok).

6:4:1 Characteristics of Parents' Information

The parents' content of sexual information had the following characteristics:-

(1) Scanty or no Information to the Boys

Parental information to the boys was very scanty and consisted on advice of how to choose good girls for marriage.

Further, the little information that boys received from parents did not negate the boys' sexual activities. Boys were, for example, urged to have and date more girls in order to have more experience and room for choice of partner before marriage (See table 7).

(2) Moralizing

As table 7 shows the parents described nearly all sexual and reproductive teenage activities as immoral, ungodly and unchristian if they occurred before marriage. The activities were defined as bad and dangerous.

(3) Timing

The underlying message in the parents' content of sexual information was that the various sexual activities should not take place before marriage because it was the wrong time to do so. Until teenagers "grew up", completed school, and got married, engaging in sexual and reproductive activities was wrong. It was not until marriage therefore that those activities were rationalized as morally right and permissible.

(4) Cautionary Messages

The parents' content had heavy cautionary messages. Girls were warned to keep off sexual activities because of their negative consequences such as sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancies. More emphasis was however put on pregnancies than on diseases. The girls were reminded of the shame that would befall the family if they became pregnant before marriage.

(5) Exhortations and Advice

Parents, advised and exhorted girls to wait until marriage before they engaged in sexual activities, given the immoral nature of these activities and the negative consequences associated with them. To prepare for marriage, girls were exhorted by parents to choose right partners.

(6) Lack of Information on Management of Sexuality

It was interesting to note that there was very little information from parents on how to manage the emerging sexuality in order to post-pone its expression until marriage.

6:4:2. Characteristics of Peer content of Sexual information

The contents of peer sexual information to teenagers as compared to information from parents, had the following characteristics:-

(1) Positive Definition of Sexual Expressions

While the parents' messages on sexual activities were characterized by "don'ts", the peer content was dominated by "do's". While parents told teenagers

that sexual activities were wrong before marriage, the peers defined them as right. Where parents moralized and negated these activities, the peers normalized them. As table 7 shows, peers defined sexual activities as normal, fun, enjoyable and good.

(2) Description of Sexual and Reproductive Process

The peer sexual information described the processes involved in the various sexual and reproductive activities. Compared to that provided by parents peers described the various sexual and reproductive activities and when they occurred. Menstruation for example, was described as blood coming from the vagina, causes abdominal pains at times and occurred once a month (see table 7).

(3) Explanation of Sexual Activities

Peer content of sexual matters explained why the different sexual and reproductive activities occurred even though some of the explanations were faulty. For example menstruation was said to occur after eggs were released and wet dreams due to "sexual longing for a woman" (See table 7).

(4) Functions of Sexual Activities

Peers also described the functions of the various sexual and reproductive activities in their messages to teenagers. For most peers, sexual activities served useful and positive purposes to the teenagers.

Sexual expressions were seen as showing signs of maturity which were inevitable and necessary. They led to self satisfaction, and were signs of love (See table 7).

(5) Advice on Management of Sexuality

As table 7 shows, the peer content also consisted of information on what to do when confronted by different sexual demands. Peers for example provided each other with information on how to choose sexual partners, how to behave with sexual partners, for example, girls were told to be shy and play hard to get, while boys were told to be persistent. On what to do when menstruating the girls were told to stand up the whole day to avoid soiling their clothes. On wet dreams, the boys told each other that sexual intercourse cured them.

The peers also told each other what to do during sexual intercourse. Boys were for example told that if they "finger-fucked" the girls and touched their breasts the girls would easily yield and make sex enjoyable. Girls were told to handle boys with care when requested for sex, as this was a time when boys were vulnerable and if girls denied them sex the boys would become very sick and possibly die. On how to avoid pregnancy, the girls were told if they had sex during mid-month or vigorous sex pregnancy would not occur. The area of management of sexuality was rarely touched on by parents. Here too, most of the information provided by peers was inadequate and wrong.

(6) Cautionary Messages

While most of the peer definition of sex to boys was in most cases positive, the peer messages to girls were mixed and contained cautions and warnings on the dangers of engagement in sexual activities and their negative consequences.

6:5. Factors explaining Predominance of Peer Provision of Sexual information Vis-a-Vis that of Parents

There were a number of factors that explained why peers were the main teenage socializers on sexual matters.

The theory of "social learning" identifies three elements necessary for learning to take place. The first one is the learning through conditioning which is a result of effects of rewards and punishments, (Watson, Skinner, and Hardy 1964). Secondly, there is the learning through modelling - i.e. learning by observation and imitation usually of intimate associates. Finally, there is cognitive learning which depends on Language. Lack of adequate vocabulary in any matter particularly on sex matters impedes thinking and communication on the subject (Jeffrey 1978).

The peers seem to possess all these conditions for socialization among each other particularly with regard to sexual matters. Their reward and punishment systems are more effective than parental ones because of the emotional and approval-laden punishment and reward systems.

Young people and teenagers in particular value peer approval. The fear of disapproval and unacceptance, motivates young people to conform to peer behaviour.

Teenagers also provide strong reference groups to each other and model peer appropriate behaviour to each other. Peers also provide the language that is appropriate in labelling sexual organs and communicating sexually in ways that parents cannot.

Young people develop a system of subterranean language and behaviour patterns that are hidden from adults but freely used and exhibited among peers. This language is borrowed from other peers or adopted from the mass media. As a result of peer relationships, young people acquire a sex vocabulary from each other with which to fill the information gap in labelling their sexual organs, discussing their genitalia and sexual feelings and with which to express their curiosity.

The peers therefore provide models, punishments, rewards as well as the language to communicate with each other in ways that parents or teachers cannot.

Unfortunately, like the contradictions in sexual information, these peer models conflict with adult expectations even though the adults themselves provide neither sexual models nor the language to the peers. All they do is punish what to them is inappropriate behaviour but whose inappropriateness has not been effectively communicated to the child by the parents while it has been encouraged by peers. Therefore in situations whereby the parents cannot effectively provide information or socialize the children for the various reasons, the peer becomes a very strong force to contend with.

The other determinant factor contributing to this lack of parental communication is that in most traditional communities, sex is considered a subject whose discussion is only allowable among peers. Parents are not their children's peers. Aunties and grandparents are considered as peers particularly in communities where children are named after their grandparents and aunties.

The "joking relationship" that exist between these two makes it easier to communicate on such sensitive information. These can therefore discuss sexual matters with their siblings, grandchildren their nieces and nephews. Hence the prevalence of their use for that purpose in traditional communities.

However, it is interesting to note that in Kiambu, aunties and grandmothers had very little to do with the provision of sexual information to the peers despite their close proximity to each other. This was explained by a number of factors. Like parents, the grandparents and aunties in Kiambu felt that they had different value systems compared to those of the youth today.

Grandparents felt that because their grandchildren had been to school, were literate and had acquired Christian and Western values, they (the youth) would not listen to the grandparents or even appreciate what the latter had to offer. This was a case of clash of value systems.

It is important at this point to discuss some of the factors that explained why the peers in Kiambu provided contradictory information while those in Narok provided relatively similar information to that of parents. Broom and Zelnik (1973), have argued that in homogeneous societies where various groups that socialize their members tend to share the same values, socialization can be continuous and effective while in heterogeneous societies where the socializing groups have different values and complete for the same individuals, different values can be learned.

In Narok, the society is homogeneous and share common values. There has been very little infiltration of foreign values. The socializers among the Maasai youth are the peers who share common values with the clan and the community. They also share community norms that guide behaviour. In this situation therefore, the peers' information will not differ greatly from that of parents.

Similarly, grandmothers are able to socialize the youth because their value systems do not seem to be different from those of young people. In Kiambu, however, the situation is different.

Despite the homogeneity in terms of common language and population structure, there exists a multi-value system inherited from Colonialism, Christianity and cosmopolitan influences. Consequently, parents, grandparents and young people do not share similar or common value systems. The socialization values are therefore bound to be different between the youth and adults, hence the contradictions and differences in information provided by both parties.

Finally, the minimal role of the mass media in the two districts was explained by a number of factors. Among these were, the high costs of purchasing and maintaining radios and buying batteries. Lack of electricity in the areas explained the absence of Television. Where radios existed, they were listened to by adults only, during news times. The radio batteries are costly, hence efforts to spare them by limiting the use of radio to news times only.

6:6. Summary

What emerges from these findings is that there were not many differences between the teenagers in Kiambu and Narok districts, in terms of the levels of sexual information and knowledge.

Despite assertions that teenagers were informed and knew various sexual issues, this knowledge was found to be scanty, superficial and to a large extent inaccurate. Teenagers were thus by and large ignorant and misinformed.

This ignorance and misinformation among teenagers was related to the sources of information. The peers were the dominant sources of sexual and reproductive information which was inadequate and inaccurate. The parents, teachers and other adults who are presumed to have accurate information did not provide it due to the various problems discussed. When parents provided information, they excluded vital messages on the what, why, when and the management of sexuality, while teenage peers filled this information gap with wrong messages.

Further, teenagers were confused as a result of the contradictory and conflicting messages provided by peers and adults, especially the parents. These contradictions were more pronounced in Kiambu than in Narok.

Teenagers were also quite selective in what they chose to believe in the midst of the confusion in the information process. They were skeptical of parental information which they perceived to be negative and not to be believed while they accepted that provided by their peers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE DYNAMICS OF TEENAGE PRE-MARITAL SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR.

7:1. Teenagers' Sexual Perceptions and Practices

In this section we discuss the dynamics of teenage sexual behaviour and their bearing on pregnancy and reproduction. The teenagers' sexual perceptions and practices are also discussed.

These include dating, kissing, sexual intercourse, use of contraceptives, pregnancies, marriage and childbearing. These perceptions will be useful in understanding teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour.

7:1:1. Teenagers' Attitudes Towards Dating and Pre-marital Sex

In this study, 'dating' referred to a myriad of teenage sexual activities among the teenagers such as having boy/girlfriends, seeing each other at appointed times, meeting, and going out together to different places, such as walks, movies and dances. To some degree, it also included sexual intercourse.

The majority of the boys and girls in both Kiambu and Narok districts said that it was alright to have a girl/boyfriend. In Kiambu, 90.9% of the boys, 79% of girls felt it was okay to have relationships with the opposite sex.

In Narok 90% of the boys said it was okay to have a girlfriend compared to 68% of the girls who favoured having a boyfriend.

Regarding sexual intercourse, more boys than girls in both Kiambu (74.1%) and Narok, (78%) felt that it was right to have pre-marital sex. Interestingly, more of the parous girls (49%) in Kiambu district felt that pre-marital sex was alright as compared to 11.5% nulliparous girls in Kiambu and 16% in Narok district.(see table 8)

Despite these attitudes towards having a girlfriend or boyfriend, most teenage respondents in both Kiambu and Narok districts had boyfriends and girlfriends.

7:1:2. Teenagers' Dating Patterns and Sexual Practices

Both girls and boys in the two districts admitted that they had boy/girl relationships. What emerged from the study is that even the teenagers who felt that it was wrong to have boy/girlfriends actually had them.

TABLE 8: TEENAGERS' DATING PATTERNS, ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES.

	KIAMBU DISTRICT			NAROK DISTRICT	
	NULLIPAROUS GIRLS %	PAROUS GIRLS %	BOYS %	BOYS %	GIRLS %
ATTITUDE TOWARDS BOY-GIRL RELATIONSHIP.					
Right	67	79	91	90	68
Wrong	33	21	9	10	32
POSSESSION OF BOY/GIRL FRIEND.					
Yes	75	75	92	90	80
No	25	25	8	10	20
AGE OF DATING PARTNER.					
Older	60	67	8	5	85
Younger	9	4	50	70	5
Same age	31	29	42	25	10
MARITAL STATUS OF DATING PARTNER.		*			
Single	81	44	83	98	97
Married	19	56	17	2	3
NUMBER OF DATING PARTNERS.					
Many	20	32	95	80	18
One	80	68	5	20	82

KEY.*

The parous girls said that prior to becoming pregnant, they dated single men. After child-birth and abandonment by their boyfriends, they dated married men who were older and could support them. In this way, many parous girls had repeat pregnancies by married men who promised to support the girls if they bore the men children. However, after the second births, they were abandoned again with more children.

As regards dating, over 85% of the boys in both Narok and Kiambu district said that they dated. The girls who had children dated more than those who did not have children. In Kiambu 67% of the girls with children dated compared to about 50% of those without children. In Narok, 85% of the girls dated.

Most of the teenage girls in Kiambu dated boys of the same age or two to three years older than them. The girls in Narok were forbidden to date young uncircumcised boys. They therefore dated Morans who were relatively older than the girls. The boys tended to date younger girls or those of the same age. Both the boys and girls preferred to date single people. There was however a tendency among the parous girls in Kiambu to date married men after getting their first children.

The reasons for the parous girls' preference to date married men were pragmatic and consequential to their first experiences with single men who had initially made them pregnant. According to these girls, they had been made pregnant by single men who later abandoned them after pregnancy with no material help to support themselves and their children.

These girls therefore argued that married men were more suitable partners because they were more mature and economically stable than the single boys most of whom were still young, in school and unemployed.

The married men were therefore seen as being able to provide girls with economic support for themselves and their children.

The married men were also considered by the girls to be more agreeable by virtue of their maturity and easier to get along with, than the single younger boys. They were also considered to be more affectionate and better companions to the girls than the single boys.

Most of the girls however, (particularly those with no children) in Kiambu and Narok expressed many problems associated with having a married man for a boyfriend. About 30% of the girls in Kiambu expressed fears that married men could abandon them after having sex with them or after making them pregnant and go back to their wives. The girls saw this as time-wasting and ruining their lives. This, they said, would make the single boys hate them, thus jeopardizing their chances of marriage.

Dating married men was seen further, (by 27%) as one of the major reasons for inter-family disputes and hatred within the community. The girls feared that these men's wives may start a quarrel with them and their families. This was considered shameful, embarrassing and risking a beating or possible death by the wives. On the whole, dating married men was considered to be a transient, flirting and fleeting relationship which most girls considered to be wrong.

Among the Maasai girls it was taboo to date or have sexual relationships with their fathers' age-mates. This was considered incestuous and was heavily punished.

Below is a detailed account of the punishment and cleansing rituals meted to such people.

According to the respondents:

"Men can have sexual relationships with women of any ages. However, they fear relationships with their own children as well as those of their age-mate's. If it is known, that such action takes place it is taken very seriously. There are rituals undertaken to punish and cleanse both the man and the girl.

If a man has such an affair with the age-mate's daughter, and it is discovered, women call each other. They remove all their "shuka" (clothing), they go naked to the man's house screaming and carrying sticks and swords. When the man sees them, he runs away. The women leave the sticks in his compound and go away.

After two weeks, they come back to the man's compound to look for a big bull which they slaughter. They come singing songs castigating the man for what he has done to his "daughter" or the age-mate's daughter who is considered to be like ones own real daughter. The women hold the daughter and remove all her clothes. They make her lie on the ground naked, call her

father and ask him "why did you not put your thing (penis) where it belongs"? (meaning to the wife or wives). They then take the bull's intestines and wrap them round his neck like a necklace. Then they take sticks and poke and pierce the intestines when they are all naked. Even the girl and her age-mates pierce the intestines, while naked. Others spit on the man. All the intestinal contents spill on him. The man is so embarrassed that he cannot face the people.

When the girl is asked why she had sex with the father or father's age-mate, she retorts "ask him". He is too embarrassed to say anything, at the time. This is a deterrent, a punishment as well as a cleansing

After the ceremony, the women eat the meat, smear bull's fat on the sticks left in the compound, and throw them away. At this point, the curse is cleansed. The man can once more engage in sexual relations with his wife while the girl is cleansed and can marry somebody else. Other men learn from this experience and it deters them from committing incest with their own or other age-mate's daughters.

If such a ritual is not carried out, evil may befall both the man and the girl. Even when it is not discovered by the public, if such an incestuous act takes place, all the girl's children will always die when she marries. The man on the other hand would go mad, or become retarded (mjinga) and would never be able to face or talk to people. This is what the Maasai believe". (Taped from the Focused Group Discussion in Mosiro).

The major reason for not dating married women for most of the boys in both Narok and Kiambu was the fear of fights and disputes between the boys and women's husbands. These fights were also seen to bring long term hatred and disputes between families in the community. On the whole, however, and apart from fear, the boys had more legal and moral reasons for not dating married women than the girls had for not dating married men. According to the boys, dating married women was illegal, sinful, adulterous and could lead to divorce. Very few of the girls who dated married men considered the morality and the legality of dating married men.

This distinction between the boys' and girls' views towards dating married partners could be explained by the prevailing traditional cultural values that determine and

define male/female relationships in both Kiambu and Narok districts. In both communities, men claim that they are potentially and actually polygynous by nature and therefore can have more than one woman in a relationship. For women however this was considered to be culturally non-permissible.

This polygynous notion of male dating and sexual practices was reflected in this study by the number of dating and sexual partners that the respondents had. Here, more boys tended to date more than one partner while more girls tended to date one partner at any given time.

7:1:3. Dating venues

For those in boarding schools, dating took place during the school holidays. For those in day schools and out of school, dating was anytime an opportunity arose but more often on Sundays and month-ends. This was particularly true in Kiambu district where most of the boys and girls without children were in school. Even for those not attending school, most weekdays were spent at home on domestic and agricultural activities. Sundays were rest days where most girls were allowed to leave home, to go to church or visit their friends and relatives.

In Narok where most boys and girls were not in school, dating occurred at various moments during herding, in firewood or water fetching errands and during dancing ceremonies.

Most of the dating partners were found in the vicinity of the teenagers' homes and neighbourhoods. Very few respondents dated people from afar. Almost all the respondents said that they met their dating partners either along the roadsides, in church functions, in school functions, in weddings, in funerals, in the market places or in the boys' or girls' homes. Hence nearly all the dating partners were within their own communities.

Since most teenagers acquired dating partners close to their homes, it followed that most of the dating activities took place within close proximity to these homes. In Kiambu, over 50% of the girls and boys dated the boys' huts popularly known as a "cube"¹.

¹. A cube is a small one-roomed boy's hut or house built behind the main parental house. These rooms are decorated with pictures from exotic romantic magazines. At the doors, they are painted with flowers and messages such as "Welcome to love house". They are usually partially dark as a result of their smallness and being at the back of the main house. They are usually fitted with a bed, a small table and not more than two chairs. Creative boys make electricity from battery cells and a bulb adding the

The other venues were relatives' homes, church and school functions, as well as at wedding parties and funerals. A small minority (2.5%) went to movies and discos. About 10% of the girls dated in bars and lodgings.

The latter, however, were the girls who dated married men or boys who could afford to take them to lodging houses. On the whole, given that most of the boys were still in school and came from poor economic backgrounds, it was not possible for them to hire these places, hence their dating in freely available venues.

In Narok, most dating activities took place in the boys' manyatta at night or in the bush during the day. This could also be explained by the fact that in Narok there are very few boarding and lodging places which are very far from most of the respondents. The economic situation of the respondents also made it difficult for them to hire such places. The strict parental supervision of the girls also made it difficult for them to date in far away places.

What emerges here is that, contrary to the widely held notions that teenage dating took place in far away and morally dangerous places such as towns, bars and night-clubs, the actual situation was that these activities

took place right in the respondents' homesteads or in places of close proximity. The school, church and homestead venues are normally considered to be morally safe places wherein least suspicion is raised as far as the supervision of the young people is concerned. Yet these provide more meeting and dating settings for the teenagers. Some boys even argued that the church was the best place to find good girls.

Despite the perceived parental strictness in the supervision of the girls' movements, the girls and boys had devised tactics that would enable them to get out of their parents' sights without the slightest suspicion. As has already been mentioned, Sundays were "days off" when parents did not always know where their daughters were after the church services. For those who did not attend church services, they had permission to visit their girlfriends or relatives. These were used as excuses for going to dates.

7:1:4. Parental knowledge of Teenagers' Dating

Nearly all the teenagers never disclosed to the parents that they had boyfriends or girlfriends. Having boy/girl friends and dating was kept secret from the parents. The teenagers also believed that their parents did not know that they were dating.

Neither did they think that their parents knew their dating partners. The teenage girls neither brought their boyfriends home nor did they introduce them to their parents. In fact the girls always pretended to be going to see their girlfriends or relatives whenever they went for dates.

Even though the boys did not tell their parents about their girlfriends or dating patterns, they brought their girlfriends to their "cubes". The parents would inevitably see the girls being sneaked in or out of the cubes.

While the girls were scared of letting their parents know that they were dating, the boys were not. The girls in both districts feared that informing parents about their dating was a sign of disrespect. They also feared parental anger if the parents discovered that they were dating.

7.1.5. Parental level of Strictness

The teenagers' fear of disclosing their dating behaviour was related to their perceived levels of parental strictness. All the teenagers said that their parents were very strict on matters related to having boyfriends and dating. The parents also agreed that they were strict. Both the teenagers and the parents agreed that the level of

strictness depended on whether the teenager was a girl or boy. The parents were more strict on teenage girls than on the teenage boys.

