

THE CULTURE OF EARLY SEX AND SCHOOLING OF GIRLS IN KILIFI COUNTY, KENYA

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ABSTRACT: *This study sought to find out the social structures and the underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours that obstruct girls' empowerment and participation in formal education, in Kilifi County. Notably, Kilifi County makes a significant contribution to the Kenyan economy through tourism. However, a majority of its locals languish in poverty and hold onto retrogressive cultural practices that negatively influence education. The study used a total of 220 informants, including school girls, boys, head teachers, teachers and parents. Interviews, observation, FGDs and whole class mapping activities were used to generate data. Findings indicate that sexual intercourse was a reality among school girls. In conclusion, early sex is a deeply rooted cultural practice among girls in Kilifi that has negative implications to education for sustainable development. The paper recommends working on safety of school compounds, sensitizing communities on implications of early sex and initiating income generating activities for families among other things.*

KEYWORDS: Re-Entry Policy, Sex, Formal Education, Girls, Culture.

INTRODUCTION

The Basic Education Act (2013) makes education compulsory for all Kenyans below the age of 18 years, in conformity with the Kenyan Constitution, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and other international legal instruments and declarations. Boys and girls are further protected from harmful societal practices such as female genital mutilation (FGM), sexual exploitation and early marriages by the Children's Act (2012). Despite this, harmful socio-cultural practices are still deeply rooted in many marginalized societies, especially in the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASALS) and some urban slums (Ochieng, 2010). Consequently, the issue of school dropout, especially for girls, remains a major concern even at the primary level of schooling. Studies indicate that one of the most critical factors contributing to the dropping out of girls from school is teenage pregnancy. Muganda-Onyando and Omondi (2008) estimated that between 10,000 and 13,000 girls left school each year due to pregnancy alone. While some of the pregnancies are as a result of consensual sex between peers, others are the outcome of coercive sex and 'commercial' or 'transactional' sex with men who are sometimes much older than the girls. In the case of pregnancies resulting from peer consensual sex, the education of girls is likely to suffer more than that of their male counterparts. Boys are less likely to drop out of school or get punished for impregnating girls. Where older men are involved, girls are sometimes threatened and intimidated into silence lest they face dire consequences for revealing the man behind the pregnancy. Perpetrators of early pregnancies who are identified and reported to the local administration and/or police often find it easy to buy their way out as a result of corrupt systems. The worse scenarios are where even the girls themselves are not aware of the men responsible for their pregnancies due to the multiplicity of sexual partners involved.

Another common cause of school dropout for girls, which often go hand in hand with pregnancies, is early marriage. Muganda-Onyando and Omondi (2008) estimated that almost 13 percent of girls leaving school did so due to pregnancy and early marriages. This is despite of the school re-entry policy that was put in place in 1994 to enable teenage mothers among other dropouts get a second chance to education. Research has shown that the situation has not been easy for girls who re-enrol after child birth. The girls, who are often seen as a bad influence to others, are called names by their peers and teachers. They also have to run twice as hard as their peers in academic work since they have an added responsibility of taking care of their babies and sometimes working for a wage in order to provide for them. The result of this has been under-participation of re-enrolled girls in both curricular and co-curricular activities with some dropping out of school a second time (Sulo, Nyang'au & Chang'ach, 2014).

In addition to pregnancies and early marriages, sexual encounters put both genders at risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases (STIs) including HIV and AIDs. Girls are at a greater risk of infection than their male counterparts due to their biological make up and early exposure to sex with older men who may be already infected (Ochieng, 2010). Jewitt and Ryley (2014) warn that poverty coupled with low levels of sexual and reproductive health and rights education can exacerbate gendered bodily inequalities as girls face an increased risk of sexual exploitation when they reach puberty. Chege (1998) reported that some poor, single mothers where she conducted her research encouraged their daughters to engage in transactional sex to supplement household income. Plan International reports 'engaging in transactional sex negatively affected girls' participation and performance in school as they tended to be more distracted and less able to concentrate in class' (Plan, 2012: p.28).

