The Taboo and the Teacher: Youth Sexuality and Teachers’ Education Strategies for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights in Kenyan Maasai Land

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Cover Photo: The walk between Amboseli and Maasai Mara Schools
(Karen Smith 2012)
Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a part of my life for nearly nine months and has challenged me in ways I couldn’t have imagined. Yet those challenges cannot compare to the challenges I learnt about in Kakila. That this document is the end of the process seems incongruous. I have done something, but I will always wish I could have done more.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) in Kakila\(^1\), Kenya. The research uses the Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) to understand the ideas and perceptions of teachers and how these ideas influence education strategies in the realm of SRHR. Teachers’ motivations to engage with SRHR issues are analysed and discussed as well as the constraints and opportunities of the strategically selective context (SSC). An essential aspect of understanding the SSC is the perception of youth as to their SRHR issues. This research also analyses this dimension and provides an insight into the difficulties of growing up in Maasai land. Many issues of youth in the realm of SRHR are revealed and the influence of teachers’ awareness and perception of these issues is analysed. From the conclusions recommendations are made for key stakeholders to focus on both female and male SRHR issues highlighting the need to combat the polarisation of genders in SRHR policy and practice. Furthermore, in terms of teachers focus should be placed on value clarification, sustainable training and promoting positive views of youth sexuality.

Key Words

SRHR education, youth sexuality, teachers, strategy, agency, professional identity, Maasai (land), circumcision (female and male), transactional sex, young/early pregnancy, young/early marriage, condoms, religion, gender, Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE)

\(^1\) Name of district changed to protect anonymity
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1. Introduction

Research Diary: I’m standing on a hill. To my left I can see nothing but dust and sparse trees as far as the horizon, to my right and behind the same aspect, but in front a building recognisable as a school. Classrooms scattered across the red earth. The environment is harsh; hot, dusty and prone to drought. The school is understaffed and under-resourced. Parents must contribute through school fees, in an officially free education system, for teachers, school staff and books. Sex is a taboo topic in this community; in fact, it is seen as an abuse to even mention some parts of the human body. If you discuss condoms in some places you will be greeted by [Mothers] spitting on the ground at your feet. This is a place where Maasai traditional ideals are interweaved with the tenants of a, very Kenyan, Christianity resulting in a dangerous and oppressive silence concerning youths’ right to safe and satisfying sexual relationships. I can’t imagine walking into one of those classrooms and drawing the female and male genitalia on the blackboard.

[13th February]

Sexuality is undeniably complex. Individual normative stances on sex differ greatly within and between communities. Culture, religion and personal experiences influence and shape the way sex is thought about, taught about and experienced. This research focuses on this complex domain and explores an essential, yet incredibly difficult task; educating young
people to enable them to enjoy their Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR). Through an investigation of teachers’ education strategies for SRHR (ESRHR) this thesis draws attention to the necessity and complexity of supporting teachers to provide SRHR education to male and female youth. This research aims to further understanding of how, what and why teachers teach, or do not teach, youth about sexuality and to provide an insight into these difficult processes.

1.2 Relevance of the Study

This research is motivated by awareness that the denial of SRHR is detrimental, destructive, and can be, deadly. Yet, SRHR is a broad and difficult concept. UNFPA (2011) specifies the following as constituting an individual’s sexual and reproductive health rights:

- Reproductive decision-making, including voluntary choice in marriage, family formation and determination of the number, timing and spacing of one's children and the right to have access to the information and means needed to exercise voluntary choice...
- Equality and equity for men and women, to enable individuals to make free and informed choices in all spheres of life, free from discrimination based on gender...
- [As well as] sexual and reproductive security, including freedom from sexual violence and coercion, and the right to privacy.
  (UNFPA 2011)

In order to encapsulate this broad field into a manageable concept the idea of being able to experience safe and satisfying sex, if one chooses to have sexual relationships, is useful. Ensuring youth have the necessary knowledge, attitudes, and skills to be in control and enjoy their sexual lives must begin at a young age. It has been shown by many studies that education has an important role to play in this (UNESCO 2009; UNAIDS 2009; IPPF 2010). However, not all forms of SRHR education account for and promote youth rights. Indeed, the use of fear based rather than evidence and rights based ESRHR is common. This is detrimental to the future opportunities of youth, and undermines their developing sexuality. This indicates a further problem and motive of this research; ESRHR within schools in Sub-Saharan Africa are perceived as lacking the ability to change behaviour and adequately promote youths’ rights (Njue et al. 2010; Booij & Meinema 2010).

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2 The United Nations defines youth as being between 15 and 24 years of age (United Nations 2010). However, according to Kenyan law the age of adulthood is 18 (The Republic of Kenya 2004) and in Maasai tradition puberty marks the move into adulthood. Thus, this definition is inadequate. The “youth” age bracket will be extended to include those from the age of eleven to incorporate Maasai tradition. This is particularly important in the case of girls where puberty can begin at this young age. Where appropriate those over fifteen will be referred to as older youth. Thus, the definition of youth is contextually specific.
This research explores ESRHR and finds that just as sex is not simply “the exchange of body fluids” (Epstein et al. 2004:7); teaching about sexuality cannot simply be the exchange of knowledge. The role of teachers in the field of ESRHR is central. The primary providers of education globally teachers have unique levels of access to youth and, thus, a crucial role in ESRHR (UNAIDS 2009:6). Yet, there are many contextual and ideological difficulties in developing ESRHR. This is because SRHR encompasses a wide variety of difficult and personal topics which extend far beyond the school compound. Furthermore, multiple influences on education policy generally, as well as ESRHR, exacerbate the complexity of teachers’ work.

An important theoretical motivation for this research is the potential of ESRHR in general and Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE) in particular. CSE can provide evidence based knowledge, attitudes and skills grounded in the equal treatment of youth as rights holders. CSE can empower youth to make informed decisions which will keep themselves and others safe (Njue et al. 2011; UNESCO 2009; UNAIDS 2009). This thesis supports the idea that CSE has the potential to challenge gender inequality and power relations in appropriate and meaningful ways. However, cultural institutions, national policies and global education paradigms limit the transformative power of teachers and CSE.

1.3 Why Kakila?

Kakila is known as Maasai land and indeed the district is primarily populated by Maasai. The traditional Maasai lifestyle is based around grazing animals, particularly cows, and is called pastoralism. A Maasai family will rely on their animals for milk, food and their value when sold. The geography of Kakila makes this lifestyle essential yet vulnerable. Kakila is a semi-arid district located close to the equator in the South of Kenya and the weather conditions are harsh. The hot dry seasons are long and

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3 In this research CSE will be used to refer to the internationally supported programme prescriptions of bodies such as UNAIDS, UNESCO, the International Planned Parenthood Foundation (IPPF) and Educaids. Education strategies for SRHR will be used to refer to any form of education on sexual and reproductive health issues, sexual relationships and related contextual factors.

4 Name of district changed to protect anonymity

5 Kakila is referred to in common parlance as Maasai land. The majority of the population in this district are of Maasai ethnic origin although there are individuals from differing ethnicities.
droughts have been known to last for several years. Therefore, agriculture is incredibly difficult. In addition, since the 1980s grazing land has reduced significantly and formally large herds of cattle have been decimated by drought and disease (Thabiti). Unfortunately these factors conspire against Kakila’s residents, 28% live below the poverty line (Warrington & Kiragu 2012:302); and life expectancy is just 46 years of age (Pamoja 2009a:4-5)

Kakila was chosen as the focus of this research as a local Non Government Organisation (NGO), Pamoja6, had highlighted to their Dutch partners Educaids7 that though educational involvement in SRHR issues had been increasing change resulting from these interventions had been minimal. Thus, Pamoja was eager for education strategies in the realm of SRHR to be explored in order to benefit their supported schools as well as other youth in the district.

There are also some very specific issues within the realm of SRHR which made research in Kakila important. In this district sexual activity commonly begins from a very young age and the age of first sex is sometimes as low as eleven years (Dupoto-e-Maa 2009a). Youth in Maasai land also face a multiplicity of risks to sexual health, which severely impact their opportunities for education and life. These include, but are not limited to: female and male circumcision8, young marriage, young pregnancy, transactional sex, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS)9. These issues are the practical problems which offer motivation for this research. There is a necessity to find ways to help youth take control of their sexual lives and combat these very real threats to health and life.

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6 Pamoja (name changed to protect anonymity) a local NGO based in Kakila town. Pamoja focuses on supporting the pastoralist community in education, health and business. In partnership with Edukans and Educaids Pamoja supports schools across Kakila and neighbouring districts, two of which were involved in this study. Pamoja also provided me with invaluable support during the research process.

7 Educaids is a Dutch based NGO which works through a linking and learning network to highlight the importance of education strategies for SRHR and create channels for partners to share information. Educaids works with the University of Amsterdam to facilitate Masters research with in country partners thus providing valuable avenues for knowledge creation and sharing.

8 In this thesis the term Female Circumcision (FC), commonly referred to as Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), will be used to specify the cutting of the female genitalia conducted as a rite of passage among the Maasai community. This choice is intended as a form of respect to those who have undergone the process and do not wish to be referred to as “mutilated”. Male Circumcision (MC) will be used to refer to a similar rite of passage for males involving the cutting of the male genitalia and the removal of the foreskin.

9 In Kenya HIV prevalence is 6.8%, and in the Rift Valley, the province in which Kakila is found, this figure is 4.8% percent. It is important to note that the Rift Valley province has one of the highest gender disparities in rates of HIV infection in the country, 6.3% for females and 2.8% for males (KDHS 2009). In Kakila district this difference is highest amongst youth with 3.1% of females infected compared to 1.6% of males (Pamoja 2009a:5).
Figure 1: Map showing the districts in Kenya.10

The capital’s district Nairobi and Kakila district are labelled (Kenya Bureau of Statistics/Cartographic Section & Kenya Population Census District Maps 1989).

1.4 Research Question and Sub-Questions

The introduction has revealed some of the importance and difficulties of SRHR education. In order to research this field fully, this thesis focuses on answering the following main research and sub-questions which interrogates youths’ SRHR issues and teachers’ ESRHR with particular attention paid to contextual factors. The sub-questions break down the research question to help reveal the links and connections between the issues.

RQ: What are youths’ SRHR issues and Kenyan teachers’ related education strategies for providing SRHR information and how are teachers’ strategies connected to the strategically selective context including youths’ issues, teachers’ agency and professional identity?

Sub-Questions

1. What are the SRHR issues for youth in the strategically selective context of Maasai land?

2. What are teachers’ education strategies for SRHR in the strategically selective context of Maasai land?

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10 A county system was formulated in 2012 but this system had not been finalised or applied during the research.
3. How does professional identity influence teachers’ education strategies in the realm of SRHR?

4. What effect does teachers’ agency have on their education strategies concerning SRHR?

Answering the research question will be approached in the following way. In Chapter two the relevant theory will be explored in order to frame the research data obtained. Chapter three will present the research methods in order to contextualise the data. Then Chapter four will discuss the SRHR issues for female and male youth. This data chapter will be organised by gender in order to allow for deeper analysis and to highlight differences. The issues which were deemed to be most important by youth will be presented and subsequent information used to analyse and give depth to the data. This will constitute an answer to the first sub-question while outlining the strategically selective context (SSC) in which youth and teachers operate. Following from this will be an analysis of teachers’ ESRHR, in Chapter five. In this analysis, as in reality, the SSC, strategy, agency and professional identity will be linked to create a clear and coherent picture of what teachers teach concerning SRHR and why. However, to give clarity to the analysis this chapter will be separated into three sections each focusing on a specific aspect of this complex inter-relation. In doing this the second, third and fourth sub-questions will be approached and answered. Chapter six will present conclusions from the discussion with an overview of findings. Thesis limitations and suggestions for policy and further research will also be presented in this chapter.
2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 A Critical Realist Approach
A critical realist approach has several important theoretical benefits. In terms of ontology, in this research, it will be held that there is an external reality which exists apart from how people view it. This external reality is contingent upon the actions of individuals and vice versa. In addition, knowledge of the material world is always mediated by the ideas of individuals (Jessop 2005:42-43). Therefore, ideas as well as material events, objects and structures are significant. For example, in research evidence gained will always be mediated but still meaningful (Jessop 2005:44). Epistemologically this approach is particularly useful as this thesis focuses on both the perceptions and strategies of individuals. Methodologically this approach also highlights the necessity to consider historical and spatial specificity (Lopes Cardozo 2009:411). This is incredibly important in the case of ESRHR.

2.2 Structure, Agency and Strategy
The field of SRHR is dynamic and educational strategies for SRHR have a dialectical relation to this field. This is because teaching is a profession which necessarily includes change or at least the potential for such. Schools are sites of production and contest where certain ways of life are introduced and legitimated (Giroux 2002:3). Furthermore, health promotion, which is a significant aspect of CSE, is another field in which change is a necessary dimension (Rütten & Gelius 2011:954). Thus, an explanation of the potential for agents to transform structures must be sought for the purposes of this research. The Strategic Relational Approach (SRA) offers one such explanation. This approach is a way of understanding reality, a heuristic device (Jessop 2008); which evades the criticisms of many dualist structure agency theories (McAnulla 1998); by giving a central place to change and maintaining that structure and agency are separate, but intimately related phenomena. In the SRA context, institutions, and practices appear to show regularity over time (Lopes Cardozo 2009:37); this is “structure”. In addition, this “structure” is strategically selective, as some actors, identities, strategies and actions will be privileged over others (Jessop 2005:48). Structural factors condition the opportunities and constraints for action.

The concept of strategy is essential to understanding the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Strategy should be understood as calculation and choice informed by reflection, the context, and an individual’s perception or partial knowledge of the context
Strategies link to past events, present structures and perceived future possibilities. Olsen (2009) identified three levels of strategic thinking. First order strategies are day to day decisions linked to specific contextual possibilities and individual goals. Second order strategies are overarching orientations towards certain first order strategies. Third order strategies are concerned with public presentation and gaining the approval of others. This level of strategy involves the consideration of others, potentially competing, and strategies in tandem with one’s own.

Strategies necessarily lead to contingent new events, which may cause a change in structures (Olsen 2009:368-369). This is because choosing a particular strategy necessarily creates and eliminates other possible strategies (Hay 2002:210-211). Actors will react to the (un)intended consequences of their strategies with revision and repetition, or strategic learning in SRA terms (Hay 2002:210-211). This causes strategies to be both fluid and durable. Actors invest time, energy, and ethical commitments in their strategies. These commitments will strengthen and weaken in the face of changing circumstances (Olsen 2009:368-369). In addition, actors may use “cognitive short-cuts” in order to achieve certain recurring goals (Hay 2002:211). This means that actors will utilise conventional ways of understanding the environment in which they find themselves. In this way realistic alternative strategies for action may be discounted. This can lead to reproduction, rather than transformation, of the context.

Agents are understood as being reflexive and strategic; they can orient themselves and their strategies to the realisation of goals or intentions (Hay 2002:209). However, strategies can be conscious or unconscious. Agents may also act without an intention or goal. Utilising a strategic relational approach, agency is the space for strategic action informed by incomplete knowledge of, and within, a SSC. Agency is strongly linked to reflexivity, rationality and motivation. Thus the ideas of actors are paramount to understanding action (Lopes Cardozo 2009:37). Further development of this idea is offered by Vongalis-Macrow (2007) who suggests that in order to correctly analyse the agency of professionals, particularly teachers, one must consider three dimensions namely, obligation, authority and autonomy. Firstly, obligation, relates to the boundaries and limits imposed by laws and regulations. Such constraints operate at the local, national and international level. For teachers, this includes education policies and dominant paradigms which place conflicting external demands upon teachers (Ben-Peretz 2001). Authority identifies the “institutionally granted power” to act afforded to teachers due to their position as socially oriented agents (Ropers-Huilman cited...
by Moore 2007:604). Finally, autonomy highlights a teacher’s capacity to pursue their own interests and make demands (Vongalis-Macrow 2007:428). Agency is influenced by teachers’ roles and professional identities, which will be discussed in the next section. This will offer an initial insight into the complexities of understanding teachers’ strategies as a particular case.

2.3 Teachers’ Professional Identities

In this research “identity” will be understood as a dynamic process of becoming linked to structural and contextual factors. Identities are not solitary and may not be coherent. Identity is an evolving aspect of self, an organising element (Lauriala & Kukkonen cited by Beauchamp & Thomas 2009:179); which provides justification and motivation for action. Teachers professional identities are a specific phenomena inextricably linked to their role. Welmond (2002) suggested that, in understanding teachers’ roles, the first stage of analysis is the “cultural schema”. This stage is contextual; it requires an understanding of what it means to be a teacher in a particular historical, socio-political, physical and material space, and relates to what is expected of teachers at the individual and community level (Welmond 2002:43). Socio-cultural expectations emanating from communities, students, religious leaders and school boards can have a strong influence in determining the role of teachers (Beijaard et al 2000; O’Connor 2008). This is indeed reinforced by this research, as will be seen. The next relevant level of analysis relates to government education objectives and their associated influence on teachers. It should be noted that, in the SRHR context, (inter)national NGOs. These policy prescriptions determine teachers’ roles by defining what is expected of them at the (inter)national level.

Teachers’ professional identity is created through the interlinking of societal expectation and subjective reflection. In other words, the link between teachers prescribed roles and professional identity occurs through the experience of teachers on a personal level. As teachers prescribed roles change their agency changes. In addition self perception and identities may be affected. This in turn affects strategies, which impact upon the context thus altering roles. Thus, it is vital to consider individual appropriation of influence as, “whilst roles can be assigned to individuals identity is determined by individual subjectivity” (O’Connor 2008:124). This process of appropriation and negotiation means that each individual will adapt influences differently. Thus, as each individual will have different identities in different contexts, different individuals will also have different identities in the
same context (Beauchamp & Thomas 2009:177). For example a teacher may also be a parent, a daughter or son, a community leader, a HIV+ individual and so forth. Differences in professional identity can also be linked to material characteristics such as age, gender, religion and ethnicity. Furthermore, teachers may hold different beliefs about teaching and thus have different professional identities.

2.4 Teachers in the Context of Glocalisation

The importance of considering contextual factors in understanding the roles prescribed to teachers, their agency and professional identities should not be overlooked. The term globalisation can be used to refer to the phenomena of increasing global interconnectedness (Santos 2006:393). This increasing interconnectedness does not however equal homogenisation. The importance of individual subjectivities in appropriating influence should not be forgotten. Thus, the term “glocalisation” is, perhaps, more relevant here and highlights the diversity of local responses to global policy (Vongalis-Macrow 2007:426). Culture, defined as a normative stance dictated by shared heritage, beliefs and practices (Fine cited by Baldwin et.al 2005:167); is particularly significant in the mediation of influence in this case. Religion also has a significant influence on the uptake of global education reforms, particularly in the realm of sexual health.

Nevertheless, there are some significant trends in education policy relevant to this discussion. Since the 1990’s education has been reframed according to neoliberal ideology and become subject to wide reaching reforms. Through this trend the dominant policy orthodoxy on education provision has thus become focused on rationality, technical efficiency, and accountability (Welmond 2002). At the (inter)national level teachers are predominantly prescribed the responsibility of producing tangible and quantifiable gains in student learning. Education has become framed in terms of human capital and is primarily understood as an investment in future economic gain (Robertson et al. 2007). This is in opposition to humanist thinking which sees education as a public good, and teachers as caring, committed and socially oriented professionals (O’ Connor 2008). Difficult education systems, contextual factors and socio-economic difficulties are also under-represented, yet these issues have been proven to be central to students’ ability to learn and central to teaching itself (Collins 2009; Giroux 2002). These factors are inextricable from SRHR.
The level of control over teachers work has led to increasingly low morale and discomfort in the teaching community (Vongalis-Macrow 2007; O’ Connor 2008). Furthermore, Giroux has discussed the development of “teacher proof curricula” (Giroux 2002:2); which mechanise learning and undermine teachers institutionally granted power, thus limiting their authority. This also results in a limitation of teachers’ social responsibility. The boundaries within which teachers must operate no longer encompass social obligation. This trend is particularly important in terms of CSE.