Parental strictness with the girls was explained as warnings not to have boyfriends, not to go out with boys; quarrels and beatings if they were known to date, stay or sleep out. The parents gave the reasons for their being strict to the girls. These included the fear of the consequences of dating such as pregnancy, dropping of school and immorality.

According to the parents, these things did not happen to the boys so they did not see the need to be strict on the boys. In fact, according to the parents, the boys were expected to have girlfriends and to go for dates as proof that they were normal. This is one case where as Ndigwako (1976) argues, there exists double standards as far as parental supervision of girls and boys is concerned.

While boys are encouraged to date, the girls are discouraged and forbidden. This differential parental strictness between the teenage boys and girls has a lot of implications for the problems encountered by girls,

including pre-marital teenage pregnancies. As long as the boys are let loose they will seek out the girls.

According to the girls, the parental strictness was mainly expressed in terms of locking up the girls and not allowing them to mix freely with boys. The girls, particularly those in Kiambu therefore felt that they did not know how to deal with boys or how to develop meaningful relationships. When they met with the boys, they were eager to discover quickly (given the few sneaky moments when they met) what was in a love relationship.

This explains why girls became pregnant very soon after meeting their boyfriends. In Narok, although the parents were strict, girls would go herding with boys. They were also allowed to go for dancing, compared to those in Kiambu where dancing was forbidden.

The boys also constantly used the expression that the "more a girl was locked in, the more appetizing she became". According to the boys, they all wanted to have sex with the girls who had very strict parents. Some boys told the researchers that sometimes they competed against each other and rewarded the first boy to have sex with such a girl. This gave such a boy a sense of conquest.

Others even said that they would aim at making such girls pregnant in order to "punish" the strict parents and teach them a lesson in locking up their daughters.

7:1:6. Teenagers' Reasons for not having Boy/Girl Relationships and Dating

Although many teenagers had boy/girl relationships there were a few who did not have these. The major reason for the girls was lack of desire to have boyfriends. Secondly they had the fear of the negative consequences of having boyfriends such as engaging in sexual intercourse that may result in pre-marital pregnancies, abortions and loss of opportunities for education and marriage. For others (20%) age was a barrier to their having boyfriends.

These considered themselves to be too young to have boyfriends. Others (19%) did not want to displease their parents who disapproved of their having boyfriends. For 57% of the girls, salvation and religious commitments prevented them from having boyfriends as this was considered a possible situation for sin. Finally, 1% did not have boyfriends because of previous disappointment by boys.

Some of the boys had similar reasons for not having girlfriends as those of the girls. These included their young age and religious commitments.

However, for the boys, personal reasons such as disinterest in the girls were paramount. For others, economic reasons prevailed such as feelings that they were too poor and did not have anything to offer the girls economically. These viewed girls as being only interested in material things. It is important to note however, that these responses were from less than 10% of the boys in both Narok and Kiambu districts as these were the only ones who claimed to be without girlfriends.

7:1:7 Teenagers' Reasons for Dating

The major reason for having a boyfriend according to the girls in Kiambu was that it was a way of getting a marital spouse, in the future. This view was very common among the nulliparous girls. The girls with children had similar reasons for having boyfriends prior to their having children. However, after becoming pregnant, and not marrying after all, their purpose for having a boyfriend had shifted from that of seeking a marital partner to the desire for companionship, to be loved and to have someone to love.

For the majority of the girls in Narok the reason for having boyfriends was not to seek a marriage partner. This was explained by the fact that most Maasai girls were 'booked' for marriage before or after birth.

Custom allowed Maasai girls to have boyfriends or lovers (Olangata) who in many cases were different from the marriage partners that they had been booked to. For this reason, most girls were not having boyfriends for marital purposes. For them boyfriends were useful as companions and dancing partners.

Whereas for the girls in both Narok and Kiambu districts emotional attachment² was the main reason for having a boyfriend, it was not the primary reason among the boys. For the boys, in both districts, the major reason for having girlfriends was because it was the expected thing to do among peers and a proof of maturity, manhood and normalcy, in the society. Many teenagers felt that having a boyfriend or girlfriend was alright as long as sexual intercourse did not take place.

7:1:8. Discussion

A number of issues emerge from the discussion on perceptions and practice related to having boyfriend/girlfriends and dating. As far as having boy/girlfriends and dating is concerned, there is little difference between the teenagers in Narok and Kiambu.

². Emotional attachment was reflected by responses such as "desire to show love and to be loved" or to "prevent loneliness".

More boys than girls in both districts thought it was okay to have relationships with the opposite sex and to date. More boys than girls had these relationships and dated, even those who felt that it was wrong. The teenagers' perceptions towards dating were related to their rationalization of the purposes of dating. For girls in Kiambu the purpose was marriage, while in Narok it was companionship.

To a certain extent, the teenagers' dating patterns and attitudes could be influenced by the information they had from peers concerning the merits and de-merits of dating.

From the discussion on teenagers' sexual and reproductive information, we saw that teenagers were receiving contradictory information from peers and parents. The teenagers' views that having boy/girl friends and dating were wrong could be related to the parental information on the subjects while the notions that these activities were right could stem from the peer information.

In relating sexual information to sexual attitudes and practices, it is important to explain why even the teenagers who felt that having relationships with the opposite sex and dating were wrong, yet they engaged in them.

To do this, consideration should be given to the fact that teenage years are not only periods of sexual and reproductive maturation but also ages of desire for physical attractions with the opposite sex (Mihaly & Lawson, 1984).

When teenagers are confronted with conflicting information on the definitions and strategies of dealing with upsurge of desire for physical attractions, the tendency is to do what is practical and natural. Peers define these attractions as normal and expected and as we have seen earlier, teenagers tend to believe this more than adult information.

Secondly, peers provide practical advice (even though it is largely incorrect) on how to manage desire for attraction which teenagers usually apply when confronted with such situations. Parents, on the other hand, just say "don't date" or it is "wrong to date" without offering concrete information on what teenagers should do.

Another issue emerging here is that teenagers had a tendency to rationalize their attitudes towards dating and having boy/girl relationships. For example, the desire and response to love and be loved was one of the teenagers' explanations for having boy/girl friends, and for dating.

These rationalizations were based on moral and pragmatic reasons which were constantly being weighed and balanced in face of actual dating situations. This was clearly seen in teenagers' choice of partners and dating patterns.

It was also evident that parents had no knowledge of teenage dating patterns particularly that of girls in Kiambu and Narok districts. Boys however, were known to date by their parents. The differential visibility between boys' and girls' dating behaviour can be explained by the boys desire to show off while the girls tend to hide their dating activities. This can further be explained by the differential views towards the girls' sexual expressions as compared to these of boys. As discussed in the literature review and the theoretical framework, there is more tendency, on the part of society, to control women's sexuality vis-a-vis that of males. Thus while the boys' expression of sexuality through dating is encouraged and seen to emphasize the macho image of boys, the sexual expression of women is discouraged and negatively labelled.

7:2. Teenage Pre-marital Sexual Intercourse

In this section, we discuss the reasons why teenagers thought sexual intercourse was right or wrong and whether their dating behaviour resulted in sexual intercourse.

So far, we have seen that teenagers in both districts had high levels of dating behaviour patterns. A significant number also had positive attitudes towards pre-marital sex.

One of the teenagers' common reasons for favouring pre-marital sex was its enjoyability. The other reasons differed between boys and girls in the two districts.

In both districts, whereas most of the boys felt that pre-marital sex was okay for their own personal reasons, for the girls, the major reason for pre-marital sex was to express their love and to please the boys. The girls' own personal satisfaction was secondary.

For about 60% of the boys in both districts, their major reasons for pre-marital sex included the need to satisfy their sexual need (37.1%), to get sexual experience (12.8%) and to test their sexual potency (10.3%). Interestingly, none of the boys said pre-marital sex was for expressing love to the girls.

Most girls in Kiambu felt that, pre-marital sex was a prerequisite to marriage. The parous girls in Kiambu said that before they became pregnant, they had thought what

pre-marital sex would lead to marriage but after getting children, and failing to marry, this notion changed. The majority of the girls in Narok did not associate pre-marital sex with marriage.

As already noted, more girls than boys felt that it was wrong to have pre-marital sex. Girls and boys in Narok feared mainly the risks of pregnancy. Pre-marital pregnancy was considered by the majority of the respondents as the major evil of pre-marital sex in both districts. Fear of pregnancy was expressed by 43% of the nulliparous girls, 40% of the parous girls, and 23.3% of the boys in Kiambu. In Narok 80% of the boys and 60% of the girls feared pregnancy.

In Kiambu 20% of the girls feared pre-marital sex because of other "bad effects" such as punishments, expulsion from school and to be considered morally loose. The Kiambu boys did not seem concerned about these. The differential attitudes between boys and girls in Kiambu could be explained by the fact that girls tended to be punished more than boys for engagement in pre-marital sex and pregnancies. However, whereas in Kiambu the boys got away with pre-marital pregnancies, in Narok they were heavily punished. This explains why more boys in Narok feared pre-marital sex than those in Kiambu.

The respondents were further asked what they felt about pre-marital sex if the risks of pregnancy were removed, for example by use of contraceptives. Interestingly, the attitudes did not change much for the majority of the boys and the nulliparous girls in both districts. In Kiambu district, 77.4% of the boys compared to 12% of the nulliparous girls said it was right to have sex even with the risks of pregnancy being removed. Similarly in Narok, 80% of the boys compared to 20% of the girls agreed with this view. The number of parous girls in Kiambu who felt that pre-marital sex was alright if pregnancy was prevented rose from 51.4% to 55% the major reason being that sex would be more enjoyable without the risks of pregnancy. These girls had separated pleasure from reproductive functions of sex.

Interestingly enough, also, very few of the girls and none of the boys felt that pre-marital sex was wrong because of risks of disease. About 40% of the nulliparous girls in Kiambu feared contraction of sexually transmitted diseases compared to 14% of the parous girls. The other girls' reasons for feeling that sex was wrong included parental disapproval (mainly among nulliparous girls), loss of virginity (17%), being considered loose, notions that sex was shameful (10%) and feeling that it was only good for married couples.

About 1% of the nulliparous girls felt that pre-marital sex was wrong because it was sinful. None of the boys and parous girls presented any of these reasons. For some of the nulliparous girls, pre-marital sex was occurring just because girls could not control themselves.

7:2:1. Pre-marital Sexual Practices

From the foregoing discussions, it has clearly emerged that more boys than girls favoured pre-marital sex in both Kiambu and Narok districts. Pre-marital teenage sexual behaviour was largely dependent on the teenagers' perceptions towards sex. In terms of sexual practice, the boys' positive attitudes towards sex were translated into sexual intercourse. Over 80% of the boys in both Kiambu and Narok districts admitted that at the time of the interview, they had had sex more than once and with more than one sexual partner. Among the girls, 100% of the parous girls had had sex compared to 40% of the nulliparous girls in Narok and 16% in Kiambu. The high sexual activity among parous girls was despite their negative attitudes towards sex.

The question of whether the teenagers had had sex was one of the very few questions with non-responses. Among the nulliparous girls in Kiambu, 30% did not respond compared to 8% of the boys.

In Narok, there was only 1% of the non-responses. Recognition was given here to the fact that it was difficult to verify whether the girls had had sex particularly those who were nulliparous. The study therefore depended entirely on their own admission. For the parous ones, having a child was proof enough that they had engaged in sexual intercourse. The noted problem here was also that boys tended to exaggerate their sexual activities while girls tended to underplay them.

7:2:3. Reasons for not having Sexual Intercourse

The analysis of teenagers non-engagement in pre-marital sexual intercourse shows that teenagers rationalized sexual behaviour on the basis of moral and pragmatic reasons. There were various reasons given for not having sex by those who did not have it. These were consistent with their perceptions towards sex. The major reason for sexual abstinence for both boys and girls as already discussed was fear of pregnancy, which was reported by more girls than boys in Kiambu district and almost an equal number of boys and girls in Narok district. This fear was real considering the high prevalence of non-use of contraceptives.

The other reasons among the girls was dislike for sex (22%) as well as lack of boyfriends (12%) in Kiambu district.

Over 22% of boys and girls in both districts did not specify the reasons why they did not engage in sexual intercourse.

For 33.3% of the boys in Kiambu, however, the other reason for not having sexual intercourse was because their girlfriends were away in school. Religious commitment and salvation were reasons for non-indulgence in sexual intercourse for 11% of the boys and 8% of the girls in Kiambu and among 2% of the boys and girls respectively in Narok district.

It is interesting to note here that a significant number of teenagers did not have sex because of lack of sexual partners or their distance to each other. The implication here is that if they had them or if they were near, sexual intercourse would probably have occurred.

7:2:4. Reasons for having Sexual Intercourse

A number of factors emerged in the analysis of teenager's reasons for engaging in pre-marital sexual intercourse. About 80% of the boys in Kiambu and Narok had sexual intercourse because it was enjoyable, and they liked it, compared to only 8.7% of the nulliparous girls in Kiambu.

The other reasons given by boys for engaging in sexual intercourse were curiosity, desire to "test" and "taste" sex, to gain sexual experience, to cure wet dreams, to test their manhood and to test their sexual organs' ability to perform sex.

The girls' reasons for sexual intercourse included (as already mentioned) desire to show love to the boys, overwhelming, uncontrollable emotions after arousal by the boys and to some extent in Kiambu promise of marriage. Some of the parous girls in Kiambu had had coitus because they wanted to have their sex organs opened up and be like other sexually experienced girls.

The notion of opening up the sexual organ was quite prevalent among the girls as it emerged from the informal discussions in Kiambu. Most girls had been told by boys and other girls that it was very important to have their sex organs opened (Gutura Nduri) because if they did not do so, they would have problems with menstruation as their vaginas would close up. Girls had been told that if they were not opened through coitus before marriage, they would experience a lot of vaginal pain, bleeding and possible rotting during their first intercourse at marriage and during childbirth. Some girls even believed that maggots would develop in the wound at marriage.

Hence their belief in the importance of keeping their sexual organs constantly open before marriage through coitus. Girls also believed that sexual intercourse provided them with proteins. These notions are not different from those expounded by Stopes (1928) as discussed in the literature review. The desire to be like other girls who were sexually experienced and therefore socially acceptable among peers, was another motivating factor for sexual indulgence among the teenagers who engaged in sexual intercourse. This was indeed a case of peer reference.

A clear distinction emerges between the girls' and the boys' reasons for having sex. Whereas boys had sexual intercourse for their own pleasure and enjoyment, the girls had sex because they wanted to please and to show love to the boys. None of the boys had sex to show love to the girls or to please them. This was consistent with the teenagers explanations for their perception towards pre-marital sexual intercourse.

In nearly all cases of teenage sexual intercourse in this study, it was the boys who initiated it and the girls responded to the boys' initiatives.

When asked why they had sex, all the girls said it was because the boys wanted and had asked for it. Except for about 40% of the parous girls in Kiambu³ who said that they wanted sex, all the others did it for reasons emanating from boys. Sexual intercourse for the girls was essentially a response to the boys' demands to have sex.

7:2:5. The Dynamics of Teenage Sexual Intercourse

Despite the apparent high sexual activity among the boys in the study, most of them reported that they did not always find it easy to get the girls to have sex with. Over 69% of the boys in both districts said that the girls always refused at first to consent to their sexual demands. Only 31% did not have problems with the girls. Interestingly, these were the same boys who thought that the girls who gave in to sex easily were loose, immoral and sexually experienced. Most of the boys preferred the girls who were difficult to get.

The boys said that they always found a lot of pleasure, in conquering a girl who was 'special' in their community. Such girls were those who had strict parents, were intelligent or did not normally talk to boys.

³. The notion of girls themselves wanting sex and initiating it was more pronounced after they had children than before.

In Kiambu, the boys reported that sometimes they even made a bet on who would first have sex with such a girl as that would be considered a sign of victory, charm and manhood, among the peers.

Despite the girls refusal, which according to the boys was fake and expected, the boys always found a combination of tactics to make the girls consent to sex. According to the boys, the girl's "NO" was always a "YES" and they did not expect that she would voluntarily consent to sex even if she wanted it. The boys believed that girls were highly sexy but they would not admit it unless they were coaxed by the boys. To the boys, the girls' approach to sexual intercourse was a game where each knew the rules i.e the boy begs for sex, the girl at first refuses, while the boy insists and finally the girl consents.

The major tactics used by the boys were persuasion, negotiation and to some extent coercion. About 87% of the boys in both districts convinced and persuaded the girls to have sex with them. The persuasive techniques included sweet talking the girls, wooing them and flattering them about how beautiful they were. The boys also lied that they could not live without the girls and that they thought and dreamt about them all the time.

The boys also said that they persistently begged for sex as if it was a matter of life and death. Sometimes they appealed to the girls' feminine mercy and faked pain when the girls refused to consent. In the end according to the boys, the girls gave in because they did not want to see the boys "suffer" for something which they had and could offer to reduce the boys' pain.

Apart from verbal tactics, boys also used body caressing as a technique to arouse the girls' sexual passions. In Kiambu district, the boys kissed (smooched) and petted the girls all over their bodies. In Narok, kissing was not very much used as it was not common and was considered dirty. The boys also held girls hands, fondled their breasts and vaginas in what they called "finger fucking". These "touchings" were combined with the sweet talking until the girls were completely overcome by emotions to the point of surrendering themselves to the boys. This version of the boys was consistent with the admission of the girls that to a large extent they gave in to sexual intercourse because of being overcome by emotions.

These overwhelming sexual emotions were described in Kiambu as "Ngunyiriri" - a nondescript mixture of feelings that are warm, cool and good all over the body.

Interestingly, none of the boys said that they had sex because of having uncontrollable emotions!

A number of boys (20%) said that when the girls completely refused to submit to their sexual requests, by persuasion, caressing and sweet talking, they would become harsh and tough to the girls, and would demand sex by force. If the girls were in the boys' "cube", they would find it difficult to scream and resist thereby giving in to sex unwillingly. The argument by the boys was that since the girl was in "his" cube, she was by implication ready to face the consequences. According to the boys, if she did not want sex she would not in the first place be locked up alone with them in their dark cubes. Below is a summary of the typical scene of sex negotiation process as described by both girls and boys which according to the girls led to sexual intercourse. This was tape-recorded.

GIRLS

BOYS

Girl: "He was touching me all over and asking me to give him sex".

Interviewer: "Did you resist?"

Girl: "Yes, I told him I was afraid I might become pregnant".

Interviewer: "Then what happened"?

Girl: "He continued to touch me, kiss me and told me that I will not get pregnant. He also told me, I should not worry since he would marry me"

Interviewer: "Then what happened"?

Girl: "He kept insisting until I sympathized with him. My feelings also became too much for me to control. I did not want to hurt him. I also believed that he would marry me. Before I knew it, I had given in!"

Boy: "I touch them all over their breast and in the private parts".

Interviewer: "Do they resist?"

Boy: "Yes, but I tell them not to worry. I woo them and rouse their feelings until they can't resist any more.

Boy: "I promise them alot of love and tell them I will marry them. If they keep resisting I become very angry and they soften up and give in.

In Narok District, some boys reported that sometimes they would sneak into the girls' huts where they slept with their guardians who in most cases were old women. Here they would "steal" sex from the girls who always found it difficult to scream or to wake up the old guardians.

In Kiambu, the boys reported that the major reason for the girls' refusal to have sexual intercourse was fear of pregnancy. The boys seemed to be very aware of this reason. To deal with it, they convinced the girls not to fear because they would not get pregnant. For some reason, the girls always believed the boys when they were told this.

According to the boys, when the girls became adamant and denied them sex on grounds that they would become pregnant, the boys' last resort would be to "promise" marriage. According to over 70% of the boys in Kiambu, most girls wanted to hear that they would be married and the promise seemed to break all the resistance. From the general and indepth interviews with the girls themselves, they concurred that once the boys promised them marriage, they consented to having sex.

7:2:6. Venues of Teenage Sexual Intercourse

Just like in dating, most sexual intercourse was mainly carried out within the teenagers' homes, particularly in the boys' cubes in Kiambu. As already discussed, most of the girls visited the boys cubes under the guise of visiting their girlfriends (most of whom were related to the boys), to borrow a book or to do homework together.

The next popular venue after the cubes was the coffee bushes, and grass popularly referred to by teenagers in Kiambu as "Green Lodges", "Snake Parks" or "Picnic Sites". In Narok, sexual intercourse took place in the Manyatta, in the bush when herding and in the girls' huts where the girls slept with their old guardians.

Very few sexual activities took place outside the community areas. Cases of these occurred in classrooms after night studies in mixed boarding schools. These were however not very common. On the whole it can be concluded that most sexual intercourse took place in the vicinity of the teenagers' homesteads.

7:2:7. Duration of Boy/Girl Relationships before
Sexual Intercourse

According to the teenagers in Kiambu and Narok districts, they had sexual intercourse with people they had known for a long time since most of them were from their own communities. To many teenagers, however, sexual intercourse took place within only a month of the establishment of the boy/girl relationships.