This paper focuses on the culture of early sex and its consequences on education of girls. It is drawn from a qualitative study carried out under the Girl Education Challenge (GEC) Project entitled Wasichana Wote Wasome (Let All Girls Learn). The project is financed by The Department for International Development (DFID) and implemented by four organizations, namely: Centre for British Teachers Trust (CfBT), Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team (AMURT), Concern Worldwide and Girl Child Network (GCN), with Women Educational Researchers of Kenya (WERK) being in charge of research, monitoring and evaluation. The aim of the project is to improve school enrolment, retention, attendance and learning outcomes of 124,000 marginalized girls in Kenya. It works in 500 schools and the communities they serve in the ASALS and Urban Slums.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The paper is based on an ethnographic case study that took a qualitative orientation. The author and other researchers immersed themselves in the sample schools for one week with an aim of getting a holistic picture of the context in which the girl child operates.

Sampling Sites and Study Locale

Study Locale: The study was carried out in two counties in Kenya, Nairobi and Kilifi. Nairobi provided school sites in urban slums, while Kilifi represented the ASAL. In total, six schools were utilized, 4 from Nairobi and 2 from Kilifi. Kilifi is a Coastal County, popular for international tourism. Tourism is a major industry that earned Kenya \$803 million in 2006 when it was at its peak. Despite this, Kilifi people languish in poverty and continue holding

on retrogressive culture due to income inequalities that place the county among the worst five in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics and Society for International Development, 2013). Main communities in the County include the Mijikenda, Swahili, Bajuni, Arabs, Asians and European settlers. Payment of bride price for the acquisition of multiple wives is common. In fact, Kilifi leads the country in teenage pregnancies and early marriages (Plan International, 2012). Kilifi has 160 primary and 23 secondary schools serving 154,484 pupils and 1,112 students respectively. Despite this, illiteracy is high with 36 per cent of its population having no formal education; while only 13 per cent has secondary education. Kilifi ranks among the worst performing counties in primary school leaving examination at position 40 out of 47 (KNEC, 2013). It is within this context that case studies of two public schools from Bahari Constituency of Kilifi County were conducted with an aim of investigating whether girls' experiences of schooling were empowering or marginalizing.

School Sites: The two schools are referred to here as Kilifi I and II. Kilifi I is urban and Kilifi II rural, around 70 kilometres from Kilifi town. Both schools draw their pupil populations from socially and economically disadvantaged families. The average family size consisted of 5 to 8 children with Kilifi II families being larger. Parents in both study sites worked as casual labourers, domestic workers, motorbike taxi riders, fishermen or engaged in petty businesses such as brewing traditional beer. There were some child headed families.

Informants: A total of 220 informants including 73 male and 147 female were selected through purposive and snowball sampling as shown in Table 1 (see appendices):

The number of boys and girls who participated through whole class mapping and identification of girls at risk was not captured. Central to the study were girls (school leaders, school dropouts, and those who actively participated in clubs, curricular and co-curricular activities). Upper primary boys were selected based on their membership in school clubs and activities. Head teachers; male and female teachers and parents some of whom were also school management committee (SMC) or parent-teacher association (PTA) members were purposively selected to give supplementary interviews.

Data Collection Methods

There were five sets of qualitative instruments used to collect data as described in table 2 (see appendices):

Table 3(see appendices) indicates the number of instruments administered in each of the two locales.

Data Recording, Transcription and Analysis

Data was recorded through taking notes and by use of audio-recorders and cameras. Audiotapes were transcribed in the active voice, capturing the views and perspectives of the research subjects, with the perspectives of the researchers clearly separated.

The data analysis was done manually, and at multiple levels that included: Preliminary analysis during fieldwork; on-going analysis of each individual interview and observations by the team involved in data collection; analysis of data transcripts using the analytical questions; post-fieldwork analysis of data from individual research sites; triangulation of data from various sources and obtained through multiple techniques. Emerging patterns were identified. Comparative analysis by research locale and across locales was also done.

Ethical Considerations

The data collection process was guided by the triple ethical considerations of consent, confidentiality and protection of the rights of informants. WERK's Child Protection Policy and Research Ethics Policy guided all interactions with informants. In keeping with these, pseudonyms have been used for schools and research subjects to ensure anonymity.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Early Sexual Debut among School Girls

Data from interviews, FGDs and mapping demonstrated that sex was common among school-girls and boys in Kilifi I and II. Bushes around Kilifi I garden were mapped as venues where boys and girls have sexual intercourse, hence designated as unsafe places. Sex amongst children in both schools was mainly consensual and a well kept secret. This early involvement of children in sex was blamed on parents:

Our girls are exposed to sex at a very early age. Their parents don't treat sex matters with confidentiality and the children end up doing the same with their relatives and friends (Female teacher 2, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 16, 2014).