2.5 SRHR Policy, Comprehensive Sexuality Education and Youth Rights in Schools

SRHR policy at the government level often focuses on HIV prevention. Policy prescriptions from governments construct HIV/AIDS as a national development issue with a concurrent demarcation of sexuality to the personal realm, for example the policy documents of the National Aids Control Council (NACC) (2009; 2010) in Kenya. In addition publications from the World Bank (2002; 2005; 2011) have highlighted the necessity for tangible results from SRHR education in order for programmes to attain and retain funding. Unfortunately change resulting from SRHR often defies empirical measurement (Jurgens 2009:9). Thus, ESRHR beyond HIV prevention and treatment can be neglected.

Young men’s needs are also peripheral to the discussion of SRHR. This can be seen in recent policy on family planning. The 2012 London Summit on Family Planning has highlighted the need for family planning services. Yet, the focus of their proposals is women and girls with very little focus on men or their needs (London Summit on Family Planning 2012). Although this may be justified given the disproportionate effect of SRHR issues on women, SRHR issues cannot be viewed in isolation from men and policies should not overlook male needs.

Indeed, CSE should include men, women girls and boys in equal partnership, provide youth with self knowledge of their bodies and environments and involve youth through meaningful participation. It should also give them an awareness of their rights allowing them to make well informed responsible decisions while providing evidenced informed, ethical, contextualised and critically engaged curricula (UNAIDS 2009:4-5). It is also important that these interventions be linked to an enabling environment which requires wider community involvement and sensitisation (Leerlooijer 2009; UNESCO 2009). This approach requires strong leadership from individuals who recognise that SRHR is not equivalent to HIV
infection and is in fact inter-related with many different dimensions of human life (UNESCO 2009:2).

CSE is essentially social and political in orientation as it is based on human rights, particularly youth rights, and not economic development. Enlightening youth and empowering them to transform negative institutions is central (IPPF 2010; UNAIDS 2009; UNESCO 2009). Understanding the rights of youth to be provided with information on issues that will impact on their lives is essential to providing CSE. This is stressed in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Article 17 states that children should have access to information from a variety of sources which relates to their physical and mental well being. The CRC, which Kenya adopted, also outlines, in Article 12, the right of children to have their views respected and taken into account in decisions which affect their own lives (United Nations 1989).

Schools are seen as essential spaces to transmit this education. This is due to the high numbers of youth attendance along with the fact that the years of schooling coincide, in most cases, with the age of first sexual experimentation (UNESCO 2009:6). Yet, teachers are often under-represented in policy proposals. NGOs are more commonly seen as the appropriate vehicle through which to pass these messages to youth. This process is arguably another factor in teachers’ authority being undermined. However, in reality, teachers often struggle to provide CSE. For example, schools often focus on tested subjects in order to ensure they reach targets (Booij & Meinema 2010:38; World Bank 2002:32).

### 2.6 Education Strategies for SRHR in Kenya

There are several specific issues which arise when considering ESRHR in the context of Kenya. Though a SSC will be provided through the empirical data gathered, it is important to first give a theoretical overview. Sexuality is a taboo subject in much of Sub-Saharan Africa (Bhana 2007; Van Zon 2003; Booij & Meinema 2010). Schools are presented as centres of knowledge and youth development, yet many teachers fear they will be seen to be promoting promiscuity by teaching about sexuality (UNESCO 2009:8). This is a damaging trend leaving youth with insufficient knowledge on sexual health (Njue et al. 2011). This undermines their internationally sanctioned human rights (UNFPA 2011, United Nations 1989); as well as their potential for leading fulfilling and healthy lives. Another damaging trend in ESRHR is the construction of female innocence in opposition to male power. Girls
are constructed as victims and males as threats (Bhana 2007; Campbell at al. 2006; Van Zon 2003). This trend can also be seen in research where male youth are presented as peripheral sexual threats to young girls (Warrington & Kiragu 2012). This polarisation is highly damaging as it constructs men as part of the problem and not the solution (Epstein et al. 2004). A final problem is that many education programmes fail to engage with youths’ sexual agency and desire (Van Zon 2003); this polarisation may be partly responsible for this.

The prevalent approach to education for SRHR in much of Sub-Saharan Africa is to provide “Abstinence only” education programmes. It is important to note that evidence is increasingly showing that abstinence only programmes are ineffective (IPPF 2010:4). Life Skills lessons, which include concepts such as decision making, self confidence, negotiation and so forth, along with biological facts on HIV/AIDS contraction and care (World Bank 2002) are being promoted to try to rectify this situation. These lessons are supported, in most cases, by messages on abstinence and the immorality of sexual behaviour. Life Skills education, which aims at promoting behaviour change, is indeed part of the national curricula in Kenya. However, this is in most cases not being implemented. This highlights the “complexities of seeking to apply academic research in real-world settings,” (Campbell et al 2006:83). Non Government Organisations have stepped in to fill this knowledge and resource gap often offering additional training and support for teachers (Booij & Meinema 2010). Consequently, there are many Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and NGOs working in the area of SRHR. These organisations provide an important addition to predominately lacking ESRHR.
2.7 Conceptual Scheme

Figure 2 shows the main concepts and their interaction. This scheme shows the layering of structures, and the relation between teachers’ prescribed roles and professional identities, whereby externally prescribed roles are appropriated by the individual to form identity. Agency and strategy have been presented in a dialectical relation; agency influences strategy and strategic thinking influences a person’s sense of agency. Furthermore, (un)intended strategies lead to action and (un)intended consequences. These consequences alter the context of the actor, and may lead to strategic learning and a change in strategy. Professional identities also have a dialectical relation to teachers’ roles, through agency, as how teachers perceive their role will influence agency and strategy, so influencing the expectations of teachers. This will alter their perceived roles creating a feedback loop.

2.8 Operationalisation

Appendix A shows the links which have been made between the main concepts and the dimensions which are of particular relevance to answering the research question and sub-questions. The operationalisation also shows which variables and indicators were used to examine these concepts in the field. This link has been made using existing literature from a more theoretical standpoint as well as experiential variables in the field. It is important to
note that this guide was formulated from a “Western” standpoint and revised and adapted to account for contextual reality and unexpected important variables and indicators.

Although meta-theory served as the starting point for this framework many factors have been presented and explored. These include the potential differing influences on education strategies at a global, national and local level and teachers’ own professional identities, which incorporate multiple factors. It is important to note that though this research does not aim to evaluate teachers’ strategies, this exploration is grounded in a thorough understanding of what CSE should consist of and what is in fact necessary to positively impact upon youths’ sexual intentions, decisions and behaviour. The research approach, further contextualising the data gathered, is the subject of the next Chapter.
3. Research Methodology

3.1 The Research Approach: Critical Realism and Mixed Methods

There were two important considerations when deciding on a research approach. Firstly, research is arguably part of the experiential world, feeding back into and altering the reality which is under “observation”. Thus, the researcher cannot be neutral (Jessop 2005:44). This is a particularly important consideration when conducting research from a critical realist epistemology. Secondly, this research was highly explorative and focused on sensitive issues. Thus, it was important to build trust with participants. For these reasons I employed a qualitative approach to data collection, which allows for depth in meaning (Chambers 2007). I used several different qualitative methods in order to triangulate my data. In this way I aimed to, “establish truth via people’s understanding” (O’ Connor 2008:120); as critical realism suggests, evidence is always mediated through the perception of individuals.

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1 Sampling: The Target Population

Primary schools have been highlighted as a particularly important target group in terms of the prevention of SRHR problems (UNAIDS 2009). Thus, the target population was the male and female students and male and female teachers of three primary schools in the Kakila district in Kenya. The youth workshops were conducted with standard eight pupils. This class was chosen as they would have received the full extent of any teaching strategies for SRHR, and their knowledge and awareness could more easily be assessed. The sensitivity of the topic also meant that older students were preferred and students in Standard eight, at these schools, were between eleven and twenty two years of age.

3.2.2 Sampling: The Methods

The sampling methods were determined by the sensitive nature of the topic, the qualitative approach of the research and the restrictions of working in a very rural area. A snowballing technique and purposive sampling were employed. Two schools, supported by Pamoja, were approached for their participation. This was primarily due to their location, which made them accessible from the main road. This constituted a spatial bias, but enabled me to visit the schools extensively, which was necessary for the research methods. The final school was found through snowballing. This school also had the level of access necessary to conduct the
research, but was not, at the commencement of research, supported by Pamoja\textsuperscript{11}. Once contact with the schools had been made the head teachers and deputy head teachers were asked to indicate those teachers who they felt would be willing to participate in the research. This was according to local conventions of school hierarchy and assured cultural and contextual specificity (Mosse 1995). This may also have introduced bias to the research sample.

Fifteen students were invited to each youth workshop; this number was chosen as it was important to conduct the workshops with a representative group, yet ensure groups were small enough to create an atmosphere of trust. This sampling was done randomly. The youth who wished to participate were asked to sign up for the workshop and provide their age. These lists were then used to provide a representative and yet random sample of the class.

**3.2.3 The Sample**

The sample size aimed for was 90 youth; 45 female and 45 male, and fifteen class teachers. In actuality, 39 male youth, 49 female youth and fifteen teachers; three deputy head teachers, three senior teachers and nine class teachers participated. This sample allowed for saturation of responses, given the intensity of the research methods and the focus of the research question. The sampling method has led to an over-representation of male teachers, given that predominantly females worked within the school. This may be partly due to gender norms, in an area in which males are typically dominant, particularly within the education system. Contrastingly, female students are over represented. This may be for a number of reasons. In Amboseli and Tsavo schools there were very few female students in Standard eight; in these schools all Standard eights and if necessary Standard sevens were invited. The characteristics of the sample can be seen in Figures 3 and 4 below.

Key informants involved in the school were also approached for interview, the three head teachers, two staff of a local NGO, the Pastors visiting the schools on a regular basis, and the Chiefs of the towns in which the schools were based. Two local nurses working in the field of SRHR were also interviewed\textsuperscript{12}. Unfortunately I was not able to interview the Area

\textsuperscript{11} This school has subsequently received support from this NGO
\textsuperscript{12} Descriptive information for these key informants can be found in appendix B. Throughout the text key informants have been referred to with a name (changed to protect anonymity) and their profession. This is to allow the reader to distinguish easily between the opinions of teachers, who are just referred to by false name, and key informants
Education Officer (AEO). However, as the focus of the research is the perceptions of teachers, this is not a major difficulty.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Years Teaching</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thabiti (Acting Senior)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul (Deputy)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shani (Deputy)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>Over 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathiyah (Senior)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karani</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kamba</td>
<td>6 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Luhya</td>
<td>9 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>African (Kisi)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson (Deputy)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamau (Senior)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanura</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>Luo</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3: Table showing descriptive information for teachers

without having to continually refer to the appendix. However, it should be noted that this may create a somewhat one dimensional identity for these participants. This was not the intention.

Names of teachers have been changed to protect anonymity. Religion has been omitted from the table as all teachers were Christian.
3.3 Methods of Data Collection

The methods of data collection differed for different participants. With teaching staff interviews were the main source of data collection. Teachers were interviewed twice\(^{16}\). In between these interviews a workshop was held with the teachers. This provided a valuable opportunity to triangulate my

\(^{14}\) Names of schools have been changed to protect anonymity
\(^{15}\) Data from Workshop one
\(^{16}\) For interview guides see appendix E
findings; an essential aspect in quality research (Bryman 2008). Unfortunately, two teachers were unavailable for second interviews. Similarly the attendance of the workshop was not universal with nine teachers of the fifteen attending. There were also two youth workshops with boys and girls at each school. Male and female workshops were held separately to allow the youth to express their problems. This was decided due to the importance of recognising and accounting for potential power dynamics (Mosse 1995); and given the sensitive nature of the topic. These workshops were conducted within schools in the period after classes, in which youth normally participated in clubs and sports. This location may have affected the ability of students to be critical of teachers’ messages; however it was necessary in the local situation. Youth often travel long distances to reach schools and it was felt to be inappropriate to use other times. The specifics of the workshop tools, methods of data collection, management and analysis are presented in appendix C, F and G. It is important, however to reflect on and evaluate the research tools at this stage.

3.3.1 Reflection on Research Tools

Interviews for teaching staff were conducted within the schools. This was not ideal as it may have negatively influenced the ability of teachers to give honest answers, especially in questions concerning support from head teachers and other teaching staff. In addition, the ability for teachers to freely express their opinions on youth relationships, and sexuality in general, may have been hindered. However, due to the lack of time, which teachers frequently expressed, this method was necessary. In order to minimise this effect, a quiet location within school where the interview could not be overheard was sought, but could not in all cases be found. The second interviews were a way of triangulating information and building trust. However, it proved difficult to obtain these interviews as teachers felt they had “said all they could” on the topic. In addition, I think that after the first interviews teachers were more aware of the difficult nature of the topic, and so less inclined to participate.

The teachers’ workshop was held in a neutral location which was beneficial. The workshop aimed to be participatory and allow all individuals an equal say. The use of group exercises and directed but

17 References to workshop one indicate the exercises at the first workshop, workshop two the second. Where information has been obtained from a particular exercise, or particular school, this will be specified. All exercises were anonymous in order to build trust and due to the sensitivity of the data. Research numbers were given to the youth and through this descriptive information was obtained. Thus, the data can be analysed for trends in age and ethnicity. However, due to the visibility of my research subjects within the schools, the small sample size and the sensitivity of the data individuals will only be specified by school and as male / female, though records of all sources have been carefully kept. In addition, all names of schools have been changed to further protect anonymity.
open discussion attempted to allow for this. The workshop was also a lesson in the creation of consensus (Mosse 1995). However, this proved useful in highlighting important normative opinions. The workshop format was particularly useful in gathering data from the youth. The tone of the workshop was intentionally casual. As much as possible school type exercises and instructions were avoided. This lack of structure may have affected the reliability of the data, for example there are some inconsistencies in descriptive information. However, due to the sensitive nature of the topic this method was essential to create an atmosphere in which youth could feel free to express their problems and, often controversial, opinions. This benefit can be seen in the quality of the data. Furthermore, the explorative nature of the research question justifies this approach.

The format was changed for the second workshop to written rather than verbal responses. This was for several reasons. The first reason was to allow youth to give more sensitive information, particularly concerning very sensitive subjects such as knowledge of condoms. The second reason for this format was to examine data without the difficulties of unequal participation, as each youth provided answers. However, the youth were allowed to discuss their answers in order to avoid a school atmosphere. This may have led to copying and repetition of answers. This decision also stemmed from the difficulties I experienced with translation the youth were repeatedly encouraged to use Kiswahili/Kimaasai in workshop one. However, my presence and the use of English, as well as Kiswahili/Kimaasai, led to the majority of youth providing answers in English. This was difficult for some of the youth and negatively affected the detail of the data, essential for such a qualitative approach.

A final consideration is that male and female data has been analysed in slightly different ways. With males analysis has been separated to investigate differences between younger and older youth. Older youth, as mentioned previously, are defined as being above fifteen years of age. This decision has been taken, as fifteen is the average age of circumcision for young males. This ritual may be accompanied by a change in SRHR issues and perception of these issues. Thus, it was deemed necessary to perform such an analysis. In the case of girls, however, the age of circumcision is lower, around eleven years. This sample does not allow for a separation between potentially circumcised and uncircumcised girls and so age is not an important factor in the analysis. This is a limit of the research. Ethnicity, though fairly uniform across the sample has been taken into account and those of Maasai ethnicity and other ethnicities have been analysed separately to investigate any differences in SRHR issues or perceptions of these issues. However, few significant differences were found. Those discovered have been mentioned in the text.
3.3.2 Positionality, Participation and Ownership

The language issues highlight the inevitable difficulties in being an “outsider”. However, I felt that the nature of the research topic leant itself to an outsider gathering information. I worked hard to build rapport (Mosse 1995); and maintain a trustable and hardworking persona. This coupled with my background from an “immoral” culture allowed me to interrogate normative opinions. I was able to utilise negative perceptions of “Mazungus” as promiscuous and immoral to move beyond normative denials of sexuality with my participants, particularly youth. This is evident in the difference between workshop notes from my translator and me. Whereas mine are often shocking, personal and provocative my translators often follow the format of textbook questions and answers.

This required a high level of involvement of my personal identity in my research and necessitated a high level of awareness of the influence of this persona on my data. In addition, being a female in a position of authority on SRHR was a precarious role, and at times I was the target of sexual advances from my participants. When I was asked questions and solicited for advice on sexuality I had to carefully monitor my responses. I decided early on to always be honest, but to try to moderate my answers and language so as not to cause offense or appear “immoral”.

The methods required a high level of participation from those in the study and also a high level of personal information. This required consideration of the idea of ownership of data and how this data could be used by the community. This was particularly the case when I was asked by teachers for advice on how they should proceed. In the circumstances, I felt it would be inappropriate to share strong criticisms. However, without offering criticism I was unsure how I could offer advice. This difficulty was also felt by Beth (nurse) who offered the following advice, “You are careful because...you want to go back and you [hope] that with that enlightenment they will see the need [for change] and we don’t want to confront them head on because some of these things are very hard to process.” This inspired me to develop an ethical strategy to deal with this difficulty, which is outlined in section 3.4.2.

3.4 Ethical Issues

3.4.1 Data versus “helping”

A translator was employed for the first youth workshops. The following excerpt from my research diary explains the difficulties and insights that arose from this decision.

---

18 Foreigners
The difficulty for my translator was that on hearing the problems of the youth, which were often distressing, she wanted to “help”. The fact that this help came in the form of judgement and attempts to instil fear was frustrating yet revealing. Our conversations were a constant source of frustration and insight. In fact, my translator later became a key informant as she was herself a young Maasai girl raised in a very rural area with very similar issues. My decision not to use a translator for workshop two stemmed primarily from my feeling that I could not ethically allow her interaction with the youth. The principle of do no harm influenced this decision (Scheyvens et. al 2003).

I also took a difficult decision not to provide information workshops for the youth, as I had originally intended. Given the constraints of the local context I did not feel I was able to provide advice which would be beneficial to the youth. However, I tried to answer their questions and give practical information and advice as much as I was able throughout the workshops. I was fully aware, however that my advice may not have been valued by, or valuable to the youth. I was an outsider, a novelty. While this may have helped me in gathering information, I believe my influence on youth was minimal. This was in fact proved when misinformation that I had corrected was later repeated to me.

3.4.2 Ethical Strategy

The sensitive nature of this topic required careful and continual consideration of ethical issues. Care was taken to ensure that all those participating were fully informed of the purpose and nature of the research, and any questions about the research were honestly and appropriately answered. Every participant was offered the option not to answer any questions and it was made clear that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Furthermore, all the collected data will be kept confidential and

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*Ref*erred to from this point as Felista (NGO)
only used within the frame of the research. The names of teachers, students, key informants, and schools have been changed in this thesis. In addition, I was also careful to consider the fact that discussing issues within this research might have negative effects on the community’s perception of teachers or youths involved. Thus, the research was conducted within the schools and I was careful to present myself and my research appropriately to outside persons.

On returning from the field I realised that the data I have collected revealed several worrying trends in the sexual lives of male and female youth, which may lead to severe SRHR issues. After consultation with Pamoja I have attempted to resolve these issues with reports to teachers and head teachers. These will outline the relevant data I have discovered and offer some carefully formulated, critical suggestions to address youths’ SRHR issues in appropriate and culturally sensitive ways. Importantly, this strategy still allows for the continuation of mutually beneficial partnerships between researchers, NGOs and schools in Kakila, while accounting for the needs of youth.
4. SRHR Issues for Youth in the Strategically Selective Context of Maasai Land

4.1 Background of the Kenyan Education System

The Kenyan education system consists of eight years of primary and four years of secondary schooling. Schooling at primary level is ostensibly free and there are, as in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, high enrolment but low completion rates (Warrington & Kiragu 2012:302). In Kakila there are several specific cultural factors which may influence high dropout and hence low completion rates. Firstly, the Maasai pastoralist semi-nomadic life style means that youth often move between areas and most have to travel long distances to schools. Youth also have a high workload outside of school, often caring for livestock. Furthermore, education is not highly valued by some in Kakila, particularly in the case of girls (Warrington & Kiragu 2012; Pamoja 2009a). Finally, although Kenyan primary education is officially free fees are seen as necessary to cover teacher and resource shortages. These costs were around 100 shillings a month (about €1) in each of the schools. There were also additional costs for exams (about €0.20/exam) and uniforms (about €6). These numbers may seem small, but in a situation where 28% of residents are thought to live in absolute poverty (Warrington & Kiragu 2012:302) this cost becomes significant. Thus, these costs hinder access to education and add to the negative impact of school attendance. This translates into education being, for many, a privilege rather than a right.