Therefore, according to 64% of the boys in Kiambu and 60% in Narok, the girls gave in to sexual intercourse within a few days to a month after the initial request for it. For about 30% of the boys in Kiambu and 34% in Narok, the girls accepted to have sex between two to three months while for 10% and 12% respectively it was between three months to a year. The implication here is that the boys were always ready to have sexual intercourse any time the girl consented. The girls, confirmed that many of them had sexual intercourse within a month, after the initial requests by the boys. This view was expressed by 50% of the girls in Kiambu and 47% in Narok. The girls who had sex between one and three months were 33.6% in Kiambu and 36.2% in Narok while 16.7% and 16.4% in Kiambu and Narok, respectively, had sex after three months to a year.

The emerging courtship patterns indicate that girls do not take too long to consent to having sexual intercourse once they have been requested by the boys.

7:2:8. Teenagers' Reactions after Sexual Intercourse

Both boys and girls did not seem to feel good after sexual intercourse. They said that they did not experience what they had expected prior to sexual intercourse. After intercourse most of the girls felt ashamed, embarrassed, very bad and disappointed. About 14% said that they were very annoyed and worried. In fact, 10% even contemplated suicide after sexual intercourse. Only 7% said they felt happy after sex while 8% felt bored.

Despite these terrible feelings nearly all the girls in Kiambu and Narok districts rationalized that by consenting to sexual intercourse they had done a good thing, even if not for themselves, more so for the boys. They felt that they had pleased the boys by consenting to having sex with them. By so doing, the girls believed they had become closer to the boys.

Unlike girls, some boys felt good that they had satisfied their own sexual urges through sexual release in intercourse.

Whereas boys did not develop negative feelings towards themselves after sexual intercourse, they expressed antipathy towards the girls who had consented to having sex with them.

Thus in Kiambu District over 60% of the boys had feelings of hatred towards the girls after having sex with them. These boys said that they hated those girls so much so that they did not want to see them again. Some boys even said that after sex, they felt like pouring hot water or beer in the girls' genitals to express their disgust towards them. Infact 4% said that they felt like killing the girls. About 15% of the boys however said that after sex, they felt that the girls were precious and had proved their love towards them. About 20% of the boys said that they felt bored after sex while 5% felt nothing.

There was also a considerable number of boys who had mixed feelings about girls after sex. According to these, the feelings of love or hatred depended on the type of girl they had sex with. The boys said that if they loved the girl, they felt good after having sex' with her. However, if the girl was "loose" they hated her. Some, however said that they felt hatred for the girls for reasons that they themselves could not understand.

In Narok District, similar feelings were expressed by boys. However, fewer boys in Narok than in Kiambu said that they hated the girls after sex. To many of the boys in Narok they felt privileged when the girls allowed them to have sex with them as this was a sign that the girls loved them. Others felt sorry for the girls and feared that they might become pregnant. Like the boys in Kiambu, some boys in Narok felt a mixture of love and hatred, depending on how they defined the quality of the girls that they had sex with.

7:2:9. Summary

Regarding sexual practice, the boys' attitudes in both districts were consistent with practice. More boys than girls had ever had pre-marital sexual intercourse. More nulliparous girls in Narok had sex compared to those in Kiambu. All the parous girls in Kiambu had sex despite many having negative attitude towards pre-marital sex.

The major reasons for the girls' engagement in pre-marital sex was to please boys and to show them love. Boys on the other hand had sex to please themselves rather than to either show love or please the girls. Some girls had sex in the hope that it would lead to marriage while others did so because they were overcome by sexual emotions after arousal by the boys.

To a large extent, the boys had sex because of desire to test and put into practice the information provided by peers. For those boys and girls who did not have sex, the major reason was fear of pregnancies. Most of the sexual activities took place within or near the teenagers' homes.

7:3 Sexual Behaviour and Contraceptive use

So far, we have discussed teenagers' levels of sexual information, and the dynamics of sexual behaviour. We saw that teenagers were dating with a significant number engaging in pre-marital sexual intercourse. In the next section, we discuss the teenagers' perceptions and practices related to use and non-use of contraceptives and other family planning methods, within the context of this dating and sexual behaviour.

Considering that teenagers were dating and engaging in sexual intercourse, understanding their perceptions of family planning and the extent to which they actually used any method is crucial. From the previous discussions, we have seen that more teenagers in Kiambu than Narok claimed to have knowledge on Family Planning. In Kiambu, all the teenagers (both male and female) had information on Family Planning, compared to only 10% of the girls and 17% of the boys in Narok.

As already discussed, this knowledge consisted of superficial and to a large extent incorrect information on the various family planning methods, from peers. These methods included information on contraceptives such as pills, coils, injections, condoms, and "cutting of tubes" (tubal ligation).

Included were also the natural family planning methods, observation of safe days, "tiring of sex organs" (coitus withdrawal), and abstention from sex. The teenagers also had information on unconventional family planning methods such as eating tadpoles before sexual intercourse, having sexual intercourse while standing up, drinking Fanta and Aspirin before and after sex, and douching with water etc. These were believed by the teenagers to prevent them from conceiving.

7:3:1. Attitudes towards Contraceptives

Whereas most teenagers did not feel that it was wrong to practise natural family planning and other unconventional methods, a great majority were against the use of contraceptives.

In Narok, none of the male and female teenagers thought it was right to use contraceptives.

In Kiambu, more girls (26% parous and 27% nulliparous) than boys (40%) supported the use of contraceptives. These teenagers argued that it was wrong to use contraceptives until after one had a child.

After getting at least one child it was considered right to use them since they would already have proved that they were capable of reproducing. This view was supported by the teenagers with children (26%) whose attitude towards the use of contraceptives were negative before they became pregnant. After pregnancy, however, 60% of them said it was okay to use contraceptives.

7:3:2. Why use of Contraceptives was Considered wrong

The bulk of the teenagers in both districts felt that it was wrong to use contraceptives because of many factors. All of them said that they had heard that contraceptives had negative side-effects. These included infertility, heart diseases, infections, becoming too fat or too thin, "having periods twice a month", and excessive bleeding.

Apart from the negative health consequences, the teenagers said that contraceptives were wrong because, they encouraged "people to have sex any-how" thus encouraging promiscuity and immorality.

Those with Christian convictions (particularly the Catholics) argued that it was sinful to use contraceptives, and the church forbade it. Others said that it was wrong for young unmarried couples to use contraceptives because they were not even allowed to have sex.

The few who supported the use of contraceptives cited prevention of unwanted pregnancies as enabling them to enjoy sex without the unnecessary worry of pregnancies. Contraction of sexually transmitted diseases was not mentioned in support of use of contraceptives. Despite the high levels of contraceptive knowledge among the teenagers, (particularly those in Kiambu), very few actually used them. In Narok, none of the teenagers used them. Some teenagers however, claimed that they used other methods of family planning.

In Kiambu over 93% of the nulliparous girls, 85% of the parous girls and 71% of the boys said that they did not use any form of family planning. In Narok 69% of the boys and 80% of the girls did not use any family planning method. The two commonest methods of family planning used by teenagers were observation of safe periods and coitus withdrawal. These were used more in Narok than Kiambu.

In Narok, 20% of the girls and 10% of the boys used safe periods while in Kiambu the safe periods were used by 1.4% of the boys, 93% of the parous girls and 5% of the nulliparous girls. None of the girls in Narok used pills, while in Kiambu only 1% of the nulliparous girls and 65% of the parous girls (before they became pregnant) used them. Condoms were only used by 26% of the boys in Kiambu.

7:3:3. Reasons for Non-use of Family Planning

For some of the girls (20% of the nulliparous girls in Kiambu and 5% of the girls in Narok), non-use of family planning methods was because they did not engage in sexual intercourse. Among the boys, 20% in Kiambu and 17% in Narok gave similar reasons.

The non-users of contraceptives in Narok said that they did not use them because they did not know any method.

Other reasons given included fear of side effects such as diseases and infertility. Some girls said they could not use contraceptives because their boyfriends told them not to while a few cited religious reasons, yet others just did not like the contraceptives.

Others felt that the observation of safe periods and coitus withdrawal were adequate, hence there was no need to use contraceptives. The boys gave three other reasons for not using them. One was non-availability of contraceptives for boys, secondly mistrusting condoms because they burst, in addition to minimizing sexual pleasure from skin to skin contact and actually wanting the girls to become pregnant. The last reason was given by only 3% of the boys.

7:4. Summary

The above findings indicate that despite high levels of dating and sexual behaviour, contraceptive use was significantly low. Most teenagers felt that using contraceptives was considered wrong except for the girls who already had children. Hence, we find that despite widespread dating and sexual behaviour, use of contraceptives is limited to about 26% of the boys in Kiambu who used condoms. Otherwise, the few others who claimed to have done family planning experimented with natural family planning methods and coitus withdrawal which are quite risky in terms of preventing pregnancies.

This is also one subject on which information was scanty from both peers and adults on how to use family planning

methods, hence the teenagers responded predominantly that they did not know much concerning family planning and contraceptive methods.

The information available to the teenagers could therefore be seen to have a bearing on the shaping of teenagers' negative attitudes towards these methods. These factors, coupled with the problems of availability of contraceptives, accounted for the low levels of contraceptive use among the teenagers.

Here again we see the process of rationalization among teenagers. They will not use contraceptives because they believe them to have negative effects on the body. To a certain extent the teenagers experimented with natural family planning methods even though these methods have greater risks of pregnancies. A baby to many teenagers was a lesser risk than that of infertility. This explains why teenagers felt it was right to use contraceptives after the birth of their first children.

The most important issue emerging here however, is that given the low levels of knowledge and use of contraceptives, and the high levels of dating and sexual behaviour, teenagers were pre-disposing themselves to pregnancies.

7:5. Discussion

A number of issues emerge from the analysis of teenagers' perceptions and practices towards pre-marital sexual intercourse.

The perceptions and practices are quite consistent with the contradictory sexual information provided by peers and parents. While the boys' receive positive definitions of sexual intercourse and its purposes, the girls receive mixed information that is largely negative.

It is within this contradictory information background that teenagers are shaping their sexual perceptions and engaging in sexual behaviour. It is interesting to note that teenage girls engage in sexual behaviour despite their negative perceptions. This contradictory behaviour could be related to the conflicting information they receive and when confronted with possibility of sexual intercourse they tend to try out, or believe the information provided by peers. The findings also indicate that girls to a large extent give in to the satisfaction of the "overwhelming emotions". This can be related to either their desire to "test and taste" sex or their ignorance of how to handle sexual desires once aroused.

One can therefore conclude that the teenagers' engagement or non-engagement in pre-marital sexual intercourse is rationalized on the basis of the information they have, the perceived purposes and consequences of sex.

Symbolic Interaction theory sees human behaviour as being based on the meanings and interpretations given by people to others and to objects that they interact with. This emerged in the study particularly with respect to the differential ways in which boys and girls perceive and give meanings to sex and to sexual partners in the two districts. For all the boys and the girls in Narok, sex has transient and short term purposes of self satisfaction but for the girls in Kiambu, it also has the function of a possibility that the relationship will culminate in marriage. To the Kikuyu girl therefore a boyfriend is not only an object of immediate sexual gratification but also a possible future husband.

These differential perceptions and meanings towards sex, are also closely linked with the teenagers' perceived notions of love. Most teenagers have sex because of "love". This love is however understood to mean different things between boys and girls.

The girls defined love in the following words:-

- Overwhelming and uncontrollable emotional feelings.
- Caring and understanding.
- Affection and warm tender liking for the boy.
- Missing one another all the time.
- Desire to be with the boy all the time.

Boys, on the other hand, said that they did not know what love was. A few associated love with sex. It is, however, interesting to note that while nearly all boys said that they did not love or like the girls they had sex with, they still wanted sex from them to satisfy their sexual desires.

The Kikuyu teenage girls' definition of love is reflective of Murstein's (1988) three developmental stages of love i.e. the passionate, romantic and conjugal love. At the passionate stage, the girls according to our findings said that they experienced love that was characterized by intense sexual arousal, strong sexual desires and longing for their boyfriends.

In the romantic stage, the girls' love was focussed more on the idealization of the boys. Their love was based on the projected fantasized ideal qualities of the boys which were to a large extent over-exaggerated.

Murstein describes this love stage as being characterized by "much sentiment" and an omnipresent, insatiable need to be with the boyfriends (Murstein, 1988: 29-30). The girls perceived this love as leading to conjugal love through marriage.

The fantasized and exaggerated idealization of the boyfriends was quite evident in the study. Asked why they hoped to marry boys of their age and similar socio-economic conditions the Kikuyu girls responded that all they cared for was that they loved the boys, wanted to be with them all the time and believed that their lives would one day improve for the better as long as they were together.

The boys in the study however appeared to have been only at the passionate stage of love where sexual desires were intense but never developed to romantic or conjugal love. The boys' notions of love were reflective of acquisitive love (in which they themselves expected to benefit from) in contrast to the girl's benevolent love (which is intended for the benefit of the beloved) (Murstein, 1988).

In Narok, the girls had a clear separation and distinction between passionate and conjugal love. They did not have marriage intentions because their lovers were not necessarily their future husbands.

To a certain extent, all the girls also demonstrated acquisitive-benevolent love particularly those who did it for their own and their boyfriends' pleasure or other related goals such as marriage. Finally, the dynamics of teenage sexual behaviour are quite consistent with the models of sexuality discussed in the literature review where the boy woos and conquers while the girl gets wooed and conquered, (Ellis, 1913, Malinowski, 1948). The girls' passivity compared to the boys' active role in courtship and initiation of sexual intercourse is very clear in these findings.

These behaviour patterns are quite similar to those of adult sexuality and reflect how Van de Velde's (1948) views in the sex manuals are manifest today even among adolescents. Van de Velde cautioned women against being active in sexual intercourse on grounds that too great a degree of female activity and male passivity was directly contrary to the natural relationships of the sexes and must bring unfavourable consequences if it becomes habitual.

Therefore, while girls are passive, responsive and receptive in teenage sexual dynamics, boys are expectedly active and aggressive initiators of the sexual activities.

There is also evidence that there are learned sexual tactics as far as both girls and boys are concerned. In the socialization patterns today and in modern sex education programmes, boys are told that it is men who initiate the sexual process while girls do not request or guide sexual intercourse.

Further, from the findings, we saw that boys often distanced their sexual activities from feelings of attachments and intimacy while the girls based their sexual relationships on intimacy and expressiveness. This is reflective of rationalist notions which define girls as more emotional and expressive while boys are non-intimate in character.

These differential levels of intimacy were reflected in the teenagers' reactions after sexual intercourse. While girls viewed the sexual act as sealing the relationships with their boyfriends, the boys severed it after sexual intercourse.

Further, we saw that there were differences between boys and girls in the way they defined themselves after sexual intercourse. Boys felt good about themselves and defined themselves positively after sexual intercourse.

Many boys negated girls as reflected by the strong negative descriptions and feelings towards them. The resultant development of hostility towards the girls can be seen as a process of separation from intimacy that the boys develop after "conquering" in preparation for new grounds. Both boys and girls confirmed this notion by saying that boys always looked for new girlfriends after sexual intercourse.

Girls, on the other hand, defined boys positively with the view that sexual intercourse sealed the relationships. They initially felt happy with themselves for being benevolent to their boyfriends through sex. However, after the boys lost interest in them, the girls felt a sense of rejection and consequently developed a negative self evaluation. The girls also experienced a sense of loss of a future after failing to seal a permanent relationship of marriage.

The girls' own negative definition was enhanced by rejection faced with a possibility of pregnancy. The girls' fear of pregnancy therefore outweighed their sexual pleasure given the boys' reactions. Since the girls did not use any effective family planning or contraceptive methods, the chances of pregnancies were high. Their situation became worse when marriage was not a possibility or a reality.

CHAPTER EIGHT**PRE-MARITAL TEENAGE PREGNANCIES**

In the preceding chapters, we have discussed the teenage individual characteristics, and levels of sexual reproductive information. We have also seen that teenagers engaged in high levels of sexual activities in the absence of knowledge of sexual and reproductive matters as well as absence of contraceptive use.

In order to understand the relationship between these factors and pre-marital pregnancies, it is important to examine further the circumstances under which girls became pregnant, the girls' perceptions of pregnancies and the societal responses to these. These will give insight into the factors that contributed to pre-marital pregnancies and why girls remained unmarried after pregnancies in Kiambu district.

8:1. Teenagers' Perceptions towards Pre-marital Pregnancies

An overwhelming majority of teenagers in the districts felt that pre-marital pregnancies were wrong. In Narok 95% of the teenage boys and a similar number of girls said it was wrong. In Kiambu, nearly all the nulliparous girls felt that it was wrong compared to 81% of the parous girls and 80% of the boys.

The few boys and girls in Kiambu who felt that pre-marital pregnancies were right gave various justifications for their views. According to the boys, making a girl pregnant before marriage was testing ground for their fertility which was considered necessary before marriage.

Girls on the other hand felt that becoming pregnant before marriage was a way of selecting the men who would later become their husbands. A girl felt that allowing a boy to make her pregnant was a confirmation that he was choosing her and bestowing on her the honour of becoming the mother of his baby and by that token, his wife. In so doing, the girls were at the same time demonstrating to the boys that they loved them most.

What emerges here is that while boys thought that pre-marital pregnancies were okay because they served boys' purposes of proving fertility, the girls thought that they were doing it in their own and the boys' interests.

Despite these few justifications for pre-marital pregnancies, the majority of the respondents felt that it was wrong to make a girl pregnant or to become pregnant before marriage. The major reason against this was babies born outside marriage.

These babies were considered unwanted and unplanned for. They were also associated with many problems and difficulties which affected the girls, the boys and their families.

In Kiambu, the girls' perceived the major problem of pre-marital pregnancies as the expulsion from school, which according to them resulted in a lifetime of "hard life". This hard life was associated with abuse and ridicule from parents, lack of a husband and problems of bringing up a child alone in a hostile parental home. These perceptions were based on the reality of pre-marital pregnancies and their prevalence as observed by the girls in their own community.

In Narok, the girls' concerns were not so much with expulsion from school but with the "unhappy life" brought about by pre-marital pregnancies. This was explained by the fact that in Narok, unlike Kiambu, it was a taboo for a girl to become pregnant before circumcision and marriage. An unmarried pregnant girl among the Maasai was considered a complete outcast. Interestingly, the boys in Narok were more concerned with the outcomes of pre-marital pregnancies in as far as they affected the girls and children.

Nearly 80% of the boys in Narok said that it was wrong to make a girl pregnant because that would ruin her life.

Apart from being a taboo, the boys said that making a girl pregnant would ruin chances of her getting married if the boy responsible refused to marry her. Once pregnant, even the man who had booked her would not marry her. Making her pregnant was like spoiling someone else's wife. The boys also said that it was wrong to make a girl pregnant before marriage because of the heavy penalties to herself and her child.

The boys in Kiambu unlike those in Narok were not very much concerned with what the girls or their children suffered as a result of pre-marital pregnancies. For most of the boys, the major problem with these pregnancies was that they caused long term inter-familial conflicts between them, and those of the girls.

According to the boys, they were expected to marry the girls once they made them pregnant, although they were not forced to do so. When they refused to marry them, however, enmity was created between the two families. Pre-marital pregnancies were quite prevalent in Kiambu district despite the feelings of disapproval.

8:2. Circumstances under which Pre-marital Pregnancies occurred

What emerges from the data is that where these pregnancies occurred, they did so despite the status of knowledge and attitudes towards them. About 90% of the boys and 60% of the girls said that at the time the pregnancies occurred, they were aware that engaging in sexual intercourse was risking pregnancies. They also said that they were aware that pregnancies were associated with negative consequences. In fact, 92% of the girls said that they had no desire or intention to become pregnant.

Only 8% said that they desired pregnancy because they believed that their boyfriends wanted them to have children, and marry them.

However, despite this awareness of the possibility of pregnancies occurring and the non-desire to become pregnant, very few girls thought or believed that pregnancies could occur to them. This was despite their non-use of contraceptives. Most of them felt that if they had sex only once, they would not become pregnant. Others said that they had had sex many times before without becoming pregnant, so they hoped that one more time would not result in pregnancies.

In essence, the girls were gambling with sex, taking chances and hoping that pregnancies would not occur.

For many of the teenagers, the association between sex and pregnancy was very remote. The circumstances under which they became pregnant therefore were similar to those that led them to engage in sexual intercourse.

As has already been discussed, most of the teenagers became pregnant because they engaged in sexual intercourse without using contraceptives. For the majority of the girls pregnancy "just happened" as a consequence of their sexual intercourse. It was not planned or anticipated. Thus 96% of the girls, became pregnant because they had sex as a result of being "overcome by sexual emotions".

About 80% of the girls added that even though they did not want to become pregnant before marriage, by the time they engaged in sexual intercourse, the boys had assured them that they would marry them even if pregnancy occurred. The girls therefore had sex "with their fingers crossed" hoping that pregnancy would not occur.