Our girls lack parental guidance. Parents are careless with sex matters and some of the children get to see what happens among their parents (Female teacher 1, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 16, 2014).

Also here in town, houses are small and children watch what their parents are doing at night and they exercise it on their own (Female teacher 1, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 17, 2014).

The main perpetrators of sex among girls in both study sites were said to be school boys. There were numerous stories of boys forcefully touching girls inappropriately within the classrooms in Kilifi I when the teacher was out and at the school gate as many pupils squeezed through on their way home. While the gateman in Kilifi I was charged with the responsibility of protecting all members of the school community, the school gate was interestingly mapped as an unsafe place where the girls were seduced by the gateman every time they passed there. Additionally, the old barbed wire fences in both schools were observed to be in deplorable states. Notably, community members easily accessed the schools from any angle as they went about their business and freely interacted with learners in the process. This interaction exposed boys and girls to the risk of drugs and sexual predators. Girls FGDs in Kilifi I revealed that boys abused them physically and sexually whenever they were under the influence of drugs brought to school by strangers. In Kilifi II, it was also observed that motor vehicles and 'boda boda' [motor bike taxis] commonly passed through the school compound exposing pupils to the risk of accidents and sexual abuse.

Girls mapped the road to and from Kilifi I as an unsafe place where unknown people sometimes defiled them and yet no steps were taken. Interviews confirmed this:

Girls are raped on their way to school, and no one raises this issue, this affects them even in class, you know some can get pregnant after this (Male teacher 2, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 18, 2014).

Hata wakati mwingine (sometimes) they are raped when coming to school. (Class Monitor, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 14, 2014)

Forested areas around Kilifi II were also mapped as places where strangers attacked girls, defiled them and sometimes gorged out the eyes of the girls. While the defilement cases were always reported to the teachers, nothing was done to protect the girls. Research, exemplified by Tembon and Fort (2008), has demonstrated that sometimes girls in poverty stricken areas enter into sexual relationships with teachers for monetary compensation. In Kilifi, male and female teachers in both schools distanced themselves from sexual abuse and instead pointed fingers to the boys. Girl leaders revealed that some girls were also repeatedly defiled by their fathers at home but were not free enough to report the matter to the authorities. The issue of fathers defiling their daughters also came up in mapping where homes were identified as unsafe places for girls. In Kilifi II, male domestic workers from palatial beach houses and men from the cement and sisal factories nearby were reported to abuse girls sexually. They often offered money for sex and sometimes defiled the girls who refused to cooperate with them.

Teachers in Kilifi I reported that traditional beer brewing businesses commonly referred to as 'manges' operated by parents in the community put girls at the risk of unwanted and early sex. The businesses provided cheap entertainment to the low class urban community dwellers. Parents, especially mothers, often engaged the services of their school going daughters to serve drinks in the evenings and whenever they were not attending school. Consequently, the drunken men often took advantage of the girls by seducing them and sometimes forcing them into having sex.

It was reported that the poverty that was rampant in families forced girls to engage in sex for money so as to buy school and basic necessities. This finding is not new. Odaga and Heneveld (1996) had described the hard economic situation in many African Countries as one of the main reasons why girls engage in sex for money. In Kilifi, transactional sex among school girls was supported and sometimes initiated by parents, especially mothers. A case was described of a mother who locked a teenage daughter in a room with a man and urged her to 'persevere' and yield to the demands of the man to enable them get money for their upkeep. In another case, a female teacher reported thus:

In some cases at home mothers force children into having sex with older men for money so as to buy food or for the mother's needs..., like a case whereby a certain girl...I think she was in Class 5, asked the mother for oil *yakuji paka* [for oiling oneself] and she was told by the mother that she was too big to ask for that, and that she should find herself a man to buy her. (Female Teacher 1, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 17, 2014).