4.2. Sex, Relationships and Control: SRHR issues for Female Youth

4.2.1 Sex and Danger

For any adolescent, sex, body changes, and adulthood are worrying concepts. In Maasai land the growing body brings some very specific, and potentially very harmful, risks. This marks a dramatic change in life, as explained by Beth (nurse), “It has been looked at as a period where you either make it or you don’t make it. It has been looked at as a period where you either get pregnant or you don’t. So it’s a problem that everyone looks at it with a lot of fear because they don’t know how to go about it.”

This was indicated by the fact that some girls felt that their own changing bodies were a source of fear and danger. Firstly, group exercises in workshop one at all the schools revealed that girls were afraid that the appearance of breasts and the beginning of menstruation would be a source of embarrassment and shame among their peers. Three girls at Amboseli School also indicated that parents would assume that the appearance of breasts meant that the girls had been engaging in sex and this would lead to punishment (workshop one). This corresponds to a Maasai cultural myth,
explained to me by Thabiti and Beth (nurse). The second important bodily danger was personal. One girl felt that the growth of breasts and the beginning of menstruation would cause her to engage in sex, “[your] body forces you to have sex [you] see [the] changes and [you] think you are ready for doing sex” (workshop one Problem Tree: Amboseli school). Indeed, this idea of the adolescent body taking over and causing girls to engage in sex was also expressed in a slightly different form by girls at Maasai Mara and Tsavo schools, for example, you know you are in love because, “You feel it is your body that controls you.” (workshop one Maasai Mara school: Card game, Question 4) and, “when you start growing other people will talk bad things about you...You have to start playing with boys.” (workshop one Tsavo school: Problem Tree). This leads me to the third risk stemming from the adolescent body, the risk of forced sex. Female youth indicated a fear that once a girl had developed breasts she would be “caught by boys” and told that she must have sex as she was “ready” (workshop one: all schools).

These fears are informed by a heightened awareness of the negative consequences of engaging in sex. Indeed, sex itself was seen in an overwhelmingly negative light by these girls, as capable of “destroy[ing] the life of young people” (workshop two Maasai Mara School) and feared by seventeen of the 50 girls involved in workshop one. The negative consequences of sex are also a source of fear among this group. For the youth these include STIs and HIV; mentioned by seventeen of the girls from Amboseli and Tsavo schools. Interestingly, none of the girls from Maasai Mara School highlighted this risk as a worry. Young pregnancy and dropping out of school, however, were prominent fears at all the schools, with seventeen girls and nineteen girls mentioning these worries respectively. School dropout can be considered a SRHR issue as, among the Maasai, young pregnancy often leads to permanent withdrawal from school and girls being given out in marriage (Michael, head teacher). One of the girls summed up this issue, “I am worried about having a boyfriend because [I] might drop out of school and my parents [will] be [annoyed] at me and that [will] cause me to be early married”(workshop one: Maasai Mara school). Indeed, other girls also expressed this worry (workshop one Maasai Mara School: Problem Trees). Furthermore, in the workshops, worries concerning school dropout were continually linked to advice on abstinence and self control. As Felista (NGO) explained to me, there is a very limited choice for girls in Maasai land. The decision is between education and marriage, thus education can take on an important significance for these young girls. This offers some explanation for why sex is understood as destroying life, as mentioned previously. However, the agency of the girls in deciding to continue with their education or to seek sexual partners and the security of marriage should not be overlooked,
as one girl stated, “You may think you are a woman and you drop out because you would like to own your own things.” This suggests a continuum of control in young girl’s SRHR issues.

4.2.2 Sex and Control

The idea of control of sexual activity is important in this context. There is a continuum of control which can be seen in the data. Young girls engaging in sex seem to be doing so for a wide variety of internal motives and external factors. The process of girls being constructed solely as victims has been commented on in other contexts with reference to SRHR education (Bhana 2007). This is a process of repressing and demonising youths’ legitimate sexuality through upholding the idea of childhood innocence (Van-Zon 2003). Girls, in particular, are denied power and agency in sexual relations. This social construction can reinforce unequal power relations in sexual relationships (Bhana 2007); and undermine young girls’ internationally sanctioned reproductive rights (UNFPA 2011). Contrary to this negative construction girls’ active sexuality is evidenced in the workshops; they are not simply victims.

The girls clearly expressed their temptation to have sex in many ways for example, “you can have strong feelings of wanting to have sex with boys,” (workshop one Maasai Mara school: Problem Tree). Attraction to boys was also mentioned as a problem by girls at Tsavo School. In group discussion, the girls offered reasons for young people to have sex such as enjoyment (workshop one Card game: Maasai Mara and Tsavo Schools); feelings like desire (workshop one all schools); and experimentation or curiosity (four girls at Amboseli School & one girl at Tsavo School). There were also some girls, two at Maasai Mara School and one at Amboseli School, who expressed knowledge of the rhythm method for preventing pregnancies and advised other girls to learn their menstruation cycles (workshop one). This was also highlighted in the girls’ workshop at Tsavo School. I interpret this as suggesting an expectation, or ability, to control the occasions on which they engage in sex. Furthermore, two girls stated “you will not give [sex] till you see they are serious” and “he must sweat, he must be sweating and be patient... [for] two years!” (workshop one Maasai Mara School: Card Game, Question 11). In totality this data affirms that some girls are active participants in their sexual activity.

However, the position of Maasai girls in society is undeniably subordinate. In terms of control and consent in sexual intercourse this means that girls are often unwillingly participants, as one girl stated, “You don’t like it sometimes but you do it,” (workshop one Maasai Mara School: Card Game, Question 10). This links back to the idea of being “caught” by boys mentioned previously. Lack of
control was also emphasised through the sexual partners that girls indicated. This information was sought in a variety of ways, in workshop one asking who can force you to have sex and the temptation/force maps\(^{20}\). Girls specified worries such as the following. “I fear to have sex with older people” (Workshop one Maasai Mara school: Worry Sheet) and expressed to differing degrees and in different ways the fear of rape or forced sex often by older men in positions of economic power. However, when asked, through a case study example, to identify the potential sexual partner of a twelve year old girl who thought she might be pregnant, the girls responded with a variety of ages and professions. In Maasai Mara and Tsavo schools half of the girls mentioned a boyfriend as a potential father of the pregnancy. The data gathered from boys in Maasai Mara School suggested the same. It can be argued that this shows that, in the research area, very young girls are having boyfriends and are engaging in consensual sex with them. Yet, in Amboseli School the data recovered was quite surprising. The ages specified ranged from seventeen to twenty-eight and included students, charcoal burners, farmers, villagers and teachers.

In fact, the teacher as a potential sexual partner was a recurrent theme in the workshops conducted. For example, one girl responded to a question asking her to describe sex to a friend, “Sex is the process where the teacher has sex with a girl” (workshop two Tsavo School).

Research Diary: [Felista (NGO)] told me (after a lot of persistence) that one of the girls had asked her what to do if you were having a relationship with a teacher. I asked [Felista] what she had told her she said “I told her she should stop it, as it would destroy her life”. I couldn’t believe it; her response typifies everything that is wrong with the messages on sex.

29\(^{th}\) February

As the extract above reveals in workshop one, with boys and girls at Amboseli School my translator and I were asked for advice on what to do in the case of a teacher telling a girl that he loved her\(^{21}\). Indeed, teacher was given as an answer to the question, who can force you to have sex, though it was debated. The presence of teacher student sexual relationships was also highlighted by three key informants. These relationships highlight the issue of gendered lack of sexual power in the lives of young women in the research area.

\(^{20}\)Youth were asked to draw a map of their school and home and mark on the map where young people can be tempted or forced to have sex and who can tempt or force them. For further details and examples see appendix F and G

\(^{21}\)Resolution of this issue was achieved through the ethical strategy outlined in section 3.4.2
Inequality in power is a major issue in the sexual lives of young Maasai girls. The threat of forced sex is not confined to the school as highlighted by this comment from a boy at Maasai Mara School: "When pupils...come out of school they do sex...girls [are] forced." The walk from school or to fetch water was also highlighted as a problem. Furthermore, the temptation/force maps revealed that forests and rivers\(^{22}\) were common areas for young people to engage in sexual intercourse. The home compound also featured heavily. Andrew (NGO) explained that youth would not be able to bring a girlfriend/boyfriend home to their parent’s manyatta, but the Maasai boma\(^{23}\) allowed for illicit sexual encounters behind the houses or in a girls manyatta. The following quote from workshop one with girls at Tsavo School emphasises the fact that girls’ right to sex free from coercion seems to be significantly undermined in a wide variety of settings.

He will teach you a lesson by raping [you] on the way home, even not [on] school days, anywhere. He will put you in the tall grass when he’ll meet you... Boys in school...some of them. Even secondary [boys] come...Sand boys\(^{24}\)... In P.E when you go to sports... in the field out of sight of the teacher...in school... in the bus coming they catch you... when in sports they catch your breast and your pubic parts.

The threat of forced sex is strong, as one girl herself stated, “I’m worried about strength”. I think this high threat of sexual force experienced by girls can be explained, to some extent, by an understanding of Maasai home life.

Two head teachers, three key informants and a third of the teachers specified the Maasai manyatta (Picture 5) as contributing to the threat of forced sex for young girls. Interestingly, two of the girls who specified the home as a location for sex were not Maasai, though ten were. This suggests that Maasai tradition may have a strong influence but is not the sole factor in sex occurring at home. Traditional Maasai homesteads consist of one central area surrounded by partitioned sections for sleeping. The man and woman will have separate sections, as will the children. The danger stems from the fact that once girls are circumcised they are no longer allowed to remain in the house with

\(^{22}\) The rivers in Kakila are dry for the majority of the year.

\(^{23}\) A fenced in area enclosing a number of manyattas, which may house a number of different families, as well as fenced areas for keeping animals.

\(^{24}\) As Kakila is a dry area, sand harvesting is common. The sand is used for roads and buildings. The harvesters are commonly boys over 16 years of age.
the father. They must sleep elsewhere. Often this results in the girls sleeping in their own manyatta where they have no protection from older males who may wish to have sex with them, as one youth explained to Beth (nurse), “My father comes and I am supposed to sleep out there, out there! Who is protecting me?! Anyone who comes will have sex with me! I cannot say no, who will hear me?! If I scream who will come to my rescue?!"

Beth explained that Maasai girls do not commonly have the ability to refuse male advances, as Maasai tradition has normalised forced or non-consensual sex. Young males can “just come and have sex” and the girls are expected to “allow” the young males to have sex with them. This idea is supported by the prevalence of worries surrounding rape, forced sex and forcing someone into sex among the female and male youth. Indeed, of the data which can be analysed descriptively six of seven mentions of forced sex are from Maasai girls. Though the sample does not allow this to be a concrete conclusion, this is interesting to note. Furthermore, the effect of this normalisation on young girls’ sexual experiences can be explored through the following excerpt from workshop one in Tsavo School.

Interviewer: How do people have sex?

Girls: In the village... the girl is sleeping then the boy sleeps on the girl. First touching breasts then he wear[s] Trust [condom]... [the] Boy tells the girl to remove... [the] girl put[s her] legs out [demonstrates opening legs with arms] then they start. The girl starts feeling painful. The boy is pushing up and down. The girls screaming no, getting painful...because the man have a big penis! ...The cervix become[s] larger. He will destroy the inner parts. The cervix will become dirty... Sperms enter in...[the] girl might be pregnant.

The girls told this story together taking over each other’s sentences and continuing. They seemed quite comfortable to tell it and were not shy or slow to talk. The level of detail suggests to me that they have experienced, or have been told clearly about this experience by others. This quote also shows how an unsought sexual encounter might occur and the complex relationship of young girls to sex. The girls enjoy this story, though it may be troubling to outsiders. The girls are also clearly aware of the negative “dirty” connotations of engaging in sex. This also indicates the danger of the social construction of young sexuality as negative and girls as innocent victims. CSE aims to equip youth with the knowledge and skills to deal with the lived reality of sexual experience (UNAIDS 2009). This negative process undermines this potential by failing to engage with the complex reality of young sexuality and individuals diverse reactions to sexual encounters (Bhana 2007).
These dichotomies and complexities in the girls’ relationship to their own bodies and sexuality are further problematised when one examines the reasons which these girls presented for young people to engage in sex. This question was presented in two ways both in a group discussion through the question card “What can be reasons for having sex” and the written statement “Young girls have sex because...” the most common answers to both these questions were, in order of prevalence, they see older people doing it, for money and for procreation. All but one of the twelve girls who offered the answer of seeing older people having sex was Maasai. This can tentatively be used to provide further evidence for the prevalence of sexual activity among Maasai youth. The answer for money was also primarily offered by Maasai girls from Tsavo School. These answers exemplify the complexity of sexual activity in Maasai land. The Kenyan Christian inspired ideal of sex as being solely for procreation within marriage, the Maasai culture in which young sex is normalised and the brutal reality of a life of poverty and sexual harassment.

Transactional sex, or sex in exchange, was mentioned to me by several key informants. However, I was not given this information by youth until later on in my research when I was told the following, “He will say I love you sweetie… pay in doing sex… They give something like bananas” (workshop one Tsavo School: Card Game, Question 10). Data from workshop two corroborated this story with the sentence “Young girls have sex because...” being completed with things such as, “They are cheated by the older people and some get money e.g. two shillings” 25 (Female Amboseli School). Four teachers also commented on this phenomenon of young girls engaging in sex for small luxuries. Interestingly the teachers’ accounts place the girls in a position of control while that of the youth seems to suggest the opposite. There may, in fact, exist a continuum of control in this sexual practice. Some girls may actively engage in transactional sex while others are cheated, coerced or forced. It is important not to overemphasise or deny the agency of young women to utilise their bodies, even in ways which may be deemed harmful. This links with the ideals of CSE; to engage in the lived reality of youths’ lives and provide the information and skills they need to enact safe and satisfying sexual relationships (UNAIDS 2009); rather than demonising young people’s sexual behaviour.

I would argue that transactional sex has strong links to marriage customs wherein young girls are commodities. Indeed, the apparent high prevalence of forced or non consensual sex may lead some young girls to see transactional sex as a viable and preferable option. Sanura and Fathiya expressed awareness of this link, as Sanura explained, “People in this area are very poor. They don't meet their

25 Less than €0.02
basic need, especially the girls they can't afford sanitary towels...So when they go to the market... People offer to buy them and it lures them, it is common.” In addition, information from the girls also hints at the link between sex, pregnancy, marriage and money for example, “If [your] family are poor you start doing sex to go and get married” (workshop one Tsavo School). I would argue that this commoditisation of the female body constitutes a systematic denial of female sexual pleasure and agency. Maasai tradition can also sanction further denials of women’s sexual pleasure through the tradition of female circumcision.

4.2.3 Female Circumcision
In this district the Maasai community performs clitoridectomy, the removal of the clitoris. This practice often occurs when girls are about eleven years of age and is most commonly determined by the onset of puberty. The “cut” is normally performed by a member of the community or village in which the girl resides. Female circumcision (FC) is normally conducted on a number of girls at the same time, which can lead to cross infections, particularly HIV. FC can also cause complications during child birth wherein the scar tissue will not stretch as the elastic clitoral tissue is intended to (WHO 2011). Furthermore, the clitoris contains around 8000 nerve endings and also plays a role in lubrication during intercourse. Thus this practice significantly reduces, but does not eradicate female sexual satisfaction and enhances the risk of HIV transmission (Beth, nurse).

Importantly, FC does not lower desire but does lower satisfaction. Beth (nurse) suggested that this may, in fact, be a driving force in young girls’ sexual experimentation. Girls will still feel like they want to have sex, as evidenced here, but may be disappointed by the act itself. This may in turn lead to further sexual encounters in order to try to satisfy their sexual desire. In addition FC is a signifier of adulthood. Thus, girls who have been circumcised are seen as mature women ready for marriage and sex. This can be a dangerous transition for young girls heralding a period of sexual experimentation, both sought and forced. FC, for these reasons, has a strong negative effect with young pregnancies, young marriages and young relationships beginning from this stage. This can affect educational achievement and life chances.

The boys and girls in this sample indicated a basic knowledge of what FC involved; that it was the cutting of a part of the female genitalia. FC was recognised as a rite of passage to adulthood. However, the exact anatomy of the female genitalia was very unclear amongst the youth with the majority referring to the “foreskin” of the woman. In fact, only two girls at Maasai Mara School correctly identified the clitoris as the part that was cut. This picture can be further informed by the
questions which I was asked concerning circumcision in workshop one with boys at Maasai Mara School. The boys were unaware of many of the effects of circumcision upon girls, apart from a vague feeling that it was a negative practice; they could not specify what actually happened to the girls. Some of the boys repeatedly asked me whether a circumcised girl could still get pregnant, if she still had periods and if she could still give birth. This is significant as this misinformation could lead to young pregnancies. However, despite this lack of information there was recognition that FC was something to be stopped, with running away or reporting to the chief, police, children’s office or head teacher frequently given as advice to the case study girl. It is important to note that comparatively more males than females offered this answer. This could be due to girls’ personal experience of the practice.26

4.2.4 Contraception and Safe Sex

Given the prevalence of sexual activity in the data it is important to examine the girls’ ability to control their sexual health. The data pertaining to condom access and safe sex will be discussed in more detail in section 4.3.4. It is important here to briefly outline the data gathered from the girls themselves. As mentioned previously, a few girls were aware of the rhythm method for preventing pregnancy. Apart from this the only protection methods girls were aware of were condoms. Just over half of the girls thought that they could access condoms at hospitals; three of fourteen at Tsavo School, eleven of fifteen at Maasai Mara School and twelve of sixteen at Amboseli School. This difference in knowledge could be due to the presence of the health centre with free condom dispensers located close to the latter schools. The most common answer was shops. In Kakila condoms are not readily available in shops, and are in fact hard to find, especially in rural locations. Condoms are on sale in chemists, bars and some small stalls selling khat.27 Only four girls identified the chemists and one the stalls. This could be due to imprecision in answering the question. However, it could also suggest a lack of awareness among female youth as to condom access. It is also important to note here that there were only eleven girls out of 4528 who stated that condoms should be used. The others all stated that they should not be used for various reasons. The most common reason was that they did not work. Fourteen girls stated that condoms were only 99% effective and so should not be used. This was followed by condoms leading to STIs, HIV or pregnancy (eight girls, six from Amboseli School), them not being appropriate for young people (six

26 Six of sixteen girls and ten of twelve boys at Maasai Mara school, fifteen of sixteen girls and nine of fourteen boys at Amboseli School, ten of eighteen girls and ten of fourteen boys at Tsavo school.
27 A type of bark which when chewed has a similar effect to amphetamines.
28 Five girls, one from Maasai Mara school and four from Tsavo school, who attended workshop one did not attend workshop two, thus the total number of girls who answered this question was 45 and not 50.
girls, five from Amboseli school) and being dangerous (five girls). In terms of knowledge on their use this was also low. Only nine, seven from Maasai Mara School and two from Amboseli, were able to specify that it is the boy who wears the condom during sex with a further seven from Tsavo and five from Amboseli stating that you “put it on the penis”. This makes a total of 21 out of 45 girls.

4.2.5 SRHR for Female Youth

This section began with a presentation of the presence of an active sexuality among female youth. I have argued that this activity lies along a continuum of control between forced sex and active enjoyment. The potential reasons for this continuum have been explored as well as the girl’s ability to protect themselves from risks to their sexual health. In the next section I will explore the SRHR issues for male youth, which are different though driven by similar cultural norms.