If it did, they had consolation that the boys would marry. In Narok the boys said that in the few cases where they had made girls pregnant, it was accidental and non-intentional.

8:3. Teenagers' Reasons as to why Pregnancies did not occur

In both Kiambu and Narok districts many teenagers were engaging in sexual intercourse and many became pregnant, while a significant number did not. Similarly, a significant number of boys (45%) in Kiambu and (97%) in Narok did not make any girl pregnant.

As to why they did not get pregnant, about 50% of the girls in both districts said that they "timed" safe days and were lucky. A further 26% said they could also not understand and did not know why they did not become pregnant despite their engagement in sexual activities.

About 15% said that it was because they did not have sex "all the time" while 4.6% in Kiambu said it was because they used contraceptives. Of those who used contraceptives, 3.2% had used pills while 1.4% had their boyfriends use condoms. About 4.4% of the girls said that they thought that it was infertility by virtue of their tender ages and sexual immaturity that probably explained why they did not become pregnant.

In Narok, one of the reasons given by the girls for not becoming pregnant was that they were still too young to become pregnant, as they had not yet reached the age of menarche. As already shown, about 30% of them were below the age of menarche. Another reason they gave was that their boyfriends were careful during intercourse and withdrew coitus before ejaculation thereby minimizing the chances of pregnancy.

A closer examination of the reasons for not becoming pregnant indicate that teenagers were taking a great risk in their sexual activities. About 50% of the girls claimed that they were observing "safe days". The highly acclaimed method by teenagers of "timing" safe periods was scientifically faulty and full of errors. Their understanding of safe periods was abstinence from sexual intercourse during menstruation and three days following menstruation: To them, mid-month was considered to be most risk-free.

One can therefore conclude that as the teenagers engaged in sexual intercourse they escaped pregnancies out of sheer luck. In fact, quite a number of them said that they were just lucky not to have become pregnant despite their high sexual activity.

This notion of luck was confirmed by the reasons the boys gave for not making girls pregnant. The majority (90%) of the boys in Kiambu, for example said that they did not do anything to protect girls from becoming pregnant. From the discussions with these boys, it appeared as if it really didn't matter whether the girls became pregnant or not as long as the boys satisfied their sexual urges. There seemed to be a sense of deliberateness in making girls pregnant among the boys in Kiambu than among those in Narok.

Boys in Narok made deliberate efforts to protect their girlfriends from becoming pregnant although their methods were far from being fool-proof. The Maasai boys, reported that they did not have sex with the girls unless the girls said that they were safe. Like the girls in Kiambu, the Maasai boys abstained from sexual intercourse during menstruation because according to them these were unsafe periods. The Maasai boys also largely practised coitus withdrawal as a way of protecting their girls from becoming pregnant.

The fear of making girls pregnant before circumcision was one factor that was deeply embedded in the Maasai boys'

conscience, which according to them, prevented them from engaging in full sexual intercourse. Making a girl pregnant was accompanied by heavy punishments on the part of the boy and harsher punishments for the girl. A boy who made a girl pregnant paid goats, cows, beer and blankets to the girls' father. These were some of the community sanctions against making girls pregnant. This fear, according to the Maasai boys, made them suddenly lose erection!

The fear of punishment and concern for the girls' welfare explained why Maasai boys tried (albeit with risky methods) to protect their girls more than those in Kiambu where no punitive measures were taken against boys who made girls pregnant.

8:4. Reactions Towards Pre-marital Pregnancies

8:4:1. Boys' Reactions

The girls reacted more negatively to pregnancies than the boys. This could be explained by the fact that it was the girls who bore the burden and the negative consequences of pregnancies. In Kiambu, 33% of the boys said that they felt very good and proud when they discovered that they had made girls pregnant.

This pride emanated from the knowledge and confirmation that they were now actually "men" and capable of impregnating a woman. Despite this general feeling of pride, about 33% felt sorry and pity for the girls, while 18.2% felt guilty that they had made the girls pregnant. The pity was because they had spoilt the girl's marital and other opportunities, yet they could not marry them. About 6% of the boys said that they felt cheated, 9% felt nothing while 3% did not know how they felt.

In Narok, the very few boys who had made girls pregnant discovered they had done so to them a day before the girls got married to their booked suitors. This was however a secret between the girl and the boy who had made her pregnant. These boys said that they felt proud to have been able to father a child but did not openly declare it for fear of spoiling the girls' marriage.

8:4:2. Girls' Reactions

All the girls in Kiambu felt very bad, shocked, disappointed and angry when they discovered that they were pregnant. They also expressed feelings of guilt, embarrassment, self pity and worry. About 10% even contemplated suicide and abortion. These negative feelings, according to the girls were associated with the negative consequences of pregnancy.

Those who became pregnant while still in school felt that it was the end of their education. Those out of school feared parental anger, embarrassment to themselves and the family and possible expulsion from home. They also worried about the loss of marital opportunities and how they would support themselves and their children if they were abandoned by the boys who impregnated them.

Most of the girls, however, said that after the babies were born, they accepted them despite the feelings of guilt, worry and embarrassment. After the babies were born, the girls felt happy and proud to have them. Some even expressed regret for attempting to abort their babies.

8:4:3. Parental reactions

According to the teenagers in Kiambu, their parents' reactions to pre-marital pregnancies depended on the sex of the teenager and the parent. All the girls said that their parents' reactions were initially those of extreme shock, anger, disappointment, shame and worry when they learned that their daughters were pregnant. The mothers quarrelled, and cried while some fathers beat up both the girls and their mothers. The fathers also threatened, admonished and blamed the mothers for not advising and helping their daughters to avoid becoming pregnant.

Some fathers even sent their daughters away from home. In situations where the fathers became too violent, the mothers, despite their negative feelings tended to sympathize with and supported their daughters. In fact, about 4% told their daughters to abort, in order to avoid the fathers' wrath.

While the mothers' anger subsided with the development of the pregnancy, the fathers according to the girls became indifferent. By the time the babies were born however, the girls noticed that the parental reactions particularly of mothers had become more resigned and accepting.

The girls attributed this change of parental attitude to the fact that after the baby was born the parents had no choice, but to accept it. Others said that it was because the babies born were named after the parents that they accepted them.

According to the boys, their parents showed mixed reactions when they discovered that their sons had made girls pregnant. To 43% of the boys, the parents did not show any reaction although they knew that their boys had made girls pregnant. About 30% of the boys were quarrelled once and the matter ended there.

For 20% of the boys, the parents told them that it was their own problem, and the parents had nothing to do with it. A small number of parents, (3.3%) showed open happiness and excitement when they discovered that their sons had made girls pregnant. A similar number told the boys to marry the girls they had made pregnant.

When the parents themselves were asked how they reacted to their children's pregnancies, their responses were similar to those expressed by the teenagers. The parental reactions to their daughters' pregnancies differed from those expressed when their sons made girls pregnant. Nearly all the parents said that they felt terrible, shocked, angry, disappointed, worried and unhappy when their daughters became pregnant. Only 3.5% said that, they felt happy because they had no choice and had to accept their daughters' children.

However, when their sons made girls pregnant, the reactions were different. These parents said that although they felt sorry for the girls, they still felt proud 'inwardly' because they knew that their sons were normal and capable of bearing children. Despite the pity however, the son's parents felt that their sons should not involve themselves further with the girls they had made pregnant.

Interestingly, these differential parental reactions towards sons and daughters were expressed even by the parents who had both sons and daughters. Some parents even went as far as chasing their daughters away from home when they became pregnant while they allowed sons to stay in the very homes after making girls pregnant. While they condemned their daughters for becoming pregnant, very few parents condemned their sons, for making girls pregnant. Parents therefore used double standards in dealing with their male and female children's sexual and reproductive problems.

8:5. Marriage and Pre-marital Pregnancies

In our discussion, we have seen that desire for marriage was a key factor contributing to the engagement in sexual intercourse and in risking or actually becoming pregnant. Over 95% of the girls requested marriage after discovering that they were pregnant. These are the ones who knew the fathers of their children, those whose boyfriends were single, and those who did not conceive with close relatives. The 5% of the girls who did not seek marriage included those who did not know the fathers of their children, those that were raped, those who had incest, those with multiple sexual partners, and those impregnated by married men.

The girls who requested marriage did so secretly. Once a girl discovered that she was pregnant (by missing periods and experiencing morning sickness) she informed her boyfriend and asked what his "next plans" with her were. The girls said that they expected the men to automatically get excited by the news as it was them who had indicated the desire to have the girls become pregnant. They further expected that the boys would naturally request them to "move in" and live with them or to come to the girls' homes to make marriage arrangements!

Some of the requests for marriage were initiated by the girls' parents once they learnt of the pregnancies. The girls and their parents would then go to the boys' homes to report the pregnancy and request that the boys marry the girls or pay a fine. Among the girls who requested marriage, only 8% did actually marry their boyfriends. In such cases, however, divorces were reported within a year of their marriage. This is not surprising, because, as Ahawo (1981) pointed out, most girls who marry as a result of pre-marital pregnancies have very high chances of ending in divorce soon after marriage.

None of the boys requested the girls they made pregnant to marry them. But 70% of them said that the girls had

requested marriage, in which case 98% of the boys turned down the requests. While 70% of the girls' parents wanted their daughters to marry the men who made them pregnant, only 3% of the parents wanted their sons to marry the girls they had made pregnant.

Despite the desire to have their pregnant daughters married, very few parents requested their daughters to marry after they had become pregnant. For 90% of the girls, their parents could not request marriage for their daughters because they did not know who the responsible men were. The girls were very reluctant to disclose their boyfriends to their parents because of various reasons. One of the reasons for this non-disclosure was that the parents would criticize their choices of boyfriends.

Secondly, the girls feared that if they disclosed the men who had made them pregnant, the parents would pursue the subject of marriage to these men or request payment of a fine. Considering that most of these men had turned down the girls marriage requests secretly, the girls had no intentions of having their parents pursue the matter further and in publicly.

According to the girls, the process of requesting marriage or payment of fines as a result of pregnancy was a very long, shameful and embarrassing process for both the girl and her parents. The ridicule and accompanying experiences were so nasty that they discouraged girls from disclosing the men who had made them pregnant.

The horrifying experiences of seeking damages or marriage because of pregnancy were also recounted by key respondents in the field. The first obstacle for the girls was proof of paternity.

According to the key respondents, girls and parents, many girls in Kiambu no longer told their parents who was responsible for the pregnancies. The girls feared that the parents would take the matter to the chief and his council of elders all of whom were males. In the chiefs' council, the girl was ridiculed and humiliated by being made to recount, in great details, the sexual intercourse process and what she experienced at the time she claims to have been made pregnant by the said boy. The decisions of the council of elders were usually unfair to the girls and only favoured the boys.

Below is an account of one such chiefs' council which the researcher attended and recorded. It concerns a girl, who together with her parents, had gone to seek retribution from a boy who had abandoned her after making her pregnant. This illustrates the frustration that girls underwent to prove paternity.

It went like this:-

- Elder : "How do you know this boy"
- Girl : "He was my friend"
- Elder : "A friend"?
- Girl : "Yes"
- Elder : "Do you mean that all people who are your friends made you pregnant"?
- Girl : "No, not that type of friendship like I had with this boy".
- Elder : "What type of friendship did you have"?
- Girl : "Ni Kunyumba anyumbite" i.e. he had seduced me (but the word Kunyumba (seduce) has a double meaning. It could also mean to "mould" like in pottery)".
- Elder : "Were you a pot to be "kuumbwo" - moulded"?
- Girl : "No".

At this point, the girl completely lost composure and could not continue with the discussion.

Black-mail was another form of harassment of girls who reported pregnancies to the chiefs. This form of blackmail was common in Kiambu. In one such case, a boy who was accused of making the girl pregnant had come to the Chiefs' council with four other boys who all falsely claimed to have had sexual intercourse with her. The boy concerned accepted having had sexual intercourse with her but argued that since even his friends claimed to have done likewise, the girl was to prove which of them had made her pregnant.

Most of these boys were from the same village as the girl and were known to the girl. She was asked whether she knew them. She knew them but had not been their girlfriend. By a twist of language the girl was taken through the process described above of distinguishing between her knowledge of the other four boys and the accused boy. By this time, the girl was so harassed that she broke down in tears.

The council of elders then accused her of being a loose girl who had slept with too many boys and wondered how she could tell which one had made her pregnant. Since she could not prove that the accused boy was the one who had made her pregnant vis-a-vis the other four boys, she was accused of "planting" the pregnancy on the one boy so that

she could cover her immorality, seek marriage or compensation from the accused. Her case was finally thrown out on the basis of her immorality and lack of proof of paternity. Such experiences therefore explained the girls' reluctance to disclose the men who had made them pregnant. This also explains why the girls did not pursue the requests for marriage at a public level.

8:5:1. Reasons for not Marrying after Pregnancies

8:5:1:1. Boys' Reasons

As already mentioned, 98% of the boys turned down the girls' requests for marriage in Kiambu district.

The boys in Kiambu gave a number of reasons as to why they did not marry the girls they had made pregnant despite requests for marriage by the girls. The major reasons for 65% of the boys was that they were still young and in school, dependent on their parents and therefore unprepared for marriage. While the girls saw a linkage between marriage and pregnancy, the boys did not. Most of the boys said that all they wanted out of sexual intercourse was fun and not children.

A large majority of the boys also said that they did not marry because their parents dissuaded them from doing so.

About 20% of the boys said that they did not marry the girls because they did not want them for wives. These were the boys who said that they had wanted the girls purely for sexual fun, to prove their fertility and to show other boys that they could win them. This category of the boys also ridiculed the girls they made pregnant. According to the boys, these girls were loose and not worth marrying since they had allowed themselves to become pregnant before marriage.

Seven percent of these boys said that they would have married the girls they made pregnant but the girls refused to marry them. The rest said that they did not marry the girls because they were not sure whether they were the ones who made them pregnant.

8:5:1:2. The Girls' Reasons for not Marrying

Despite the fact that all the girls wanted to marry after becoming pregnant, this did not happen for various reasons. The major reason for 65% of the girls was that the boys said that they were still in school and too young to marry them.

Interestingly, the girls were ready to marry the boys, arguing that they did not see what marriage had to do with

age and education. The girls, further argued that having made them pregnant meant that the boys were old enough. Regarding the boys' education, the girls said that they were ready to be left at the boys' homes upon marriage and look after the babies as the boys completed their education. The girls further said that there were many cases like those in the community and it was not something new.

For these girls, the important thing was marriage. This would spare them the shame, embarrassment and burden of pre-marital pregnancies and single parenthood. Their social status and that of their children would be improved within their community. Their children would be legitimate, given proper names, and belong to proper clans¹.

Asked why they wanted to marry boys from low economic backgrounds similar to their own, the girls rationalized their actions.

¹. Among the Kikuyu it is considered proper that first born children are named after the paternal grandparents. Children also belong to the paternal clans. When children are born to single mothers, this pattern is upset, and the children are not considered be properly named.

According to them, marriage in itself would raise the girls' economic status to slightly higher levels than those experienced in their own homes. They argued that in their own homes, they did not own land. They provided free labour to their parents in exchange for their own and their childrens' maintenance. They reaped no economic gains from this labour.

The girls therefore argued that if they got married to these boys, the boys' parents would give them a piece of land no matter how small it was. On such land, the girls foresaw opportunities of growing vegetables which they would sell and decide on what to do with the money they earned. For the girls therefore, marriage, irrespective of the ages of the boys they married, had both social and economic benefits in their communities.

There were however instances whereby the girls had their own reasons for not getting married after becoming pregnant.

For 16% of the girls, the pregnancies were by married men and they did not want to become second wives. Others were embarrassed to disclose the married fathers of their children for fear of being known to have had sexual affairs with married men who in most cases lived in the same community.

About 1.0% had pregnancies resulting from incest. Culture forbade marriage between blood relatives, therefore such pregnancies were unlikely to result in marriage.

The girls' parents also determined whether or not their daughters got married after becoming pregnant. For 15% of these girls, their parents refused to allow them to marry the boys who had made them pregnant, citing such reasons as the boys' youthfulness, dislike for the boys and their families as well as the economic backgrounds of the boys. About 8% of the girls did not know why they did not get married while for 1% of the men who made them pregnant had died.

8:6. Babies' Upbringing

Since all the teenagers who had become pregnant were not married at the time of the study most of the babies born to them stayed with their teenage mothers. Further, since these teenagers did not have independent homes, it followed that 85% of the teenagers stayed with their own parents. About 11% of the babies stayed with the teenagers' relatives such as sisters and grandmothers as was the case for the girls who for various reasons could not stay with their parents.

Such reasons included, expulsion from home; being orphans; and parental economic disability. About 4% of the babies were aborted while 1% had died.

8:6:1. Support for Teenage Girls and their Babies

It was evident from the study that teenagers and their babies were entirely dependent on their parents and to some extent relatives for financial and other forms of support.

They did not receive help from the men who had made them pregnant and 5% of the boys said that they offered some assistance to the girls they had impregnated and their children. Only 10% of the girls reported that they had received some help from the boys.

In Narok, the boys' major reason for non-support was that the girls had married their booked suitors. Such support or acknowledgement of the babies would therefore jeopardize the girls' marriage.

In Kiambu, the boys gave the following reasons for not supporting the girls and their children:-

- (a) Financial handicaps because the boys were still in school, unemployed and therefore lacked incomes.
- (b) The boys' parents refused to allow them to help the girls.
- (c) Lack of knowledge of the whereabouts of both the girl and the baby.
- (d) The boys were not aware that the babies were theirs.
- (e) The girls were married to other men.

The teenage girls had their own explanations for not seeking or receiving help from the fathers of their children.

While acknowledging that the boys lacked financial means with which to assist them, many girls believed that the boys' parents could have helped them. For the girls therefore, lack of support from the boys was explained by two main factors. The first one was unwillingness on the part of the boys and their parents to support the girls.

The second reason and more important for the girls was the direction of the relationship between them and their boyfriends after the latter were informed of the pregnancies. As the girls put it, as soon as the boys discovered that the girls were pregnant, the relationship turned sour. Some of the boys denied that they had made the girls pregnant. They even told the girls outright that henceforth they would have nothing to do with them and the children. Other boys did not say anything but avoided seeing the girls thereafter. Some boys also showed open hostility towards the girls while others openly started dating other girls.

Some of the boys accused the girls of allowing themselves to become pregnant in order to trap the boys to marry them. Others blamed the girls for being 'too easy' and immoral.

These "bad feelings" between the girls and the boys made them not to be "in talking terms". Consequently, girls could not ask for assistance from the boys. The boys' behaviour also angered the girls to such an extent that they did not want to have anything to do with the boys, including asking for help. Only 5% of the girls did not seek assistance because they did not know where their boyfriends lived.

Another reason for not seeking assistance according to the girls, was the customary requirement of proof of paternity. As already discussed, it was very difficult for a girl to prove that a boy had made her pregnant while the process was so shameful and cumbersome that girls did not want anything to do with it.

8:7. The Social and Economic Implications of Pre-marital Teenage Pregnancies and Child-bearing in Kiambu District

Pre-marital teenage pregnancies have many social, educational and economic consequences that not only affected the girls but also their families, children and the state. In Kiambu, such pregnancies, for example, rendered the girls unmarriageable. Most of them thus remained unmarried.

The other problem related to pre-marital pregnancies was discontinuation of education. About 10% of the teenage girls who became pregnant did so while still in school. The majority however became pregnant after completion of Standard seven/eight, Form two or Form four.

All the girls who became pregnant while in school were consequently expelled from school. None of the boys was expelled for making girls pregnant. Those who became pregnant after Standard eight could not continue to secondary school.

Out of those sent away from school, only 23% were able to get back to school after childbirth. Of these, 14% went to different schools, while 9% went back to their old schools. Most Headteachers discouraged girls who had become pregnant or had given birth from going back to their old schools on the grounds that they would be setting a bad precedence in the schools. Allowing back a girl who had become pregnant was seen as condoning school girl pregnancies, and corrupting those who had not become pregnant. Expulsion from school was therefore seen as a punishment and a deterrent measure.

The girls felt that it would be advantageous to go back to their old schools which were near their homes as this would enable them to look after their children. Most of them however, preferred distant schools fearing that their classmates and teachers would ridicule and laugh at them if they went back to their old schools.

The few who managed to go back to school were those whose parents and relatives were willing and were able to provide them with financial and other support that would enable them to have a second chance at their education. Such support was in the payment of fees and other educational

costs, as well as the care of children while the teenagers went back to school. Of those who went back to school, 67% left their children with their parents, 11% with their elder sisters, 6% with grandparents and 4% in hospitals.

About 77% of the girls who became pregnant did not resume their education. Among these 20% did not want to go back to school, because they had either failed their examinations (10%), did not like school (2%), or considered themselves to have "completed" school after form 4 or standard 8 (8%).

The other major constraint was withdrawal of school fees by parents. When the girls became pregnant, their parents felt that the girls had wasted all the money and resources that had been invested in their education. Most parents were therefore angry and hostile towards the girls whom they felt had lost their only opportunity to complete their education.