Young men who dropped out of school to participate in 'boda boda' (motorbike taxi) business, fishing and mining among other income generating activities were also commonly mentioned as perpetrators of transactional sex. Girls identified the road to and from school as one of the unsafe places where the motorbike taxi riders gave them fifty shillings and convinced them to have sex with them. A similar scenario is described by Chege, Rimbui and

Olembo (1994) for urban girls who use ‘matatu’ (shuttles) in Nairobi to get to school while interacting with touts and members of the public who often perpetrate sexual abuse. In Kilifi, it was common to find schoolgirls fighting each other over the motorbike taxi riders in the school field, which was also mapped as unsafe. It emerged that while girls understood the transformative potential of education, they still looked at the dropout boys who engaged in income generating activities as having a ‘good life’ hence desired to associate with them. They argued thus:

... the boda boda men [motor bike taxi riders], do well, they get money and live a good life, but if you do not have money you become miserable, but I think it is better to go to school, especially for girls (Girl Leader, personal communication, Kilifi I, July, 2014).

But also some boys get to be beach boys or boda boda riders, they earn money and can put on good clothes and can support their families, and people admire them. But it is very good to have education; it helps people even know their rights and help people to advance (Girl Leader, personal communication, Kilifi I, July, 2014).

A common traditional practice in the community known as ‘siniriche’ also acted as a venue for grown up men and boys luring girls into sex. The practice was performed at night in funerals with the intentions of consoling and raising funds for the bereaved family. It involved, singing, dancing and fundraising to cater for the funeral expenses.

Earlier research by FIDA (2012) identifies domestic violence, wife disinheritance, rape and defilement, prostitution and transactional sex as forms of gender-based violence prevalent in Kilifi County. Consequently, the county has a high HIV prevalence. Ironically, none of the informants in this study mentioned HIV and other STIs as a risk factor associated with early sex.

Pregnancy as a Consequence of Early Sex and its Implications on Schooling of Girls

The rampant exposure of girls to sexual activities often led to unwanted pregnancies. Schoolgirls and teachers argued as exemplified below:

Around 20 girls have left school in the last two years because of pregnancies and marriage (Girl Prefect 1, Class 7, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 18, 2014).

Most of the dropouts are from Standard 4 to 8. I know of some who dropped out because of pregnancy. Some of them go back to school after birth or after abortion (Girl monitor 3, Class 5, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 18, 2014).

Many! Many! Many! Cases of pregnancy among our pupils have become so common in this school. When the girl becomes pregnant we allow them to be in school until the last month when they are due to give birth. However, they are shy about it and immediately they realize that we know that they are pregnant they leave school on their own accord (Female teacher 2, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 15, 2014).

From the above excerpts, it is clear that pregnancy was a common cause of girls dropping out of school. Earlier, Odaga and Heneveld (1996) had showed that pregnancy related drop-out rates were higher in poverty stricken rural areas and twice as likely to occur in co-educational schools. This description fits Kilifi schools. Similarly, The School Report Card based on data from 2,023 public primary schools from 23 counties, including Kilifi, reveals more girls dropping out of school than boys (3.1% versus 2.8%). In Kilifi County, sex before the age of 15, pregnancies and early marriages are the most common reasons for girls failing to complete primary school (County Assembly of Kilifi, 2014; Mwangi, 2014; FIDA 2012; Plan 2011). In this study, teachers repeatedly argued that expectant girls were not sent away from school but dropped out on their own accord as a result of guilt and shyness. Some girls expressed contrary opinions, arguing that pregnancy was to some extent still one of the reasons why girls were suspended from school. Suspending expectant girls from school only marginalized them further as they missed lessons and dealt with the stress and humiliation that came with suspension.

Perpetrators of girls' pregnancies were summoned to school together with their parents in case of young boys to discuss the fate of the pregnant girl. While those who agreed to take care of the needs of the expectant girl were set free, the ones who refused to cooperate were often handed over to the chief or police. One of the female teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the way pregnancy cases were handled, arguing that perpetrators easily bought their way out of police cells or the chief. In Kilifi II schoolboys who were identified by girls as responsible for pregnancies denied. In fact, they accused girls of having multiple sexual partners, arguing that under such circumstances it were not possible to positively identify the father of the baby.

Some forms of support were offered to pregnant girls by the schools as explained by the teachers:

When we suspect a girl is pregnant we inform the Guidance and Counselling teacher. The girl is then talked to. Once a confirmation is made, her parents are asked to come to school. The parents are guided on how to take care of the girl. The girl is then taken to the nearby clinic so as to establish the EDD (expected delivery date). If the girl is willing to continue with schooling we encourage her and guide her classmates (Female Teacher 2, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 16, 2014).