4.3 Sex, Relationships and Knowledge: SRHR Issues for Male Youth

The data collected suggests that young males are having sex or are tempted to do so. Peer pressure was recognised by teachers as the primary reason for male youths’ sexual activity. The boys at Maasai Mara school revealed how peer pressure to have sex, for young males, might occur, “Some friends are evil minded, they say try it, it is too sweet. They say if you haven’t done it you’re just a very small boy,” (workshop one). Interestingly, though peer pressure was highlighted by male students as a reason for boys to have sex, enjoyment was a stronger response. There was no significant difference between reasons given by different age groups. The idea of youth enjoying sex is very much taboo in the Kenyan Christian and education cultures, however the following quote, from Jeremiah, provides an insight into the Maasai normative opinion of sex:

Otherwise sexual relationship in the Maasai society, they do a lot of sex but mostly it is very secret... there are no, there is no punishment for it, very little about it. It’s just here [the school]. And it really enhance it because they allow sexual relationship between young people...there is nothing wrong about it and it doesn’t hinder at all about that, especially about that.

In Maasai culture the idea of young men enjoying sex is accepted, though not openly discussed. However, boys who were not Maasai also offered enjoyment as a reason for sex and so culture may not be the sole reason for this response. On the other hand, this message is not overt, but forms part of the SSC in which young males make decisions. I would argue that the strength and appeal of this message may influence young males from different ethnic backgrounds. Thus, young males’ sexual activities, and SRHR issues, are intimately linked to their position within intersecting cultures.
4.3.1 Male Circumcision and Moranism

In Maasai tradition males are circumcised, and become Morans, at around fifteen determined by the onset of puberty. In Maasai culture there is no period of adolescence, as puberty is a marker of adulthood. Moranism is particularly important in this respect. Kamau explained the effect of this tradition in terms of SRHR:

The Morans, the warriors... their work is just to go moving, enjoying themselves maybe by singing and when they sing the girls also come to sing with them and maybe during the night other things will follow because... that’s the time they choose their lovers and they go and sleep with them.

During this time male youth are traditionally allowed to engage in sex with young circumcised girls. As discussed previously, tradition has normalised female sexual submission. The Moran has access to girls who will not protest, while they may not be willing participants (workshop one all schools, Andrew, NGO; Beth, nurse). Though the more traditional idea of men being trained to be warriors is less prevalent, interpretation of the data shows some influence of this hyper-sexual tradition remains.

For example, four male youth at Tsavo School specifically mentioned that one problem with adolescence was that sexual feelings could lead to them committing rape (workshop one Tsavo School: Problem Trees); all of these males were Maasai, two were fourteen and the others were fifteen and sixteen. These boys may have been circumcised or are preparing for circumcision. I would argue that this is a small but significant number given the contextual reality described above.

4.3.2 Sex and Relationships

These contextual realities suggest a high probability that young males are having sex. This is also supported by the data. Some youth are clearly tempted to engage in sex or already engaging in such. This can be seen from the youth who specified “dropping a girl out” or “giving a girl my pregnancy” (three Maasai Mara School, ten Amboseli School & four Tsavo School). Also the fear of parents discovering, “that I have done sex” (two Maasai Mara School, one Amboseli School). Furthermore, a significant majority of boys mentioned, in various ways, strong feelings which could lead them to engage in sex. They also specified these feelings as being an important problem which they were unclear how to solve. For example, “To have a girlfriend...is to dangerous because there is a time it will reach... [how] should I control myself [?]…the feeling[s] are sometimes high, how will I control it?” (Maasai Mara School workshop one: Worry Sheet). I would argue that this is an indication of a worrying lack of information among youth on how to deal with their sexual desires. The fear of
forcing girls into sex becomes relevant here and is heightened by the fear of the consequences of sexual activity.

4.3.3 Access to SRHR Information and Support

The worry sheets offered me the opportunity to analyse what advice the youth would give to each other to deal with these issues and thus gain an insight into the information they had been given. Abstinence was frequently mentioned as advice for a wide variety of problems and worries, particularly in Amboseli School. The following exchanges are typical examples: “I worry to make [a] girl [pregnant]… what can [I] do [?]”, “You abstain [from] sex” and, “When my girlfriend becomes pregnant and her parents can tell me to take her and wed”, “Abstain” and finally, “School dropout”, “Abstain”. These exchanges all indicate the presence of sexual activity among this group, a fear of the consequences and, importantly, the strength of the message of abstinence. This idea can be triangulated through other data. When presented with the question, “An NGO has asked for your ideas to stop early pregnancy, what would you advise?” Abstinence was mentioned by a third of the boys.

I would argue that this data indicates that youth are not told openly about sex itself, but are repeatedly told to “abstain” and “have self control”. Indeed, Simon informed me that the advice given to youth was “abstaining, abstaining and abstaining alone!” The reasons for this will be discussed further in Chapter five. It is important to point out that this advice is not necessarily helpful to youth already having sex. It does not engage with the reality of their lived experience and does not provide for their SRHR needs. Furthermore, the simple advice to “abstain” does not provide any concrete methods through which male youth might achieve this ideal. Messages on abstinence do not offer methods for youth to deal with their strong feelings. The “drift” (Van-Zon 2003:40) towards sex is not engaged with; a problem recognised in other Sub-Saharan African settings.

There are also clear indications that youth had many fears and questions concerning sex and relationships. The boys’ responses highlight a lack of sources of information and support. Indeed, one boy from Maasai Mara School expressed that he lacked guidance and support from parents in the realm of SRHR. In discussion during workshop one the boys indicated that parents could not be a source of support in SRHR issues as it was feared that discussing such matters would lead to punishment. This can be seen from several exercises during workshop one at all schools. Five boys highlighted a fear of parents on their worry sheets. Furthermore, analysis of the maps as well as pertinent workshop questions reveals that male youth, in this sample, are unlikely to approach
teachers to discuss a SRHR issue (workshop one). They are, however, likely to approach friends, brothers or cousins. This is worrying given that friends were also identified as a source of pressure to engage in sex and the general lack of information amongst the young population, as evidenced in other Kenyan studies (Njue et. al 2011); as well as this one.

The other issue of particular importance for young males SRHR is the perception of young sex as a negative, sinful activity. This normative opinion was most clearly evidenced in the exchanges surrounding the question “At what age can you have sex for the first time?” in workshop one. The boys in all schools were uncomfortable answering this question and offered responses such as “after marriage” and ages above twenty. Answers such as eighteen, ten and thirteen were met with lots of shock and nervous laughter. The reluctance to acknowledge young sexuality was also visible in the sexual partners who were indicated by males. The following responses from workshop two at Amboseli school are typical and indicate a negative perception of sex, “People who can force [youth to have sex], rapist, rich people, kidnappers, drunkard” and to reduce young pregnancy, “My friend I advise you not to walk with criminals”. Contrastingly, “boyfriend” was specified as the sexual partner of the twelve year old girl in workshop two by the majority of boys at Maasai Mara School and “youth” by the half the boys at Tsavo school. This, I think, indicates the prevalence and yet secrecy of youth sexual relationships. The locations boys suggested for sex to occur also indicate this secrecy. Outside hidden areas such as forests, rivers and bushy areas were the most commonly mentioned. The home compound also featured highly, as discussed previously Andrew (NGO) indicated that youth engaging in sex in the home compound would be doing so, primarily, in secret and outside.

4.3.4 Condoms and Safe Sex

The SRHR issues for male youth are exemplified by the discourse surrounding contraception and safe sex for young people. The reasons for these messages will be discussed in section 5.1.3.2 what is relevant for the present discussion is the effect of these messages on youths’ access to condoms and information on contraception. Claire (nurse) informed me that the health centre, located on the adjacent plot to Maasai Mara School and close to Amboseli School, offered several family planning methods but that youth “do not really come” and “very few” made use of these services. The health centre also had free condom dispensers, which were regularly used (Claire); and well stocked. However, Claire could not specify whether youth were using these dispensers as they were “hidden”.

29 It is important to note that the age of consent in Kenya is eighteen
Andrew (NGO), Albina (NGO) and Beth (nurse) informed me that condoms are thought of very negatively, particularly for youth, and incidences of youth buying them in these rural areas would be very rare. This was explained particularly well by Karani “Now it depend[s] whether somebody will serve you. It will depend. You can meet someone who cannot accept it. Even the boy himself, there’s a specific place where he will go for them. Not everywhere.”

Awareness of access to condoms among male youth was low with only around a third of the boys, primarily from Maasai Mara School, stating that condoms could be obtained from hospital. Interestingly, only one boy from Amboseli School mentioned the hospital. Three boys, fifteen or above, identified the khat stalls and pubs, while only one boy, under fifteen, identified the chemist. Shops were mentioned by 25 boys with no significant difference between ages. 23 out of 36 boys specified that a condom should be worn on the penis or “private parts”, interestingly only two of these boys were from Amboseli School. A further seven boys showed some level of knowledge such as that condoms were used “during sex” or “you open it and put it on”. There was no significant difference between boys under fifteen and fifteen and over in this area of knowledge. However, ten of the thirteen boys who stated that condoms should be used during sex were under fifteen. Nine boys stated that condoms should not be used, six of whom were fifteen or over. This may be due to the fact that younger males are not engaging in sex and so have a stronger fear of the potential negative consequences. The lived reality of these younger boys may not include sexual activity and so the difficulties of obtaining condoms and the temptation of sex may not affect their opinion. However, it is interesting that these boys recommend condoms contrary to the prevalent advice of teachers. This may be because the temptation to have sex outweighs messages on abstinence, but fear leads them to consider contraception.

Various reasons were expressed for not recommending condoms. The most common of which were the same as those presented by the girls. That they were not 100% effective, don’t work, could lead to STIs, HIV or pregnancy and are not meant for young people. These reasons are particularly important when considered in tandem with the low ability of youth to access condoms. The fact that misinformation on condoms effectiveness is prevalent among this group coupled with the negative perception of condoms and young sex, suggests that youth are highly unlikely to struggle in order to find and use condoms. The idea of condoms as not being for young people is particularly damaging as it severely undermines youths’ confidence in using this method of contraception.

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30 Three boys, one from Amboseli school and two from Maasai Mara school, did not attend workshop two.
4.3.5 SRHR for Male Youth
The data leads me to suggest that these young boys are sexually active or are tempted to become so. The negative opinion of young relationships has left youth feeling scared and intimidated by sex and forced them to enact dangerous behaviours in secret. Male youth are engaging in unsafe sex and are unable to seek help should they need it. Furthermore, as Paul suggested, “who is having sex with the girls? Are they not the boys?” It should not be forgotten that SRHR issues for males impact on SRHR issues for females. The main SRHR issues for this group are a lack of adequate information concerning their sexual health, particularly with reference to safe sex, and to a lesser extent, methods of self control and abstinence. This violates their internationally sanctioned human rights (UNFPA 2011; United Nations 1989). Teachers’ awareness of these issues and their strategies to provide adequate SRHR education will reveal further what is occurring in these schools. This will be the focus of the following Chapter.
5. Teachers’ Education Strategies for SRHR: Strategy, Agency and Identity

The SRHR issues of youth form their lived reality and are an important aspect of the SSC in which teachers and youth operate. Teachers’ awareness of and reactions to these issues influence their ESRHR. Teachers’ perceptions of youth issues are informed by an incomplete understanding of the SSC. Furthermore, teachers’ perceptions and ideas beyond the realm of SRHR inform their understanding and influence their actions. In order to analyse the influence of teachers’ perceptions on ESRHR three specific areas have been specified strategy, professional identity and agency. This chapter will explore the lived reality of teachers through each of these theoretical lenses in turn. Thus, sub-questions two, three and four will be answered.

5.1. Teachers’ Education Strategies for SRHR in the Strategically Selective Context of Maasai Land

5.1.1 Teacher’s Awareness of Youths’ SRHR Issues

Two thirds of teachers did not consider young males to have important SRHR issues. Only one teacher specifically highlighted a lack of sources of information and support for male youth. Nine teachers and two head teachers, mentioned that circumcised boys may feel they are men, begin engaging in sex and leave school to look for work and wives. The teachers’ primary concern was the effect on young girls of this change in young male’s sexual behaviour; young males being constructed as a threat to young girls. When teachers were asked about the main SRHR issues in Maasai land the prevalence of young pregnancy was highlighted by the majority. This reflects the fact that in the research area high numbers of young girls drop out of school due to pregnancy and marriage following circumcision. For example, in Tsavo School ten girls had dropped out due to pregnancy in the previous year. This also links to the main SRHR issues described by female youth. While HIV and STIs were prevalent worries in two of the schools, fear of young pregnancy and school dropout were high in all schools. Male youth also highlighted “dropping a girl out” as a SRHR issue. Thus, the ideas of the teachers in this respect correlate with that of the youth.

The teachers’ statements revealed that the explanation for the commonality of young pregnancies and young marriages stems from the position of female sexuality in Maasai society as well as material poverty. The Maasai idea of sex is that it is a natural male desire which is not necessarily linked to love. This can be seen in traditional marriage customs wherein a man may “take” many wives to

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31 To re-iterate, in this discussion names of teachers have been changed to protect anonymity. Descriptive information can be found in section 3.4.

32 This construction and its negative effects have been noted elsewhere (Bhana 2007).
satisfy his sexual needs. Furthermore, within the Maasai family set up girls are not prioritised (Beth, nurse); and women are commonly economically dependent upon men. In totality these factors lower girls’ ability to have the authority over their bodies, and the negotiating power necessary to engage in safe and satisfying sex at a time when they feel ready.

In addition, marriage is perceived by some members of the Maasai community as a way for young girls to attain value. The following quote from Jeremiah exemplifies this, “There before to us a girl is a resource. My daughter I could be able to give to another man for marriage with quite some price. So, there is no need in going poor when I can sell this girl for 10 cows.” Thus, girls are valuable for their physicality, their ability to satisfy sexual desires, bare children and undertake domestic labour. This embodied value was mentioned by eleven teachers. This also links to the ideas of the girls discussed in section 4.2.1. Four of the teachers, including Jeremiah, mentioned a change in this traditional practice. However, the prevalence of this opinion of young girls can also be seen in the way in which young pregnancies were received by some parents, “the parent is happy because now he is able to get that girl out of school, he is not going to pay a lot of money schooling the child” (Nancy). The fact that this attitude was mentioned by each teacher at Tsavo School and only one teacher from the rest of the study reveals the multiplicity of the SSC. It cannot be said that all Maasai parents are happy with young pregnancies, but some may be and this is rooted in cultural norms. Teachers’ perceptions of youths’ SRHR issues presented above inform teachers’ understanding of the SSC and motivate ESRHR. However, other ideas also influence teachers’ understanding and motivation impacting strategies.

5.1.2 Teachers’ Motivations to Enact Education Strategies for SRHR

For the teachers, education is now prioritised over marriage as the way for young women to secure a worthwhile future. Fathiya explained this, “education is the only key to their future lives, without education in Kenya, you are now... that is it”. This idea emphasises the perceived negative consequences of young sexual relationships. They may disrupt education by leading to young pregnancy. Young pregnancy in turn may lead to marriage and permanent withdrawal from school and lowered life chances. School dropouts from young pregnancy motivated seven of the fifteen teachers in this study, across a range of ethnicities, genders and ages, to discuss SRHR issues with youth. The motivation to produce “future good people” or “leaders” was also highlighted by about half of the teachers; half of the females in this study and six of the eight Maasai. This idea may be particularly important for females and Maasai as the prevalence of young pregnancy limits the potential of young Maasai girls in particular to be future leaders. Known sexual activity also lowers
their ability to be seen as “good”, as shall be shown in this chapter. Another strong motivation was the prevalence of HIV. Although HIV was not commonly discussed as a youth issue\textsuperscript{33} seven teachers stated that knowledge of HIV motivated them in ESRHR. This seemed to be more likely in the case of older male Maasai teachers in this study\textsuperscript{34}.

These motivations influence a specific interpretation of young sex as having dangerous consequences. The motivation to engage with SRHR issues is primarily the gravity of the SRHR situation. For example, when I asked Fathiya for her personal view of sexual relationships she told me the story of an eleven or twelve year old girl. This girl had been given to her father’s friend as a second wife. Fathiya met her in hospital. The girl had suffered severe complications during child birth and had undergone a hysterectomy and four subsequent operations to try to repair the damage caused:

I saw that life ends before it begins because for that child of twelve years. Life has just ended before it begins. The pain that she has gone through, the experience was too hard. So...I don’t know. Sometimes life teaches people and through experiences...you just don’t know what to do

This teacher habitually linked young sex to the potentially dangerous consequences. She was not alone in this thought process. This was evidenced at the teachers’ workshop and demonstrated explicitly by three teachers in interviews. A strong motivation to discuss SRHR issues, for these teachers, is to protect youth from the dangers of sex. This translates into strategies which focus on the risks of sex and strong messages of abstinence. Female youth are over prioritised due to their perceived innocence and vulnerability, a younger age of sexual adulthood in the Maasai community and the heightened negative impact of young pregnancy on future life chances. However, this motivation is not uniform and should not be generalised. Other ideas and perceptions motivate teachers’ actions in the realm of SRHR.

Another important factor motivating teachers’ ESRHR is the way in which children and adolescents are viewed by teachers. This is influenced by the educational establishment in Kenya. There is a

\textsuperscript{33}This may be due to the stigma attached to HIV, although Eli explained that within school discussing HIV/AIDS was less problematic than discussing sex more generally. This was due to the curriculum which focused on scientific language and introduced the topic to learners from a young age (class 4). As the focus of the research is the ideas and strategies of teachers HIV does not feature prominently in the remainder of this discussion though it is an important SRHR issue in this area.

\textsuperscript{34}Five of these seven teachers were over 40 and two over 30, five were Maasai and six were male
tension between this view and that of the Maasai. The idea that young people become adults at circumcision, discussed in the previous chapter, adds to the prevalence of young sex, young pregnancy and young marriage. Put simply circumcision leads to sexual relationships. According to Maasai tradition these sexual encounters occur between adults. Indeed, I was told by two of three head teachers, and a third of the teachers that within the Maasai tradition, sexual activity among circumcised “adults” is natural. The construction of these sexual relationships as “early” is a social construction which is opposed to traditional Maasai norms. Andrew (NGO) explained that the idea of adolescence is an idea which is not found among the Maasai. This creates a tension, as Nancy stated, “You know some of them were married at that age of 11, 12, 13 and they don't find sense, “How, how, how early is it?” It is not early a girl of 11.”

This contradiction motivates ESRHR whilst simultaneously making it difficult for teachers to create change. For example, George (Pastor) commented that there has been a perceived increase in young unwanted pregnancies, those outside of marriage. Beth (nurse) explained this phenomenon “they circumcise them to prepare them to get married. So they don’t get married, yes, but they can have relationships... [so] there is a pause which has been brought by education.” This “pause” may have led to the perceived increase in pregnancies as young people are still engaging in sex but are not marrying because of school attendance. Thus, the interlinking of the Maasai culture and the education culture has led to an increase in young pregnancy outside of marriage as well as highlighting this as a negative practice. The conflict between education and Maasai culture centres on two opposing normative views on who should be having sex and when. Maasai culture sees young sex as natural and secret. However, the educational culture has disrupted this idea by highlighting the negative consequences of young sexual relationships, these being STIs, HIV/AIDS, young pregnancy and young marriage. The following quote from Fathiya expresses this difficulty,

I asked the man... did your boy have sex, because unless he had why does he have an STI? and he told me. These are big boys, there are girls. That is not a question you should ask me...Once one is circumcised he is a man. So he can do whatever he wants, unless the parents know the meaning of education. Although now the meaning of education is still not clear here... but here you cannot just tell a man from home, this village, that there is this and this and this. They know that after a man is circumcised he is a man.

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35 In this context girls from eleven and boys from fifteen
36 “Young” pregnancy/marriage instead of “early” pregnancy/marriage have been used in this thesis to indicate this difficulty.
This Maasai man feels that sex should not be discussed and is natural for young people. He cannot be told otherwise. This is opposed to the ideas of Fathiya. This teacher, and indeed the majority in this study, strongly feel that sex between young people is dangerous and should be discouraged. This idea is influenced by the education system and supported by the Church. This highlights the other important perception of youth sexuality; that it is sinful. Seven teachers and all of the head teachers implied or stated that young sex was “immoral”. This was also highlighted in the teachers’ workshop in answer to the question, “At what age should young people have sex for the first time?” The inevitable social formality of the workshop format led to a normative consensus (Mosse 1995); which highlighted the “correct” response to this question, “Youth should not. You can’t say eighteen. They should not. It is not the right time. It is only socially accepted after marriage,” (Shani). This answer also shows the multiplicity of individual perceptions. This teacher stated that she was representing the moral values in her society. Yet, Shani at other times held that her “community” was the Maasai community which would not be morally outraged at young sex, though this would never be openly stated. This also shows the multiplicity of the idea of the “local community”, whose views are not homogenous.