Further, most of these parents were poor with large numbers of children (average 5 children per family) to educate. They were therefore not willing to spend more resources on the girls' education in addition to the cost of caring for the girl and her baby.

The other constraint was the lack of someone to baby sit for these teenage mothers as they went back to school. The parents of these teenagers were either too old, having small babies themselves or too busy earning a living to support their families including the teenagers' children. These therefore could not be left with the teenage girls' children.

Pregnancy, for teenage girls was therefore associated with loss of educational opportunities. Consequently, they had very low levels of education and none of them went beyond Form IV level.

In summary, therefore, the girls lost educational opportunities due to such constraints as poor performance, parental hostility, lack of financial and child care

support systems within and outside the home, and the negative official policy through which girls were expelled from school after they became pregnant.

The bulk of those girls who could not go back to school had no options but to stay at home looking after their children. About 8% sought casual employment to complement parental support and an equal number sought marriage as an alternative to parental support.

Teenage pregnancies thus went beyond the social and educational to include, among others, the economic handicaps.

On other economic implications of pre-marital teenage pregnancies it was noted, for example, that, at the time of the study, none of the girls who had become pregnant was employed. These girls as already discussed had low levels of education putting them at a disadvantaged position as far as employment was concerned. None of these girls had any training for acquisition of income earning skills. Their low educational backgrounds therefore meant lowering

their chances of training, employment and income earning capacities considering that all these are very much associated with higher educational attainments, passing of examinations and procurement of certificates.

As a result, 92% of the girls were entirely dependent on their parents for all their financial support and that of their children as the parents met the cost of their food, shelter, clothing, medical care and other basic necessities.

The burden on the parents was even bigger because most of these girls did not marry and there was no transfer of funds or other forms of assistance from the teenagers' boyfriends who were responsible for the pregnancies. The lack of legal enforcement measures against these boyfriends made it difficult for girls to benefit from such transfer of funds.

The issue of such transfer of funds would have to be discussed in the context of the boys' educational and socio-economic backgrounds. As already noted, most of the

girls were made pregnant by boys who shared similar educational and socio-economic backgrounds. Very few were made pregnant by working men as most working men were out of touch or went back to their wives after impregnating the girls. The bulk of the boys therefore were either school dropouts, still in school or unemployed. Thus, even with legal enforcements for transfer of funds, the boys would still depend on their parents for their own support, that of the teenage girls and their children.

Consequently, pre-marital teenage pregnancies and childbirth were an added economic burden to parents who were already very poor, unemployed and dependent on small pieces of unproductive land.

Some were single parents themselves, landless and casual labourers with low incomes. The parents therefore found it difficult to support teenagers and their babies over and above the rest of the family. Given their large families, there was considerable pressure on the parents as the sole breadwinners to meet their own needs, those of their children as well as those of the teenagers' babies.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

9:1. Pre-marital Teenage Pregnancies - Predisposing Individual Factors

In this section, we discuss the factors pertaining to individual teenage characteristics that pre-disposed them to pre-marital sexual activities, pregnancies, and childbearing in the two districts.

9:1:1. Age and Pre-marital Pregnancies

Except for nearly 30% of the girls in Narok, all the others were experiencing or had experienced menarche and other pubertal developments by virtue of their age. Gardiner (1984) Rogo, (1987) and Muriuki (1987) have documented the age of puberty as 14 years for girls and 13 years for boys. The importance of age as a factor in explaining teenage pregnancies lies in the fact that it is at such ages that the teenagers mature in their inborn sexual and reproductive capacities which according to the biological theory of sexuality require expression for the natural survival of the human species.

Some teenagers therefore engage in sexual intercourse as a natural response to the satisfaction of the expressed sexual and reproductive impulses characteristic of their ages.

What was interesting in the findings was that despite the fact that most teenagers were of the same age categories and undergoing similar sexual and reproductive developments, not all engaged in sexual intercourse and not all became pregnant or made girls pregnant before marriage. Therefore, age per se was not adequate in explaining these pregnancies. In the following sections we discuss the other factors that explained why girls became pregnant and remained unmarried after pregnancy and childbirth.

9:1:2. Frequent Dating Behaviour

Another factor pre-disposing teenagers to pre-marital pregnancies is the frequent dating behaviour. Nearly all the teenagers engaged in heterosexual dating behaviour. Having boy/girl relationships can be seen as a natural response to the feelings of attractions to the opposite sex, characteristic of teenage years (Mihaly and Lawson, 1984).

This frequent dating behaviour at a time when sexual impulses and reproductive capacities are developing and at their peak could lead to the indulgence in sexual intercourse, which result in pregnancies where contraceptives are not used.

9:1:3. Non-use of Contraceptives

Although teenagers are engaging in frequent dating behaviour, their levels of sexual, reproductive and contraceptive knowledge and use are quite low. When sexual intercourse occurs among these non-contracepting teenagers, pre-marital pregnancies had high chances of occurring.

9:1:4. Engagement in Sexual Intercourse

Engaging in sexual intercourse in the absence of knowledge on sexual and reproductive matters and non-use of contraceptives highly pre-dispose sexually mature teenagers to pre-marital pregnancies. This, coupled with the illegality of abortion services in the country, means that pre-marital childbearing among such teenagers is inevitable.

While the above factors can be seen as individual teenage characteristics that pre-disposed the teenagers to pre-marital pregnancies they do not adequately explain why the

pregnancies were an extremely rare phenomenon among the Maasai of Narok and are prevalent among the Kikuyu of Kiambu. It is therefore important to explain, despite the commonalities in individual teenage characteristics, why these pregnancies were more common in Kiambu than in Narok. This is attempted in the following section.

9:2. Socio-Cultural Factors, Pre-Marital Teenage Pregnancies and Child Bearing

Sexual activities are to a large extent influenced by the nature of social values that control and regulate them and not purely because of existence of sex drives (Weeks, 1985). According to Symbolic Interaction model sexual activities are seen as a function of an interplay of biological sexual instincts, whose expressions are inhibited or permitted by the social and cultural factors (Jeffery, 1978). Symbolic Interaction further sees sexual behaviour as an interactive and interpretive process that does not occur in a vacuum, but is defined by particular group contexts and is influenced by a normative and moral order (Blumer, 1967; Garfinkel, 1968).

This section discusses the social and cultural contexts within which the teenage sexual activities took place. This includes a discussion of the value systems and norms

regulating teenage sexual behaviour, how they were transmitted and contributed to the presence or absence of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child bearing in the two communities.

9:2:1. The Socio-Cultural Contexts for Pre-marital Teenage Sexual and Reproductive Activities

The Maasai of Mosiro in Narok District are a rural pastoral community who can be classified as a traditional society with characteristics of mechanical Solidarity (Durkheim, 1947). They are a community whose social and cultural value systems and beliefs have remained relatively stable over time. This can be explained by the closed nature of the Maasai community in Mosiro where distance from the City and other towns have kept it off cosmopolitan influences.

For many years, Narok district was a "reserved" or restricted area and this had the effect of protecting the community from colonial, missionary and other local and foreign influences prior to Kenya's independence. Even with political independence, the harsh climatic conditions in Mosiro have restricted immigration particularly of the foreign and local agricultural communities who have infiltrated the neighbouring arable areas such as Nairegia Enkare.

The Kikuyu of Nyambari in Kiambu District are on the other hand a rural agricultural community which can be characterized as "prismatic"¹. Here, the traditional social structures and value systems are undergoing rapid changes, becoming modified, eroded, and in some instances disappearing altogether.

Due to its nearness to the city of Nairobi, the Kikuyu community has been greatly exposed to cosmopolitan influences. The Kikuyu have further been exposed at an earlier stage than the Maasai to colonial, missionary and intermigratory influences. They also have higher literacy rates, higher levels of Christian influences and more levels of pop and media influences than the Maasai. Hence the multiplicity and "blending up" of varied value systems that are neither traditional nor modern.

Consequently, the Kikuyu of Kiambu have new value systems that are varied, sometimes unclear and in conflict with traditional value systems as compared to Narok where these are uniform and consistent.

¹. Prismatic societies are defined by Riggs as transitional ones which are neither traditional nor modern. See Riggs, F.W. 1964. Administration in Developing Countries. The Theory of Prismatic Society.

For example, while among the Kikuyu, marriage, sexual and reproductive behaviour is guided by various factors such as government policy, christianity, education and other value systems, among the Maasai, these are guided by uniform and commonly understood "folkways and mores" based on the dictates of traditional customs (Sumner, 1907).

Because of the uniformity and similarities in meanings attached to sexuality, marriage and reproduction, Maasai teenagers in Narok may have less difficulties in making decisions concerning these than the Kikuyu of Kiambu who may be confused by the multiple, varied and conflicting definitions of these activities.

Further, while teenage sexual behaviour among the Gikuyu is characterized by individuality, in Narok, sexual behaviour takes into consideration the family, kinship, community norms and value systems. Among the Maasai, the community still has an upper hand and responsibility in defining the values in relation to how behaviour should be interpreted.

As far as sex, marriage and reproductive relationships are concerned, the community rather than the individual in Narok has the major role of defining the purposes of these activities as well as prescribing when, with whom and how these activities can take place.

In contrast, we find that in Kiambu where changes are occurring rapidly and where there is a multiplicity of value systems as a result of diffusion of varied cultural values, the weakening and breakdown of traditional, social, cultural structures and value systems, minimizes the strength of the community in defining and interpreting social reality. Individuality takes over and it becomes the individual's responsibility to define with whom, when and how to engage in sexual relationships. In such situations, the "normative consensus" disappears. The individual interpretation and responses to these actions therefore become varied and at times contradictory to the traditional normative structure, thus becoming deviant.

Teenagers in Kiambu have therefore to make choices on their own between the varied and conflicting value systems and make sexual and reproductive decisions on the basis of how they perceive and interpret them as compared to their counterparts in Narok who have clear, uniform value systems and the community to define and interpret these for them. The Kikuyu teenagers may therefore engage in sexual activities as their own way of making sense out of this value-conflicting situation.

Finally, the lack of uniformity in sexual values and practices is problematic not only to the Kikuyu teenagers but also to the agents of socialization in giving messages that are consistent with what exists in society. For example, it would be difficult to socialize teenagers to aspire to be virgins at marriage when pregnant brides are a familiar appearances in church wedding ceremonies. Rather than being condemned, the pregnant brides are showered with parental, community and church blessings.

9:2:2. The Social Definition of Sexual Behaviour

In both Kiambu and Narok districts, sexual intercourse was largely associated with procreation within marital relations. Young unmarried people were therefore discouraged from engaging in sexual activities and procreation before marriage. Pre-marital sexual intercourse and procreation were therefore defined as socially unacceptable in the two communities.

Despite the low levels of sexual information among teenagers, all of them understood that these activities were prohibited before marriage in both districts.

From the discussions with the key respondents and the review of ethnographic literature, it was evident that the

Maasai community, unlike the Kikuyu, defined sexual activities as healthy. They accepted and recognized that teenagers were sexual beings with impulses that needed to be expressed.

While the Maasai have societal mechanisms of managing the emerging teenage sexuality in ways that are socially acceptable, non-coital and which do not result in pregnancy or childbirth before marriage the Kikuyu are reluctant to accept these facts, yet they demand that teenagers do nothing about their sexuality until marriage, a marriage which is ironically unduly delayed.

In Kiambu therefore, nothing seems to be in place to help the teenagers cope with sexuality in socially acceptable ways. According to the respondents, there existed in the past similar mechanisms to those among the Maasai today, but these have since been eroded by the breakdown of traditional social systems with the influence of Christianity, formal education and other social change processes in Kiambu.

9:2:3. Managing Teenage Sexuality

9:2:3:1. Normalization of Boy/Girl Friendships and Dating

One of the mechanisms for the management of teenage sexuality was through the normalization of boy/girl relationships and dating. As already discussed, the Maasai encourage their young people to have heterosexual love relationships which are normalized and institutionalized in "Olangata". Open expressions of love such as dancing and fondling are allowed as a let out of sexual impulses. Although sexual intercourse is forbidden even among lovers, these non-coital love relationships are permissible, and socially accepted as long as they are carried out within specified settings and regulations. One of the regulations is that the courtships take place not in the privacy of the boy's manyatta but in a public though restricted arena, such as in youth dancing parties where adults do not participate.

The youth are however discouraged from public display of courtship and sexual expression, outside socially acceptable arena. To a certain extent, although pre-marital sexual intercourse is forbidden, among the Maasai a blind eye was turned to girls who engaged in these

activities as long as they are still too young and unable to conceive. If however she is known to engage in them when she is older, she is immediately circumcised and married.

In contrast, among the Kikuyu in Kiambu there is no clear definition of how such relationships should be managed inspite of their existence. Teenagers, particularly the girls, are prohibited from sexually expressing themselves in any way before marriage. They are forbidden from having boy/girl relationships and from dating, unless they are considered to be ready for marriage hence the advice that dating is only alright after completing school and getting a job.

Having boy/girl relationships was seen to have been "criminalized" in Kiambu, particularly with the spread of Christianity in the context of which they were viewed as "occasions to sin" and obstacles to girls' educational and career achievements.

Consequently, teenagers particularly girls are severely punished if they show any signs of dating such as being found talking with boys or writing letters to boyfriends.

In Kiambu, we see the Rationalist Theory characteristic of the Christian tradition is at work in demanding that teenagers repress their sexuality compared to their Maasai counterparts. Because of the societal disapproval of dating, these activities are therefore carried out privately in the boys' cubes or in the bushes to avoid the adults' eyes. This privacy therefore provide the teenagers with the opportunities to go beyond non-coital sexual expressions and engage in sexual intercourse.

Further, the situation was aggravated by the banning of public dances in Kiambu. With the onset of Christianity, traditional dancing and circumcision ceremonies where the Kikuyu youth had opportunities to learn about sexual expressions were branded as sinful. Similarly, the "Ngwiko" ceremonies where traditionally unmarried circumcised young boys and girls were allowed to express themselves through courtship, fondling and petting have likewise been outdated. The Ngwiko ceremony, apart from allowing young people non-coital sexual expression through body contact and fondling, provided the youth with opportunities to develop mastery and control of sexual desires since coitus was forbidden and heavily punished².

². See Jomo Kenyatta, "Facing Mount Kenya". Vintage press, London, 1965.

Consequently, the teenagers in Kiambu are supposed to suppress their sexuality by saying "no" to sexual activity although, as we saw in the section on sexual information, nobody has taught or prepared them to say "no" to sex. This is in spite of the requirement that they postpone sexual gratification for long periods as they await the often delayed marriages.

Hence, without provisions for non-coital forms of sexual expressions in Kiambu, most teenagers find themselves expressing these in coital forms that predispose them to pregnancy.

9:2:3:2. Circumcision

Although pre-marital sexual intercourse was forbidden, there were situations when these took place between lovers in both districts. In Narok, when these were known, they were largely ignored as long as the girl was still too young and had not had menstruation. Such a girl was considered unable to conceive even if she engaged in sexual intercourse.

In some situations, once such a girl was discovered, she would be disciplined by being insulted and beaten by the parents. Nothing was done to the girls' lovers' unless they were uncircumcised.

However, if engagement in sexual intercourse was discovered among girls who had shown signs of maturity such as the development of breasts, large hips or menstruation, they would be completely forbidden from engaging in serious love relationships. They would be closely supervised and restricted in their movements. If they did not adhere to the restrictions, they would immediately be circumcised³.

After circumcision, among the Maasai it was extremely rare for a girl to engage in sexual activities. During convalescence, she was considered to be unclean and nobody would touch her sexually. She dressed and wore her hair in forms that would make everybody know that she was convalescing from circumcision. It was during this period that her booked suitor would be making arrangements to marry her. As soon as he was ready, her hair was shaved off the evening before she was married.

³. The circumstances discussed in this section applied and referred to Narok district only. This is where circumcision was seen as a mechanism for management of pre-marital sexuality. In Kiambu, circumcision was no longer used for this purpose.

Circumcision is therefore a mechanism of management of teenage sexual and reproductive activities. Through circumcision and early marriage, these activities are legitimized in Narok district. In this way, pre-marital pregnancies would be avoided.

In Kiambu as already discussed, there are no social measures for management of teenage sexuality, even though circumcision and early marriages are discouraged. Although parents punish teenagers when known to engage in these activities, this does not effectively deter teenagers from engaging in them in private, and risking pre-marital pregnancies. As a matter of fact, teenagers did not know any other ways of dealing with their developing sexuality.

9:2:3:3. Other Non-Heterosexual Expressions

In some situations, girls and boys in both districts engaged in sexual practices that were not heterosexual. Girls for example practised various forms of masturbation such as tying a sheet round a stick and rubbing their clitoris with it, to get sexual satisfaction. Boys too practised masturbation.

In Narok, some young boys practised some forms of bestiality by having sex with calves and sheep when out herding. Although masturbation was rampant, bestiality was however not socially acceptable. They were carried out in extreme secrecy and were punishable when discovered. Warnings and beatings were common forms of punishment particularly for the girls. Despite their social unacceptability, the teenagers used these measures to deal with their sexual feelings when they could not engage in sexual activities.

9:3. Social Norms and Sexual Behaviour

The norms and rules regulating sexual behaviour are normally expressed in form of sanctions which reflect the communities' moral order. These sanctions have coercive powers that define and constrain social and sexual behaviour.

Merton (1938), has argued that the strengths of the effects of norms are determined by the nature of the society within which individuals interact. Consequently, we find clear distinctions between the Maasai and the Kikuyu in as far as the sexual norms were concerned.

Among the Maasai where the community was stable and values consistent, the sexual rules though unstated were equally understood by the community members. Here, the rules were based on what Durkheim (1947) calls "collective conscience" emerging from shared beliefs and sentiments.

Among the Maasai, the legal system was intertwined with religious beliefs, customs and taboos which were embedded in the totality of the peoples' way of life. These rules were enforced by the community through elders and peer systems.

The rules were further characterized by extreme precision and their violation was severely punished. Further, these rules were not questioned by individuals in Narok. They were also reinforced by the power of sexual taboos and the diffuse nature of religious and cultural values.

9:3:1. Sexual Taboos

Sexual behaviour among the Maasai was ritualistic and taboo-ridden particularly regarding with whom and when to have sex.

Taboos reinforced existing norms in the regulation of sexual behaviour. While deviance to social norms can be punished by the community, the power of the taboos lay in their believed destructive nature to the person who breaks them whether or not the community is aware of the breach.

Breaching a taboo among the Maasai is believed to inherently bring bad luck, misfortune and destruction of life, property, children and death. Misfortunes are naturally inflicted on wrong doers. Guilt and fear of breaking taboos ensures that these regulations are adhered to. In Kiambu, the power of taboos has been weakened and is dismissed as superstition.

9:3:2. Religious and Cultural Values

Among the Maasai, cultural and religious values are diffuse and part and parcel of the same thing. Religion was not separated from the everyday way of life. Socialization goals and processes among the Maasai were therefore not compartmentalized between acquisition of economic, religious, social or moral values.

Rather, all these were intertwined and served a common goal of character-formation. For example, moral uprightness was associated with appropriate sexual behaviour which were in turn associated with the purity that was required of people who took part in production and other communally beneficial activities. The totality of these value and behaviour patterns reflected the unity of religion and other activities. An impure sexual act was seen as an offence against self, God and the community. Such offenders were therefore prohibited from participating in other social and economic activities unless they were cleansed.

For the Maasai therefore, going against cultural norms was disobeying God who did not punish in heaven after death but right here and now.

Misfortunes that befell people as a result of sexual misconduct were therefore God's way of showing displeasure, a punishment and warning to deter such behaviour among others in the future.

On the other hand, among the Kikuyu, there has been a disintegration of traditional social value systems with the infiltration of foreign values and the multiplicity of value systems. The Kikuyu have adopted a centralized legal system that is alien to the community with the result of weakening the traditional legal systems.

Consequently, the family and the elders among the Kikuyu have lost the control of individuals in the application and reinforcement of sanctions. Similarly, the power of taboos, religious and traditional norms in constraining sexual behaviour has been eroded. Individuals can now question them, in contrast to the Maasai. These have lost their jurisdiction and power to check or punish offences in the community. Hence, the enforcement of the legal system has been taken over by the police and the courts of law outside the community. The diminishing power of sexual taboos is reflected in the increasing incest cases among the Kikuyu compared to the Maasai. The situation is further compounded by the separation of religion from everyday life.

Christianity in Kiambu has compartmentalized and individualized religion. Unlike in Narok where religion is tribal, its individualization in Kiambu has weakened social mechanisms of eliciting remorse, change and correction of behaviour. Individuals therefore feel that punishments for their offenses will be in heaven or hell after death and not here and now. Because punishments are carried out in prisons outside the community, the power of stigmatization has been weakened in Kiambu.