When we discover that the girl is pregnant, we usually call the parent and from there, we report to the provincial administration.... The school allows back those who have given birth (I have witnessed) and the female teachers counsel them (Male Teacher 1, personal communication, Kilifi II, July 17, 2014).

While some of the pregnancies ended up in abortion, others remained a well-kept secret:

Sometimes we do not know, they keep missing school and eventually when you ask the rest, you are told...she had a baby... or she dropped because of pregnancy. The school does not chase them, but they shy away (Female teacher 1, personal communication, Kilifi I, July 17, 2014).

Early Marriage and Schooling of Girls

It was a common practice for the family of the pregnant schoolgirl and that of the perpetrator to negotiate and agree on marriage that resulted in girls dropping out of school. While some of the perpetrators were young and not ready for marriage, others were old enough to pass for the girls' grandfathers. Notably, early marriages were quite challenging for the girls. In most cases their husbands did not provide basic necessities for them and their children. Consequently, the girls had to beg in the streets or engage in hard paid labour to earn a living. The implication of this situation is that girls would not be able to provide for and educate their children hence the continuation of the poverty cycle. In some cases, the perpetrators denied the responsibility and refused to marry the expectant girl even after negotiations.

It was pointed out that even without pregnancies, some parents who could not afford providing for their large families, forced their daughters to get married in order to reduce the parents' 'burden'. A girl leader observed thus: 'After Class 8 they drop out because they get married off. Also since parents are poor, they are not able to pay fees in secondary school. So they see it better for girls to get married (Secretary – ROC).'

It also emerged that whenever a girl secretly left school to get married, there was a tendency for parents to ignore the case instead of following up and advising accordingly. To such parents, the early marriage was probably seen as a blessing. The roads to and from school were mapped as unsafe places where 'girls were stolen for marriage'. In this regard, the unsuspecting girls were grabbed and carried away by men who had been sent by a particular man who wanted to marry them.

The challenge of early marriage was aggravated by the negative attitude of community members towards the education of girls. Reportedly, parents looked at girls as 'those who will get married and benefit the other family' hence did not see the need to educate them. In one instance, a father refused to discuss girls' education with researchers, perceiving it as a waste of time. He argued that he had witnessed schools 'spoiling' girls and could only discuss boys' education. Parents argued in their interviews that they would rather pay school fees for a boy at the expense of a girl in case of financial constraints. This partly explains why Mwangi (2014) found gender disparities in enrolment and retention of pupils in school with girls constituting 41 per cent of secondary school students in the county. Some female parents interviewed in Kilifi II had gotten married as early as 14 years and did not find any problem with their daughters doing the same. According to the teachers, parents were not even mature enough to guide their children; in fact 'it is a case of children raising their fellow children hence cannot provide guidance'.

School Re-entry Policy as a Strategy to Give Teen Mothers a Second Chance

Both Kilifi I and II implemented school re-entry policy, especially in regard to girls who had dropped out due to pregnancy. According to the teachers, who seemed keen on protecting the images of their schools, all pregnant girls were encouraged to come back to school after three months of breastfeeding. However, the girls' FGDs in Kilifi I indicated that the re-entry of girls after pregnancy was applied selectively with a few still being expelled. It was argued that re-entry of girls after pregnancy not only helped them regain confidence and self esteem but also protected them from more unwanted pregnancies. A female head teacher in Kilifi I had this to say:

Here if you leave girls at home you expose them to give birth again and again. We have the policy (re-entry) and it is helping. So many girls come back to school. So here in Class 5, 6, 7 and 8 we have girls who have given birth and have come back to continue with their studies.

While the school doors were to some extent open to girls who had given birth, some of them failed to make use of this opportunity because they did not have people to take care of their babies. Sulo, Nyang'au and Chang'ach (2014) report similar findings in Uasin Gishu County of Kenya, where parents were not keen on supporting teenage mothers' education through offering childcare. Girls' FGDs revealed that married girls could not come back to school because their husbands denied them permission to do so. In Kilifi II, the deputy head teacher reported that some of the girls who went back to school still felt uncomfortable and left before staying for long. One girl leader was of a similar opinion:

They [re-enrolled girls] are treated very well by teachers and pupils. But they never stay for long; they become very inconsistent in attending school and eventually drop out. They don't feel comfortable while at school (Girl Prefect 1, Class 7, personal communication, July 18, 2014).