The Christian Church has a strong influence on all of the teachers in this sample. Indeed, the Kenyan education system is supported by the Anglican and Catholic churches and both play a large role in curriculum development. The Kenyan Christian message passed on through the education system sees sex before marriage, in general, and young relationships, in particular, as sinful. The supportive role of Christianity in discouraging young sex was strongly highlighted by all but one of the teachers, and religious teachings were often emphasised in discussions on sexuality. Religious belief also allows for and motivates ESRHR whilst simultaneously limiting teachers’ ability to engage with youth sexuality.

It is important to note that the SSC consists of multiple layers for example, youth issues and educational, Christian and Maasai cultural norms. Teachers’ specific understanding of youths’ SRHR issues can also be influenced by a variety of factors. These understandings motivate ESRHR, and these influences can be seen in the strategies which teachers employ.
5.1.3 Education Strategies for SRHR within and Outside the Classroom

5.1.3.1 The Curriculum and Culture

There is some curriculum content which deals with SRHR issues\(^{37}\). This constitutes the framework for day to day SRHR strategies. The curriculum was seen by eight teachers and all of the head teachers as providing an opportunity to discuss SRHR issues. However, Maasai cultural norms dictate that sex should not be discussed with young people; doing so is an offence and a sign of immorality. This is heightened by the tradition of “age sets” and “age mates”. This means that anyone of the age of your children is considered as your child. This also works in reverse, that anyone of the age of your father or mother is considered a father or mother. This is especially restrictive as Maasai tradition dictates that fathers and mothers should not discuss sex in front of their children. This is particularly the case with the human reproductive organs\(^{38}\). This difficulty was highlighted by thirteen of the fifteen teachers and two of the head teachers of varying ethnicities. Offensive language was also given as a problem when discussing SRHR issues with students by all the groups at the teachers’ workshop. These issues result in individual constrictions on providing SRHR information within the school. There are also external pressures. Some parents will have a negative perception of sex education as Eli explained, “You are teaching children what they are not supposed to be taught and this is where, sometimes, we have a small problem between the local community and the schools.” For teachers, such as Shani and Eli, awareness of this potential negative reaction can result in a lack of motivation to discuss SRHR with pupils. Although, importantly, Simon and Shani stated that this reaction was not uniform.

A second main restriction of Maasai culture is teachers’ perception of pupils’ reaction to SRHR topics. As Jeremiah informed me, “You find the children themselves think it is abnormal for me as an adult to talk some of these things because the society out there does not do that”. This increases teachers discomfort in discussing SRHR issues in class as Shani suggested, “It effects [me] because I find sometimes I also feel that shame of talking it up, loudly... I don't produce it the way it's supposed [to be] because of culture”. This effects both Maasai teachers, as in the case of Jeremiah and Shani, and those who are aware of this cultural norm but do not ascribe to it, as was highlighted by Simon and Jane\(^{39}\). However, teachers were aware that this cultural norm should be overcome, as

\(^{37}\) Detailed in appendix D

\(^{38}\) Indeed, only two teachers and one head teacher, in this study, were able to use the words penis and vagina freely in conversations on reproduction. In contrast to the cultural norm, one of these teachers and the head teacher are both Maasai.

\(^{39}\) The differing effects of teachers' identities will be examined in more detail with reference to professional identity in section 5.3.
Shani herself stated, “It's not good for me to discuss about sex when my children are there, but because this is school work we normally carry it as a school... I have to teach at school”. The methods used to tackle these difficulties varied and included swapping classes with a teacher who was comfortable, producing charts to indicate the body parts and shallowly explaining the topics. These methods were each mentioned by four teachers. Two teachers suggested that they had to stay rigidly within the limited curriculum content. In this case this meant using the SRHR parts of the curriculum but not providing additional information. This decision was motivated by fear of negative reactions from the local community.

### 5.1.3.2 The Curriculum and Condoms

Teachers’ perceptions of negative reactions from the local community influence ESHRH. This is particularly the case with information on condoms. There is selective information in the curriculum. Interestingly, the widely used education approach of “ABC for HIV prevention” is discussed in Standard eight Science. However, the accompanying message of “Abstinence, Be faithful, C use condoms” (Avert 2011) is absent and the “A, B, C for youth” is presented instead; “Abstinence is the best method, Being informed is the best weapon, Communicating information is the best service to your country” (Karaki et. al 2004e). This re-working of the ABC message, with the omission of sexual relationships, has been specifically designed for youth. There is one mention of condoms in Standard eight Science which specifies that they are for married people and are not completely effective (Picture 6). This selective presentation of information can be seen in the youths’ knowledge. During workshop one at Maasai Mara School I was asked a large number of questions relating to condoms and their effectiveness. For example, “I’ve heard that HIV is 0.03 and the hole in condoms is 0.05. So HIV can get through [and] even if you use a condom you can get HIV.” The discussion following these questions revealed the extent of misinformation and fear surrounding condom use amongst this group and the prevalence of the idea that they were not effective.

Beth (nurse) explained that the decision to include very limited information on condoms in the curriculum is motivated by a variety of contradictory factors; pressure from within Kenya due to the

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40 Further analysis of youth’s knowledge on condoms is presented in section 4.2.4 and 4.3.4
consequences of young people having sex, pressure from international organisations with a focus on SRHR, pressure from Christian Churches involved in curriculum development, and perhaps most importantly moral judgement:

So the issue of our country is the moral obligation that this country has and that is what hinders. Even when you talk about condoms. Yes, they entrenched the sex education bits in the curriculum... So you want to raise the condom bit? Oh my goodness! You’re going to be fought! It’s going to be a nasty, nasty thing.

There are several underlying perceptions of condoms and sex which, I would argue, offer further motivation for moral judgement against condom use being so strong in the research area. Firstly, in Maasai culture condoms are thought of incredibly negatively. Indeed, as three teachers suggested, to mention them in front of older Maasai is an abuse. This is because, as various participants informed me, sex is seen as natural among the Maasai and is primarily for male pleasure. Condoms are thought to reduce pleasure. Thus, they are seen as interfering with a natural process. Andrew (NGO) explained that condoms are also often thought of as a “Western” intrusion. Furthermore, condoms are seen as immoral in the Christian community. This is linked to the strong normative opinion that sex is for married people. This is influenced by various Christian beliefs from different denominations and the strength of this opinion differs from person to person. Generally sex only within a marriage is seen as natural. Sexual activity should be for procreation only, or procreation and pleasure. Thus, those using condoms must be at worst engaging in immoral activity outside of marriage or at best preventing the possibility of procreation within marriage.

The lack of information in the curriculum is a constraint which limits teachers, NGO workers (Andrew, Albina) and health workers (Beth). Sanura explained to me, “We can't tell them about condoms. Chill, chill [abstain] even if it it’s not working”. The Ministry of Education states that primary school teachers are not allowed to advocate for condom use. This is a specific dictate of this government body (Booij & Meinema 2010:38). However, this has been translated by teachers into an active discouragement of their use. This highlights the importance of teachers’ individual perceptions and understandings of other’s perceptions in their (un)conscious strategies. This is exemplified in what I have termed “the condom contradiction”. The majority of teachers, when asked, reluctantly agreed that information on condoms could be beneficial for youth. However, this statement was invariably followed by a negation of this benefit. Jane's answer to this question exemplifies this dialogue:
Talking about condoms [long pause] it will maybe reduce the [pause] it will help to some extent [pause] because it will maybe reduce the pregnancy and the STIs but you know condoms aren't 100% sure so it will [pause] encourage [pause] in fact it will encourage because they will think that they are safe, so they will use them, which is not very good, which is not good at all.

Different ideas interlink to motivate this contradiction. Firstly, six teachers suggested that providing information on condoms to youth would be giving them permission to have sex and three believed condoms were not effective. A further two suggested that they were for “grownups, not children” and one teacher stated that information on condoms would take away the fear element that was preventing youth from engaging in sex.

Further evidence for teachers’ awareness of the negative perception of condoms comes from the fact that though nearly half of the teachers, of varying ages and ethnicities, expressed in interviews that condoms could be a beneficial option for youth, this idea has a very limited public presentation. In the teachers’ workshop this process was visible. When asked how youth could protect themselves from the risks of sex one teacher stated, “How about contraceptives? [pause] condoms”. This answer was met with awkward silence and no support. This situation is exacerbated by the Ministry of Education. The curriculum does not engage with reality of young sexuality. Lack of information on condoms in the curriculum controls the information which teachers can legitimately pass on to students limiting their strategies and agency.

The majority of teachers’ ESRHR are strongly focused on messages on abstinence. I would argue that this is due in part to the recognition of the potentially dangerous consequences of engaging in sexual activity and a perceived inability to promote the use of condoms. This perceived inability could be motivated by personal distrust of condoms, strong religious beliefs, a fear of reprisal from the Christian or traditional Maasai members of the community, a wish to distance themselves from the “immoral” and “backward” Maasai culture and the “immoral” “Western” “town” culture or any combination of these factors. This supports the idea of cognitive shortcuts in strategy formation (Hay 2002:211) and reveals the multiplicity of teachers’ perceptions and the SSC.

5.1.3.3 Beyond the Curriculum
I would argue that the limitations of the curriculum content, the pressures of public perception and the awareness of the potentially dangerous consequences of sex have motivated teachers to formulate

41 The curriculum and its effect on teachers agency in the realm of SRHR will be discussed in further detail in section 5.3
further ESRHR. For example, Maasai Mara School acts as a rescue centre for young girls. Three teachers and Samuel (head teacher) explained that this role is not sanctioned or supported by the Ministry of Education. There is no special status, but it is locally known that girls who need help can be brought to this school and they will receive it. These teachers’ actions feed back into the structure, as teachers’ roles become more involved in SRHR their role begins to encompass SRHR for the wider community. For example, Amboseli and Tsavo schools do not have the facilities to act as rescue centres, yet the head teachers at these schools also expressed that part of the schools role was as a place of refuge and safety for young people and that teachers should be rescuers.

It is important to note however, that the idea that schools are safe protective environments (UNAIDS 2009); is challenged by the apparently high incidences of teacher student sexual relations. This shows the complexities of the local context. Negative cultural institutions such as FC and young marriage are not uniformly practiced. In some cases these practices motivate strong SRHR strategies which are supported by members of the local community. However, these initiatives can be undermined by the prevalence of other negative cultural institutions in this case transgenerational sex between teachers and students.

Another strategy is the pregnancy testing twice a term of all girls who are “big” (Tsavo school), have started their periods (Maasai Mara school), or are over the age of twelve (Amboseli school). This can be understood as an education strategy, as meetings are held informing the youth of the coming pregnancy tests, in which the girls, and in Amboseli school boys, are told the dangers of sex. The frequency with which these tests are carried out and the wide range of young girls who are tested suggests a high level of awareness of youths’ sexuality. Andrew (NGO) explained, to me that this strategy is becoming wide spread in Kakila. In an informal conversation with the AEO Andrew was informed that though there was no policy from the Ministry to test girls this was “logical” given the policy of returning pregnant young girls to school after delivery. Teachers have, arguably, embraced this SRHR message. This provides them with a tangible, if minimal, way to engage with youths’

42 Girls who do not want to be circumcised or who are being forced into young marriages can come to the school and they will be given free education and boarding. The teachers’ try to reconcile these girls with their parents, but if this cannot be done then there is funding to keep these girls in education and send the girls to secondary schools. This initiative is supported by Pamoja.

43 During the research Tsavo school began a boarding programme sleeping young people in unused classrooms. They are planning with the support of Pamoja to expand and improve these facilities and become a full boarding school to serve the needs of the pastoralist community.

44 I was informed by K3 that pregnancy testing was a Ministry of Education policy. K1 called the AEO at my request to clarify the situation.
SRHR issues as ostensibly, pregnancy testing is intended to highlight those students who are pregnant in order to be able to provide for their care.

The element of fear was also highlighted as a motive and benefit by six of the seven teachers who discussed this strategy, as Shani explained “they normally get fear because we tell them...if you have done that even the doctor will see it”. In addition, Geoffrey (head teacher) stated that if a boy at Amboseli School had made a young girl pregnant he would be sent home for the duration of the pregnancy. Thus, this education strategy focuses on punishment, fear and shame to discourage young people from engaging in sex. This is seen as a successful strategy, as Fathiya explained that now there are, “No dropouts, everybody fears.” Andrew (NGO), and I, interpreted this strategy as allowing the teachers to monitor and discourage sexual behaviour amongst youth without taking responsibility for that behaviour. In addition, pregnancy testing focuses on young girls as the issue rather than taking the needs of male youth into account45. Again this highlights the importance of teachers’ perception of the SSC in informing their strategies. The focus on young girls corresponds to teachers’ incomplete understanding of their context regarding SRHR issues, and for Geoffrey (head teacher) the perception of males as a threat to young girls. This education strategy can also be understood in light of the fact that the cultural context makes it at once incredibly difficult, yet essential, to discuss sex with youth. Thus, a complex combination of opportunities and constraints motivate this choice of strategy.

This section has presented teachers’ awareness of youths’ SRHR issues and the underlying ideological complexities, which form the constraints and opportunities of the SSC. This has allowed us to examine teachers’ strategies within and outside the classroom. The focus and content of these strategies is, in this case, informed by teachers’ perception of the context in which they and youth act. It can be argued that in Maasai land religious teachings, the dictates of Maasai culture, educational norms and awareness of the dangerous consequences of youth sexuality for females are particularly influential. Teachers’ perceptions of themselves as teachers and their negotiation of conflicting identities also influence ESRHR. This will be the topic of the next section further illuminating how and why teachers engage with some SRHR issues.

45 I would argue that education strategies for SRHR which engaged male youth would prevent future pregnancies.
5.2 The Influence of Professional Identity on Teachers’ Education Strategies in the Realm of SRHR

The teachers in this study stand at the crossroads of differing cultures and ideals. Eight of them are Maasai themselves, others have grown up with an intimate knowledge of traditional Maasai ideas or are very aware of the cultural practices in Maasai land. All of the teachers are Christian, which requires a different set of norms and behaviours. Similarly the educational culture which they have found themselves in, or chosen to join, has another set of requirements. Teachers are engaged in negotiating these ideas while striving to “mould” their learners into certain types of people; an important part of teaching described by eight of the fifteen teachers. Understanding how these contradictions, conflicts and constraints, which form the SSC, influence teachers’ ideas about their professional identity enables us to understand teachers’ ESRHR both within and outside the classroom.

5.2.1 The Influence of Identities and Histories

Analysis of the teachers’ interviews revealed that gender, ethnicity and years of teaching had the most significant effect on professional identity. For example, ethnicity has an effect by influencing their perception of the local context and how their actions will be received by the local community. This effect is not homogenous or monolithic and there are positives and negatives for differing ethnicities. A Maasai identity had benefits in the research area in terms of authority. Teachers of other ethnicities highlighted that Maasai teachers, and particularly head teachers, were preferred by the community. However, in the realm of SRHR Maasai teachers may be restricted by their identity due to the tradition of “age set” and “age mates”, discussed previously.

In terms of gender and SRHR three of the teachers mentioned that there were strong tendencies within youth to ask for advice from a teacher of their own gender. Indeed, around half of the teachers also stated that if a child of the opposite gender came to them for advice they would request help from another teacher of the same gender. Andrew (NGO) informed me that this is interlinked with the Maasai norm mentioned above, as the impropriety of discussing sex with “your children” is heightened if they are of the opposite gender.

Personal experience of gender differed. The majority of women in this study stated that their ability to reach leadership positions, and have their views respected within school were undermined by male
dominance. As Nancy explained, “As long as it came from a woman, it is never taken seriously... [so] whatever you do, you do it quietly”. Sanura also felt limited in her role as a teacher by her gender. However, in this context her profession provided strength, “The teacher will get respect from the community and the child but the woman isn’t valued and will not get respect.” Sanura’s comments offer an insight into the importance of being a teacher and what I have termed “teacher identity”. The importance of “teacher identity” is perhaps heightened for females who have been living and working in a situation of high gender inequality. Teaching is a means to overcome the experience of being treated as “second class” (Jackson). Another aspect of female teacher identity is that female teachers were more likely than males to state that they were role models for youth. This is perhaps influenced by an awareness of gender inequality and the respect afforded to their “teacher identity”. Indeed, to Shani teaching, “Means a lot because I am a role model of my community and they follow me...So whatever I do I know that my community is learning from me”. The idea expressed here of “my community” highlights another important factor in the experience of gender discrimination. Ethnic identity, as well as “teacher identity” has a role to play in overcoming gender inequality.

Two Maasai female teachers in the sample had reached positions of authority. All three Maasai female teachers in this study had personally enacted ESRHR beyond the curriculum, in comparison with the other female teachers who had not. Furthermore, two of three teachers of other ethnicities felt limited by their ethnic identity. I would argue that ethnicity in the case of Maasai women offers strength in the face of discrimination, and determination to achieve and be a role model for other Maasai girls, as the quote from Shani above concerning her “community” shows. Ethnicity and personal experience mediate perception of discrimination and affect strategies in the realm of SRHR. Of course this finding cannot be over generalised, but it does offer an interesting insight.

The case for male teachers is slightly different. In terms of identity only two male teachers stated that their gender had affected them. This effect was described as positive. The remaining male teachers offered answers which recognised gender roles but did not consider themselves affected. Although no males in this study directly mentioned relationships with young girls it would be remiss not to examine the effect of the prevalence of this practice on male teachers’ professional identity. It is important to remember that in Maasai culture older men commonly engage in sex with younger

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47 Sanura identified as Luo
48 Shani’s idea of community was not homogenous, however. As mentioned previously, she also stated that her community was the Christian community. This supports the idea that many communities with different ideas, norms and affiliations can be found in the research area. Thus, the “local community” should not be read as a homogenous whole.
women, which normalises transgenerational relationships. Schools are not immune from the effect of this normalisation. Jacob’s comments on the effect of his gender on teaching hinted at this difficulty:

Sometimes it effects because there are some other circumstances of which it can force you to do something of which you are not supposed to do...I am a man and maybe I am told to go to girls dormitory maybe if I go and see them misbehaving... you know we are human being[s] so it can effect.

The idea that men are “human beings” and so inevitably drawn to young women was common among teachers, head teachers and key informants who discussed the issue. Desire and attraction were presented as common place, though relationships between teachers and pupils were seen negatively. Awareness of sexual relationships between male teachers and female students lowers the authority of males in the realm of SRHR. George (Pastor) when asked if teachers could help youth with SRHR issues replied that the incidence of sex affairs directly lowered teachers influence in SRHR. Shani was also affected by these relationships. She specified that her motivation to discuss sexuality with youth was damaged by, “Male teachers [who are] having sex with girls in school”. Thus, in this case, sexual relationships between teachers and students lower male teachers’ authority in SRHR, for a key stakeholder, and a female teachers’ motivation to engage with SRHR. These relationships, therefore, do not just affect the youth engaging in them. They can also affect teachers’ role in ESRHR and so negatively impact youth on a wider scale.

5.2.2 “The Teacher Makes Himself an Island”: A Technocratic Interpretation

Teachers in Maasai land have two competing roles; as producers of academic success and moulders of morally upright citizens. These roles are perceived at the local and national level. Thus, the ideologies of technocratic (Welmond 2002) and humanist (O’Connor 2008) teaching can be seen when unpacking teachers’ perceptions of their local and national role. The technocratic, results based, discourse of teaching (Welmond 2002); is dominant. Teachers expressed pressure for students to perform in the Kenyan Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) exams, the summative exam after eight years of primary education. This pressure to perform comes from many stakeholders including the Ministry of Education, as Nancy explained, “There is so much pressure on mean score and performance... If you don't perform they come to the school from the [education] office and say you teachers are lazy!...They don't think about the circumstances.” Geoffrey’s (head teacher) comments also highlighted the pressure which was put on teachers’ and student performance, “When a school perform[s] well everybody respect[s] that school...but when the school performs...very poor there is no respect [hitting the desk] I'm telling you!” Pressure from the local community is also strongly felt
by teachers. Indeed, in January 2012 after the release of the KCPE results, a month before the research, parents were, “Hostile, they were locking the head teacher’s office and they were beating teachers when the school was not performing” (Geoffrey, head teacher). The exam focus of the Kenyan education system was described as a problem by six of the fifteen teachers, and only three expressed a positive opinion of the Kenyan schools examination system. The Kenyan school system is also focused on academic subjects, which was highlighted by just under half of the teachers with all but one stating that it was a problem. This leads to a situation in which, “Academics is everything if you do not get the grades you are dead, finished. There is no alternative” (Jeremiah).