Consequently, among the Gikuyu, everyday life activities are separated from religious and moral activities. Sometimes even the morality and religion are seen to be in contradiction, with or inhibiting economic and social successes. A case in point is when a person has to cheat or steal to acquire property and status in society or when he has to use sexual favours to seek money, property or status. Situations are many where the ends justify the means regardless of their moral or religious connotations. For example, girls may engage in sexual relationships for economic rewards such as money, beautiful clothes and good housing.

Other examples are whereby men and boys engage in multiple sexual relationships just to gain macho images and status among other men and women as "lady killer". It is in this context that we explain pre-marital sexual behaviour and pregnancies in Kiambu.

Further, due to the multiplicity of value systems, there lacks, in Kiambu, a clear definition of which sexual offenses should be punished, who should be punished and by whom. For example it is not clear whether it is the girl or boy who should be punished when they engage in prohibited sexual behaviour and whether it is the modern legal courts or the elders who should handle these cases.

Therefore, the replacement of the internal traditional rule of law by elders in Kiambu with the externally applied restitutive law has resulted in a legal system that is both alien and sometimes too complicated for the ordinary members of the community (particularly young girls). The latter may not afford or even understand the need for lawyers to decipher and demystify such legal codes.

Consequently very few cases of sex offences are taken care of either by elders or the legal system in Kiambu. In some cases, teenage girls have lost faith in both and they do not even bother to report.

Traditionally when a man made a girl pregnant he paid a "Ngoima" (a fattened sheep) to the elders as a compensation if he did not want to marry the girl. If he denied responsibility for pregnancy, he would undergo an oathing process to prove his innocence.

It was believed that if he had lied he would die. Today however, a boy can deny making a girl pregnant and there is no way of proving that he did it "even if the child born looks like him from hair to toe nail". It is his word against hers.

9:4: Social Norms and Dating Partners

The findings of this study suggest that the girls' choice of dating and sexual partners had a lot of relevance to whether or not the girls became pregnant before marriage in the two districts.

In Kiambu, we found that despite the prohibition of boy/girl relationships and dating behaviour, pre-marital pregnancies still occurred to many teenagers. Given their unacceptability, we found that there were no rules or regulations defining whom the teenage girls could date or not date.

In Kiambu, we saw that the girls dated boys of the same age, slightly older or married men. Dating and having sexual relationships with these types of men increased their chances of becoming pregnant and being unmarried.

Having sexual relationships with boys of similar ages meant also that they were both at the same developmental stages and shared sexual maturation experiences. As seen from the findings, these boys were equally misinformed or ignorant on many issues related to sex and reproduction. They both had no skills on management of sexuality and were dependent on peers or self discovery in relation to these issues. Sexual relationships with boys of the same ages were therefore like the "blind leading the blind" affair.

Further, sexual relationships with these boys who also shared the girls' educational and occupational characteristics meant that the boys could not marry them at the time of the relationship. The boys as we saw earlier, needed time to grow up, complete school, get employed and settle down before they could consider marriage.

The choice of married men as sexual partners also ruled out opportunities for marriage once pregnancies occurred in Kiambu, considering the dying nature of polygamy which has to a large extent been outlawed by Christianity in most parts of the district.

In Narok, on the other hand, the normalization of boy/girl relationships and dating practices was reinforced by the existence of norms, rules and regulations that guided the choice of dating and sexual partners.

The Maasai girls dated only older boys and never dated married men. Far from being accidental, this was determined by the community value systems. The girls were forbidden from having any dating or sexual relationships

with uncircumcised boys "Laiyoni" who would be their agemates. The uncircumcised boys were also forbidden from having sex with the uncircumcised girls. The uncircumcised girls were considered to belong to the circumcised warriors (morans). Laiyoni were often discouraged from doing so by being told that they would get very sick if they had sex with girls.

Uncircumcised girls were also warned by their parents and the warriors on the uncleanliness and the dangers of having sex with Laiyoni. The uncircumcised boys were considered to be saturated with sex, reckless and therefore considered dangerous to the girls. Most of all, the girls were warned of the dangers of pregnancy from these sexually potent Laiyoni.

Once the Laiyoni were caught interfering with the girls, the boys would be punished by severe beatings from the morans and the girls' fathers. The Laiyoni would also pay a fine of four cows, known as "Multamai".

Girls were also forbidden from having sexual relationships with their close blood relatives as well as with their

fathers' agemates as has already been discussed. The only acceptable sexual relationships were love relationships with the warriors, who were older, more responsible and informed on sex and its management through circumcision. This responsibility was demonstrated by the use of coitus withdrawal during intercourse and concern by boys that sex does not occur during periods which are considered to be unsafe in Narok.

The sanctions against dating young boys and married men could therefore be seen as having an influence on pre-marital pregnancies. Where these regulations concerning choice of a dating partner were violated, strict punishments were meted out to the offenders. These had deterrent effects regarding sexual behaviour that would result in pregnancies among the teenagers in Narok District.

In Kiambu, nothing was done to the teenager at the community level if she engaged in sexual behaviour with inappropriate partners who in most cases were not even known by parents or community members.

As already discussed, the community did not have effective laws and mechanisms to deal with such sexual behaviour.

It is thus evident that in Kiambu, due to the absence of norms regulating the choice of dating partners, girls chose partners on their own. This unguided choice lead to characteristics that would make marriage difficult if not, impossible. In situations where pregnancies resulted in such partnerships, the girls remained unmarried creating more opportunities for the phenomenon of pre-marital pregnancies.

Among the Maasai, on the other hand, the society provided value systems and mechanisms that left no room for unmarried teenagers to be non-conformist and engage in socially unacceptable sexual behaviour that would result in pre-marital pregnancies. Hence the few cases of pre-marital pregnancies among the Maasai!

9:4:1. Perceptions of Dating

The girls' perception of dating partners had a lot of significance in terms of whether they became pregnant or not. In Kiambu where dating was related to marriage, pre-marital pregnancies were higher than in Narok where there was a separation between love, dating and marriage. Further unlike the girls in Kiambu, those in Narok were not under any pressure to get married to the boys they fell in love with. The crucial difference here is not that the Kiambu girls wanted marriage more than those in Narok but that in Narok, the society took off the burden from the girl by arranging marriages at birth or at younger ages.

There was therefore no individual responsibility on the part of the teenage girl to look for a marital partner. In Kiambu however, where arranged marriages are not in practice and where marriage is based on individual notions of love and sexual attraction, girls felt that it was their responsibility to look for their own marital partners. This pressure to find a marital partner explains why girls in Kiambu engaged in sexual intercourse with boys they fell in love with and risked pregnancy as a sign of commitment to their future husbands.

When girls were left to choose, on their own, who their sexual partners were, without clear guidance on the kind of boys that would marry them, pre-marital pregnancies were inevitable.

9:5. Marriage and Pre-marital Pregnancies

Marriage is greatly emphasized in the two communities. In Kiambu, the value of marriage has continued to influence teenage sexual decision-making as they prepare for the future. The desire to be married is paramount in the minds of young people and a lot of pressure is exerted on them by the community demanding that they get married. The pressure to get married is more on women on attainment of teenagehood than it is on the men, even though they are at the same time expected to pursue educational and career goals.

For girls in both communities, marriage is still being seen as the main goal in life. There is still a lot of social pressure on women to marry and have children. Those who are not married for whatever reasons, including educational advancement, are still stigmatized. They are made to feel inadequate in the one thing that is supposed to matter and all kinds of negative things are associated with their person, character and family background.

These prevailing values affect the way young girls view marriage in relation to other activities and career opportunities that they are faced with. The girls are still made to feel that whatever else they do in life they are not complete without marriage.

Whereas in Narok a girl is not under pressure to pursue education and career choices, for she is only expected to marry, a girl in Kiambu has other choices, with or without marriage. She is expected to attend school, seek training opportunities, participate in the labour force, earn an income, provide for her family, marry, bear children, etc. The presentation of marriage as the final goal of womanhood affects the way girls view male/female relationships vis-a-vis opportunities such as education and career in relation to marriage.

Despite these other possible opportunities, for many girls, marriage is still the only means of gaining social, psychological and economic security. To a great extent, marriage today is still being seen as performing the same vital roles as it did in traditional times.

Marriage has economic functions for girls. A lot of girls in Kiambu are poorly educated and cannot effectively compete in the scarce labour market. Most of them come from poor families who do not have a promising future for their daughters. Even though the law today allows girls to inherit their fathers' property, the presence of brothers and uncles in the home creates enormous hostilities to the girls as they pose a threat to inheritance.

The girls therefore can only look forward to getting married and owning their own property through their husbands.

In Kiambu, most parents have also subdivided their land among their sons to such an extent that sub-division of most land is no longer feasible. Hence girls feel the pressure to get out of home into marriage due to lack of better economic alternatives. This is particularly so with girls who lack educational opportunities, are poor performers, have low career aspirations and lack employment. A promise of marriage therefore becomes a form of salvation to their immediate problems and a security to their future.

This persistently high regard for marriage has had a lot of bearing on pre-marital teenage pregnancies in Kiambu. It has led to situations whereby young girls aspire to get married as an end in itself and other expectations such as careers are seen as interferences to this goal. Similarly, girls engage in pre-marital sexual activities, and become pregnant with a hope of getting married. Due to this societal pressure on girls to get married and given the breakdown of polygyny in Kiambu and its survival in modified forms, girls have engaged in extra and pre-marital sexual relationships on a more or less permanent basis that resembles marriage. The Maasai girls, on the other hand do not have this pressure since the systems enabling girls to marry are set in place by the community.

9:6. Summary

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that among the Maasai, there exist value systems and norms that define and regulate sexual behaviour among the general population and the youth, in particular. Sex is basically for reproductive purposes.

Other forms of sexual expressions outside this purpose are only allowed within specifically and socially acceptable rules and contexts. The community defines these as well as the punishments for deviance. The values, norms and regulations are uniform and known by all members of the community. It also provides systems of the transmission of these values to its members, thereby leaving no room for misinterpretation. The opposite is true among the Kikuyu. Further, although pre-marital sexual intercourse among the Maasai is strictly forbidden, other forms of sexual expressions exist among the youth. These are non-existent among the Kikuyu.

At the same time, among the Maasai, given the early ages at which circumcision and marriage for girls are done (usually before menstruation) sexual activities do not result in pre-marital pregnancies. Hence the low levels of pre-marital pregnancies in Narok as compared to Kiambu district.

In Kiambu on the other hand the emerging scenario is one in which teenagers are, on the one hand, given messages that

require them to be sexually active and, on the other, they are asked to restrain themselves until they marry. Yet, while the teenagers are waiting for marriage at a time they do not even know, the modern society does not provide them with mechanisms to deal with their sexual expression. As a result, teenagers in Kiambu are faced with double situations whereby they have to, on their own, sort out these conflicting value systems and respond to them while at the same time they respond to social pressures that demand both restraint and sexual expression.

In this process, these teenagers have to sort out and give meaning to these conflicting demands and value systems. Considering that all these are taking place when the teenagers are experiencing pressure from the impulsive sexual development within, it is possible for them to resort to sexual intercourse as a way of resolving these conflicts.

9:7. The Management and Prevention of Pre-Marital Pregnancies

From the discussion with key informants distinct differences came out in the ways pre-marital pregnancies were viewed, managed and prevented by the two communities. These explain why pre-marital pregnancies were minimal and invisible in Narok as compared to Kiambu district.

9:7:1. Community Perceptions of Pre-Marital Pregnancies among the Maasai

Despite the existence of pre-marital sexual activities, among the youth, pre-marital pregnancies⁴ were extremely rare occurrences, particularly among the traditional Maasai. Pre-marital pregnancies, when they occurred, were viewed as one category of unwanted pregnancies. The other categories included pregnancy during breastfeeding or as a result of adultery or incest (Lema & Njau, 1991).

⁴. In Narok pre-marital pregnancies were technically pre-circumcision pregnancies as it was almost impossible to have sex or conceive after circumcision outside marriage.

Pre-marital pregnancy was considered to be a terrible crime against the girls' parents and the clan among the Maasai. The seriousness of the crime, however, depended on whether the pregnancy occurred before or after circumcision⁵.

Conception before circumcision was abhorred in Narok. Apart from being seen as the greatest abuse to the girl's family it was considered to be a dishonour to herself and her clan. A pre-circumcision pregnancy denied the girl's father the opportunity and pride of presiding over her circumcision, receiving bridewealth and participating in her child-related and other important ceremonies. It was thus a great shame and embarrassment to the father within the community. Similarly, for the mother, it was an action of great shame that further brought her the wrath of her husband's anger. She was considered to have been unable to control and discipline her daughter and therefore a failure in her motherhood role. Moreover, this was considered to be an abuse to the community which was denied an opportunity to feast during the girl's important ceremonies or rites of passage.

⁵. If pregnancy occurred after circumcision (though extremely rare) it was not considered a very serious crime as the girl was considered to be mature and an adult woman.

Such a girl who conceived before marriage was considered to be loose and forever unclean. Pre-marital pregnancies constituted permanent stigma to the girls. The girls were forbidden from participating in community ceremonies as they were considered unclean and social misfits. Other women would also avoid close associations with such girls whom they considered untrustworthy.

9:7:2. Community Perceptions of Pre-Marital Pregnancies among the Kikuyu

In Kiambu, these pregnancies were regretted but were no longer as unacceptable as they were among the Maasai. There was infact an element of de-stigmatization associated with pre-marital sexual activities and pregnancies. This destigmatization of pregnancies and child bearing before marriage is associated with the weakening of social norms and other sex behaviour regulatory mechanisms among the Kikuyu. Further the overwhelming presence of unmarried girls and women with children in the Kikuyu community has increased the acceptability of this behaviour, thus reducing the stigmatization associated with it.

Apart from the socio-economic consequences which are harsh for teenagers and their parents, this behaviour is increasingly being viewed as "normal".

In fact, among the girls and parents in Kiambu, these pregnancies and childbearing before marriage were so common at the time of the study that girls were commonly expected to be pregnant before marriage. In most households, the most common expression was that pre-marital pregnancies were a "fashion" and many parents were wondering why the non pregnant girls were not.

The girls who were not pregnant before marriage were viewed as the deviants while those pregnant had done what was expected of them.

The high prevalence of this phenomenon has desensitized people from blinking when a teenager becomes pregnant before marriage and it has come to be accepted as an unavoidable fact in Kiambu. While in Narok this behaviour is abhorred, in Kiambu it is becoming "normalized" hence its high prevalence. This difference in attitudes towards pre-marital pregnancies can explain why they occur more in Kiambu compared to Narok.

9:7:3. Community Responses to Pre-Marital Pregnancies

To a large extent, the attitudes towards pre-marital pregnancies in the two communities determined the community responses to them. In Narok, because these were negatively viewed, there were stronger sanctions and punishments as compared to Kiambu district where the pre-marital pregnancies were largely being ignored. Consequently, in Narok, there were many community measures of responding to these pregnancies once they occurred as well as preventing their occurrence. These measures are discussed below.

9:7:4. Punishments

In the two communities, punishments were community responses for the management and prevention of pre-marital pregnancies. In Kiambu, with the weakening of traditional value systems, the local community had no mechanisms with which to respond to these pregnancies. Once a girl became pregnant, it was up to her parents to decide whether to punish her or not. Some parents as we have seen beat, insulted or sent away their daughters who became pregnant before marriage. Others did nothing to these girls.

If the girls became pregnant while in school, the government policy's response was to send them away from school as a punishment to the girls and as a deterrent to other girls who might risk becoming pregnant while still in school.

Among the Maasai however, although to some extent the boys were also punished, the girl was more severely punished than the boy when the pre-marital pregnancy occurred. Once it was discovered that she was pregnant, she would be sent away from the parental home, never to return. A space would be created on the back fence of the manyatta through which she would be sent away.

According to some respondents, she would be told to run and a spear would be thrown after her. If she was unlucky, the spear killed her before she went far. Sometimes a bull would be made to run after her and gore her to death.

In most situations, however, she would just be told to run away from her home and never to return. She was disowned by her parents, and considered as good as dead. In some situations such a girl was killed by her parents.

Once she was outside the manyatta, the parents did not care what happened to her. It was considered a curse for such a girl to give birth in her parents' home. Anybody could take this girl if they so wished.

Such a girl was not accorded a full ceremony during her circumcision ritual which was not attended by her original parents. She would neither be supported nor held by anybody during circumcision while the person who circumcised her was considered unclean and a sheep without blemish was slaughtered to cleanse her. This girl would also not be allowed to participate in her own children's circumcision and other important ceremonies.

Men would also to a certain extent be punished for making girls pregnant. As a punishment they would pay a heavy fine to the girls' fathers. The fine consisted of heifers, blankets and beer with the number of the items paid varying at times according to different situations. At times it would be four pregnant cows, two blankets and traditional beer. In situations, where the moran refused to pay the fine, the girl's father would curse him. The fear of taboos and curses described earlier reinforced conformity.

It was believed that bad luck and misfortunes would befall such a moran all his life. While such a moran would never be forced to marry the girl he would also lose the respect of his fellow morans.

9:7:5. Reward Systems

In order to elicit conformity to social norms, behaviour cannot only be regulated through punishment but also by reward systems. Looking at the two communities, we find that in Kiambu the unclarity of reinforcement measures, the lack of and differential punishments to sexual offenders is accompanied by a similar lack of rewards for sexually appropriate behaviour as compared to the Maasai community. For example, among the Maasai, marriage was guaranteed for a girl who did not conceive before marriage. Such a girl had elevated social status while colourful ceremonies accompanied her marriage and childbearing activities.

In Kiambu there were no rewards associated with abstention from sex. Marriage was not guaranteed. Nobody even cares any more whether a girl is a virgin or not. There are no longer incentives for a girl to suspend the gratification of her sexual desires today.

As already mentioned, even the church is accepting pregnant brides in weddings and young men are marrying girls with children. In Kiambu, therefore, there are no strongly sanctioned rewards or punishments to discourage girls from engaging in pre-marital sexual activities which are likely to lead to teenage pre-marital pregnancies.

In fact, whereas in the past among the Kikuyu pre-marital pregnancy was frowned upon and a girl with such a pregnancy could only marry an old man, today there is no effective stigma associated with such an act, which, in some cases, is a gateway to marriage.

9:8. Pregnancy Prevention

What has emerged from the data is that there were differences in the way the two communities perceived and provided services for the prevention of pregnancies and child bearing among unmarried teenagers.

In Kiambu, we found that despite the demand for delayed gratification of sexual expressions and the lack of socially acceptable mechanisms of dealing with these, the teenagers were practically denied any opportunity for contraception or other pregnancy prevention mechanisms.

This was also despite the fact that sexual intercourse and pre-marital pregnancies were quite prevalent.

Consequently, teenagers did not use effective contraceptives to prevent pre-marital pregnancies, yet there were no community efforts to make preventive services available and accessible to teenagers. To the contrary, there was a deliberate move by government and the churches to make sure that teenagers did not have these services, even for those who were sexually active.

As already argued in the literature review, the arguments against provision of family planning and contraceptive services to unmarried teenagers have been based on health and moral issues. The controversy regarding contraceptive use among teenagers is still unresolved. These have been said to be harmful to the teenagers and seen to encourage immorality.

The following resolution from the Protestant churches highlights this controversy:-

"That family planning services were intended to help families to plan their families and that giving of services to young unmarried people meant that society approved and accepted pre-marital and extra-marital sex relations and that where this is being done, it should be completely discouraged" (NCKK 1963 pg. 2).

These notions persist even today. Among the Maasai, however, we found that even though teenagers said that they did not know or use any contraceptive or family planning method, the community had mechanisms of preventing pregnancies from occurring and terminating them when they occurred. These, however, were not known to the teenagers because it was the community which administered them to teenagers when deemed appropriate.

9:8:1. Sex Education

Among the Maasai, one of the pregnancy prevention measures was sex education. Before circumcision, there were no formally organized forms of sex education⁶.

They were informally instructed by their grandmothers on the dangers of pre-marital pregnancies. Girls were told to respect their skin dresses that covered their private parts by not allowing them to be tampered with and also keep their sexual organs secret and private.

⁶. It was really during circumcision that sex education can be said to have actually formally taken place. It is during this period that girls were instructed on their marital obligations and how to behave sexually.

In addition, they were warned and advised to keep away from boys particularly after menarche and as soon as signs of pubertal maturity were showing.

The mother's close supervision was reinforced by the fear of her husband's punishment for disciplinary laxity.

In Kiambu, on the other hand, we found that it was not clear whether sex education was formally or informally organised. Consequently teenagers did not learn how to manage sexuality thus becoming exposed to risks of pre-marital pregnancies.

9:8:2. Fear of Punishment and Curses

The fear of the punishments associated with the consequences of pre-marital pregnancies was another hinderance to their occurrence among the Maasai. These were rarely effective in Kiambu. Although the Kiambu girls suffered most of the severe punishments, in Narok the concerned boys did not want to see girls suffer.

This was reflected in the strong sense of accountability and mutual concern by the members of the community.

The severe punishments, coupled with the respect and sense of protection that the morans had for their womenfolk, prevented them from having complete sexual intercourse that would result in pregnancy.