The re-enrolled girls faced numerous challenges that negatively impacted on their learning. They experienced frequent absenteeism due to reasons such as babies falling sick, lack of people to take care of babies and participation in child labour so as to provide for the babies. Even when present in school, the girls, having taken care of babies at night, often felt sleepy in class and this interfered with their participation in learning activities. Consequently, re-enrolled girls generally recorded poor performance.

According to the head teacher of Kilifi I, re-enrolled girls were over aged, bullies and undisciplined, hence a source of problems to other children. Boys and girls in the same school were of the contrary opinion. They argued that re-enrolled girls were in fact the ones who were bullied by naughty boys in class. The boys referred to them as 'mamas' to mean they were grown up women or 'those who have already given fruits' and should also give to the boys in class. In Kilifi II, teachers and community members argued that bringing back such girls to school, would encourage other girls to get pregnant. It was revealed thus:

Again when we accept them back the parents push the blame to us. They think we are encouraging the pupils with bad behaviour. They threaten us that they will get us arrested (Female deputy head teacher, personal communication, July 16, 2014).

Ironically, exclusion of girls from school is a punishable offence under the law and not the reverse. In Kilifi I, teachers merely mentioned that they 'talked to the re-enrolled girls' without giving details of what the talks entailed and how they were conducted. In Kilifi II, re-enrolled girls were provided with back to school kits, including school uniform, under the leadership of GCN and ROC club.

CONCLUSIONS

From the foregoing discussion, it can be deduced that primary school girls in Kilifi are exposed to early sex and various forms of sexual abuse, including inappropriate touching by

peers in the classroom and defilement by fathers at home as well as strangers on the way to and from school. This comes as a result of material poverty, retrogressive cultural practices and unsafe school and community environments. The consequences of early sex and sexual abuse, including pregnancy and child marriage have negative implications on girls' education. Kilifi I and II tried to support girls who suffer consequences of early sex and sexual abuse but more has to be done. While the re-entry policy is practised in both schools, teenage mothers face numerous challenges. They are not only perceived as a bad influence to other girls by teachers and community members alike, but also suffer harassment and verbal abuse from peers. The re-enrolled girls have to sometimes combine paid labour with schooling hence find it difficult to concentrate on school activities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings and conclusions, the following recommendations were made:

1. Researchers and child right advocates need to debate and discuss ethical issues relating to research and child protection. Researchers ought to understand what they can do in the 'best interest of the child' and without violating the norms of confidentiality and anonymity, in situations where children are reporting cases of extreme torture.
2. Placement of professionally trained counsellors in schools, who are not only well-intentioned but also non-judgemental in the way they deal with the pupils, and address issues arising from early sex and sexual abuse.
3. Non-governmental organizations and well wishers should set up income generating activities for women groups and discourage them from offering their daughters for transactional sex.
4. Proper fencing of schools would limit the interaction of girls and boys with outsiders who expose them to multiple risks.
5. Increase girl safety in the community by working with local administration to: identify and prosecute perpetrators of child abuse and curb participation of children night discos and traditional ceremonies that expose them to sex.

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APPENDICES

Table 1: Sample Grid by Research Subjects, Gender and Methods

Methods	Children		Adults		Total
	Girls	Boys	Women	Men	
Key Informant Interviewing	44	0	0	0	44
Supplementary Interviewing	29	6	20	11	66
FGD	54	56	0	0	110
Total	127	62	20	11	220

Table 2: Research Instruments by Category

Observations	Key Informant Interviews	Group Interviews	Whole Class Activities	Supplementary Interviews
Classroom	Female School Leaders	FGDs	Mapping	Boy Leaders
Playground	Female Club Leaders	Small group (club leaders)	Identification of girls-at-risk	Head teacher
Assembly	Out-of-School Girls			Teachers
School Walkabout				Parents, SMC/PTA members

Table 3: Counties by Number of Instruments Administered

Instruments	Nairobi	Kilifi	TOTAL
Interviews	46	40	86
FGDs	9	6	15
Classroom Observations	14	9	23
Playground Observations	8	6	14
Assembly Observations	4	2	6
Whole class activities	5	4	9
TOTAL	86	67	153