The separation of home and school life means that teachers shoulder the burden for children's academic success; this idea was suggested and eloquently put by Jeremiah, “The teacher makes himself an island”. The perception of eight of the teachers was that many of the parents are not aware of what occurs in school and do not understand the importance of education. The majority of these teachers had been teaching for less than ten years. Thus, this may be a generalisation among the teaching community with reference to Maasai land, which is disproved after further years of teaching. However, while lack of parental knowledge may or may not be reality the insistence of this fact highlights the perception of teachers, that they are the only agents of academic betterment. This perception affects ESRHR as the teachers focus on tested subjects and repeatedly test students in order to ensure performance. These tests take away from actual teaching time and add to the fees which students must pay to attend school.

The SRHR content of the syllabus does fall within tested subjects; Science and to some extent Christian Religious Education (CRE) and Social Studies. This provides teachers with a tangible motive to engage in some SRHR issues. However, this content is minimal and the exam focus negatively impacts on the space for discussion necessary for providing CSE. Indeed, this focus meant that Life Skills, an important component of CSE, was often overlooked as Shani explained, “the problem is [it's] not so examinable...so we are just teach[ing] them very little.” In addition, I was told by two teachers that one way to improve sex education would be to make it a tested subject so it would actually be taught. This technocratic results based role is not, however, the only important aspect of teaching identities. Professional identity in this study was contradictory and there is also evidence to argue that the teacher as “island” can be interpreted through a humanist lens.

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49 Students were tested monthly in all of the schools.
50 For detailed curriculum content see appendix D
5.2.3 “The Teacher Makes Himself an Island”: A Humanist Interpretation

The local role of the teacher was also continually interlinked with the responsibility to create morally upright citizens. This links to humanists ideas of teaching as a socially focused, caring role (O’Connor 2008). An important form of this idea is the “teacher as parent” identity. This was expressed by all the teachers at Maasai Mara School, a long running boarding school, and two teachers from each of the other schools, three female and one male. Yet, this idea of teacher as surrogate parent is evidenced in the ideas and so strategies of the majority of teachers in this study. As Jeremiah explained, “Everything is to the teacher; the discipline, the teaching, the moral values... So the parent is giving out the child to the teacher to model in any way the teacher would like.” Importantly, once again, “The teacher makes himself an island”. This is more evident in teachers who have been in the profession for longer periods; seven of the nine teachers, often referring to themselves as the primary influence on youths’ development, had been teaching for over twenty years.

In this context the “caring” role is intimately linked to morality. This affects ESRHR as the motivation to provide information becomes intertwined with the idea of “morally upright” behaviour, as explained by Jeremiah:

The notion is that this boy has an STI because he’s not morally upright just like the way we talk about HIV and AIDS, not morally upright. So, when this boy comes to me, because he’ll come to me, the perception in me is that he is not morally OK, yeah the boy will come...but after...he’s had the problems for quite [sometime].

Jeremiah’s comments highlight the difficulty of separating moral judgement from ESRHR. Simon’s comments also highlighted this when he stated that pregnancy testing was carried out to know the, “morality of the school, because it is usually guessed that the higher the number of girls pregnant the [more] immoral the school.”

This caring role is also intertwined with religious identity. This was evidenced in the teachers’ workshop. Three of the four groups ranked moulding pupils spiritually in the top three. This ranking was on a par with moulding pupils academically. This gives some indication of the perception of these aspects. As mentioned previously, the majority of teachers felt that religion was a positive influence, which constituted a major part of the SRHR information they were giving to

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51 In this workshop groups of teachers were asked to rank aspects of teaching identified from the first round of interviews. The aspects were moulding pupils academically, moulding pupils spiritually, moulding pupils morally and discipline and guidance and counselling. Teachers were encouraged to add two of their own ideas (appendix F).
youth. This highlights the importance and religious identity in professional identity formation and, once again, of religion in ESRHR.

The teacher as island identity is also influenced by gender and ethnicity. Thus, the discussion at the beginning of this section can be used to add depth to the analysis. In this case teachers of differing ethnicities and genders will perceive their teaching roles differently. As discussed previously the three Maasai female teachers enacted ESRHR and highlighted their position as role models. This arguably has links to the humanist interpretation of teachers’ as islands rather than the technocratic. On the other hand male Maasai teachers may perceive and enact the caring role differently. Indeed, this can be seen in the case of Jacob who suggested that being a “human being” and seeing girls “misbehaving” could cause him to “withdraw from them”. Male Maasai teachers may distance themselves from the teachers’ caring role as a reaction to their potential to enact teacher student relationships. Another factor could be a wish to distance their actions from this practice due to public perception from other teachers, head teachers and key stakeholders. Thus, male teachers might focus on the technocratic aspects of teaching. This could negatively impact ESRHR.

5.2.4 Discipline and Education Strategies for SRHR

The use of the cane is an important example of the effect on ESRHR of the construction of teachers as “islands” with sole responsibility for academic and spiritual guidance. I was informed by eight of the teachers, with a variety of descriptive characteristics, that the whole responsibility for discipline was placed with them. All but one of the teachers believed they were expected to be strong disciplinarians and to use corporal punishment for this purpose. The teachers were all aware that corporal punishment was illegal in Kenya. The arguments given for its continued use exemplify the process of glocalisation (Vongalis-Macrow 2007:426); and the negotiation of professional identity between cultural and educational expectations. For example, Paul told me that though I, as a European, might be scared of the cane it was a necessity to cane African children and could not harm, but in fact improve the relationship between teacher and student. Of the thirteen teachers asked twelve stated that they believed the cane was a positive tool in pupil development, with only Jeremiah maintaining that caning was not a good method of discipline. The ability of the cane to instil fear and so prevent unwanted behaviour or “indiscipline” was important. Two teachers also highlighted that the bible endorses the use of the cane and so this motivated them to continue caning.

Information gathered from youth at these schools suggests that caning does have a negative effect on teacher pupil relationships and does have a significant negative effect on ESRHR, particularly for
males. This can be seen in the youths' assessment of teachers. The male youth stated that teachers’ did discuss some SRHR issues, within the limits of the curriculum. Thus, teachers appear to be sources of information on SRHR for male youth. However, the mapping exercise conducted with the boys at Maasai Mara and Tsavo schools revealed that teachers placed fifth among those youth would approach for advice if they had a problem. At Amboseli School the male youth did not identify teachers as sources of support. The analysis of the mapping exercise here revealed a ranking of eighteenth, with no boys placing the teacher as someone they would talk to and six placing them as someone they would actively not talk to. Eight of the twelve boys at Maasai Mara School, two at Tsavo School and one at Amboseli School also mentioned a fear of teachers and fear of punishment. This was also highlighted by Andrew (NGO) who felt that though improvements in teacher pupil relationships had been made youth were not yet seeing teachers as sources of support in SRHR issues due to fear of punishment. Hence, it could be argued, that in this specific case teachers’ professional identity limits the efficacy of their ESRHR.

Teachers’ professional identities are multiple they incorporate gender, ethnicity, religion and conflicting teaching roles and result in diverse intentions in the realm of SRHR. This results in negative and positive relations to youths’ SRHR issues. However, identity and intention are not the end of the story. Teachers’ ability to act on their intentions is central to understanding ESRHR. This aspect will be explored in the next section.

5.3 The effect of Teachers’ Agency on their Education Strategies Concerning SRHR

A central issue discussed by key stakeholders in ESRHR is whether teachers’ have the intention and ability to influence youths’ decisions. The proceeding sections have revealed that the majority of teachers’ do have this intention. On the other hand ability is yet to be fully explored. Ability can be linked to agency. Teachers’ agency is determined by structural opportunities and constraints and teachers’ actions can alter this structure. Two aspects are particularly important to analysing teachers’ agency in this context, namely their perception of themselves as social agents and the constraints on their agency. These aspects will be explored in this section followed by an exploration of teachers’ effectiveness in the realm of SRHR.

5.3.1 Teachers as Social Agents

Only one teacher felt that she was not influential in youths’ decisions concerning sex and relationships. The majority suggested that teachers could be influential for some students and two of the teachers stated they felt teachers were “very influential”. Eli and Paul explained that this ability
Karen Smith 10257063

to influence came from their responsibility as socially oriented professionals and the time which students spent with teachers in school. This social influence is also strongly felt by teachers beyond the realm of SRHR. Jacob emphasised that he felt as a teacher he was “leading the community. Not even the community, the whole nation”. The comments of Simon on the influence of the school and church reveal the underlying assumption which motivates the idea of leadership for him, “[the community] are seeing that education is nice because it makes children civilised and accepted in modern society. So they are being evolved so much”. Thus, Simon’s goals within SRHR are intimately linked with this idea of “civilised” behaviour. This “civilisation” signifies a move away from Maasai culture, people “who are still rotting within the tradition” (Samuel, head teacher). Providing information on SRHR can be understood as a moral obligation which is intimately linked to development and modernisation. This can also be seen in the way Paul, for example, linked sexuality to the “backward” Maasai culture while education supported by Christianity signified progress. For Samuel (head teacher) education was seen as a driver of development and people “who have education...should be at the frontline trying to change these people”. In addition, for Sanura, Christianity was a positive influence as it had heightened the fear of engaging in sexual activity and so combated the “immoral” Maasai culture. Simon’s comments also exemplify this idea, “The bible says that fornication is a sin, sex before marriage is a sin and this encourage[s] abstinence and in a real sense, after all, it controls sexual activity amongst the Maasai.” This suggests, for these teachers, a high level of potential authority attributed to the school and education in general due, in part, to its links to the church.

The majority of the teachers’ comments showed that discussing SRHR issues and having a significant impact upon youths’ lives is in this circumstance changing a culture. Young pregnancy, young marriage, female and male circumcision and Moranism are all drivers of youths’ SRHR issues and they are influenced by a cultural ideology and a normative stance on sex. Thus, it can be argued that the majority of teachers in this study who are engaging in SRHR issues may have (un)consciously constructed themselves as agents of a morally upright modernisation negotiating Christian beliefs through the lens of “African tradition” and the negative influence of “Westernisation” and Maasai culture.

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52 This supports the theory of UNESCO (2009) on the role of teachers in CSE.
5.3.2 Constraints: Support, Training and Resources

Teachers’ ability to exercise this agency is conditioned by, and conditions the SSC. For example, the importance of education must be appreciated beyond the school to create an enabling environment in which teachers can formulate and employ moral modernising strategies. However, the local communities’ relationship to education is in flux and heterogeneous, as six teachers comments revealed. This applies to parents and youth. Some value education, while some do not. Others attend or send their children to school, but with little understanding of formal education. Furthermore, parents and youth may be unaware of the purpose of SRHR education further limiting teachers proscribed roles and so influence. This constrains teachers’ agency. Their perception of the community in which they work may ultimately undermine their ability to achieve goals they set themselves in the realm of SRHR.

Another limitation is the curriculum content. Although the Ministry of Education, has included some SRHR topics in the curriculum all but one of the teachers highlighted lack of information as a constraint on their ability to provide for youths SRHR needs. Eli explained this difficulty, “The syllabus is set but then it tells you no details. Only mention reproductive parts, no details required...so you are limited.” The strength of this limitation becomes clear when considering that only two of fourteen teachers said that they would teach beyond what was provided by the Ministry of Education. This may be due to that fact that just over half of the teachers felt that their role in SRHR education, as dictated by the Ministry, was solely as implementers of the curriculum. This was also explained to me by Eli, “We are not supposed to teach beyond what we have been given. It would be, now, an educational crime. So you are just forced to stick to the syllabus because...you don't want to put yourself in a problem.” This perceived constraint may also link to the structural constraint relating to Maasai norms concerning language discussed in section 5.1.3.1. This clearly affects teachers’ agency in the realm of SRHR. Their ability to engage with youths’ SRHR issues is curtailed.

Teachers’ agency is also constrained by their own lack of sources of knowledge on SHRH issues. Indeed, in the teachers’ workshop lack of confidence was highlighted, by three of four groups, as an important problem when teaching and talking about sexuality. In addition, a third of the teachers had

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53 This idea is expressed with reference to CSE and its effectiveness for youth (Leerlooijer 2009).
54 A third of the teaching staff mentioned that the income from the pastoralist way of life is not sustainable given the frequent droughts in Kakila. This has led to a gradual realisation that education can offer a more sustainable lifestyle. It is important to note however that children were, and are, seen as a source of wealth. Males for their labour caring for livestock and girls for their exchange value in marriage. This makes education extraneous for some in the area.
55 See in appendix D for an overview of the curriculum content
not received any formal sex education. Teachers felt they needed more knowledge to have the capability to comfortably engage in SRHR issues. This knowledge is not readily available. Internet access in Kakila is very low and SRHR resources are not widely available. To acquire additional SRHR knowledge requires a large effort on the part of the teacher. Yet, schools are under staffed and the majority of teachers are de-motivated by the over burden. The majority also feel they are underpaid, underappreciated and not supported by the Ministry of Education.

This lack of support for tackling SRHR can be seen through training. Three teachers stated that they were the only ones in the researched community with SRHR information. Yet, these teachers did not feel that the majority of teaching staff had the ability to use this knowledge to benefit youth. Over half of the teachers informed me that the government had provided no specific training on SRHR issues. Fathiya’s comments with reference to Life Skills highlight this, “You don’t know where to start teaching these pupils. You don’t know what [to teach]...we don’t have enough resources [or] even the books to tell us how we can help these children [or] what we are expected to go and do there.”

Training was the most often cited way to improve SRHR education and lack of training was highlighted as a major problem by the majority of teachers and key informants involved in this research. The implementation of Guidance and Counselling (GC) offers a pertinent example of the importance of training and support in SRHR education. Several teachers informed me that GC has been introduced by the Ministry of Education as a replacement for corporal punishment, a new form of corrective discipline. Yet, there has been no training given to teachers on how they are supposed to implement this change in policy. The teachers understanding and use of this concept suggests that GC has become focused on one way information emphasising the negative consequences of “wrong” behaviours. Indeed, at the workshop GC was explained as youth “being told all the negatives” about sex. An example of this is in Amboseli School where Shani has implemented GC through pregnancy testing. This reveals the difficulties which may have arisen from the substitution of corporal punishment for a discussion based approach with no training for teachers. In Amboseli school teachers’ perception of youth sexuality as “indisciplined” or “bad” behaviour coupled with the perception of GC as a disciplinary tool influenced the implementation of this strategy. This strategic

56 Though one head teacher (Samuel) stated that newly graduated teachers would have been trained on these issues the newly graduated teachers I interviewed had not received any specialised training on providing SRHR education to youth. The newly graduated teachers were T7 three years, T9 nine months, T10 six months. They had been trained on how to deal with children being abused and those who were discovered to be sexually active.
action is also influenced by these teachers’ limited autonomy. The potential of GC, which teachers at the workshop agreed was core to teaching about sexuality, is constrained by a lack of adequate training and support for teachers. This negatively impacts youth. Indeed, the prevalence of fears surrounding sex among youth in this study shows the strength of negative messages. It can be argued that in this case teachers ESRHR may exacerbate youth issues.

Teachers’ agency in the realm of SRHR is constrained by many factors. Their influence is limited by the perception of education within the community. Lack of knowledge, support and training are also key constraints which limit teachers’ ability to adequately provide for youths’ SRHR needs. The SSC and teachers’ perceptions interlink to constrain intentions to provide CSE. Understanding of this dynamic lived reality is central to understanding teachers’ effectiveness in the field of SRHR.

5.3.3 The Effectiveness of Teachers Education Strategies for SRHR

Several key informants highlighted the fact that they did not feel teachers were influential in the realm of SRHR. This was primarily due to continued high levels of young pregnancies. This lack of influence was thought to be caused by a variety of factors including the methods of discipline, the lack of training and the high incidence of teachers having sexual relationships with students. Two key informants and two teachers also stated that teachers simply did not engage with SRHR issues and so could never be effective.

In addition, to the above issues the motivation for teachers to enact ESRHR can also be seen as problematic. This becomes clear when considering the needs of youth, as outlined by NGO and health workers in this field. Andrew (NGO) repeatedly specified that what is lacking in SRHR education provision is ways for youth to apply knowledge and protect themselves in sexual encounters. In order to achieve this there needs to be an acknowledgement of youths’ sexuality. However, teachers are motivated by a desire to prevent young sexuality due to its perceived danger and immorality, thus, as Andrew explained, “Teachers deny sexual relationships, abstain, abstain, abstain”. This is an essential problem within teachers’ ESRHR. Beth’s (nurse) comments can be used to understand why teachers’ motivation has a negative effect on youth. Beth stated that value clarification, the separation of personal values from youths’ SRHR needs is an essential aspect of being able to provide CSE. In its absence dominant moral values rather than factual information may be used to try to influence youths’ decisions. In this case teachers’ motivation can be used in part to explain abstinence based education strategies for SRHR with a high percentage of moral instruction. This (un)conscious strategic action limits teachers’ effectiveness.
This Chapter has revealed that teachers feel they are responsible in the realm of SRHR yet there is very little space for their agency. To provide SRHR information given all the barriers and complexities requires an extraordinary effort. Teachers must overcome their own reservations, societies’ judgement and youths’ reactions. The ideas and perceptions which motivate teachers are an important factor, as religious belief, cultural norms and a negative view of young sexuality condition ESRHR. Furthermore, technocratic and humanist interpretations of the construction of teachers as “islands” have caused different aspects of teaching to be emphasised. In this case gender and ethnic discrimination, and pressure on performance limit teachers’ ability to enact ESRHR. They must also attempt to overcome these constraints without the skills to provide SRHR knowledge or confidence in that knowledge. Limited curriculum content, lack of resources and minimal support also affect the ability of teachers to engage in SRHR issues. Furthermore, almost half of the teachers felt that parents did not value education and did not understand the role of the school. Yet, the ability to influence beyond the school has been shown to be essential to countering youths’ SRHR issues in the research area. This discussion has shown that the difficulty and complexity of providing ESRHR in the research area is of the utmost significance and must be considered in any discussion of teachers’ effectiveness.

This thesis will now be brought to a close. The differing threads of youths’ SRHR issues, strategy, agency and professional identity and will be interwoven in order to conclude and provide recommendations for further research and key stakeholders.
6. **Conclusions**

6.1 **Overview of Findings**

Let us begin with the first part of the research question, *What are youths’ SRHR issues?* For females there exists a dangerous, but not homogenous, lack of control of sexual activity. There is evidence to suggest that young girls do not feel in control of their own bodies, but they are not just victims. It was revealed that there are a multiplicity of threats to young girls’ sexual health and a wide variety of denials of their reproductive rights. Female circumcision is central to young girls SRHR issues. This research has shown that this rite of passage, can initiate a period of sought and forced sexual activity. As contraception is inaccessible and discouraged, HIV/AIDS and young pregnancies are common. Young pregnancy can result in death, serious injury and removal from education. These issues stem primarily from cultural norms in the Maasai society wherein females are subservient and young girls are expected to receive male sexual advances. It was found that in Maasai land a woman is a body and a currency. Her worth lies in her physicality, being female and able to “satisfy” men, marry and have children. Thus, her mind is not valuable but her body is, for sex, for child bearing and for domestic labour. This complex situation means a young girl has to be empowered to assert her own worth. She is otherwise forever a means, not worth in itself. As seen in Chapter five, the majority of teachers were aware of this situation and believed education could disrupt this traditional role with difficulty.