9:8:3. "Oenet"-Temporary Halting of Girls
Reproduction

The Maasai had further a system of temporarily halting a girls reproductivity before marriage. This was done in a "tying" ceremony ("oenet") where a medicineman (Olaibon) would tie a thin leather belt round the girl's waist or right leg. The belt was made from eland skin (Orbisai). The belt would be smeared with herbs and charms. The Olaibon would incant magical words, and spit on the belt in the process of tying it. The ceremony was referred to as tying the "Oenet" or the belt.

The "Oenet" was supposed to have very strong powers of reducing or completely stopping fertility until it was reversed by the medicineman at marriage. According to the respondents, the Olaibon would remove the belt as well as the charms and throw them into the calves' pen in order to symbolically restore the girl's fertility at marriage.

The Maasai believed that a girl with "oenet" could not become pregnant before marriage. This was one way of preventing pre-marital pregnancies.

9:8:4. Early Circumcision and Marriage

Circumcision and early marriage were other ways of preventing pre-marital pregnancies. These have already been discussed.

9:8:5. Abortions

Finally, in situations where a pregnancy could not be avoided through all the above means, abortions were carried out among the Maasai (Lema & Njau, 1991). This was however, a very rare occurrence. Abortion was mainly carried out by use of herbs mixed with sheep dung. The mixture was boiled, sieved and given to the pregnant girl to drink. This was normally carried out in the early months of pregnancy. This mixture was considered to be very potent.

According to the respondents, the potency of the mixture was based on the idea that since sheep ate many types of herbs, their residue would be found in the dung.

After the completion of the abortion, the girl would complain of abdominal pain. Her mother would then tell her father that she (the girl) had a "stomachache" whereby the father would slaughter for her a goat. The fat of the goat would be fed to the girl to cleanse her abdomen. She would also be given some herbs that served as antidotes to the abortion herbs.

The respondents argued that this traditional method of abortion had no mortality rates compared to the modern use of malaraguins and other modern drugs that are considered quite fatal. Sometimes however, they used some crude abortal techniques such as pressing the abdomen, killing the baby in-utero and squeezing the foetus out⁷. This was quite dangerous and sometimes the girl died in the process. It was a method used when the pregnancy was quite advanced.

The important thing to note however, was that abortions were very secretive affairs. They were not made public particularly to the males. In Kiambu, on the other hand,

7. This technique was mainly used by Maasai of Samburu origin and not the indigenous Narok Maasai. (See also Ssenyonga, 1983).

abortions were illegal and socially unacceptable within the community. Christianity had labelled them as murderous and sinful. When they occurred, they were mainly administered by the girls themselves with no community acceptance or support. Teenagers who became pregnant had therefore no choice but to bear the child. Hence the prevalence of these pregnancies in Kiambu. The absence of child bearing in Narok could therefore be explained not only by absence of pregnancies but also by the abortions practised among the Maasai.

9:9. Rehabilitation of Girls with Pre-Marital Pregnancies and Childbirth

One of the major factors that further explain the invisibility of pre-marital births among the Maasai of Narok district is that once a girl gives birth before marriage and despite the above preventive and punishment measures, she is rehabilitated and re-integrated into the community through adoption and marriage.

In the Maasai community, there are some families (though very few) consisting of people conceived before circumcision and out of marriage (Entupai). Such families usually adopt a girl who conceives before circumcision.

This family thereafter provides care, control and custody of such a girl. It arranges for her circumcision, presides over it, arranges for her marriage and becomes the parents of the girl for all practical purposes. They take the bridewealth when the girl marries and the original parents have no claim to anything related to her.

Once the girl gets married, the child is born within a marital set up and the husband accepts and treats the baby as if it were his own.

For this reason, even though pre-marital pregnancies and child-births may have occurred among the Maasai in Narok, they become invisible through the community system of adopting and arranging marriages for the girl. Hence the invisibility of such pregnancies in Narok district as compared to Kiambu where the girls remain unmarried after pregnancies and childbirth.

In conclusion we can argue that a combination of factors explain why pre-marital pregnancies are invisible among the Maasai as compared to the Kikuyu of Kiambu. The Maasai for

example, recognize teenage sexuality and allow for various forms of sexual expressions before marriage as a management strategy of sexuality. Further, they have systems and restrictive codes of conduct that regulate and manage them.

Even though, pre-marital pregnancies are highly discouraged and severely punished, the girls and their babies are finally rehabilitated in marital and family set ups. This goes a long way in explaining why pre-marital pregnancies are quite uncommon among the Maasai.

In Kiambu, on the other hand, there are no social systems for the prevention and management of pre-marital pregnancies.

There are no social sanctions that are strong enough to deter these pregnancies except parental punishment and expulsion from school. Finally, unlike among the Maasai, there are no rehabilitative mechanisms within the community to destigmatize the girl so that she can get married and her baby legitimized by family set ups. Hence the existence and more visibility of pre-marital teenage pregnancies in Kiambu as compared to Narok district.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10:1. Conclusions

An overview of the whole study indicates that there are multiple factors that explain pre-marital teenage pregnancies and child-bearing, in the two communities. These include individual, social, cultural and economic factors among others.

The individual factors include age, and high levels of sexual activity in the absence of accurate sexual and reproductive information and contraceptive use. This study confirmed the findings of Lema, (1987) and Maggwa, (1987) that, to a certain extent, individual factors contribute to pre-marital pregnancies.

While these factors may have a lot of bearing on these pregnancies, the study has shown that on their own, they cannot be adequate in explaining the phenomenon. As indicated in the literature review and the theoretical framework, sexual behaviour does not take place in a vacuum, but within social and cultural contexts of regulatory norms and value systems.

Consequently, a teenager who is maturing sexually will experience conflicts between the demand for sexual expression and the societal norms that define and regulate these expressions.

The study therefore concluded that the extent to which girls do or do not become pregnant does not solely depend on their individual characteristics or in their levels of sexual activities (as these were common to the teenagers in the two districts) but, also on the nature of the communities and the extent to which they are able to manage and regulate teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour. Where the community deliberately gets involved and intervenes in the definition, regulation and management of reproductive behaviour, pre-marital pregnancies and childbirths are lower than in communities where teenagers are left on their own to decide and manage their sexual and reproductive behavioural processes.

We therefore conclude that rather than isolating and treating this phenomenon as a simple social fact, by attributing it only to teenage characteristics, pre-

marital teenage pregnancy should be seen as a complex issue that can only be explained by the interplay of a multiplicity of individual, social, cultural and economic factors.

10:2. Recommendations

Based upon this study's findings and conclusions, the following recommendations were made as suggestions geared towards the management of teenage sexual and reproductive behaviour with a view to minimizing their prevalence and associated consequences.

The study recommends that to minimize occurrences of pre-marital pregnancies and child-bearing among teenagers, the society must become more involved in the management of teenage sexual behaviour, design strategies for pregnancy prevention and mechanisms of preparing teenagers for appropriate adult roles whether or not these roles are performed in or out of marriage. This led to the following specific recommendations.

10:2:1. Management of Teenage Sexuality

Teenagers should be viewed as sexual beings with emerging sexual feelings and desires. Rather than pretend that these do not exist until teenagers are married, parents, teachers, policy makers and all concerned persons and institutions must recognize this fact. It is with this recognition that attempts can be made to seek ways of managing them in socially acceptable ways that are neither coital nor requiring early marriage.

The study therefore suggests that further research be carried out on the traditional mechanisms of the management of teenage sexuality and ways sought as to how these can be incorporated in the socialization of the youth for responsible adulthood.

Provision of supervised community recreational facilities for teenagers particularly in the rural areas such as public dancing in Narok could go a long way in diffusing teenage sexual impulses, thereby minimizing the need for sexual intercourse.

10:2:2. Sex Education Programmes

Combined efforts by parents, teachers, churches and community members should be made towards the provision of appropriate sex education of teenagers. Education in this sense should be viewed not as "how to do sex" but rather provision of information and knowledge that will provide an understanding of appropriate sexual values, self-respect and dignity, meanings and purposes of sex, how to understand sexual feelings, what to do when they occur and the consequences of sexual activities.

This is a sex education that should go beyond just the description of the sexual anatomy and its functions as claimed by many critics of sex education¹

10:2:3. Parental Involvement in Sex Education

Considering that the extended family set-up for the socialization of sex matters are rapidly being eroded and parents are increasingly being expected to carry out this role, it is important that they are equipped with information and training on how to communicate with their children on these matters.

¹. See letters to the editor. Daily Nation, 19th December, 1992.

As we have seen from the study, most parents lack the information and have problems discussing these with their children. Regarding the role of teachers in sex education, it should not also be assumed that just because they are teachers they can communicate to children on these matters. Teachers should therefore be trained on how to communicate in providing this kind of information.

10:2:4. Community Involvement in the Provision of Sex Education

Where social boundaries and shameful relations make it difficult and almost impossible for parents and teachers to socialize teenagers on these matters, communities should deliberately set up situations whereby this can be carried out. For example, elderly and respected persons can bring together young people in community settings where these can be discussed freely. Alternatively, professional counselling on sexual matters can be started and be carried out in the manner of the youth community counselling centres such as the Young Men Christian Association (Y.M.C.A), The Youth Counselling Centre in Eastleigh, or in many Church Youth Camps.

10:2:5. Peer Counselling

The study further recommends that where parents cannot provide sex education to teenagers, peers should be provided with training on how to provide appropriate sex information, since as shown by many studies, they are the most effective communicators on sex matters to the youth. Their effectiveness in communicating wrong information should be harnessed and used to communicate correct information.

10:2:6. Provision of Pregnancy Preventive Services

Apart from sex education, this study recommends that family planning services be provided to teenagers who show evidence of sexual activities alongside the counselling that they abstain from sex. Accessibility to safe contraceptives will minimize cases of repeat pregnancies among sexually active unmarried girls. Some of the contraceptive methods will also minimize the incidence of the sexually transmitted diseases.

10:2:7. Legalized Safe Abortions

The legalization of abortion and its access to teenagers will minimize cases of induced unsafe abortions that often result in high mortality and infertility cases.

10:2:8. Redefinition of Marriage

There is a need for the society to review its perceptions about the place, role and importance of marriage in the changing Kenyan society. These should in turn be conveyed appropriately to the teenagers in order to resolve the conflicts they experience as they try to sort out their many diffuse adult roles vis-a-vis marriage. This may go along way in removing the pressures for marriage among girls so that those who don't get married do not feel stigmatized. This way, the frustration that leads to engagement in harmful sexual and reproductive activities can be avoided.

The government and the community should further provide more social and economic opportunities and alternatives for girls so as to minimize the definition of marriage as the only means for economic and social success for girls.

10:2:9. Sympathetic Government Policies

The government should revise its policies so that they are sympathetic to teenagers with sexuality and reproduction problems. Rather than being condemned and punished through expulsion from school, the teenage girls who become pregnant should be provided with second chances and opportunities to improve their lot.

10:2:10. Establishment of Comprehensive Adolescent Services

The Government, in conjunction with the communities and the interested donor organizations should provide comprehensive services specifically for teenagers. These should include among others, health services for teenagers with sexual problems, educational services for pregnant girls or girls with children, vocational training services for those who have dropped out of school, day care centres for children to enable the teenage mothers to pursue education and career opportunities as well as career counselling. These support systems will minimize the long term effects of pre-marital pregnancies on the welfare of the girls concerned, their parents, offspring and the state.

10:2:11. Further Research

Further research in the area of pre-marital teenage pregnancies and their implications should be carried out.

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APPENDICESAPPENDIX AQUESTIONNAIRE FOR PREGNANT TEENAGE GIRLSPERSONAL BACKGROUND.

Q1.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|
| a) Age..... | | |
| b) Marital Status..... | | |
| c) District..... | | |
| d) Religion..... | | |
| e) Educational level..... | | |
| f) No. of brothers..... | | |
| g) No. of sisters..... | | |
| h) Birth Order..... | | |
| i) Occupation..... | | |

Q2. STATUS OF PARENTS

- | | | |
|--|--------|--------|
| a) Both alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| b) None alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| c) Father alone alive.... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| d) Mother alone alive.... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| e) Marital status..... | | |
| f) Father's occupation..... | | |
| g) Mother's occupation..... | | |
| h) Father's other sources of income..... | | |
| i) Mother's other sources of income..... | | |
| j) Father's educational level..... | | |
| k) Mother's educational level..... | | |

- l) Who brought you up?.....
- m) With whom do you currently live?.....

Q3 Has any of the following had children before marriage?

a)

PERSONS	YES	NO
Your brothers		
Your sisters		
Your girlfriends		

b) Did they marry the mother/father of the children?

PERSONS	YES	NO
brothers		
sisters		
girlfriends		

c) With whom do the children live?

Brother's child.....

Sister's child.....

Friend's child.....

- d) Who supports your
- Brother's child?.....
- Sister's child?.....
- Friend's child?.....

- e) Are these persons employed?

PERSONS	YES	NO
brothers		
sisters		
friends		

- f) If yes, specify kind of work
- Brothers.....
- Sisters.....
- Friends.....

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

Q5 a) Are you currently in school? 1. Yes 2. No

b) If No, What made you leave school?

.....

c) How many children do you have?.....

d) In what class were you when you first became pregnant?.....

e) Did you go back to school after you got the baby?

1. Yes 2. No.....(If No go to Q 6)

f) If Yes, did you go to the same school?

1. Yes

2. No

g) What made it possible for you to go back to school?

.....

h) With whom did you leave the child when you went back to school?

.....

i) Where is the baby now?.....

Q6.a) What made you not go back to school after getting the baby?.....

b) What have you been doing since you left school?

.....

Q7. State your

a) Employment status

.....

b) Nature of work

.....

c) Money earned per

month.....

- d) Other sources of income.....
- e) Do you consider your income enough to support you and your baby? 1. Yes..... 2. No.....

Q8. If not employed,

- a) Why aren't you employed?.....
- b) How do you support yourself?.....
- c) How do you support the baby?.....

RELATIONSHIP PATTERNS.

Q9.a) Did you have any boyfriend/s before you became pregnant?

- 1. Yes.....
- 2. No.....

b) Were your boyfriend/s (Tick appropriately)

Younger than you	Older	Same age	Married	Single	Many	One

c) Did you go for dates with your boyfriend/s

- 1. Yes.....
- 2. No.....

d) If yes, how often.

e) Were you having sex with him/them?

- 1 Yes.....
- 2. No.....

- f) Did your parents know your boyfriend/s
1. Yes..... 2. No.....
 - g) Did they approve of your relationships?
1. Yes..... 2. No.....
 - h) Give reasons for your answer.....
 - h) Did your parents approve of your going out with your boyfriend/s
1. Yes.....2. No.....
 - i) Give reasons for your answer.....
 - i) Were your parents very strict about your relationship with boys?
1. Yes..... 2. No.....
 - j) Give reasons for your answer.....
- Q10**
- a) How old were you when you first became pregnant?....
 - b) Did you know the results of pregnancy?
1. Yes 2. No
 - c) Did you know the father of your child?
1. Yes 2. No
If no, why not?.....
 - d) Where did you meet him?.....
 - e) How did you meet him?.....
 - f) For how long did you know the father of your child before you had sex with him?.....

g) Were you friends with him? 1. Yes 2. No

h) Were you going out with him? 1. Yes 2. No

If yes, where did you use to go with
him?.....

i) Did your parents know him?.....

j) Did they approve of him? 1. Yes 2. No

Give reasons for your answer.....

k) Are you married to him? 1. Yes 2. No

If no, why not?.....

l) Does he support your child? 1. Yes 2. No

If yes, what kind of support does he give?

.....

m) If no, why doesn't he support your child?

.....

Who supports your child?.....

Q11

a) Was the time you became pregnant the first time
to have sex with a man 1. Yes 2. No

Did you love him? 1. Yes 2. No

What do you call love?.....

b) What led you to have sex at the time?.....

c) Where were you at the time?.....

d) Did you know that you would get pregnant at the
time? 1. Yes 2. No

If yes, why did you have sex with him?.....

e) Did you want to become pregnant at the time?

1. Yes 2. No

Give reasons for your answer.....

Q12. At the time you got pregnant, did you

a) Know about Family Planning methods? 1. Yes 2. No

b) Were you using any of them? 1. Yes 2. No

c) Which methods were you using?

.....

d) Why were you not using any method?.....

e) Did you know about safe periods? 1. Yes 2. No

f) Were you using safe periods? 1. Yes 2. No

Q13. When you discovered that you were pregnant.

a) How did you feel about the pregnancy?.....

b) How did your parents feel about it?.....

c) How do you feel now?.....

d) How do your parents take it now?.....

- 1. Father
- 2. Mother
- 3. Grandmother
- 4. Grandfather
- 5. Sister
- 6. Brother

SOURCE OF SEXUAL INFORMATION

Q14. Before you became pregnant, did you know

a) The name of your body parts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b) Names of sexual organs										
c) Menstruation										
d) Kissing										
e) Sexual intercourse										
f) How women conceive babies										
g) How babies are born										
h) Marriage and Family Planning										

KEY.

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------------|
| * Knowledge | 1 Yes | 11 Teacher |
| * | 2 No | 12 T.V. |
| ** Language | 3 | 13 Film |
| *** Sources | 4 Mother | 14 Boyfriends |
| | 5 Father | 15 Others (specify) |
| | 6 Books | |
| | 7 Magazines | |
| | 8 Girlfriends | |
| | 9 Sisters | |
| | 10 Brother | |

Q15. Did you ever discuss the subjects below with your mother/father before you became pregnant?

	SUBJECT	DISCUSSED		WHAT DID SHE TELL YOU	REASONS FOR NOT DISCUSSING
		YES	NO		
a	GOING OUT WITH BOYS				
b	BOYS/GIRLS RELATIONSHIP				
c	MENSTRUATION				
d	SEXUAL PARTS OF YOU BODY				
e	SLEEPING WITH BOYS				
f	PREGNANCY				
g	MARRIAGE				
h	ANY OTHER SUBJECT (SPECIFY)				

[b]

If you did not discuss the things above with your parents state from whom you learned about these things below and what you were told about them.

Subject	From whom learned	What told
a) Going out with boys		
b) Boy/Girl relationship		
c) Menstruation		
d) Sleeping out		
e) How babies are conceived		
f) Sexual intercourse		
g) How babies are born		
h) Marriage		
i) Family planning		
j) Any other (specify)		

Q16. Soon before you became pregnant, did you do the following:-

	Yes	No	What kind	With whom	Where would you go	Parent's opinion
a) Like music						
b) Go to movies						
c) Read books						
d) Read Magazines						
e) Watch T.V. Programmes						
f) Sleeping out with friends						
g) Going for parties						
h) Use Family planning methods						

Q17. Before you became pregnant, did you think it was right or wrong to do the following?

SUBJECT	Right	Wrong	Give reasons for your answer
a) To have a boyfriend			
b) Kiss your boyfriend			
c) Sex before marriage			
d) Sex before marriage without pregnancy			
e) Pregnancy before marriage			
f) An affair with married men			
g) Use of Family planning methods			

Q18. What do you think now about,

SUBJECT	Right	Wrong	Give reasons for your answer
a) having a boyfriend			
b) Kissing a boyfriend			
c) Sex before marriage			
d) Sex before marriage without pregnancy			
e) Pregnancy before marriage			
f) An affair with married men			
g) Use of Family Planning methods			

Q19.

- a) Before you became pregnant, what had you planned to be or do with your future life?.....
- b) Have these plans changed in any way?
 1. Yes 2. No
- c) If yes, in what ways have they changed?

- d) What are your new future plans?.....

20.

a) Whom do you think should be blamed when a girl gets pregnant?.....

b) Give reasons for your answer.....

Q21. What would you say, leads girls to become pregnant before marriage?

.....

Q22. What do you think should be done to stop girls getting pregnant before marriage?

.....

.....

.....

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APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR NON-PREGNANT TEENAGE

GIRLS.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND.

Q1.

a) Age.....

b) Marital Status.....

c) District.....

d) Religion.....

e) Educational level.....

f) No. of brothers.....

g) No. of sisters.....

h) Birth Order.....

i) Occupation.....

Q2. STATUS OF PARENTS

a) Both alive.....1. Yes 2. No.

b) None alive.....1. Yes 2. No.

c) Father alone alive....1. Yes 2. No.

d) Mother alone alive....1. Yes 2. No.

e) Marital status.....

f) Father's occupation.....

g) Mother's occupation.....

h) Father's other sources of income.....

i) Mother's other sources of income.....

j) Father's educational level.....

- k) Mother's educational level.....
- l) Who brought you up?.....
- m) With whom do you currently live?.....

Q3 Has any of the following had children before marriage?

a)

PERSONS	YES	NO
Your brothers		
Your sisters		
Your girlfriends		

b) Did they marry the mother/father of the children?

PERSONS	YES	NO
brothers		
sisters		
girlfriends		

c) With whom do the children live?

Brother's child.....

Sister's child.....

Friend's child.....

d) Who supports?

Brother's child?.....