It has been shown that though teachers perceived young pregnancy to be the main problem in Maasai land, youth SRHR issues extend beyond the prevalence of young pregnancy. In section 4.3 SRHR issues for male youth were analysed. This section demonstrated that although male SRHR issues may be less immediate, oppressive and life threatening they do exist. This was in opposition to the opinion of the majority of teachers. The findings revealed that a position of gender dominance did not equate, in this case, to being a sexual threat, living a fear free existence and having a safe and satisfying sexual life.

Almost two thirds of teachers’ were aware that circumcised boys may be more likely to begin engaging in casual sex as they are no longer restricted by Maasai cultural norms. Empirical data gathered suggested a significant number of boys in this study are sexually active. Given the low access to condoms and the high prevalence of HIV, sex could also have dangerous consequences for young males. It was also highlighted that these young boys will be or are the people having sex with young girls and their SRHR needs cannot be viewed in isolation. Furthermore, these young
males are scared of the consequences of sex. It has been argued that this fear is informed in part by teachers’ ESRHR which focus on the potentially dangerous consequences of young sex. This constitutes a major SRHR issue for male youth and, contrastingly, reveals the potential of teachers; their messages do hold authority among youth.

It was revealed that in this study teachers’ ESRHR can focus on female youth as victims in isolation from male youth who maybe peripheral or constructed as threats. Although other research has highlighted that men and women are polarised into threats and victims (Bhana 2007; Campbell et al. 2006; Warrington & Kiragu 2012); the effect of this construction on young males has been overlooked. Indeed, focusing on female sexuality is a historic and continuing trend in SRHR research and policy (Epstein et. al 2004; London Summit on Family Planning 2012). This thesis has shown that, in order to benefit young people, male voices must be included when examining youth sexual activity, particularly in Maasai land. My research has revealed that if CSE wishes to challenge gender inequality and provide for youths SRHR needs (IPPF 2010); young men must be catered for. Information on SRHR constitutes part of male youths’ rights, as sanctioned by the CRC (United Nations 2010) and is an essential aspect of CSE (UNAIDS 2009).

Youths’ SRHR issues have been shown to be multiple though teachers’ education strategies focus primarily on reducing rates of young pregnancy. It was revealed that teachers’ strategies are thus connected to youths’ SRHR issues whilst simultaneously overlooking and exacerbating some of those issues. This dynamic relationship is influenced by the multiplicity of the SSC which in turn influences and is influenced by teachers’ strategies.

Let us look at this in more detail and thus answer the remaining part of the research question What are...Kenyan teachers’ related education strategies for providing SRHR information and how are teachers’ strategies connected to the strategically selective context including youths’ issues, teachers’ agency and professional identity? The findings revealed that teachers’ strategies are connected to the SSC in many ways. Firstly, it was shown that teachers’ are employing ESRHR through the curriculum. However, this research revealed this SRHR information is difficult for teachers due to the constraints of Maasai cultural norms. They must also combat personal fears of societies’ judgement and youths’ reactions to discussing SRHR. Nevertheless, the majority of teachers expressed that it was important to overcome these difficulties and so the SRHR content of the curriculum was being taught, to an extent. It was revealed that teachers are aware of some of
the SRHR issues for youth. For example, young pregnancy was highlighted by youth as an important issue and was also highlighted by the majority of teachers.

ESRHR beyond the curriculum were also revealed. These strategies included conducting pregnancy tests twice a term and adopting a rescue centre status. The findings indicated that these strategies had been employed for several reasons. They are time and resource effective and require little government support or additional knowledge beyond what is provided in the curriculum. They focus on instruction rather than discussion, allowing teachers to create a comfort zone of authority within the discourse on sexuality. They are also supported by many in the community. In this study, all three schools had developed viable strategies to deal with the prevalence of young pregnancies. Thus, these strategies are related to teachers’ perception of youth issues. These strategies are connected to the SSC as they utilise opportunities and constraints whilst simultaneously altering structures.

It was shown that teachers’ strategies are also connected to their individual perceptions of youth sexuality which are influenced by structural factors such as, Maasai culture, educational culture, religion and fear. The majority of teachers in this study are not therefore motivated by youths’ rights to information or safe and satisfying sexual relationships, but rather the potentially dangerous consequences and immorality of young sex. This is not necessarily a conscious decision and is understandable given the SSC in which teachers and youth live, where the decision to have sex can be a life or death decision. Nevertheless, this can be understood as a cognitive shortcut in which realistic alternatives for action may have been omitted leading to reproduction of the context (Hay 2002:211).

The second important aspect of the findings is that ESRHR have been shown to be intimately connected to teachers’ professional identity. The findings revealed that teachers’ identities are informed by contradictory roles which highlight different aspects of teaching, namely humanist (O’Connor 2008) and technocratic (Welmond 2002). These roles are differentially negotiated according to gender, ethnicity, religious belief and years of teaching. This results in certain strategies being favoured. The use of corporal punishment within schools is an example of a favoured strategy. This strategy was shown to directly affect teachers’ ability to support youths’ SRHR needs, particularly for male students, whilst simultaneously being seen by teachers as an important aspect of preventing SRHR problems. This situation is exacerbated by teachers seeing themselves as “islands” with sole responsibility for the academic and moral development of “their” children. It was also found that in this context teachers are constrained by pressure on performance
and must personally overcome their own reservations and gender and ethnic discrimination to enact ESRHR.

Finally, it was revealed that key stakeholders did not feel teachers were effective in SRHR and that youths’ situation was not changing. Explanations of teachers’ “ineffectiveness” were: high incidences of teachers having sexual relationships with students, lack of training, discipline methods, and a lack of value clarification. The empirical findings of the research also confirmed these issues. However, two key informants and two teachers stated that many teachers did not wish to, and so did not, engage with SRHR issues. On this point this research has shown otherwise. The discussion revealed that teachers have intentions to positively influence youths’ decisions in the realm of SRHR, yet there is very little space for their agency. Teachers’ must attempt to overcome constraints without confidence in their own SRHR knowledge or the skills to pass on this knowledge, without support to educate beyond the curriculum and without enough information in the curriculum. Furthermore, the ability for education to influence the community beyond the school has been shown to be essential. This is particularly the case in this situation where promoting SRHR equates to challenging cultural norms. However, almost half of the teachers felt that parents did not value education and did not understand the role of the school, particularly in the realm of SRHR. These limits on teachers’ agency have been shown to be central to understanding ESRHR and the lack of change in youths’ SRHR situation.

For teachers to provide SRHR information given all the barriers and complexities requires an extraordinary effort. Furthermore, this requires a change in the SSC. In this research the majority of teachers were now discussing sexuality with youth. This is something which did not occur in their formal education. Teachers, who were not taught about sex in school, are enacting ESRHR. The findings revealed that teachers’ are discussing sexuality with youth, despite the barriers and limits, because of their awareness and perception of youth issues and the prevalence of young pregnancy and HIV.

Teachers’ strategies can be evaluated considering these constraints as well as the other dimensions of the SSC and youths’ issues discussed. The majority of teachers’ strategies have been employed as they allow teachers to provide SRHR information without being seen to encourage or approve of sexual relationships among youth. These strategies are conditioned by teachers’ perceptions of youth sexuality as negative and these perceptions are influenced by and influence youths’ actions and so the SSC. Thus, teachers’ strategies monitor and discourage the known sexual activity of youth without actively engaging and taking responsibility for that activity. The context in which
teachers and youth operate is an important factor in the denial of youths’ right to information and the prevalence of a negative view of young sexual relationships. It can therefore be argued that in this case teachers’ strategies cannot easily engage with the reality of youths’ sexuality. Thus, ESRHR support the male female dichotomy of vulnerability and threat. This in turn essentialises male and female experiences of sexuality undermining sexual individuality and agency for both male and female youth. This is contrary to guidelines for CSE (IPPF 2010; UNAIDS 2009; UNESCO 2009; Leerlooijer 2009); SRHR (UNFPA 2011) and the CRC (United Nations 2010).

6.2 Recommendations for Further Research

The difficulties surrounding the promotion of contraception for youth are the most pressing. I am not alone in this opinion (London Summit on Family Planning 2012). However, as has been shown NGOs, health workers and teachers all fear reprisal should they attempt to provide information on condoms to young people. Research into the perception of and receptiveness to condoms at all levels of society, and quantifying the potential benefits of providing youth with access to contraception would be highly valuable. This could be used to lobby the government for curriculum changes. In addition, research which focused on older youth and their experiences of (not) abstaining or (not) controlling their sexuality could discover ways to empower young females and males. Research into the effect of male circumcision on educational achievement and sexual behaviour is essential given the current focus on male circumcision as a method of HIV prevention in Kenya and Sub Saharan Africa57 (WHO & UNAIDS 2009).

In terms of teachers, valuable further research could be conducted through activist participatory research methods “to enhance people’s awareness and confidence, and to empower their action.” (Chambers 1994:954); focusing on teachers’ awareness of SRHR and CSE. This would have the potential to encourage teachers to question the effect of their strategies on youths’ SRHR. Ultimately there is an urgent need to find ways for teachers to harness their ability to influence youth, and their motivation to protect youth from the dangerous consequences of sex.

6.3 Recommendations for Key Stakeholders

The findings of this research have several implications for NGOs in the field of SRHR. In terms of focus the issue of access to condoms has to be addressed. Key stakeholders can no longer wait for

57 It is important to note that male circumcision was not directly asked about in any of the youth workshops. This is, in fact, a limitation of this research and a symptom of the fact that male circumcision and its subsequent effects on young boys’ educational achievement and life chances is often overlooked in SRHR literature and policy.
the “community” to accept contraception. There is a need to be active in fostering positive opinion. This should occur on all levels, sensitising communities and lobbying for recognition of condoms as a viable contraceptive method for youth. NGOs should also focus on lobbying the government for inclusion of information on condom use in the primary school curriculum. The provision of anonymous condom dispensers with accessible information and youth access would also be incredibly beneficial.

NGOs and CSOs should continue to provide education campaigns on FC with a focus on delaying the practice. Older girls will be more capable of controlling their sexuality and have greater ability and will to refuse FC once they are adequately informed. There is also a need to stop focusing on males and females separately and focus on empowering both genders to be young people in control of their sexual lives.

In this specific situation there is also a need to focus on the barriers to enacting ESRHR for teachers, motivating teachers and creating an enabling environment in which they can move beyond normative denials of young sexuality. In order to achieve this, teachers need to be appreciated as socially oriented professionals whose influence in youths’ lives, beyond the scope of KCPE results, is important. Teachers’ could be motivated by appreciation for work they are doing within SRHR in terms of remuneration, acknowledgment and gratitude. Involving teachers in community sensitisation programmes and providing them with the means to interact with the local community in a professional capacity could allow the formation of mutually beneficial partnerships. This could empower teachers to realise their potential. A skills sharing workshop in which NGOs asked for teachers’ ideas to combat SRHR issues and shared their own could be incredibly beneficial. Training which focused on value clarification, challenging myths and misconceptions surrounding condoms and alternative methods of discipline would also be highly valuable. A final idea would be to create a platform through which youth could share their experiences of sexuality and ESRHR with teachers. Perhaps through anonymous reports if arranging face to face discussion proved difficult. This could allow teachers’ to evaluate their perceptions of youth sexuality in relation to their own strategies and the (un)intended effect of these strategies on youth.

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58 The ethical strategy outlined in section 3.4.2 is an attempt to enact such a strategy.
The findings indicate that the Ministry of Education would benefit from moving away from strict religious messages. Christian Religious Education can remain an important part of the curriculum but it should be made clear that morals should not be used as a substitute for talking about sexuality. The message of not advocating condom use can if necessary remain but it should be clarified that not advocating is not equivalent to actively discouraging. The Ministry of Education should provide information on condoms to teachers and youth and put the needs of its citizens before the dictates of the church.

6.4 Limitations of the Research and Transferability of Findings

This research has shown that using methods which focus on high levels of personal involvement and extended interaction with participants can produce in depth, valuable information on “taboo” topics. However, this benefit is also a limit of this research as this intensity could only be sustained for a small sample size. This lowers the applicability of research findings beyond the research area. Nevertheless, lessons can be learned from the research approach and the findings concerning SRHR education can be applied more generally. It is important to note the idea of transferability (O’Leary, 2004: 63; Summer & Tribe, 2008: 114); that the findings of qualitative research have some significance in other contexts. Indeed, other researchers have noted the negative impact of polarising male and female youth into victims and threats respectively (Bhana 2007) and the need to engage with youths’ desire to have sex in culturally appropriate ways (Van Zon 2003). The necessity to move beyond abstinence only programmes in order to benefit youth has also been highlighted (IPPF 2010) as well as the need to adequately train and support teachers (UNESCO 2009). The findings may not be transferable in terms of the specific constraints and opportunities for teachers. Yet, the emphasis on teachers is useful and would allow for this important group of professionals to be highlighted for their efforts and dedication rather than as a problem area of CSE. It is important to recognise that ESRHR do not just affect youth. In order to benefit youth teachers must be motivated, their situation understood, their needs highlighted and their potential harnessed.
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Appendix A

Operationalisation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concept</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategies within a strategically selective context</td>
<td>(First order) Day to day decisions</td>
<td>General SRHR issues</td>
<td>What are the SRHR issues in this area?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>How do teachers know about SRHR issues?</td>
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<td>What are the most important SRHR issues for youth in this area?</td>
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<td>What do teachers think the needs of youth are, in terms of SRHR?</td>
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<td>How do teachers know about youths SRHR issues?</td>
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<td>What sources of information exist for teachers/ youth on SRHR?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Information provided</td>
<td>What do teachers (not) teach/discuss with youth and why?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What topics are difficult to teach/discuss with youth?</td>
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<td>What subjects do teachers prefer teaching/discussing with youth?</td>
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<td>What information is deemed (in)appropriate?</td>
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<td>In what ways are they discussing SRHR with youth?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency of teaching sexuality</td>
<td>How often do teachers teach/discuss SRHR issues with youth?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunities and constraints to Education strategies for SRHR provision</td>
<td>Do teachers think there is time in the teaching schedule for lessons on SRHR?</td>
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<td>If/ when teachers teach/discuss SRHR do they (expect to) experience problems from the community, youth or other teachers?</td>
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<td>If/ when teachers teach/discuss SRHR are (would) they feel supported by the community, youth or other teachers?</td>
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<td>What do teachers/youth think opportunities and constraints are in relation to education strategies for SRHR?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Second order) Overarching</td>
<td>Teachers perception of role in relation to</td>
<td>Do teachers/youth see teachers as important in informing youth about</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Third order) Public Perception</td>
<td>Perception of community (including parents and other teachers)</td>
<td>Perception of students</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teacher’s Agency within a Strategically Selective Context</td>
<td>Changes in strategy (un)intended consequences</td>
<td>Have teachers begun (or stopped) teaching about/discussing SRHR issues, why? Have teachers/youth noticed a change in their context in relation to SRHR?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Obligation</td>
<td>Laws and Regulations</td>
<td>What do teachers consider their locally/nationally proscribed role, in terms of education strategies for SRHR, how important is this? What do teachers know about the government policy CSE? What aspects of education strategies for SRHR are controlled by national policy in the local context? How? What does the curriculum say about SRHR issues? What, if any, training have teachers had on teaching SRHR?</td>
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</table>
| Authority | Institutionally granted power | Do teachers feel they have influence in SRHR issues specifically related to their position? 
Do teachers feel respected, if they teach about/discuss SRHR issues? 
Do teachers see themselves as capable of changing SRHR issues? 
Do teachers see teaching as a caring profession? |
|---|---|---|
| Autonomy | Achievement of Goals | What, if any, are teachers’ goals within education strategies for SRHR? 
If teachers want to provide CSE are they able to? 
If teachers want training on SRHR issues can they receive it? |
| Professional Identities | Cultural Schema | Personal Perception of Role (local) | 
What do teachers think is expected of them in terms of education strategies for SRHR at the local level? 
What does it mean to be a teacher in the local context, how does this relate to SRHR? |
| Government education objectives | Personal Perception of Role - (inter)national | What do teachers think is expected of them in terms of education strategies for SRHR at a (inter)national level? 
What does it mean to be a teacher in the (inter)national context, how does this relate to SRHR? 
What do teachers think they should be teaching? 
How do teachers perceive their responsibilities to students / to the community? |
| Negotiation | Personal Values | What are teachers’ personal opinions on (teaching) SRHR issues? 
What does it mean to be a teacher? 
What are the teachers’ normative views on sexuality? 
What education on SRHR did teachers receive (either formal or informal)? |
<p>| Professional Values | | What characteristics do teachers ascribe to the ideal teacher? How does this relate to SRHR? |
| Strength of different | | What do teachers consider most |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Motives for teaching</th>
<th>important, national/local/personal ideas or something else?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What do teachers think is the purpose of schools?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Why do teachers teach?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What do teachers think is the most important aspect of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>schools/teaching?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do teachers see potential in education strategies for SRHR?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Characteristics</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Subject specialisation</th>
<th>What is the participant’s age?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What is the participant’s gender?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What is the participant’s ethnicity?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What are the participant’s religious beliefs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What is the participant’s subject specialisation?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

List of Key Informants

The following is a list of key informants with their identifiers. Key informants whose views are included in the text have been given names, which have been changed to protect anonymity, and otherwise research numbers are shown. Some descriptive characteristics are provided. I was informed that age was particularly sensitive in this area, and as age was not seen as an important dimension to analysing key informants information ages were not asked for.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Informant Identifier (Number/Name)</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew (NGO)</td>
<td>Employed in a local NGO. Specialist in education health and SRHR</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albina (NGO)</td>
<td>Employed in a local NGO. Specialist in education</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felista (NGO)</td>
<td>Student employed in a local NGO as an intern.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth (nurse)</td>
<td>Nurse working in maternal health and youth SRHR</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Did not specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claire (nurse)</td>
<td>Nurse working at the health centre adjacent to Maasai Mara School</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Did not specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George (Pastor)</td>
<td>Anglican Pastor providing pastoral instruction for Maasai Mara and Tsavo schools</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastor 2</td>
<td>Born Again Pastor providing pastoral instruction for Amboseli School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Did not specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel (head teacher)</td>
<td>Head teacher of Maasai Mara School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael (head teacher)</td>
<td>Head teacher of Tsavo School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geoffrey (head teacher)</td>
<td>Head teacher of Amboseli School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief 1</td>
<td>Chief of the area surrounding Tsavo School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief 2</td>
<td>Chief of the area surrounding Maasai Mara and Amboseli schools</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Maasai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix C

### Overview of Research Tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tool</th>
<th>Target Group</th>
<th>Method</th>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>Data Obtained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Teachers/ Head Teachers/ Key Informants</td>
<td>Semi-Structured Interviews with guides developed in cooperation with Pamoja</td>
<td>In-depth information on personal perceptions of important topics</td>
<td>Audio files and interview notes. Transcribed and coded with Atlasti. Presented in quote/ paraphrased form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Good Teacher” Diagram</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Groups of teachers asked to draw and label a picture showing a “good teacher” (workshop)</td>
<td>Normative ideas on the most important aspects of teaching</td>
<td>Labelled pictures. Coded with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ranking Exercise</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>In groups rank five specified aspects of teaching. Able to include two extra aspects (workshop)</td>
<td>Clarifying teachers definitions of different aspects of teaching and analysing how teaching role was perceived. Quantifying importance (Chambers 2007)</td>
<td>Notes from rankings and comment. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question Game</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Each teacher drew a numbered question from a bag and read out the question for open discussion (workshop)</td>
<td>Provoking discussion and introducing otherwise inappropriate questions. Revealing dominant normative opinions as well as those “less socially acceptable”</td>
<td>Notes. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Tree</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Groups of teachers asked to indicate the problems to discussing sexuality with students (workshop)</td>
<td>Triangulating the barriers to SRHR education provision already highlighted in interviews</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seed Cloud</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Groups of teachers asked to think of solutions to the</td>
<td>Prompting teachers to consider solutions and revealing</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Picture</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Teachers asked to individually think of, and write down, the messages in society which influence discussing sexuality with students (workshop)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Picture 2</td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>Teachers asked to draw themselves in the centre of a piece of paper and to think of things which motivated them to talk about SRHR with students, to note these down and then to repeat the task with things which stopped them from discussing SRHR issues with youth. (second interview)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Card Game</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>15 Question cards placed in the centre of a circle of students. Each student takes a card. Youth are asked (in a specific order) to read out the question on the card. Then all the youth are encouraged to answer the question (workshop one)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem Tree</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Youth were asked to specify problems that come from adolescence in the branches and the causes of these problems at the roots (workshop one)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(N.B After the first Gaining an insight into what youth thought were the most important problems for them in the field of SRHR and why these were problems)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship Map</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Youth were asked to indicate who they would/would not talk to if they had a problem with sex, relationships or adolescence (workshop one)</td>
<td>Discovering whether teachers were thought of by youth as sources of support and which other actors were involved, for youth, in SRHR issues</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worry Sheet</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Youth were asked to anonymously note down worries on one side of A4 paper. These were thrown around the room for advice to be given by other students (workshop one)</td>
<td>Triangulating information from problem trees as well as providing insight into which messages on SRHR hold importance for youth</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question Handout</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Distribution of a handout with questions in Kiswahili, the most commonly used local language (workshop two)</td>
<td>Enabling youth to give answers which may have been difficult to communicate verbally, this is both in terms of cultural acceptability and language use. Triangulating and supplementing information on important themes</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temptation / Force Mapping Exercise</td>
<td>Youth</td>
<td>Youth asked to individually draw a map of where young people can be tempted / forced to have sex and who can tempt/ force them (workshop two)</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td>Notes/Pictures. Coded and analysed with Atlasti presented as quotes/descriptions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix D

Overview of Curriculum Content

These are the parts of the curriculum which I felt were relevant to this study and were regularly taught in class. This is an overview and is not exhaustive. Life skills has been omitted as it was not regularly taught in these schools.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Topics Covered</th>
<th>Important Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Health Education</td>
<td>HIV contraction and care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Human body</td>
<td>Behavioural and physical changes during adolescence including the body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The reproductive system, parts of the system and their functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Health education</td>
<td>The importance of HIV testing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The effect of HIV/AIDS on individuals, families and the nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>The Institution of Marriage</td>
<td>The importance of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Different types of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ondienki 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Health education</td>
<td>Drug abuse and misuse including the meaning of a drug, commonly abused drugs and the effects of drug abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>HIV myths and misconceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How to care and support those infected/affected by HIV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>The Human Body</td>
<td>The reproductive system in humans from conception to birth including egg production, ovulation, fertilisation, the development of the foetus, signs of pregnancy and the birth process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youth issues covered: unplanned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Health Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pregnancies, the risks of abortion, STIs and HIV/AIDS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Government campaigns to prevent HIV/AIDS including the ABC for youth - abstinence, becoming informed and communicating information</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STIs including the meaning of STIs, causes of STIs, prevention of STIs and control for HIV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Youth issues covered: HIV in adolescents and rape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Karaka et. al 2004e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E

Interview Guides

These are the interview guides used for interviews with teachers. Interviews with head teachers and other key informants followed a similar format but were less structured allowing other issues which had not been considered to be raised. For the purposes of comparison in analysis teachers interviews were semi–structured. This structure was not rigid however and teachers were free to direct conversation.

Interview One

Informed Consent: I am a Masters student from the University of Amsterdam. I am interested in the problems for youth growing up in this area and how teachers can help with those problems. This research is not an evaluation but is meant to find out more about the difficulties for teachers and youth in Maasai land. I would like to record the interview for my own records. It will be written out on the computer and then the tape deleted. Your name will be changed in the final document so you will not be recognisable. I will not discuss your answers with anyone else. You can stop the interview at any time, just let me know. You can also skip any questions if you like or ask me to stop the tape. Is this all OK?

- So first of all could you just tell me a little bit about the area, about ____.
- Good! And could you tell me a little bit about the school.
- OK and why did you decide to become a teacher?
- OK, nice! And what’s the best part of teaching for you?
- OK, and what’s the worst part of teaching?
- How do the learners see teachers in your work do you think?
- And how do you think they see teachers generally?
- OK, that’s good and how do you think the parents see teachers?
- OK, good! Thank you. So as I said I’m interested in the problems for young people and how teachers discuss with young people how to deal with life’s challenges. So first, what challenges are there for young people growing up in this area? Maybe start with boys.
- And what challenges are there for girls?
- OK and do you know of any drop outs in the last year? What were the reasons?
- So I’ve been told a lot of dropouts can be from pregnancy is that your experience? (If pregnancy/ reproductive health not mentioned)

- And (you mentioned _____), which other reproductive health issues can effect education?

- And what about female circumcision? (If FC not mentioned in issues)

- And do you think the syllabus can help with reducing dropout rates (and stopping pupils ___)?

- OK, that’s good. And what topics are teacher’s (not) comfortable teaching about in that area, in your experience?

- OK and how do the teachers get over those challenges, what methods do they use?

- OK, that’s good. So if a new teacher came to this school and they wanted to talk to pupils about ________, what would you advise them to do?

- And what challenges would there be to doing that lesson, you mentioned _____ anything else?

- So apart from _____ in this community what other challenges can you see for people who are talking about these things?

- What training is there for teachers on sexual reproductive health?

- And is there any support in school, if you wanted to talk about these things and you were struggling?

- What sex education did you receive?

- OK, do you think that pupils would come to you or a teacher if they had a problem. So if they had a problem with changes in their body or a relationship?

- And has that ever happened?

- So if say I was a boy and I came to you and said I had an STI what would you do?

- OK that’s good and do you think that the learners listen to teachers?

- Do you think that teaching can help young people with their developing sexuality?
- Do you think there is enough sex education in schools?

- If you could change anything in the syllabus to improve on that, what would you change?

- If you could give some advice to a local NGO to help you with these issues what would you advise?

- If you could give some advice to the government what would you say? The Minister of Education

- So to go back to the government, how do you think the government treats teachers?
- OK that’s good and just to finish, what does it mean to you to be a teacher?

- OK, that’s good. That is all of my questions but is there anything you would like to add?

- Thank you! And did you have any questions for me?

- OK, thank you so much. Thank you for your time

Interview Two

Introduction: So from the first interviews and the workshop there are some things which I would like to know a bit more about to help me with my research. Again if you would like to stop at any time or don’t want to answer a question that is not a problem just say so. Is that OK?

- So first of all can you just tell me the most important things for you in the Kenyan education system?

- OK, good, OK and what is the role of examining students?

- And what do you think of the exams in Kenyan education? Why?

- OK, so could you tell me a bit about discipline in the Kenyan education system?

- And what do parents expect of teachers in terms of discipline?

- And could you tell me about the use of the cane?

- OK, and what do you personally think about caning?
- And do you think that it has an effect on teacher student relationships?

- OK so the other thing I want to know a bit more about is gender, so do you think that being born a girl or a boy has an effect on life here?

- And do you think that being a _____ has affected where you are today?

- And do you think being _____ effects what you can do as a teacher?

- OK, so I want to know a bit more about the sexual health education as well. So could you tell me what motivates you to talk to young people about sexuality?

- And how influential do you think teachers are on young people’s decisions on sex?

- And what do you think you need to know to teach about sexuality?

- And what do you think young people need to know about sex to help them?

- And what do you think they need from teachers?

- And why do you think that some young people can/can’t abstain

- So what is the Christian message on sexual relationships for young people?

- OK, and what is the local, Maasai message on sexual relationships?

- Do you think that the HIV outbreak has had an effect on that message?

- And do you think that education has had an effect on the way sex is thought about?

- OK, and do you think that Christianity has had an effect?

- And which message do you think is most influential for teachers (Christian/ Maasai/ danger from HIV)?

- And for you? What is your personal view of sexual relationships? (If appropriate depending on relationship built with teacher and comfort level with topic)

- And do you think that sexual relationships are thought about differently then when you were in school?

- So what do you think parents, think teachers are responsible for?
- And what do the government think teachers are responsible for?

- If you could go ten years in the future what would you want to see for young people?

- And for teachers?

- And what could teachers do to make that happen?

- And what could motivate the teachers to do that?

- Could you draw a picture of yourself in the centre of this paper. Now think about what motivates you to talk about SRH with students and label it on the picture. After that think about what stops you and label that on the picture.

- That’s everything! Thank you so much for your help!!
Appendix F

Workshop Guide

Data collection sheet for each session

Workshop Number:
School:
Date:
Time:
Gender of Participants:
Number of Participants:
Research Numbers:

Summary of Session
Researchers:

Participants:

Venue:

Weather:

Further Comments:

Adapted from Gerber (2011)
Outline of Youth Workshop One

Introduction of self and assistant (5-10 mins)

Introduction Game (5-10 mins)
The pupils were asked to stand in a circle and then go round and introduce themselves, say their favourite animal and what they would like to be when they were older.

Seeking Informed Consent (5-10 mins)
Students were told they were free to leave at any time and did not have to answer any questions they did not want to. They were given a research number and told that this would be the only way that there answers would be referred to in my report and no teachers would be told what they had said. They were given one red and one blue pen and told they could keep this for the rest of the session. They were also given a blank piece of paper and told to note their age, tribe, religion and research number. Biscuits were also handed out to relax the participants.

Card Game (30 – 45minutes)
15 cards were placed in the centre of the room. The game was explained as follows:
A pupil takes a card and reads out the question on the card. Then all the youth are free to answer the question. No answer is wrong and your opinions are what’s important. We are not teachers so you don’t have to raise your hands.

This relaxed format encouraged discussion and separated the workshop from school activities.

Card Game Questions
1. Who makes a good friend?
2. What are the differences between boys and girls?
3. How do you know you love somebody?
4. Can you have a friend of the opposite sex without falling in love or having sex?
5. Where do people have sex?
6. How do people have sex?
7. At what age do you think you can have sex for the first time?
8. What can be reasons for having sex?
9. What can be the risks of having sex?
10. How does a girl get pregnant?
11. Can one be forced to have sex?
12. What are STDs and what is HIV?
13. Do you talk about sex with your parents/ friends/ teachers?
14. What is the most important thing in a relationship?
15. At what age do you want to get married? And when do you want to have children?

Song (5-10 mins)

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60 All instruction were translated into Kiswahili / Kimaasai
61 Adapted from Van Zon (2003)
Pupils were asked to show a song that they know and like. There were given the option to sing in their preferred language Kimaasai, Kiswahili or English. This was intended to relax the youth and give them a break from the difficult topics under discussion.

**Problem Tree**\(^62\) (20 -25 mins)

Pupils were asked to get into groups of three and given a piece of paper for each group. They were asked to put their numbers on the back. Then they were asked to draw a tree and to write adolescence in the trunk of the tree. In the branches pupils were asked to write problems that experience during adolescence. Initially pupils were asked to write the causes of these problems. However after the visit to Maasai Mara School this was changed to asking the youth to further explain their drawings, this was facilitated by questions from myself.

**Relationship Mapping**\(^63\) (20 -25 mins)

Pupils were told to sit separately and given a new sheet of paper each. They were asked to draw themselves in the centre of the paper and put their number on the back. Then they were asked to imagine they had a problem with sex, relationships or adolescence. They were asked to draw and label people they would approach for help with those problems close to them. They were then asked to draw and label people they would not approach further away from them on the paper. Pupils were then asked to present their papers.

**Worry Sheet** (10 -15 mins)

Pupils were given a new piece of paper with a line drawn down the centre “Worry” written on the left side and “Advice” written on the right side. They were then asked to write any worries on the left side of the paper and then to fold the paper and throw it somewhere else in the room. The pupils were then told to pick up one of the folded sheets and write some advice on the right hand side. Pupils were then asked to read out and explain some of the worries and advice. During this time pictures were taken of the Worry sheets. At this point my translator and I also gave some advice, when appropriate.

**Goodbye and Thank you** (5 – 10 mins)

After this everyone was thanked for taking part and told they could keep their pens and Worry sheets. A song was sung to finish the session and some biscuits laid out for pupils to take.

**Total Time 1h40 – 2h 30**

\(^{62}\) Adapted from Overseas Development Institute (2009)

\(^{63}\) Adapted from “actor maps” Lopes Cardozo (2011:51)
Outline of Youth Workshop Two

The same youth were asked to attend this workshop as had attended the first. The workshop began with a brief introduction from me in Kiswahili and English. My attempts to speak in Kiswahili were meant to be laughed at and to relax the students. They were reminded of who I was the purpose of the workshops and some of the things we had discussed previously. They were then given a hand out with the following introduction written in Kiswahili.

Handout Introduction
Hi, you might remember me, I’m Karen. Thank you for all your help so far! I need a bit more information to be able to write my report and to help your school, so I have a few more questions for you.

The answers you give will not be told to anyone. I will not tell your teachers and no one will know what you have said. You just need to put the name of your school, your age, your tribe and your religion at the top of your paper, not your name.

Your ideas are what are most important. There are no right answers. Everyone gets 10 out of 10! If you don’t know the answer you can put, I don’t know. Don’t worry!

Last thing, I want to thank you for all of your help! I have really enjoyed spending time with you and you have really helped me with my studies. I will remember you to my friends and family when I go back to England.

Good luck with everything you do. Goodbye!!

After all students had read this introduction I then handed out pencils, pens and paper and explained the questions. The questions were also translated into Kiswahili and were not given in English. This was to encourage the use of other languages and to separate the questions from school work. This was also achieved by hand writing all the questions. Youth were told they were able to ask for help at any time, to discuss among themselves and be free to ask me any questions to do with sex, relationships and adolescence more generally. After they had completed they were told they could take the introduction page and either stay to chat or go back to class as they wished.

Handout Questions
1. An NGO has asked for your advice on how to stop early pregnancy, what will you say?

2. Your friend Nanetai is 12, she thinks she might be pregnant
   2a. Who do you think the father is? (please give the age and what he does)
   2b. What would you advise her?
   2c. She decided to tell her teacher, what do you think they said?

3. Hope heard her parents were organising for her circumcision she asked you her friend for advice...
   3a. What is circumcision?
   3b. What will happen to me?
3c. What should I do?

4. Simaloi and Leshan want to use condoms they ask you their friend...
   4a. Where can we get them?
   4b. How do they work?
   4c. Do you think we should use one?

5. Your friend says to you, “I have heard a lot of different things about sex and I’m confused. Can you help me? What do you think about sex? What will you say?

6. Complete the following sentences with your ideas
   6a. Young girls have sex because.....
   6b. Young boys have sex because.....

7. On the blank paper draw a map of your home and school. On the map mark where young people can be tempted / forced to have sex and say who can tempt/force them.

Total time dependent on how long it takes students to fill out the answers approximately 1h
Outline of Teachers Workshop

Introduction (5 mins)
Briefly going over the exercises we will be doing and their purpose also pointing out when there will be breaks and food. Reminding all the teachers that everything is confidential. All exercises will only be marked with research numbers which will be changed in the final thesis and everyone can leave or choose not to answer a question at any time.

Introduction Game (5 mins)
The teachers were asked to go round and introduce themselves, say their favourite animal and the thing they liked most about teaching.

Who makes a good teacher? (10 - 15 mins)
The teachers were asked to get into pairs with someone from a different school. They were then given an A3 piece of paper two coloured board pens and some post it notes. The teachers were then asked to draw a good teacher and then affix post-its with the characteristics. After finishing the teachers were asked to present their teacher to the group and answer the following questions:

1. What would parents think was most important?
2. What would pupils think was most important

Ranking Exercise\(^ {64} \) (10 – 15 mins)
In the same groups teachers were given 5 slips of paper with the following written on them

- discipline
- guidance and counselling
- moulding pupils academically
- moulding pupils morally
- moulding pupils spiritually

These were aspects of teaching which I had taken from their interviews. They were also given two blank pieces to add their own ideas. They were asked to rank the aspects of teaching in order of importance.

After they had finished ranking the groups presented and explained their choices to the group.

Question Game\(^ {65} \) (30 – 40 mins)
The teachers were each asked to take a folded, numbered question paper from a bag. They were asked to read out the questions one at a time in the specified order and offer their own answer before opening for discussion. It was highlighted that all opinions were valuable and I was not looking for any correct responses.

\(^{64}\) Adapted from Chambers (2007)
\(^{65}\) Adapted from the Card Game of Van Zon (2003)
Question Game Questions
1. Who makes a good teacher?
2. What are the differences between male and female teachers?
3. What are differences between men and women?
4. Can young people of the opposite sex be friends without falling in love or having sex?
5. What is the difference between a friend and a girl/boyfriend?
6. At what age should young people have girl/boyfriends?
7. At what age should young people have sex for the first time?
8. What can be reasons for young people to have sex?
9. What can be the risks of having sex?
10. How can young people avoid these risks?
11. Who is responsible for early pregnancies?
12. Who should be talking to young people about sexuality?
13. When should young people get married?

BREAK (10-15 mins)

Problem Tree66 (10 – 15 mins)
Teachers were asked to get back into their groups and given two A3 pieces of paper, two pens and more post its. They were asked to draw a tree and to write talking about sexuality with young people in the trunk of the tree. In the branches teachers were asked to write problems that stopped them from talking to young people about SRHR issues. At the roots they were asked to try to state the causes of these problems.

Seed Cloud (10 - 15 mins)
Teachers were asked on another piece of paper to draw a seed at the bottom and a cloud at the top. In the seed teachers were asked to write solutions to the problems specified which could come from within the community and on the cloud solutions from outside the community.

Brainstorm and Personal Picture67 (20 -25 mins)
Teachers were asked to brainstorm in groups the influences on teaching / talking about sexuality with young people. They were then given time to create a personal picture in which they expanded on and explained these influences.

Goodbye and Thank you (5 mins)
After this everyone was thanked for taking part and told they could keep all of the resources after pictures had been taken of the work.

Total Time 1h 55 – 2h 35

A lunch was provided following the workshop to eat together.

66 Adapted from Overseas Development Institute (2009)
67 Adapted from “actor maps” Lopes Cardozo (2011:51)
Appendix G

Examples of Workshop Tools

Picture 6: Youth’s Problem Tree (Males Amboseli School)

Picture 7: Relationship Map (Male Tsavo School)

Picture 8: Worry Sheet (Female Maasai Mara School)
Analysis and Data Management of Youth Workshops

The youth workshops presented some issues with analysis. Careful data management was needed to ensure youths’ views, voices, and issues were accurately represented. The data was quite diverse and it took some time to find a way of organising and coding the data without losing the quality of the information or over generalising youth issues. It was important to always remain close to the data during the writing process and be aware of the format in which information had been received so as not to overstate conclusions.

There were also issues with ownership of the work the youth produced. I felt that the worry sheets were the most beneficial to youth and so focused on ensuring that all youth received their worry sheet at the end of the session. Pictures were taken of these sheets during feedback to the group.
Picture 10: A Good Teacher (Simon & Karani)

Picture 12: Problem Tree (Eli & Shani)

Picture 11: Seed Cloud (Eli & Shani)
The “personal picture” exercise was attempted twice. After being attempted at the teachers’ workshop the instructions were reformulated to be clearer and the exercise was attempted again at the end of the second interview. This proved to be very useful in gaining insight into what motivated and stopped teachers from discussing SRHR issues with youth. Shani’s pictures are a good example of the difference in information gathered in different settings. The building of rapport after two interviews and a workshop may have influenced the greater depth and detail of information and the ability of this teacher to bring up sensitive topics. Each teacher was asked to describe their picture:

This [is] my picture. I have things that make me think it’s good to talk about this. I have future leaders, because when I talk about this I get future leaders because this will [make]...people who know how to do [well] and be leaders of this community. [Second] to be able to finish school, because when I talk about this most of the boys and most of the girls will be able to finish school. They will be able to chill, that is to abstain from sex. Abstain. When I come [to] things to stop me from doing this, you can get harassment from parents. You can have parents they say this teacher is normally talking about sex and this is not teaching my children she is just talking about sex in the class. Others [are] material[s] for teaching we don’t have enough material[s] to teach. We have no motivation from the ministry. The ministry is not giving that token we are talking about for those ones who are doing the guidance and counselling. I have come also about male teachers having sex with girls in school. It is not able to [be] talk[ed] about but I feel it should be spoken too because I feel that men are getting attracted to these girls... and also lack of finance makes us not to talk about this.

Shani’s description highlights several of the key issues discussed in this thesis.