Sister's child?.....

Friend's child?.....

e) Is this brother employed

PERSONS	YES	NO
brother		
sister		
friend		

f) If yes, specify kind of work

Brother.....

Sister.....

Friend.....

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

Q5 a) Are you currently in school? 1. Yes 2. No

b) If No, What made you leave school?

.....

c) Do you have any children? 1. Yes 2. No

If Yes, answer questionnaire one from Q5 d onwards.

Q6.a) Are you employed?

1. Yes..... 2. No.....

If no go to (d).

b) If yes, what is the nature of your job?.....

c) How much do you earn per month?.....

d) If not employed, why are you not employed
.....

e) How do you support yourself?.....
.....

f) What are your other sources of income?.....

Q7.a) Have you ever had a boyfriend/s? 1. Yes 2. No

b) Have your boyfriend/s been (tick appropriate one)

Younger than you	Older	Same age	Married	Single	Many	One

- c) Did you go for dates with your boyfriend/s?
1. Yes 2. No
- d) If yes, how often?
- e) Did you ever have sex with your boyfriend/s?
1. Yes 2. No
- f) Did your parents come to know your boyfriend/s?
1. Yes 2. No
- g) Did your parents approve of your relationships with your boyfriend/s? 1. Yes 2. No
- h) Give reasons for your answer.....
.....
- i) Did your parents approve of your going out with your boyfriend/s? 1. Yes 2. No
- j) Give reasons for your answer.....
.....
- k) Are your parents strict about your relationship with men? 1. Yes 2. No
- l) Give reasons for your answer.....
.....

- Q8. a) Do you have a boyfriend currently?
1. Yes 2. No
- b) If No, why not?
 - c) If yes, for how long have you known him?
 - d) When did you meet him?.....
 - e) How did you meet him?.....

- f) Do you love him?.....
- g) What do you call love?.....
- h) Where do you go for dates.....
- i) Have you ever had sex with him? 1. Yes 2. No
If no, why not?.....
- k) If yes, what led you to have sex with him?
.....
- l) Where were you at the time.....
- m) Have you ever become pregnant? 1. Yes 2. No
- n) If yes, where is the baby?.....
- o) If no, why have you not become pregnant if you
have had sex?.....
- p) Have you been doing anything to prevent
pregnancy?
1. Yes 2. No
- q) If yes, what have you been
doing?.....
- r) If no, why have you not been
pregnant?.....

Q9.a) Do you know about Family Planning methods?

- 1. Yes 2. No

- b) Have you been using any of them? 1. Yes 2. No
- c) If yes, which method have you been using?
- d) Why have you not been using any methods?
.....

Q11. Did you ever discuss the subjects with your mother before you became pregnant?

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

	SUBJECT	DISCUSSED		WHAT DID SHE TELL YOU	REASONS FOR NOT DISCUSSING	PARENT MO/FA
		YES	NO			
a	GOING OUT WITH BOYS					
b	BOYS/GIRLS RELATIONSHIP					
c	MENSTRUATION					
d	SEXUAL PARTS OF YOU BODY					
e	SLEEPING WITH BOYS					
f	PREGNANCY					
g	MARRIAGE					
h	ANY OTHER SUBJECT (SPECIFY)					

Q12.

If you did not discuss the things above with your parents state from whom you learned about these things below and what you were told about them.

Subject	From whom learned
a) Going out with boys	
b) Boy/girl relationship	
c) Menstruation	
d) Sleeping out	
e) How babies are conceived	
f) Sexual intercourse	
g) How babies are born	
i) Marriage	
j) Family Planning	
k) Any other specify	

Q13. Did you like doing things below? (tick appropriately)

	Yes	No	What kind	With whom
a) Like music				
b) Go to movies				
c) Read books				
d) Read Magazines				
e) Watch T.V. Programmes				
f) Sleeping out with friends				
g) Going for parties				
h) Use Family planning methods				

Q14. Do you think it is right or wrong to do the following?

	Right	Wrong	Give reasons for your answer
a) To have a boyfriend			
b) Kiss your boyfriend			
c) Sex before marriage			
d) Sex before marriage without pregnancy			
e) Pregnancy before marriage			
f) Have an affair with married men			
g) Use Family Planning			
f) Any other (specify)			

Q15. What do you plan with your future?.....

.....

Q16. Whom do you think should be blamed when girls get pregnant before marriage?.....

.....

Give reasons for your answer.....

.....

Q17. What would you say leads girls to become pregnant before marriage?.....
.....

Q18.a) Do you know the results of pregnancy?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

b) If yes, what are they.....
.....

Q19.a) What do you think should be done to stop girls getting pregnant before marriage
.....

APPENDIX CQUESTIONNAIRE FOR BOYSPERSONAL BACKGROUND.

Q1.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| a) Age..... | b) Marital Status..... |
| c) District..... | d) Location..... |
| e) Religion..... | f) Educational Level..... |
| g) No. of brothers.... | h) No. of sisters..... |
| i) Birth Order..... | j) Occupation..... |

Q2. STATUS OF PARENTS

- | | | |
|--|--------|--------|
| a) Both alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| b) None alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| c) Father alone alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| d) Mother alone alive..... | 1. Yes | 2. No. |
| e) Marital status..... | | |
| f) Father's occupation..... | | |
| g) Mother's occupation..... | | |
| h) Father's other sources of income..... | | |
| i) Mother's other sources of income..... | | |
| j) Father's educational level..... | | |
| k) Mother's educational level..... | | |
| l) Who brought you up?..... | | |

m) With whom do you currently live?.....

Q3.

a) Are you currently in school? 1. Yes 2. No

If yes, go to Q 5

b) If no, what class did you reach in school?....

c) What made you leave school?.....

Q4.

a) Are you employed? 1. Yes 2. No

(If no go to (d))

b) If yes, what is the nature of your job?.....

c) How much do you earn per month?.....

d) If not employed, why are you not employed

.....

e) How do you support yourself?.....

.....

f) What are your other sources of income?.....

.....

5.

a) Have you ever had a girlfriend/s? 1. Yes 2. No

b) If no, why not?.....

c) Have your girlfriend/s been (tick appropriate one)

Younger than you	Older	Same age	Married	Single	Many	One

d) Do you go for dates with your girlfriend/s?

1. Yes 2. No

If No, why don't you go for dates?.....

e) If yes, how often?.....

Where do you go for your dates?.....

Q6.

a) Have you ever had sex?

1. Yes 2. No

b) If no, why not?.....

.....

c) If yes, how many girlfriends have you had sex with?

.....

d) Where do you usually go to have sex?

.....

e) Where do you go to look for the girls that you have sex with?.....

f) Why do you have sex?.....

g) Do the girls refuse to have sex when you ask for it?

1. Yes 2. No

- h) If yes, what do you do to make them agree to have sex with you?.....
- i) What do you tell girls in order to convince them to have sex with you?.....
- j) Do you love the girls you have sex with?
1. Yes 2. No
- k) If no, why do you have sex with them?
.....
- l) If yes, what do you understand love to be?.....
.....
- m) For how long do you know the girls before you have sex with them?.....
.....
- n) Do you know the outcomes of sexual intercourse?
1. Yes 2. No
- o) If yes, what are they?.....
.....
- p) When having sex, do you think that the girl/s could become pregnant? 1. Yes 2. No
- q) If yes, why do you have sex with the girl/s?
.....
- r) What do you feel about the girl/s after having sex with them?.....

s) Where do you get the girls whom you have sex with?

.....

Q7. *Did you ever make a girl pregnant?*

a) Have you ever made a girl pregnant? 1. Yes

2. No

If no, go to Q.8.

b) If yes, how many girls have you made

pregnant?.....

c) How did you know that you had made her/them

pregnant?

.....

d) How did you feel when you discovered that you made

her/them pregnant?.....

e) How do you feel now?.....

f) Did the girl/s ask you to marry her/them?

1. Yes 2. No

g) Did you marry the mother of your baby?

1. Yes 2. No

h) If no, why not?.....

i) Where is the baby?.....

j) Do you support the baby? 1. Yes 2. No

k) If yes, what kind of help do you

give?.....

l) If no, why don't you help the baby?.....

m) Who supports the baby?.....

- n) What did your parents say when they heard you had made a girl pregnant?.....
- o) Did your parents ask you to marry the girl?
1. Yes 2. No
- p) Give reasons for your answer.....
.....
- q) Go to Q. 8b

Q8.

- a) If you have never made a girl pregnant, what are the reasons?.....
- b) Do you know any Family Planning methods.
1. Yes 2. No
If yes, which ones?.....
- c) Have you been using any Family Planning methods?
1. Yes 2. No
If yes, which ones?.....
- d) What have you been doing to prevent yourself from making girls pregnant?.....
- e) Why have you not been using any Family Planning methods?.....

Q9.

- a) Do your parents come to know your girlfriend/s?
1. Yes 2. No

b) Do your parents approve of your relationships?

1. Yes 2. No

Give reasons for your answer.....

.....

c) Are your parents strict about your relationship
with girlfriend/s 1. Yes 2. No

Give reasons for your answer.....

.....

- 11. Smoking
- 12. Drinking
- 13. Pills
- 14. Bodybuilding
- 15. Driving

SOURCE OF SEXUAL INFORMATION

Q10. Before you became pregnant, did you know

a) The name of your body parts	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) Names of sexual organs						
c) Menstruation						
d) Kissing						
e) Sexual intercourse						
f) How women conceive babies						
g) How babies are born						
h) Marriage and Family Planning						

KEY.

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------------|
| * Knowledge | 1 Yes | 11 Teacher |
| * | 2 No | 12 T.V. |
| ** Language | 3 | 13 Film |
| *** Sources | 4 Mother | 14 Boyfriends |
| | 5 Father | 15 Others (specify) |
| | 6 Books | |
| | 7 Magazines | |
| | 8 Girlfriends | |
| | 9 Sisters | |
| | 10 Brother | |

Q11. If you did not discuss the things above with your parents state from whom you learned about these things below and what you were told about them.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

	SUBJECT	DISCUSSED		WHAT DID SHE TELL YOU	REASONS FOR NOT DISCUSSING	PARENT MO/FA
		YES	NO			
a	GOING OUT WITH GIRLS					
b	BOYS/GIRLS RELATIONSHIP					
c	WET DREAMS					
d	SEXUAL PARTS OF YOU BODY					
e	SLEEPING WITH GIRLS					
f	PREGNANCY					
g	MARRIAGE					
h	FAMILY PLANNING					
i	ANY OTHER SUBJECT (SPECIFY)					

Q12

Have you ever discussed the subjects below with your parents?

Subject	From whom learned	What you were told
a) Going out with girls		
b) Boy/girl relationship		
c) Wet dreams		
d) Sleeping out		
e) Sexual intercourse		
f) How babies are conceived		
g) How babies are born		
h) Marriage		
i) Family Planning		
j) Menstruation		
i) Masturbation		
j) Any other specify		

Q13. Did you like doing these things below? (tick appropriately)

	Yes	No	What kind
a) Like music			
b) Go to movies			
c) Read books			
d) Read Magazines			
e) Watch T.V. Programmes			
f) Sleeping out with friends			
g) Going for parties			
h) Having sex			
i) Use Family planning methods			

Q14. Do you think it is right or wrong to do the following?

	Right	Wrong
a) To have a girlfriend		
b) Kiss your girlfriend		
c) Sex before marriage		
d) Sex before marriage without pregnancy		
e) To make a girl pregnant before marriage		
f) Have an affair with married women		
g) For boys to use Family Planning methods		
h) For girls to use Family Planning methods		

- Q15. a) What do you plan with your future?.....

- b) How do you hope to achieve your plans?

- c) What position (number) are you usually in class?.....

Q16. a) Whom do you think should be blamed when girls
get pregnant before marriage?.....
Give reasons for your answer.....
.....

Q17.a) What would you say leads girls to become
pregnant before marriage?.....
.....

Q18.a) Do you know the results of pregnancy?
1. Yes 2. No
b) If yes, what are
they?.....
.....

Q19. What do you think should be done to stop girls
getting pregnant before marriage?.....
.....

Q20. What do you think should be done to stop boys
from making girls pregnant?.....
.....

Q21. What should be done to the boys who make girls
pregnant?.....
.....

Q22. What should be done to help girls who become pregnant before marriage?.....

.....

.....

1. The prevailing social values, religious, etc. are not conducive to responsible action. Educational, social, and religious agencies should be organized to help in this regard. These include the village, school, club and religious organizations.

2. The moral education, character and conduct of the community of those who are the young people is also responsible.

3. The existence of primary school system is essential especially in those places.

4. The existence of public health system of health care is essential of course for survival.

5. The existence of social and religious organizations is essential.

6. Public health and medical services related to pregnancy and childbirth.

APPENDIX DGUIDING QUESTIONS FOR FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Below is a summary of the issues addressed by the focus group discussion in both districts.

1. The prevailing social values related to the definition of acceptable social relationships, sexual relationships, pregnancies and childbearing. These included the values, norms, rules and regulations guiding these behaviours.
2. The nature of agents, process and contexts of the transmission of these values to the young people in the respective communities.
3. The existence of community social systems to enhance conformity to these values.
4. The existence of socially acceptable systems of dealing with the expression of teenage pre-marital sexuality.
5. The existence and extent of pre-marital sex relationships in the communities.
6. Rules, regulations and sanctions related to pre-marital sexual relationships.

7. Sanctions, rituals, fines and other societal responses associated with pre-marital sexual relationships.
8. Values related to marriage, its definition, place and function in society. Rules, regulations and requirements affecting choice of partner and when to marry.
9. Comparison of the above issues between traditional and modern times.
10. Pregnancy and childbirth: values, rules and regulations on who and when to become pregnant, value of children, view towards pre-marital teenage pregnancies, prevention, community response, reactions, punishments, abortions and rituals associated with these. The respondents' views concerning the trends and explanations of this phenomenon was assessed.

These discussions were sometimes accompanied by pictures which served as "projective techniques" reflecting the theme under discussion where relevant¹

¹. See Appendix E page 359

APPENDIX E.USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES:USES:-

To encourage discussion and elicit information from the teenagers and their parents (separately) on factors that lead to the problem of teenage pregnancy and how it is dealt with.

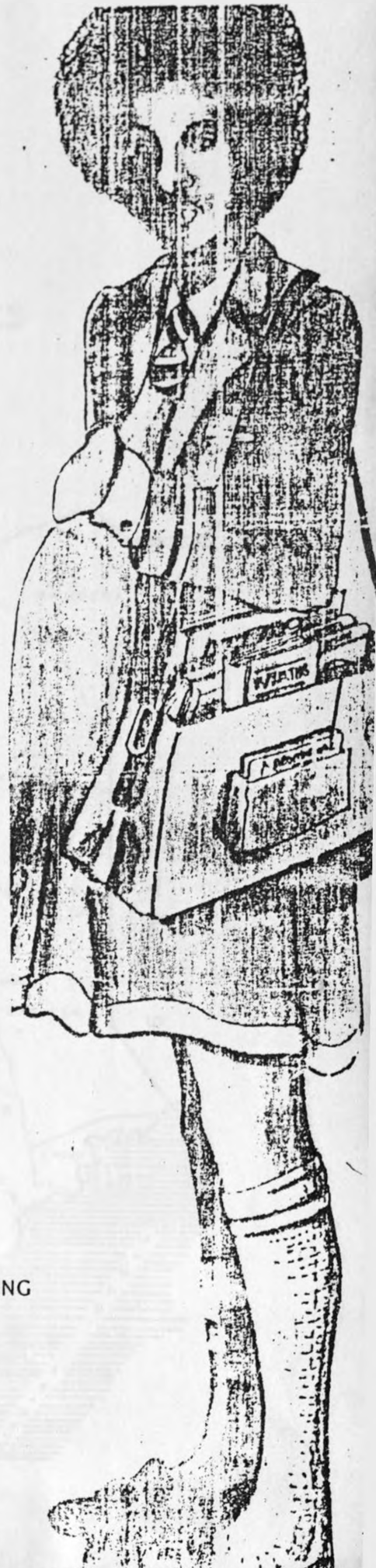
RECORDING:-

- a) Responses from the discussions were recorded using a tape recorder.
- b) Trained people were used to record the responses where tape recorders could not be used.

GUIDING QUESTIONS:-

1. What do you see in the picture?
2. Is it a girl or a boy?
3. Describe the girl/boy.
4. How old do you think she is?
5. What has happened to her/
6. What do you think has led to that condition?
7. What do you think will happen to this girl?
8. What do you think will happen to the baby?
9. What do you think her parents will do to her?
10. What do you think should happen to the father of this child?
11. Whom do you think should be blamed for her condition?
12. What do you think could have been done to prevent her from getting into this condition?

NOTE: OTHER QUESTIONS FOLLOWED AS THE DISCUSSION PROCEEDED. THEY WERE ALONG SIMILAR LINES AS THOSE USED IN FOCUSED GROUP DISCUSSIONS.



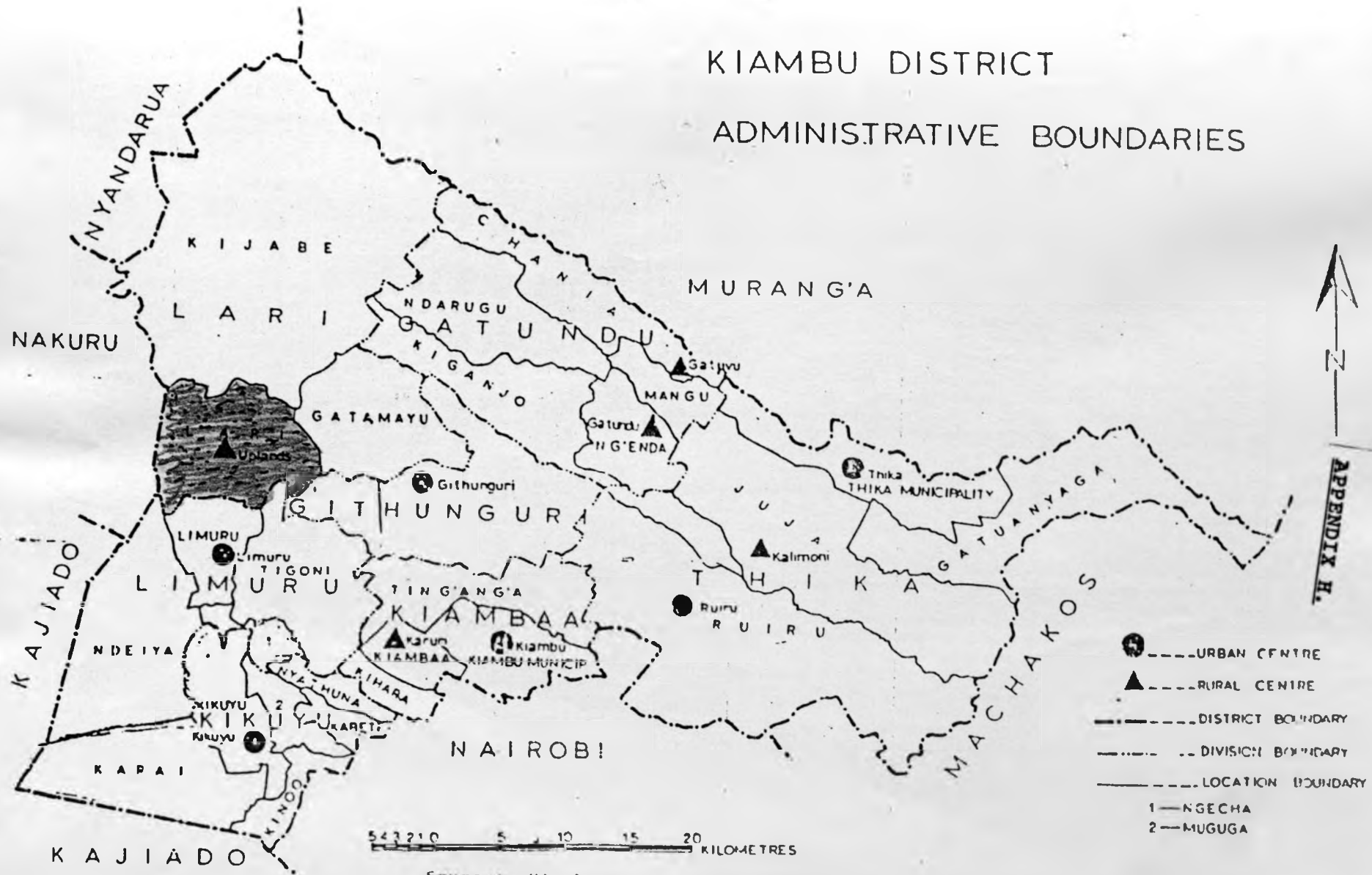
APPENDIX F

Location Of Districts



Source: Narok District Development Plan 1989 - 93.
 Ministry of Planning and National Development.

KIAMBU DISTRICT ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES



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APPENDIX H.

Source: Kiambu District Development Plan, 1989 - 93
Ministry of Planning and National Development, Page 13

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